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NEW FAMILY IDENTITY FORMATION
PROCESS OF MIDDLE-CLASS FAMILIES IN TURKEY
IN THE CONTEXT OF
MODERNIZATION AND URBANIZATION

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ABSTRACT

NEW FAMILY IDENTITY FORMATION PROCESS OF MIDDLE-CLASS FAMILIES IN TURKEY IN THE CONTEXT OF MODERNIZATION AND URBANIZATION

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The purpose of this study is to examine new family identity formation process by using a framework of identity interplay in consumption practices through wedding rituals and consumption. It is also aimed to observe how this framework is utilized in this process. Another purpose is to find out the role of individual, relational and family identity bundles in family decision-making process. Moreover, it is aimed to see application of this framework in real-life cases. For this aim, in-depth interviews are used as a qualitative research technique. A sample from Turkey is chosen, since Turkey is a country going through modernization and urbanization processes resulting in changes in society and family life. The sample consists of educated, middle-class people living in urban areas of Turkey. The findings highlight utilization of the framework in that specific sample, give insights about new family formation processes and interpret family decision-making processes.

Keywords: New Family Formation, Family Identity, Wedding, Ritual, Family Decision-Making Process

ÖZ

MODERNLEŞME VE ŞEHİRLEŞME ÇERÇEVESİNDE TÜRKİYE’DE YAŞAYAN ORTA SINIF AİLELERİN YENİ AİLE KİMLİĞİ OLUŞTURMASI

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Bu çalışmanın amacı, tüketim uygulamalarındaki kimlik etkileşimlerini inceleyen bir çerçeveyi, düğün ritüelleri ve düğün tüketimi üzerinde uygulayarak yeni aile kimliği oluşum sürecini incelemektir. Ayrıca, bu süreçte bu çerçevenin nasıl kullanıldığının ve örnek olaylarda nasıl uygulandığının gözlemlenmesi de amaçlanmaktadır. Bunların yanı sıra, bireysel ve ilişkisel kimliklerle beraber aile kimliğinin, aile karar verme sürecinde hangi rolleri üstlendiği de araştırılmaktadır. Bu amaçla, nitel bir çalışma gerçekleştirmek için derinlemesine röportajlar yapılmıştır. Türkiye, modernleşme ve şehirleşme sürecinden geçmekte olan ve bu nedenle, toplum ve aile yaşamında değişimler yaşanan bir ülke olduğu için bu ülkeden bir örneklem seçilmiştir. Bu örneklem Türkiye'nin kentsel alanlarında yaşayan, eğitilmiş, orta sınıf insanlardan oluşmaktadır. Elde edilen sonuçlar, bahsedilen çerçevenin bu örneklem tarafından nasıl kullanıldığını göstermektedir. Ayrıca, yeni aile oluşum sürecine ışık tutmakta ve aile karar verme sürecini değerlendirmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Yeni Aile Oluşumu, Aile Kimliği, Düğün, Ritüel, Aile Karar Verme Süreci

To My Family

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Family identity has been studied by several researchers in different fields such as sociology, communication studies or marketing (Epp & Price, 2008). This study has been carried out to contribute to the existing theory in the marketing literature regarding the concept of family identity.

Family identity is a combination of characteristics and attributes building a family and differentiating it from others (Falicov, 1991). It has a shared system of beliefs. Also, the "family theme" constructs the family's view of reality (Handel, 1968), and the themes are embedded in the questions of families as "who they are" and "what they do about it". Moreover, there are mandatory family rules regarding how the members relate to each other and outside (Ford & Herrick, 1974) and family myth which constitutes of an amount of well-systemized beliefs (Ferreira, 1966). In addition, there is "family construct" term which is a system of shared assumptions created by each family (Reiss, 1971). The components of the family identity are the "certain beliefs about family membership" defining who belongs to the family, "temperamental qualities of daily life" and "family beliefs and recollections about past" (Falicov, 1991). Falicov states that the past stimulates families to preserve and transfer its identity from generation to generation (1991). Falicov also defines three phases of family identity regarding its development and argues that there are two family identities for most people. The first one belongs to the family in which they were grown up. The second one belongs to the family they form with marriage and having children. This second identity is defined as "new family", and it takes "attitudes, values, patterns of behavior" from the original families to an extent (Falicov, 1991). It also means that when two people get married, they possess two established family identities and benefit from them to create their own identity.

Moreover, this new identity carries traces of the past of those two families. Berger and Kellner define this process as two individual people building their current reality and rebuilding the past reality by constituting a mutual memory which combines memories of two pasts (1974). Falicov also states that it is an essential goal for newly-wed couples to create a family identity, and if they fail in this process, it would cause setbacks later. This phase is defined as the early phase. According to Falicov, after early phase, middle phase comes in which child-rearing activities take place. While the identity was formed by "decision making of the first phase", it matures in this middle phase. Also, in this phase, families call upon the past to determine their behavior. The last phase is the transition and loss period, as stated by Falicov. In this phase, the identity is unstable, and boundaries of the family alter, because children form their own families, elderly members get ill or die. The roles of the members are revised. Also, heritage and inheritance get more applicable as the members get older.

Family identity has been studied by several researchers. Shared family identity was used to develop a conceptual model for mother-in-law/daughter relationships (Rittenour & Soliz, 2009). Family identity in multiracial/ethnic families in terms of communicative correlates (Soliz, Thorson & Rittenour, 2009), construction of family identity by young refugees in exile (Bek-Pedersen & Montgomery, 2006) and lesbian family identity via symbols and rituals (Suter, Daas & Bergen, 2008) were also studied. Moreover, it was analyzed in terms of how family identity is constructed and managed in rural working-class communities, focusing on working-class women (Kiter Edwards, 2004). How homemade food plays a role in building a family identity (Moisio, Arnould & Price, 2004) and routine and ritual elements in family mealtimes in context for family identity were also studied (Fiese & Foley, 2006). Furthermore, jointly told family stories as a way to communicate identity (Kellas, 2005) and intergenerational storytelling to construct the family identity were also examined (Thompson, Kellas, Soliz, Thompson, Epp & Schrodt, 2009).

Epp and Price offer a framework of identity interplays in consumption practices (2008). It is stated that there are limitations in the existing theory. The existing theory focuses on the individual members of the family to understand their influence on the family decision-making process. However, Epp and Price suggest that the firms should not only focus on the individual members. There are relational units in the

family, and they should consider these identity bundles, as well. In the framework, they define three identity bundles, which are individual, relational and family. Then, in this framework, there are marketplace resources which are brands, objects, activities and services. There are also two categories in the framework, which are communication forms and moderators. Communication forms consist of narratives, rituals, social dramas, everyday interactions and intergenerational transfers, whereas the moderators are adaptability of communication forms, member agreement, member commitment, synergy (discord) among identity bundles, disruptions & transitions, barriers to enactment and contextual identity needs. Communication forms build, manage and transfer collective identity. Moreover, in this framework, it is investigated whether there are any consumption symbols embedded in communication forms and identity enactments and how they are embedded. This framework has been cited in the literature; however, it has not been studied as a base for a qualitative research.

Rituals are a way to accomplish family identity, providing meaning and satisfaction to participants (Falicov, 1991). Falicov defines three types of rituals, which are celebrations, traditions and patterned routines. Rites of passage such as weddings or funerals are given as examples for family celebrations. These rites of passage help definition of membership and indicate developmental milestones. They also provide that ethnic identity is transferred from generation to generation (Falicov, 1991). According to Falivoc, family traditions are specific for each family, and families define their own traditions. Examples for the patterned routines are given as bedtime routines or leisure-time activities on weekends. Rook analyzes rituals to interpret consumer behavior (1985). He identifies three features of rituals, which are "an episodic string of events", "linkage of the episodic event strings in an exact, fixed sequence" and "repetition of the event sequence over time". He also defines four components for rituals. These components are ritual artifacts, a ritual script, ritual performance role(s) and a ritual audience. Ritual artifacts are consumer products such as food, jewelry or candles used during the ritual. They are assigned symbolic meanings. Also, some artifacts are given as gifts to ritual participants (Belk 1979). Ritual scripts define the behavioral order of the artifacts and people who will use them. In terms of ritual performance, it may be notably scripted beforehand in rituals such as weddings.

When two people have a wedding ceremony, they want to carry out several ancient rituals as a way to validate their transfer from one status to another (Chesser, 1980). As Falicov states, weddings belong to the "family celebration" type of rituals as a rite of passage (1991). As a ritual, it consists of four components as defined by Rook, which are ritual artifacts, an explicit ritual script, ritual performance role(s) and a ritual audience (1985). Wedding rituals have been studied in different contexts. In some of these studies, the focus is on a certain country or demography. In a study, Japanese weddings are analyzed in order to understand the basic values of the society and how new events created by the commercial industry express values (Edwards, 1987). In another study, wedding ritual values, consumer needs and expenditures in the Korean wedding rituals were examined suggesting that these rituals influence conspicuous and female-focused consumption (Park, 1997). Moreover, wedding celebrations were studied as conspicuous consumption to signal social status in rural India (Bloch, Rao & Desai, 2004). The wedding concept has been also studied in terms of attributes of wedding banquet venues in Hong Kong (Lau & Hui, 2010) and the selection and meaning of artifacts in the American weddings (Lowrey & Otnes, 1993).

One purpose of this study is to observe the use and applicability of the framework offered by Epp and Price (2008) in a specific context. Therefore, a specific sample in Turkey is used for a qualitative research in this study. Turkey is a country standing between East and West with a social and cultural mosaic, and it has gone through several social and economic reforms resulting in radical changes in society (Ataca, Kagitcibasi & Diri, 2005). Large amount of population in rural has migrated to urban areas (Sunar & Fisek, 2005). This situation has had influence on family structure with changes in the family life in terms of urbanization while keeping links to the origin (Adams & Trost, 2004). Families go through a conflict trying to adapt to a new context (Sunar & Fisek, 2005). Turkish families have a hierarchical organization with patriarchy (Fisek, 1991). Moreover, in terms of family decision-making, there is male dominance with limited role-sharing (Kagitcibasi, 1982). However, with increasing education, there are more equality among the partners (Ataca & Sunar, 1999). Also, children do not interrupt the decision-making process until they are adult and married (Olson, 1982). Considering these aspects, it can be said that families have been going

through an adaptation process due to modernization and urbanization. Therefore, Turkey provides an efficient environment to study family identity.

To summarize, the framework offered by Epp and Price (2008) is given in a general context. There are not any specific contents such as culture or societies with different demographic features. Also, the framework has not been used to study an explicit context by other researchers. Turkey is a country going through modernization processes resulting in changes in society and family structures. Therefore, it can be studied to see if this framework is applicable in such an environment. Moreover, in this framework, mainly, established family identities are analyzed. It has not been used to examine new family identity formation process. This process starts with wedding processes, which consist of wedding rituals. Considering all these aspects, this study aims to:

- understand the use and applicability of a framework of interplays in consumption practices to manage the new family formation processes of middle-class, educated population in urban areas of Turkey through analyzing wedding rituals and consumption practices
- understand the role of individual, relational and family identity bundles in family decision-making process of middle-class, educated population in urban areas of Turkey through wedding rituals and consumption practices

This study is carried out through qualitative research. For this research, in-depth interviews were made. The sample consists of educated, middle-class people who live in the capital city of Turkey, and who have their own careers. The in-depth interview consisted of 25 questions, mainly. However, there were open-ended questions, which provided the participants to lead the process. These questions were mainly prepared based on the framework offered by Epp and Price.

This chapter is followed by literature review, methodology, findings, discussion and further research chapters. In the literature review, firstly socio-cultural background and modernization process of Turkey are analyzed. Then, family structures, marriage and wedding traditions in Turkey are examined. After information about Turkey, there is literature review of family identity concept. In the methodology chapter, how this study was carried out and information about the sample are given. The findings

chapter is divided into subsections based on the different activities carried out in the wedding process. In these subsections, responses of participants are given. In the discussion chapter, the findings are interpreted in order to give answers to the research questions. In the further research section, limitations of this study are mentioned, and ideas for further research are given.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Turkish Background

2.1.1 Socio-cultural Background & Modernization Process

Turkey is a country which has traditional values and desire for modernization at the same time and can be illustrated as a bridge between East and West (Marcus, Ceylan & Ergin, 2017). The population is heterogeneous, there are continuous transformations in social and economic terms, and after the foundation of the Republic of Turkey, several social and economic reforms were made causing radical changes in society (Ataca, Kagitcibasi & Diri, 2005).

Turkey is going through a change in terms of social life, and it is becoming more modern, urban and industrial rather than traditional, rural and agricultural (Sunar & Fisek, 2005). Sunar and Fisek states that this situation also shows that a large amount of the population is migrants from rural areas (2005). She also points a demographic shift, and says that some reasons are industrialization, mechanization in agriculture or developments in the transportation and telecommunication systems. Also, with the economic developments, there has been migration from rural areas to urban areas, mostly from east to the west (Adams & Trost, 2004). This continuous migration caused that the half of the population in urban area is immigrants from rural areas (Kagitcibasi & Sunar, 1997).

With the political change, transforming from monarchy to democracy, modernization has increased, but when it is generalized, Turkey is traditional, authoritarian and patriarchal, although it changes from region to region (Sunar & Fisek, 2005).

2.1.2 Collectivism

Culture forms “personal meaning systems, values and attitudes” of individuals, and individualism and collectivism are seen as the major factors which divide cultures into categories (Cirhinlioğlu, Ozdikmenli Demir, Tepe & Cirhinlioğlu, 2019). Individualism is characterized with autonomy, discreteness and agency concepts, while collectivism is identified with “relatedness, interdependence, and social hierarchy” concepts (Cirhinlioğlu et al., 2019). Moreover, Schwartz depicts collectivism with concepts such as tradition, social harmony and confining consonance (1990).

Collectivistic people perceive family as one of the most important factors of their lives (Cirhinlioğlu et al., 2019). They identify themselves and their worth and assurance with their relationships with other members of their families, and they feel liability towards their family resulting in giving importance to their families more than their own needs. Cirhinlioğlu et al. also state that more collectivistic people perform more supportive actions in the relationships with attitudes such as faithfulness, cooperation or solidarity (2019).

Culture also influences how people perceive their marital relationships and what they expect. According to a research carried out by Dion and Dion, individualism and collectivism concepts have influence on perception of romantic love and marriage, stating that more individualistic cultures promote more significance on these concepts (1996). Another influence of collectivism is on perception of how parents influence (Bejanyan, Marshall & Ferenczi, 2015). It is stated that effect of parents on more collectivistic people is more, and because of that, degree of commitment and affection is less in romantic relationships. Also, in selection process of spouse, they give more importance to parent's decisions. Culture also has influence on how people perceive gender roles (Cirhinlioğlu et al., 2019).

Fisek and Sunar (2015) describe Turkey as a collectivistic country, giving reference to the study of Hofstede in 1980. They also state that urban population in Turkey is less collectivistic. A study was carried out using a sample consisting of students from state universities in Ankara, Turkey, and it was found out that collectivists in Turkey give importance to traditions and search for safety and certainty (Cukur, De Guzman

& Carlo, 2004). They are also in line with group norms. They are less open to change, and they are less willing to fulfill their own needs.

Another study compared data collected in 1998 and 2009 from a sample constituting of urban highly educated labor in Turkey (Marcus, Ceylan & Ergin, 2017). For this study, they used classification system of Strauss and Howe (1991, 1997) to define generational cohorts. In this classification system, Boomers, Gen Xers and Millennials represent people born in 1943-1960, 1961-1981 and 1982-2004, respectively. This study found out that there has been a change in personal values related to culture among generations. It is stated that Turkish Millennials are "more self-enhancing, less self-transcending, less collectivistic and less conservative" compared to older Generation X and Boomer counterparts. This situation is also linked with globalization (Marcus, Ceylan & Ergin, 2017). Although there is a change in terms of conservatism, values which are related to openness to change did not alter. Marcus et al. explains this with cultural-tightness giving the fact that Turkey is one of the tightest cultures in the world which is explained by Uz in 2015.

2.1.3 Internal Migration

Internal migration is movement of a population from one location to another in a country. Industrialization has caused internal migration in modern era (Kaya, 2015). Another explanation of internal migration is movement of people from one location to another to live for a limited time or permanently (Sertkaya Dogan, 2015).

Turkey has gone through important changes in political, economic and social terms, and these changes are in interaction with development, urbanization and modernization concepts (Coban, 2013). In terms of economic changes, there has been a shift from traditional agricultural production in rural regions (Coban, 2013). It is stated that in Turkey, several people migrate to major cities from rural areas (Yuksel, Eroglu & Ozsari, 2016). After 1950s, migration has increased due to increasing urbanization (Sertkaya Dogan, 2015). Sertkaya Dogan also states that in Turkey, migration is usually from rural to urban or urban to urban regions. This internal migration resulted in the fact that 25% of population was living in the biggest three cities of Turkey in 2016 (Yuksel et al., 2016).

There are several reasons for internal migration. According to the study conducted by Yuksel et al. (2016), there are three independent factors which has effect on internal migration. These factors are high divorce rate, rate of illiteracy and suicide rate. Coban argues some different concepts as main reasons or internal migration which are education, healthcare and environmental factors along with economic concerns (2013). In terms of education, Coban states that Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir cities are common cities for education migration due to higher possibilities for higher degrees of education. Another explanation for why there is internal migration is increasing amount of people in rural areas, financial problems, job possibilities, different lifestyles and education and healthcare opportunities (Sertkaya Dogan, 2015).

There have been some consequences of internal migration such as lack of homogenic distribution of investment in rural-urban regions, unplanned settlement or worsening infrastructure (Sertkaya Dogan, 2015). Yuksel et al. also states that there are some negative aspects caused by internal migration in Turkey which are imbalanced distribution of population and increasing unemployment in urban regions. Kaya also mentions unemployment as a new problem people encounter when they migrate to another city (2015).

2.1.4 Family Structure

The origin of the family in Turkey has three important factors which are the agricultural farmer population, the religion, Islam, and the establishment of the Turkish Republic (Adams & Trost, 2004). Adam and Trost states that the agricultural population has had huge influence until modern times, and it has included several minorities (2004). They also say that while different religions had their own family regulations before the foundation of Turkish Republic, after the foundation of the Turkish Republic, the Swiss legal system was adapted with regulated marriage family concepts. With this Swiss legal system, age of married was changed to 18 for men and 17 for women, but later this was changed to 17 years old for both men and women (Yılmaz, 2017). In the present, the only legal way of marriage is civil marriages, but after the marriage is registered officially, couple can perform religious marriage (Yılmaz, 2017). The country has had the peasant culture for so long; therefore, it has had influence on the family structure, and while the rural migrants continue having

link to their origins, there has been changes in the family life in terms of urbanization (Adams & Trost, 2004).

In terms of ways of living and cultures of family, Turkey is notably heterogeneous especially regarding socioeconomic and urban-rural position (Kagitcibasi, Ataca & Diri, 2010). Due to the heterogeneity in Turkey, there are several different family types (Ataca, Kagitcibasi & Diri, 2005). It is known that most of the population lives in cities, but the influence of rural continues, because a large amount of this population living in cities is either migrants from rural areas or children of these migrants (Ataca, Kagitcibasi & Diri, 2005). Although there are several social transformations, the culture is still traditional (Sunar & Fisek, 2005). There are still close ties to rural and traditional values (Kagitcibasi & Sunar, 1992; Sunar, 2002). Therefore, it can be said that there is complexity and diversity combining traditional values with modern/Western concepts (Ataca, Kagitcibasi & Diri, 2005). Moreover, young people in Turkey are categorized as "urban and educated, rural and traditional, and those with a rural background residing in big cities". Urban and educated group is more similar with Western societies (TDHS-2008, 2009), and they are more individualistic (Kagitcibasi, 2003). Rural and traditional group gives more importance to traditions and expectations of parents and society. Urban group with rural background has a combination of individualistic and communal living (Kagitcibasi, 2003).

Turkey is a country in which both nuclear (Western) and extended (Middle Eastern) family types have existed together (Senturk, Abas, Berksun & Stewart, 2011). Senturk et al. describes a nuclear family as constituting of a wife, husband with/without their children, whereas they illustrate an extended family as a household in which another adult lives together with the wife and husband. It is also stated in Turkey, mostly, that adult is mother and/or father of husband, since it is a traditional practice that wife lives together with family of her husband. In general, families are nuclear including parents and children in Turkey (Sunar & Fisek, 2005), but in many parts of the country, extended family is a "cultural ideal" (Bastug, 2002). In general, Turkish family is defined as "functionally extended" (Kagitcibasi, 1982; Kandiyoti, 1974). Being functionally extended means that close relatives live close and there are "social support and interaction" (Kagitcibasi, 1982; Kandiyoti, 1974). The families

are nuclear in terms of structure, but in terms of functioning they are extended (Ataca, Kagitcibasi & Diri, 2005), members of the family have concerns for not only close family members but also distant kin. There are close relationships between parents and children, siblings or cousins. As children have close relationships with their parents (Ataca, Kagitcibasi & Diri, 2005), they (whether male or female) live with their families until marriage and this closeness continues after the marriage (Bastug, 2002; Hortacsu, 1995). Although there are increasing urbanization and industrialization practices (Duben, 1982), people live among "a wide network of relatives, including grandparents, aunts, uncles, and cousins with several interactions" (Bastug, 2002). Kagitcibasi mentions this concept as the "culture of relatedness" (1985, 1986).

In terms of intergenerational interdependencies, there are two types. The first one is based on material (Kagitcibasi, 1990, 1996), and in this case, children depend on their parents until their adulthood, but, when the parents get old, they become dependent on their children. According to a study, it was found that education level of mother is an important factor anticipating what mother expect from their children, especially in Turkey, in which education level of mother varies a lot (Kagitcibasi et al., 2010). In this study, it is stated that if mothers have less education, they are more dependent on their children for an "old-age security". In another study, it was found out that in Turkey, perception of rural students of economic expectations of their parents was higher than perception of urban students (Kagitcibasi & Ataca, 2015). Moreover, in this study, it is said that Old-age security diversifies among different cultures giving the example that while low socioeconomic Turkish family expects economic/utilitarian help mostly from their sons, in America, a middle-class family expects care and support mostly from their daughters. The second type is based on emotions (Kagitcibasi, 1990, 1996), and in this case, although, there is no need for material benefits, the closeness continues all along the family life cycle. Kagitcibasi and Ataca (2015) also states that daughters are expected to meet need of emotional closeness between generations, Furthermore, they argue that living close and giving emotional support, which are defined as "non-material expectations" are expected from daughters rather than sons. The first type of interdependency is usually seen in rural population, while the second type is observed among urban middle class (Kagitcibasi, 1990, 1996).

In terms of status of women in the family, employment plays a role (Sunar & Fisek, 2005). Sunar and Fisek also state that educated working women have higher status in the family and society. They also mention that although educated women gain higher status when they work, they are still expected to carry the traditional domestic responsibilities. Women in Turkey perceive themselves as less valuable than their husbands (Cirhinlioğlu et al., 2019). It is also stated that in Turkey, it is generally believed that the duty of the husband is earning money, whereas the wife is responsible for domestic chores. Cirhinlioğlu et al. argues that this situation is also observed in relatively modern families in urban regions. Husbands still expect their wives to carry out traditional responsibilities. Stating all these characteristics, it is argued that there is male-dominance in Turkey (Cirhinlioğlu et al., 2019). Another study carried out by Gazioğlu (2006), searched a sample consisting of Turkish college asking their attitudes in terms of marriage and family. The findings show that men perceive themselves as the master of the family more than women, whereas women have more positive opinions in terms of sharing housework and having equal power.

According to Fisek and Sunar, Turkey is a collectivistic country, and there is an honor system and in that there is male dominance (2005). They also state that tThe family is close traditionally and this makes that each member's status depends on the behavior of other members of the family. They are not individual, they are a member of the family resulting in interdependence within the family, and in this context of the family, the interests of the group prevail individual interests (Sunar and Fisek, 2005). The honor concept encourages people to develop closer relationships with family (Ataca, Kagitcibasi & Diri, 2005). Cirhinlioğlu et al. also states that collectivistic people identify themselves and their worth and assurance with their relationships with other members of their families, and they feel liability towards their family resulting in giving importance to their families more than their own needs (2019). Similar to other aspects, there is difference between rural and urban areas. Urban population is less collectivistic (Sunar & Fisek, 2005). Kagitcibasi says that Turkish family is emotionally (but not economically) interdependent, and new style of growing a child will result in a “autonomous-relational” child (1990, 1996). Also, with the urbanization, the honor concept is less important among the educated middle class. Individuals have control over their lives (Ataca, Kagitcibasi & Diri, 2005).

The dominance of men can also be seen through the hierarchy of the family. Turkish family has a hierarchical organization. Fisek identifies the basic structure of the Turkish family with “generational hierarchy, patriarchy or gender hierarchy” (1991, 1993, 1995). In Turkey, there is hierarch and patriarch in the family structure due to patrilineality. This situation influences the decision-making process. Therefore, elderly members and male descendant have priority in terms of status (Adams & Trost, 2004). With increasing education, there are more equality among the partners (Ataca & Sunar, 1999; Fisek, 1993, 1995; Kagitcibasi, 1986). The modern and educated Turkish couples are defined as having more equitable and affable relationships compared to the more traditional ones (Canakci, 1992; Fisek, 1993, 1995; Kagitcibasi, 1986). However, a recent study shows that there is increase in terms of patriarchy. According to this study, patriarchal values have been increasing in Turkey. In this study it is argued that most Turkish individuals agree with statements referring to economic, political, educational and familial patriarchy (Engin & Pals, 2018). It is also stated that this increase is uppermost in the latest years of their analysis which is between 2007 and 2011. However, it is also given that there has not been a significant change in terms of familial patriarchy since 1990s, associating familial patriarchy with power structure inside the family.

Fisek also found that control and nurturance of the parents exist without dependence on education, clinical status of the family, maternal employment or family size (1991). While modern couples have an understanding of more equality, and they desire intimacy and companionship, modern parents have less hierarchical relationship with their children. The hierarchy is less but closeness and interconnectedness are not. When the families who have migrated to urban cities in Turkey are considered, they go through a conflict. They try to adapt to new context (Sunar & Fisek, 2005). It is also stated that there is an increase in independent orientation in urban areas in Turkey, specifically among adolescents, and mothers show more interdependence compared to adolescents in terms of family model (Mayer & Trommsdorff, 2012). Moreover, independent family model is preference of people living in more economically developed regions rather than people living in less economically developed regions (Mayer & Trommsdorff, 2012).

In a study, it is stated that although parents are described by using coparenting idea in Western societies, in Turkey, it is not feasible since being father and being mother are different concepts in Turkish society (Celik & Bulut, 2019). This study shows that “emotional, cognitive, and behavioral aspects of father presence” is related to marriage of parents and how support from mother is perceived. It is also stated that physical contact with father is less for boys compared to girls. In this study, it is also clarified that traditional way of parenting actions established on gender and generational hierarchies is not advantageous for children or family. In another study which examines Turkish youth, it is reported that both males and females tend to have perception of their mother and father as entirely accepting (Börkan, Erkman & Keskiner, 2014). However, females show more maternal acceptance than males. It is also stated that when they interact with their children, mothers adopt more “direct affection and behavioral control” compared to fathers. Fathers interact with their children indirectly through mothers. This situation results in perception of children associating their fathers with interpersonal power and prestige. Fathers show their love when their children are young, but when they grow up, authority and respect concepts take place in the relationship, and the communication becomes distant (Ataca, Kagitcibasi & Diri, 2005). Moreover, according to the researches, youth and adolescents in urban feel closer to their mother than their father emotionally (Sever, 1985; Sunar, 2002).

2.1.5 Marriage

In Turkey, marriage is seen as an economic transaction between two families, traditionally; therefore, it is stated that marriage decision does not belong to the individuals, families take role in this decision-making process resulting in arranged marriages or marrying relatives (Sunar & Fisek, 2005). Sunar and Fisek also state that economically, tradition requires a price to be paid to the bride’s family and purchase of the necessary items for the marrying couple by the groom’s family. However, these economical traditions differ from region to region. Sunar and Fisek point out that in urban areas, there are more romantic marriages, where individuals decide. Although, in the urban areas, educated people tend to have romantic marriages with individual decisions, families have effect on marriage decisions and

it is common that marriages are made within the same social class (Sunar & Fisek, 2005).

More recent studies also focus on how decision of getting married is made in Turkey. When marriage is analyzed as how Westerners perceive, the focus is on voluntary involvement of spouses in selection of partner (Imamoglu & Selcuk, 2017). They are thought to be disconnected from their kins, but not all cultures follow these features of Western marriages, and the marriage may be considered as advancing ties with kins of one or both of partners rather than forming a separate family. Imamoglu and Selçuk also states that marriages are influenced with cultures. They give an example arguing that initiation of relationships may differ from culture to culture. They explain that the relationship may be self-initiated based on love, but in more collectivistic environments, these situation changes. In these environments, marriages are arranged, or they are started by the older members of families or external families. Moreover, another study argues a main difference between marriages which is similarly whether the decision was made by partners or family elders (Imamoglu, Ads & Weisfeld, 2019). A similar explanation is made which is that the marriage initiated by the partners are called as self-choice, free-choice or love-based (Imamoglu, Ads & Weisfeld, 2019).

Beside arranged marriages, there are also marriages with long period of dating beforehand (Cok & Atak, 2015). Some of them marry only after they complete the necessary preparations for home and provide affordability for wedding party. Preparation for home is usually financed with aid of parents. Atak and Cok also state that dowry preparation is one of Turkish traditions, but there are different interpretations of dowry in urban environment among educated young people. They interpret the fact that partners/their parents want to furnish their homes before marriage is interpreted as an extension of dowry tradition.

As explained, there are two types of marriage in Turkey resulting in different ways of family construction process (Adams & Trost, 2004). The first type of marriage is defined as the "affinal marriage". In the affinal marriage, the individuals are free to choose partner to marry to (Ataca, Kagitcibasi & Diri, 2005). The consequence of this type of marriage is the separation between the family of propagation and the family of the origin. Similarly, for the legacy rules, the surviving spouse has the

priority (Adams & Trost, 2004). This type of marriage is formulated as follows; firstly, there is love, secondly economic security is provided, then marriage with consensus and children come. The second type of marriage is the "descent marriage". In this type, there is "exchange of good and human capital within or between kinship systems". The family of genesis influences the selection of the spouse. Like the affinal marriage, descent marriage is also formulated. Firstly, there is an arranged marriage, then comes the children, and love between the spouses forms in time and lastly the children provides economic security. Marriage is not an individual selection. "Intergeneration solidarity and benefits" are important in this way of marriage (Adams & Trost, 2004). In order to keep property within the family, there are marriages made within close relatives (Ataca, Kagitcibasi & Diri, 2005). In terms of the legacy, children have priority over the spouse. It is stated that there are still arranged marriages but there is a transfer from arranged to love marriages (Adams & Trost, 2004). While the descent marriage is more common in the rural areas and also, in the cities, among undereducated migrants (Ataca, Kagitcibasi & Diri, 2005), the affinal marriage is common in the urban areas with better educated young population (Adams & Trost, 2004). In the descent marriage, the woman leaves their own descents and transfers to the descent community of her husband (Adams & Trost, 2004). Whether it is descent or affinal, families have influence on marriage decision making processes (Hortacsu, 1995). For affinal marriages, families may think some young people would have harmony as spouses; therefore, they may create opportunities, so that they can meet (Ataca, Kagitcibasi & Diri, 2005).

2.1.6 Turkish Wedding Traditions

In terms of weddings, there is a hybrid family system (Kavas & Thornton, 2013). In terms of ceremonies, the official way of getting married is regulated with Swiss code, adopted in 1926; however, there are still people getting married through religious ceremonies especially in the east part of Turkey (Kavas & Thornton, 2013). Also, for some people, there is combination of these two ways of ceremonies; they carry out both regulated and religious wedding ceremonies (Smith, 2010).

As Kavas and Thornton has explained, there are many expenses throughout the marriage process because it consists of many practices and organizations in which traditional and modern is combined (2013). Examples for these practices and

organizations are a visit by the groom's family to bride's family to ask for the bride's hand, and engagement ceremony, shopping for the bride and groom (gelin çarşısı), henna night and wedding ceremony. There is also exchange of gifts (bohça) and fetching the bride rituals (The Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Turkey, n.d). As mentioned above, wedding ceremonies can be defined as hybrid, combining both traditional and modern practices. Especially, in the urban areas, there are influences of the West, while maintaining traditions. Cutting a wedding cake or having a white wedding dress are some of these Western influences (Kavas & Thornton, 2013). Another study describes the order of the getting married process as introduction, asking for girl's hand, bethrothal, engagement, henna night, official ceremony and wedding ceremony (Duruturk, 2008).

Regardless of the method of selection of spouses, whether they are selected by families or they meet by themselves, the first step in the marriage process is asking for bride's hand (The Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Turkey, n.d). In this activity, groom's family visits the bride's family with their close relatives. They also bring respectful people to visit so that the bride's family would not refuse to give bride's hand. Sometimes, this visit may be repeated several times until the bride's family accept to give bride's hand. After asking for bride's hand, "agreement to marry" ceremony takes place. In this ceremony, rings are attached to the bride and the groom. Also, sweet dessert is brought by the groom's family to be eaten after the rings are attached. Moreover, in this ceremony, the monetary issues are discussed. Jewelry to buy for the bride and the amount of the bride's price is are decided. However, bride's price has not been used in many areas. Also, some money is given to the bride's mother. Asking for the girl's hand is a continuing tradition, and coffee is a tool in this ritual, and coffee is served by the bride to the groom and his side (Argan, Akyildiz, Ozdemir, Bas & Akkus, 2015).

After the "agreement to marry" ceremony, engagement ceremony takes place in bride's home (The Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Turkey, n.d). The ceremony is carried out with a crowd and they are invited before the ceremony. In some traditional areas, men and women do not sit together, they sit in different parts of the home. Also, in some areas, the groom does not join the ceremony. In the ceremony, the bride wears a special dress and the groom's mother and relatives give

jewelry to her. An elderly man puts rings on the bride's and groom's ring fingers. In the engagement, the rings are worn on the right hand. In some areas, for the engagement ceremony, a wedding hall is rented, and ceremony takes place there. In the period of engagement, couples meet in urban areas, but in traditional areas, permission of the family is necessary. Sometimes, a member of the family goes to meetings with them.

Henna night is accepted as a "rite of passage" (Smith, 2010). It is made one day before the wedding day in the bride's home (The Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Turkey, n.d). In this ceremony, groom's mother takes henna from henna tray and puts henna in palm of bride. She also puts a piece of gold on the henna (Smith, 2010). The henna night rituals have transformed in the modern times (Ger and Holt, 2000). One example is that, it may not be made in bride's home, instead in another environment. Also, the invitation way of guests has been changed. Mothers used invite people personally, but now, they also use invitation cards. Another example is about the gender roles. In the past, there were no male participants in the ceremony, but, in some ceremonies, there are some male guests and when the ceremony is in a club, there may be male waitresses. Moreover, there is a change in terms of how the brides are dressed throughout the ceremony. Beside wearing traditional clothes during the rituals, they also wear modern dresses (Ger & Holt, 2000).

Fetching bride ritual is carried out in the wedding day (The Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Turkey, n.d). It is also called as carrying the bride. People are invited to participate in this ritual. There is also wedding flag and playing drum-pipe in the ceremony. In some areas, an old woman helps preparation of the bride, but now, the bride is prepared in the hairdresser and someone related to groom takes her. During fetching the bride ritual, "the maiden belt" is knot around the bride's waist and the person doing it must be her brother or any other close relative. Another ritual in this ceremony is that the groom's family pays money to get the door opened and take the chest.

In the wedding ceremony, there are best man, bridesmaids and guests attending (Smith, 2010). There is a designated person who is responsible for legal ceremony, and after this legal ceremony, the wedding continues with eating, drinking, music

and dancing (Smith, 2010). In the ceremony, the couple has “the first dance” and as explained, wedding contract is made (Ertimur & Sandıkçı, 2014). After these, “takı” ceremony takes place. “Takı” means jewelry and giving a gold coin or gold jewelry to the newlyweds. There are different ways of the “takı” ceremony. The guests may get in a queue and give the gifts to the couple or the bride and the groom goes to each guest, greets and the guests put their gifts in a small bag carried by the bride (Ertimur & Sandıkçı, 2014). Another research also studies pinning ceremonies in weddings in Turkey (Faroe, 2012). In this study, it is stated that in Turkish, it is called "takı töreni", and it means that a gold item such as coin or bracelet or some money is given to the bride or groom. This study also says that this ceremony takes place in the later part of the wedding ceremony, after snacks, music, dance and wedding cake ceremony, and the aim of this gift-giving ceremony is to help bride and groom, financially.

For the weddings in Turkey, there are excessive expenses (Kavas & Thornton, 2013). There is combination of traditional Western elements in the wedding ceremony. For example, a wedding cake is cut during the ceremony. Another example is white wedding dress of the bride. It was worn for the first time in 1898 at the Ottoman palace (Kavas & Thornton, 2013). Some consumption practices for wedding are given as wedding car, wedding cake, invitation card, wedding candy/gift, clothes, jewelry, gifts and treats to guests (Duruturk, 2008).

2.3 Family Identity

Family identity is described as reflection of shared important experiences inside a family system (Ferring, 2017). Ferring also states that family identity constitutes a group of signs to be utilized in social communication among families. The family identity consists of how the family sees its continuity over time, how they are at present and how their character is (Bennett, Wolin & McAvity, 1988). It is constructed mutually. It is not built just inside the family, external perceptions also influence (Reiss, 1981). It is the combination of qualities and attributes differentiating the family from others (Bennett, Wolin & McAvity, 1988). Moreover, Epp and Price defines three components for the family identity which are “structure, generational orientation and character”. The structure component is about the members who are present in the family and who were in the family (Bennett et al.

1988). It defines the boundaries of the family, the hierarchy and the roles of the members. The generational orientation is related to the ties to past and future generations of the family and “the extent to which a family understands its present condition as a part of a continuum over time,” and conserving the identity from generation to generation (Bennett et al.1988). The character component is the “day-to-day characteristics of family life” (Bolea 2000). Moreover, identity can be individual, relational or collective. Individual identity is associated with “Who am I?” question (Kastarinen, 2017). While relational identity is about “Who do I identify with”, collective identity is associated with “Who am I as a member of global community?” (Kastarinen, 2017).

Family identity is combination of characteristics and attributes building a family and differentiating it from others (Falicov, 1991). It has a shared system of beliefs. Also, the "family theme" constructs the family's view of reality (Handel, 1967), and they are embedded in the questions of families as "who they are" and "what they do about it". Also, there are family rules which are mandatory rules regarding how the members relate to each other and outside (Ford & Herrick, 1974) and family myth which constitutes of an amount of well-systemized beliefs (Ferreira, 1966). There is also "family construct term" which is a system of shared assumptions created by each family (Reiss, 1971). The components of the family identity are the "certain beliefs about family membership" defining who belong to the family, "temperamental qualities of daily life" and "family beliefs and recollections about past" (Falicov, 1991). Falicov also states that the past stimulates families to conserve and transfer it identity from generation to generation (1991). The family identity is divided in three phases regarding its development. It is stated that there are two family identities for most people. The first one belongs to the family in which they were grown up. The second one belongs to the family they form with marriage and having children. This second identity is defined as "new family", and it takes "attitudes, values, patterns of behavior from the original families to an extent. This extent is changeable. It also means that when two people get married, they possess two established family identities and benefit from to create their own identity. Moreover, this new identity carries trace of the past those two families. In a study, marriage of two people is described as something new happening (Ferring, 2017). It is explained that these two people have their own systems of distinct value and behavior, and they will unite

these systems, reproducing segment of their family system. Berger and Kellner define this process as the two individual people build their current reality, as well rebuild the past reality by constituting a mutual memory which combine memories of two pasts (1974). Falicov also states that it is an essential goal for newly-wed couples to create a family identity, and if they fail in this process, it would cause setbacks later. This phase is defined as the early phase. After, this middle phase comes in which, child-rearing activities take place. While the identity was formed by "decision making of the first phase", it matures in this middle phase. Also, in this phase, families call upon the past to determine their behavior. The last phase is the transition and loss period. In this phase, the identity is instable, and boundaries of the family alter, because children form their own families, elderly members get ill or die. The roles of the members are revised. Also, heritage and inheritance get more applicable as the members get older.

Hoobler and Masterson (2015) takes family identity concept from a different perspective. They focus on career-based family identities. They state that while "breadwinner" is a traditionally and socially acknowledged family identity for men, they emphasize that this type of family identity belongs to women, as well. Another study examines gambling behavior from the lens of family identity (Westberg, Beverland & Thomas, 2017). They examine how following family identity goals may result in perception of gambling as normal. Moreover, they state that participants of the study perceive gambling as a normal, essential family activity. Furthermore, they argue that while some previous studies examine advantageous sides of consumption in bringing family together or family formation, they give insight about disadvantages of these consumption practices. Moreover, a research examines experience of cross-border shopping and finds out that narratives, rituals and intergenerational transfers related to this experience help construction of family ties and family identity (Caldwell, Henry, Castaño, Perez & Quintanilla, 2010).

2.4 A Framework of Identity Interplay in Consumption Practices

Epp and Price (2008) argues who and what is a family and offer a model for the identity interplays in the family. They say that there are three limitations of the existing theory. As the first limitation, they say that the family consumer research focuses on individuals in the family, such as how they affect family consumption or

other family members, how they influence family decision making process. In sum, they indicate that the firms should not only focus on preferences of individual family members but instead they should take into account different identity bundles among the family. They describe relational identity as a subgroup different from other subgroups with its own characteristics and attributes. Also, the relational units have three components of the family identity which are structure, generational orientation and character, too.

Epp and Price (2008) build a framework for family identity consisting of identity interplays. In this framework, three identity bundles are defined which are family, relational and individual. Then communication forms and symbolic marketplace resources are described, and they are in connection with the identity bundles defined in this framework. The communication forms consist of narratives, rituals, social dramas, everyday interactions and intergenerational transfers. The symbolic marketplace resources are brands, objects, activities and services. The last segment of the framework is moderators. Moderators are adaptability of communication forms, member agreement, member commitment, synergy (discord) among identity bundles, disruptions & transitions, barriers to enactment and contextual identity needs. The framework suggests that communication forms and symbolic marketplace resources influence collective identities in terms of form and limitations. Also, it is discussed how the marketplace resources are used to manage identity performances. Moreover, this framework investigates if there are any consumption symbols embedded in communication forms and identity enactments and how they are embedded.

Communication forms build, manage and transfer collective identity. It shows the family identity to the family as well as to the outsiders (Norrick 1997). Communication forms include rituals, narratives, social dramas, intergenerational transfers and everyday interactions.

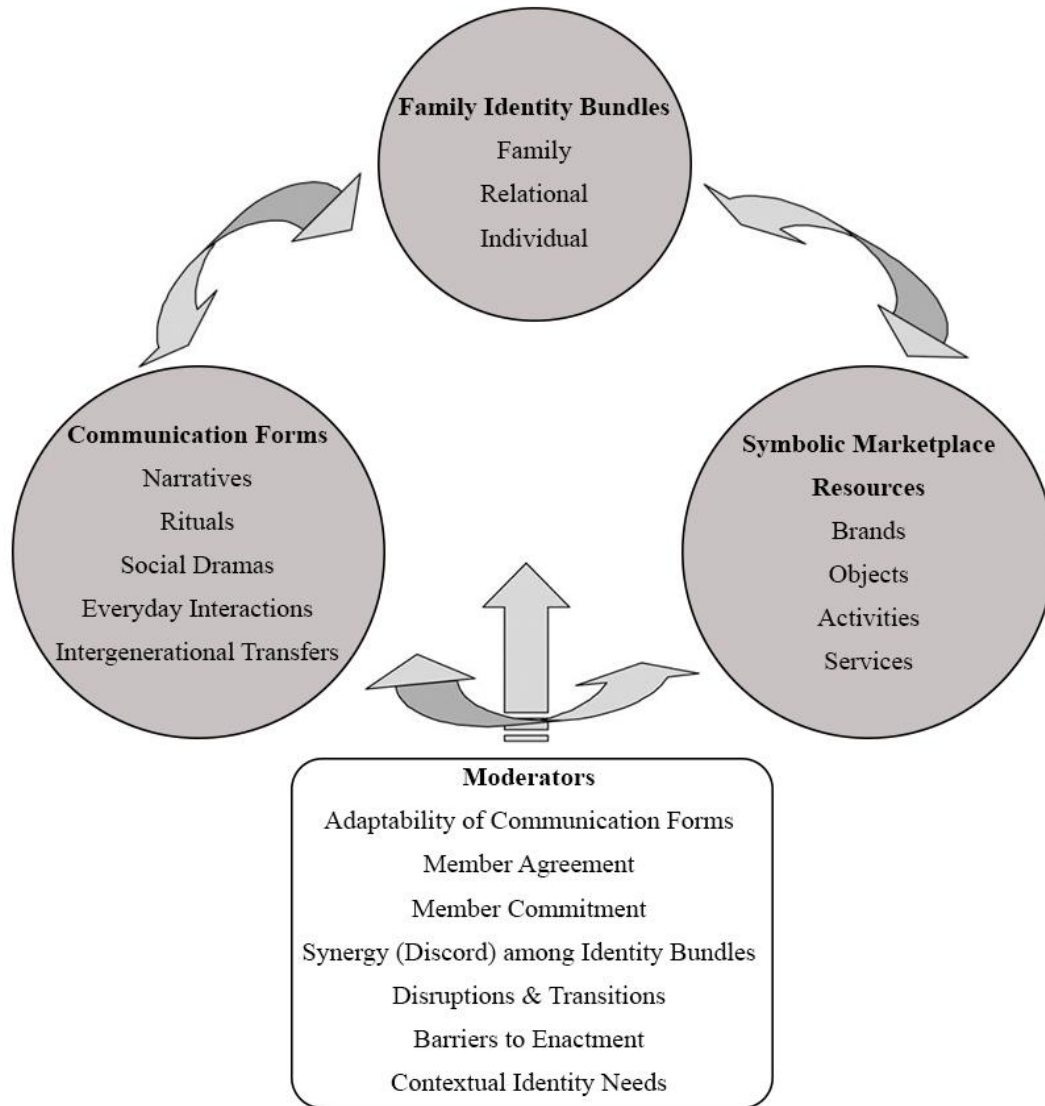


Figure 2.1 Framework of Identity Interplay in Consumption Practices

Rituals depicts the borders of the family as being a part of the family rituals shows that person is a member of that family (Otnes & Pleck 2003; Rook 1985). Another aspect of the rituals is that, families provide the continuity of identity through time using these rituals (Bolea 2000). It is also stated that studying the interplay of ritual practices can give insight about the family consumption (Epp & Price, 2008). There are several significant roles of family rituals such as celebration, a sense of predictability, security, treatment adherence or hope (Santos, Crespo, Canavarro & Kazak, 2018). In the study carried out by Santos et al. (2018), it is stated that family rituals provide significant actions to families, specifically at times of change and stress. They also report that “sense of security” and “treatment adherence” features

of family rituals arise only when there is formation of new rituals or old ones are restored. In the study, the authors also argue that there may be emergence of family rituals in order to fulfil particular functions such as taking medication. In a study, family rituals were examined comparing women and men regarding taking primary responsibility (Friedman & Weissbrod, 2004). It is stated that fathers are less responsible for future family rituals, and this situation influence children in a way that daughters are more likely to take responsibility for future family rituals.

Narratives are used as a way to comprehend and constitute the individual, relational and family identities (Bennett et al. 1988). Epp and Price claims that this framework shows the interplay among individual, relational and family identities in mutually narrated consumption stories (2008). These stories are always modified. It is also stated that researchers can study how the jointly narratives are constructed to analyze interplays and influence on what objects related to the family identity mean and how they function. According to a study, lives of people are storied, their identities are narratively created (Kastarinen, 2017). In this study, it is stated that although narrative is verbal, it can also consist of a film, play or a picture. It is also mentioned that people can reinterpret the narratives. Another inference from this study is that the narration is a resource in cultural collection of stories, and it can be used as a resource for people's own narratives and understanding of life.

Social dramas consist of processes, they are universal and happen at each level of social structure (Turner, 1980). Human societies have various significant social norms (Luo, Kong, Ke, Huang, Yu, Zhu & Xu, 2019). Social drama happens between and individual or group and a larger network of social relations (Epp & Price, 2008). There are several social dramas occurring in the consumption context with results regarding identity bundles constituting the family. The social dramas can be between generations about skirt length or musical tastes. Norms are formed and they define boundaries for the family. A study associates behaviors and attitudes of parents with how adolescents comprehend dominant family norms (Pedersen, Grønhøj & Thøgersen, 2015). Another study examines influence of social norms on food diet of youth, stating that social norm intervention may provide advancement in food intake of young people (Stok, de Vet, de Ridder & de Wit, 2016).

Intergenerational transfers are intergenerational influences and transfer of objects or practices and they depicts the nature of some relationship in the family, the form of the family and forms family and individual identity (Bolea 2000). It has been studied that memories of home or family, a shared identity and rituals reinforce the intergenerational brand influence (Moore, William & Richard, 2002). Epp and Price suggest that the intergenerational influence can be comprehended more if how some brands are buried in family and relational identity performances (2008). A study was carried out to examine family archive, identity and public/private heritage (Woodham, King, Gloyn, Crewe & Blair, 2017). In this study, it is stated that families perform as a “curator of their own personal possessions” and how these possessions create and transfer a specific family identity across generations.

Regarding everyday interactions, each family has their own unique routines and communicative acts (Whitchurch & Dickson 1999; Wood 2000). Everyday family interaction is significant since it creates a base for relational identity (Baxter, 2004). The everyday interactions may be cleaning home, watching movies or talking at the dinner table (Epp & Price, 2008). There are consumption objects and activities embedded in everyday interactions. Sometimes, these objects and activities have huge part in the interaction process, but sometimes, they have little part. According to a study, everyday performance of family meal is a way of constructing family identity in China (Yu, Veeck & Yu, 2015). It is stated that when family activities are converted from routines to rituals, a higher level of family identity is constructed. Moreover, family dinners are described as a means of intergenerational transfer of manners and life skills.

The communication forms are also analyzed regarding relationships between each other. It is stated that it should be studied how they constitute the family identity jointly. While everyday interactions delineate the appropriate behavior, the narratives and rituals enable the identity to continue of the family life cycle.

In the framework, there are also moderators of family identity practices. There are seven moderators, and they are adaptability of communication forms, member agreement, member commitment, synergy (discord) among identity bundles, disruptions & transitions, barriers to enactment and contextual identity needs.

Adaptability of forms and symbols regards when families adapt communication forms and consumption symbols over time. Families have different levels of practices which constitute the identity and they are also different at which practices they adapt. Adaptation of the practices is necessary in order to transfer rituals across generations, but during these adaptations, the rituals must protect their symbolic meaning (Bennett et al. 1988). Consumers merge existing and new ritual practices in scope of inheritance in the adaptation process (Curasi, Price & Arnould, 2004).

The members of a family may have different opinions about the constitution of family's collective identity and if and how this identity is connected to consumption symbols and activities. This is one aspect of the member agreement. In terms of member agreement, the questions of how each member illustrates its family to other people and if these illustrations match can be asked. It is stated that the level of agreement between the members influences the family identity enactment. On the contrary, it is emphasized that there may be differences between families concerning agreement between the members about the collective and relational identities. Another perspective on the member agreement is about what a shared symbolic object or activity mean. It is stated that this meaning should be relatively similar for each member. However, the symbolic objects can refer to different meanings for each member; there meanings exist at them same time (Belk & Costa 1998; Miller 1987). Each member may see a particular object a symbol of their collective identity, but each member may assign different meanings to that object.

There may be variation in terms of commitment of each member to keeping particular enactments of family identity. There are two factors influencing the commitment to family enactment which are personal meanings and scripted social behaviors (Bielby, 1992). This dependancy is explained as that members act scripted behaviors less consciously, while for more elective family performances, they act more consciously (Epp & Price, 2008). Researches show that in most families, there are kin-keeping activities. Some member of the family has the kin-keeper role and provide the connection of family members with each other (Resenthal, 1985). Family kin-keepers have a significant function to provide for interaction and maintain family relationships (Braithwaite, Marsh, Tschampl-Diesing & Leach, 2017). It is also stated that communication technologies are available for this aim.

In the family, there are different small collective identities with their own shared experiences. There may be no balance between the family, relational or individual identities, sometimes, there are tensions among them. This situation brings out the "synergy and discord among individual, relational and familial identities" moderator. The synergy between the individual, relational and family identities result in consequences regarding family identity enactment. In terms of discord, in some cases, some relational and individual bundles may compromise to promote the collective identity. If the synergy is low, there would be constraints in the family enactments. A study reveals that after a short period of tension, satisfaction of family starts (Vlčeka, 2015).

Another moderator is the disruption & transitions. Families go through different transformations. These events result in identity disruption and examples for these events are marriage, birth of a child or divorce. How families survive during the trials and how they manage changes are an essential part of the family identity. (Bolea, 2000). Unexpected significant events may cause sudden changes in family identity. Some researches show links between the identity challenge families go through during transitions with consumption-related behavior. With some researches, it is also stated that consumption is used as a coping mechanism during family disruption. Family disruptions are described as internal to some extent and there is difference between the families who disintegrate and undamaged families (ter Weel & Prevoo, 2014). Moreover, family structure transition is described as dynamic processes (Schroeder, Osgood & Oghia, 2010).

Barriers to enactment is also a moderator in this framework. Families face several barriers for identity enactment. Epp and Price defines three resource barriers for the family identity enactment (2008). The first one is geographic distribution of the family members. This situation may keep some family identity enactments from happening. It may also necessitate modification of existing forms. One example of this modification is using technology. Moreover, geographically distributed family members can get together on holidays using increased mobility (Schänzel & Yeoman, 2015). The second barrier defined by Epp & Price (2008) is the time constraints. When families do not have too much time, it may be hard to meet the demand of daily life. They may need to integrate some family identity enactments in

other activities. Moreover, families may need to change the priorities of the activities. The third barrier is the lack of monetary resources. The access to marketplace and other resources may form the collective identity of the family.

The last moderator is the identity needs of the family. When there are changes in the cultural conceptions or in the environment, there may be changes in the identity needs of the family. The context may make families reconstruct their identity.

Family decision making is one of the applications suggested by Epp and Price using their framework. It is suggested to use this framework to study interplay of reciprocal identity bundles in the family. The family decisions may refer to individual or relational identities, but particular decisions are based on family identity enactment; it is not important who wins or loses. It is suggested that the synergy between individual or relational identities and collective decisions should be analyzed. Another suggestion to study family decision making is to examine the family beyond the household boundaries. The families may be blended or divorced, or while for some families, household may be essential, but for some, the collective enactments may take place outside the household. Family decision making has been studied in other researches, too. In a study, it was examined in terms of festival tourism (Kim, Choi, Agrusa, Wang & Kim, 2010). In another research, couple dynamics in this process was studied analyzing family holidays (Rojas-de-Gracia, Alarcón-Urbistondo & González Robles, 2018). Some of other studies using this concept are related to household energy consumption (Permana, Aziz & Siong, 2015), planning for outdoor play (Serman, Naughton, Bundy, Froude & Villeneuve, 2019) and food buying and consumption (Suwandinata, 2012).

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

In this study, it is aimed to understand the use and applicability of a framework of interplays in consumption practices offered by Epp & Price (2008) in managing the new family formation processes and the role of individual, relational and family identity bundles in family decision making-process of middle-class educated population in urban areas of Turkey through analyzing wedding rituals and consumption practices.

In order to carry out this research, qualitative methods are used. Qualitative research tries to understand phenomena in context-specific environment, and it manufactures findings which come from real-world setting (Patton, 2002). Also, qualitative researches are carried out to find illumination, understanding and investigation through findings (Hoepfl, 1997). Moreover, qualitative methods focus on examination and delineation of qualities and meanings of articles and processes (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003). Therefore, in order to gain comprehensive insights from this study, it consists of qualitative research. As a qualitative research method, in-depth interviews are used. In-depth interviews include intensive individual interviews with a small number of participants, and the aim is to examine the perspectives of the participant on a specific subject such as an idea or a situation (Boyce & Neale, 2006). Boyce and Neale also state that these interviews can be benefited from in the way that they provide detailed information about the opinions and behaviors of a person, and issues can be examined, deeply. Moreover, in-depth interviews offer advantages in the sense that they enable the researcher to obtain much more detailed information compared other techniques such as surveys, and they provide a relaxed environment for participants so that there is not any discomfort during the conversation (Boyce & Neale, 2006).

3.1. Context

The context of this study refers to the social life in Turkey. With the foundation of Republic of Turkey, the country went through a shift from monarchy to democracy (Sunar & Fisek, 2005). This foundation brought together several reforms (Ataca, Kagitcibasi & Dir, 2005) which resulted in modernization and urbanization processes (Sunar & Fisek, 2005). Large amount of population has migrated from rural areas to urban areas which resulted in adaptation of traditions to integrate with modernity (Sunar & Fisek, 2005). Together with modernization and urbanization processes, increasing education levels in urban areas have caused changes in society and family life, too (Fisek, 1993). These changes provide a dynamic environment to study families going through the adaptation processes. Therefore, this study focuses on people who live in urban areas with migration history in their families.

Since the study is carried out in the concept of new family formation, marriage and wedding concepts are analyzed to give insights. The wedding process is accepted as the initial activities to start a new family. Therefore, people, who got married one year before the research, participated in the interviews.

The framework which is used as a basis for this study is offered by Epp and Price (2008). It shows the dimensions constituting a family identity and identity interplays in consumption practices. Therefore, this framework provides an efficient and detailed outline to design this research.

3.2. Research Sample

This research uses Turkey as the main environment to study family identity. Turkey is a country standing between East and West, and it has gone through several social and economic reforms resulting in radical changes in society (Ataca, Kagitcibasi & Dir, 2005). Large amount of population in rural has migrated to urban areas (Sunar & Fisek, 2005). After 1950s, migration has increased due to increasing urbanization (Sertkaya Dogan, 2015). This internal migration resulted in the fact that 25% of population was living in the biggest three cities of Turkey in 2016 (Yuksel et al., 2016). Due to this demographic change, urbanization and modernization concepts provide fields to study. Beside increasing urbanization, increasing education level is also intended to be studied. Therefore, the focus of this study is on educated people

living in these three cities. Since another aspect of this study is examination of new family formation process, the sample is narrowed to people who have been married for one year at most. As specific features of the sample are identified with the scope of the study, convenience sampling is used as the sampling technique.

Convenience sampling use a sample including people who are “readily available”, and it is easy to contact them (Higginbottom, 2004). One drawback of this technique is that it is likely that the sample is highly familiar, and this situation may mislead the researcher to generalize (Koerber & McMichael, 2008). On the other hand, an advantage of this technique is that since the researcher is familiar with the sample, the sample would provide a richness of data (Koerber & McMichael, 2008). Another reason for selection of this technique is the familiarity of the researcher with this specific segment. The researcher lives in the capital city of Turkey, Ankara. Therefore, the participants were selected from Ankara. All participants, except one, had at least university degree. Since the aim was to study newly-weds, range of age was formed by itself.

In general, the sample consists of educated-middle class people living in the capital city of Turkey, Ankara. The research was carried out between 2015 and 2016, and at that time the participants were married for approximately 4-12 months. Six newly-wed couples were interviewed resulting in twelve separate interviews. All participants work with individual income. While parents of some participants live in Ankara, parents of some live in different cities. Also, mostly, hometowns of participants are different belonging to different regions of Turkey.

Detailed information about the research sample is given in table below. The ages written in the table is the ages of participants when these interviews were made. The participating families are given numbers in order to be used in the analysis.

Table 3.1 Participant Profiles

Who	Age	Occupation	Education	Father	Mother	Where does the family live?	Hometown
Family 1 /Husband	31	Mechanical Engineer	University	Banker	Teacher	Denizli	Denizli / Denizli
Family 1 /Wife	27	Industrial Designer	University	Electric Engineer	Economist	Ankara	Bosnia-Herzegovina
Family 2 /Husband	32	Sales person	University	Retired policeman	Teacher	Ankara	Ordu / Konya
Family 2 /Wife	29	Lawyer	University	Administrator at hospital	Housewife	Erzincan	Erzincan
Family 3 /Husband	30	Electric-Electronic Engineer	Graduate	Deceased	State official	Ankara	Denizli / Kayseri
Family 3 /Wife	30	Dentist	Graduate	Retired	Deceased	Kastamonu	Kırıkkale / Eskişehir
Family 4 /Husband	31	Hyperbaric oxygen therapy specialist	Associate's degree	Retired math teacher	State official	Ankara	Çankırı / Ankara
Family 4 /Wife	30	Science teacher	University	Retired state official	Retired state official	Ankara	Kırşehir / Aksaray
Family 5 /Husband	27	Electric-Electronic Engineer	University	Driver	Housewife	Ankara	Sivas / Ankara
Family 5 /Wife	27	Dentist	University	Lawyer	Housewife	Manisa	Manisa
Family 6 /Husband	27	Electric-Electronic Engineer	University	Tradesman	Housewife	Denizli	Bartın / Denizli
Family 6 /Wife	27	Research assistant in METU	Graduate	Retired soldier	Housewife	Ankara	Muş / Muş

3.3. Data Collection Method

For the data collection, in depth interviews were used. The interviews consist of 25 questions. However, there are open-ended questions in order to enable the interviewee to lead the conversation. Also, it was tried to eliminate “why” questions, because it was thought that this type of questions could force the interviewee to try to justify their actions, and they would be biased. The questions were prepared based on the framework offered by Epp and Price (2008). In the framework, there are certain categories providing an open and efficient outline to design the interview. Since the research is carried out through wedding rituals, these rituals formed the

sequence of the interview. The interview follows the order of rituals in the wedding process. Ritual was one segment of the framework, but other segments were also embedded in the questions. There are two main categories in the framework, which are communication forms and moderators. Most of the communication forms were asked directly to the interviewee. Some moderators were also emphasized directly, whereas some of them were interpreted from the findings. There are also marketplace resources in the framework, which are objects, brands, services and activities. These marketplace resources were embedded in every segment of the interview. Moreover, the framework suggests that there are different identity interplays in a family; therefore, in each segment of the interview, it was tried to find out these interplays. An implication offered by Epp & Price (2008) was the use of this framework to study family decision-making processes. For this aim, it was questioned for each activity or ritual who made the decisions. The interview starts with questions related to family term in order to understand the family perceptions and structures of the participants. Then, it continues with the questions based on the framework as explained.

The average duration of the interviews was ninety minutes. To enable the interviewer to be involved in the conversation easily, the interview was recorded with a recorder instead of note-taking. All questions were asked to the interviewees, but the interviewer followed how the interview was directed by the interviewee, and adapted the questions or added new questions, accordingly.

3.4. Data Analysis

After the interviews were complete, they were transcribed for an easier analysis. The interview was designed in categories; therefore, the analysis started with these categories. These categories were wedding rituals and family-related categories. After the transcription, each participants' responses were categorized in accordance.

The responses from the participants were in line with the categories defined at first. Therefore, it was possible to make this categorization in findings. After searching for commonalities between the participants, the categories constituted are family perceptions and family structures, the process from meeting to deciding to get married, the marriage proposal, diamond ring and wedding rings, asking for bride's hand and engagement rituals, shopping for the bride and "bohça", preparations for

the henna night, the henna night and the rituals, preparation and shopping for the wedding, fetching the bride ritual and the wedding day. The participant responses are divided in these categories to give insight and find common points. In the finding section, these data are given under these categories. In the discussion section, the data given in the findings section are interpreted in a search for answers to the research questions.

3.5. Limitations

The major limitation of this study is lack of using triangulation techniques. For the research method, only one technique, which is in-depth interview, was used. The context of this study offers use of observation and visual material techniques, easily.

This research was carried out with in-depth interviews. However, there are some limitations of in-depth interview techniques defined by Boyce and Neale (2006). Firstly, they are open to any bias. Respondents may be biased to delineate the subjects in their favor. Also, these interviews may be time intensive because beside making the interviews, transcription and analysis also take time. Moreover, it is necessary that the interviewer has sufficient training to obtain most detailed and rich data from the respondent. Lastly, it may be difficult to generalize the results since samples may be small and random sampling methods are not involved. Therefore, it would give more insight if other qualitative research methods, such as observation were involved, too.

Another limitation was the sample size. It could be larger to have more variety between the participants. By this way, the data collected could be richer.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

In this study, new family formation process is examined. In this process, it is focused on the family identity, and a framework of identity interplay in consumption processes offered by Epp and Price (2008) is used. The research was carried out in two main segments. Firstly, it was aimed to understand family structures and family perceptions of the participants. Secondly, the wedding process starting from proposal to the wedding day was examined in order to understand the utilization of the framework in new family formation process and family decision-making practices in this process. Therefore, in this section, firstly, the data collected from the participants concerning the term “family” is given. Then, the process of wedding for each participant is explained. Overall, this chapter illustrates results of the research questions specific to the sample of this research, which consists of urban-educated newly-weds.

4.1. The Family Structures and Perceptions

In order to understand the family perception of the sample, they were firstly asked about who belongs to their families. There were different opinions, even between the spouses. While family 1, 3 and 4 have member agreement in this context, family 2, 5 and 6 do not have member agreement. In the family 1, both husband and wife define family members as mother, father, siblings and family-in-law. In this family, there is one difference. The husband does not perceive his wife as another member of the family, he believes that he and his wife constitute one member together, so they do not form a nuclear family, rather they belong to one and only family consisting of families of him and his wife. In the family 3, they see themselves and their spouse as the nuclear family. After this nuclear family, their own family comes. For the husband, after his own family, comes the family-in-law. For the family 4, the family

perception is similar to family 1; it is their own families, their spouse and family-in-law. In this family, the husband even adds grandparents, uncles and aunts to the family. For the family 2, 5 and 6, who did not have member agreement, the difference is mainly the family-in-law. In the family 2, while the wife defines the family as herself and her husband only, the husband states that the family members were his mother, father and sister until marriage, and after marriage, his wife and his family-in-law were added. The husband of family 5, sees himself and his wife as the nuclear family, and then comes his family and family-in-law. For the wife, there is not this kind of distinction. For her, the family is herself, her father, mother, sister and husband. In the family 6, for the wife, “family” term does not recall her husband. She says that the family consists of her mother, father and sister, but for the husband, the family is his father, mother, two brothers and his wife. Overall, it is possible to say that there is not one rigid family perception in this transition process among middle-class, educated, urban population. The main difference is that the term “family” is not associated with family-in-law for some participants.

In terms of the factors that constitute a family, there are some mutual responses from the participants. The most common factors are love and respect. Also, commitment, trust and being with each other in good or bad times are some common factors building a family for some participants. The factors mentioned only once were getting along with each other, moving parallel, having mutual mindsets, believing in each other, mutual understanding, tolerance, unity, integrity, solidarity, happiness, sharing the same household and budget and accepting each other as they are. Since “love” and “respect” were seen as factors for most of the participants, they also provide member agreement among this specific sample group.

In order to have an overview of the families of the participants, their hometown and current residence are asked. All of the participants live in Ankara, but their hometowns are different, and families of some live in other cities. In the family 1, the husband’s hometown is Denizli, and the wife is actually from Bosnia-Herzegovina. In the family 2, while the husband’s hometowns are Ordu and Konya, the wife is from Erzincan. In the family 3, the husband’s origin is a mixture of Ankara, Denizli and Kayseri. The hometowns of the wife’s parents are Kırıkkale and Eskişehir, but the parents migrated to Kastamonu for work, and the children were

born there. In the family 4, the husbands's parents are from Çankırı and Ankara, while the wife's parents are from Kırşehir and Aksaray. The wife of the family 5 is from Manisa, and the husband is from Sivas. Lastly, in the family 6, the wife is from Muş, whereas the husband's parents are from Denizli and Bartın. These findings suggest that the sample also complies with trend of internal migration to major cities in Turkey (Yuksel et al., 2016).

Although each participant lives in the same city, Ankara, their hometowns are different which may result in cultural differences between the spouses. Some participants even have two hometowns of their mothers and fathers, separately. Another point is that the cities some parents are living in the present are different than their hometowns. The parents of the wife of family 1, husband of family 2, both husband and wife of family 4, husband of family 5 and wife of family 6 live in Ankara. Also, the father of husband of family 3 is deceased, and his mother lives in Ankara. The other participants, whose parents live in another city, have come to Ankara for university education and settled in for work. This situation suggests that "urban" feature of the sample of this research is relatively new. Generally, they are either migrants themselves or children of migrants.

In order to have more understanding of the families, the occupations of the parents were asked. The father of husband of family 3 and mother of wife of family 3 are deceased. The fathers of all participants have had active jobs, five of them are retired, but the rest of them continues working. For the mothers of the participants, some of them continue working, some of them are retired, and some of them are housewives.

In the family 1, when they define their own family and family-in-law, both husband and wife state that the families are quite similar. There is harmony between them. The husband defines his family as a sharing family with close bonds supporting each other, whereas he defines his family-in-law as only saying that they are the same with his own family. The wife describes his family as very close. They share most of the things, and they are very tight-knit. The reason for this closeness is that they have escaped from war in Bosnia and Herzegovina and come to another country, then they have become the citizen of that country. Therefore, they are very close. Her family-in-law wonders less. She describes her family-in-law as similar to her own family and respectful.

In the family 2, both the husband and wife describe the husband's family similarly, that they are well-educated, keen on their children and have good economic conditions. The husband says that both families have similar structures. The difference is that his family is an "investor family", but his family-in-law lives in the moment. Also, the husband states that his family-in-law is more traditional since they live in a traditional region. Even though they are not as conservative as the society there, there is peer pressure. The wife describes her current family as a very new, small and middle-class in terms of economic conditions.

In the family 3, similarly, the husband describes his nuclear family and says that they are comfortable, interdependent, enjoyable and patriarchal. Also, they appreciate the parents. He defines his family-in-law as educated and literate. He also says that two families are similar in terms of economic conditions; slightly above middle class and states that it is very important that two families are similar, economically. The wife defines his own family as prestigious in terms of culture where they live. She also says that both families are similar in terms of child-rearing practices and being prestigious.

In the family 4, the husband illustrates his family as a wide family with love and respect. It belongs to the middle-class in terms economic conditions, but in terms of happiness and peace they are at high level, and the family maintains its integrity. He describes his family-in-law in the same way; a family with integrity, love and respect. He says that in terms of love and respect they are superior to his own family and that he finds different ways of happiness there. They also have moral. He also states that two families are similar since their hometowns are in the same region of Turkey. The wife uses similar adjectives to define her own family. Although they do not meet every condition, they know religious orders. They are not unconstrained or strict totally, they are in the middle. She delineates her family-in-law as calm, peaceful and happy. They are in between conservatism and modernity, closer to modernity.

In the family 5, the husband defines his own family as committed. They have good economic conditions, and they are in the good segment of the society in general. He says that his family-in-law has good communication skills and they are in the good segment of the society, too. The wife describes the family she forms with her husband

as comfortable and natural. They respect and support each other. She states that her family-in-law is a small family, and they are protective and supportive.

In the family 6, the husband defines his own family as a “classical family”. He compares his family with family-in-law and states that they are very similar. Especially, the fathers are very alike. Both of mothers have the same mindsets even though they are from different regions of Turkey. The wife describes her family as being connected to each other. Her father is dominant since he is a retired soldier. Everything is talked and known by each member. She makes a comparison about this between her family and family-in-law. She says that her father-in-law does not share any problem with the children, so they do not know anything. While illustrating her family-in-law, she talks about how good they are at child-rearing. The father has an authority, but the children love him. Also, they give importance to the kinship network, and this situation has been hard for her to adapt.

Overall, although in Turkey, there have been both nuclear and extended family types together (Senturk et al., 2011), it is seen that participants of this research have nuclear families. Moreover, this sample is in line with the literature, which suggests that in Turkey, there are close relationships between parents and children, siblings or cousins (Ataca et al., 2005). It is also stated that children (whether male or female) live together with their families until they are married (Bastug, 2002; Hortacsu, 1995). This sample also gives the same outcome. The participants whose parents also live in Ankara have lived together with their families until marriage. The other participants have left their parents’ home to migrate to Ankara for education.

4.2. The Process from Meeting to Deciding to Get Married

The analysis of the marriage process starts from asking how the couples met each other and how their relationships started. These steps are asked to have a better understanding of the family formation process of middle-class, urban and educated people. There is similarity between the participants in terms of how they meet. The family 1 met at workplace, where the husband was an engineer, and the wife was an intern. The husband initiated the process, and they both decided to start a relationship together. Family 2 saw each other at a birthday event of a friend. In the initiation of relationship, there were efforts of their friends. The family 3 also had mutual friends,

they went to a restaurant and met there. After a month, the relationship started. For the meeting of the family 4, there is an influence of families. Families of both had a mutual friend who thought that they would have harmony. Since both trusted her, they met and started the relationship. The last decision belonged to the couple. How the family 5 and 6 met were similar to each other. The family 5 had mutual friends, went to the same activity and met there. Similarly, the family 6 met at a birthday event of a friend. Both families started their relationships by themselves. Overall, it is seen that except family 4, all participants met their spouses randomly, usually through events of mutual friends. The decision to start the relationship was also all participants' own decisions. In a research, it is stated that in more collectivistic environments, marriages are arranged, or they are started by the older members of families or external families (Imamoglu & Selcuk, 2017). Turkey is also a collectivistic country (Hofstede, 1980). However, it is also stated that urban population in Turkey is less collectivistic (Fisek & Sunar, 2015). Similarly, it is argued that the affinal marriage is common in the urban areas with better educated young population (Adams & Trost, 2004). In terms of affinal marriage, families may have influence on introduction of couples (Ataca et al., 2005), which is observed in family 4 of this study. The sample of this research shows the same features of this population, and it is observed that they also had affinal marriages, which is also called as self-choice (Imamoglu et al., 2019). Moreover, there were influences of friends in this decision-making process of the sample.

In the family 1, the husband drove the relationship towards marriage. After one year of relationship, he proposed. The wife hesitated at first and was scared. She wanted to get married, but she thought that it would be later. It was a surprise for her, but when he proposed, she accepted. In the family 2, it was a mutual decision to get married. The process until this decision moved slowly, it was not a sudden decision. They thought it was the time to get married. One factor was that their families met and after that, the families also pushed the process. Another factor was that people around them who belonged to the same generation were getting married, so they were also affected from that. In the family 3, the relationship was driven to marriage due to time, age, conditions and observing the peers. The wife was expecting a propose. People around them started to get married and this pushed the process. The husband says that after a certain age, relationships turn into marriage. For the family 4, the

process moved very quickly. Their families were aware of the relationship from the beginning and approving it. The husband insisted a lot to get married, the wife was thinking to do it later, but they decided to get married suddenly. The opinions of the families were very important. After approximately five years of relationship, the family 5 decided to get married. After they were both graduated, the wife wanted to get married, but the husband did not. He was waiting to improve his economic conditions. However, her family was living in another city, Manisa, and she was going to have to go back to Manisa since she was graduated, and her father did not know that she had a boyfriend. The only way she could stay in the same city with him was to get married, so they decided to get married. During their relationship, getting married was always in mind of the husband of family 6. After seeing all positive aspects of his wife, he was in the mood of getting married. He expected graduation and completing the military service. He had to complete the military service, otherwise, his father-in-law would not have given permission for marriage. The wife says that having a relationship for long provides that they know each other well. Also, there was peer pressure asking when they would get married.

In general, in the relationships of middle-class, urban and educated people longer than one-two years, the main factor was the time. After a long time together, they felt that it was time to get married. Also, there was influence of people around them. Especially, people in the same generation get married at the same time, so the others start thinking they should also get married. In shorter relationships, the process was driven by one of the couple, then the other accepted. Another factor influencing these decisions was families. The factor of families show that although people of this sample have urban and modernized features, there are still influence of families. This situation can also be explained with the combination of traditional and modern values in Turkey (Ataca et al., 2005).

4.3. The Marriage Proposal, Diamond Ring and Wedding Rings

In each participant family, there was a special marriage proposal. In some families, it occurred after deciding to get married, in some, it was a way to decide to get married. Two of the proposals were made in another cities, but others were made in the same city they live.

For the family 1, there was not any marriage decision made before the proposal. The husband prepared a surprise organization, and the wife accepted to get married in that organization. The organization was planned by the husband, and the twin sister of the wife helped him. He also invited close friends to the organization. He prepared a scene in the university where they were both graduated from. He placed torches and balloons through a path and attached some photos representing some milestones for the couple. There were also some writings behind the photos. He bought the diamond ring before, and for this, his sister-in-law helped him by measuring the size of finger of his wife. On the organization day, he tricked his wife saying another event was going to happen in the university. When she came, she saw the surprise scene. He played a music through his phone, she collected all the photos and in the last photo, it said "Will you marry me?". He proposed with a ring by kneeling. After she said "yes", their friends came from where they were hiding. They taped all the ceremony with camera.

In the family 2, the propose came after they decided to get married. Therefore, it would not have been a surprise. However, the husband thought that his wife would expect a proposal, and he wanted it to be a surprise, so he pretended as if there was going to be no proposal. By this way, it was a surprise for his wife. He planned an organization and invited 30-49 friends. They prepared a scene outside with confetti, Japanese lanterns and a background song. They also prepared two cameras to tape the ceremony. They closed the road, he kneeled suddenly and proposed. She cried, and then they celebrated together.

The wife of the family 3 was in expectation of a proposal. The husband prepared a surprise organization. He brought her to a lake, they took a boat out, and after some time, their friends came near them with five small boats. One of them was decorated with balloons, in another one, there were roses. A music was playing in another one. Then, he read a poem and proposed by kneeling. There was also champagne.

The husband of family 4, planned a trip to Istanbul with his wife. She guessed that there would be a proposal in the trip. He bought a ring before, and he proposed the day they arrived in Istanbul. However, there were some misfortunes. It was too hot, he was tired and very excited, and sick. The place was Istanbul Modern. The first plan was that the groom's sister was going to come with her friends in a boat and had

a message board with "Say Yes" writing on it, but they couldn't do. As an alternative plan, he put a writing "Will you marry me" on the menu. He says that it was plain but beautiful. The place was near the sea with Topkapı Palace view. It was an astonishing place. It was very expensive, but he couldn't eat anything due to excitement. The wife says that she keeps that writing.

In the case of family 5, they had to get married because if they did not, the wife of the family would have to go back to her town. However, she had an important exam which was going to influence her career. The husband of the family decided to propose after the exam, but since they kept arguing about it, he could not wait. He wanted to prepare a surprise. The wife had told him not to propose at home or in a restaurant with candles which she defines as "classical", but she says that he did everything she had told him not to. He bought 25-26 roses, one for each of her age, a huge bouquet of flower and prepared writings. He made a reservation in a romantic restaurant they liked a lot. She was not expecting that proposal. When she opened the door and understood, she said no and closed the door. They argued. Then, she accepted, got prepared and they went to the restaurant. He proposed there.

In the family 6, the proposal came after they decided to get married and told families. The husband wanted to prepare a surprise. He made plans three months ahead. His wife was in love with Paris, they were going to go to Spain together. He planned a one-day trip to Paris from Spain without telling his wife. This period of waiting was disturbing for his wife, and she told him that she was expecting the proposal, and he told her to wait. Although, the decision was made, a proposal in Paris was still a surprise for her.

The common point of all proposals was the surprise effect. Even though the decision to get married was made mutually, the husbands of the families tried to make it as surprising as possible. Also, most of the wives were in expectation for a proposal, they thought it would be a surprise organization. Moreover, in each proposal, detailed organizations were planned by the husbands. In most cases, there were someone helping, and they were friends of the couples. They both helped the organizations and participated the ceremony. Furthermore, there were objects as central elements of the organizations. The diamond ring was the mutual one. There were also other objects such as flowers, balloons, special writings etc. As the sample represents

middle-class, urban, educated people, it can be interpreted that proposal with a diamond ring was a common expectation. Also, this ritual gives an example of combination of traditional and modern/Western values (Ataca et al., 2005). When the traditional way of getting married in Turkey is searched, proposal with a diamond ring is not one of the rituals (Duruturk, 2008). Therefore, this ritual of proposal can be considered as a way of implementation of modern values for middle-class, urban, educated population.

The diamond ring was the main object of all proposal organizations. It was asked to both husbands and wives in order to understand the selection process of the husbands and expectations of the wives, as well as the assigned meanings. The husband of family 1 bought the diamond ring with his family. They went to a place they had acquaintance with in Denizli, where his family lived. They first made market research because he says that it is a dangerous sector. Also, as it was a surprise, his sister-in-law helped him to learn the size of the ring finger of his wife. The wife does not like wearing the diamond ring, and it does not mean anything for her. The wife of family 2 said to her husband that she did not want any diamond rings. However, her husband thought that it was an accessory and instrument of the proposal ceremony, and he had to buy. He says that he did not put him in a difficult position financially, so he bought a middle-level diamond ring. He also says that each jewelry's shop sells the same ring with different prices, so it is necessary to be careful. The husband of the family 3 made several researches through the Internet. He also asked his friends, as well as jewelry's shops and bought the ring from a place from where a friend of his had bought a ring before. He went there with a friend, and they both bought a ring. The diamond ring does not mean anything for him, but he thinks that it means a lot for women. He took his wife to a jewelry's shop in order to learn her ring size without ruining the surprise. The wife was in expectation and likes her ring. She thinks the financial value of the ring is important to a point, but the spiritual meaning is more important. The wife of the family 4 thinks that the diamond had more meanings in the period from the proposal to the engagement. After engagement, she has worn it as an accessory. She does not wear it, regularly. In the family 5, the wife had selected the type of diamond ring before the proposal and told her cousin. The husband learned this from the cousin and bought according to it. The wife chose the structure of the ring where the stone is mounted, and the husband decided on the size of the

stone. He had made several researches online and learned about the diamond rings not to be tricked. Then, he chose a ring which had the structure his wife wanted and a big stone, and other features were at medium level. The husband of the family 6 asked a friend who knew the diamond rings well and learned from him. Then bought the ring from the jewelry's shop that is acquaintance with that friend of him. He went there with a close friend of his wife, and they chose a ring within their budget based on the information he got from his friend. The wife did not have any special expectations or knowledge about the diamond rings. She perceives it only as a symbol and does not give too much importance. She says that there should be a ring, but it should be at minimum. The ring she got was bigger than she expected.

In general, the husbands of the families have made market research before they bought the diamond ring. They also asked friends and looked online for information. Also, they tried not to put themselves in a difficult position, financially, and bought rings within their budgets. Moreover, for most of the wives, the diamond ring does not mean a lot. They do not give too much importance to the financial value of the rings, but there was a general expectation of a diamond ring regardless of its size or financial value. Some participants have assigned meanings to their diamond rings.

Beside the diamond ring, there are also wedding rings which are bought later in the process. The family 1 bought their wedding rings together from a jeweler's shop in Kızılay. They both wanted to buy a very thin and simple ring that is not too yellow. She does not like wearing the wedding ring, too. She says that she would not wear it if her husband lets her. However, the husband assigns meanings to the wedding ring. He perceives it as a "protector" for women. Also, it allows him to be more comfortable next to women at workplace knowing that they would not misunderstand. The family 3 also bought their wedding rings together from a mall in Ankara. The husband liked a ring he had seen in a movie and bought something similar to it. He says that the wedding ring has a meaning representing what is between him and his wife. The wife wears both her diamond ring and wedding ring, and she thinks that her wedding ring is more meaningful than the other. Similarly, the family 4 purchased their wedding rings together from the jewelry's shop of husband's cousin. His father wanted them to buy from that place, but since they could not go to any other place, and there were not too many alternatives in that shop, they

had to buy rings that they did not like too much. They wanted simpler rings. He says that it is something they will wear through a lifetime, because of that, they regret it. The family 6 bought the wedding rings from the same place where the husband bought the diamond ring from.

The wedding rings differ from the diamond rings in the sense that they are worn all the time and will be worn through a lifetime. Another difference is that they are selected by both spouses depending on their taste. Also, it is the representation of traditional part of traditional-modern hybrid of values in Turkey, which all participants performed (Ataca et al., 2005).

4.4. Asking for Bride's Hand and Engagement Rituals

After the participants decided getting married, the process of marriage started. The process starts with asking for bride's hand, followed by engagement. After that henna night and wedding ceremonies are carried out. Also, during the period, some participants performed some gift exchange between the families called "bohça" and "shopping for the bride" tradition. There are differences between the participants, but most of these processes are common among them. Beside these traditions, some participants added "bachelorette party" to this process which may be interpreted as a result of Westernization. Also, some women participants went to Turkish baths with their friends or close relatives, because it was also a tradition called "bridal bath".

Each couple carried out "asking for bride's hand" ceremony. In this ceremony, the groom's side visits family of the bride and asks bride's father's permission for marriage. It takes place in the house of bride's family, so the groom's family has to go wherever they are. The families of both husband and wife of the family 4 live in Ankara, so they did not need to travel for this ceremony, whereas, it was different for other families. Although there were geographic barriers, they did not skip this step. However, there was a modification for most of the participants which integrated "asking for bride's hand" and engagement ceremonies. Family 1, 3, 4 and 6 went through this modification by carrying out these two ceremonies together at the home of bride's family. "Asking for bride's hand" and engagement ceremonies were in the same day for the family 2, too, but the first one was in the day time at home, and the engagement was in a place rented specially for this event. Only family 5 completed

these ceremonies in separate dates, and while “asking for bride’s hand” happened at home of the bride’s family, similar to family 2, engagement ceremony was in another place. In general, this step of marriage procedure shows that it is possible to make modifications of traditions in accordance with needs and conditions among middle-class, urban, educated population, even though they have migration history which brings traditional values together (Adams & Trost, 2004).

4.5. Shopping for the Bride and “Bohça” Rituals

After these ceremonies, participants performed some shopping rituals. One ritual is shopping for the bride. The other one is preparing “bohça”. “Bohça” is prepared by both families of the bride and groom, and it consists of gifts for the members of the other family. Some participant made shopping for bride and “bohça” at the same time. The “bohça” tradition was in use for family 1, 2, 4, 5 and 6. Only family 3 did not prepare any “bohça”. “Shopping for the bride” ritual was also carried out by family 1, 4, 5 and 6.

In the family 1, while preparing gifts for the bride and the groom, the families asked for their opinions or bought some items together. The families did not want to buy anything that the bride and groom would not like. There was also shopping for the bride ritual. This shopping was carried out by different subgroups at different times. It was sometimes the husband and his mother, sometimes the wife and her mother-in-law and sometimes the husband, the wife and her sister. Sometimes, the mother of the husband bought something by herself, but always asked opinions of her son or daughter-in-law. The things bought for the bride were cosmetics, underwear, lingerie, pajamas, shoes, hairdryer, cloths etc. The wife enjoyed unpacking them and says that it was like getting too many gifts. The shopping was done in the malls and Ulus, a traditional place. These gifts, bohça, were put together and prepared with elaboration. In the family 1, the husband says that he and his mother prepared them together, and every detail was handmade. He defines this process as very enjoyable. He likes “do-it-yourself” practices in general. The bride also says that the “bohça”s were very sweet. In the case of this family, there is a modification, adapting a tradition. The husband states that traditionally, these gifts would be given in a chest, but he thought that chest would not be useful. Therefore, he bought a suitcase, they put the gifts in

this suitcase. The bride's family also prepared gifts for the groom consisting of shirt, trousers, cardigan, underwear and slippers.

In the family 2, both families prepared gifts. There was not a shopping for the bride ritual. The wife's family prepared little souvenirs for the mother, father and sister of the husband such as shirt, scarf, underwear, towel etc. There was a difference between two families. The family of the wife prepared special "bohça" for the gifts, but the family of the husband did not know this way of giving. They just gave what they bought as normal gifts. The family of the wife is more traditional. Another thing is that the family of the wife wanted to buy a watch for the husband, but he did not want them to buy.

The family 3 did not carry out shopping for the bride as a special ritual. Instead, the wife and the husband bought whatever they wanted by themselves. Also, there was not any "bohça" ritual.

In the family 4, the shopping for the bride and "bohça" were made together. It was a tradition of both families. The wife, her sister, mother and mother-in-law went together. There was a place, Anafartalar Çarşısı, and it was traditional to do this shopping in that place. Sellers in the shops knew about the traditions and guided them about where to buy which item. The family of the husband bought underwear, night clothes, daily cloths, bag, shoes, makeup materials etc. for the bride. Similarly, the family of the wife bought pajamas, socks etc. for the groom. One tradition the family of the wife did not know before was that the family of the husband had to buy dress for the wedding for the sister of the bride. Similar to family 1, they bought a suitcase to put everything bought in it. Another adaptation was that the family of the husband was supposed to bring these gifts to the bride later, but instead, they brought these things directly to the new home of the couple. The wife enjoyed the process, while the husband does not have much idea since he was not directly in the process.

The "bohça" ritual was a tradition for both families of wife and husband of the family 5. These families were in different cities. The mother of the wife came to Ankara where the family of the husband lived. Since she did not know Ankara well, the mother of the husband chose the place for shopping. Two mothers and the couple did the shopping together. For the wife, dress for engagement, underwear, etc. and for

the husband, suit for the engagement, pajamas, underwear etc. were bought. There was a place, Soysal Pasajı, in Ankara in which items related to “bohça” were sold. Similar to family 4, the sellers directed them to buy things. Also, the wife says that she did not enjoy this shopping neither the mothers, because of the attitudes of the seller while buying the underwear. She was so tensed. Also, she defines them as spending money for nothing. Neither she nor her husband uses some items bought. Beside this shopping together, the mothers also prepared gifts for the relatives. Beside the wife and husband and their parents and siblings, gifts for grandparents were also prepared. They were also influenced from people around them. For example, one friend told the family of the husband that for the people of Aegean region, where the other family lived, it was necessary to put bathrobe, towel, soap etc., so they bought these items, too. The family of the husband brought the “bohça”s in two chests to the home of family of the wife, who also prepared huge “bohça”s for them. The family of the husband also brought dessert and “börek” with them to “make people’s mouth sweet”. It was one of their traditions. The father of the wife also gave dessert (baklava) to the other family to distribute to people in where they lived. These traditions were reciprocal.

There was also “bohça” tradition in the family 6. Both families prepared for each other. At first, they agreed that they would not prepare too much “bohça”s, it was an adaptation. However, still, there were many gifts. The family of the wife prepared “bohça”s for the parents, siblings and grandparents. They elaborated a lot, prepared with special care. Every ornament and lace were sewed, specially. The mother of wife gave too much importance. She wanted everything to be in harmony. The family of the husband also prepared with special care, and they also bought a chest. Since the families were in different cities, they did not come together a lot. The couple took care of bringing the “bohça”s. For the shopping, the couple bought some items such as makeup materials and gave the parents to put in the “bohça”s. Also, they went to shopping with mother and aunt of the husband in Denizli, where they live. Unlike family 5, the husband was not involved in the shopping of underwear. He waited away from them. The family of the husband wanted to buy things that their daughter-in-law would love, so they did shopping together with her. However, the wife did not want to spend money for the things she would not wear only for it was tradition, so tried to buy the cheap ones. In the preparation of the “bohça”s the husband was doing

his military service, so the wife was directly in the process. She says that too much money was spent. Also, there was an adaptation of the “bohça” tradition. It was supposed to be given before the engagement, but since there was limited time before the engagement, they did it later.

In general, “bohça” and “shopping for the bride” traditions were made by most families. The parents wanted to carry out this tradition, but they gave importance to the opinions of the couple. Therefore, they went to shopping with them or asked for their opinions. Some participants think that this process is not worth spending money. Also, the items bought in this process was similar in each family. The main idea was to equip the couple with necessary items from underwear to shoes or makeup materials. Another common point is the special elaboration. Beside the gifts, how these “bohça”s were prepared was also very important. There was also adaptation of the traditions such as using suitcase instead of a chest. Lastly, in the selection of the places to buy things was influenced by the traditions in some families. These ways of adaptation can be interpreted as adaptation to new context of families who have migrated to urban cities in Turkey (Sunar & Fisek, 2005). Also, it is said that there is an increasing independent orientation in urban areas in Turkey, specifically among adolescents (Mayer & Trommsdorff, 2012). The sensitivity of mothers about their children’s opinions or the way the participants did shopping by themselves can be example for this orientation.

4.6. Preparations for the Henna Night

The henna night is carried out in the home of bride’s family traditionally with only women participants, one day before the wedding day (The Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Turkey, n.d). However, it was different for most participants of this study. Firstly, the concept of the henna night was influenced and adapted by the fact that families lived in different cities. Except the family 4, the families of wife and husband live in different cities. In each case, the wedding was done where the family of the husband lived, and the henna night was carried out where the family of the wife lived. However, when the wedding was in another city, it was hard for the family of the bride to invite people to a wedding in another city. Therefore, some families integrated the henna night with wedding, so that their guests could come to a wedding, easily. Family 2 and 6 carried out this integration process

which resulted in having two weddings. The concept was that the ceremony started as a wedding, except an official ceremony. The bride wore her wedding dress, and the groom wore his wedding suit. After doing wedding activities for some time, the bride changed her dress with the traditional henna night dress, called “bindallı”, and henna night rituals took place. Although the families of wife and husband of family 1 lives in different cities, they did not prepare two weddings, only henna night was carried out where the family of the wife lived. In case of family 5, they had two weddings in two different cities, but they carried out the henna night separately. In the family 3, the mother of the wife is deceased. Since the henna night is associated with mother and daughter relationship, she did not want to have a henna night knowing that it would be too dramatic. Instead, they had bachelorette parties.

The family 1 selected the place for the henna night based on affordability and proximity to the family of the wife. Also, the couple did not want to rent a bad wedding place. The sister of the wife was responsible for the organization of the henna night. She found appropriate places, and the couple chose one. The families did not have influence. Also, they took advice from people who got married before. The place does not mean anything to husband and wife, but the wife says that after them, her sister’s henna night was also in the same place. There is only that meaning for her. In the family 2, there was integration of henna night and wedding. The wife says that she wanted people in their hometown to see her with her wedding dress. The place was the recreational facility for policemen. The reasons for selection was affordability, proximity to the home of family of the bride and the fact that it was a known place. The father of the husband is a retired policeman, so they recommended that place to the family of the wife, and they accepted, since there was going to be discount. This wedding-henna night was financed by the family of the bride. The place does not mean anything to husband and wife. In the family 3, the mother of the husband asked if they would do henna night. The wife did not want and explained to her mother-in-law. Her mother had passed away, so she thought it would be too emotional, traumatic and she couldn't bare it. She wanted to enjoy the process not have trauma. The others accepted not to have henna night. She also thinks it is meaninglessly tiring. In the case of family 4, both families and the couple live in the same city. The family of the wife selected the place, since they paid for it. She defines the place as an ordinary place. The selection was made by her and her parents. They

knew the place before. The reasons for this place was its affordability and proximity to the home of family of the wife. The place does not mean anything for the bride, but it does mean something for the husband. He says that it is the place where they had their henna night. He states that the henna night was religious in a way, and he believes that nobody had bad intentions at that moment and that it would be beneficial for the couple. The family 5 carried out two weddings in two cities; therefore, they wanted to keep the henna night simpler. It was in the village home of the grandmother of the wife. It had a garden, and the weather was cool there even though it was summer. Since they had a busy schedule, the couple wanted to have in this way and convinced the others. Also, the wife liked the place since it was a place where normally, they gather together as a family. The family 6 integrated the henna night and wedding similar to family 2. The mother of the wife had influence on this decision. She said that she would like to organize a wedding for her daughter. Also, they thought that it would be easier for their relatives to get together in Ankara, because their relatives were dispersed in different cities. For the place selection, the couple considered both wedding and henna night. They searched online, especially a website “dugun.com”. The couple looked for the places. Since the family of the bride paid for it, the couple did not want it to be too expensive. The selection was based on the fact that the place had high ceiling, large dance-floor, no colons with a wide seating arrangement. After they chose the place, they showed to the family. The father of the wife wanted another place, but then he accepted.

There was also shopping made specially for the henna night. Some of the objects bought for the henna night was common between the participants. The first one is the traditional henna night dress which is called as “bindallı”. Each bride wore “bindallı” in their henna nights. The wives of family 2, 4 and 6 bought a new “bindallı”. The wife of family 2 did not give too much importance to this dress. Since her family lived in another city, and the henna night was going be in that city, she let her mother buy a “bindallı” for her. The wife of family 4 bought this dress from the same place she bought her wedding dress. It does not have much meaning for her, she says that it was a beautiful dress. The wife of family 6 did not want to have a henna night, but she could not convince her family. Therefore, she did not want to wear a classical “bindallı”. She had heard that there were garish models in Bursa, so she rented one from an organization firm there which her aunt knew. She looked online and liked

one model. She did not even try the dress before the henna night. She looked in other places in Ankara and Denizli, too, but she found the dresses very traditional. Also, the family wanted to buy, but she refused because she thought that it was meaningless. After she wore, she loved the dress. It was also very comfortable. In the case of family 1, the wife did not buy a new “bindallı”, instead, she used “bindallı” of one of their acquaintance who had got married one year earlier. She did not want to buy a new one. For the wife of family 5, the family of the husband brought a “bindallı”. It belonged to one of their grand-grandmothers, and it was her wedding dress. Therefore, it was very precious. The wife wore it very cautiously. She loved that dress. Beside “bindallı”, some participants also wore a modern dress in the henna night. This was the case in family 1 and 5. In the family 2 and 6, since they integrated wedding and henna night, the wives wore both wedding dress and “bindallı”. The family 2 also bought “bindallı” for the participants close to the family.

Another common item bought for the henna night was dried nuts. In the henna nights of family 1, 2, 4 and 5, dried nuts were given to the guests. For the family 1, 2, 5 and 6, it was stated that the dried nuts were bought by the family of the husband.

There were also objects related to the henna ritual. The first one is henna. Each participant who had henna night bought henna. Family 2 and 5 states that the henna was bought by the family of the husband as a tradition. Another item was henna tray. Henna was prepared in that tray, and it was used during the henna ritual. Family 1, 4, 5 and 6 states specifically that they used the henna tray during the ritual. There were also some objects used to have fun. Family 2 and 4 bought handkerchiefs to use during halay, a folk dance. Family 4 also bought handbells to use while dancing. Family 2, 4 and 6 bought crowns to be worn by the women in the henna night. Participants also bought candles to be used during the henna ritual. Families also prepared gifts for their guests. Family 1 gave mirrors and nail polishes to the guests. There were tags on them with the name of bride, and the tags were prepared by her. Family 4, 5 and 6 gave henna in individual packages to their guests as a gift. As a part of their tradition, the family 1 put money and rice in tulles to throw from the heads of the bride and groom to bring wealth. Family 2 also used some writings saying “We are getting married.”, frames and some other accessories for fun.

There was another common item used during the henna ritual, which was a red veil called “al”. The head of the bride was covered with that. Family 1, 4, 5 and 6 specifically states that they used this red veil during the ritual. In family 4, 5 and 6, it was prepared with a traditional craft called “tel kırma”. In the family 4, the mother of wife, in the family 5, mother of the husband and in the family 6, grandmother of husband crafted the veils. It was a very special and precious craft. Moreover, in some families a green veil was put on the shoulders of the groom during the henna ritual.

In terms of services, there were musicians, food and beverages were given to the guests, and the brides went to hairdresser. Only in the family 5, one of their relatives was responsible for music, they did not use an external service.

In the decision-making process, there were some conflicts. First of all, some of the participants did not want to have a henna night, but they had to accept it. In the family 1, the wife did not want, but they carried out the ritual to make the families happy. In the family 5, the wife of the family wanted a henna night at first, but then changed her mind. Especially her sister wanted to prepare a henna night so much, so she had to accept. In the family 6, the wife was against this tradition. She did not like the idea that the henna night meant sacrifice of the bride to the groom. Also, since the concept of henna night was very emotional, she did not want to see her mother cry. However, her mother insisted a lot, so she had to accept. Since the wedding and henna night was integrated, she kept the henna part as short as possible.

Regarding the place for the henna night, mostly, the couples made the decision. For the place, food and beverages, the families of the brides paid for the expenses. In the shopping process, there were different subgroups involved. In the family 1, the mother of the husband took care of all shopping. The wife of the family only bought necessary items for her look in the henna night. In the family 2, since the family of the wife paid for expenses, they did the shopping. The wife of the family was in a different city than her family, so her mother did all shopping including her traditional henna night dress. Since the family of husband had a textile business, they also brought something. In the family 4, the family of the husband financed most of the items bought for the henna night. Beside paying for the place and food in henna night, the family of the wife also bought the dried nuts. In the family 5, there were no special place rented, and the relatives took care of the food. The other items necessary for

the ritual was bought by the family of the husband. Lastly, in the family 6, since the wife was against the henna concept, she was not involved in the shopping process. Her mother and mother-in-law took care of everything. She only bought her henna night dress.

In the decision-making and shopping process for the henna night, there was a female dominance. The husbands of the families were not involved in the process a lot, and in terms of parents, mothers took care of everything. One reason of this female dominance was nature of the ritual. Henna night is a women-based ritual and ceremony. Therefore, women take part in the process more than men.

In terms of the places for shopping, there were influence of traditions and experiences of mothers. In Ankara, mostly Ulus and Kızılay were preferred. Also, in other cities, mothers went to the places where the traditional items were sold, such as Mahmutpaşa in Istanbul.

4.7. The Henna Night and the Rituals

The rituals carried out during the henna night was similar between the participants, but there were also differences. Family 2 and 6 integrated wedding with henna night, but activities carried out for henna were similar. Firstly, the ceremony started as a wedding and after some time, the brides changed their wedding dress with the traditional henna night dress, “bindallı”. Then the henna rituals took place. The henna rituals are similar in each participant. In general, the bride and the groom were sat in the center. With a red veil, the head of the wife was covered, and a green veil was put on the shoulders of the groom in some rituals. The women wore crowns and held candles in their palms. They spun around the couple singing traditional henna songs, mostly dramatic songs. The aim was to make the bride cry. One of them, mostly a relative of the bride, carried the henna tray. Then, she came to put henna in the palms of the bride. A tradition in this moment was that the bride did not open her hand. The mother of the groom had to put a gold in her hand. After this, that relative applied the henna to the hands of the bride. In the henna nights of some participants, henna was applied to the groom, as well.

In the family 1, the henna night started with only women participants. The groom was not there at first. There were dancing and having fun. After a while, the groom

came with some of his friends. The bride wore a modern dress at first. After men came, she wore the traditional henna night dress, “bindallı”, and henna ritual was started. The groom did not want to have henna applied, but his mother talked to him in advance not to cause any problem during the ceremony. Both the bride and the groom did not want to have stain of henna in their hands, so after the ritual, they cleaned their hands with wet wipes, immediately. The bride did not cry during the ritual. Also, some tulles, containing money and rice, were thrown from the heads of the groom and the bride as a sign of wealth. Another tradition was that the friends of the bride built a tunnel by holding hands, and the bride walked under their hands. Also, there was an adaptation regarding the gold given to the bride to open her hand. Instead of putting a gold in her hand, her mother-in-law gave her gold necklace. Also, the henna tray was not carried by only one woman, each woman carried it.

In the family 2, the ceremony started as a wedding. Especially the bride wanted to wear her wedding dress, so that people who could not come to the wedding would see her in that dress. After a while, she changed her dress, and the henna rituals took place. The bride cried during the ceremony. Also, according to the traditions of the family of wife, only bride would be in the ceremony, but they changed this tradition. The groom was also in the ritual, henna was also applied to him, they told him specifically not to open his hand to get a gold. The family of husband wanted to have a second henna ritual in their home. The wife was strictly against it but could not convince them. She was not happy about it.

In the family 4, in the henna night, there were both male and female guests, there was an adaptation of the ritual in that context. The bride only wore her traditional henna night dress, “bindallı”. The ceremony started with the romantic dance of the couple and continued with folk dancing. During the henna ritual, a green veil was put on the shoulders of the groom. A negative event happened during the ritual. The aunt of the groom sang very dramatic songs, and people could not stop her. The bride and her mother cried heavily. The groom was very afraid that the mother of the bride would faint. They did not know this was going to happen before, and they were angry about it. The bride could not pull herself together for some time. The place for henna night was very close to the bride’s home, so she wanted to drive the car in her henna dress.

She sees this as a modification of the traditions. However, her husband states that he was not very happy about this modification.

In the family 5, there were both male female guests, but men sat in a different place for some time. The cousin of the wife played music through a laptop. The wife wore a modern dress at first, and then changed to the traditional dress. Her mother-in-law gave her a belt belonging to the grandmother of the groom. The mother had kept it to give to her daughter-in-law. However, since it was broken, she could not wear it. In the ritual, she did not want a dramatic song, a traditional henna song, to play saying that she would cry and could not bear it. Therefore, they played a more joyful song. The bride did not cry. Both mothers put a gold in the hands of the bride, and the groom wanted to have henna, so henna was applied to his finger and a gold was also given to him. In terms of henna, there was a ritual of the family of the wife. While the groom was sitting in the middle, the bride turned around him carrying a pot and dancing traditionally. After that she threw the pot to the ground, it broke and there was money inside it. Mother of the bride and other took the money on the ground and threw over the heads of the bride and the groom. Similar to family 1, the money represented wealth.

In the family 6, the ceremony started as a wedding. After some time, the bride changed her dress with the traditional dress. She tried to keep the henna period as short as possible. After she changed her dress, she entered the saloon playing a drum. Henna was applied to both the bride and the groom, but they did not put a gold in the hand of the groom. The bride did not cry.

The husband of the family 1 defines himself as someone attached to the traditions, so he liked seeing his wife in the traditional henna dress. It was not a must for him, but he liked it. The most meaningful part of the henna for him was the folkloric dance called halay. They had fun. There were not any objects or services the wife assigned meanings to. At first, she did not want this ritual, but in the end, she had fun. The most meaningful part of the henna night was the ritual of applying henna for the wife of the family 2. She says that it was too emotional. The husband thinks that this ceremony was a way to declare that they were getting married. It was good that people who could not come to the wedding saw this ceremony. Similar to the wife, the most meaningful part of the henna night for him was the henna ritual, when his

wife cried next to him. For the husband of the family 4, the importance of the henna night is to make the families happy. Also, it was good in the sense that people prayed for them with good wishes. Beside these, there is no meaning of the ceremonies for him. The most meaningful object of the henna night for the wife of family 4 was her head accessory, because she searched for it a lot. Also, she likes how her hair was and the gifts they gave to the guests. There was photography service, but they were not pleased with the quality, but she keeps the photos. The husband of the family 5 describes the henna night as a rehearsal for the wedding ceremony, as well as a way to make the families happy. The wife of the family 5 liked the traditional henna dress since it was an intergenerational transfer. For the husband of family 6, the most meaningful moment of the henna night was when henna was applied to his wife, and the most meaningful object was the henna tray. Also, the entrance of his wife playing a drum was also nice. The wife of the family 6 was always against the henna night ritual, but she had to accept it. The most meaningful object for her was her dress, since it was fun and comfortable, and it was an interesting experience.

In the family 1, there was synergy. The henna ritual was not a tradition of the family of the wife, but they conformed to this tradition of the other family. In the family 2, there was synergy between the families, too. The families were in different cities and could not get together a lot. The couple provided the communication, each of them talked to his/her family. Although they had different cultures, everybody was conformable. The family 3 did not have henna night, but decision was made with mutual agreement. At first, families thought of doing this ritual, but when the bride explained her reasons why she did not want, everybody accepted. In the family 4, the families of husband and wife are from the same region of Turkey. Therefore, their traditions are similar, so there was synergy and harmony between them. Also, to decide what to do, mostly mothers communicated with each other. The families of the wife and husband of the family 5 gave importance to what their children wanted. There was synergy between the families. In the family 6, mostly mothers planned the process, so there was synergy and harmony between them.

4.8. Preparation and Shopping for the Wedding

Before the wedding day, participants went through a preparation process consisting of purchasing objects and services. The objects that were purchased were mainly

wedding dress, bride accessories, wedding suit, invitation cards and wedding candy/gift. The services were hairdressers, photographers, preparation of the wedding cars by a florist, musicians and organization firms.

Family 2 and 6 integrated wedding and henna night ceremonies; therefore, they had two different weddings. The wedding with henna rituals was financed by the family of wives. The main wedding for each participant was financed by the family of the husband. It was a tradition that the family of the bride paid for the engagement and henna night, whereas the family of the groom paid for the wedding. Also, it was another tradition that the wedding ceremony was carried out where the family of the groom lived, even though the groom lived in another city.

Some participants did not want to have a wedding ceremony, they wanted to keep it simple. However, to make the families happy, they accepted to have the wedding ceremony, and in the end, they enjoyed it. The wife of the family 1 and the wife and husband of the family 4 were in that opinion.

In the family 1, since the family of the husband lived in a different city than the couple, the wife of the family did not know much about the places in that city. The parents of the husband visited the places and asked for the prices. Then, the couple visited these places to have an opinion, then showed the ones they liked to the parents. The husband had known about and liked the place they chose beforehand. Another factor was that the family of the husband gave importance to the food to be served during the ceremony. The couple also did, and this place had good service. They tasted and chose the meals before the wedding. The final decision belonged to the couple.

The family 2 had two weddings. The first one was integrated with the henna night, so the family of the wife paid for it. Therefore, they chose the place. However, the family of the husband recommended a facility of policemen, since they could provide discount, and the other family accepted it. The main reasons for this place was its affordability, proximity to the home of family of the wife and that they had known about that place beforehand. The main wedding was in the city where the couple and the family of the husband lived. They had very limited time to choose a place, and because of that, they could not find an appropriate place to have wedding in the

evening. Therefore, the wedding was in the daytime. For the alternative places, they took advice from their friends and searched online. The couple visited the places, and the husband let his wife make the decision. He wanted a more glorious ceremony, but his wife wanted to keep it simple, so they chose a place in accordance. The families did not have any influence in the selection process.

In the family 3, the wife had a dream of getting married abroad and having a simple ceremony in Turkey. However, her father wanted a good ceremony for her daughter, so she had to give up her dream, but in the end, she was very happy with this decision. To choose a place, firstly, they took advice from their friends who had got married before. Also, the wife bought each local and international wedding magazine, and she was inspired from them. She made all the research. She found a similar concept, she liked in the magazines, in a place, so the others also accepted to rent that place although it was more expensive than the other alternatives.

The family 4 had a very large network; therefore, they had to narrow the alternatives based on their capacity. Other criteria were affordability and the location. At first, there was a conflict that each family wanted to rent a place near their homes. However, the husband convinced his family that it was hard for the relatives of the other family to come to a distant place. Therefore, the place was near the home of the wife. Firstly, the couple and sister and mother of the wife visited places and found an appropriate place. Then, the family of the husband also liked that place.

The family 5 also had two weddings, but none of them was integrated with a henna night. They were separate wedding ceremonies. The first one was in the hometown of the wife where her family lived. The hotel they rented was a special place for her and her family. Her father was a partner of the hotel before, and she grew up in that hotel, so they wanted to have the ceremony there. For the second wedding, the couple selected the place. They had gone to another wedding in that place and liked it a lot. Also, the father of the wife provided that the place gave discounts. The couple visited other places, too and found these places based on recommendations from their friends and a website named “dugun.com”.

Similarly, the family 6 also searched on the website, “dugun.com”, for alternative places. There were also places they had known before or heard from their friends.

They had two weddings, and the first one was integrated with the henna night. The couple visited alternative places. Since the families were going to finance the wedding, the couple did not want the ceremonies to be too expensive. After they chose, they showed the place to the father of the wife, since he was going to pay for it. At first, he wanted other places, because that place was far away from the center, but then he accepted. The second wedding was in a different city than the couple lived. The family of the husband knew a place and showed it to the wife. She liked the place, and without searching for alternatives, they selected that place.

A wedding dress and a wedding suit were bought in the process. Purchase of wedding dress took more time and effort than purchase of wedding suit. As a part of the tradition, mostly, the family of the husband paid for the wedding dress, while the family of the wife paid for the wedding suit. The main resources for search were the Internet, recommendations from the friends and magazines. There were similar brands among the participants for the wedding dress, because they bought it in the same city. The common brands were Vakko, Pronovias, Oleg Cassini, Aysira and different boutiques in the Tunalı Hilmi Street. The wives of the families visited several shops to find the most suitable one. In the family 1, they went to the shops in three different times with different subgroups. The first search was done by the husband, wife and her sister. In the second one, the friends also came, and in the last one mothers joined them. She bought from a boutique in the Tunalı Hilmi Street. She also bought the veil from that place, but her mother-in-law had someone sew laces on the veil. Moreover, she purchased a pink waistband. At first, she wanted a simple, plain dress, but the families convinced her that it would be her only chance to wear a ball gown. In the family 2, they bought the wedding dress from another boutique, Aynur Modaevi, in the Tunalı Hilmi Street. One friend of the wife had her wedding dress sewn in that place and told that it was affordable, so she wanted to buy from there. She also visited a few stores. The wife of the family 3 searched from the wedding magazines and found top five stores to visit for the wedding dress. The first place was Vakko, and she loved the first dress she wore. She went to other stores, too, but she purchased that dress she tried first. She did not have a specific model for the wedding dress in her mind, but she had a dream of a very long veil. She purchased the veil from the same store. In the family 4, the couple, both mothers and the sister of the wife went to a place from where wedding dresses were purchased, traditionally.

There were different stores in that place, Büyük Çarşı, and they bought the wedding dress from the first store they went. One friend of wife recommended that store, Aysira, so they went to there, firstly. In the family 5, the wife always had a dream of buying her wedding dress from Vakko. She visited other stores, too, but in the end, she liked the model which she found at Vakko. She felt like her wedding dress should be like a ball gown, and she says that it may be an influence of watching the Disney princesses. She also bought the veil from the same store. In the family 6, while the wife was searching for a wedding dress, the husband was in the military service; therefore, he could not be a part of the process. At first, the wife liked a dress in Pronovias, but it was a bit expensive. It was a problem for her, since the family of the husband was going to pay for the wedding dress, but they accepted to pay for it. However, she kept searching, and in the end, she bought from a store in Tunalı Hilmi Street where she went together with two mothers.

While the purchase of the wedding dress was long before the wedding day, it was not the case to buy the wedding suit, because, it was easier to buy and have it modified. They did not make a lot of research, there were some brands everybody knew, they went to those stores. The husband of family 1, went to four stores, Kiğılı, Network, Ramsey and Sarar, and he combined different parts of the suit from different stores. In the family 2, the husband knew a brand, Damat Tween, that he had used before and liked its fittings. They searched for alternatives, but they bought the suit from that brand. The couple of family 3 went to the closest mall and looked for the suit in the stores in that mall, such as Beymen, Sarar or Damat Tween, and bought from one of them, Sarar. In the family 4, the mother of the wife wanted a specific store for the wedding suit since she knew that their products were high-quality. The husband took her advice and chose it from that store. In the family 5, they visited different stores such as Sarar, Vakko, Ramsay or Beymen. Firstly, the couple did some research, then they took their mothers with them. The husband was overweight, so he chose the brand, Ramsay, that fitted him the best. The husband of family 6 bought two wedding suits since they had two weddings. They went to a mall and visited different stores such as Kiğılı, Sarar or Beymen. The couple did the shopping, but the father of the wife was against a certain brand, so they did not visit it. They purchased it from Beymen. For all the families, the brands that they searched and purchased was very similar, although there was not any research beforehand. A feature of the wedding

suits differentiating from the wedding dresses was it was possible to wear them after the weddings. Each participant bought a normal suit that they could wear later. In order to turn it into a wedding suit, the collars of the jacket were covered with sateen. After the wedding, the stores removed the sateen, and it was again a normal suit. The husband of the family 2 especially states that he saw his wedding suit as a good investment and the wedding dress as a dead investment. Also, all participants wore bowties and bought special shoes for the wedding.

Another object purchased and prepared for the wedding was the invitation cards. Family 2, 4 and 5 did not give too much importance to the invitation cards, so they did not want to spend too much money. The family 2 purchased from a place that the father of the husband had known before and went there together. The family 4 took advice from the father of the wife, and the family 5 took advice from a friend, and they bought from the same area, Hacıbayram. The wife of the family 1 is a designer, therefore she wanted to design the invitation card. She designed the card, and they had it printed in a copy center that one acquaintance of the husband knew. After printing, two families and relatives were gathered in the home of the family of husband and assembled them together as a family activity. The family 1 enjoyed do-it-yourself practices. The family 3 worked with an organization firm for their ceremony, and had that firm prepare the invitation cards for them. The wife of the family did research from wedding magazines and wanted a design based on the concept inspired from that magazines. The family 6 made photoshoot before the wedding as a “save-the-date” activity. The photographer they hired for the wedding offered to make this activity for free, so they decided to use these photos for their invitation cards. They chose one photo and had it printed in the copy center that worked with the company the husband was working in. The wife made a lot of research from the Internet and bought some items such as balloons from AliExpress to design a scene.

There was also wedding candy/gift given to the guests during the wedding ceremony. Similar to the invitation card, the family 1 wanted to prepare it by themselves, as a do-it-yourself practice. The couple had an idea for the concept. The mother of the husband went to wholesalers in Eminönü, Istanbul and bought the necessary items for that concept. Later, when two families and the relatives assembled the invitation

cards, they also prepared wedding candies. The family 2 bought the wedding candies from the same place they bought the invitation cards. In the family 3, similar to the invitation cards, the wife made the decision about the wedding candies and gifts. During the ceremony, the organization firm built a candy bar. Besides, they gave miniature version of their invitation cards as magnets to the guests. It was also prepared by the organization firm. In the family 4, they bought the wedding candy while they were doing shopping for the bride, “bohça” and henna night. The wife of the family, her sister and two mothers made the decision together. The wife did not want to spend too much money. In the family 5, they purchased different wedding candies/gifts for their two weddings. For the wedding in the hometown of the wife, her mother selected, and the organization firm of the wedding prepared it. The wife did not give any importance to it. For the second wedding, one friend recommended a cheap organization firm for the wedding gift, so the couple made the decision, but they also took advice from the mother of the husband. The family 6 elaborated on their invitation cards a lot, so they did not want to prepare an extra wedding gift, they thought the invitation card was also a gift as a memory for the guests.

Some wedding places required working with an organization firm. They only rent the empty place. Every other detail had to be provided by the organization firm. While family 5 had to work with two different organization firms for their two weddings, family 6 needed an organization firm for only one wedding. Family 3 also used an organization firm for their wedding. In cases of the other families, the wedding places provided their own organization services. For the family 3, the wedding place recommended some organization firms and they chose from one of those firms. The wife made the decision, the husband did not want to be involved. The family 5 wanted to work with the organization firm they had seen and liked in a wedding of an acquaintance of the wife. This wedding was in the same city that the couple lived in. The other wedding was in a smaller city; therefore, there were not many alternatives. The organization in that city was very expensive, so they took advice from the organization firms they visited for the other wedding and chose one firm in accordance. The family 6 chose the organization firm for their second wedding based on recommendation. For the first wedding, the wife wanted to prepare things by herself as a do-it-yourself practice. She read several blogs, and she was inspired from them. She prepared frames, speech bubbles, photo corner, memory journal etc. In the

weddings organized by a firm, every item was an expense. Some participants gave too much importance to the organization. For example, the wife of the family 3 tried to make everything in harmony with the color palette and concept she identified, while for her husband, none of them was important. The families who had to work with an organization firm, had to find a music group for the wedding day. For the others, the music group was provided by the place.

Beside the wedding dress, the bride had other items in the wedding day; the bouquet, hair accessory and wedding shoes. There were two bouquets to be used in the wedding day. The first one belonged to the bride, and it was paid attention more. The second bouquet was to throw to the single women in the wedding as a part of wedding ritual. Since the family 1 likes do-it-yourself practices, they prepared the bridal bouquet by themselves, too. The wife told the color she wanted, and the mother of the husband found appropriate flowers, then they arranged it. In the family 2, the bride wanted to use fresh flowers as her bouquet. She chose its style one day before the wedding, and it was bought on the wedding day since it was fresh. The wife of family 3 ordered her bouquet online. She had a color palette in her mind and personalized the bouquet by asking if they could put the flower she wanted. The wife of family 4 bought her bouquet from the same shopping center she bought her wedding dress. She personalized the bouquet by asking if they would do some modifications. The wife of the family 5 did not give any importance to the bouquets. She only told the organization firms the color of the flowers and ribbons she wanted, then she let them make the bouquets. Since the wife of the family 6 also liked do-it-yourself practices, she ordered the flowers from AliExpress, and one of her friends made the arrangement. For her second wedding, she let the organization firm prepare the bouquet. She saw it on the wedding day and loved it.

The wife of the family 1 could not wear high-heel shoes, although she had bought one, because she twisted her wrist before the wedding. She wore thick soled sports shoes. She wore the high-heels only during the entrance to the wedding. She had that shoe made in a place based on recommendation. The wife of family 2 bought her wedding shoes from a familiar place. The wife of family 3 made a lot of research and took advice from her friends. Then, she bought two shoes, one of them was elegant and used during the photoshoot. The other one was more comfortable, and she wore

it all through the ceremony. The wives of family 4 and 6 purchased their shoes from a similar place. It was an old shopping center with several stores related to wedding shopping. The wife of family 5 had searched from the social media before, but then, she had the model, she liked, made in an affordable place based on advice from her friend.

The wife of family 1, 3 and 5 did not use any hair accessories, they only wore the veil. In contrast, the wife of family 2 did not want to use veil since it would limit her movements but used a hair accessory. The wife of family 4 gave importance to her hair accessory and spent time to find the right one. She bought it during shopping for the bride and henna night. The wife of family 6 did not use any accessory but her veil in her first wedding. For the second wedding, she let the organization firm pick a flower wreath as a hair accessory. She saw it on the wedding day and loved it. The wife of family 3 also ordered a bathrobe with her name written on the back to wear during the preparations in the hotel in the wedding day.

Beside purchase of several consumption objects, there were also services the participants used in this process. They were mainly hairdressers, photography, video service, preparation of the wedding car and dance lessons. Each bride went to hairdressers for hair and makeup on their wedding days, and before the wedding days, most of them had rehearsals. The selection was mostly based on recommendations, research through Internet and social media and past experiences. The brides made the last decisions. Each family, except family 2, had photoshoot outside in the wedding day. The family 1 did not use an external service, instead, cousin of the husband and friends shot the photos in a forest-like place. The family 2 could not do outdoor photoshoot, since the wedding was in the daytime, and they did not have enough time. The family 3 hired a service which their friends recommended, and photoshoot took place in the garden of the wedding place. The family 3 also prepared a video clip, and it was shot by the same firm in the same day. This video was one of few things the husband of the family gave importance. He made preparations for it, he chose the concept and they enjoyed it. The family 4 saw a photographer by coincidence and liked that place. The photoshoot was in a valley with several green areas. In the family 5, there was photoshoot only in their first wedding. The photographer was a friend of the wife's cousin. The wife of the family 6 found a

photographer through the website, “dugun.com”. They had two photoshoots in two weddings. The first one was shot in the campus of the university the couple was graduated from. The second photoshoot was in touristic place, Pamukkale. Each family decorated their wedding cars with flowers etc. Mostly, they used the cars of relatives. Only family 6 hired a classical car for their first wedding. The family 1 prepared some decorations of the car themselves. The wife made the writing on the back of the car, and they also attached cans to a rope and tied the rope to back of the car. Lastly, family 3,4 and 6 had dancing lessons before the wedding. For the family 6, the lessons were a part of the package the wedding place offered. Family 3 went to a dance studio which the wife had gone before. Family 5 found the studio from the website, “dugun.com”. These families took slow dance lessons for their first dance. Family 5 also took lessons from the sister of the wife for a folkloric dance of the wife’s hometown, “harmandalı”. Also, family 6 prepared a theatric dance for their entrance. It was a known dance, and they were inspired from a movie. They also went to a sound studio to prepare the song. They sang the song, recorded it and used that record in the wedding.

4.9. Fetching the Bride Ritual

All participant families, except family 2, carried out “fetching the bride ritual”. It was tradition of families of both husbands and wives. Traditionally, it is done on the wedding day before going to the ceremony, and the bride was fetched from the home of her family, and the bride would be wearing her wedding dress. In general, the families of husband and friends went to the home of the family of the wife. They also brought people playing drum and clarion. People played folkloric dances outside the home. Then, they got inside. The father of the bride tied a red ribbon to the waist of his daughter. This ritual was too dramatic, mostly people cried. After that, the groom took the bride, and they went to the ceremony together. These were the most common steps, but there were modifications. There were also a lot of conflicts because some participants did not want to have this ritual.

In the family 1, the wedding was going to be in another city than the family of the wife lived. Therefore, it was not possible to carry out this ritual on the wedding day. They did this ritual one day before the henna night. The wife wore a pink modern dress she bought for the henna night, and they prepared a pink veil to be a similar

concept with the wedding dress. People playing drum and clarion were organized by the husband, he especially wanted that ritual and found them online. A different tradition of the family of the wife was that single women prepared napkins by putting rosemary inside them. They put them in a tray carried by the sister of the bride. When the groom, his family and friends came, he put money in the tray, and she attached each napkin to these men. Traditionally, this money was seen as the dowry money for the single women who prepared the napkins. The mother of the wife wanted to have this ritual. Another different tradition of the family of the wife was that when the bride got out of the home of her family, she should not look back. It was believed that if she did look back, she would come back breaking up.

The family 2 wanted to have this ritual, but they could not do it. The first reason was that the home of family of wife was in another city. Still, they intended to do the ritual from the home of the wife where she lived single. However, since the wedding was in the daytime, they could not find time to do the ritual. The wife says that she wishes they could do it, she wanted it a lot.

The wife family 3 did not want to have a dramatic ritual before the wedding. Therefore, they did the ritual in a very symbolic way. She prepared for the wedding in the hotel the wedding took place, so she did not wear her wedding dress. Her father and brother came in the morning, and they went to the place together.

In the family 4, the “fetching the bride” ritual was in line with the traditional way explained. The bride came to her home after the photoshoot, she was fully prepared. As a part of tradition, sister of the bride did not open the door, the father of the groom had to give money to her. This was a tradition of the husband of the family 1, too, but they did not do it. Extra things they did was that the head of the bride was covered with a red veil while getting out of the home, and there was praying in the home.

The wife of the family 5 was strictly against this tradition, since she thought it would be too dramatic for her and her father. However, she could not convince her family-in-law. During the ritual, she and her father cried heavily. After she went out, her father felt faint. The family of the groom expected the bride to play outside, but since she was crying, she did not. She wishes that they had not done this ritual.

Similarly, the wife of the family 6 was strictly against this ritual, since she did not want to have a very dramatic moment in the wedding day. She thought that her father would cry, too. However, her father wanted a lot, so she accepted. Before the wedding day, they agreed that they would not be too dramatic, so they did not cry in the ritual. This ritual was carried out in the hometown of the husband for the second time. The father of the husband wanted this, since he did not have any daughters. The same ritual was carried out there, but it was not dramatic.

4.10. The Wedding Day

In the wedding day, the activities carried out was similar among the participants. Some families had two weddings, but the activities were almost the same. The wedding day started with preparation in the hairdressers for both bride and groom. The bride went to the hairdresser with her friends or close relatives. Also, in meantime, the wedding car was prepared mostly by a friend or relative. Then, the groom came to the hairdresser to take the bride with the wedding car and saw her all prepared for the first time. Then, fetching the bride and photoshoot activities were carried out, and they went to the wedding place. The ceremony started with either a slow dance of the couple or the civil marriage ceremony. Some families also showed presentations including their photos or videos. For each family, the civil marriage ceremony happened in the wedding ceremony. After getting married officially, the rest of the ceremony was mostly dancing and having fun. The guests brought “takı” which was basically gold or money to give to the bride and groom. To collect these, some participants had a ceremony where they stood in the center, and guests came to them to congratulate and give their gifts. Some participants, however, visited each guest to thank for coming and take their gifts. Moreover, there was wedding cake ceremony in each wedding where a fake wedding cake was cut by the bride and groom, and then real cakes were given to the guests. Furthermore, each bride threw a bouquet to the single women in the ceremony as a part of the ritual. The husbands of family 3 and 5 did a similar activity, they threw their bowties to the single men in the ceremony.

In the family 1, the civil marriage ceremony was carried out in the daytime in a different place than the wedding ceremony. After this, they went to the home of groom’s family. It was one of their traditions that the bride would come and kiss

hands of groom's parents. Also, as a tradition, coins which were put in tulle were thrown from the heads of bride and groom. The wedding of the family 2 was in the daytime, so it finished early in the evening. Therefore, they organized another event for their close friends to have fun until late. Also, as a modification of the tradition, the wife of this family says that traditionally, the groom pays for the hair and makeup of the mother, sisters and close women relatives of the bride, but they did not do this ritual. Everybody paid for themselves. In the family 3, the bride and groom prepared in the hotel where the wedding ceremony took place. Therefore, the activities were different than the other participants in some way.

The wedding ceremony creates new narratives for both the bride and groom. The participants were asked for what they would tell about their weddings to people and to their children in the future. The husband of the family 1 says that he would tell how he played a folkloric dance with his wife, how he played a drum in front of his wife, how his wife danced a lot and how people stood up during their entrance to the ceremony. The wife of the family 1 says similar things that she would tell the folkloric dance they played and how they had lots of fun. She would also recommend her children to do the process by themselves. The husband of family 2 also stated that he would talk about how much fun they had and tell their children how they accomplished a lot of things in a very limited time by believing in each other. The wife of the family 3 says that she would tell the video they shot before the ceremony, how much fun they during shooting. This video service hired created a memory which deserved to be the main narrative of the wedding day. The husband of this family says that he would tell how much money they spent and that it was worth it, totally and that it was a magical moment. The wife of the family 4 also states that she would talk about how much fun they had and that she saw her friends in the ceremony. The husband of this family says that he would only tell his experiences. An interesting memory for him was that at the end of the ceremony, one relative of her wife came to him and threatened if he would do anything to upset his wife. However, he was not serious, so it remained as an interesting memory. The husband of family 5 says that he would talk about how he was happy and had fun. He would also recommend his children to get married, follow their traditions but not to make two weddings. The wife of this family says that she would talk about their first dance and balloons in the first wedding and how men danced in oriental music while his

husband was throwing his bowtie in their second wedding. She would also tell her children that how she was satisfied with everything. The husband of family 6 also states that he would tell how it was tiring but consisted of very enjoyable activities and how they did everything. Similar to husband of family 5, he would recommend his children to have only one wedding. The wife of the family 6 would also tell how much fun they had and how much they danced to people and her children. In general, the common narrative for each participant was how much fun they had.

There were not a lot of objects transferred from generation to generation. There was one object in the family 3. The mother of the husband gave her daughter-in-law a necklace which belonged her mother. The wife of this family also had a bracelet transferred from his grandfather, and she would like to give it to her child. In the family 5, there were some intergenerational transfers. The mother of the husband gave her daughter-in-law the traditional henna night dress, bindallı, a silver head accessory, a belt and a red veil, she made, to be used in the henna night. In the family 6, the mother of the wife prepared a sheet combining craft of her mother. It was very meaningful. The mother also gave a bathrobe to her daughter. The participants were also asked if they would like to transfer any objects to their children. The husband of the family 1 would give his bowtie, since he liked it a lot. The husband of the family 2 would like his child to wear his wedding ring and says that the wedding dress could also be transferred. The wife of the family 4 keeps her bride bouquet, invitation card, wedding candy and henna as a memory for the future. The wife of family 4 wishes that her children would use her wedding dress.

Some participant also had some negative experiences in their wedding days. In the family 1, when the groom went to the hairdresser to take the bride, the hairdresser did not let him come close to the bride, so he kept a distance while waiting for her. However, the bride was very upset, because she thought that he did not care. He defines this as a traumatic event because she remained upset for some part of the day. In the family 2, the service provided in the wedding place was problematic. They did not keep their promises. The husband also says that he was not happy with his best-man's performance. He also defines the fact that they could not have a photoshoot outdoor as a negative event. Besides, they forgot some of the wedding candies, so they could not distribute to guests. Also, he says that it was sad that some people did

not come to their weddings. The husband of the family 3 only says that the wedding stress was negative. A negative event for the husband of family 4 was that his high school friends did not dance a lot since they did not like the place of their table; it was in back. This situation made him very upset. The wife of family 5 says that the negative event was the second henna ceremony they had. In the wedding day of family 6, the relatives of the wife caused some problems. Because of that, she was very nervous at the beginning of her wedding. Also, the uncle of the husband drove the wedding car in a very dangerous way. However, in general, although there were negative events, they did not influence their families.

Lastly, the participants were asked how this process has influenced their new family. The husband of family 1 states that it was a good beginning, and the beginning would influence how the marriage goes on. They gave effort for each detail, they did something themselves and this effort continues in their marriage. The wife of this family sees this process a way to observe the harmony between them and how they can tolerate each other. The husband of the family 3 also defines this process as a test to see if the couple can handle all the stress together. The wife of the family 3 sees this process as memories to tell their children in the future. The wife of the family 4 says that the wedding was a signal showing people the harmony between the families.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

In this study, it is aimed to understand if the framework of interplays in consumption practices offered by Epp and Price is applicable in the new family formation process of middle-class, urban and educated population. The emphasis is on this process, because when two people get married, they bring two established family identities with them and try to build their own family identity using these (Falicov, 1988). Therefore, it is questioned whether this framework can be used in order to integrate these two identities and create a new one in harmony. Also, Epp and Price suggest an implication using this framework, which is family decision-making process (2008). They argue that synergy between individual or relational identities and collective decisions can be analyzed. Therefore, related questions were asked to the participants in order to understand “who makes the decisions”.

The sample consists of urban, educated, middle-class people between 27-32 years old who live in the capital city of Turkey, Ankara. They live in this city in the present, but some of them has migrated here from more rural areas. They have come to the urban for university education and stayed there for their careers. Parents of some participants live in the same city; however, mostly their hometowns are different, they, or their parents, have migrated from rural regions. This situation shows that there is migration in the past of each participant. Kagitcibasi and Sunar state that there is a continuous migration which has caused that the half of the population in urban area is immigrants from rural areas (1997). After 1950s, migration has increased due to increasing urbanization (Sertkaya Dogan, 2015). This internal migration resulted in the fact that 25% of population was living in the biggest three cities of Turkey in 2016 (Yuksel et al., 2016). The participants are in line with these statements. It is also stated that while most of the population lives in the cities, influence of rural continues, because a large amount of this population living in cities

is either migrants from rural areas or children of these migrants (Ataca, Kagitcibasi & Diri, 2005). This combination of rural and urban is observed among the participants of this study, and it is elaborated later.

Epp and Price define three components for the family identity (2004). They are “structure, generational orientation and character”. The structure means who belong to the family in the present and who belonged to the family in the past (Bennett et al. 1988). In order to understand family structures of the participants in this context, they were asked which members constituted their family. It is observed that “family” term recalls different concepts for each participant. While some defines family as only nuclear family they form with their spouses, some has accepted their family-in-law as members of their one and only family. It may be seen as normal that family structure changes from family to family, but it can also be interpreted as middle-class, educated and urban newly-weds in Turkey are in transition process and have not conceptualized family term in their minds, totally, because when the participants were asked for the members of their families, they did not think of some at first. However, in different parts of the interviews, they talked about their families adding extra members. For some couples, there are differences between the spouses regarding their perception of who belongs to their family. In the framework, Epp and Price define a moderator which is member agreement and conclude that how each member illustrates its family to other people and if these illustrations match can be asked (2008). It is stated that the level of agreement between the members influences the family identity enactment. It can be interpreted that regarding perception of family structure, some participating families do not have member agreement. In terms of factors constituting their families, almost all participants have some common factors in mind, which are love and respect. This similarity provides member agreement between the spouses of this sample.

The participants were also asked about the characteristics of their families and family-in-laws. The purpose is to understand the similarities and differences between the families of the sample, as well as whether the perceptions of the spouses comply with each other. It was observed that almost each participant described their family-in-laws as similar to their own families, even though they were from different regions of Turkey. The descriptions mainly include abstract concepts rather than physical

concepts, such as how they are committed, protective, supportive etc. According to Sunar and Fisek, it is common that marriages are made within the same social class (2005). The sample of this study supports this argument. The spouses are very similar in terms of education, cultural capacity, income etc. Families of the spouses are also similar as the participants explained, they mostly belong to the same social and economic class. As this sample represents middle-class, educated, urban newly-wed population in Turkey, it is observed that in this specific sample, people choose their spouses from similar social and economic classes.

Two types of marriages are defined in the context of Turkey, which are affinal and descent marriages (Adams & Trost, 2004). In the affinal marriage, the individuals are free to choose partner to marry to (Ataca, Kagitcibasi & Diri, 2005). In the descent marriages, the families have influence on selection of the spouse, and there is an arranged marriage (Adams & Trost, 2004). While the descent marriage is more common in the rural areas and among undereducated migrants in the cities, (Ataca, Kagitcibasi & Diri, 2005), the affinal marriage is common in the urban areas with better educated young population (Adams & Trost, 2004). This statement of Adams and Trost is supported with this study, since all participants have had affinal type of marriage. Except one family, all other participants met each other by coincidence, and they decided to start a relationship by themselves. There was not any influence of families in this process of participants, but there was a reference group helping the relationships start, which were friends. Friends played more important roles in this process than the families. With this outcome, it can be interpreted that among middle-class, educated and urban population in Turkey, the common type of marriage is affinal and self-choice, but there is a reference group, friends, who influence this process rather than families. Another argument for affinal marriages is that families may have influence in the sense that they may find someone for their children to meet if they think there would be harmony between them (Ataca, Kagitcibasi & Diri, 2005). Family 4 of this study is an exact example for this statement. While the families provided that the couple met, the final decision belonged to the couple resulting in affinal marriage.

It is also examined how middle-class, educated and urban people decide to get married and who influences this decision-making process. This research shows that

while families had little influence on this decision of the participants, mostly, couples made the decision. However, there were three factors influencing this process of middle-class, educated urban population. The first factor was that people in the same generation got married in the same time. This created a peer pressure, and people felt like they should also get married. The second factor is that time was an important in two dimensions. One of these dimensions was age, and the other one was duration of the relationship. The last factor was that when people were graduated and started working, they were more willing to form their own families. Again, whether it was through being a role model or peer pressure, friends had more influence in this decision-making process of the sample than the families.

In order to study the framework offered by Epp and Price, wedding rituals and consumption practices of middle-class, educated and urban population in Turkey are analyzed. Because, rituals are a way to accomplish family identity, providing meaning and satisfaction to participants (Falicov, 1991). As a rite of passage, weddings belong to the “family celebration” type of rituals (Falicov, 1991). Also, since it is a ritual, it consists of ritual artifacts, a ritual script, ritual performance role(s) and a ritual audience, and these ritual artifacts necessitate several consumption practices (Rook, 1985).

Due to the large amount of migration from rural to urban areas in Turkey, family life has been changed, and family structure has been influenced due to urbanization, but families have also kept links to their origins (Adams & Trost, 2004). This situation has led them to go through a conflict trying to adapt to new context (Sunar & Fisek, 2005). This adaptation process combining modern and traditional concept can be observed in this study. In terms of traditions, wedding rituals of the specific sample have been taken into consideration. Wedding traditions in Turkey consist of asking for bride’s hand, betrothal, engagement, shopping for bride, henna night, official ceremony and wedding ceremony rituals, in general (Duruturk, 2008). There are also traditions of gift exchange between families (bohça) and fetching the bride (The Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Turkey, n.d). Most of the participants have had all these rituals in their wedding processes. However, there were adaptations and modifications of these rituals as a result of urbanization and shift in who makes the decision. There was an outlier ritual different than these

traditional ones, but every participant carried out that ritual with every detail. This ritual was marriage proposal with a specific organization. It can be interpreted that the middle-class, educated and urban people have the perception that this ritual and its main artifact, a diamond ring, is mandatory to start the wedding process. This addition can also be seen as a result of modernization.

Since the basis of this study is the framework offered by Epp and Price (2008), it is tried to elaborate every segment of the framework through analysis of wedding rituals and consumption practices. Marketplace resources are defined in the framework which influence collective identities, and they are objects, brands, services and activities. Since weddings are rituals, they require several ritual artifacts (Rook, 1985), which are objects as marketplace resources. All participants were asked which objects they purchased in every step of wedding process and which services they have used in this process. Also, the brands were asked if there were any specific brands.

In terms of activities segment of the framework, the participants were asked which activities were carried out during the rituals. There is similarity between the participants regarding the objects and services they used as they included similar rituals and activities in their wedding processes. In the asking for bride's hand and engagement ceremonies, there were not a lot of objects involved. The main objects were wedding rings, dress and suit for bride and groom, the jewelry given to the bride by her mother-in-law as a part of ritual and food and beverages given to the participants. In the wedding process, the participants performed two rituals which required shopping as their nature. In the shopping for bride ritual, the aim was to equip the bride from cloths to makeup materials. Therefore, there were a lot of objects involved in this ritual. The common objects were underwear, pajamas, daily clothes, makeup materials etc. Another ritual requiring several shopping practices was gift exchange between the families, called as "bohça". The objects are similar to the ones bought in shopping for bride ritual; however, there are more varieties, since gifts were given to different members of the other family. For the henna night, a traditional wedding dress (bindallı), henna and henna tray were used in the henna ritual of the participants. Also, as a tradition, dried nuts were given to the guests in addition to food and beverages. Moreover, some items were also purchased to have fun. Fetching

the bride ritual of the participants did not require use of certain objects, mostly. A red ribbon tied to the waist of bride by her father was the central object.

For the weddings of the participants, there were several purchasing or hiring activities, as well. The objects used for this ceremony were wedding dress, veil, wedding suit, wedding shoes, bridal bouquet and hair accessory, invitation cards and wedding candies/gifts. Several services were also used or hired for these rituals. Hairdressers were used by the participants for each ceremony. Some special places were rented for henna nights and weddings and for engagement of some participants. Some of these places required working with an organization firm. Also, as a part of rituals in the weddings of the participants, a wedding car was decorated by a florist. There were also photography service and dance lessons. They also hired musicians. Considering all these purchasing and hiring activities, a common pattern is observed between the participants. The objects and services were quite similar, so it can be interpreted as the wedding rituals for the middle-class, educated and urban population in Turkey are scripted, explicitly. Brands were not given importance by the participants, too much. There were particular brands especially for wedding suits and dresses, but the reason was that all participants who had similar level of cultural capacity made research in the same city with a similar budget which resulted in similar brands. In terms of brands, there were influence of families of the participants, especially mothers. There were traditional places to buy items related to weddings, and the mothers led others to these places. These traditional places can be seen as intergenerational transfers. Overall, marketplace resources are embedded in every step of wedding process of middle-class, educated and population in Turkey, and it can be said that weddings provide an efficient environment to study consumption practices and give insights to the firms to develop strategies.

The framework also had two other categories, which are communication forms and moderators (Epp & Price, 2008). Communication forms are rituals, narratives, social dramas, intergenerational transfers and everyday interactions. This study is based on wedding rituals, so rituals as communication forms can be observed all through this research. However, they are also examined to understand when two different family identities among middle-class, educated and urban population in Turkey come together to form a new family, how rituals of these families are used or integrated.

In general, it is seen that main rituals were very similar between the families in the sample. Also, it is observed that families of each participant respected rituals of other family resulting in integration of all rituals. However, this integration was filtered by the bride and groom. Due to modernization, perceptions of participants in terms of rituals were different than their families. Therefore, the middle-class, educated and urban newly-weds in Turkey created a new combination of rituals for their new family identity benefiting from two families. This wedding process provided several narratives for new family identity of the couples of the sample. The participants were asked which narratives they would tell about this process, and mostly, they said that they would tell how much fun they had and their experiences. In this sense, it can be said that physical elements such as objects or services are not important to create narratives, rather, experiences provide basis for narratives to tell others and their future children for the sample of the middle-class, educated and urban population in Turkey. In terms of tangible objects, there were not a lot of intergenerational transfers among participants; however, for some participants, there were this kind of transfers which they would also transfer to their children. They were asked if they thought to transfer any objects to their children. Although there were some willing participants, it was not a common response. Therefore, it can be interpreted as intergenerational transfers in terms of tangible objects do not have important roles in formation of new family identity among the middle-class, educated and urban population in Turkey. Everyday interactions were not added to the research, since the research was based on rituals, and the process was analyzed before marriage, so the couple did not have chance to experience everyday interactions. Social dramas were one of the dimensions of the framework (Epp & Price, 2008) that was observed mostly in this study. Social dramas happened mainly between bride or groom and his/her family or family-in-law in the sample of this study. Henna night and fetching the bride rituals of the participants were the ones that included social dramas, a lot. Some participants, especially women, did not want to have henna night, sometimes resulting in arguments, but especially families of brides wanted to have this ritual. Also, in one family, mother of groom wanted to have a second henna night in their home, and this caused social drama for the bride. In another case, the groom did not want henna to be applied to him, but his mother warned him before the ceremony not to cause any problems. Fetching bride ritual of the participants also caused social dramas. Some brides did not want to have this ritual, but either her family or family-in-law insisted

on it. The common point of these two ceremonies are that they are very emotional and dramatic. This is why mostly brides of the sample of this study did not want to have these dramatic events. Another mutual point is that although they were against these rituals, they carried out them to make families happy.

Another category of the framework is moderators, which are adaptability of communication forms, member agreement, member commitment, synergy (discord) among identity bundles, disruptions & transitions, barriers to enactment and contextual identity needs. In this research, it is observed that these moderators are used to provide formation of a new family identity benefiting from two established family identities among the middle-class, educated and urban population in Turkey. For member agreement, how each member illustrates its family to other people and if these illustrations match (Epp & Price, 2018) are examined. In terms of the boundaries of the family, some couples do not have member agreement. However, there is member agreement in terms of how the participants define their family of origin and family-in-law. Member agreement is also seen in the wedding processes of the participants. The couples mostly had similar type of ideas about what kind of ceremonies they wanted to have as a way signaling features of their family to outside. For example, one participant stated that the wedding place they chose was proper for their families in terms of level of quality. How the couple carried out the process with member agreement was also a signal of member commitment of the participants. Researches show that in most families, there are kin-keeping activities, and some member of the family has the kin-keeper role providing the connection of family members with each other (Resenthal, 1985). This study shows that the bride and groom, who belong to the middle-class, educated and urban population in Turkey, play the role of kin-keeper providing communication and bridge between two families. Participants mostly communicated with their own families and discussed with their spouses resulting in decrease in direct communication between the families, so that the couple can adapt two families more easily.

The wedding concept itself belongs to the disruptions & transitions moderator of the framework of Epp and Price (2008), and it is a disruption for the families of origin but a transfer to a new family. The motive that participants want to experience this process without any drama results in creating social dramas as explained above. Also,

one participant eliminated the rituals which required dramatic elements, since she has lost her mother, and in the process, these emotional rituals would only harm her. Barriers to enactments are defined as geographic distribution of family members, time constraints and lack of monetary resources (Epp & Price, 2008). These barriers of enactments were seen commonly in the wedding processes of the participants. Mostly, families of participants live in different cities, and some participants also live in a different city than their parents. This results in having the wedding or henna night in a different city than the couple lives in resulting in organizing a ceremony in a different city. Since all participants work, it was difficult for them to manage this geographically dispersed process. Also, it was challenging to continue communication and decision-making process with their parents when they lived in another city. Technology helped a lot to overcome this geographic barrier. Since there are different methods of verbal or visual communication, it was easy to communicate. For example, when a mother of a participant wanted to buy something, she could easily take a photo and send to the couple to ask for their opinions. Time constraint barrier was also an influencing factor in the processes of the participants. Some couples had very limited time influencing the decision-making processes. For example, selection of wedding place was very difficult for one family since they had very limited time, and also, they had to skip some rituals even though they wanted a lot. Level of monetary resources also influenced the selection processes of the participants. All the necessary steps were carried out, but the quality of them changed based on monetary resources. For example, selection of wedding places was influenced by the budget.

In terms of contextual identity needs, when there are changes in the cultural conceptions or in the environment, there may be changes in the identity needs of the family, and the context may make families reconstruct their identity (Epp & Price, 2008). As explained, contextual identity needs of families migrating from rural areas to urbans have changed due to urbanization and modernization (Ataca, Kagitcibasi & Diri, 2005). They try to adapt to new context (Sunar & Fisek, 2005). This kind of change was seen in the families of participants, too. They are the migrants, or they are children or grandchildren of migrants. Therefore, traditional values were integrated with modern values resulting in changes in contextual identity needs among the middle-class, educated and urban population in Turkey. The expectations

of this population differ from their parents. This population is closer to modern perceptions, but they also keep their ties to the past and traditions. Because of that, the participants carried out almost each ritual their families wished but adapted the way the rituals were made. Adaptability of communication forms and synergy (discord) among identity bundles were the most common moderators in this process of the participants. Rituals were adapted by the participants in several different ways to comply with changing contextual identity needs. These adaptations were mainly made by the participants, but there were also adaptations to overcome barriers to enactment. For example, since the wedding was going to be in another city than the family of bride lived, they integrated henna night with another wedding so that people who could not come to the wedding in another city would see a wedding ceremony. Another example for the adaptation was that traditionally, the gifts given to the bride (bohça) were put in a chest. However, some participants thought that it would not be useful, so instead of a chest, they put the gifts in a suitcase to be used later. Moreover, one participant did not want to have a henna night, since her mother was deceased. She did not want to have a dramatic ritual, Therefore, instead of a henna night, she and her husband had bachelorette parties, separately. There were not a lot of discord between the families, because each participant stated that there was synergy all along the process. The main objective of the families of the participants was to make their children happy. Therefore, they respected opinions of their children and the other family, they mostly let their children make decisions. Since their children also respected their wishes to continue their traditions, there was a good synergy.

In the selection process of the rituals to be used in the processes, families of participants had influence, since the children respected their wishes. However, other decisions such as purchasing activities, belonged to the couples of the sample, mostly. According to a study conducted by Kagıtcıbaşı, there was high perceived parental control with perceived parental warmth in Turkey caused by respect for age and respect for parents (1970). The attitudes of the participants to their parents in the wedding process support this statement. They respected wishes of their parents and benefited from experiences of them in the decision-making processes. Also, it is observed that the participants interacted with their mothers much more than their fathers. The reason for this situation may be the fact that there is more information about "self and decisions" shared with father, but there is more "emotional sharing

and touching" with mother (Fisek, 1995). Another reason was that there was female-focused consumption in the process. When intervention of parents was necessary, mothers took care of everything. Fathers were not involved in most purchase activities. This study also reveals that while there are influences of the parents, most decisions were made by children among the middle-class, educated and urban population. It is stated that with increasing education, there are more equality among the partners (Ataca & Sunar, 1999). This equality is seen between the participants. However, brides were more involved in the process. One reason is that most wedding traditions of the participants required participation of bride such as shopping for bride or henna night. Another reason is the female-focused consumption in this process. Men of the sample usually did not give importance to any details, so they let their spouses make most decisions. In this decision-making process of the participants, friends played very important roles. Especially for consumption practices, participants benefited from recommendations and experiences of their friends. This reference is observed in many purchase activities of the participants. There were other resources the participants took advantage of to help them make decisions. Some participants carried out several researches in this process. For example, men make several researches to buy the diamond ring, because they say that since it is an expensive artifact, the market is very dangerous. Other researches were mostly done by women. Beside recommendations from friends, they used Internet and magazines for reference. It is seen that social media is an efficient resource for the middle-class, educated and urban people in Turkey since they can contact the sellers directly and see their works. A specific website, "dugun.com", is heard from different participants as they have visited it to have idea for several consumption practices.

Several different interplays were observed in this process of the participants. Some traditions require specific interplays among the middle-class, educated and urban population in Turkey. For example, shopping for bride ritual necessitates participation of at least bride and her mother-in-law. While the main identity interplay in the context of the sample of this study was bride-groom, there were others, too. There was also women dominance in terms of interplays. Bride-her mother and bride-her mother-in law interplays or interplay between two mothers played important roles in this process of the participants, while men were not involved a lot.

It is also explored whether symbolic meanings are assigned to marketplace resources in this process of the participants. Although there were some assigned meanings, for the majority of participants, marketplace resources did not mean a lot, they were only necessary artifacts to carry out that ritual. Rather than tangible objects or services, they assigned meanings to the experiences. It is observed that the most meaningful memories of this wedding process of the middle-class, educated and urban newly-weds in Turkey consist of activities or experiences, such as having a lot of fun or being with families and friends. Moreover, do-it-yourself practices were observed as a common pattern in the sample. Some participants gave importance to give effort to accomplish some segments of the rituals. It can be interpreted that do-it-yourself practices help people, belonging to the middle-class, educated and urban population in Turkey, assign meanings to the artifacts. The meaning does not come from qualities of the artifact, rather it comes from the experience and memory of the do-it-yourself process.

Overall, it is observed that the framework offered by Epp and Price is applicable not only in established family identities, but also in new family identity formation processes of the middle-class, educated and urban newly-weds in Turkey. It helps to manage the integration of family identities and creation of a new identity process in harmony. To create this harmony, “adaptability of communication forms” and “synergy among individual, relational and familial identities” are mostly used moderators for this sample. The identity interplays in this process of the sample consists of members of two different families as a sign of integration. These interplays mostly include female members. In terms of family decision-making of this sample, newly-wed couples have priorities. Mostly, they make the decisions, but families also have influences, although they are not directly involved. It is also observed that there is female dominance in terms decision-making.

This study offers an empirical study for the framework of Epp and Price. In the literature, there are little research using this framework to analyze real-life cases. This research contributes to the literature in this sense. Another contribution is that new family identity formation process has had little attention in the literature, but this study provides an implication of the framework in this context. Also, it is an opportunity to test the applicability of the framework in a dynamic environment like

Turkey. All segments of the framework can be observed in the middle-class, urban educated newly-weds in Turkey, but this dynamic environment adds some other aspects to the framework. For a country between East and West (Marcus et al., 2017)., the framework cannot be applied without considering “urbanization” and “modernization” dimensions. Also, the framework offers that there are identity interplays within the families belonging to this specific sample, but in the decision-making process which may also influence the family, it is observed that there is an external group, which consists of friends. In this transition process the middle-class, urban educated newly-weds in Turkey, friends play an important role and find a place for themselves in the framework.

Turkey is a collectivistic country (Hofstede, 1980), and collectivistic people perceive family as one of the most important factors of their lives (Cirhinlioğlu et al., 2019). Another influence of collectivism is on perception of how parents influence, and in selection process of spouse, they give more importance to parent's decisions. (Bejanyan et al., 2015). However, it is also stated that urban and educated group is more similar with Western societies (TDHS-2008, 2009), and this group is more individualistic (Kagitcibasi, 2003). This study supports this statement. It is observed that although family is still important, the middle-class, educated and urban population is more individualistic, and their parents have less influence on them. This situation is also supported with a study which states that Turkish Millennials are "more self-enhancing, less self-transcending, less collectivistic and less conservative" (Marcus et al, 2017). Lastly, it can be interpreted that a new family identity is influenced by two family identities of the brides and grooms, but there are also other influencers among the middle-class, urban educated newly-weds in Turkey. The position of the spouses belonging to this sample in the society requires necessary additions to the identity. Education levels, cultural backgrounds, financial conditions and most importantly, social circle help the middle-class, urban educated newly-weds in Turkey to define who they are as a family and what differentiates this family from the families of origin.

CHAPTER 6

FURTHER RESEARCH

In this study, the focus is on educated, middle-class people living in the urban areas of Turkey. However, it would be good to see differences between different social and economic classes. Therefore, in a more comprehensive study, new family identity formation processes can be analyzed with comparison between different social and economic classes.

One limitation of this study is that one qualitative research method, in-depth interview, is used to carry out the research. The concept of wedding rituals and consumption practices provides opportunities for observations and use of visual materials. For a broader understanding, researchers can join the weddings as an observer and later, use wedding photos and videos as visual materials.

The context of Turkey necessitates study of modernization and urbanization. Therefore, researchers can focus on differences between the generations. For this aim, a similar research can be carried out with both children and parents, comparing weddings of two generations.

The new family formation process is examined through wedding rituals and consumption practices in this study. However, in the same process, several household consumption practices take place, too. Therefore, this process can also be analyzed through household consumption.

This study offers the use of the framework offered by Epp and Price in real-life cases in a specific context. A similar study can be carried out in different contexts, such as different countries. The results would give chance to make comparisons of applicability and implications of the framework between different contexts.

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APPENDICES

A: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

- Aile dediğimizde aklınıza neler geliyor? Size neler düşündürüyor?
- Sizin için aile kimdir? Bana ailenizden bahsedebilir misiniz? Sizi bir aile yapan unsurlar nelerdir? Bizim ailemiz şöyle bir ailedir diyebilir misiniz? Yani tanımlasanız hangi kelimelerle tanımlarsınız? Kendinizi diğer ailelerle karşılaştırdığınızda farklarınız var mı? Mesela komşular, diğer akrabalar, ya da arkadaşlarınızın aileleri?
- Ailenizin diğer üyelerini biraz tanıtabilir misiniz? Kimler var? Ailenizdeki insanlarla ilişkiniz nasıldır?
- Ailenizle toplu olarak neler yaparsınız, neler yapmaktan hoşlanırsınız?
- Aile bireylerinin siz olmadan yaptıkları aktiviteler var mıdır?
- Ailenizi tek bir kelimeyle nasıl ifade edersiniz?
- Eşinizin ailesinden bahsedebilir misiniz?
- Eşinizin ailesinin üyeleri kimler, bana biraz tanıtabilir misiniz?
- Onlarla ilişkiniz nasıl, birlikte neler yapmaktan hoşlanıyorsunuz?
- Peki eşinizin ailesini çevredeki diğer ailelerle karşılaştırsanız, nasıl farklar vardır? Ailenin toplumun hangi kesiminde bulunduğunu düşünüyorsunuz?
- Eşinizin ailesini tek kelimeyle nasıl tanımlarsınız?
- Eşinizle tanışma hikayenizi anlatabilir misiniz?
- Peki bu hikayenin evliliğe kadar ilerleme sürecinden bahsedebilir misiniz?
- Nasıl evlenmeye karar verdiniz? Evlenme teklifiniz nasıldı?
- Evlenme teklifinden düğüne kadar olan süreç nasıl ilerledi? Bu dönemde evlilikle ilgili yapılan aktivitelerden bahsedebilir misiniz?
 - Düğün öncesinde kına gecesi ya da bekarlığa veda partisi gibi bir etkinlik yaptınız mı? Bu etkinliğin sizin için anlamı ne? Bu konuda anlatmak istediğiniz bir anı var mı? veya ilginç bir durum oldu mu?

- Nasıl bir etkinlik düzenlediniz? Nerede düzenlediniz, nasıl bir yerdi?
- Nasıl karar verdiniz? Seçim yaparken size fikir verenler oldu mu? Başka bilgi kaynakları internet, düğün dergileri gibi kullandınız mı? Seçtiğiniz bu yer size nasıl bir anlam ifade ediyor?
- Bu etkinlikler için yapılan aktiviteleri nasıl sıralarsınız?
- Bu etkinlik öncesi nasıl bir hazırlık ve alışveriş yaptınız? Alışveriş için nerelere gittiniz, özellikle tercih ettiğiniz yerler oldu mu? Bu tercihte ailelerin ve geleneklerin etkisi oldu mu?
- Alışverişte hangi markaları tercih ettiniz? Seçtiğiniz markaların sizin için özel bir anlamı var mıydı?
- Alışverişte hangi eşyaları ve hizmetleri satın aldınız? Bunlardan bu etkinlikle bağdaştırdığınız, sizin için en anlamlı olanlar hangisi? Bunlardan bahsedebilir misiniz?
- Bu etkinlikle ilgili ailenizin ve eşinizin ailesinin gelenekleri, kendilerine has usulleri var mıydı?
 - Peki bunlara önem gösteriyorlar mıydı?
 - Bu süreçte kullandığınız gelenekler oldu mu? Nasıl gerçekleştiğini anlatabilir misiniz?
 - Peki kullanmadığınız gelenekler hangisi? Bunlarla ilgili ne düşünüyorsunuz?
 - Bu süreçte kullandığınız geleneklerin bu etkinliği ve yeni ailenizi nasıl etkilediğini düşünüyorsunuz? Sonradan pişman olduklarınız oldu mu?
 - Kullanmadığınız adetlerden keşke kullansaydık dediğiniz var mı?
 - Hangi geleneksel ritüellerin kullanılmasına karar verilmesi sürecinde sizin, eşinizin ve ailelerinizin rolünü anlatabilir misiniz?
- Bu süreçte yer alan insanların bir sinerji oluşturduğunu düşünüyor musunuz?
- Karar verme sürecinde aile bireyleri arasında anlaşma yaşandı mı? Farklı görüşlere nasıl tepki verildi?
 - İki aile arasında bu bağlamda farklılıklar var mıydı? Bu farklılıklarla nasıl başa çıktınız?

- Bu süreçte aileler arası ve sosyal çevreyle uyumluluğu sağlamak için adapte ettiğiniz ve bazı yerlerini değiştirdiğiniz ritüeller oldu mu?
- Şimdi de düğün hazırlıklarından ve düğününüzden bahsetmek istiyorum.
Öncelikle düğün öncesi yapılan hazırlıkları anlatabilir misiniz?
 - Düğününüz için nasıl bir yer seçtiniz ve nasıl bir düğün yaptınız? Bu seçimde ailelerin ne kadar etkisi oldu? Yer seçimini düğününüzden ne kadar önce yaptınız? Düğün yeri seçimi için ne tarz hazırlıklarda bulundunuz? Bu yer size ne anlam ifade ediyor?
 - Düğün öncesi hazırlıklarınızı nasıl anlatırsınız? Hangi aktivitelerde bulundunuz?
 - Bu hazırlık sürecinde yaptığınız alışverişleri ve harcamaları anlatabilir misiniz? Alışveriş yapmak için nereleri tercih ettiniz? Bu tercihte ailelerin ve geleneklerin bir etkisi oldu mu?
 - Bu hazırlık sürecinde hangi obje ve servisleri satın aldınız? Bunlardan düğününüzle en çok bağdaştırdıklarınız hangisi, onlardan ve anlamlarından bahsedebilir misiniz?
 - Alışverişte hangi markaları tercih ettiniz? Özellikle üstünde durduğunuz markalar var mıydı? Bu tercihte ailelerin ve geleneklerin bir etkisi oldu mu? Bu markaların sizin için ve aileler için bir anlamı var mı?
 - Düğün hazırlık süreciyle ilgili ailenizin ve eşinizin ailesinin gelenekleri var mıydı?
 - Peki bu geleneklere önem gösteriyorlar mıydı?
 - Bu süreçte kullandığınız gelenekler oldu mu? Nasıl gerçekleştiğini anlatabilir misiniz?
 - Peki kullanmadığınız gelenekler hangisi? Bunlarla ilgili ne düşünüyorsunuz?
 - Bu süreçte kullandığınız geleneklerin bu etkinliği ve yeni ailenizi nasıl etkilediğini düşünüyorsunuz? Sonradan pişman olduklarınız oldu mu?
 - Kullanmadığınız adetlerden keşke kullansaydık dediğiniz var mı?
 - Hangi geleneksel ritüellerin kullanılmasına karar verilmesi sürecinde sizin, eşinizin ve ailelerin rolünü anlatabilir misiniz?

- Bu süreçte yer alan insanların bir sinerji oluşturduğunu düşünüyor musunuz?
- Karar verme sürecinde aile bireyleri arasında anlaşma yaşandı mı? Farklı görüşlere nasıl tepki verildi?
 - İki aile arasında bu bağlamda farklılıklar var mıydı? Bu farklılıklarla nasıl başa çıktınız?
 - Bu süreçte aileler arası ve sosyal çevreyle uyumluluğu sağlamak için adapte ettiğiniz ve bazı yerlerini değiştirdiğiniz ritüeller oldu mu?
- Şimdi de düğün gününüzden bahsetmek istiyorum. Düğününüzü nasıl anlatırsınız?
- Düğün gününüzde yapılan aktivitelerden bahsedebilir misiniz?
- Düğün törenine siz ve eşiniz nasıl hazırlandınız? Ne kadar süre önce bu hazırlıkların planını yapmıştınız? Bu hazırlanma için özellikle tercih ettiğiniz yerler ve markalar oldu mu? Bunların sizin için özel bir anlamı var mı?
- Düğün gününüzde kullandığınız, sizin için anlamlı olan, düğününüzle bağdaştırdığınız ve olmazsa olmaz dediğiniz objeler ve servisler var mı? Bunlar size ne anlam ifade ediyor?
- Düğün günü ve töreniyle ilgili ailelerin adetleri var mıydı?
 - Peki bu geleneklere önem gösteriyorlar mıydı?
 - Bu süreçte kullandığınız gelenekler oldu mu? Nasıl gerçekleştiğini anlatabilir misiniz?
 - Peki kullanmadığınız gelenekler hangisi? Bunlarla ilgili ne düşünüyorsunuz?
 - Bu süreçte kullandığınız geleneklerin bu etkinliği ve yeni ailenizi nasıl etkilediğini düşünüyorsunuz? Sonradan pişman olduklarınız oldu mu?
 - Kullanmadığınız adetlerden keşke kullansaydık dediğiniz var mı?
 - Hangi geleneksel ritüellerin kullanılmasına karar verilmesi sürecinde sizin rolünüzü ve ailenizin rolünü anlatabilir misiniz?
- Bu süreçte yer alan insanların bir sinerji oluşturduğunu düşünüyor musunuz?
- Karar verme sürecinde aile bireyleri arasında anlaşma yaşandı mı? Farklı görüşlere nasıl tepki verildi?
 - İki aile arasında bu bağlamda farklılıklar var mıydı? Bu farklılıklarla nasıl başa çıktınız?

- Bu süreçte aileler arası ve sosyal çevreyle uyumluluğu sağlamak için adapte ettiğiniz ve bazı yerlerini değiştirdiğiniz ritüeller oldu mu?
- Size biri düğününüzü sorduğunda ilk olarak ne anlatırsınız?
- Düğününüzden öne çıkan ve en çok anlatmak istediğiniz olaylar hangileridir?
- Eşinizle oluşturduğunuz bu yeni ailede anlatmayı sürdüreceğiniz, aileniz için anlamlı olduğunu düşündüğünüz düğün anılarınız var mı?
- Daha önce ailevi geleneklerinizi sormuştuk. Peki nesiller arası obje, marka ya da davranış gibi aktarımlarınız var mı?
- Bu aktarımları düğün sürecinde kullandınız mı?
- Yeni oluşturduğunuz aile içerisinde bu aktarımları sürdüreceğinizi ve ileriki nesillere aktaracağınızı düşünüyor musunuz?
- Düğün sürecinde olumsuz olaylar yaşadınız mı?
- Bu olayların düğün sürecini ve ailenizi nasıl etkilediğini düşünüyorsunuz?

B: TÜRKÇE ÖZET / TURKISH SUMMARY

Aile kimliği, sosyoloji, iletişim çalışmaları ya da pazarlama gibi farklı alanlarda birçok araştırmacı tarafından çalışılmış bir konsepttir (Epp & Price, 2008). Bu çalışma da var olan pazarlama literatürüne aile kimliği çerçevesinde katkı yapmak amacıyla yapılmıştır.

Aile kimliği, bir aileyi oluşturan ve onu diğer ailelerden ayıran özellik ve niteliklerin birleşiminden oluşur ve paylaşılan bir inanç sistemine sahiptir (Falicov, 1991). Ayrıca, aile teması, bir ailenin gerçekliği nasıl gördüğünü oluşturur ve bu temalar ailelerin "Biz kimiz?" ve "Biz bu konuda ne yapıyoruz?" sorularında bulunur (Handel, 1968). Aile üyelerinin birbirleriyle ve dış dünyayla nasıl iletişime geçtiklerini belirleyen zorunlu aile kuralları (Ford & Herrick, 1974) ve sistematize edilmiş inançlardan oluşan aile miti vardır (Ferreira, 1966). Bunların yanı sıra, her ailenin oluşturduğu paylaşılan varsayımlardan oluşan aile yapı terimi de vardır (Reiss, 1971). Aile kimliğini oluşturan bileşenler, aile üyeliği hakkında belirli inanışlar, günlük hayatın geçici özellikleri ve ailenin geçmiş hakkındaki inanışları ve anılarıdır (Falicov, 1991). Falicov, aile kimliği için üç faz tanımlamıştır (1991). Birinci faz, yeni aile oluşturma sürecidir. İki insan evlendiği zaman iki tane aile kimliğine sahiptirler ve kendilerine ait yeni bir kimlik oluşturmak için bunlardan faydalanırlar. İkinci faz da çocuk yetiştirme aktivitelerinin yer aldığı süreçtir. Son faz da geçiş ve kayıp periyodundan oluşmaktadır.

Epp ve Price tüketim uygulamalarındaki kimlik etkileşimleri için bir çerçeve geliştirmiştir (2008). Bu çerçevede, üç tane kimlik demeti tanımlanmıştır. Bunlar bireysel, ilişkisel ve aile kimlikleridir. Ayrıca, bu çerçevede marka, obje, aktivite ve hizmetlerden oluşan pazar kaynakları da verilmiştir. Bunların dışında, iletişim formları ve moderatörler olmak üzere iki tane daha kategori tanımlanmıştır. İletişim şekilleri, hikayeler, ritüeller, sosyal dramalar, günlük etkileşimler ve nesiller arası aktarımlardan oluşur. Moderatörler de iletişim formlarının adaptasyonu, üyelerin sözbirliği, üyelerin bağlılığı, kimlik demetleri arasındaki sinerji, bariyerler ve içeriğe bağlı kimlik ihtiyaçlarından oluşmaktadır.

Ritüeller aile kimliği oluşturmada ve katılımcılara anlam ve tatmin sağlamanın bir yoludur (Falicov, 1991). Falicov üç çeşit ritüel tanımlamıştır. Bunlar, kutlamalar, gelenekler ve belli bir örüntüdeki rutinlerdir. Falicov, düğün ya da cenaze gibi geçiş törenlerini aile kutlamaları için bir örnek olarak göstermiştir ve bu geçiş törenlerinin, üyeliğin tanımlanmasına yardım ettiğini ve gelişimsel dönüm noktalarına işaret ettiğini ifade eder. Ayrıca, etnik kimliğin nesilden nesile aktarılmasını da sağladığını söylemektedir. Falicov'a göre aile gelenekleri her aileye özgüdür ve aileler kendi geleneklerini tanımlar. Falicov, belli bir örüntüdeki rutinlere örnek olarak uyku öncesi rutinleri ya da hafta sonlarındaki boş zaman faaliyetlerini göstermiştir. Rook, tüketici davranışını yorumlamak için ritüelleri analiz etmiştir (1985). Ritüellerin üç özelliğini tanımlamıştır ve bu özellikler episodik olaylar dizisi, episodik olay dizilerinin tam olarak sabit bir düzende bağlantıları ve olay dizisinin zaman içinde tekrarlamasıdır. Ayrıca, dört tane de ritüel bileşeni tanımlamıştır. Bu bileşenler, ritüel objeleri, ritüel senaryosu, ritüel performans rolü/rolleri ve ritüel seyircisidir. Rook, ritüel objelerine örnek olarak yiyecek, mücevher ya da mum gibi ritüel sırasında kullanılan tüketici ürünlerini vermiştir ve bu ürünlere sembolik anlamlar yüklendiğini söylemiştir (1985). Ayrıca, bazı objeler ritüel katılımcılarına hediye olarak verilmektedir (Belk, 1979). Ritüel senaryoları, objelerin davranışsal düzenini ve hangi insanların onları kullanacağını tanımlar ve ritüel performansı da düğün gibi ritüellerde önceden açıkça yazılmış olabilir (Rook, 1985).

İki insan evlenmeye karar verdiğinde, çeşitli antik ritüelleri devam ettirmek ve bu yolla, bir durumdan başka bir duruma geçişlerini geçerli kılmak isterler (Chesser, 1980). Falicov'un belirttiği gibi düğünler, geçiş törenleri olan ritüellerin aile kutlaması çeşidine aittir (1991). Rook'un ifade ettiği gibi düğünler de bir ritüel gibi dört bileşenden oluşur ve bu bileşenler ritüel objeleri, açıkça belirlenmiş bir ritüel senaryosu, ritüel performans rolü/rolleri ve ritüel seyircisidir (1985). Düğün ritüelleri birçok farklı içerikte çalışılmıştır. Bunların bazılarında, belirli bir ülke ya da demografi üzerine odaklanılmıştır. Bir çalışmada, toplumun temel değerlerini ve ticari endüstrinin yarattığı yeni olayların nasıl değerleri ifade ettiğini anlamak için Japon düğünleri incelenirken (Edwards, 1987), başka bir çalışmada da Kore düğün ritüellerindeki düğün ritüel değerleri, tüketici ihtiyaçları ve harcamaları araştırılmıştır (Park, 1997).

Bu çalışmanın amacı Epp ve Price (2008) tarafından geliştirilen çerçevenin spesifik bir içerikte kullanılabilirliğini anlamaktır. Bu yüzden Türkiye'de modern şehirlerde yaşayan, orta sınıf, eğitilmiş insanlardan oluşan bir örneklem seçilmiştir. Türkiye doğu ve batı arasında duran, sosyal ve kültürel mozağe sahip bir ülkedir ve toplumda radikal değişimlere sebep olan çeşitli sosyal ve ekonomik reformlardan geçmiştir (Ataca, Kagıtcıbası & Diri, 2005). Taşrada yaşayan nüfusun büyük bir miktarı şehirleşmiş alanlara göçmüştür (Sunar & Fisek, 2005). Bu durumun aile yapısı üzerinde de etkisi olmuştur ve kökene olan bağlar sürdürülürken aile hayatında şehirleşme açısından değişimler olmuştur (Adams & Trost, 2004). Aileler yeni bağlama uyum sağlamaya çalışırken çekişme/çatışma yaşamıştır (Sunar & Fisek, 2005). Türk aileleri ataerkil bir hiyerarşik yapıya sahiptir (Fisek, 1991). Ayrıca, aile karar verme sürecinde erkek baskınlığı ve sınırlı rol paylaşımı vardır (Kagıtcıbası, 1982). Fakat, artan eğitimle birlikte çiftler arasında daha fazla eşitlik vardır (Ataca & Sunar, 1999). Çocuklar da yetişkin olup evlenene kadar karar verme sürecine karışmazlar (Olson, 1982). Bu açılardan bakıldığında ailelerin modernleşme ve şehirleşme sebebiyle bir adaptasyon sürecinden geçmekte olduğu söylenebilir. Bu yüzden, Türkiye, aile kimliğini çalışmak için verimli bir ortam sunmaktadır.

Aile kimliği konseptini, Türkiye'deki modernleşme ve şehirleşme bağlamlarında çalışmak hedeflenmiştir. Bu çalışmanın iki amacı vardır. Bunlar, Türkiye'de yaşayan bu örneklemdeki yeni aile oluşturma süreçlerini nasıl yönettiklerinin Epp ve Price tarafından geliştirilen çerçeve dahilinde anlaşılması ve aynı bağlamda aile karar verme sürecinin nasıl işlediğinin gözlemlenmesidir.

Bu çalışmada, bir nitel çalışma tekniği olan derinlemesine röportaj tekniği kullanılmıştır. Örneklem olarak Türkiye'nin başkentinde yaşayan, modern, orta-sınıf, eğitilmiş ve en fazla bir yıldır evli olan insanlar alınmıştır. Örneklemdeki seçilmesinde kolayda örneklem yöntemi kullanılmıştır. Bu araştırma 2015-2016 yılları arasında yapılmıştır ve altı çiftle ayrı ayrı röportaj yapılmıştır. Her katılımcı kendi gelirine sahiptir. Bazılarının aileleri Ankara'da yaşarken, bazılarının başka şehirlerde yaşamaktadır. Ayrıca, çoğunlukla, katılımcıların memleketleri Türkiye'nin farklı bölgelerine aittir.

Epp ve Price aile kimliği için üç bileşen belirlemiştir (2008). Bu bileşenler, yapı, nesilsel yönelme ve karakterdir. Yapı, geçmişte ve şimdiki zamanda aileye kimlerin

dahil olduđu anlamına gelmektedir (Bennett vd. 1988). Katılımcıların aile yapılarını bu çerçevede anlamak için katılımcılara ailelerini oluşturan üyeler sorulmuştur ve aile teriminin her katılımcı için farklı konsept çağrıştırdığı gözlemlenmiştir. Bazı katılımcılar sadece eşleriyle oluşturduğu çekirdek aileden bahsederken bazıları eşlerinin ailelerini de tek ailelerinin üyesi olarak kabul etmiştir. Aile yapısının aileden aileye değişmesi normal olarak görülebilir ama Türkiye’de yaşayan, şehirli, eğitilmiş ve orta sınıf yeni evlilerin bir geçiş sürecinde olduđu ve aile kavramını kafalarında henüz netleştirmedikleri şeklinde de yorum yapılabilir. Bu yorum için başka bir neden olarak da katılımcılara aile üyeleri sorulduğunda ilk başta bazılarını düşünmemiş olmaları gösterilebilir. Fakat, röportajın farklı yerlerinde bu katılımcılar fazladan aile üyelerinden de bahsetmiştir. Bazı çiftler arasında da aileye kimlerin dahil olduđu konusunda fikir ayrılıkları vardır. Çerçevede Epp ve Price (2008) üye karar birliğı şeklinde bir moderatör tanımlamıştır. Ayrıca üyeler arasındaki karar birliğı seviyesinin aile kimliğini etkilediğı belirtilmiştir. Aile yapısı söz konusu olunca bazı katılımcı ailelerde karar birliğı olmadığı görülebilir. Ailelerini oluşturan unsurlar konusunda neredeyse tüm katılımcılar bazı ortak unsurlardan bahsetmiştir. Bu ortak unsurlar sevgi ve saygıdır. Bu benzerlik, bu örnekleme, eşler arasında üye karar birliğı oluşturmaktadır. Katılımcılara ayrıca kendi ailelerinin ve eşlerinin ailelerinin özellikleri sorulmuştur. Bu sorunun amacı örnekleme aileleri arasında benzerlik ve farklılıkları anlamak ve eşler arasında da bu konuda uyum olup olmadığını görmektir. Neredeyse tüm katılımcılar kendi aileleri ve eşlerinin ailelerinin benzer olduğunu söylemiştir. Aileler Türkiye’nin farklı bölgelerinden olsa bile bu durum gözlemlenmiştir. Tanımlamalar çoğunlukla somut kavramlar yerine soyut kavramlar şeklinde yapılmıştır. Bu kavramlar nasıl birbirlerine bağı oldukları, nasıl koruyucu ve destekleyici oldukları gibi kavramlardır.

Sunar ve Fisek’e göre evliliklerin aynı sosyal sınıf içinde yapılması sık görülen bir durumdur (2005). Bu çalışmanın örnekleme de bu ifadeyi desteklemektedir. Eşler eğitim, kültürel kapasite, gelir gibi konularda birbirine benzerdir. Katılımcıların bahsettiğine göre çoğunlukla aileleri de aynı sosyal ve ekonomik sınıfa aittir. Bu örnekleme de Türkiye’deki orta sınıf, eğitilmiş, şehirli ve yeni evlenmiş nüfusu temsil ettiği için bu belirli demografide insanların eşlerini benzer sosyal ve ekonomik sınıftan seçtiğı gözlemlenmiştir. Türkiye’de, bu bağlamda, iki çeşit evlilik tanımlanmıştır. Bunlar romantik ve ayarlanmış evliliklerdir (Adams & Trost, 2004).

Romantik evlilikte bireyler kendi eşlerini seçmekte özgürdür (Ataca, Kagıtcıbası & Diri, 2005). Ayarlanmış evlilikte de ailelerin eş seçiminde etkisi vardır (Ataca, Kagıtcıbası & Diri, 2005). Ayarlanmış evlilikler kırsal bölgelerde ya da şehirlerdeki az eğitilmiş göçmenler arasında görülürken (Ataca, Kagıtcıbası & Diri, 2005) romantik evlilik çoğunlukla daha iyi eğitime sahip, şehirde yaşayan genç nüfus arasında sık görülür (Adams & Trost, 2004). Bir aile dışında tüm katılımcılar eşleriyle tesadüf eseri tanışmıştır. Katılımcıların bu sürecinde ailelerin bir etkisi olmamıştır ama ilişkilerinin başlamasında bir referans grubun etkisi olmuştur ve bu referans grup arkadaşlardır. Bu süreçte, arkadaşlar ailelerden daha fazla rol almıştır. Bu sonuçla, Türkiye’de yaşayan orta sınıf, eğitilmiş ve şehirli nüfusta ortak evlilik tipinin romantik evlilik olduğu, insanların eşlerini kendilerinin seçtiği ama arkadaşların bir referans grubu olarak bu süreci ailelerden daha fazla etkilediği yorumu yapılabilir. Romantik evliliklere başka bir bakış açısı da ailelerin, çocuklarıyla, anlayacaklarını düşündükleri kişileri tanıştırmaları ve bu bağlamda süreçte etkileri olmalarıdır. 4. aile bu konu için bir örnektir. Çiftin tanışması aileleri sayesinde olmuş olsa da son karar yine çiftte ait olmuştur.

Türkiye’deki orta sınıf, eğitilmiş ve şehirli insanların evlenmeye nasıl karar verdikleri ve bu karar verme sürecini kimlerin etkilediği de araştırılmıştır. Bu çalışmaya göre bu kararın alınmasında ailelerin çok az etkisi olmuştur; çoğunlukla çiftler bu kararı vermiştir. Fakat, Türkiye’deki orta sınıf, eğitilmiş ve şehirli nüfusun bu sürecini etkileyen üç unsur vardır. Birinci unsur, aynı jenerasyona ait insanların aynı zamanlarda evlenmesidir. Bu durum, insanlarda bir akran baskısı oluşturmuştur ve insanlar evlenmeleri gerektiği düşüncesine kapılmıştır. İkinci unsur da zamandır ve zaman iki açıdan önemlidir. İnsanların yaşı ve ilişkilerinin uzunluğu bu süreci etkilemiştir. Son unsur da insanlar mezun olup çalışmaya başladıktan sonra hissettikleri kendi ailelerini kurma isteğidir. Sonuç olarak rol modeli olarak ya da akran baskısı yoluyla arkadaşların bu karar verme sürecinde ailelerden daha fazla etkisi olmuştur.

Epp ve Price tarafından geliştirilen modeli çalışmak için Türkiye’de yaşayan orta sınıf, eğitilmiş ve şehirli nüfusun düğün ritüelleri ve tüketim aktiviteleri analiz edilmiştir çünkü ritüeller, katılımcılara anlam ve tatmin sağlayarak aile kimliği oluşturulması için bir yoldur (Falicov, 1991). Bir geçiş töreni olan düğünler

ritüellerin aile kutlaması çeşidine aittir (Falicov, 1991). Ayrıca, ritüel olduğu için ritüel objeleri, ritüel senaryosu, ritüel performans rolü/rolleri ve ritüel seyircisinden oluşur ve ritüel objeleri çeşitli tüketim aktiviteleri gerektirir (Rook, 1985).

Türkiye’deki taşra bölgelerden şehirlere göç eden büyük nüfus sebebiyle aile hayatında değişim olmuştur ve aile yapısı şehirleşmeden etkilenmiştir ama aileler kökenlerine olan bağlarını korumuştur (Adams & Trost, 2004). Bu durum insanların bir yeni bağlama alışmaya çalışırken çekişme/çatışmadan geçmelerine sebep olmuştur (Sunar & Fisek, 2005). Modern ve geleneksel konsepti birleştiren bu adaptasyon süreci, bu çalışmada da gözlemlenmektedir. Türkiye’deki düğün gelenekleri genel olarak kız isteme, söz töreni, nişan töreni, gelin çarşısı, kına gecesi, resmi tören ve düğün töreni ritüellerinden oluşur (Duruturk, 2008). Bunların dışında bohça ve gelin alma gelenekleri de vardır (Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, n.d). Katılımcıların çoğunluğu düğün süreçlerinde bu ritüellerin hepsini gerçekleştirmiştir. Fakat, şehirleşme ve karar verme mekanizmasındaki değişimin sonucu olarak bu ritüellerde adaptasyon ve modifikasyonlar olmuştur. Bu geleneksel ritüeller dışında farklı bir ritüel de vardır ve her katılımcı bu ritüeli her detayına kadar gerçekleştirmiştir. Bu ritüel özel bir organizasyonla yapılan evlilik teklifidir. Bu konuda Türkiye’deki orta sınıf, eğitilmiş ve şehirli insanların bu ritüelin ve ritüel objesi olan pırlanta yüzüğün düğün sürecini başlatmak için zorunlu olduğu şeklinde bir algıya sahip oldukları yorumu yapılabilir. Bu eklenen ritüel, modernleşmenin bir sonucu olarak da görülebilir.

Bu çalışmanın amacı olarak Epp ve Price (2008) tarafından geliştirilen çerçeve temel alındığı için çerçevenin her parçası, düğün ritüelleri ve tüketim aktivitelerinin analiz edilmesinde kullanılmıştır. Çerçevede, kolektif kimlikleri etkileyen pazar kaynakları tanımlanmıştır ve bu pazar kaynakları, objeler, markalar, hizmetler ve aktivitelerdir. Düğünler ritüel olduğu için çeşitli ritüel objelerini gerektirmektedir (Rook, 1985) ve bunlar pazar kaynakları olan objelerdir. Tüm katılımcılara düğün sürecinin her aşamasında hangi objeleri satın aldıkları ve hangi hizmetlerden faydalandıkları sorulmuştur. Ayrıca, herhangi bir özel marka tercih edip etmedikleri de sorulmuştur.

Epp ve Price (2008) tarafından geliştirilen çerçevenin bir parçası olan aktiviteler açısından da katılımcılara bu ritüeller sürecinde hangi aktiviteleri yaptıkları sorulmuştur. Katılımcılar düğün süreçlerinde benzer ritüel ve aktiviteleri

kullandıkları için katılımcıların kullandığı obje ve hizmetler de benzerlik göstermektedir. Kız isteme ve nişan törenlerinde çok fazla obje kullanılmamıştır. Kullanılan temel objeler, evlilik yüzükleri, gelin için elbise, damat için takım elbise, ritüelin bir parçası olarak geline kayınvalidesi tarafından verilen takı ve katılımcılara verilen yiyecek ve içeceklerdir. Düğün sürecinde katılımcılar, doğaları gereği alışveriş gerektiren iki tane ritüel gerçekleştirmiştir. Bunlar gelin çarşısı ve bohça geleneğidir. Gelin çarşısı ritüelinde amaç, gelini makyaj malzemelerinden kıyafete kadar donatmaktır. Bu yüzden, bu ritüelde çok fazla obje bulunmaktadır. Ortak objeler, iç çamaşırı, pijama, günlük kıyafet, makyaj malzemeleri gibi objelerdir. Bohça geleneğindeki objeler de gelin çarşısı ritüelinde alınan objelere benzerdir ama bu bohçalar diğer ailenin farklı üyelerine verildiği için daha fazla çeşit vardır. Kına gecesi için geleneksel kına gecesi kıyafeti olan bindallı, kına ve kına tepsisi kullanılmıştır. Ayrıca, bir gelenek olarak misafirlere yiyecek ve içecek ikramının yanı sıra kuruyemiş de verilmiştir. Ayrıca, eğlence için de farklı parçalar satın alınmıştır. Katılımcıların gelin alma ritüeli genellikle fazla obje gerektirmemiştir. Gelinin beline babası tarafından bağlanan kırmızı kuşak bu ritüelin temel objesidir.

Katılımcıların düğünleri için de çeşitli satın alma ve kiralama aktiviteleri yapılmıştır. Bu tören için kullanılan objeler gelinlik, duvak, damatlık, gelin ayakkabısı, gelin çiçeği, gelin saç aksesuarı, davetiye ve nikah şekeri/hediyesidir. Ayrıca bu ritüel için çeşitli hizmetlerden de faydalanılmıştır. Her ritüel için kuaför hizmeti alınmıştır. Kına gecesi ve düğün töreni için özel yer tutulmuştur. Bazı katılımcılar nişan törenleri için de özel bir yer tutmuştur. Bu yerlerin bazıları bir organizasyon firmasıyla çalışmayı gerektirmiştir. Ayrıca, katılımcıların düğün ritüellerinin bir parçası olarak gelin arabası da bir çiçekçiye süslettirilmiştir. Bunların dışında fotoğraf hizmeti ve dans kursu da vardır. Katılımcılar düğün törenleri için müzisyen de tutmuştur. Tüm bu satın alma ve hizmet alma aktiviteleri katılımcılar arasında ortak bir şablon oluşturmaktadır. Kullanılan objeler ve alınan hizmetler oldukça benzerdir. Bu yüzden, Türkiye’de yaşayan, orta sınıf, eğitimli ve şehirli nüfusun düğün geleneklerinin net bir şekilde önceden belirli olduğu söylenebilir. Ayrıca, katılımcıların markalara çok önem vermediği gözlemlenmiştir. Damatlık ve gelinlik için bazı belirli markalar söylenmiştir ama bunun nedeni olarak da tüm katılımcıların benzer kültürel kapasiteye sahip olması ve aynı şehirde, benzer bütçeyle araştırma yapması gösterilebilir. Bazı katılımcıların ailelerinin marka seçiminde etkisi

olmuştur. Özellikle anneler, düğünle ilgili objelerin alınabileceği geleneksel yerler konusunda katılımcıları yönlendirmiştir. Bu geleneksel yerler nesiller arası bir aktarım olarak da görülebilir. Sonuç olarak, Türkiye’de yaşayan, orta sınıf, eğitilmiş ve şehirli nüfusun düğün sürecinin her adımında pazar kaynaklarının olduğu görülebilmektedir ve düğünler, firmalara tüketim aktivitelerini çalışmak için verimli bir ortam sunmaktadır.

Epp ve Price tarafından geliştirilen modelin iki tane daha kategorisi vardır (2008). Bunlar, iletişim formları ve moderatörlerdir. İletişim formları, ritüeller, hikayeler, sosyal dramalar, nesiller arası aktarım ve günlük etkileşimlerden oluşur. Bu çalışma, düğün ritüelleri üzerine kurulu olduğu için bir iletişim formu olarak ritüeller araştırmanın her aşamasında gözlemlenebilmektedir. Genel anlamda, örneklemdeki ailelerin temel düğün ritüellerinin çok benzer olduğu görülmüştür. Ayrıca, her katılımcının ailesinin diğer ailenin ritüellerine saygı gösterdiği ve bunun sonucu olarak da tüm ritüellerin entegre edildiği sonucu ortaya çıkmıştır. Fakat, bu entegrasyon, gelin ve damat tarafından filtrelenmiştir. Modernleşmenin bir sonucu olarak katılımcıların ritüeller hakkındaki görüşleri ailelerinden farklı olarak gelişmiştir. Bu yüzden, Türkiye’de yaşayan, orta sınıf, eğitilmiş, şehirli ve yeni evli insanlar yeni aile kimlikleri için iki ailenin ritüellerinden faydalanarak yeni bir ritüel kombinasyonu oluşturmuştur. Bu düğün süreci, örneklemdeki çiftler için yeni hikayeler oluşturma imkanı sunmuştur. Katılımcılara bu süreçle ilgili hangi hikayeleri anlatacakları sorulmuştur ve çoğunlukla, katılımcılar ne kadar eğlendiklerini ve deneyimlerini anlatacaklarını söylemiştir. Bu da bu çalışmanın örneklemini dahilinde obje ve hizmet gibi elemanların hikaye oluşturmak için çok önemli olmadığını, bunlardan ziyade deneyimlerin hikayeler için bir temel oluşturduğunu göstermektedir. Nesiller arası aktarım söz konusu olduğunda çok fazla fiziksel objenin olmadığı görülmüştür. Bu durum, fiziksel objelerin nesiller arası aktarımının bu çalışmanın örnekleminin yeni aile kimliği oluşturma sürecinde önemli bir role sahip olmadığını göstermektedir. Bu araştırma, ritüeller üzerine kurulu olduğu için evlilik öncesi döneme odaklanılmıştır ve bu yüzden, günlük etkileşimler bu çalışmaya eklenmemiştir. Bu çalışmanın örneklemini dahilinde düğün sürecinde bazı sosyal dramalar gözlemlenmiştir. Kına gecesi ve gelin alma ritüelleri oldukça sosyal drama içermektedir. Bazı katılımcılar kına gecesi yapmak istememiştir ama aileleri istediği için kabul etmişlerdir. Bazı kadın katılımcılar da gelin alma ritüelini

yapmak istememiştir ama ailelerin ısrarıyla kabul etmiştir. Bu iki ritüelin ortak noktası oldukça duygusal ve dramatik olmalarıdır.

Epp ve Price (2008) tarafından geliştirilen modelin başka bir kategorisi de moderatörlerdir. Bu çalışmada, bu moderatörlerin Türkiye’de yaşayan, orta sınıf, eğitilmiş ve şehirli nüfus tarafından iki kurulu aile kimliğinden faydalanarak yeni bir aile kimliği oluşturmak için kullanıldığı görülmüştür. Bu düğün sürecinde, katılımcıların bazı açılardan fikir birliği gösterdiği görülmüştür. Ayrıca, üye bağlılığı moderatörü için bu örnekteki çiftlerin aileleri arasında bir köprü olup iletişim sağladığı gözlemlenmiştir. Düğün kavramı kendi başına parçalanma & geçiş moderatörüne dahildir. Bu çalışmanın örneğinin düğün sürecine Epp ve Price (2008) tarafından bahsedilen bariyer moderatörünün aile üyelerinin coğrafik dağılımı, zaman kısıtlamaları ve para kaynağının az olması özellikleri dahil olmuştur. Değişen bağlama uyum sağlama moderatörü için de katılımcıların geleneksel ve modern değerleri nasıl entegre ettiğine bakılabilir. İletişim formlarının adaptasyonu ve kimlik demetleri arasındaki sinerji (uyuşmazlık) katılımcıların bu süreçte en çok karşılaştığı moderatörlerdir. Katılımcılar, ritüelleri çeşitli yollarda adapte etmiştir. Aileler arasında da çok fazla uyuşmazlık olmadığı tüm süreç boyunca sinerji olduğu belirtilmiştir.

Süreçte hangi ritüellerin kullanılacağını seçim sürecinde ailelerin de etkisi olmuştur çünkü katılımcılar ailelerinin isteklerine saygı göstermiştir. Aynı zamanda da deneyimlerinden faydalanmıştır. Ayrıca, katılımcıların bu süreçte daha çok anneleriyle etkileşime geçtiği gözlemlenmiştir.

Katılımcıların bu süreçte çeşitli kimlik demetleri görüşmüştür. Bazı gelenekler, Türkiye’de yaşayan, orta sınıf, eğitilmiş ve şehirli nüfustan oluşan bu örnekte belirli etkileşimleri gerektirmiştir. Örnek olarak, gelin çarşısı ritüelinin en azından gelin ve kayınvalidesinin katılmasını gerektirmesi gösterilebilir. Bu çalışma bağlamında, temel kimlik etkileşimi gelin ve damat arasında olsa da farklı kimlik etkileşimleri de olmuştur.

Bu çalışmada, katılımcıların bu süreçte kullanılan pazar kaynaklarına sembolik bir anlam yükleyip yüklemediklerine de bakılmıştır ve genel olarak, somut obje ya da

hizmetlerden ziyade deneyimlere anlam yüklendiği görülmüştür. Ayrıca, bu örneklem bağlamında, kendin-yap aktiviteleri de gözlemlenmiştir.

Sonuç olarak, Epp ve Price tarafından geliştirilen çerçeve (2008), Türkiye’de yaşayan, orta sınıf, eğitilmiş, şehirli ve yeni evli nüfus bağlamında incelendiğinde, bu modelin sadece kurulu aile kimliklerinde değil yeni aile kimliği oluşturma sürecinde de uygulanabilir olduğu görülmüştür. Bu çerçeve, aile kimliklerinin entegre olmasını yönetme konusunda ve yeni aile kimliğinin uyum içinde oluşturulma sürecinde yardımcı olmaktadır. Bu çalışmanın örneklemini sınırlarında, bu uyumu sağlamak için en fazla kullanılan moderatörler iletişim formlarının adaptasyonu ve bireysel, ilişkisel ve aile kimlikleri arasındaki sinerji olmuştur. Bu süreçteki kimlik etkileşimleri, katılımcıların hem kendi hem eşlerinin ailelerinin üyelerinden oluşmaktadır ve bu bir entegrasyon olduğunu göstermektedir. Bu etkileşimler, çoğunlukla kadın üyeleri içermektedir. Bu örneklemin aile karar verme süreci incelendiğinde de yeni evli çiftin önceliği olduğu görülmektedir. Çoğunlukla kararları onlar vermiştir ama doğrudan dahil olmasalar da ailelerin de etkisi olmuştur. Ayrıca, karar verme konusunda kadın baskınlığı vardır. Tüm modelin Türkiye’de yaşayan bu örneklem dahilinde incelenmesi sonucunda çerçeveye iki farklı boyut daha eklenmiştir. Bu yeni boyutlar da modernleşme ve şehirleşmedir. Ayrıca, modelde aile içindeki kimlik etkileşimlerinden bahsedilmektedir (Epp ve Price, 2008) ama bu çalışmanın sonucunda, Türkiye’de yaşayan, orta sınıf, eğitilmiş ve şehirli nüfus için bu kimlik etkileşimlerine harici bir grup olan arkadaşların da eklenmesi gerektiği görülmektedir. Bunların dışında, Türkiye’de yaşayan, eğitilmiş ve şehirli nüfusun aileye hala önem verse de daha bireyseldi oldukları ve ailelerinin daha az etkisi altında kaldıkları gözlemlenmektedir. Son olarak da bu örnekleimde, yeni bir aile kimliği, gelin ve damadın aile kimliklerinden etkilense de bu yeni aile kimliğini etkileyen farklı unsurların da olduğu görülmüştür. Bu örnekleimdeki eşlerin toplumdaki yerleri kimliğe farklı eklemeler gerektirmiştir. Eğitim seviyeleri, kültürel birikim, finansal durumlar ve en önemlisi de sosyal çevre, Türkiye’de yaşayan, orta sınıf, eğitilmiş, şehirli ve yeni evli nüfusun bir aile olarak kim oldukları ve bu aileyi öz ailelerinden nelerin ayırdığını tanımlamaları için yardımcı olmaktadır.

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