

Determinants of adolescent marriage in Turkey

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Abstract: Although the age at first marriage tends to increase in Turkey, it still corresponds in the adolescent period. As the age at first marriage determines largely the onset of sexual activity and is closely linked to age at first birth, it is one of the important factors affecting lifetime fertility by extending the period of fertility with the phenomenon of early childbearing. It is also known that fertility among this age group affect maternal and child health negatively. The main purpose of the study is to explore the probable determinants of adolescent marriage in Turkey and to provide an insight for the explanation of adolescent marriage. The data source used is the 1998 Turkish Demographic and Health Survey. The findings of the analysis confirm the significant role of education on adolescent marriage. Adolescent marriage is more prevalent in rural areas and more frequently found in the East of the country.

Keywords: early marriage, fertility, Turkey

Introduction

Adolescence (from the Latin, *adolescere*, to grow up) is a distinct and dynamic phase of development in the life of individuals. It is a period of transformation from childhood to adulthood and is characterized by spurts of physical, mental, emotional and social development (Mensch et al., 1998).

World Health Organization (WHO) considers "adolescence" as "the period between 10-19 years of age" (WHO, 1989) which generally encompasses the time from the onset of puberty to the legal age of majority. Although the beginning of adolescence is clearly perceived with the commencement of puberty and the appearance of secondary sex characteristics, it is not as much easy to define where this period ends. While visible biological and physiological changes sign the beginning of this period, the end of adolescence depends rather on the social and the cultural setting (Mehta et al., 1998).

With the increasing awareness about the importance of adolescence, policy interest in this arena has begun to expand. At the ICPD held in Cairo in 1994, the international community acknowledged for the first time that adolescent reproductive and sexual health involves a specific set of needs which are distinct from adult needs. Having appreciated the importance of including adolescents in population and reproductive health programmes worldwide, ICPD highlighted adolescents' reproductive health as a priority concern in general. Particularly highlighted were the rights of adolescent women with regard to issues of gender inequality, their greater vulnerability to unprotected sexual activities, and the rights of young women to reproductive health information and services were stressed (Mehta et al., 1998).

Early marriage is still a very common phenomenon in a large number of developing countries¹, although this has been quickly changing. Early adolescent marriage and childbearing have serious negative health consequences for the mother and child. Adolescent women, especially those living in poor conditions and where access to health services is limited, are exposed to greater risks of maternal mortality and morbidity than women over 20 for many social and biological reasons. Young age is a risk factor for maternal mortality in all countries. However, in developing countries, where the risk of death in pregnancy and childbirth may be as much as 100 times compared to the developed countries and where pregnancy at young ages is common, maternal mortality makes a significant contribution to the total number of deaths during this period of life (UN, 1989a).

The trend towards an increasing age at first marriage is attributed to various factors, as far as the literature suggests. Urbanisation, increasing female education and labour force participation, extended reach of the media are the most commonly mentioned factors that have influence on adolescents' life expectations, attitudes and practices. These happenings leading to changes in the timing and context of marriage and child-bearing have been affecting the lives of young women in particular.

Earlier sexual maturity² and delays in marriage, on the other hand, raise the argument of premarital sexual activity. The main problems associated with premarital sex are increasing risks of unintended pregnancies, unsafe, septic abortions, out-of-wedlock births and the threat of sexually transmitted diseases.

In Turkey, marriage is almost universal and almost all births occur within marriage. Therefore, age at first marriage is an important demographic indicator since it represents the beginning of exposure to the risk of pregnancy (HIPS, 1999). As a norm of the society, women in Turkey are expected to get married no later than their twenties and ultimately, almost all women marry (HIPS, 1997).

When women aged 25–49 are considered, it is observed that median age at first marriage has increased from 17.7 years in 1978 to 19.5 years in 1998 (Figure 1). A cohort analysis of median age at first marriage also indicates an increase as well, as far as findings from the 1998 Turkish Demographic and Health Survey (TDHS–98) have shown (Table 1). Two years of increase, from 18.4 years to 20.4, is observed in the median age at first marriage when women aged 45–49 and 25–29 are compared. Although the age at first marriage tends to increase over time and across cohorts, it still corresponds to the adolescent age group³ as the most recent finding from the TDHS–98 indicates that half of the women in those age groups married before the age of 19.5.

¹ 80 percent of the births to adolescents are in developing countries (Dryfoos, 1994).

² According to the historical data from the United States and several European countries, age at menarche has been declining at a rate of two to three months per decade since the nineteenth century, resulting in overall declines of about three years (Wysack and Frisch, 1982, cited in Bongaarts and Cohen, 1998). As far as it has been stated, improvements in nutrition levels and socioeconomic conditions will lead to future declines in age at menarche in developing countries as well where ages at menarche will approach to those currently observed in the developed world (Bongaarts and Cohen, 1998; Becker, 1993).

³ Based on WHO's definition of adolescence (the period between the ages of 10–19).

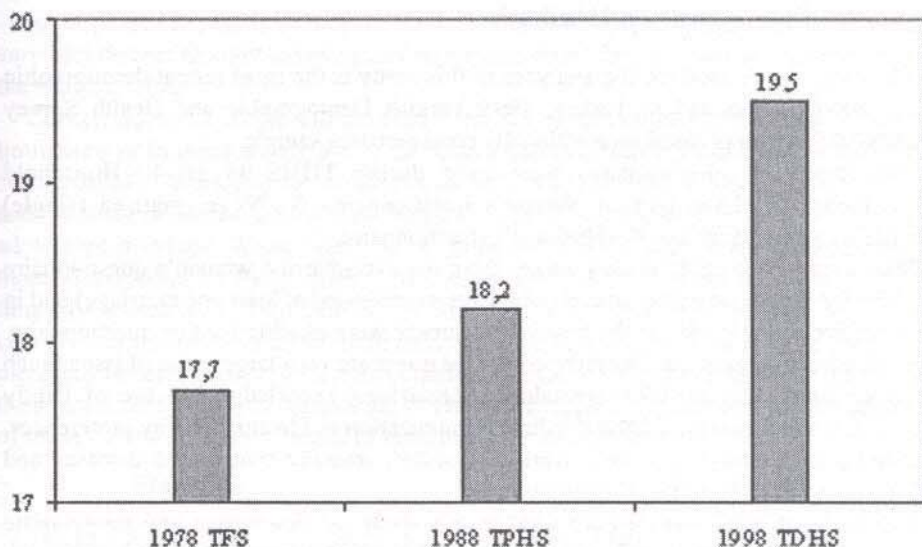


Figure 1. Median age at first marriage (Women 25-49)

Table 1. Median age at first marriage according to current age, Turkey, 1998

Current age	Median age at first marriage
15-19	a
20-24	a
25-29	20.4
30-34	20.3
35-39	19.0
40-44	28.5
45-49	18.4
Women 25-49	19.5

^a omitted because less than 50 percent of the women in the age group x to $x+4$ were first married by age x .
 Source: HIPS, 1999.

Inspired by this context in the background, this study is devoted to explore the probable determinants of adolescent marriage phenomenon in Turkey and to provide an insight into the explanation of this behaviour. Within this framework, the two main research questions whose answers, throughout the study, have been explored are:

- 1) What are the variables that have possible impact on adolescent marriage in Turkey?
- 2) What are the impacts of those variables in question on adolescent marriage?

While the answer of the first question has been explored in the descriptive part of the study, it is in the multivariate part the answer of the second has been explored.

Data source and Methods

The data source used for the analyses in this study is the most recent demographic health survey conducted in Turkey, 1998 Turkish Demographic and Health Survey (TDHS-98)⁴ which is based on a nationally representative sample.

Four types of questionnaires were used during TDHS-98 as: 1 – Household questionnaire, 2 – Ever-married woman's questionnaire, 3 – Never married (single) woman's questionnaire and 4 – Husband's questionnaire.

Data used in this study mainly comes from the ever-married woman's questionnaire (2). Women who were ever-married (who have experienced at least one marriage) and in reproductive ages (15–49) at the time of the survey were eligible for this questionnaire. Ever-married woman's questionnaire contained questions on a large range of issues such as background characteristics, reproduction, marriage, knowledge and use of family planning, maternal care and breastfeeding, immunization and health, fertility preferences, husband's background, women's work and status, sexually transmitted diseases and AIDS, maternal and child anthropometry.

Twofold statistical analyses are used in this study as; descriptive and multivariate statistical analyses, which are based on 4985 ever-married women between ages 25–49⁵. The dependent variable of the study is "getting married in adolescent period". If "age at first marriage" corresponds to the period younger than and equal to age 19, it is defined as adolescent period. If "age at first marriage" corresponds to the period older than age 19, it is defined as non-adolescent period. The independent variables were categorised under three main levels as; individual level variables (age, education, occupation, work and social security status), cultural level variables (mother tongue, type of marriage ceremony, bridesmoney, arrangement of marriage, consanguinity) and contextual level variables (type of place of residence, region, welfare status of the household).

In the first part, the possible influences of those variables on adolescent marriage are analysed on a descriptive basis. The second part in which multivariate analyses are conducted is devoted to assess the impact of those variables in question on adolescent marriage and see the extent they contribute in predicting adolescent marriage. The statistical technique used in multivariate analyses is forward stepwise logistic regression which fits to the scope of the analyses as the dependent variable is dichotomous. For adjusting the dependent variable "getting married in adolescent period" to be used in logistic regression technique, women under analyses who got married in adolescent period were coded "1" and those who did not get married in adolescent period were coded "0". There were three stages of estimation. In the first model, only individual level variables were introduced into logistic regression. The second model included also the cultural level variables as well as individual variables. At the final stage, with the introduction of the contextual level variables, the third model combined all the three levels of variables.

⁴ Hacettepe Institute of Population Studies (HIPS) carried out the TDHS-98 in collaboration with the General Directorate of Mother and Child Health and Family Planning, Ministry of Health. Funding for the TDHS-98 was provided both by the U.S. Agency for International Development through the MEASURE/DHS+ program and United Nations Population Fund.

⁵ Medians for cohorts 15–19 and 20–24 could not be determined because less than 50 percent of the women were first married by ages 15 and 20.

In the phase of variable selection, literature about the topic has been considered and the variables that are thought to have possible impacts on adolescent marriage are included in the study as well.

Concerning some of the independent variables, a remark should be made about the limitations or in other words, about the shortcomings of those variables. The variables: "Occupation", "Work and social security status", "Type of place of residence", "Region" and "Welfare of the household" have some limitations as regards their roles in explaining adolescent marriage. While marrying in adolescence is an event that occurred in past, those aforementioned independent variables give information about the situation at the time of the interview. That means, the situation regarding those variables might have changed during that period (the period between the time of the event and the survey) so there may be differences between the situation when adolescent marriage was realized and the situation at the time of the interview. Therefore, considering the measurement power of those variables, it is important to keep those limitations in mind.

Findings

The findings of the study are discussed in two sub-sections. In the first sub-section, the findings of the descriptive analyses are discussed where the relation between the selected variables and adolescent marriage is analysed. The second sub-section is devoted to discuss the findings of the multivariate analyses to see the magnitude of the impact of the variables -that entered in the stepwise logistic regression equation- on adolescent marriage.

1. Findings of descriptive analyses:

a. Prevalence of adolescent marriage according to individual level variables

Table 2 shows the prevalence of adolescent marriage according to individual level variables. The first variable, age is an important variable for observing the changes in the trend with regard to marriage in adolescent period. When the prevalence of adolescent marriage is examined according to age groups, it is noticed that elder women were much more likely to marry in adolescence than their younger counterparts. While two-thirds (67.4 percent) of women aged 40-49 got married in adolescence, the proportion decreases to 51.6 percent among women 25-34.

Education is a noteworthy variable that affects marriage behaviour to a considerable extent. This is not only because the time spent in school results in later marriage and postponed births, but also because of changes in marriage and childbearing attitudes. Concerning education, three variables are taken into consideration: education of the woman, education of the husband and education of the couple. When the relative prevalence of adolescent marriage is examined according to the education of the woman, it is seen that marrying in adolescent period is most prevalent among those women who have no education (76.6 percent). As the level of education increases, the phenomenon of adolescent marriage is observed to be rarer. When the women with higher (post-secondary) education are considered, it is noticed that among them just a small percent of 7.4 got married during adolescence.

Education of the husband also leads to significant changes in marriage behaviour in adolescence and a negative correlation is observed between husband's educational level

and prevalence of marriage in adolescence among women. Again, it is seen that adolescent marriage is most prevalent among those women whose husbands have no education (80 percent). As the husband's level of education increases, marriage in adolescent period becomes rarer. The proportion who married in adolescence is 31.2 percent among those women whose husbands have post-secondary level of education.

Education of the couple has the same effects on marriage behaviour as education of the woman and education of the husband do. Marriage in adolescent period is most prevalent among those women who are uneducated and who have uneducated husbands (81.6 percent). It is also noteworthy that even if one of the partners is uneducated, marriage in adolescence preserves its high prevalence although to a lesser extent than the situation where both partners are uneducated. The proportion who got married in adolescence drops to 53 percent among those women when both partners have higher (post-secondary) education.

Table 2. Prevalence of marriage in adolescence according to individual level variables

Variable		Age at first marriage			N
		Adolescent	Non-adolescent	Total	
Age	25-34	51.6	48.4	100.0	2340
	35-39	62.1	37.9	100.0	1055
	40-49	67.4	32.6	100.0	1590
Education					
Education of the woman	No education	76.6	23.4	100.0	1159
	Primary	63.1	36.9	100.0	2741
	Secondary	36.2	63.8	100.0	827
	Higher	7.4	92.6	100.0	259
Education of the husband	No Education	80.0	20.0	100.0	369
	Primary	66.6	33.4	100.0	2566
	Secondary	50.7	49.3	100.0	1490
	Higher	31.2	68.8	100.0	547
Education of the Couple	Both uneducated	81.6	18.4	100.0	270
	Women educated, husband uneducated	75.6	24.4	100.0	99
	Husband educated, women uneducated	75.2	24.8	100.0	883
	Both educated	53.0	47.0	100.0	3720
Occupation	Not working	60.0	40.0	100.0	3129
	Service	34.1	65.9	100.0	525
	Agriculture	70.3	29.7	100.0	936
	Industry	56.5	43.5	100.0	387
Work and social security status	Not working	60.0	40.0	100.0	3129
	Working without SS	66.4	33.6	100.0	1377
	Working with SS	29.1	70.9	100.0	469
Total		58.9	41.1	100.0	4985

Note: Due to different number of missing cases, sums of the Ns for some variables are not equal to the table total.

Prevalence of marriage in adolescent period seems to vary according to occupation. It is noticed that adolescent marriage is most prevalent among those women who work in agriculture sector as 7 in 10 (70.3 percent) of them got married in adolescence. However, women working in service sector are the least likely to marry in adolescence as 3 in 10 (34.1 percent) did so.

Work and social security status affects prevalence of marriage in adolescence. The likelihood of marrying in adolescence is the lowest among women working with social security (29.1 percent) when compared to their counterparts who are working without social security (66.4 percent) and who are not working (60 percent).

b. Prevalence of adolescent marriage according to cultural level variables

The prevalence of adolescent marriage according to cultural level variables is presented in Table 3. Likewise the variable, education, at the individual level, three variables are taken into consideration in the case of mother tongue: mother tongue of the woman, mother tongue of the husband and mother tongue of the couple. Considering the mother tongue of the woman, it is noticed that women whose mother tongue is Kurdish or one of its dialects (Kurmanci, Gorani, Zaza etc.) are the ones most likely to marry in adolescent period (75.2 percent) when compared to their counterparts in other language groups. The lowest prevalence with regard getting married in adolescence is observed among the group whose mother tongue is Turkish with a proportion of 56.1 percent.

If the prevalence of adolescent marriage is analysed according to the mother tongue of the husband, a similar pattern is observed to the one above. Adolescent marriage is most prevalent among those women whose husbands' mother tongue is Kurdish or one of its dialects (Kurmanci, Gorani, Zaza etc.) when compared to their counterparts with husbands speaking different mother tongues (73.9 percent). It is also seen that marrying in adolescence is least prevalent among the group of women whose husbands' mother tongue is Turkish (56.2 percent).

When the relative prevalence of adolescent marriage is examined according to the mother tongue of the couple, marriage in adolescent period seems to be the most prevalent among those women whose mother tongue is Kurdish and whose husbands' mother tongue is Turkish. Three-fourths (76.8 percent) of those women got married in adolescence. On the other hand, marrying in adolescence is least prevalent among the group of women when the mother tongue of the couple is Turkish (56 percent).

The variable, type of marriage ceremony, gives interesting results regarding the prevalence of adolescent marriage. As seen from the table, with a proportion of two-thirds (66.7 percent), the group of women who have only a religious marriage are the ones most likely to marry in adolescent period, when compared to their counterparts with other types of marriage ceremonies. It is also noteworthy that the lowest likelihood of experiencing an adolescent marriage is observed among those women who have only a civil marriage with a proportion of two-fifths (40.2 percent).

Another specific variable is brides money, which is observed to have an affect on the prevalence of adolescent marriage. The women who married by brides money of any kind are much more likely to marry in adolescence than their counterparts who married without any bride money (76.8 and 52.9 percents, respectively).

Arrangement of marriage is also an important variable as regards its effect on the prevalence of marriage in adolescent period. While getting married in adolescence is most prevalent among those women who married their husbands after having escaped from home, the women who arranged their marriages with their husbands are the least likely to marry in adolescent period (77.2 and 45.5 percents, respectively).

Table 3. Prevalence of marriage in adolescence according to cultural level variables

Variable	Age at first marriage			N	
	Adolescent	Non-adolescent	Total		
<i>Mother tongue</i>					
Mother tongue of the woman	Turkish	56.1	43.9	100.0	4206
	Kurdish or its dialects	75.2	24.8	100.0	620
	Arabic	73.5	26.5	100.0	82
	Other	67.5	32.5	100.0	76
Mother tongue of the husband	Turkish	56.2	43.8	100.0	4178
	Kurdish or its dialects	73.9	26.1	100.0	638
	Arabic	72.4	27.6	100.0	85
	Other	65.4	34.6	100.0	84
Mother tongue of the couple	Both Turkish	56.0	44.0	100.0	4116
	Woman Turkish, husband Kurdish	62.2	37.8	100.0	61
	Woman Kurdish, husband Turkish	(76.8)	(23.2)	100.0	41
	Both Kurdish	75.0	25.0	100.0	568
	Other	71.5	28.5	100.0	197
Type of marriage Ceremony	Both	59.3	40.7	100.0	4499
	Only civil	40.2	59.8	100.0	210
	Only religious	66.7	33.3	100.0	266
Bridesmoney	No	52.9	47.1	100.0	3742
	Yes, any kind	76.8	23.2	100.0	1222
Arrangement of Marriage	By couples	45.5	54.5	100.0	1683
	By families	64.9	35.1	100.0	3027
	Escaped	77.2	22.8	100.0	227
	Other	(65.3)	(34.7)	100.0	48
Consanguinity	Not consang.	55.7	44.3	100.0	3802
	First degree	69.5	30.5	100.0	676
	Second degree	67.7	32.3	100.0	341
	Other consang	70.1	29.9	100.0	162
Total		58.9	41.1	100.0	4985

Note: () Figure in parenthesis based on 25-49 cases

* Less than 25 cases

Due to different number of missing cases, sums of the Ns for some variables are not equal to the table total.

Consanguinity of any degree seems to affect the prevalence of marriage in adolescence. As seen from the table, women who have some degree of consanguinity (first, second degree and other consanguinity) with their husbands are much more likely to marry in adolescence (69.5, 67.7 and 70.1 percents, respectively). On the other hand, the proportion who married in adolescent period drops to 55.7 percent if there is not any consanguinity between the woman and the husband.

c. Prevalence of adolescent marriage according to contextual level variables

Table 4 shows the prevalence of adolescent marriage according to contextual level variables. Type of place of residence is a significant variable concerning its effect on prevalence of adolescent marriage. This is due to the differences between urban and rural with respect to social structure, traditions, life styles and beliefs. Whereas 55.8 percent of the women living in urban got married in adolescence, the proportion is 65.4 percent for those women who live in rural areas.

Table 4. Prevalence of marriage in adolescence according to contextual level variables

Variable		Age at first marriage			N
		Adolescent	Non-adolescent	Total	
Type of place of residence	Urban	55.8	44.2	100.0	3393
	Rural	65.4	34.6	100.0	1592
Region	West	54.8	45.2	100.0	1960
	South	57.6	42.4	100.0	725
	Central	59.6	40.4	100.0	1186
	North	58.8	41.2	100.0	419
	East	70.5	29.5	100.0	695
Welfare status of the household	Low income household	63.4	36.6	100.0	3098
	Middle income household	53.3	46.7	100.0	1501
	High income household	41.4	58.6	100.0	262
Total		58.9	41.1	100.0	4985

Note: Due to different number of missing cases, sums of the Ns for some variables are not equal to the table total.

If the prevalence of adolescent marriage is analysed according to region, it is seen that women living in the East are the most likely to marry in adolescence (70.5 percent) when compared to their counterparts living in other regions. The proportion who got married in adolescent period is the lowest (54.8 percent) among women who live in the West. These findings indicate that the traditional and relatively conservative social structure of the East encourages early marriages whereas it is the opposite in the West, which has a much more modern, open and dynamic social structure.

Welfare of the household is observed to affect the prevalence of adolescent marriage. The findings indicate a negative correlation between the income of the household and the likelihood of marrying in adolescence. As the income of the household increases, the likelihood of marrying in adolescence decreases. While slightly more than three fifths

(63.4 percent) of those women from low income households got married in adolescent period, the proportion drops nearly to two-fifths (41.4 percent) for the women from high income households.

2. Findings of multivariate analyses:

Table 5 presents the results of stepwise logistic regression where the impacts of variables on adolescent marriage can be seen. In the first model, it is seen that age of the woman has significance in explaining adolescent marriage. Women aged 35–39 and 40–49 are respectively 50 and 65 percent more likely than their counterparts aged 25–34 to get married in adolescent period ($p < 0.01$). Education of the couple is also noticed to have a very significant impact on adolescent marriage. The odds of experiencing an adolescent marriage are 3 times higher among the women when the couple is uneducated than that of women when the couple is educated ($p < 0.01$). The likelihood of marrying in adolescence among the women when one of the partners is uneducated is 2.2 times higher than that of the women when both of the partners are educated ($p < 0.01$). As regards work and social security status, it is observed that the women working without social security and the women who are not working are respectively 4.3 and 3 times as much likely as the women working with social security to get married in adolescence ($p < 0.01$).

The second model indicates that of age, education and social security status on adolescent marriage maintain their significance after having added the cultural level variables into the regression equation. When the type of marriage ceremony is in question, it is seen that women who have both a civil and a religious marriage are 60 percent more likely to get married in adolescent period than their counterparts who have only a civil marriage ($p < 0.01$). Women who have only a religious marriage are 40 percent more likely to get married in adolescent period than their counterparts who have only a civil marriage, but this difference is statistically insignificant ($p < 0.05$). Bridesmoney is observed to be a highly effective predictor of adolescent marriage. The likelihood of getting married in adolescence among the women who married with bridesmoney of any kind is 2 times as much that of those who married without bridesmoney ($p < 0.01$). Arrangement of marriage also has significance in explaining adolescent marriage. The women whose marriages were arranged by the families are almost 60 percent more likely to get married in adolescent period than their counterparts who arranged their marriages with their husbands ($p < 0.01$). The probability of getting married in adolescent period is almost 3.5 times higher among the women who married after having escaped in comparison to those who arranged their marriages with their husbands ($p < 0.01$). The women whose marriages were arranged in other ways apart from the aforementioned ones are 62 percent more likely to get married in adolescent period than their counterparts who arranged their marriages with their husbands, but this difference is statistically insignificant ($p < 0.05$). As regards consanguinity, it is noticed that women who have first or second degree consanguinity with their husbands are respectively 38 and 40 percent more likely to get married in adolescent period than their counterparts who do not have any consanguinity with their husbands ($p < 0.01$ and $p < 0.05$, respectively). The likelihood of marrying in adolescence is 75 percent more among the women who have other degree of consanguinity with their husbands than the aforementioned ones when compared to the women who do not have any consanguinity with their husbands ($p < 0.01$).

Table 5. Impacts of independent variables on adolescent marriage Results of stepwise logistic regression

Characteristics	WOMEN 25-49		
	Individual level analysis	Cultural level variables added	Contextual level variables added
Age of the women			
25-34	1.0000	1.0000	1.0000
35-39	1.4899*	1.3967*	1.4143*
40-49	1.6551*	1.6066*	1.6088*
Education of the couple			
Both uneducated	3.0862*	2.0982*	1.8632*
Either uneducated	2.2387*	1.7065*	1.6398*
Both educated	1.0000	1.0000	1.0000
Work and social security status			
Working with SS	1.0000	1.0000	1.0000
Working without SS	4.3005*	3.2678*	3.3213*
Not working	3.1237*	2.4415*	2.4127*
Mother tongue of the couple			
Both Turkish	Na	(-)	1.0000
Either of them Turkish	Na	(-)	1.5635
Both Kurdish	Na	(-)	1.3454**
Other	Na	(-)	1.2450
Type of marriage ceremony			
Both	Na	1.6071*	1.4978**
Only religious	Na	1.4025	1.2066
Only civil	Na	1.0000	1.0000
Bridesmoney			
No	Na	1.0000	1.0000
Yes, any kind	Na	2.0413*	1.9580*
Arrangement of marriage			
By couples	Na	1.0000	1.0000
By families	Na	1.5663*	1.5646*
Escaped	Na	3.4124*	3.5180*
Other	Na	1.6225	1.6447
Consanguinity			
No consanguinity	Na	1.0000	1.0000
First degree	Na	1.3772*	1.3401*
Second degree	Na	1.4021**	1.4048**
Other consanguinity	Na	1.7485*	1.7120*
Type of place of residence			
Urban	Na	Na	1.0000
Rural	Na	Na	1.7601*
Region			
West	Na	Na	1.0000
South	Na	Na	1.1923**

Table 5. Continuation

Characteristics	WOMEN 25-49		
	Individual level analysis	Cultural level variables added	Contextual level variables added
Central			
North	Na	Na	1.5673*
East	Na	Na	2.8409*
Welfare of the household			
Low income hh	Na	Na	(-)
Middle income hh	Na	Na	(-)
High income hh	Na	Na	(-)
-2 log likelihood	5949.576*	5716.420	5570.468
-2 log likelihood	437.616*	640.992*	629.990*

Notes: 1. * indicates differences at p.01; ** indicates differences at p.05. The remaining ones are those that are statistically insignificant.

2. Na= Not applicable

3. (-) =not in the equation

Having introduced the contextual level variables into the regression equation, the third model reveals that the effects of the individual and cultural level variables on adolescent marriage still persist. In terms of the mother tongue of the couple, the least likelihood of getting married in adolescent period is observed among those women when the mother tongue of the couple is Turkish. The likelihood, when compared to those women, increases 56 percent when Turkish is the mother tongue of only one of the partners, but this difference is statistically insignificant ($p < 0.05$). If the couple's mother tongue is Kurdish, those women are 35 percent more likely to marry in adolescent period than their counterparts when Turkish is the mother tongue of both partners ($p < 0.05$). The likelihood of marrying in adolescence is 25 percent more among the women in the category "other" (If the mother tongue of the couple is not Turkish or Kurdish and if Turkish is not the mother tongue of one of the partners) compared to their counterparts when Turkish is the mother tongue of the couple. However, this difference is statistically insignificant ($p < 0.05$). Type of place of residence has a significant effect on adolescent marriage. Women living in rural areas are 76 percent more likely to experience an adolescent marriage than their counterparts living in urban areas ($p < 0.01$). Region is also an important predictor of adolescent marriage. The likelihood of getting married in adolescent period is almost 2.9 times higher among the women who live in the East in comparison to their counterparts living in the West ($p < 0.01$). Besides, the probability of experiencing an adolescent marriage increases from the South to the North.

Conclusions

The relation between education and adolescent marriage and fertility has particularly been addressed in many studies about adolescence, which conclude with the importance of education in delayed marriages. The findings of this study, which aims to explore the

determinants of adolescent marriage in Turkey, confirm the significant role of education on adolescent marriage as the literature has suggested.

In parallel with the findings from successive surveys indicating a decline in the median age at first marriage, a decrease in adolescent marriage phenomenon is observed when the cohorts are compared. Higher practice of adolescent marriage in older age groups indicates that young age groups are getting married much more later when compared to their elder counterparts.

The idea of associating early marriage with dominantly rural and traditional societies seems also valid for the context of Turkey as far as the findings of the study have indicated. Adolescent marriage is found to be more prevalent in rural areas than in urban areas. This behaviour is also more commonly practised in the East (which represents mainly an agrarian and more traditional part of Turkey) than in the West (which is regarded as the more industrialized and more modern part of Turkey).

A close association is observed between non-traditional behaviour and marriage outside the adolescent period. In other words, the likelihood of marrying in adolescence is lower among those women who have only a civil marriage, who did not marry with bridesmoney, who arranged their marriages with their husbands and who do not have any consanguinity with their husbands.

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PODMÍNKY SŇATKŮ MLÁDEŽE V TURECKU

Résumé

Věk vstupu do manželství se v Turecku zvyšuje, avšak dosud zůstává relativně nízký. Jelikož věk při prvním sňatku je spojen s počátkem sexuální aktivity a s narozením prvního dítěte, je přímo spojen s celkovou úrovní plodnosti. Je také známo, že rození dětí v nízkém věku ovlivňuje negativně zdraví dětí i matek. Snahou příspěvku je analyzovat důvody nízkého věku při sňatku v Turecku. Analýza je založena na Tureckém demografickém a zdravotním šetření provedeném v roce 1998. Jako metody byly použity jak deskriptivní tak multivariantní statistické analýzy. Jako faktory byly uvažovány věk, vzdělání, sociální postavení, mateřský jazyk, příbuzenství a místo i region bydliště.

Výsledky potvrzují významnou roli vzdělání jak bylo ostatně známo již z literatury. Dále je patrné, že v současné době dochází ke sňatkům v podstatně vyšším věku než u starších generací. Nízký věk při sňatku se dosud udržuje zejména ve venkovských oblastech a na východě země. Existuje silná asociace mezi netradičním chováním a věkem při sňatku.