



RESEARCH ON ADOLESCENT PROFILE IN TÜRKİYE TEPA 2013



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Aile ve
Sosyal Politikalar
Bakanlığı

T.R. MINISTRY OF FAMILY AND SOCIAL POLICIES
GENERAL DIRECTORATE OF FAMILY AND SOCIAL SERVICES

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T.R. Ministry of Family and Social Policies
General Directorate of Family and Social Services

Adolescent Profile in Türkiye

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FOREWORD

Adolescence is the period when individuals experience intense changes in their self-perception and begin to form extensive relations with social institutions besides their families. Adolescence is when individuals move from childhood to youth and when various social actors in the public sphere, especially educational institutions, shape their values and behaviors. It is for these reasons that adolescence constitutes a prominent research topic for the social sciences.

As of 2014, adolescent population amounts to ten percent of our entire population. Therefore, studies that aim to investigate the qualities, expectations, problems as well as family, peer and school relations of adolescents are crucial to provide them a better future.

Our Ministry is involved in a systematic effort to conduct studies on the Adolescent Profile in Türkiye in order to identify the changes that the adolescent population has been experiencing in the last twenty years and the various problems caused by these changes in relation to schooling, employment and the use of the public sphere. These studies are geared towards understanding the changes in the adolescent population as well as young people's needs and expectations. This in turn makes it possible to devise social policies to overcome adolescent problems in various arenas and to prioritize investments accordingly.

The first research study on the Adolescent Profile in Türkiye was led by the Prime Ministry Family Research Institution in 1996. The second study was commissioned by the Prime Ministry General Directorate for Family and Social Research in 2008 and the third research study was realized through the Ministry of Family and Social Policies in 2013. This study was conducted in 2013 in order to fill gaps of knowledge on the subject of adolescence, which we witness due to a scarcity of family related research projects that are conducted using nationally representative samples. I am happy to be presenting this study on behalf of my Ministry for the benefit of all parties who are engaged in adolescence or youth related work. I take this opportunity to thank everybody who worked on the project.

Ayşenur İSLAM
Minister

PROLOGUE

A significant portion of the population in Türkiye is composed of adolescents. Today's young population will shape the next twenty years of the country. It is for this reason that we regularly conduct research on the Adolescent Profile in Türkiye, with the purpose of identifying the problems of adolescents and realizing social policies to overcome those problems.

The social sciences find common ground in the effort to identify and understand the factors that lead to social change and the structural transformations experienced by those who are implicated by such social change. The young population must be studied since they both cause and are implicated by social change. I am of the opinion that understanding processes of transformation in the youth's relations to work, school, family, media and peers as well as their self-perception constitute a starting point to gauge young people's abilities to resist or adapt to change.

Processes of forming and implementing social policy show that young people occupy a dynamic and foremost position in social change. As such, state research and social policy institutions are obligated to reach structural identifications about the youth. The state's limited resources thus need to be allocated by prioritizing adolescents' problems and towards realizing relevant social policies.

It is with these considerations in mind that the first study on the Adolescent Profile in Türkiye was conducted in 1996, followed by the second study in 2008 and the third study in 2013 by our General Directorate. Since the 2013 project is a continuation of the previous studies, the findings and the results may be compared to yield a comprehensive picture of the changes that the adolescent population experienced in the past 20 years. Here, I wish to thank everybody who worked on conducting the project and presenting it for the benefit of interested parties.

I wish for this study to incite new research questions and to benefit those involved in developing policy.

Ömer BOZOĞLU
General Directorate

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Even though there is a high need for scientific data on the subject of adolescents in Türkiye, the quantity of nationally representative studies is rather low. The current project thus set out to satisfy this pressing need. We would like to take this opportunity to thank all parties involved in the study.

This valuable study was designed by the esteemed administrators, experts and staff at the Ministry of Family and Social Policies, General Directorate for Family and Social Research. We hereby thank,

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Mustafa TURĞUT
Department of Research and Policy

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ABBREVIATIONS

ADNKS	ADDRESS BASED POPULATION REGISTRATION SYSTEM
BAG-KUR	SOCIAL SECURITY ORGANIZATION FOR ARTISANS AND THE SELF-EMPLOYED
BMI	BODY MASS INDEX
EU	EUROPEAN UNION
ILO	INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION
NUTS	NOMENCLATURE OF TERRITORIAL UNITS FOR STATISTICS
RAM	GUIDANCE AND RESEARCH CENTER
RSE	ROSENBERG Self-Esteem SCALE
SES	SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS
SGK	SOCIAL SECURITY INSTITUTION
SSK	SOCIAL INSURANCE INSTITUTION
TEPA	RESEARCH ON ADOLESCENT PROFILE IN TÜRKİYE
TUBA	TURKISH ACADEMY OF SCIENCES
TURKSTAT	TURKISH STATISTICAL INSTITUTE
UNFPA	UNITED NATIONS POPULATION FUND
UNICEF	UNITED NATIONS CHILDREN'S FUND



SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Household

School Life

Work Life

Family and Friendship Relations

Feelings, Behaviors and Personality Traits

Violence

Perception of Religion

Choice of Profession

Media Usage

Sexuality

Household

The most prevalent family type encountered during the interviews is the nuclear family type at 87%. This is followed by the extended family type (8%) where family elders and other relatives reside in the same home as the nuclear family. This research employs the term “single parent family” to refer to those families where either the mother or the father is deceased. Two percent of the families encountered belong to this category. The term “broken family” is used to refer to those families where the parents are either separated or divorced. Three percent of the families encountered belong to this category.

While the percentage of nuclear families is 96 for the upper SES group, the figure is 73% for the lower SES group. On the other hand, while the percentage of extended families is 17 for the low SES group, the figure drops as SES increases and is at 1% in the upper SES group. The percentage of single parent families is 6 for the low SES group but drops to less than 1% for the upper SES group.

Nuclear and broken families are more prevalent in urban areas whereas extended families are more widespread in rural areas.

Thirty five percent of the households are composed of four persons. This is followed by five-person homes at 21% and three-person homes at 20%. Of the households with adolescents, 23% are composed of six persons or more. The average number of children in the surveyed households is 3.02 and average number of adolescents per home is 1.54.

Of the mothers, the majority is between 31 and 40 years old (53%). Of the fathers, the majority is between 41 and 50 years old (54%). Fathers are more educated than the mothers.

A large majority of the mothers are housewives (85.5%). Thirteen percent of the mothers work. Nineteen percent of the fathers are skilled workers

and 17.5% are unskilled workers. The percentage of fathers who are employed as farmers, shopkeepers or civil servants is similar to one another (around 11-12%).

Eighty one percent of the adolescents living in the surveyed households have SGK coverage through their parents and 11% have green cards (health card for persons with no insurance). Five percent of the respondents do not have any social security coverage.

Of the surveyed families, 60% are locals of where they currently live. Fourteen percent of the families have migrated to their current locale in the last 10 years and 36% have migrated in the last 20 years.

More than half of the migrants (56%) have declared economic reasons to be the cause for their migration. This is followed by migration due to marriage at 15.5% and migration due to appointment at 12%. The percentage of migrants in the upper SES group is over 50 but only reaches 26% for the lower SES group.

Fifty seven percent of the surveyed families reside in apartment houses or flats. Twenty nine percent live in separate, individual houses and 12% live in village houses. Eighty eight percent of the residences in urban areas and 82% of those in rural areas are composed of three or four rooms. The average number of rooms was determined at 3.61. In 54% of the surveyed homes, the adolescent interviewed has his/her private room. Two thirds of the families are homeowners and nearly 30% are renters.

The most common heating device is the heating stove which nearly half of the households use (47%). Twenty eight percent of the households have central heating and 22% make use of a room heater. Of the houses where interviews took place, 41% was found to use natural gas in various different heating devices. Forty six percent of the households utilize wood and coal for heating.

Adolescents and School Life

Forty nine percent of the interviewed adolescents are female and 51% are male. Mean age for both sexes is 14.97. Forty nine percent of the participating adolescents are high school students and 34% are primary education students. Five percent have high school degrees and 4% are primary education graduates. Three percent of the participants are university students.

A large majority of the interviewed adolescents are students (89%). A very large percentage (97.5%) of the participants either are or were last enrolled in a public school. Accordingly, 2.5% attend private schools. Five percent of the interviewees are included in the labor market by either being students who also work, by only working or by looking for a job.

Of the adolescents who are not in school, 38% percent state that they quit school because “they are unwilling to go to school.” This reason is followed by economic reasons and not having been successful in the university entrance exams, at 22% each.

The main reason why some adolescents quit school to begin working is economic hardship. Forty percent of working adolescents elect this factor. The percentage of those who work instead of going to school because they are unwilling to attend school is also relatively high at 34%. This is followed by those who declare that they like working (10.5%).

A majority of the student participants find themselves successful (52%) or very successful (11%) in school. Only 4% of the student participants perceive of themselves as either unsuccessful or very unsuccessful. A large majority of the participants desire to continue their education (97%).

Students are generally satisfied with their school administration as well as the attitudes and behaviors of their teachers. The highest level of dissatisfaction appears to relate to the country’s education system.

The combined ratio for those who are either “very dissatisfied” or “dissatisfied” in this regard nears one fourth of the participants at 24%.

Eighty percent of the respondents state that there are guidance services in their schools. This figure is 81% in urban areas (81%) and 76.5% in rural areas. On the other hand, 71.5% declare that they have never consulted with these services. The most frequently mentioned topic of discussion between students and guidance teachers is schoolwork (60%). Of the students who have consulted with the guidance services in their schools, 77% declare that they were either “satisfied” or “very satisfied” with their consultations.

Adolescents and Work Life

Five percent of the participating adolescents compose of the group who either work, both study and work or are looking for a job. The most common lines of work for adolescents include various positions in the service sector where they work as hairdressers, tailors or at shops or restaurants (34%). This is followed by work in a manufacturing enterprise at 21%, after which comes agricultural work at 18% and work for the family business at 16%.

The sex distribution shows that it is more common for boys to work in the industry or in family business when compared to girls. On the other hand, for girls it is more common than boys to work in confection, textiles or in fields and gardens.

Forty five percent of working adolescents have been working for 1 to 1.5 years. The mean for the average length of work is 1.83 years, and the median is 1.1 years.

Sixty eight percent of the respondents state that they work for six or seven days a week. Seventy three percent of working adolescents work for more than seven hours a day and 43% work for over eight hours a day.

The majority of working adolescents is deprived of social security coverage by their employers (70%). The percentage of coverage is slightly higher for boys than girls and considerably higher for older adolescents. Also the percentage of coverage in urban areas is more than three times as high as rural sectors.

The most frequently declared amount of income falls between the range of 501-1000 TL per month (49%). Most of adolescents' earning appears to be spent on their families. Only 27.5% of the respondents state that they mostly spend their earnings on themselves.

Of working adolescents, 42% are happy to be working and 32% are somewhat happy to be working. The average level of happiness is calculated at 3.36 points out of 5.

Working adolescents are generally happy about human relations at the work place. There is less complaint about the work environment than recounts of satisfaction. Adolescents appear to be least satisfied with the kind of work they carry out. Seventy five percent of working adolescents state that they are never subjected to verbal violence at the work place. Other forms of violence are much less common.

Family and Friendship Relations

More than half of the respondents state that they have both male and female friends. Nine percent of the adolescents only have female friends and 7% only have male friends. More than half of the participants have between 1 and 3 close friends. One third of the adolescents have between 4 and 6 close friends.

The foremost issue that occupies adolescents' agendas is school (elected with 59% frequency), one may add to this the related subject of high school and university entrance exams at 17%. The second ranking topic is girl/boyfriends, followed by clothes.

Within the family, adolescents have best relations with their mothers (4.44/5), followed by their fathers and older siblings. Adolescents in the younger age group have better relations with their family members than their older peers.

At the same time, the mother tends to be the person with whom the adolescent has most disputes or arguments. Eleven percent of the respondents identify their mothers as the family member with whom they argue most. This is followed by the younger brother at 10%. Nearly half of the participants (49%) state that they do not have conflicts with any of their family members.

The percentage of adolescents who argue with their parents increases with SES. Whereas the rate of arguing with the mother is 4.5% for the lower SES group, the figure rises to 16% for the upper SES group and to 17.5% for the upper-middle SES group. The rate of arguing with the father is 4% for the lower SES group and 14% for the upper SES group. On the other hand, it appears so that the percentage of adolescents who argue with their older and younger siblings is higher for the lower SES groups.

Adolescents most frequently identify two reasons for inter-familial conflict: watching TV and spending time on the computer. These two issues mostly cause problems between siblings. The issue of schoolwork tends to cause arguments and disputes mainly with the parents. The father is major figure of conflict when adolescents' relations with the outside world are concerned. Issues such as going out or staying out until late, friendship choices and money-related matters cause adolescents to experience conflict mostly with their fathers.

Mothers are the family members who provide the most support for adolescents in case of a problem. An overwhelming 62% of the participants identify their mothers as the source of most support. This is followed by the father at 15%.

Respondents spend most of their free time with their school friends or their friends from the neighborhood. Within the family, most time is spent with the mother. Thirty percent of the participants spend most of their free time with their mothers, 28% with their school friends and 17% with their friends from the neighborhood. The percentage of adolescents who spend most of their free time with their father is very low at 4%.

The main expectation that families have from their children is for them to go to school and do their schoolwork (83% frequency of election). This is followed by keeping one's room clean (17%) and helping out with daily housework (14%). Seven percent of the respondents are under the impression that their families have no expectations from them.

Among the various statements inquiring into adolescents' relations with their parents, what receives most agreement is that they feel loved by their parents. The statement, which receives the least amount of agreement by the adolescents, has to do with sharing problems with parents. For almost all problems, the score for sharing with the mother is 3.91/5 and 3.44/5 for the father. The evaluations here once again prove that adolescents have better perceptions about their relations with their mothers in comparison to their relations with their fathers.

Feelings, Behaviors and Personality Traits

Survey respondents appear, in general, to be happy. Eighty percent of the participants describe themselves as "happy" or "very happy." Only 4% of the respondents state that they are "unhappy" or "very unhappy."

Based on the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (RSE), 6.5% of the survey respondents have low Self-Esteem, 81% have normal Self-Esteem and 12% have high Self-Esteem.

When faced with a problem, adolescents generally tend to avoid the problem in various ways. Of the

respondents, 18.5% state that they ignore the problem and do nothing about it and 13% declare that they take offense and stop talking to the person implicated in the problem. In addition, 10% state that they simply leave. These three responses amount to more than 40% within the overall sample. On the other hand, 23% appear to get aggressive when faced with a problem; yelling and shouting in anger, hitting people or thrashing their surroundings. Finally, more than one third of the adolescents (35.5%) state that they try to resolve the issue by talking about it. Nearly two thirds of the participants (62%) indicate that they became more interested in clothes, make up or fashions during adolescence. One third of the adolescents began to feel displeased with their physical appearances in this period. Forty three percent of the respondents state that they began to feel more interested in the opposite sex during the time of adolescence.

Nearly one third of the respondents (30%) indicate that they began to have more frequent in-family disputes during this period and 20% state that they began to experience problems with their teachers. Almost a quarter of the respondents (24%) phrase that they have, in general, become harder to get along with and more aggressive. Some adolescents experience this period in a more introverted fashion rather than overtly displaying their discomfort with various issues (19%). Also, 24% of the participants express that they have grown closer to their friends and more distant from their families.

Changes in regard to school life include, besides experiencing problems with teachers, problems related to attendance (25%) and lower levels of success (28.5%).

Coping with Changes Brought on by Adolescence

More than half of the survey respondents (55%) state that they have not had a hard time coping with the changes they experienced during the period of adolescence. On the other hand, 39.5% declare that they had somewhat of a difficult time during this period.

Survey results show that a large majority of the adolescents are in good health. Only 3% of the adolescents declare that they are in “bad” health. Ninety six percent of the survey respondents do not have a health condition which requires them to take regular medication. Also, 98.5% of the participants do not have any disabilities acquired at birth or later. However, 10% of the adolescents complain about attention deficit problems and 5% state that they are hyperactive. One percent of the respondents have a learning disability.

The average weight of the survey respondents is 54 kilograms and their average height is 163 centimeters. Adolescents’ weight and height information was used to compute their individual Body Mass Index (BMI) values. The results show that 29% of the respondents are underweight, 63% are normal in terms of BMI, 6% are overweight and 1% is obese.

Domestic Violence

Fifty four percent of the adolescents state that there are never violent incidents in their home. The survey prompt about frequency reveals that these incidents are not too commonly experienced. Only 2% of the respondents state that such events take place “often” or “always” in their homes.

More than half of the respondents (57%) state that they are never subjected to verbal violence. A total of 25% declare that they are “sometimes” or “often” subjected to the abovementioned forms of violence. The most common source of verbal violence is the mother (39% frequency of indication). This is followed by a sibling at 37% and the father at 35%.

Ninety two percent of the survey respondents state that they have never experienced physical violence at home in the past year. Those who do attest to experiencing physical violence, frequently identify their fathers as the source of violence (37% frequency of indication). This is followed by the siblings at 33%. Ninety nine percent of the survey respondents declare that they are not subjected to sexual abuse at home.

Ninety three percent of the survey respondents state that they never experienced incidents of humiliation, mockery or exclusionary behavior at home. Of the 7% who do suffer from these actions, 47% identify their siblings as the source. Mothers and fathers are pointed out with similar frequencies (22% and 21% respectively).

Violence at School

Seventy two percent of the survey respondents are not subjected to verbal violence at school. The main source of verbal violence at school is the friends, followed by teachers (frequencies of indication are 53.5% and 39.5% respectively).

Ninety one percent of the survey respondents declare that they have never been subjected to physical violence at school. While 1% states that they have often been subjected to physical violence, a considerable 8% express that they have with some frequency experienced this sort of maltreatment. Of the 8% who affirm being subjected to physical violence at school, 48% identify their friends as the source. This is followed by teachers at 32%. Twenty three percent of the respondents refused to answer this question.

Of the survey respondents, 97.5% state that they have not experienced sexual abuse at school. Those who affirm having experienced this form of violence (2%) mostly identify their friends as the source (39% frequency of indication). Similar to the question about sexual abuse at home, this question too was met with a high percentage of adolescents refraining from responding (56%).

A large percentage of respondents (88.5%) state that they never experienced mockery, humiliation or exclusionary behavior at school. Six percent of the overall sample indicate that they have “sometimes” or “often” been subjected to this form of violence. Eleven percent of the overall sample indicate that they have faced treatment including mockery, humiliation or exclusionary behavior in school. Of these, 69% identify their friends as the source of such treatment. This is followed by teachers at 17%.

Violence on the Street

Eighty one percent of the survey respondents state that they did not face verbal violence on the street in the past year. Inquiring into the sources of verbal violence on the street, one finds that adolescents most often identify their friends (60%) similar to their responses in relation to school violence. The percentage of those who indicate that they were subjected to violence by strangers is also quite high at 29%.

Ninety two percent of the survey respondents indicate that they were never subjected to physical violence on the street in the past year. Of those who did affirm being subjected to physical violence on the street, 49% identify their friends as the source of such behavior. The frequency with which strangers are identified as the source is 34%.

Ninety six percent of the survey respondents declare that they have never been subjected to sexual abuse on the street in the past year. Of those who did affirm this kind of abuse, 57% identify strangers as the source. Another 35% refrained from answering the probe about the source of such treatment.

Ninety three percent of the survey respondents declare that they have never been subjected to mockery, humiliation or exclusionary behavior on the street in the past year. Of those who affirm this sort of treatment, 58% identify their friends as the source. This is followed by strangers at 26%.

Of the participants, 7.5% indicate that they have been subjected to insult, mockery, humiliation or sexual harassment on the Internet.

Adolescents Resorting to Violence

Sixty three percent of the respondents indicate that they have never resorted to verbal violence in the past year, meaning that 37% have engaged in this behavior in some way or another. Adolescents were asked to indicate who the target of their violent behavior is. Respondents most often identify their siblings as the target (42%). This is followed by friends from school and the neighborhood (35% and 23%

respectively). Also, 10% of the adolescents identify their mothers as the target of their behavior and 5% declare that their fathers are on the receiving end of their verbal abuse.

Eighty eight percent of the survey respondents state that they have never resorted to physical violence in the past year. Thirty one percent of those respondents who did affirm resorting to physical violence, identify their siblings as the target of their violent behavior. This is followed by school friends at 30% and neighborhood friends at 28%. Also, displaying physical aggression towards strangers appears to be relatively high (13%) as well. Ninety nine percent of the survey respondents declare that they have never abused anyone sexually in the past year.

Risks

Five percent of the respondents state that they have thoughts about running away from home. Of this 5%, 36% have taken action and run away from home. Only 4% of the adolescents have ever considered hurting themselves. Of this 4%, 33% have engaged in actions to hurt themselves. Ninety six percent of the survey respondents have never considered committing suicide. Of the remaining 4%, 24% have actually attempted to end their lives.

Eight two percent of the adolescents have never smoked. Seven percent attest to smoking once in their lives. Five percent of the adolescents smoke every day. It appears that most adolescents smoke for the first time in the middle stages of age 13.

Ninety one percent of the survey respondents have never had an alcoholic drink in their lives. Three percent have only tried an alcoholic beverage once. There is almost nobody who stated that they drink every day (0.1%). It appears that adolescents first try alcohol at the age of 14.2.

Perception of Religion

Forty six percent of the participants declare that they believe in a religion and that they fulfill some components of worship. The total rate of those who

try to fulfill all components of worship and those who fulfill most components of worship is 26%.

Choice of Profession and Thoughts About the Future

The two most frequently elected professions are being a doctor (17%) and being a teacher (17%). These are followed by the responses of “engineer” at 13% and “policeman” at 11%. Eighty seven percent of the survey respondents believe that they will be able to realize their goals about their desired professions.

Two main themes stand out in relation to adolescents’ expectations from the future: Profession and family. First, adolescents appear to be evaluating their futures in tandem with their desired professions. Their basic expectation from the future is a prestigious profession (88% frequency of indication). Related to this, the option of “having a high earning job” is elected with 55% frequency. The choice of “studying in a good school” is indicated with 40% frequency. The second set of responses revolves around the theme of family whereby the choice of “getting married and having a family” receives 72.5% frequency of indication and the related response of “having children” receives 26.5% frequency of indication. Another family-related option, which is “To make sure my parents live comfortably in their old age” is elected with 31% frequency.

Survey participants are generally under the impression that they will have good lives. On the other hand, 11.5% appear pessimistic about their future. Of the participants, 39% state that the country will do greatly in the future. However, 19.5% believe the opposite.

Twenty nine percent of the respondents believe that the state of the world will be very good in the future; 26% believe the opposite.

The two most frequently stated expectations from public institutions are: 1) “the establishment of new sports and entertainment facilities” (43% frequency of indication) and 2) “increasing job opportunities”

(40%). The expectation about social services for the poor also received relatively high rates of indication at 37%.

Activities

Fifty eight percent of the respondents never go to the theater. Nearly half of them (47%) never read the newspaper. Thirty seven percent never go to the cinema. Twelve percent state that they “often” or “always” go to the Internet café. Also, 90% of the respondents declare that they do not engage in any sort of handcrafts like carpentry, repairs, sewing or embroidery. Eleven percent state that they have hobbies apart from those mentioned above.

Nearly two thirds of the respondents have computers in the homes. Accordingly, 35% do not have computers in their homes. Eighty two percent of the adolescents who have computers also have Internet connection.

Forty seven percent of the adolescents who attest to having Internet access at home declare that they use open access connections and no filters on their Internet at home. On the other hand, 20% use the “family profile” filter and 8% use the “child profile” filter. One quarter of the respondents for this question are not aware of which profile they use.

Forty eight percent of the adolescents who have Internet at home state that they have friends with whom they connect regularly online. For this question, 23% answered saying that they do not use the Internet.

Of those adolescents who use the Internet, 67% state that they spend 1 to 2 hours online every day. Twenty percent spend 3 to 4 hours a day online. Therefore, the average amount of time spent online is calculated at 2.2 hours.

Of the adolescents who use the Internet, 76.5% indicate that they visit social networking sites. This is followed by game sites at 51%, music/radio sites at 29% and search sites at 23%.

Fifty nine percent of the survey respondents have mobile phones. Fifty one percent of the adolescents who have mobile phones have smart phones.

Media Usage

More than half of the survey respondents (55%) watch TV for 1 to 2 hours per day on average. There is also a considerable portion of adolescents who watch TV for 3 to 4 hours a day, on average (34%). Three percent state that they never watch TV. On the whole, the average viewing time is 2.5 hours per day.

The most popular kinds of TV programs among adolescents are Turkish series (66%). This is followed by music programs at 36% and Turkish films at 27%. Game shows and sports programs also appear to be quite popular (24% and 18% respectively). Six percent of the respondents state that they watch the news.

Forty seven percent of the respondents do not read the newspaper. For those who do read the paper, sports and tabloid news appear to be the most popular sections (25% and 20% respectively). Fourteen percent state that they read columns.

Turkish pop music appears to be most popular among adolescents (44%). This is followed by foreign pop music at 21% frequency of indication and rap music at 10%. Also, the percentage of those who indicate that they listen to every kind of music is rather high (34%).

Sexuality

Thirty two percent of the survey respondents do not approve of romantic relations between male and female adolescents. Eighteen percent state that even though they do approve of such relations, they do not find this type of engagement suitable for themselves. Of the participants, 64.5% state that they do not approve of premarital sex. Also, 16.5% declare that while they do approve of premarital sex, they do not find this sort of engagement appropriate for themselves.

A quarter of the adolescents state that they have not received any kind of information on sexuality from anywhere. For those who have received some information on sexuality, the foremost source appears to be the mother. Twenty four percent of the respondents indicate that they first received information on sexuality from their mothers. This is followed by “friends” at 19% and “school” at 15%. The average age for obtaining information about sexuality is 12. Forty one percent of the survey respondents state that they are able to get adequate answers to their questions about sexuality. On the other hand, 15% declare that they are not able to attain adequate replies. Also, 15% of the participants refrained from answering this survey question.

“The family” receives the highest score (3.16/5) in terms of the source through which it would be helpful for adolescents to obtain information about sexuality. This is followed by “the school”, which received 3.04 points. Fifty five percent of the adolescents do not think that it would be helpful to have information about sexuality on TV. The corresponding figure is 53% for the Internet, 32% for the school and 30% for the family.



SECTION 1

EXPLANATORY FRAME

Subject and Goals

Research Design

Literature Review

A. Subject and Goals

This research is concerned with the psychological, social, economic and cultural investigation of adolescents living in Türkiye. Defining adolescence as a “period” in and of itself is directly related with a society’s industrialization, education system and legal system. In societies where formal and informal rules and actions have developed towards distinguishing between the stages of childhood, adolescence and adulthood, these periods do not only constitute biological stages but also involve sociocultural, economic and psychological components. This study illuminates the period of adolescence, which is generally described as a period of “transition”. This research also casts a light on various social environments that contribute to the development of adolescents in Türkiye as well as the assumptions and values that are embedded in these social environments.

The ultimate goal of this research is to collect reliable data towards getting to know Türkiye’s adolescent population from multiple angles and forming implementable policy recommendations concerning this group. The study aims to identify adolescents’ physical, social, psychological and economic problems that are shaped by dynamic social structures and environmental conditions. This identification results in a detailed adolescent profile for Türkiye. The study sets out to contribute both to science and to social policy by providing insight into adolescents’ relations within the family and in other social circles.

B. Research Design

This research study was designed in collaboration with the Ministry of Family and Social Policies and the project consultants as a continuation of the Ministry’s research studies on adolescence from 1997 and 2008. First, literature review was conducted with the goal of surveying relevant studies from Türkiye and abroad. The study was then designed to include a quantitative component with a sample size of 7000 and a qualitative component comprised of 12 focus group meetings.

1. Data Collection Tools

The questionnaire for the quantitative component of the study was devised in collaboration with the Ministry of Family and Social Policies as well as the project consultants. The study consists only of face-to-face interviews, conducted in household settings. The questionnaire was modeled on the TEPA 2008 questionnaire with a view as to track changes over time as well as to reach comparative results.

The draft questionnaire was tested through the pilot study, carried out in Istanbul with 100 participants, on 3-6 August 2013. Reliability and internal consistency tests were performed upon the completion of the pilot study and the questionnaire was thus finalized.

Three main revisions were performed on the TEPA 2008 questionnaire. First, a “Parents Section” was added to the beginning of the survey questionnaire to facilitate the reception of information about the household and the family’s main features. The adolescent interview thus begins after 10 initial questions posed at a parent. Second, the Rosenberg Self-Esteem scale was employed to evaluate Self-Esteem. Finally, the questions pertaining to sexuality were consolidated and presented in the last section of the questionnaire.

Besides the questionnaire for the quantitative study, a moderator guide was prepared for the qualitative component of the research. Two focus group meetings in Istanbul were organized to test the guide on 16 August 2013. The meetings lasted for about two hours and were composed of nine participants each. The first meeting included participants between the ages of 12 and 15 and the second meeting was held with older teenagers, between the ages of 16 and 18. Both meetings were coed. The moderator guide was finalized based on the evaluation of findings from this pilot study.

2. Sampling

For the quantitative study, a nationwide sample was selected through multistage, stratified, random sam-

pling to represent the urban and rural adolescent population in Türkiye. The sample size was set at 7000.

The said sample (place of residence, block and household) was purchased from TurkStat. The number of addresses to be requested from TurkStat in order to complete 7000 interviews was identified based on the probability of finding at least one individual at 12-18 years of age in each of the 12 NUTS Level 1 regions and the probable non-response rate. As such, a sample of 700 blocks with 100 addresses, each, was requested from TurkStat. TurkStat elected 10 primary addresses from each block of 100 and the remaining 90 addresses were employed as substitutes in cases where no adolescents were found in the primary locations.

For sampling purposes, all settlements with a population higher than 20,000 were defined as “urban” and those with a population of 20,000 or less were defined as “rural.” Settlements with a population of less than 500 were excluded on the assumption that they could not include a sufficient number of target individuals for interviews.

1. Implementation

Interviewer training was completed in August 2013 in various cities and fieldwork for quantitative research began on 1 September 2013. Fieldwork comprised 80 provinces and was completed on 12 December 2013. Fifty percent of the interviewees were telephoned subsequently to check fieldwork. Data entry was performed after the questionnaires were approved in terms of content reliability.

It was not possible to conduct interviews in 10 of the 701 blocks selected by TurkStat, for various reasons. Also, very few interviews were successfully conducted in five of the blocks. Ultimately, fieldwork consisted of 6747 interviews.

A total of 12 focus group meetings in seven cities were conducted within the framework of the qualitative component of this study. The meetings took place between September 2 and September 12,

2013. A total of 107 adolescents participated in the focus group meetings where each meeting had at least eight participants.

2. Weighting

TurkStat randomly selected 700 blocks towards reaching a representative sample of adolescents in terms of rural/urban residence and sex in the 12 NUTS Level 1 regions of Türkiye. A total of 60,789 residential addresses were listed based on these 700 blocks. Fieldwork was conducted by randomly selecting addresses from each block. In cases where no individuals at 12-18 years of age could be found at the selected address, method of substitution was employed to identify another randomly selected address from the same block to ensure representation. The same method was used for addresses that could not be reached.

At the end of fieldwork, 6,747 adolescent and parent interviews were conducted in 690 blocks. The F2 coefficients of these 6,747 addresses were recalculated towards ensuring block representation in substitution. Ten blocks could not be reached at all during fieldwork and assuming that each block in NUTS Level 1 region is a homogenous unit, F1 modifications were made. Using the modified F1 coefficients and the recalculated F2 coefficients, F0 values were computed to yield the number of households in Türkiye having adolescent members. The weighting process was thus concluded.

Individual weights were calculated with reference to household weighting and in accordance with TurkStat’s 2012 Address Based Population Registration System figures for adolescents, taking into consideration the distribution of adolescents in NUTS Level 1 in terms of urban/rural residence and sex. Since there were no interviews in rural Istanbul with girls aged 12, 13, 14 or 18 or with boys aged 16, 17 and 18, this population was excluded in the calibration of individual weighting. The weighting and calibration processes have ensured that the research weighting comprises 99.9% of the adolescent population in Türkiye.

1. Variables Generated in the Data Set

Socioeconomic Status (SES): SES groups are identified based on parents' education, occupation, household income level, home ownership and ownership of home appliances.

Factor analysis was performed on certain variables to produce a composite indicator for SES. The first factor score was then taken as the basis for SES classification for each participant. The factor obtained explains 65.9% of total variance. The lowest factor weight for the variables is 0.76 and the highest is 0.83.

No SES scores could be computed for 412 households since these interviewees refrained from responding to one or more related questions. Therefore, any analysis that involves SES does not include these homes. The obtained score was converted to T scores with a mean of 50 and a standard deviation of 10. Then, cutoff points were determined to form SES groups. This process took into consideration how much any given score deviated from the mean. The resulting SES intervals are presented in Supplementary Table 1.

Self-Esteem: This study employs the first subscale of the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale, composed of 10 items. Survey participants were thus assigned a Self-Esteem score based on this scale. As such, respondents were categorized into three groups based on Self-Esteem: High, normal and low.

Body Mass Index (BMI): The Body Mass Index is a simple health indicator. It is calculated by dividing bodyweight (kg) by the square of height (cm). The resulting score is then interpreted based on certain cutoff points that determine BMI intervals. The academe presents various cutoff points in this regard. This research employs the intervals identified by the World Health Organization (WHO).

Region Variable: The region variable is generated based on the 12 regions of NUTS Level 1.

Individual Weighting and Household Weighting Variables: The above section of "Weighting" describes the ways in which these variables were generated.

2. Terms and Definitions

Urban Settlement: Settlements with a population of more than 20,000 were defined as being urban.

Rural Settlement: Settlements with a population of 20,000 or less were defined as being rural.

Nuclear Family: This is the type of family which comprises the mother, the father and unmarried child(ren).

Extended Family: This is the type of family that comprises wife and husband or mother, father and unmarried child(ren), as well as other relatives living in the household. The definition of an extended family applies to a nuclear family living together with a relative, as well as to a number of related families living together in the same household.

Single-Parent Family: This is the type of family that comprises one parent and unmarried child(ren). It results from the death of one of the parents.

Broken Family: This is the type of family that comprises one parent and unmarried child(ren). It results from the separation of parents.

Household: This term is used to indicate the composition of a people who live under the same roof regardless of whether they are related or not.

(NUTS): NUTS is the classification of Statistical Regions that Türkiye adopted to facilitate socio-economic analysis of regions according to criteria defined by the European system of classification towards producing data that can be compared to those of the European Union (EU). This study uses NUTS Level 1 regions.

C. Literature Review

Adolescence has been defined as a “transitional period”, although the age range covered by this period changes historically and culturally. This period which implicates a transition from childhood to adulthood involves significant and interrelated physical, psychological and social changes. The adolescence period brings along the task of discovering one’s changing body and sexuality, and thus developing a concept of self and identity and posing existential questions about one’s place in the society. This period also witnesses the transformation of an individual into a social being in one’s family, school and work. For adolescents who strive to attain a place in various domains of life, this period can be considered as a “chaotic period”, as defined by Cloutier (1994).

The pioneer who has taken up the adolescence period as a research area is Stanley Hall (1904). Hall, influenced by Darwin’s theory of evolution, considers adolescence as a universal process through which human beings grow biologically and thus, ignores social and cultural differences in how the adolescence period is experienced. According to Hall, the adolescence period covers 13-24 years of age and it resembles the challenging processes that societies go through in their transition from primitiveness to civilization. Hall’s theory has been widely criticized on the grounds that it ignores social or environmental differences in this process of “*sturm und drang*”, or “storm and stress”. However, research on the adolescence period has taken some time to accumulate, following Hall (Blos, 1962; Freud, 1937; Gesell, Ilg & Ames 1956). Jean Piaget’s work (1966), which is still influential in the contemporary world, is similar to that of Hall’s in some aspects. Like Hall, Piaget explains the universal processes of human development. However, Piaget differs from Hall in that he explains this developmental process by focusing on shared structural characteristics of the human mind, rather than by genetic evolution of the human race. According to Cloutier, Piaget’s stages of development in childhood and adolescence have still been

widely accepted and used, although his methodology has been widely criticized.

Erik Erikson (1959) is another researcher whose work and theories about adolescence have been widely influential. Erikson identifies eight stages of psychological development and defines adolescence as the fifth stage which is termed “identity confusion”. For the adolescent who struggles with questions like “Who am I? Where do I come from? Where do I go?” in this period, the absence of a family or social instability makes it harder to find an answer. Erikson draws attention to the influence of one’s peer group and “first love” in this process of identity search and formation. According to him, peer relationships are significant to try new social roles or to test one’s self. Differently from Hall, Erikson highlights that individuals do not experience the adolescence period in the same way. Erikson’s view that the adolescents who have different social and familial roles are likely to go through different processes of identity search and formation is important for the present research, entitled “Adolescent Profile in Türkiye”.

Besides psychology, sociological and anthropological frameworks make theoretical contributions to the study of adolescence. The most important contribution of those two disciplines is that they emphasize the societal aspects of the adolescence period. Thus, it becomes possible to identify and analyze socio-cultural diversity of the adolescence period, rather than relying on purely biological explanations. From a sociological framework, the experience of adolescence is described as a “period of changing social roles” and a multitude of factors influence this process. Cultural values and norms, socio-economic status, social class and family life are among the major factors. For example, according to Davis (1944), the desire or need for success in the adolescence period is intertwined with social class expectations. Baumrind (1975) highlights the significance of family support and understanding, or its absence, for the anxiety felt over adopting and

defining changing social roles in adolescence. In addition, Elder (1980) puts emphasis on historical and political processes which surround past and present generations of adolescence. He mentions the determining impact of wars or similar crises on the development of adolescents in that generation.

Similar to sociological frameworks, cultural anthropology argues against biological explanations and focuses on the diversity of experiences in adolescence and the reasons underlying this diversity in societies other than Western ones. For example, Margaret Mead (1928) indicates that children and adolescents in Samoa do not encounter sudden changes in their identity or responsibility. She reports that for Samoan people who assume familial responsibilities from their childhood on, adolescence is not experienced as a chaotic period of changing social norms and identity confusion. As Cloutier argues, this type of an inquiry helps to question and challenge normative convictions about adolescence. Firstly, it is necessary to prove the fact that concepts like responsibility, obligation or dominance influence how adolescence is experienced. Then, it becomes possible to examine the impact of those social phenomena on different societies, urban-rural settings or families from different social classes.

A review of the research findings which are the basis of theoretical frameworks on adolescence reveals that in industrialized societies which clearly separate “childhood” from “adulthood”, this period is experienced as a transition with its physical, psychological and social dimensions. In other words, the construction and experience of “the adolescence” as a well-defined “period” is the consequence of compartmentalizing a human being’s life and this compartmentalization also applies to Türkiye. Research findings on the adolescence period in Türkiye prove this point. In addition, when available studies on adolescence are historically examined, a debate between universal/biological and socio-cultural explanations comes to the fore. The present research aims to achieve a balance between those two perspectives, which reflects a deep-rooted phenomenon called

nature versus nurture debate. Identifying the differences and similarities between universally accepted transitions, and peculiar conditions, structures and experiences in Türkiye will both help to develop constructive policies for Turkish adolescents and their families, and to test the validity of international literature on adolescence.

On the basis of previous work as well as recent research on adolescence in Türkiye, two principal social settings which determine the experiences of adolescents are identified as family and school. Main research topics such as adolescents’ relationship with social norms and religion, bonds with the society, anxiety over one’s identity, psychological well-being or crisis, risk taking and/or predisposition to violence, alcohol or drug use, discovering sexuality have been investigated in the family life as well as in the school life which involves peer relationships and experiences of pressure/bullying. Work life has also been researched when it is a relevant dimension. Besides, it has been hypothesized that three major factors which shape an adolescent’s experience are gender, socio-economic status and urban-rural setting.

1. Adolescence and Family

Bahçivan-Saydam and Gençöz’s research (2005) on students in Anatolian High Schools has revealed important facts about psychological processes in the adolescence period and their links with the family. Following the study conducted by Epstein et al. (1983), the researchers firstly differentiated between “functional” and “dysfunctional” families, and presented conclusions about the psychological experiences of adolescents growing up in such families. They argued that a child or an adolescent growing up in functional families felt that he/she was valued, accepted, guided and protected; the family both put boundaries and set him/her free. In functional families, communication between members was strong and the family overcame each crisis by talking to each other in harmony. The parent was available to provide physical and emotional support and family members were capable of being flexible in their attitudes. Parental harmony improved the adolescent’s

understanding of individuality and autonomy; especially maternal support enhanced his/her Self-Esteem. On the other hand, in dysfunctional families, family members had difficulty in expressing their ideas and emotions; they could not cooperate to cope with their problems. Problems led to big conflicts and ruptures. Familial roles and boundaries were ambiguous. In those families which used violence and punishment, the adolescent was likely to have a predisposition towards violence (Epstein, Bolwin & Bishop, 1983). In a similar vein, Ayan (2007) have carried out a study in Sivas and reported that the mother's parenting style and domestic violence were associated with aggressiveness in adolescence.

In light of this research which examines the adolescent and his/her family, Bahçivan-Saydam and Gençöz have investigated the links between behavioral problems in adolescence and other variables, including gender, maternal education, family relations, parental attitudes and Self-Esteem. The results have demonstrated that the family's inability to fulfill general functions, especially to respond emotionally was associated with internalizing problems in adolescence; it caused anxiety/depressions, social withdrawal and somatic problems. Since the adolescent did not grow up in an environment where problems were shared and solved cooperatively, he/she held himself/herself responsible for every problem; this caused anxiety, anger and self-blame. Moreover, the family's inability to solve problems might also cause externalized aggressiveness and destructiveness; this negatively influenced not only himself/herself, but also his environment and the society. An interesting finding of this research was that in those families where the mother had a relatively higher level of education, the adolescent more frequently manifested externalizing problems (aggressiveness, violence, criminal behavior). The authors explained this finding by arguing that educated mothers cared less for their children both in terms of quality and quantity. Pekel-Uludağlı and Sayıl (2009) have carried out a research study on the association between the adolescents' family and peer relations, and their aggressive and risk taking behaviors. This study has

demonstrated among a sample of college students that the adolescents' risk taking behaviors were positively correlated with maternal education and negatively correlated with parental monitoring and supervision. It was reported among high school and college students that risk taking behavior was positively correlated with parental restrictions of peer relations, and negatively correlated with parental guidance about relationships with friends. In addition, male adolescents engaged in risk taking behaviors more frequently than female adolescents. When Uludağ and Sayıl's research findings are combined with that of Bahçivan-Saydam and Gençöz, it can be concluded that besides the family's functionality, parental involvement in peer relations plays a significant role in the experiences of adolescents, especially in their externalizing problems.

Up to this point, the determining impact of family functions on the adolescents' psychological and social characteristics has been explained. In their research, Kalyencioğlu and Kutlu (2010) have focused on how adolescents perceive their family functions and how this perception influences their adaptation to the environment. Undoubtedly, understanding the adolescents' perception of family functions is essentially important in the context of the findings summarized above. Their research with a sample of high school students in Istanbul has indicated that as their score in Hacettepe Personality Inventory decreased (as their level of adjustment to the environment decreases), the likelihood of their perception of their family functions as "unhealthy" increased. According to the authors, studies on social adjustment and adolescent mental health should focus on family communication, and the significance of healthy, stable relationships and perceptions.

Bahçivan-Saydam and Gençöz have argued that parental attitudes involve issues and values such as discipline, pressure or democracy. It is extremely important that there is a balance between parental control and discipline on the one hand, and friendliness and democratic attitudes on the other; it has been observed that such an imbalance might

cause behavioral problems in adolescence. For example, a study by Musaağaoğlu and Güre (2005) has demonstrated that among male and female high school and college students as well as male secondary school students, behavioral autonomy was positively correlated with the adolescent's perception of maternal acceptance and concern. Besides this, those adolescents who perceived their parents as democratic manifested more behavioral autonomy than those who perceived their parents as permissive-negligent or authoritarian. According to the Research on Youth carried out by SAM Research and Consulting (1998), approximately 82% of the youth in Türkiye viewed the family as a "protecting, holding" institution. In spite of this, it was significant that mostly half of the youth did not share their problems with their families. The percentage of those who perceived their families as "restrictive" was very low in the whole sample, yet it was notably high (%31) among those who both worked and prepared for college. In light of those findings which are two decades old, it is possible to understand how adolescents perceive the family institution and how they communicate with their families, and to examine the changes occurring in adolescents and their families in the Turkish society. Lastly, according to Bahçivan-Saydam and Gençöz, internalizing and externalizing problems which are associated with family relations and functions have a direct impact on the formation and development of Self-Esteem. Low Self-Esteem is a consequence of these problems, and at the same time it augments them.

In studies which investigate adolescents' relationship with their family, another important issue is their attachment style and the question of how one's attachment style established in the family influences relationships outside home. Deniz (2006) citing Sümer and Güngör's study (1999) explains that secure attachment in the adolescence period facilitates successful peer relations, competent social skills and high Self-Esteem. It has been observed that those teens who are securely attached to their family are also physically more healthy. Secure attachment de-

pends on the family's unconditional and sustained ability to meet the child's needs, to establish and cultivate closeness and love, to provide support. Cooper, Shave and Collins (1999) argue that insecurely attached children experience interpersonal problems in adolescence; their Self-Esteem is likely to be low; they frequently and intensely experience emotions like isolation, shame and they are more likely to engage in criminal activities (for a review of research on attachment, see Morsünbül and Tümen, 2008).

Şirvanlı-Özen and Aktan (2010) have indicated that an adolescent's attachment style to his/her parents influenced the role he/she assumed in the "bullying system" among his/her peers. Their research helps us to understand the links between adolescents' experiences in the family and peer relationships established at school or in other settings. Bullying which has been defined as "repeated exposure to negative behaviors by one or more than one student" by Olweus (1994) is an important problem which has a negative impact on a teen's school life, peer relations, friendships and romantic involvements and exert an enduring impact on his/her level of Self-Esteem, when it co-occurs with identity search in adolescence. The adolescent can participate in the bullying system as a "victim" or "perpetrator" and develops coping strategies when he/she is a victim. In their research carried out in Istanbul, Şirvanlı-Özen and Aktan have identified a negative correlation between secure attachment in the family and the likelihood of bullying/being bullied among male adolescents (for a review on parenting and bullying, see Şirvanlı-Özen, 2006).

2. Adolescence, School and Friends

As mentioned above, the adolescent's peer relations, friendships and romantic involvements are closely linked with experiences in the family. In addition to this, it has been demonstrated that school life and relations with friends directly influence the experiences of adolescents. For instance, Bülbül (2009) has

identified on the basis his research that both primary and high school students complained about insufficient leisure time; activities such as going to a training centre, studying or solving practice tests both took a lot of time and annoyed them. The author has also demonstrated that anxiety over and dissatisfaction with the university entrance examination system manifested itself as “disbelief in the country”. The author has indicated that most adolescents, particularly those from families of low socio-economic status, felt that their family and the society did not understand them and complained about the testing system. Consequently, Bülbül identifies the fact that “test-based education” is an important problem for adolescents and argues that an educational philosophy based on performance will be more effective. In addition, the Research on Youth carried out by SAM Research and Consulting (1998) has indicated that as the level of education increased, complaints about rote learning also increased. Thus, the current education system which is characterized by “test-centeredness” and “rote learning” should be reframed as a deep-seated problem of Turkish adolescents; this problem should be thoroughly analyzed and solutions should be investigated.

A recent research by Çapulcuoğlu ve Gündüz (2013) has investigated the relationship among coping with stress, test anxiety, academic competence and parental attitudes in high schools in Mersin and has taken the Maslach Burnout Model as its frame of reference. The concept of burnout has been firstly introduced in 1970s to refer to the feelings of exasperation, failure, exhaustion and energy loss experienced by workers and employees. However, as Çapulcuoğlu and Gündüz explain, it is possible to apply this concept to students’ relationships with academic and school life. According to the research carried out with 1385 participants, there was a significant relationship between a student’s level of burnout and the above listed variables. That is to say, one’s level of burnout was negatively correlated with his/her sense of academic competence, and positively correlated with negative ways of coping with

stress and test anxiety brought along with the test-based education system. In addition, one’s sense of burnout was negatively correlated with democratic parental attitudes and positively correlated with protective-demanding parental attitudes.

There are other studies conducted in Türkiye to investigate adolescents’ relations with school and education system. For example, Bahalı and fellow scholars’ research (2009) on school refusal have showed that problems about school and education system might begin in childhood and continue up until adolescence. The findings have indicated that children who refused to attend school were mostly males and came from families with a single child or two children. In addition, the most prevalent psychological problem among those refusing to go to school was separation anxiety. The authors claim that school refusal can have persistent social and emotional difficulties and that early identification and diagnosis can prevent such problems. They also draw attention to the absence of research studies which examine “the etiology, epidemiology, subtypes, diagnostic criteria, clinical prognosis and treatment of school refusal” (Bahalı, Tahiroğlu & Avcı, 2009:310).

3. School Life, Risk Taking and Noncompliant Behavior

On the section dwelling on adolescence and family life, the links between adolescents’ aggressive-criminal behaviors and family relations have been presented. According to a study carried out by Aras et. al. (2007) in İzmir, noncompliant behaviors which are frequently observed in high school students are associated with school. The results have shown that those male students who studied in vocational schools and failed before and those male and female students who had low grades were most likely to engage in noncompliant behaviors. The results have indicated that as paternal education and maternal education increased, the frequency of noncompliant behaviors in adolescence decreased. The level of maternal education was particularly influential for female adolescents. In addition, the frequen-

cy of noncompliant behaviors was also associated with problems in friendships (Aras, Günay, Ozan & Orçın, 2007). Especially for male adolescents, there was a significant positive correlation between noncompliant behaviors and risk taking. In a similar vein, Kiran-Esen (2012) who has worked with 10th grade students in Istanbul has reported that peer pressure was positively correlated with risk taking and negatively correlated school success. The study also confirmed that risk taking was associated with gender, besides peer pressure. Among males and females who experienced a high level of peer pressure, risk taking behaviors were more frequent only for males.

A widely studied topic in Türkiye which is related with adolescents' school life and friendships is their mental health or more specifically their depressive mood. For instance, Eskin and fellow scholars (2008) have reported that depression was more prevalent among female students in Aydın. The female students' depressive mood was associated with low Self-Esteem, low grades and insufficient social support. Except Self-Esteem, similar associations were found for male students. Thus, the male students' depressive mood was associated with low grades and insufficient family/friend support. This study proves that academic failure is linked with depression. Combined with the sense of anxiety and dissatisfaction with the testing system as explained above, this finding indicates that adolescents' mood is directly influenced by the education system and related experiences in Türkiye (Eskin, Ertekin, Harlak & Dereboy, 2008).

Demir and colleagues (2005) have carried out a study with senior high school students in Ankara and investigated the effect of relationships with peer groups and friends on depression and suicidal behavior in adolescence. The authors have identified that depressive symptoms and suicidal thoughts were negatively correlated with trusting, sharing secrets and spending spare time with friends, while they were positively correlated with domestic vi-

olence and the adolescent's perception that their parents were lacking in understanding. Moreover, they have found that a family environment with frequent conflicts negatively influenced adolescents' relationships with friends, peers and romantic partners, and thus increased depressive mood and suicidal thoughts (Demir, Baran & Ulusoy, 2005) (for a review of suicidal thoughts and attempts among Turkish adolescents, see Eskin, 2000).

An issue which is informative about an adolescent's state of mind and his/her relationship with school is anger. Çivitçi (2011) has examined the dimensions of school anger among a sample of high school students in Denizli and investigated the links among gender, grade and experiences such as anger, hostility, destructiveness and positive coping. The research findings have indicated that those students who were more isolated and lonely than others were more likely to express their anger in destructive ways and were less able to positively cope with anger. This conclusion was valid more frequently for females rather than males. In addition, 11th graders who felt isolated and lonely expressed their anger more destructively as compared to 9th and 10th graders. This research which focuses on loneliness, anger and destructiveness is important because it examines how adolescents' gender and age differences interact with their school life and mental health.

Risky behaviors and thoughts in adolescence are not limited to anger, depression or suicide. It is possible to observe behaviors which put one's physical and thus psychological health at risk. Previous research provides information about alcohol consumption in adolescence. According to Özgür-İlhan and colleagues' study (2005), alcohol use among the employed youth and clinically significant levels of alcohol consumption are prevalent and important problems. It is known that some adolescents both study and work, or leave school and find employment in Türkiye. Since the relationship between responsibilities and roles which come along with work life and adolescents' risky behaviors has been empir-

ically demonstrated, it is essential to determine the place of adolescents in school/work life and to identify the processes through which social relationships in those settings guide them towards risky behaviors (Özgür-İlhan, Demirbaş & Doğan, 2005).

While explaining risky behaviors, it is important to understand how such predispositions develop in adolescents' mind. According to Albert Ellis' (1979) personality theory and psychotherapy approach, irrational beliefs about certain events are the root cause of emotional-psychological disorders. When the individual reacts to events he/she encounters in life with anger, anxiety or depression, and uses strategies such as withdrawal, denial or procrastination, the consequences can be harmful and the individual may engage in socially unacceptable behaviors. According to Ellis, such behaviors and reactions are caused by irrational beliefs about events and situations. One of the periods in which irrational beliefs lead to psychological disturbance is adolescence. For example, an adolescent interprets situations like inability to talk in front of the class, social rejection, academic failure, lack of popularity among peers or members of the opposite sex, considers them as a disaster and begins to feel overwhelming anxiety. This anxiety may prevent the individual to make right decisions and directs him/her towards risky and noncompliant behaviors (Çivitçi, 2005).

According to Çivitçi (2005), making healthy decisions is a challenging task for adolescents and it is related with the ability to give a clear answer to the question of "Who am I?" and the consolidation of a sense of identity. Çivitçi uses Ellis' method of the Rational-Emotive Behavioral Therapy to investigate, monitor and find solutions to adolescents' psychological problems caused by irrational beliefs. The author has collected data from 255 adolescent students in Malatya. Çivitçi has reported that the Rational-Emotive Behavioral Therapy Program was effective in decreasing 7th graders' irrational beliefs. However, it did not have any impact on state anxiety or healthy decision making. The author asserts that

factors other than irrational beliefs may increase adolescents' anxiety levels in Türkiye and indicates the scarcity of research on this issue. The relationship between anxiety and parental relations, negative or positive body image, SES, age, depression, birth order, parental education and occupation have been widely investigated. Therefore, the Rational-Emotive Behavioral Therapy Program can be applied to adolescents from different age groups. However, more research is necessary about anxiety and decision making.

The significance of school environment for adolescent mental health is obvious. Because of this, it gains importance to improve psychological counseling services at schools. In a recent study, Meydan (2013) discusses the method of "Solution Focused Short-Term Psychological Counseling" and recommends its use in schools. Meydan asserts that this method which ignores the depth of the problem, focuses on the solution rather than the problem and acknowledges unsteadiness in adolescent problems can be effective for working with children and adolescents. Despite its limitations (maintenance/sustainability, ignorance of psychopathological problems, overemphasis on verbal expression etc.), it is important for school counselors to evaluate and consider this method (for detailed information about attitudes towards psychological counseling services at schools among secondary schools in Istanbul, see Yüksel-Şahin, 2008).

4. Adolescence and Self

As evident in the summary above, a key concept to understand and interpret an adolescent's life is "self". Concepts like "individuality", "autonomy", "Self-Esteem" and "self-respect" are some of the terms which are used to evaluate and explain an adolescent's sense of self and self-respect. A widely used tool by psychologists to make scientific assessments about this concept is Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale. Present research has used this tool to measure Self-Esteem. Since terms like Self-Esteem or self are widely used in daily conversations, different

definitions and descriptions about these terms have come forward. Because of this, it is appropriate to use standardized inventory and conceptualization while making scientific assessments.

According to Rosenberg, self can be defined as an individual's all thoughts and emotions about himself/herself. Self-Esteem refers to one's positive or negative attitude towards himself/herself. High Self-Esteem is a desired characteristic and it does not mean that the individual is arrogant or selfish. Rosenberg has investigated the concept of Self-Esteem in different structures and has examined how race or ethnic background influenced Self-Esteem at school or in family. Although Self-Esteem can be considered as a dependent variable influenced by social influences, it can also be an independent variable which exerts an impact on an individual's social life. Researchers agree that Self-Esteem is stable in adults, yet its development is ongoing in adolescents. Thus, it is important for the present research to understand an adolescent's interaction with his/her social environments, since his/her Self-Esteem continues to evolve in accordance with his/her life experiences. In data analysis, the factors which influence Self-Esteem and the factors and processes it influences will be thoroughly examined.

Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale was developed by Dr. Morris Rosenberg in 1965 in order to measure Self-Esteem among a sample of 5024 high school students in New York. Later, the scale has been widely used in different samples by other researchers. The scale consists of 12 subcategories and a total of 63 questions. A review of the research which uses the scale reveals that most of the time the first subcategory or the first two subcategories, adding up to 15 statements at most, are used to measure Self-Esteem. In Türkiye, Çuhadaroğlu (1986) has carried out the validity and reliability study of the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale. This research has reported that the scale's validity and reliability coefficients were $r=.71$ and $r=.75$, respectively. International tests of the scale's validity, reliability and internal consistency yielded high coefficients (Blascovich & Tomaka, 1993; Rosenberg, 1986).

When the scale was designed, the original idea was to use the Guttman scale for measurement. However, Likert type scales are mostly used today. The scale's first subcategory contains 10 statements and uses a 4-point Likert type scale to evaluate one's Self-Esteem. The participants are asked to choose an answer, which states "strongly agree", "agree", "disagree" or "strongly disagree", for each statement. The scores range from 0 to 6 in this subcategory. Those participants who score 0-1 have high Self-Esteem; those who score 2-4 have moderate Self-Esteem; those who score 5-6 have high Self-Esteem. Other subcategories enable to measure and evaluate stability of self-concept, the ability to trust others, sensitivity to criticism, depressive mood, optimism, psychosomatic symptoms, sense of threat in interpersonal relations, participation in discussions, parental concern, paternal relationship and psychic isolation.

Although the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale is originally developed in English, it has been translated into various languages, including Turkish and used by studies conducted with adolescents in Türkiye. One such study has been conducted in 2003 by Child and Youth Mental Health Association and funded by Turkish Academy of Sciences-United Nations Population and Development Strategies Program (Çetin, Canat, Kılıç, Şenol, Rugancı, Öncü, Hoşgör, Işıklı & Avcı, 2004). In the study which used qualitative and quantitative methods, 536 adolescents who were aged 12-21 and represented adolescent population in Ankara and Adana filled out several questionnaires, included Brief Symptom Checklist, Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale and Self-Concept Stability Scale. This research has shown that adolescents mostly developed a sense of separateness and stability in their identity; the process of individuation-separation from their family followed a normal developmental path. Identity crisis was most intensely experienced in the middle phase of adolescence. In addition, adolescents mostly used healthy ways of coping to solve their problems; their most important values were family, love and honesty, and the least important one was tradition.

Uyanık-Balat and Akman (2004) have used the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale to examine the level of Self-Esteem among high school students from different socio-economic backgrounds. Prior to research, the authors have examined the differences between high and low Self-Esteem individuals. They have indicated that high Self-Esteem individuals chose challenging tasks and activities, felt confident about achieving, were less sensitive to emotional fluctuations, were less affected by depression, were more open to feedback and were not negatively influenced when they talked to people who were more successful than themselves (Yelsma & Yelsma, 1998). According to another study by Torucu (1990), Self-Esteem in adolescents was positively correlated with parental education in a low SES group. In light of this information, Uyanık-Balat and Akman researched 482 high school students in Ankara and investigated the effects of SES and age on Self-Esteem. The results have shown that the level of Self-Esteem was higher than average for both genders and there was not gender difference in terms of Self-Esteem.

On the basis of research findings in Türkiye as well as the summary presented above, Self-Esteem score does not have a specific meaning. However, it is important to examine its interaction with social and psychological characteristics. For example, Ünal have examined the relationships among alexithymia (introverted thinking, difficulty in identifying and differentiating bodily sensations and feelings, restrictions in fantasy world), shyness and Self-Esteem. The study has shown among a sample of junior college students at Ege University that alexithymia was positively correlated with depression and low Self-Esteem. Consequently, the research showed that there was significant relationship between shyness, alexithymia and low Self-Esteem among college students. In a recent study, Çuhadaroğlu (2012) obtained similar results. The author categorized the participants who were aged 15-18 into psychotic, neurotic and control groups and used the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale to measure Self-Esteem of adolescents in each group. The results have shown that

in both patient groups, Self-Esteem was lower as compared to the control group. The difference was more notable for female adolescents (for a review of the research using the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale in Turkey, see Doğru and Peker, 2004; Gacar and Yanlıç, 2012; Kimter, 2011).

5. Literature on Fieldwork Implementation

This section provides insight into the literature on fieldwork about adolescence and adolescent problems, describing various tools of data collection and especially concentrating on the challenges involved in such fieldwork.

Fieldwork for quantitative data collection about adolescence poses various challenges, which is evident from this study's preceding reports for the studies TEPA 1997 and TEPA 2008. The actual fieldwork for the TEPA 1997 study is mostly in line with the sampling design. Having said that, some challenges during implementation made it necessary to modify the sample during fieldwork. For example, security reasons made it impossible to conduct interviews in some provinces or villages in the Eastern and Southeastern regions of Türkiye. While this problem has to do more with Türkiye's social and political conjuncture at the time, there have also been challenges arising specifically from the requirements of the research study. The sample for research on adolescence includes age limits. As such, the TEPA 1997 fieldwork ran into problems where no individuals within the desired age limit could be located in some villages. Such issues were handled by modifying the sample and all relevant modifications were accounted for in the final report. The TEPA 2008 report also alludes to similar revisions. This report also highlights the difficulty of reaching adolescents in certain areas and describes the significance of thus determining substitute addresses in the sample.

The problems associated with samples that include age limits are not too foreign to SAM Research and Consulting, since similar issues arose during fieldwork for the 2011 study entitled "Assessment of Expectations Regarding Old Age in Türkiye." Finding

respondents within desired age limits is a challenge in Türkiye since TurkStat does not provide sample sets differentiated by age.

As the literature review thus far shows, most scholarly work on adolescence has been carried out by the disciplines of psychology and psychiatry. This kind of disciplinary concentration also impacts the dominant theoretical frames and methodological tools employed in adolescence research. In other words, the relative scarcity of sociological studies on adolescence in comparison to psychological studies results in a lack of knowledge in regard to social research methods and practices on this topic as well. Psychological studies on adolescence cover a wide range of issues including, social adaptation, self-respect, family functions, bullying in school as well topics like violence, suicide, risky behaviors, alcohol or substance abuse. In terms of methodology, these studies do not generally set out to work with nationally representative samples. A prevalent technique is to select a sample from a specific primary school, high school or university or to include the entirety of a school's student population in the study. The surveyed literature shows that such samples may at times remain at a relatively small size, including perhaps 50 people but at other times expand to cover nearly 1000 people.

For example, Eskin et. al. (2008) conducted a research study on adolescent depression among high school students in Aydın with the participation of 850 students from three high schools. The researchers put forth that they assumed these schools to represent the socioeconomic diversity of the province because they were located centrally and had high populations. The research therefore is based on data gathered from these students who do not scientifically represent a larger population. The study involved using previously acclaimed psychological scales on these students by way of survey interviews. Similar methods have been employed in research studies in various cities including Bursa, Ankara, Sivas, Denizli, Konya and Istanbul where psychologists and psychiatrists performed tests and

surveys on primary school, high school or university students to gather information about adolescents in Türkiye (Ayan, 2007; Bahçivan & Gençöz, 2005; Çivitçi, 2011; Deniz 2006; Morsünbül & Tümen 2008; Musaağaoğlu & Güre, 2005; Özen & Aktan, 2010). Another common research tool in psychology is the employment of secondary data. Scholars who prefer not to limit their research to one school obtain datasets without conducting fieldwork and perform various analyses on such data to reach conclusions about adolescence (for example Bayraktar 2006). Similarly, Pultar (2008) dissected the comprehensive data and sample set from KONDA Research and Consultancy's 2006 study for Milliyet daily entitled "Who are we?" and conducted analysis solely on the youth.

The abovementioned methods are found in international studies as well. In addition to these, longitudinal studies are more common abroad than in Türkiye. Longitudinal studies are different from cross-sectional studies in that they follow a group of individuals over the course of a few years, set out to gather information on the same research participants in various stages and thereby provide in-depth analysis based on a longer period of research on the same people. For example, McCubbin et. al. (1985) investigated adolescent tendencies for risky behavior in relation to family stress and coping methods. They selected their sample from a list of registered families and adolescents enrolled in a large local health maintenance organization in the USA. As such, a total 509 families participated in a three-year panel investigation (McCubbin, Needle & Wilson, 1985). Another longitudinal study, this time without a nationally representative sample, was carried out among the adolescents living in the West side of New York City. The researchers investigated the participants drinking habits and related problems in six stages (Barnes, Hoffma, Welte, Farrell & Dintcheff, 2006). The fact that the study was spread over six years provided the researchers with the opportunity to observe and track them from the ages of 13-16 to 18-22.

Fieldwork on adolescence may proceed in line with the above-described methodologies. However, as previously mentioned, fieldwork is substantially impacted by the research topic, the target population and the socio-political and cultural environment where the study is taking place. The rest of this section provides insight into these issues.

Weber and fellow scholars (1994) explain that there are specific issues one must consider in carrying out interviews with adolescents. These researchers define the ages between 10 and 14 as extraordinary and as transitional. This is a time when a person begins to discover effective communication methods in regard to sharing their thoughts, feelings and actions. There are some liberties acquired in this period of early adolescence but these individuals are still very much controlled by their parents. This fragile balance between freedom and control may result in some adolescents' positioning themselves against their parents (Weber, Miracle & Skehan, 1994).

A common trend of adolescence is the reality and feeling of powerlessness. This sentiment may have negative effects on the interview process as the interview may suffer from the power imbalance between the interviewer and the interviewee. Respecting the privacy of the research participants as well as acquiring informed consent are significant issues for adolescence research as for any other study. However, if there is a power imbalance between the adult interviewer and the adolescent interviewee, the adolescent may feel especially vulnerable and weak with respect to these ethical issues. Therefore, the interviewer is responsible for protecting the rights and interests of the adolescent within the framework of research ethics. In addition, in many countries including Türkiye, interviews with minors (below the age of 18) must be monitored by a parent or a legal guardian. In cases where questionnaires include topics such as sexuality, violence or sexual harassment, parental monitoring may impact the participants' responses and therefore the reliability of the survey. This impressionability factor must be taken into consideration in studies that include personally

and socially controversial issues, especially if the research population is composed of minors.

Haqqani and Khalid (2012) share the difficulties of conducting research on adolescence in Pakistan. In doing so, they focus on the societal reception of social research as one of the problems. The scholars indicate that for any fieldwork to proceed smoothly and in a reliable fashion, the relevant society must accrue some value to social research and that there must be a culture, which favors such endeavors. Specifically in relation to adolescence, the researchers identify a palpable socio-cultural sensitivity in relation to the topics of risky behavior and sexuality (drug abuse, sexual harassment or suicide), which must be taken into account as fieldwork proceeds. These issues impact both the response rate and rate of unfinished surveys due to a participants' quitting in the middle of the questionnaire. Working on adolescence in Türkiye shows that similar sensitivities exist in Türkiye too. As such, the fieldwork inferences of the Pakistan study have been helpful for this study.

6. Comparing Basic Findings

This section of the literature review aims to compare the basic findings of the TEPA 2013 research with findings from other similar research projects.

The 2013 survey first inquires into the adolescents' parents. TEPA 2008 findings indicate that 15% of the mothers are illiterate and 56% are primary school graduates. Fathers on the other hand have a 4% rate of illiteracy and nearly half (49%) are primary school graduates. The percentage of fathers who have university degrees is three times as high when compared to mothers.

There is still an education gap between mothers and fathers when one looks at the 2013 findings. Fathers are more educated than the mothers. While the rate of illiteracy is 13% for the mothers, it drops down to 3% for the fathers. While 11% of the mothers were found to be high school graduates in 2008, the figure rises to 19% for 2013. The percentage of fathers

who have university degrees is now twice as high in comparison to mothers.

Parents' education is significant because it impacts parents' attitudes towards the education of their children, especially their daughters. At this point, it is useful to compare results in regard to the reasons why some adolescents have quit school and how those reasons compare to previous findings.

Both the 2008 and the 2013 survey offer the option of "my parents did not allow me to continue going to school for reasons related to customs and traditions." For both of the studies, it has been the adolescents in the lower SES groups who most commonly elect this option. The combined rate for the lower and lower-middle SES groups in the 2008 study is 19.5%; the corresponding rate is 10% for the 2013 study. There is an inverse relationship between electing this option and the family's SES segment. According to TEPA 2008 results, the percentage with which girls indicated this option is 18, the corresponding figure for the 2013 study is 8%.

According to Adıgüzel's (2013) study, for people to have equal rights, they first need to have awareness on the subject of rights and fairness. As such, individuals must be educated to acquire awareness about their rights and to practice those rights. This study also reached the finding that it is common for girls to quit school because of reasons related to customs and traditions. Girls' education is also important for the development of the country since it would account for social justice as well as a better-raised generation. However, as this study also shows, the percentage of girls not sent to school is particularly high in the lower SES groups and in families where the parents are less educated.

UNICEF (2010) provides a list of obstacles against girls' education in Türkiye:

- Inadequacy of schools and classrooms;
- Schools being located far from settlements and families being reluctant to send their children, especially their daughters, to travel those distances to reach school;

- Families being reluctant to send their children to schools that have unfavorable physical conditions (no toilets, no water supplies, etc.)
- Economic hardship
- Families' prejudices which result in their favoring their sons over their daughters and attaching more value to men than women.
- The tendency to get children to work so they may contribute to the household budget;
- Families' preferring their daughters to get married rather than receive an education;
- The scarcity or lack of female role models in rural parts of Türkiye;
- Low interest in primary school education due to limited access to middle school education.

As the above items establish, one of the largest obstacles that stand in front of children going to school is their families' attitudes. The study entitled "Reasons Why Girls in the Stage of Mandatory Education are not in School," lists the following explanations for this phenomenon: their fathers' not sending them to school, economic hardship, household responsibilities that girls have, lack of support for girls going to school and the mindset of marrying girls off as soon as they are "old enough" (Gürol & Dilli 2007).

According to the study at hand, the foremost reasons for not being in school are disliking school, the teachers and the classes. Both the 2008 and the 2013 studies put forth that the main reason why young people quit education is because they do not like studying or that they are unwilling to go to school. Another reason one observes is the families' desire for the child to work and make money.

In the study entitled "Reasons why Girls do not go to School," Tunç (2009) offers certain explanations for this phenomenon. Accordingly, although parents are aware of the individual benefits of receiving an education, they tend to lack an understanding of its social and cultural advantages. As such, girls are unable to receive schooling for the following reasons: The family lacks awareness about education; The family is unable to access education that is in accor-

dance with their own values and beliefs; Economic hardship; The traditional family and societal structures preventing girls from receiving an education.

In the study entitled “Comparing some European Union Member Countries and Asian Countries on the Subject of Girls’ Schooling,” Merter (2007) explains that as the development and wealth levels of countries increase, the rate of girls’ receiving schooling after mandatory education and the overall length of their education increases.

A general expectation from young people is that they should remain in the education system and/or be included in the labor market. As such, if skilled young workers may be included in the labor market, this would allow for economic growth, curtail poverty and ensure that young people become economically independent individuals (Çelik & Beşpınar 2011). Unskilled and uneducated labor, on the other hand, exacerbates unemployment, poverty, lack of social security and therefore social exclusion. According to data from the International Labor Organization (ILO 2010), employed youths are awarded low wages and therefore comprise the sector of society labeled “the employed poor.” Scholarship in this regard also demonstrates that youth employment is increasingly becoming temporary, irregular, informal and part-time (Çelik & Beşpınar 2011).

The TEPA 2008 study shows that 19% of working adolescents work seven days a week and that 58% work six days a week. Also, 39% of these adolescents were found to work for 11 hours a day or longer. Finally, 73% of working participants reported that they did not have any social security coverage. According to the TEPA 2013 findings, 24.5% of the working adolescents work for seven days a week and 44% work for six days a week. Seventy three percent work for more than seven hours a day and 43% of the working adolescents work for more than eight hours a day. Moreover, 20% of the working adolescents indicate that they work for more than 11 hours a day. Finally, 70% of the working youth has no social security coverage.

There may be various reasons why young people join the work force. According to Çelik and Beşpınar (2011), the main reason for this is “because they are obligated to work.” The authors add that this has unfavorable results. Similarly, the qualitative study by Çetin et. al. (2004) concludes that the main reasons for adolescents to work are “economic hardship” and “the family’s need for the adolescent’s income.”

The qualitative section of the report entitled *Adolescents and their Psychological Problems* by Çetin et. al. (2004) provides information on working adolescents’ social and psychological development in Türkiye. According to this report, working adolescents’ social lives fail to develop and their family relations and communication suffer. The report explains that “heavy work conditions negatively impact adolescents’ physical and psychological development” (Çetin, et. al., 2004:41). In addition, working adolescents were found to normalize child neglect both in the work place and within the family. This study also reports that working may positively influence adolescents since it contributes to their self-confidence and liberates them within the family environment. Still, disadvantageous work conditions appear to be very real and therefore must change.

School success is one of the issues that this study focuses on regarding student adolescents. According to Dursun (2004), families’ economic welfare has a positive impact on students’ self-confidence and self-respect, which in turn affects their Self-Esteem and school success for the better. Academic success is significant for adolescents in various ways. Some scholars believe that adolescents who are not successful in school tend to display antisocial behavior more frequently (Donald, 1986; Erdoğan, 2006; Ma, Shek, Ping & Lam, 2000).

Keskin and Sezgin (2009) assert that families’ economic welfare has no impact on adolescents’ school success. On the other hand, both TEPA 2008 and TEPA 2013 results concur with the general trends in the literature in regard to this issue. TEPA 2008 results indicate that the combined rate of students

who find themselves very successful or successful in school in 73% for the upper SES group but drops to 58% for the lower SES group. Similarly, one observes that perceived success in school and SES are directly related in the TEPA 2013 study. The combined rates of finding oneself successful or very successful are at 82% and 76% for the upper and upper-middle SES groups respectively. However, the corresponding figures decrease to 59% and 57% for the lower-middle and lower SES groups.

As described in the first section of this literature review, adolescence has been defined as a period of “storm and stress.” Within this framework, it has been argued that it is “natural” for adolescents to have conflicts with their families. In other words, the more conventional viewpoints argue that conflicts during adolescence are ordinary and common. However, TEPA 2008 results show that 90% of the adolescents define their relationships with their mothers as “good” or as “very good.” This rate remains the same for the TEPA 2013 study. According to Kılıç (1994), in cases where the family is supportive and close, the adolescent displays more compatible behaviors and experiences conflicts less intensely. In other words, adolescence does not have to be “by nature” a period of conflict (Özbay, et. al. 1991). Conflict is especially frequent and intense when family qualities and parents’ attitudes and behaviors feed it. Similarly, Gül and Güneş (2009) also argue that adolescence does not necessarily have to be experienced as a period of “storm and stress.” Having said that, both the 2008 and 2013 studies depict the mother as the person with whom the adolescent has most conflict. Despite the presence of conflict between adolescents and their mothers as well as other types of conflicts that adolescents mention, they still mostly identify their relations with their families as “good” or “very good.” This may show that daily conflicts within the family are in fact, not pathological and do not negatively impact adolescents’ perceptions about their familial relations.

The TEPA 2008 study reports that 44% of the adolescents share their problems with their mothers and receive most support from their mothers. The corresponding figure for the father remains at 9%. The TEPA 2013 figures are 62% for the mother and 15% for the father. This data is in accordance with the findings of Kılıç et. al. (1994) where they investigate adolescents’ social support environments. This study states that mothers’ support is higher than fathers’ support for both students and working adolescents and for both sexes. In addition, this study puts forth that fathers are especially distant from their daughters (Kılıç, Özbay, Göka, Mavili-Aktaş & Güngör, 1994). According to Steinberg, the father-daughter relationship is the most problematic and the most distant of all parent-child relationships. This distance has been accounted for as a coping strategy with Oedipal instincts that resurface during adolescence (Younnis & Ketterlinus 1987).

As previously explained, this research employs the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale to evaluate adolescents on the basis of Self-Esteem. According to Özkan (1994), Self-Esteem is when “a person feels proud, worthy, dedicated, effective and successful” (Özkan, 1994:4). Some prominent factors that contribute to the development of Self-Esteem are the following: A person’s ability to display their talent and capabilities, their being compatible, accepted and liked within the society and their being at peace with their physical features. Self-Esteem in turn impacts school and work success, how one copes with stress, friendships and a person’s liveliness or joyfulness. Also, variables like age, sex and SES are found to be related to Self-Esteem.

Özkan explains that young adolescents have lower Self-Esteem when compared to older adolescents by stating that younger adolescents have a weaker sense of self. On the other hand, his own study does not confirm a significant relationship between age and Self-Esteem. The TEPA 2013 study does not depict a difference in Self-Esteem between younger and older adolescents either.

Özkan argues that Self-Esteem is related to fathers' education. His findings point to rising levels of Self-Esteem for adolescents with better-educated fathers. As explained above, Torucu (1990) as well, identifies a relationship between parents' education and Self-Esteem. The TEPA 2013 findings corroborate these results. Accordingly, while 4% of those whose fathers are illiterate have high Self-Esteem, the figure increases to 13% for adolescents whose fathers have graduated from middle school and to 14.5% for those whose fathers have university degrees (Supplementary Table 2).

Another important issue that is taken up in adolescence research is future expectations. Eryılmaz's (2011) study in Ankara investigates the relationships between adolescents' future expectations and their subjective wellbeing. According to this study, one of the main goals in a human's life is to reach happiness. In psychology, happiness is conceptualized as "subjective wellbeing." Subjective wellbeing is a concept that is concerned with how a person evaluates themselves. If the person experiences positive emotions frequently and negative emotions infrequently and if they are highly satisfied with their lives, this shows that they have a high level of subjective wellbeing.

The concepts of life satisfaction or happiness, which are related to subjective wellbeing, also have to do with a person's relationship with time. According to Eryılmaz, time is a "tool that people use to make sense of their lives and to control it". Scholarship on time is focused on the future. A person's negative or positive appraisal of the future is related to their current state of subjective wellbeing. Until Eryılmaz's study, these issues had only been investigated with respect to adults. Eryılmaz, on the other hand, focused on the notion of subjective wellbeing in adolescents with a view as to tie this concept with expectations from the future. The study results show that there is a positive correlation between adolescents' subjective wellbeing and optimistic expectations from the future. As a person's subjective

wellbeing increases, they are more likely to have optimistic expectations from the future (Eryılmaz, 2011: 209)

This finding is in accordance with the TEPA 2013 results which indicates that the adolescents who describe themselves as "unhappy" or "very unhappy" have a score of 3 out of 5 in relation to the expectation that their lives will be good in the future. In other words, these adolescents responded to the statement "when I think about the future, I feel that everything in my life will turn out to be good" with the option of "neither agree nor disagree." On the other hand, adolescents who describe themselves as "happy" or "very happy" have a score of almost 4 out of 5 in relation to the same expectation. This shows that adolescents in this group more frequently elected the option "agree" in response to the abovementioned statement (Supplementary Table 3).

As described above, there is an inverse relationship between school success and anomalous behavior. Aras et. al. (2007) concur with this finding. Anomalous behavior is parallel to risk taking and violent tendencies. In addition, anomalous behavior also causes problems in one's relationships with friends. The TEPA 2013 study thus investigates the relationship between school success and the violence in adolescents' lives. As such, 3% of those who attest to never experiencing domestic violence perceive of themselves as "unsuccessful" or "very unsuccessful" in school. The corresponding figure is 29% for those who state that they frequently experience domestic violence (Supplementary Table 4). Similarly, 3% of those who state that they never resort to violence find themselves "unsuccessful" or "very unsuccessful" in school, but the figure is 13% for those who indicate that they often resort to violence in their treatment of others (Supplementary Table 5).

As describe above, lack of support from friends may cause psychological problems in adolescence. Risk taking behavior is also related to friendlessness. Also, according to Çivitçi's (2011) study in Denizli,

students who have high levels of loneliness express their anger in more destructive ways and have more difficulty coping with anger in comparison to their peers. The TEPA 2013 findings are in accordance with these data. Although the numbers of these adolescents are quite few, it is striking that those who respond to the question of “how do you cope with your problems?” with the answer of “I thrash my surroundings” are more frequently those adolescents who state that they have no friends.

It has been quite a challenge to reach sociological literature on adolescence that has made use of representative samples. As previously mentioned, scholarly work on this subject tends to be concentrated around the discipline of psychology and based on non-representative samples. As such, comparable results are also few. This section has intended to investigate the compatibility of the assumptions and findings of psychologically based literature on adolescence with the results of the TEPA 2013 research study.



SECTION 2

FAMILY AND RESIDENCE
INFORMATION

Family Type

Household Characteristics

Residence Information

A. Family Type

The most prevalent family type encountered during the interviews is the nuclear family type at 87%. This is followed by the extended family type (8%) where family elders and other relatives reside in the same home as the nuclear family. This research employs the term “single parent family” to refer to those families where either the mother or the father is deceased. Two percent of the families encountered belong to this category. The term “broken family” is used to refer to those families where the parents are either separated or divorced. Three percent of the families encountered belong to this category.

Table 1. Family Type (%)

Mother, father and children (Nuclear family)	87.1
Mother, father, children and older/other relatives (Traditional extended family)	7.6
Mother or father is deceased (Single parent household)	2.4
Parents are separated (Broken family)	2.8
Other	0.1
Total	100.0

The nuclear family type is most prevalent among the upper SES group and the percentage of nuclear families drops as SES decreases. While the percentage of nuclear families is 96 for the upper SES group, the figure is 73% for the lower SES group. On the other hand, the curve for extended families appears to be the exact opposite. While the percentage of extended families is 17 for the low SES group, the figure drops as SES increases and is at 1% in the upper SES group. Single-parent families follow a similar pattern. The percentage of single parent families is 6 for the low SES group but drops to less than 1% for the upper SES group.

Table 2. Family Type (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
Nuclear family	95.9	93.1	91.5	87.0	73.3	87.4
Traditional extended family	0.9	3.4	4.0	8.3	17.2	7.5
Single parent household	0.6	0.7	1.2	2.6	6.2	2.4
Broken family	2.7	2.8	3.4	2.1	3.1	2.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2:273.676$ degrees of freedom:16 $p=0.000$

Nuclear and broken families are more prevalent in urban areas whereas extended families are more widespread in rural areas. In terms of regions, nuclear families are concentrated more in the west and extended families more in the eastern parts of Türkiye. Single parent families are relatively more frequent in Mideastern and Southeastern Anatolia (4%, overall sample 2%) (Supplementary Table 6).

Table 3. Family Type (by Settlement Type) (%)

	Urban	Rural	Total
Nuclear family	88.2	84.6	87.4
Traditional extended family	5.9	11.7	7.5
Single parent household	2.3	2.6	2.4
Broken family	3.5	1.1	2.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2:100.412$ degrees of freedom:4 $p=0.000$

B. Household Characteristics

Thirty five percent of the households are composed of four persons. This is followed by five-person homes at 21% and three-person homes at 20%. Of the households with adolescents, 23% are composed of six persons or more. Households included in the survey comprise of 4.81 persons, on average. This number is considerably higher than the average household size in Türkiye (TurkStat 2012: 3.7 persons). The difference is due to the difference in the definition of the target population. The survey filter question was whether there was at least one adolescent living in the household. Therefore in this survey, the number of adolescents per household was determined at 1.54. This number is three times

Table 4. Number of People Living in Household (%)

2 People	0.7
3 People	19.7
4 People	35.4
5 People	21.0
6 People	10.5
7 People	4.9
8 People	2.7
9 People	2.2
10 or more	2.9
Total	100.0
Mean	4.81

as high as the national average (0.46), which in turn impacts average household size.

1. Children

Of the households included in the survey, 16.5% are only-child homes. Thirty four percent of the adolescents interviewed have one sibling and 23% have two siblings. The average number of children is 3.02. In 60% percent of the households there is only one child between the ages of 12 and 18. Average number of adolescents per home is 1.54.

Table 5. Total Number of Children (%)

1 Child	16.5
2 Children	34.2
3 Children	23.4
4 Children	10.7
5 Children	5.0
6 Children	3.3
7 Children	2.5
8 Children	1.6
9 Children	1.2
10 or more	1.6
Total	100.0
Mean	3.02

Table 6. Number of Children Living in Household Aged Between 12-18 (%)

1 Child	60.4
2 Children	28.7
3 Children	8.1
4 Children	2.1
5 or more	0.7
Total	100.0
Mean	1.54

Table 7. Number of Children (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
1 Child	54.1	38.7	19.6	9.8	4.0	16.7
2 Children	36.3	42.5	45.3	34.1	8.0	34.6
3 Children	6.6	14.9	23.4	29.4	16.6	23.5
4 Children	2.6	3.0	8.2	13.3	15.5	10.7
5 Children	0.3	0.8	2.1	5.4	13.0	4.8
6 Children	0.0	0.0	0.9	3.2	10.6	3.1
7 Children	0.0	0.0	0.4	1.3	12.9	2.4
8 Children	0.0	0.0	0.1	1.1	7.4	1.5
9 Children	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.5	3.9	1.2
10 or more	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.8	7.8	1.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	1.59	1.85	2.33	3.05	5.34	2.97

$\chi^2:2520.69$ degrees of freedom:36 $p=0.000$

SES level and number of children are inversely related. Ninety percent of the families in the upper SES group have either one or two children. The figure drops the 44% for the lower-middle SES group and 12% for the lower SES group. On the other hand, the percentage of families with five or more children is 56 for the lower SES group but less than 1% for the upper-middle and upper SES groups.

Families with one or two children are more prevalent in urban areas. The frequency of families with three children is equal in both rural and urban areas (23%). Families with four or more children are more widespread in rural areas than in urban areas. The average number of children is 2.71 in urban areas and 3.76 in rural areas (Supplementary Table 7). Single child homes are more prevalent in Istanbul and in the Western Marmara region (35% and 39% respectively, overall sample 16.5%). The frequency of two-children homes is higher in the western regions and in the Mediterranean when compared to the eastern regions. On the other hand, families with four children or more are relatively more prevalent in the eastern regions (Supplementary Table 8).

Taking into consideration parent education in relation to the number of children, the same pattern appears both in regard to the mother's and the father's education. The average number of children drops as one moves from illiterate mothers towards university graduate mothers (5.63 versus 1.52). The same curve is found in relation to fathers' education. While the average number of children for illiterate fathers is 6.13, the corresponding figure is 2.1 for university graduate fathers (Supplementary Table 9 and 10).

Of the respondents, 16.5% are only children. However, 21% appeared to be the only child living at home at the time of the interview. This shows that some adolescents' siblings have left their home and that the interviewee is in a position to be the family's only child living in the same household.

Table 8. Total Number of Children/Children Living in Household (Respondent Included) (%)

	Children Total	Children at Home
1 Child	16.5	20.6
2 Children	34.2	36.8
3 Children	23.4	22.5
4 Children	10.7	9.5
5 Children	5.0	4.1
6 Children	3.3	2.6
7 Children	2.5	2.0
8 Children	1.6	1.0
9 Children	1.2	0.6
10 or more	1.6	0.4
Total	100.0	100.0
Mean	3.02	2.67

2. Parents

Most respondents' mothers are between the ages of 31 and 40 and their fathers are between the ages of 41 and 50. Of the mothers, the majority is between 31 and 40 years old (53%). Of the fathers, the majority is between 41 and 50 years old (54%). Twenty nine of the fathers are above the age of 40 and 5.5% of the mothers are above the age of 50.

Table 9. Surviving Parents' Age (%)

	Mother	Father
30 or younger	2.6	0.3
31-40	53.2	28.8
41-50	38.1	54.1
51 or older	5.5	15.4
No response	0.5	1.4
Total	100.0	100.0

Table 10. Surviving Parents' Level of Education (%)

	Mother	Father
Illiterate	12.8	2.9
Literate, has received no schooling	3.2	2.0
Completed primary school	48.8	41.1
Completed middle school	9.5	13.5
High school graduate	18.7	25.7
Two-year associate degree	1.0	2.4
University graduate	5.5	10.6
Has a master's/doctorate degree	0.1	0.7
No response	0.3	1.1
Total	100.0	100.0

Fathers are more educated than the mothers. The most prominent difference between the mothers and the fathers is in relation to literacy. Three percent of the fathers are illiterate while the figure is 13% for the mothers. Nearly half of the mothers (49%) and 41% percent of the fathers are primary school graduates. Twenty five percent of the fathers and almost 20% of the mothers have high school degrees. The percentage of fathers with university degrees is twice as high as that of mothers (11% and 5.5% respectively).

A large majority of the mothers are housewives (85.5%). Thirteen percent of the mothers work. Twelve percent of the fathers are unemployed. Of the unemployed fathers, two thirds are retired and twenty five percent are jobless. Nineteen percent of the fathers are skilled workers and 17.5% are unskilled workers. The percentage of fathers who are employed as farmers, shopkeepers or civil servants is similar to one another (around 11-12%).

Table 11. Surviving Parents' Occupation (%)

	Mother	Father
Housewife	85.5	0.0
Farming/animal husbandry	0.3	10.6
Retired, still working	0.0	1.5
Retired, not working	1.1	8.1
Shopkeeper/merchant	1.0	11.7
Civil servant	4.2	11.8
Manager or employer in mid to large scale enterprise	0.1	1.8
Professional, self employed	1.0	2.0
Self employed, pieceworker, casual work	0.2	9.0
Skilled worker	2.6	17.5
Unskilled worker	2.9	19.1
Administrator	0.2	1.0
Seasonal worker	0.1	0.6
Receives rent income	0.1	0.9
Unemployed	0.1	2.7
Teacher	0.3	0.5
Village guard	0.0	0.1
No response	0.3	1.2
Total	100.0	100.0

Average monthly household income is 1651 TL. Eighty one percent of the adolescents living in the

surveyed households have SGK coverage through their parents and 11% have green cards (health card for persons with no insurance). Five percent of the respondents do not have any social security coverage. Adolescents with SSK coverage are concentrated more in the western regions. Those with green cards, on the other hand, are much more widespread in the eastern regions than any other (Supplementary Table 11).

Table 12. Social Security Coverage Through a Parent (%)

No social security	5.0
SSK	51.6
Retirement Fund	11.9
Bağ-Kur: Pension fund for the self-employed	17.3
Private insurance	0.6
Green card: Health card for uninsured people	10.9
I do not know	2.5
Foreign insurance	0.0
No response	0.2
Total	100.0

3. Family's Migration Status

Of the surveyed families, 60% are locals of where they currently live. Fourteen percent of the families have migrated to their current locale in the last 10 years and 36% have migrated in the last 20 years. Of the 40% who are migrants, nearly 90% have migrated in the past 20 years. The percentage of those who have migrated in the past 10 years is 35.

Table 13. Number of Years Lived in Present Province (%)

0-1 year	2.2
2-5 years	5.3
6-10 years	6.8
11-15 years	8.7
16-20 years	12.7
21-25 years	2.9
26-30 years	1.5
More than 30 years	0.3
We have always lived here	59.6
No response	0.1
Total	100.0

Nearly half of the migrant families (49%) have migrated to their current place of residence from a province center. The percentage of those who have migrated from district centers is 27 and 24% have

migrated from townships or villages. More than half of the migrants (56%) have declared economic reasons to be the cause for their migration. This is followed by migration due to marriage at 15.5% and migration due to appointment at 12%.

Table 14. Number of Years Lived in Present Province (for Migrants) (%)

0-1 year	5.5
2-5 years	13.2
6-10 years	16.7
11-15 years	21.6
16-20 years	31.3
21-25 years	7.1
26-30 years	3.7
More than 30 years	0.7
No response	0.2
Total	100.0
n:2667	

Table 15. Type of Settlement where Family Lived Before Moving Here (%)

Province center	48.6
District center	27.0
Township/village	23.9
No response	0.6
Total	100.0
n:2667	

Table 16. Reasons for Migration (%)

Economic reasons	56.3
Marriage	15.5
Appointment	12.4
Education	6.2
Forced migration	6.2
Other	2.8
No response	0.5
Total	100.0
n:2667	

Two points are noteworthy in relation to migration reasons and family type. The percentage of migration due to appointment is much higher in nuclear families (13.5%) than the other types. Also, forced migration is relatively more common among broken families (11%) than the other types (Supplementary Table 12)

Those who have migrated due to appointment have largely migrated from province or district centers. On the other hand, points of origin for those who have migrated for reasons of marriage or education are mostly townships or villages. This is also true for cases of forced migration (Supplementary Table 13).

Significant differences are observed when migration and SES are taken into consideration together. Those in the upper SES groups tend to be more mobile whereas those in the lower SES groups appear to be more stationary. The percentage of migrants in the upper SES group is over 50 but only reaches 26% for the lower SES group. The percentage of migrants in extended families is relatively lower (36%) when compared to the level of migration in the other family types (overall sample 40%).

Table 17. Migration Status (by SES and Family Type) (%)

Has the family migrated to present province?	Yes	No	Total
SES			
Upper	51.5	48.5	100.0
Upper-middle	49.6	50.4	100.0
Middle	44.3	55.7	100.0
Lower-middle	40.3	59.7	100.0
Lower	26.2	73.8	100.0
<i>x²:104.029 degrees of freedom:4 p=0.000</i>			
FAMILY TYPE			
Nuclear family	40.8	59.2	100.0
Traditional extended family	35.8	64.2	100.0
Single parent household	38.8	61.2	100.0
Broken family	41.2	58.8	100.0
<i>x²:11.263 degrees of freedom:4 p=0.024</i>			
Total	40.4	59.6	100.0

C. Residence Information

Fifty seven percent of the surveyed families reside in apartment houses or flats. Except for extended families that tend to live in houses, apartment housing appears to be most common form of residence for all family types. The fact that the percentage of

Table 18. Type of the Residence (%)

Apartment house or flat	56.9
House	29.3
Squatter house	1.3
Village house	12.3
Other	0.3
Total	100.0

flat residence is as high as 70 among broken families may be explained by how these types of families are more prevalent in urban areas.

Table 19. Type of the Residence (by Family Type) (%)

	Nuclear family	Traditional extended family	Single parent household	Broken family	Total
Apartment house or flat	58.7	34.5	47.6	70.4	56.9
House	27.9	45.7	36.2	21.5	29.3
Squatter house	1.2	2.2	0.9	1.7	1.3
Village house	11.9	17.6	15.3	6.0	12.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<i>x²:140.54 degrees of freedom:12 p=0.000</i>					

4. Number of Rooms in the Residence and Adolescents' Own Room

The surveyed families generally live in homes with three or four rooms. Eighty eight percent of the residences in urban areas and 82% of those in rural areas are composed of three or four rooms. The maximum number of rooms encountered is eight and the minimum is one. The average number of rooms was determined at 3.61.

Table 20. Number of Rooms in Residence (by Settlement Type) (%)

	Urban	Rural	Total
1 Room	0.2	0.5	0.3
2 Rooms	4.5	6.4	5.1
3 Rooms	37.2	39.1	37.8
4 Rooms	50.7	42.9	48.4
5 Rooms	5.6	7.8	6.2
6 Rooms or more	1.3	3.0	1.8
No response	0.5	0.3	0.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	3.62	3.61	3.61
<i>x²:46.026 degrees of freedom:7 p=0.000</i>			

In 54% of the surveyed homes, the adolescent interviewed has his/her private room. There is not much difference between boys and girls in this regard. It is more common for adolescents in urban areas (59%)

Table 21. The Adolescent Having a Private Room (by Sex) (%)

	Female	Male	Total
Yes	54.3	54.6	54.4
No	45.6	45.0	45.3
No response	0.0	0.4	0.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
<i>x²:0.917 degrees of freedom:1 p=0.338</i>			

to have a room for themselves than in rural areas (43%) (Supplementary Table 14).

As SES increases, so does the percentage of adolescents who have their own rooms. Ninety percent of the adolescents in the upper SES group have their own rooms whereas this ratio is 13.5% for those in the lower SES group.

Table 22. The Adolescent Having a Private Room (by SES)

	Yes	No	No response	Total
Upper	89.8	10.2	0.0	100.0
Upper-middle	82.6	17.2	0.2	100.0
Middle	69.2	30.6	0.2	100.0
Lower-middle	49.6	50.2	0.3	100.0
Lower	13.5	86.4	0.1	100.0
Total	55.3	44.5	0.2	100.0

$\chi^2:1158.06$ degrees of freedom:4 $p=0.000$

The percentage of adolescents who have their own rooms is higher among those living in houses with three or four rooms. Only 18% of the adolescents living in houses with two rooms have their own room. However, this ratio increases to 46% for those living in houses with three rooms and to 62% for those in four-room homes (Supplementary Table 15).

There is not much difference between adolescents who have their own rooms and those who do not in terms of how successful they find themselves in school (see Section III). The only notable differentiation appears within upper SES group. Adolescents in the upper SES group who have their own rooms have a mean success perception of 4.02/5 whereas the mean for those who do not have their own rooms is 3.87/5.

5. Homeownership

Two thirds of the families are homeowners and nearly 30% are renters. The ratio of homeowners is relatively higher among extended families (73%; overall sample 67%). On the other hand, the ratio of renters is considerably higher among broken families (44%; overall sample 28%). Also, predictably, home ownership is more prevalent among non-migrants (72.5%) than migrants (59%). In other words, renting is more common among migrants (36%) than non-migrants (23%) (Supplementary Table 16).

Table 23. Homeownership (%)

We own our home	66.9
Rented	28.1
Owned by a relative	3.8
Public/company housing	0.9
Other	0.1
No response	0.1
Total	100.0

Table 24. Homeownership (by Family Type) (%)

	Nuclear family	Traditional extended family	Single parent household	Broken family	Total
We own our home	67.0	72.9	66.4	49.4	66.9
Rented	28.8	16.3	23.6	44.1	28.1
Owned by a relative	3.0	10.1	8.8	6.0	3.8
Public/company housing	1.0	0.7	1.1	0.5	0.9
Other	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1
No response	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2:118.70$ degrees of freedom:16 $p=0.000$

6. Heating System of Residence

The most common heating device is the heating stove which nearly half of the households use (47%). Twenty eight percent of the households have central heating and 22% make use of a room heater. Of the houses where interviews took place, 41% was found to use natural gas in various different heating devices. Forty six percent of the households utilize wood and coal for heating.

Table 25. Heating System of Residence (%)

Central heating	Natural gas	17.9
	Fuel oil/gas	0.6
	Wood and coal	9.3
	Other	0.4
Room heater	Boiler/natural gas	19.5
	Fuel oil/gas	0.6
Heating stove	Other	1.8
	Natural gas	3.2
	Wood /coal	36.8
	Cow dung	4.8
	Electric	2.1
Air conditioner	Catalytic	0.3
		2.4
Geothermal		0.03
No response		0.2
Total		100.0



SECTION 3

DEMOGRAPHIC FEATURES

Sex and Age

Education

Adolescents in School and/or in Work Life

A. Sex and Age

Forty nine percent of the interviewed adolescents are female and 51% are male. Mean age for both sexes is 14.97. Tables 26 and 27 depict the distribution of male and female participants in terms of age and age group.

Table 26. Age/Sex Distribution (%)

	Female	Male	Total
12 years old	14.5	14.4	14.5
13 years old	14.7	14.7	14.7
14 years old	14.6	14.5	14.6
15 years old	14.4	14.4	14.4
16 years old	13.9	13.8	13.9
17 years old	13.8	13.8	13.8
18 years old	14.2	14.3	14.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	14.97	14.97	14.97

$\chi^2:13.888$ degrees of freedom:6 $p=0.031$

Table 27. Age Group/Sex Distribution (%)

	Female	Male	Total
12-15 age group	58.1	58.2	58.1
16-18 age group	41.9	41.8	41.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2:0.619$ degrees of freedom:1 $p=0.431$

Table 28. Distribution by Settlement Type and Region (by Age Group) (%)

	12-15	16-18	Total
Urban	58.0	42.0	100.0
Rural	58.6	41.4	100.0
$\chi^2:10.019$ degrees of freedom:1 $p=0.002$			
Istanbul	57.9	42.1	100.0
Western Marmara	56.6	43.4	100.0
Aegean	57.4	42.6	100.0
Eastern Marmara	57.3	42.7	100.0
Western Anatolia	58.7	41.3	100.0
Mediterranean	57.8	42.2	100.0
Central Anatolia	58.0	42.0	100.0
Western Black Sea	56.9	43.1	100.0
Eastern Black Sea	56.7	43.3	100.0
Northeastern Anatolia	58.8	41.2	100.0
Mideastern Anatolia	59.0	41.0	100.0
Southeastern Anatolia	59.8	40.2	100.0
$\chi^2:154.698$ degrees of freedom:11 $p=0.000$			
Total	58.1	41.9	100.0

The age distribution for urban and rural areas is similar. The ratio of adolescents between the ages of 12 and 15 in urban areas is 58 and the figure is 59% for rural areas. The percentage of adolescents between the ages of 16 and 18 is 42 for urban areas and 41 for rural areas. Regional distribution shows that the frequency of the younger group (12-15 years of age) varies between 57% and 60% whereas that of the older age group varies between 40% and 43%. Supplementary Table 17 presents participants' distribution based on sex, type of settlement and region.

B. Education

Forty nine percent of the participating adolescents are high school students and 34% are primary education students. Five percent have high school degrees and 4% are primary education graduates. Three percent of the participants are university students. Of the participants, 0.2% are illiterate and 0.1% are literate but have received no schooling. The entirety of these two groups is composed of girls. Dropping out of school is more common among girls during primary education. However, more boys tend to drop out of high school. The level of enrollment in primary education is similar for rural and urban areas. On the other hand, high school enrollment is higher in urban areas (51%) than in rural areas (43%) (Supplementary Table 18).

Table 29. Level of Education (by Sex)

	Female	Male	Total
Illiterate	0.3	0.0	0.2
Literate	0.1	0.0	0.1
Dropped out of primary education	2.2	1.0	1.6
Enrolled in primary education	33.5	34.7	34.1
Completed primary education	4.7	2.8	3.7
Dropped out of high school	1.5	3.1	2.4
Enrolled in high school	48.8	48.4	48.6
High school graduate	4.5	4.9	4.7
Dropped out of open education	0.0	0.05	0.02
Enrolled in open education	1.2	1.9	1.5
Enrolled in university	3.2	3.0	3.1
Enrolled in a vocational education center	0.01	0.03	0.02
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2:58.750$ degrees of freedom:11 $p=0.000$

Survey respondents were asked to indicate whether they study in public school or private schools. Those who were not students at the time of the interview were requested to provide answers based on their last school of attendance. For both this question and for the question regarding school type, the 0.3% who have never attended school are excluded.

A very large percentage (97.5%) of the participants either are or were last enrolled in a public school. Accordingly, 2.5% attend private schools. Nearly 4% of those in public school and 5% of those in private schools are in boarding schools. Two percent of the students are enrolled in a common public education institution.

Table 30. Enrollment in State/Private School (%)

State school	97.5
Private school	2.5
Total	100.0

Table 31. Enrollment in Boarding/Day School (%)

	State school	Private school	Total
Boarding school	3.6	5.2	3.6
Day school	96.4	94.8	96.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 32. Enrollment in Formal/Common Public Education Institution (%)

Formal education institution	98.3
Common public education institution	1.7
Total	100.0

Table 34. Type of Formal Education Institution (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
Primary education school	42.4	35.0	33.9	38.3	58.8	39.7
General high school	16.2	22.7	25.2	23.4	17.3	22.7
Anatolian high school	22.7	20.2	14.9	11.8	7.4	13.4
Vocational high school	3.1	7.7	13.6	15.9	8.2	12.8
Imam Hatip high school	0.2	1.3	2.9	5.1	6.2	4.0
University	5.2	6.9	4.6	2.1	1.2	3.3
Anatolian Teachers' high school	2.5	2.5	1.2	1.5	0.1	1.4
Technical high school	0.7	1.0	1.7	1.3	0.9	1.3
Science high school	5.1	1.6	1.0	0.4	0.0	0.9
Social sciences high school	1.3	0.8	0.4	0.1	0.0	0.3
Anatolian fine arts high	0.7	0.4	0.5	0.1	0.0	0.2
Sports high school	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.1
Military school	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2:484.886$ degrees of freedom:48 $p=0.000$

The percentage of students in primary education and high school combined is 63. A similar percentage of students (around 13%) attend Anatolian or vocational high schools. In terms of sex distribution, vocational or technical high school enrollment is more prevalent among males than among females. Among girls, Imam Hatip enrollment is higher.

Table 33. Type of Formal Education Institution (by Sex) (%)

	Female	Male	Total
Primary education school	40.7	39.2	40.0
General high school	23.6	21.7	22.6
Anatolian high school	13.9	12.8	13.3
Vocational high school	10.2	14.9	12.6
Imam Hatip high school	4.4	3.5	4.0
University	3.3	3.2	3.2
Anatolian Teachers' high school	1.5	1.2	1.3
Technical high school	0.8	1.7	1.3
Science high school	1.1	1.0	1.0
Social sciences high school	0.3	0.4	0.4
Anatolian fine arts high	0.3	0.1	0.2
Sports high school	0.0	0.2	0.1
Military school	0.0	0.04	0.02
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2:61.093$ degrees of freedom:12 $p=0.000$

The percentage of those enrolled in Anatolian high schools drops as SES decreases. Among the upper SES group, 23% of the participants attend Anatolian high schools. The figure drops to 20% for the upper-middle SES group and to 7% for the lower SES group. On the other hand, vocational and technical high school attendance appears to be higher

among those in the lower-middle (17%) and middle (15%) SES groups. Imam Hatip attendance is also prevalent in the lower SES group. Science high school and university enrollment is more widespread in the upper SES divisions.

Enrollment levels in open high schools that are a part of the common public education system are similar for males and females (around 77-78%). More males rather than females appear to attend vocational/technical open education institutions or public education centers. On the other hand, more females rather than males are enrolled in vocational education centers (Supplementary table 19).

C. Adolescents in School and/or in Work Life

A large majority of the interviewed adolescents are students (89%) and this figure is similar for both sexes. Five percent of the interviewees are included in the labor market by either being students who also work, by only working or by looking for a job. The percentage of adolescents in this case is much higher for males (7.5%) than for females (2%). In a parallel fashion, the percentage of girls who neither work nor are in school is higher (8%) than that of boys (4%).

The percentage of students is higher in the lower age group. While the ratio of students among the 12-15 age group is 96%, the figure drops to 79% for the 16-18 age group. On the other hand, nearly 10% of the adolescents in the 16-18 age group are in way or another, included in the labor market. The percentage of those adolescents who are neither students nor work is also relatively high among this group (12%).

Table 35. Adolescent's Current Status (%)

Student	88.9
Both student and working	1.2
Working	2.3
Not working, looking for a job	1.4
Not working, not looking for a job	6.2
Total	100.0

Table 36. Adolescent's Current Status (by Sex) (%)

	Female	Male	Total
Student	89.5	88.3	88.9
Both student and working	0.5	1.9	1.2
Working	1.1	3.5	2.3
Not working, looking for a job	0.7	2.1	1.4
Not working, not looking for a job	8.2	4.2	6.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2:142.01$ degrees of freedom:4 $p=0.000$

Table 37. Adolescent's Current Status (by Age Group) (%)

	12-15	16-18	Total
Student	96.2	78.7	88.9
Both student and working	0.5	2.2	1.2
Working	0.6	4.7	2.3
Not working, looking for a job	0.5	2.7	1.4
Not working, not looking for a job	2.2	11.7	6.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2:473.969$ degrees of freedom:4 $p=0.000$

How participants relate to school was found to be very much related to their SES level. Adolescents in the upper and upper-middle SES groups have very high levels of being enrolled in school (98% and 96% respectively). The percentage drops as SES decreases. Eighty eight percent of the adolescents in the lower-middle SES group and 75% of those in the lower SES group are students. On the other hand, while less than 1% of the adolescents in the upper SES group are included in the labor market, the figure is 9% for the lower SES group. The percentage of adolescents who are neither students nor are looking for employment is also relatively high in the lower SES groups. Such participants compose 6% of the adolescents in the lower-middle SES group and 16% of the adolescents in the lower SES group.

Table 38. Adolescent's Current Status (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
Student	98.3	96.0	95.1	87.8	74.7	89.4
Both student and working	0.6	1.1	1.0	1.5	1.6	1.3
Working	0.0	0.9	1.5	2.8	3.7	2.3
Not working, looking for a job	0.0	0.2	0.5	1.8	3.7	1.4
Not working, not looking for a job	1.2	1.8	1.9	6.1	16.2	5.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2:304.71$ degrees of freedom:16 $p=0.000$

1. Reasons for not Being in School

There are three main reasons why some adolescents are not in school. Thirty eight percent of the participants state that they quit school because “they are unwilling to go to school.” This reason is followed by economic reasons and not having been successful in the university entrance exams, at 22% each. The reason “unwillingness to attend school” appears with similar frequencies for both male and female adolescents and does not diverge much from the overall sample percentage. Not being enrolled in school because of economic reasons is more common among girls (24%) than boys (21%). Given these figures, one might infer that families go the extra distance to provide education for their sons but not for their daughters. More prominent differences along the lines of gender appear in relation to the reasons of “not having been successful in university entrance

exams” and “the family refusing to send the adolescent to school because of reasons relating to customs and traditions.” Among the girls, 14% declare that the reason why they are not in school is because they were unsuccessful in university entrance exams. The figure rises to 30% for boys. On the other hand, 8% of the girls state that the reason why they do not attend school is because of their family’s attitude in relation to customs and traditions. This figure increases to 11% for the lower SES group (Supplementary Table 20). It is also noteworthy how having health issues or having a family member with health problems negatively affects school enrollment for girls more often than boys. Lastly, no male adolescent put forth the reason “there are no schools around where I live” to account for why they were not in school. However, 2% of the girls do identify this option. This may indicate that boys

Table 39. Main Reason for Discontinuing Education (%)

Unwilling to attend school	37.8
Could not succeed in university entrance exams	22.4
Economic reasons	22.3
Family's resistance because of customs and traditions	4.5
Health problems	3.7
Unsuccessful in school	1.7
My mother/father is ill	1.4
There are no schools here	1.0
Other	1.7
No response	3.6
Total	100.0
n: 547	

Table 40. Main Reason for Discontinuing Education (by Sex) (%)

	Female	Male	Total
Unwilling to attend school	38.1	37.5	37.8
Could not succeed in university entrance exams	14.3	30.3	22.4
Economic reasons	24.0	20.7	22.3
Family's resistance because of customs and traditions	8.3	0.8	4.5
Health problems	6.3	1.2	3.7
Unsuccessful in school	0.6	2.8	1.7
My mother/father is ill	2.5	0.4	1.4
There are no schools here	2.1	0.0	1.0
Other	0.7	2.6	1.7
No response	3.2	3.9	3.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2: 52.90$ degrees of freedom: 13 $p=0.000$

n: 547

are more comfortable traveling longer distances to reach school whereas girls have a more constricted conception of how they define “the area where they live.”

The main reason for not being in school in the upper SES group is “not being successful in university entrance exams.” For the lower SES group, it is economic reasons or unwillingness to attend school. Unwillingness to attend school, which is the foremost reason why some adolescents are not enrolled in school, is most prevalent among middle and lower-middle SES groups. Also, this reason is identified more in urban areas (41.5%) than in rural areas (34%) (Supplementary Table 21). Not being in school because of economic hardship is more widespread for the lower SES group (42.5%). Also, this reason is put forth more often in rural areas (24%) than in urban areas (21%). Family’s reluctance to send the adolescent to school because of customs and traditions is most prevalent in the lower SES

total of 17 people in the upper and upper-middle SES groups combined). The main reason why these participants are no longer in school is because they were unsuccessful in the university entrance exams. It is noteworthy how there is a relatively higher percentage of adolescents who are not in school because they are unwilling in broken families. Also, the ratio of participants who have declared economic hardship as the main reason why they are not in school is higher in single parent families (Supplementary Table 22).

Taking into consideration reasons for not being in school together with participants’ level of education, it is notable how the reason of economic hardship is most prevalent among those who have finished or dropped out of primary education. Also, three fourths of those who are literate but have received no schooling have put forth that their families refused to send them to school because of customs and traditions (Supplementary Table 23).

Table 41. Main Reason for Discontinuing Education (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
Unwilling to attend school	21.7	9.1	46.5	43.5	29.3	37.9
Could not succeed in university entrance exams	55.7	64.8	33.1	29.9	10.6	24.9
Economic reasons	0.0	6.1	1.6	13.6	42.5	21.7
Family’s resistance because of customs and traditions	0.0	0.0	1.2	3.3	7.0	4.2
Health problems	0.0	0.0	4.0	2.8	3.0	2.9
Unsuccessful in school	0.0	0.0	4.4	0.2	3.1	1.7
My mother/father is ill	0.0	0.0	2.0	0.3	1.7	1.0
There are no schools here	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.1	0.7
Other	0.0	8.6	1.0	2.2	0.3	1.6
No response	22.5	11.5	6.2	4.1	0.6	3.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2:164.24$ degrees of freedom:48 $p=0.000$

n: 490

group. Considering the fact that it is mostly girls who are not in school for this particular reason, one may conclude that this factor mainly affects female adolescents belonging to the lower socioeconomic groups in society. The number of adolescents in the upper SES groups who quit school is very low (a

The regional distribution shows that quitting education because of economic reasons is most frequent in Northeastern Anatolia. It is also mostly participants in this region who state that the reason for their not being enrolled in school is because there are no schools around where they live. Another point

Table 42. Main Reason for Discontinuing Education (by Current Status) (%)

	Unwilling to attend school	Unwilling to attend school	Unwilling to attend school	Unwilling to attend school
Unwilling to attend school	47.4	48.7	31.7	37.8
Could not succeed in university entrance exams	10.1	11.0	29.6	22.4
Economic reasons	32.5	28.8	17.0	22.3
Family's resistance because of customs and traditions	0.3	2.7	6.5	4.5
Health problems	0.2	1.1	5.6	3.7
Unsuccessful in school	0.9	3.0	1.7	1.7
My mother/father is ill	0.7	0.0	2.0	1.4
There are no schools here	0.0	0.0	1.6	1.0
Other	1.1	1.7	1.9	1.7
No response	6.8	3.1	2.5	3.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2:64.749$ degrees of freedom:26 $p=0.000$

n:547

worth mentioning is that Istanbul (with 11%) is one of the two top places in which participants' elect the reason "customs and traditions" to account for not being in school. Lastly, in the Eastern Black Sea region, 18% of the adolescents phrase health issues to explain not being in school whereas this ratio is 4% for the overall sample (Supplementary table 24).

Participants' reasons for not being able to school were also analyzed in relation to their work status. For working adolescents, "unwillingness to attend school" ranks first at 47% to explain why they are not in school. This is followed by economic reasons at 32.5%. Of those adolescents who are neither studying nor are looking for a job, 30% declare that they are not in school because they were unsuccessful in university entrance exams. It can be inferred

that these individuals are looking to resume their education rather than having quit school altogether.

2. Reasons for Preferring to Work

The main reason why some adolescents quit school to begin working is economic hardship. Forty percent of working adolescents elect this factor. The percentage of those who work instead of going to school because they are unwilling to attend school is also relatively high at 34%. This is followed by those who declare that they like working (10.5%). Comparing the reasons for not being in school to those for preferring work, it is observed that the top two factors switch places. While the main reason for not being in school is unwillingness, the major reason for working is economic necessity. Even though the overall percentage of those adolescents who are

Table 43. Reasons for Choosing Work Instead of School (%)

Economic reasons	39.9
Unwilling to attend school	34.4
Because I like working	10.5
Could not succeed in university entrance exams	4.6
Family's resistance because of customs and traditions	4.0
Because I want to save money	3.1
Because I failed my class and I was disenrolled	1.0
Because parents are separated	0.5
No response	2.0
Total	100.0

n:217

not in school because they were unsuccessful in university entrance exams is relatively high (22%), this factor is quite infrequently stated in regard to adolescents' preference to work (5%). This can be interpreted by how university exam-related reasons are mostly relevant for the upper SES groups that do not feel particularly pressured to begin earning money. This group is more concentrated on retaking the entrance exams and enrolling in university rather than working.

Male and female participants are different in regard to how they relate to the top two overall reasons elected to explain working instead of studying. Forty five percent of the girls state that they

work because of economic reasons. This percentage is higher both in comparison to boys and in relation to girls' other reasons. On the other hand, none of the girls declare that they work because they want to save money. The percentage of girls (20%) who are "unwilling to go to school" is lower when compared to that of boys (38.5%). Also, a higher percentage of female adolescents rather than male adolescents state that they work because they have been unsuccessful in the university entrance exams. Lastly, while 11% of the girls say that their families have refused to send them to school because of customs and traditions, the figure is 2% for boys.

Table 44. Reasons for Choosing Work Instead of School (by Sex) (%)

	Female	Male	Total
Economic reasons	45.3	38.2	39.9
Unwilling to attend school	20.5	38.5	34.4
Because I like working	10.5	10.5	10.5
Could not succeed in university entrance exams	7.0	3.9	4.6
Family's resistance because of customs and traditions	10.7	2.0	4.0
Because I want to save money	0.0	4.0	3.1
Because I failed my class and I was disenrolled	1.9	0.7	1.0
Because parents are separated	0.0	0.7	0.5
No response	4.0	1.4	2.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

x²:13.57 degrees of freedom:7 p=0.059

n: 217

Table 45. Reasons for Choosing Work Instead of School (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
Economic reasons	0.0	23.7	17.5	32.7	70.1	39.9
Unwilling to attend school	0.0	41.7	33.2	41.9	21.8	34.4
Because I like working	0.0	0.0	31.4	8.0	5.7	10.5
Could not succeed in university entrance exams	0.0	18.1	0.0	7.9	0.0	4.6
Family's resistance because of customs and traditions	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.5	0.7	4.0
Because I want to save money	0.0	0.0	9.3	1.9	0.0	3.1
Because I failed my class and I was disenrolled	0.0	0.0	3.8	0.0	0.0	1.0
Because parents are separated	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.5
No response	0.0	16.5	4.8	0.9	1.8	2.0
Total	0.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

x²:56.518 degrees of freedom:21 p=0.000

n: 207

Predictably, economic reasons are mentioned a lot more frequently in the lower SES group when compared to other SES groups (70%, overall sample 40%). “Unwillingness to go to school” is most common in the upper-middle and lower-middle SES groups (42% each, overall sample 34%). It is also noteworthy how the highest concentration of those who quit school and began working because of customs and traditions is in the lower-middle SES group with 5.5%. Lastly, the most frequent mention of “wanting to save money” occurs in the middle SES group to explain why the adolescent is working rather than studying (9%).

Economic hardship appears to have the most impact during the stage of primary education. Nearly 70% of primary education dropouts identify this reason to explain why they are working and not studying. The figure drops down to 28% for high school dropouts. For high school dropouts, the main reason to prefer working is unwillingness to study (52%, overall sample 34%). Finally, the percentage of those who have quit school because of customs and traditions is relatively higher among high school dropouts (7%).

Table 46. Reasons for Choosing Work Instead of School (by Level of Education) (%)

	Dropped out of primary education	Completed primary education	Dropped out of high school	High school graduate	Total
Economic reasons	68.7	37.5	27.5	50.1	39.9
Unwilling to attend school	26.1	32.2	51.7	7.2	34.4
Because I like working	3.8	15.4	7.0	15.2	10.5
Could not succeed in university entrance exams	0.0	0.0	0.0	22.9	4.6
Family's resistance because of customs and traditions	1.4	4.1	6.8	0.0	4.0
Because I want to save money	0.0	2.4	4.5	3.2	3.1
Because I failed my class and I was disenrolled	0.0	0.0	2.5	0.0	1.0
Because parents are separated	0.0	2.0	0.0	0.0	0.5
No response	0.0	6.4	0.0	1.4	2.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2:73.342$ degrees of freedom:28 $p=0.000$

n: 217



SECTION 4

ADOLESCENTS IN
EDUCATION AND SCHOOL LIFE

Perception of School Success

Desire to Continue Education

Satisfaction Regarding Education

Guidance Services at School

Punishment at School

Student Adolescents' Allowances

A. Perception of School Success

A majority of the student participants find themselves successful (52%) or very successful (11%) in school. Excluding those who find themselves somewhat successful, one finds that only 4% of the student participants perceive of themselves as either unsuccessful or very unsuccessful. The percentage of finding oneself successful is higher among girls than boys. Boys appear more cautious in this regard as more boys than girls are concentrated in the “somewhat successful” category.

Finding oneself successful in school is directly proportional to SES level. Eighty two percent of the adolescents in the upper SES group and 76% in the upper-middle SES group find themselves successful or very successful in school. However, the figure drops to 59% for the lower-middle SES group and to 57% for the lower SES group. Similar to the differences observed in sex distribution, there is a significant difference in the SES levels of those who find themselves “somewhat successful.” The percentage of those who find themselves somewhat successful in school rises as SES level drops. Among

Table 47. Perceived Success in School (%)

Not at all successful	0.8
Not successful	3.3
Somewhat successful	31.6
Successful	51.8
Very successful	11.2
No response	1.3
Total	100.0
Mean	3.70
n: 6200	

Table 48. Perceived Success in School (by Sex) (%)

	Female	Male	Total
Not at all successful	0.7	0.9	0.8
Not successful	2.7	3.9	3.3
Somewhat successful	26.6	36.4	31.6
Successful	55.4	48.3	51.8
Very successful	13.3	9.1	11.2
No response	1.3	1.3	1.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	3.79	3.61	3.70

$\chi^2: 98.66$ degrees of freedom: 4 $p=0.000$

n: 6200

Table 49. Perceived Success in School (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
Not at all successful	0.7	0.2	0.7	0.7	2.1	0.8
Not successful	1.5	2.5	3.0	4.0	3.8	3.4
Somewhat successful	15.5	20.6	29.9	35.6	36.7	31.5
Successful	60.6	61.0	52.8	49.4	45.9	51.8
Very successful	21.1	14.7	11.9	9.2	10.8	11.4
No response	0.6	1.0	1.6	1.1	0.7	1.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	4.01	3.88	3.73	3.63	3.60	3.70

$\chi^2: 174.15$ degrees of freedom: 16 $p=0.000$

n: 5845

the upper SES group, 15.5% perceive of themselves as somewhat successful whereas the figure is 37% for the lower SES group.

Taking into consideration sex distribution together with SES level, the most prominent difference is observed between males and females in the lower SES group. While the girls in this group have a mean success score of 3.75 on a scale of 5, the male score remains at 3.45 (Supplementary Tables 25 and 26).

On a regional level, one immediately notices that the percentage of those who find themselves very successful in school is considerably higher in North-eastern Anatolia than in other regions (39%, overall sample 11%). In this region, three thirds of the participants find themselves either successful or very successful. Student participants in Western Marmara and Western Anatolia also perceive of themselves relative more successful when compared to participants in other regions. The lowest rates of success perceptions are found in Eastern Black Sea and Southeastern Anatolia (Supplementary Table 27).

There is a direct relationship between Self-Esteem and perception of success. Seventy seven percent of participants with high Self-Esteem find themselves either very successful or successful in school. The figure is 62% for those who have a normal level of Self-Esteem and drops to 45% for those with low Self-Esteem (Supplementary Table 28).

Analyzing perception of success together with Body Mass Index (BMI), one notices a prominent difference in regard to obese adolescents. Although the percentage of those who perceive of themselves as

very successful is above overall sample level, the ratio of those who find themselves unsuccessful is considerably higher than the overall sample level and the percentage of those who find themselves successful is substantially below the overall level (Supplementary Table 29).

B. Desire to Continue Education

A large majority of the participants desire to continue their education (97%). The willingness to continue with education is slightly more prevalent among the upper SES group than the lower SES groups. One percent of those in the upper SES group state they are not interested in continuing their education whereas the figure rises to 4% for the lower SES group.

Section III-C above details the SES distribution of student participants (98% for the upper SES group and 75% for the lower SES group). Comparing this with the levels of willingness to continue education, one is able to identify that, objective conditions rather than subjective preferences dictate why adolescents in the lower SES groups have had to quit school. Accordingly, analyzing desire to continue education with SES level shows that there is only a two-point difference between the upper SES group (98%) and the lower SES group. This reasoning is confirmed when one remembers that the main reason why some adolescents in the lower SES groups quit education is economic hardship.

The highest levels of willingness to continue education are in the Aegean and in Northeastern Anatolia where 99% of the participants state that they desire to continue their education.

Table 50. Desire to Continue Education (%)

Yes	96.6
No	2.2
No response	1.3
Total	100.0
n: 6200	

Table 51. Desire to Continue Education (by Sex, SES, Settlement Type, and Region) (%)

	Yes	No	No response	Total
SEX				
Female	96.9	1.9	1.2	100.0
Male	96.3	2.4	1.3	100.0
<i>3.690 degrees of freedom:2 p=0.158</i>				
SES				
Upper	97.9	1.4	0.7	100.0
Upper-middle	97.1	1.4	1.4	100.0
Middle	95.9	2.8	1.4	100.0
Lower-middle	96.9	1.7	1.4	100.0
Lower	95.8	3.6	0.5	100.0
<i>x²:16.829 degrees of freedom:8 p=0.032</i>				
SETTLEMENT TYPE				
Urban	97.0	2.1	1.0	100.0
Rural	95.5	2.3	2.1	100.0
<i>x²:0.983 degrees of freedom:2 p=0.612</i>				
REGION				
Istanbul	95.5	3.1	1.4	100.0
Western Marmara	96.2	1.8	2.0	100.0
Aegean	98.7	1.3	0.0	100.0
Eastern Marmara	97.7	0.3	2.0	100.0
Western Anatolia	95.7	3.4	1.0	100.0
Mediterranean	97.7	1.9	0.5	100.0
Central Anatolia	94.0	5.0	1.0	100.0
Western Black Sea	95.2	2.4	2.4	100.0
Eastern Black Sea	93.8	0.9	5.3	100.0
Northeastern Anatolia	99.2	0.3	0.5	100.0
Mideastern Anatolia	96.8	1.8	1.3	100.0
Southeastern Anatolia	97.6	1.6	0.8	100.0
<i>x²=31,506 degrees of freedom:11 p=0,001</i>				
Total	96.6	2.2	1.3	100.0

C. Satisfaction Regarding Education

The survey investigates participants' level of satisfaction regarding education through inquiring into their opinions on various subjects. These subjects include the education system in the country, course contents, school administrations, teachers' attitudes and behaviors and teachers' way of conduction class. For all the above-mentioned categories, the most frequent response is "[I am] satisfied" followed by "[I am] somewhat satisfied." It appears that participants are most content in regard to their teachers. Calculating responses of "satisfied" and "very satisfied" together, teachers' attitudes and behavior and teachers' way of conducting class each receive 68% level of satisfaction. On the other hand, the highest

level of dissatisfaction appears to relate to the country's education system. The combined ratio for those who are either "very dissatisfied" or "dissatisfied" in this regard nears one fourth of the participants at 24%.

Participants were also asked whether they are satisfied with the resources provided by their schools. For all the categories, the responses mostly vary between "somewhat satisfied" and "satisfied." Participants show most contentment with the outer appearance of their schools and their schoolyards. Two thirds of the respondents phrase their satisfaction in these regards. On the other hand, the level of those who are dissatisfied with the conditions of the bath-

rooms and toilets is above 30% at 31%. Also, around 20% express dissatisfaction in regard to educational tools and social activities.

It is noteworthy how adolescents in Istanbul and Western Marmara appear most dissatisfied with the resources offered by their schools. It is only in regard to the conditions of the bathrooms and toilets that, respondents from the Mediterranean and Southeastern Anatolia show more dissatisfaction compared to those from other regions (Supplementary Table 30).

Level of satisfaction with the country's education system also varies in relation to urban/rural settlement. Students residing in rural parts (62%) of Türkiye appear much more satisfied with the education system than those in urban sectors (48%). Similarly, while the level of dissatisfaction is 17% in rural parts, it increases to 26% for urban residents.

The regional distribution shows that students in Northeastern Anatolia (72%) and Eastern Black Sea (67%) express the most level of satisfaction with the country's education system. The least levels of

Table 52. Level of Satisfaction with Education (%)

	Not at all satisfied	Not satisfied	Somewhat satisfied	Satisfied	Very satisfied	Mean
The education system in our country	9.6	14.1	24.7	44.6	6.9	3.25
The content of your courses	4.5	9.6	28.5	47.2	10.2	3.49
Your school's administrative staff	4.6	8.9	24.4	49.8	12.4	3.56
Your teachers' attitudes and behaviors towards you	3.0	6.5	22.9	51.9	15.7	3.71
Your teachers' way of conducting class	3.3	7.0	21.9	54.0	13.7	3.68

Those who have not responded to this question and those in open education institutions are not included here.

n: 6200

Table 53. Level of Satisfaction with School (%)

	Not at all satisfied	Not Satisfied	Somewhat satisfied	Satisfied	Very satisfied	Mean
Your school's building and outer appearance	4.5	9.4	19.5	52.2	14.4	3.63
Your school's garden	4.4	9.3	22.0	49.8	14.6	3.61
Your school's laboratories	7.3	12.8	25.4	41.9	12.5	3.40
The sufficiency of education tools and materials at your school	6.7	12.1	27.6	43.6	10.1	3.38
The number of students in your class	5.8	10.4	24.0	48.1	11.7	3.49
Sporting and social activities at your school	6.7	13.2	24.9	44.0	11.2	3.40
Bathrooms and toilets in your school	16.1	15.3	22.3	38.2	8.1	3.07

Those who have not responded to this question and those in open education institutions are not included here.

n: 6200

1. Satisfaction Regarding the Education System

Satisfaction regarding the country's education system is inversely related to age. Younger students are more satisfied with the system than older students. Also, level of satisfaction with the education system rises as SES increases. Sixty four percent of the adolescents in the lower SES group are satisfied with the country's education system while the figure drops to 36% for the upper SES group. Similarly, while 17% of the adolescents in the lower SES group express dissatisfaction with the education system, the figure rises to 32% for the upper SES group.

satisfaction appear in Istanbul (41.5%) and Western Marmara (40%).

2. Satisfaction Regarding Teachers' Attitudes and Behaviors

Analyzing this category in relation to age, SES and type of settlement, one recognizes patterns similar to those discussed above regarding the country's education system. Students in the 12-15 age group are more satisfied with their teachers than their older peers. Also, adolescents in the lower SES groups are more satisfied with their teachers' attitudes and

Table 54. Level of Satisfaction with the Education System (by Age Group, SES, Settlement Type, and Region) (%)

	Not satisfied	Somewhat satisfied	Satisfied	Total
AGE GROUP				
12-15 age group	18.1	23.2	58.7	100.0
16-18 age group	33.2	27.2	39.5	100.0
<i>$\chi^2:285.73$ degrees of freedom:2 $p=0.000$</i>				
SES				
Upper	32.1	31.9	36.0	100.0
Upper-middle	30.4	22.8	46.8	100.0
Middle	26.7	26.9	46.3	100.0
Lower-middle	21.1	23.9	55.0	100.0
Lower	17.0	18.6	64.4	100.0
<i>$\chi^2:124.92$ degrees of freedom:8 $p=0.000$</i>				
SETTLEMENT TYPE				
Urban	26.4	25.8	47.7	100.0
Rural	16.8	21.6	61.6	100.0
<i>$\chi^2:73.827$ degrees of freedom:2 $p=0.000$</i>				
REGION				
Istanbul	32.7	25.8	41.5	100.0
Western Marmara	31.1	29.1	39.8	100.0
Aegean	25.2	15.0	59.9	100.0
Eastern Marmara	13.0	30.2	56.8	100.0
Western Anatolia	22.0	24.6	53.4	100.0
Mediterranean	27.4	29.0	43.6	100.0
Central Anatolia	27.1	29.8	43.1	100.0
Western Black Sea	27.3	19.8	52.9	100.0
Eastern Black Sea	15.0	18.0	67.0	100.0
Northeastern Anatolia	12.5	15.3	72.2	100.0
Mideastern Anatolia	19.3	27.7	53.0	100.0
Southeastern Anatolia	21.7	23.2	55.1	100.0
<i>$\chi^2:254.117$ degrees of freedom:22 $p=0.000$</i>				
Total	23.8	24.7	51.5	100.0

behaviors when compared to respondents in upper SES groups. Lastly, rural residents appear more satisfied in this regard than urban residents.

If one assumes that adolescents in upper SES groups are able to attend schools with more extensive resources, it may be puzzling to receive the above outcome. On the other hand, one must take into consideration how expectations and standards rise along with SES level. Therefore, the dissatisfaction of the adolescents in this group may be explained by their higher standards. In addition, one may also

Table 55. Level of Satisfaction with Teachers' Attitudes and Behaviors (by Age Group, SES, Settlement Type, and Region) (%)

	Not satisfied	Somewhat satisfied	Satisfied	Total
AGE GROUP				
12-15 age group	7.1	21.8	71.2	100.0
16-18 age group	13.7	24.9	61.4	100.0
<i>$\chi^2:128.84$ degrees of freedom:2 $p=0.000$</i>				
SES				
Upper	13.0	24.6	62.4	100.0
Upper-middle	10.0	25.9	64.1	100.0
Middle	10.9	25.0	64.1	100.0
Lower-middle	7.4	22.0	70.6	100.0
Lower	10.6	17.6	71.7	100.0
<i>$\chi^2:56.57$ degrees of freedom:8 $p=0.000$</i>				
SETTLEMENT TYPE				
Urban	10.4	23.7	65.9	100.0
Rural	7.0	20.8	72.2	100.0
<i>$\chi^2:32.79$ degrees of freedom:2 $p=0.000$</i>				
REGION				
Istanbul	15.3	29.6	55.1	100.0
Western Marmara	18.2	36.1	45.7	100.0
Aegean	11.5	15.6	72.9	100.0
Eastern Marmara	3.1	28.0	68.9	100.0
Western Anatolia	9.0	25.9	65.1	100.0
Mediterranean	6.7	18.4	74.9	100.0
Central Anatolia	7.7	29.3	63.0	100.0
Western Black Sea	8.9	17.5	73.7	100.0
Eastern Black Sea	4.0	7.1	88.9	100.0
Northeastern Anatolia	2.8	7.8	89.4	100.0
Mideastern Anatolia	6.5	17.7	75.8	100.0
Southeastern Anatolia	11.2	20.4	68.4	100.0
<i>$\chi^2:371.81$ degrees of freedom:22 $p=0.000$</i>				
Total	9.5	22.9	67.6	100.0

infer that respondents in upper SES groups have relatively more luxurious living conditions. If their school's conditions fail to match up to their home standards, this may cause them to feel dissatisfied with their school.

Respondents in Northeastern Anatolia and Eastern Black Sea express the most level of satisfaction in this regard (each at 89%). Once again, the least level of satisfaction appears in Istanbul and Western Marmara, 55% and 46% respectively.

D. Guidance Services at School

Eighty percent of the respondents state that there are guidance services in their schools. This figure is higher in urban areas (81%). However, the comparison with rural areas (76.5%) shows that the difference is not too great. Despite the fact that 80% of the respondents have guidance services in their schools, 71.5% declare that they have never consulted with these services. In 59% of the cases where the student has consulted with guidance services, the student themselves has initiated the consultation. Thirty five percent state that it was the guidance counselor who initiated the meeting.

The fact that a majority of the schools provide guidance services but only a minority of the students consults with such services points to a clear case

Table 56. Availability of Guidance Services at School (%)

No	80.0
Yes	19.8
No response	0.2
Total	100.0
n: 6200	

Table 57. Availability of Guidance Services at School (by Settlement Type) (%)

	Urban	Rural	Total
No	81.4	76.5	80.0
Yes	18.4	23.4	19.8
No response	0.2	0.1	0.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
<i>$\chi^2=14.809$ degrees of freedom:1 $p=0.000$</i>			
n: 6200			

Table 60. Availability of Guidance Service at School (by Region) (%)

	Istanbul	Western Marmara	Aegean	Eastern Marmara	Western Anatolia	Mediterranean	Central Anatolia	Western Black Sea	Eastern Black Sea	Northeastern Anatolia	Mideastern Anatolia	Southeastern Anatolia	Istanbul
No	32.5	28.0	11.4	17.8	21.5	10.6	22.8	26.8	15.1	13.3	15.5	12.8	19.8
Yes	67.4	72.0	88.6	82.1	78.3	88.9	77.2	73.2	84.9	86.7	84.5	86.6	80.0
No response	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<i>$\chi^2=250.309$ degrees of freedom:11 $p=0.000$</i>													
n: 6200													

Table 58. Having Consulted the Guidance Teacher about a Private Matter (%)

No	71.5
Yes	28.4
No response	0.02
Total	100.0
n: 4967	

Table 59. Party that Sought the Consultation (%)

Me	58.4
My family	6.1
The teacher	35.0
No response	0.6
Total	100.0
n:1530	

of inadequacy. One is able to describe this inadequacy better through gathering information about the kinds of subjects students discuss with their guidance teachers. Sixty percent of the respondents state that they discuss issues related to schoolwork with their guidance counselors. Because there is no other office (i.e. a system of mentorship) where students can get help on their schoolwork, they turn to guidance counselors for help on this matter. This prevents the guidance teachers from being able to perform their own duties, namely providing psychological support and counseling.

The regional distribution interestingly shows that schools with no guidance services are more concentrated in Istanbul and Western Marmara.

As stated above, the most frequently mentioned topic of discussion between students and guidance teachers is schoolwork (60%). If the topic of “high school or university entrance exams” is added on, the figure rises to 68%. Male adolescents appear to consult guidance counselors more on the subject of schoolwork than their female counterparts (62% and 58% respectively). On the other hand, girls bring up the issue of exams more so than boys. Although 16 to 18 year olds appear to be more preoccupied with exams, the topic of schoolwork is the most frequently discussed subject for both the younger and the older group. This is followed by friendship matters (13% and 17% including girl/boyfriend issues)

Table 61. Most Recent Topic Discussed with the Guidance Teacher (%)

Classes	60.2
Friends	13.0
Family issues	7.5
High school or university entrance exams	7.4
Girl/boyfriend	3.6
Teachers/administrators	1.8
Psychology, health, self confidence	1.4
Disciplinary punishment at school	0.7
Smoking, drinking, etc.	0.7
Attendance problems	0.6
Other	1.7
No response	1.3
Total	100.0

n:1530

Table 62. Most Recent Topic Discussed with the Guidance Teacher (by Sex) (%)

	Female	Male	Total
Classes	58.0	62.4	60.2
Friends	14.5	11.5	13.0
Family issues	8.8	6.1	7.5
High school or university entrance exams	8.7	6.1	7.4
Girl/boyfriend	4.0	3.2	3.6
Teachers/administrators	1.2	2.5	1.8
Psychology, health, self confidence	1.5	1.4	1.4
Disciplinary punishment at school	0.3	1.1	0.7
Smoking, drinking, etc.	0.3	1.1	0.7
Attendance problems	0.3	0.9	0.6
Other	0.7	2.7	1.7
No response	1.7	1.0	1.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

x²:39.188 degrees of freedom:23 p=0.019

n: 1530

Table 63. Most Recent Topic Discussed with the Guidance Teacher (by Age Group) (%)

	12-15	16-18	Total
Classes	60.8	59.3	60.2
Friends	15.5	9.1	13.0
Family issues	7.7	7.2	7.5
High school or university entrance exams	5.0	11.2	7.4
Girl/boyfriend	3.4	3.9	3.6
Teachers/administrators	1.5	2.3	1.8
Psychology, health, self confidence	1.5	1.3	1.4
Disciplinary punishment at school	0.5	1.0	0.7
Smoking, drinking, etc.	0.2	1.5	0.7
Attendance problems	0.6	0.6	0.6
Other	1.9	1.4	1.7
No response	1.4	1.2	1.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

x²:74.088 degrees of freedom:23 p=0.000

n:1530

and familial issues at 7.5%. The younger age group consults with guidance services more in regard to friendship matters when compared to their older peers. Lastly, it is noteworthy how issues like “psychology, health, Self-Esteem”, “disciplinary punishments” or “smoking and drinking” are hardly ever shared with guidance teachers.

Table 64. Most Recent Topic Discussed with the Guidance Teacher (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
Classes	56.7	48.0	60.9	59.9	65.5	59.7
Friends	17.0	21.6	11.6	12.9	10.5	13.2
Family issues	1.4	7.9	7.3	8.7	6.8	7.6
High school or university entrance exams	14.1	11.2	7.5	6.8	6.9	7.7
Girl/boyfriend	6.6	5.1	3.2	2.5	4.8	3.4
Teachers/administrators	1.1	3.0	3.0	1.2	0.7	1.8
Psychology, health, self confidence	0.0	0.0	1.1	2.3	1.2	1.5
Disciplinary punishment at school	1.1	1.8	0.6	0.7	0.0	0.7
Smoking, drinking, etc.	0.0	0.6	0.8	0.7	0.4	0.6
Attendance problems	0.0	0.7	0.4	1.0	0.0	0.6
Other	2.1	0.0	1.3	2.0	1.7	1.6
No response	0.0	0.0	2.3	1.3	1.4	1.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

x²:87,708 degrees of freedom:88 p=0,489

n: 1538

Students' SES distribution in relation to the issues they discuss reveals significant patterns. Those who discuss schoolwork are more concentrated in the lower SES group (65.5%, overall sample 60%). Those in the upper SES group tend to discuss issues relating to friends and exams more than the adolescents in other SES groups. Although the numbers

are very few, it is still notable how adolescents in the upper SES group are the ones to discuss issues of disciplinary punishments most and how there is no mention of this topic in the lower SES group. One issue that is much less mentioned in the upper SES group when compared to the other SES groups is familial problems (1%, overall sample 8%).

Table 65. Most Recent Topic Discussed with the Guidance Teacher (by Family Type) (%)

	Nuclear family	Traditional extended family	Single parent household	Broken family	Total
Classes	61.8	55.3	43.5	49.7	60.2
Friends	13.3	12.4	16.1	5.7	13.0
Family issues	6.1	8.8	21.8	21.9	7.5
High school or university entrance exams	7.6	4.5	10.4	7.7	7.4
Girl/boyfriend	3.4	6.7	0.0	4.1	3.6
Teachers/administrators	1.8	2.2	0.0	3.1	1.8
Psychology, health, self confidence	1.3	3.1	2.1	0.0	1.4
Disciplinary punishment at school	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.7
Smoking, drinking, etc.	0.6	0.9	0.0	1.9	0.7
Attendance problems	0.7	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.6
Other	1.6	1.9	3.8	2.6	1.7
No response	1.0	4.0	2.3	3.2	1.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2:106.023$ degrees of freedom:69 $p=0.003$

n:1530

Adolescents in single parent families or broken families were found to discuss familial problems with guidance teachers more so than adolescents in other types of families (22%, overall sample 7.5%) (Supplementary Table 31).

Students who have consulted with guidance services at school were asked whether their experience was satisfactory or not. As such, 77% declare that they were either "satisfied" or "very satisfied" with

their consultations. Girls appear more content with guidance services when compared to boys (Supplementary Table 32). The age distribution shows that the level of satisfaction for the 12-15 age group is 81.5% whereas it drops to 71% for the older students (responses "very satisfied" and "satisfied" combined) (Supplementary Table 33). Also, students in the lower SES groups show more satisfaction than those in upper SES groups (Supplementary Table 34).

Table 66. Level of Satisfaction with Most Recent Consultation with Guidance Teacher (%)

Not at all satisfied	2.3
Not satisfied	6.5
Somewhat satisfied	12.7
Satisfied	57.6
Very satisfied	19.7
No response	1.2
Total	100.0
Mean	3.87

n:1530

E. Record of Receiving Punishments in School

A large majority of the students (96%) have not received any disciplinary punishments at school. Male adolescents, participants in the 16-18 age group and those living in urban areas more often state that they have received disciplinary punishments. Analyzing punishment records along with the willingness to continue education, one notices significant

differences. While 15% of those who are unwilling to continue with their education have received disciplinary punishments, the figure drops to 4% for those who are willing to continue with their education.

Table 67. Having been Subject to Disciplinary Action in School (by Sex, Age Group, Settlement Type, and Desire to Continue Education) (%)

	No	Yes	No response	Total
SEX				
Female	97.3	2.4	0.3	100.0
Male	94.0	5.9	0.1	100.0
<i>$\chi^2:44.896$ degrees of freedom:1 $p=0.000$</i>				
AGE GROUP				
12-15 age group	96.5	3.4	0.1	100.0
16-18 age group	94.1	5.6	0.3	100.0
<i>$\chi^2:24.508$ degrees of freedom:1 $p=0.000$</i>				
SETTLEMENT TYPE				
Urban	95.0	4.8	0.3	100.0
Rural	97.2	2.8	0.0	100.0
<i>$\chi^2:4.820$ degrees of freedom:1 $p=0.028$</i>				
DESIRE TO CONTINUE EDUCATION				
Yes	95.9	4.0	0.1	100.0
No	84.7	15.3	0.0	100.0
No response	93.9	2.5	3.6	100.0
<i>$\chi^2:39.530$ degrees of freedom:1 $p=0.000$</i>				
Total	95,6	4,2	0,2	100,0

The most frequently mentioned form of punishment appears to be a “warning” at 84%. Male and female adolescents are similar in their records for receiving warnings. The next most prevalent form of punishment is “suspension.” More boys than girls have received suspensions (12.5% and 9% respectively). The age distribution shows that younger students have more often received warnings whereas older students have more often received suspensions.

The SES distribution reveals that adolescents in the lower SES group have the least frequency of warning punishments (59%, overall sample 84.5%). On the other hand, the percentage of suspensions in the lower SES group is much higher than in other SES groups (41%, overall sample 12%).

Table 68. Type of Disciplinary Action Faced During School Life (by Sex) (%)

	Female	Male	Total
Warning	84.5	84.2	84.3
Suspension	8.9	12.5	11.5
Other	1.4	1.7	1.6
No response	5.2	1.6	2.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2:0.827$ degrees of freedom:2 $p=0.661$

n:260

Table 69. Type of Disciplinary Action Faced During School Life (by Age Group) (%)

	12-15	16-18	Total
Warning	86.2	82.4	84.3
Suspension	6.8	16.2	11.5
Other	2.4	0.8	1.6
No response	4.7	0.6	2.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2:6.597$ degrees of freedom:2 $p=0.037$

n:260

Table 70. Type of Disciplinary Action Faced During School Life (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
Warning	84.9	85.4	90.8	81.6	59.2	84.5
Suspension	15.1	3.6	8.4	12.3	40.8	11.8
Other	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.2	0.0	1.4
No response	0.0	11.0	0.9	2.9	0.0	2.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2=10.154$ degrees of freedom:8 $p=0.254$

n:241

F. Student Adolescents' Allowances

Eight percent of the student adolescents do not receive allowances. Of those who do, 67.5% are given weekly allowances of less than 30 TL. The average weekly allowance for the respondents is 26.5 TL. Although boys and girls appear to receive similar amounts, boys' allowances are slightly higher. Weekly allowance increases with age. Six percent of urban adolescents do not receive weekly allowances while the figure is 13% in rural areas. On a similar note, allowances in urban areas are higher than in rural parts of Türkiye. Accordingly, 28% of the adolescents in urban areas receive allowances that are higher than 30TL per week while the figure is 14% in rural areas. Also, predictably, allowance rates increase with SES (Supplementary Tables 35-38).

Table 71. Average Weekly Allowance (%)

None	7.9
5 TL or less	16.1
6 - 10 TL	17.2
11 - 20 TL	19.6
21 - 30 TL	14.6
31 - 40 TL	6.4
41 - 50 TL	9.2
51 TL or more	8.2
No definite amount	0.4
No response	0.4
Total	100.0
Mean	26.54 TL
n: 6200	

Seventy seven percent of the adolescents who receive allowances state that they are regularly given this money. Although age does not appear to make much difference in regard to this issue, allowances do become slightly more regulated as age increases. Allowance reception on a regular basis is more common in urban areas (80%) than in rural areas (66%) and is also directly proportional to SES. Adolescents in upper SES groups receive allowances on a regular basis more so than those in lower SES groups. Accordingly, 92.5% of the respondents in the upper SES group state that they receive their allowance regularly. On the other hand, more than half of the participants in the lower SES group (51%) declare that they receive allowances every now and then.

Table 72. Regularity of Receiving Allowance (by Age Group) (%)

	12-15	16-18	Total
Regularly	75.6	78.4	76.7
From time to time	23.7	20.7	22.6
No response	0.7	0.9	0.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2:7.479$ degrees of freedom:1 $p=0.006$

n: 5686

Adolescents spend their allowances mostly on food (88%). This is followed by schools need at 47% and transportation costs at 24%. One may assume that the actual purpose of allowances is to provide money for entertainment, books, magazines, hobbies, etc. However, these expenditures are quite infrequently mentioned. The SES distribution shows that the percentage of those who spend their allowances on food

is above 85 in all the SES groups. The ratios of expenditure on school needs and transportation costs are higher in the upper SES groups when compared to the other groups and the lowest for the lower SES group. The real difference in terms of SES appears in relation to expenditure based on hobbies, entertainment, etc. Twenty six percent of the adolescents in the upper SES group state that they spend their allowances on hobbies whereas the figure drops to 2% for the lower SES group. For entertainment the ratios are 28% (for the upper SES group) and 2% (for the lower SES group) and for books and magazines they are 13.5 (for the upper SES group) and 7% (for the lower SES group).

Table 73. Items on which Adolescent Spends Allowance (%)

Food	87.6
School needs	46.9
Transportation	24.3
Hobbies	11.5
Fun (cinema, etc.)	10.4
Books or magazines	6.5
The Internet café	3.8
Game CDs	1.9
Music CDs	0.8
Cigarettes	0.1
Clothes	0.1
I save	0.0
Film CDs	0.0
Toys	0.0
No response	0.2
Total	194.3

Multiple response

n: 5686

Table 74. Items on which Adolescent Spends Allowance (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
Food	82.4	87.3	87.7	89.5	85.5	87.9
School needs	53.7	55.6	48.3	43.5	39.1	46.4
Transportation	29.1	30.4	29.3	21.0	14.4	24.3
Hobbies	25.6	21.7	12.7	8.9	2.2	11.7
Fun (cinema, etc.)	28.4	21.3	13.2	5.6	2.3	10.6
Books or magazines	13.5	8.6	6.7	4.6	7.1	6.4
The Internet café	6.1	3.2	5.4	3.0	2.0	3.8
Game CDs	3.2	2.8	2.7	1.2	0.5	1.9
Music CDs	4.2	1.9	0.6	0.4	0.5	0.8
Other	0.0	0.5	0.1	0.3	0.0	0.2
No response	0.0	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.0	0.2
Total	246.1	233.5	207.1	178.2	153.7	194.4

Multiple response

n: 5377



SECTION 5

ADOLESCENTS IN
WORK LIFE

Types of Work for Adolescents

Adolescents' Work Conditions

Satisfaction with Work Life

Violence at Work

Five percent of the participating adolescents compose of the group who either work, both study and work or are looking for a job. The percentage of those who work, both study and work or are looking for a job is twice the overall sample at 11% for adolescents in single parent families. The figure is nearly 10% for respondents in broken families. It is thus worthwhile to analyze adolescents in work life in relation to their family types.

A. Types of Work for Adolescents

The most common lines of work for adolescents include various positions in the service sector where they work as hairdressers, tailors or at shops or restaurants (34%). This is followed by work in a manufacturing enterprise at 21%, after which comes agricultural work at 18% and work for the family business at 16%.

Table 75. Type of Work Done by the Adolescent (%)

I work at the family business (Family worker)	15.6
I work at a manufacturing firm (Industrial worker)	20.8
I work at the barber shop, tailor, etc. (Worker in the service sector)	34.0
I work on the farm, in the gardens, etc. (Farm worker)	17.7
I work in the garment industry, textiles, etc. (Worker in textiles)	5.8
Construction worker	2.7
Interning	1.1
Other	1.9
No response	0.4
Total	100.0

As depicted in Table 76 through 78 and in Supplementary Tables 39 and 40, adolescent work type varies by age, sex, SES, settlement type and family type.

The sex distribution shows that it is more common for boys to work in the industry or in family business when compared to girls. On the other hand, for girls it is more common than boys to work in confection, textiles or in fields and gardens. The age distribution reveals that older adolescents more frequently

mention agricultural work when compared to their younger peers. The percentage of those who work for the family business predictably drops with SES and agricultural work increases as SES decreases. As expected, adolescent working in the service sector or in the industry tend to reside in urban areas and those working in agriculture reside in rural part of the country (Supplementary Table 39). The prevalence of adolescents in agricultural work in extended families can also be explained by the fact that extended families are more widespread in rural areas (Supplementary Table 40).

Table 76. Type of Work Done by the Adolescent (by Sex) (%)

	Female	Male	Total
I work at the family business (Family worker)	7.1	17.9	15.6
I work at a manufacturing firm (Industrial worker)	5.3	25.1	20.8
I work at the barber shop, tailor, etc. (Worker in the service sector)	32.6	34.4	34
I work on the farm, in the gardens, etc. (Farm worker)	26.9	15.2	17.7
I work in the garment industry, textiles, etc. (Worker in textiles)	17.5	2.6	5.8
Construction worker	0.0	3.5	2.7
Interning	2.2	0.8	1.1
Other	6.7	0.6	1.9
No response	1.7		0.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2:36.265$ degrees of freedom:7 $p=0.000$

Table 77. Type of Work Done by the Adolescent (by Age Group) (%)

	12-15	16-18	Total
I work at the family business (Family worker)	20.3	14.5	15.6
I work at a manufacturing firm (Industrial worker)	28.8	19.1	20.8
I work at the barber shop, tailor, etc. (Worker in the service sector)	40.1	32.7	34.0
I work on the farm, in the gardens, etc. (Farm worker)	6.8	20.0	17.7
I work in the garment industry, textiles, etc. (Worker in textiles)	4.0	6.2	5.8
Construction worker	0.0	3.3	2.7
Interning	0.0	1.3	1.1
Other	0.0	2.3	1.9
No response	0.0	0.4	0.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2:3.638$ degrees of freedom:7 $p=0.725$

Table 78. Type of Work Done by the Adolescent (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
I work at the family business (Family worker)	100.0	36.4	15.2	14.6	6.0	14.8
I work at a manufacturing firm (Industrial worker)	0.0	0.0	25.0	20.9	25.4	21.4
I work at the barber shop, tailor, etc. (Worker in the service sector)	0.0	46.4	38.8	39.7	15.1	34.6
I work on the farm, in the gardens, etc. (Farm worker)	0.0	0.0	2.1	17.1	40.2	17.9
I work in the garment industry, textiles, etc. (Worker in textiles)	0.0	9.6	5.1	5.0	6.4	5.5
Construction worker	0.0	0.0	2.5	1.5	4.9	2.3
Interning	0.0	0.0	3.4	0.9	0.0	1.2
Other	0.0	7.6	6.0	0.1	2.1	2
No response	0.0	0.0	2.0	0.0	0.0	0.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2:56.370$ degrees of freedom:28 $p=0.000$

Adolescents working for the family business tend to live in nuclear or extended families and are concentrated more in Central Anatolia and Istanbul. Although their ratios are high in Eastern Black Sea and Mid-eastern Anatolia, it must be mentioned that their numbers are quite low in these latter regions. Respondents working in the service sector are prevalent in Western Marmara (77%), in the Aegean (54%) and in Istanbul (45%). The percentage of agricultural work, on the other hand, exceeds the overall sample level (18%) in Eastern Marmara (42%) and in the Black Sea region (Western Black Sea at 43% and Eastern Black Sea at 41%) (Supplementary Table 41).

B. Adolescents' Work Condition

The survey poses various questions about adolescents work conditions including how long they have been working and how many days per week and hours per day they work.

1. Adolescents' Work History

A substantial percentage (45%) of adolescents have been working for 1 to 1.5 years. Although the group mean equals 1.83 years, the better estimation for the average length of work history can be obtained from the median, that is 1.10 years.

Length of work history does not vary by sex (Supplementary Table 42) but expectedly there are sig-

Table 79. Work History (Working Adolescents) (%)

Less than 1 month	6.7
1-6 months	21.9
7-12 months	2.8
13-24 months	23.5
25-36 months	21.9
More than three years	22.3
No response	0.8
Total	100.0
Mean	1.83

nificant differences in this regard by age. Whereas the younger adolescent group has been working for 1.31 years on average, the figure is 1.94 years for the older adolescents. Adolescents in the upper-middle and lower-middle SES groups appear to have the longest work histories (Supplementary Table 43).

Respondents in rural areas have longer work histories when compared to those living in urban areas. While 18% of the adolescents in the urban parts of Türkiye declare that they have been working for more than three years, the figure reaches 30% for adolescents in rural parts (Supplementary Table 44).

Length of work history also varies by family type. The longest durations of work history were encountered in adolescents who live in extended or single parent families. On the other hand, one must mention that these two family types compose 10% of the

overall sample combined. It is nuclear families at 87%, which largely impact the average figure (Supplementary Table 45).

Table 80. Work History (Working Adolescents) (by Age Group) (%)

	12-15	16-18	Total
Less than 1 month	0.0	8.2	6.7
1-6 months	30.2	20.1	21.9
7-12 months	5.8	2.2	2.8
13-24 months	28.7	22.4	23.5
25-36 months	25.7	21.1	21.9
More than three years	9.6	25.0	22.3
No response	0.0	1.0	0.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	1.31	1.94	1.83

$\chi^2:6.155$ degrees of freedom:6 $p=0.406$

The regional distribution shows that length of work history extends up to three years in Eastern Marmara and exceeds the overall sample in Southeastern Anatolia (two years). Unlike these regions, length of work history barely exceeds one year in Western Black Sea, Mideastern Anatolia and Western Anatolia (Supplementary Table 46).

2. Adolescents' Work Hours

Survey results reveal that adolescents' work hours exceed five days per week and eight hours per day. Sixty eight percent of the respondents state that they work for six or seven days a week even though child and adolescents workers are legally required to receive no less than 40 uninterrupted hours of leave per week.

Table 81. Number of Working Days per Week (Working Adolescents) (%)

1	0.9
2	7.8
3	5.3
4	4.0
5	13.0
6	43.8
7	24.5
No response	0.7
Total	100.0
Mean	5.52

The law states that children under the age of 15 can work up to seven hours per day and teenagers above the age of 15 can work up to eight hours per week. In addition, such working minors are supposed to have completed their mandatory education and not simultaneously be enrolled in school at the time of work. However, survey results show that 73% of working adolescents work for more than seven hours a day and 43% work for over eight hours a day.

Table 82. Working Hours per Day (Working Adolescents) (%)

1-4 hours	5.1
5-7 hours	18.3
8 hours	29.4
9-10 hours	22.8
11-14 hours	20.4
No response	4.0
Total	100.0
Mean	8.57

There is low variation by sex in this regard however, certain points are worth mentioning. The percentage of working five days a week and eight hours a day is higher among girls than boys. Nineteen percent of the working female adolescents work for five days a week and 40% work for eight hours a day. The corresponding figures are 11% and 26.5% for boys, respectively.

Table 83. Number of Working Days per Week (Working Adolescents) (by Sex) (%)

	Female	Male	Total
1	0.0	1.2	0.9
2	8.7	7.5	7.8
3	4.6	5.4	5.3
4	0.0	5.1	4.0
5	18.9	11.4	13.0
6	43.9	43.8	43.8
7	23.8	24.7	24.5
No response	0.0	0.9	0.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	5.56	5.50	5.52

$\chi^2:5.355$ degrees of freedom:18 $p=0.499$

Age distributions shows that younger adolescents (in the 12-15) age group have significantly shorter work weeks but also significantly longer work days. Adolescents in this group are considered child laborers. Two thirds of those respondents in this cat-

Table 84. Working Hours per Day (Working Adolescents) (by Sex) (%)

	Female	Male	Total
1-4 hours	7.4	4.4	5.1
5-7 hours	10.8	20.4	18.3
8 hours	40.0	26.5	29.4
9-10 hours	15.2	24.9	22.8
11-14 hours	22.1	20.0	20.4
No response	4.6	3.8	4.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	8.59	8.57	8.57

$\chi^2: 2.028$ degrees of freedom: 4 $p=0.731$

egory work more than seven hours a day, exceeding the legal limit. Of the adolescents in the 16-18 age group, 41% work more than eight hours a day, which is also above the legal limit.

Table 85. Number of Working Days per Week (Working Adolescents) (by Age Group) (%)

	12-15	16-18	Total
1	0.0	1.2	0.9
2	12.9	6.7	7.8
3	6.0	5.1	5.3
4	2.4	4.3	4.0
5	11.7	13.3	13.0
6	46.9	43.1	43.8
7	16.0	26.4	24.5
No response	4.0	0.0	0.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	5.27	5.57	5.52

$\chi^2: 3.209$ degrees of freedom: 18 $p=0.782$

Table 86. Working Hours per Day (Working Adolescents) (by Age Group) (%)

	12-15	16-18	Total
1-4 hours	4.9	5.1	5.1
5-7 hours	19.7	18.0	18.3
8 hours	14.3	32.6	29.4
9-10 hours	25.1	22.3	22.8
11-14 hours	27.1	19.0	20.4
No response	9.0	2.9	4.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	9.10	8.47	8.57

$\chi^2: 3.575$ degrees of freedom: 4 $p=0.467$

A similar distribution appears in relation to type of settlement. While adolescents in urban areas work for 5.38 days per week and for 8.72 hours per day on average, the corresponding figures are 5.76 days per week and 8.33 hours per day for rural residents. The percentage of working seven days a week is much

higher in rural areas (47%) when compared to urban areas (12%) but the percentage of working for more than 10 hours per day is relatively lower (Supplementary Tables 47-48).

Workweeks appear to lengthen as SES decreases. While the average workweek is 2.38 days long for the upper SES group, the figure is 5.79 days for the lower SES group. A less consistent but similar pattern is true for workdays as well. The one exception appears to involve the lower-middle SES group where one finds the longest workday on average.

Table 87. Number of Working Days per Week (Working Adolescents) (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.1
2	62.3	3.7	11.0	6.9	6.9	8.0
3	37.7	19.3	4.9	5.1	0.0	5.0
4	0.0	4.8	0.0	4.0	8.9	4.2
5	0.0	20.9	20.5	8.3	15.1	12.6
6	0.0	37.0	58.6	46.7	29.4	44.6
7	0.0	0.0	5.1	28.8	39.8	24.7
No response	0.0	14.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	2.38	4.79	5.26	5.69	5.79	5.56

$\chi^2: 47.335$ degrees of freedom: 18 $p=0.003$

Table 88. Working Hours per Day (Working Adolescents) (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
1-4 hours	37.7	13.5	7.2	2.7	5.9	5.1
5-7 hours	0.0	19.1	17.1	18.6	23.3	19.1
8 hours	0.0	29.9	39.6	32.8	18.0	30.7
9-10 hours	62.3	12.4	19.0	17.8	36.8	22.0
11-14 hours	0.0	25.1	1.5	1.6	2.4	2.9
No response	0.0	25.1	1.5	1.6	2.4	2.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	6.99	6.79	8.22	8.85	8.36	8.53

$\chi^2: 25.969$ degrees of freedom: 16 $p=0.054$

The regional distribution shows that average workdays in Istanbul, Marmara and Western Anatolia are relatively shorter in comparison to the overall sample average. On the other hand, adolescents in the Black Sea, the Eastern regions and in the Mediterranean appear to work longer hours per day in comparison to the overall sample (Supplementary Table 49).

3. Social Security

The majority of working adolescents is deprived of social security coverage by their employers. The percentage of coverage is slightly higher for boys than girls and considerably higher for older adolescents. Also the percentage of coverage in urban areas is more than three times as high as rural sectors (Supplementary Table 50).

Table 89. Security Coverage of Working Adolescents (%)

Yes	29.6
No	70.4
Total	100.0

Table 90. Security Coverage of Working Adolescents (by Sex) (%)

	Female	Male	Total
Yes	34.4	28.3	29.6
No	65.6	71.7	70.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2:0.369$ degrees of freedom:18 $p=0.544$

Table 91. Security Coverage of Working Adolescents (by Age Group) (%)

	12-15	16-18	Total
Yes	10.7	33.7	29.6
No	89.3	66.3	70.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2:9.100$ degrees of freedom:18 $p=0.003$

The SES distribution shows that the highest percentage of coverage is found in the upper-middle SES group. From this point onwards, the percentage of social security coverage systematically drops as SES decreases and reaches the lowest level for the lower SES group.

Table 92. Security Coverage of Working Adolescents (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
Yes	0.0	66.6	56.1	23.5	14.7	29.6
No	100.0	33.4	43.9	76.5	85.3	70.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2:21.532$ degrees of freedom:18 $p=0.000$

The survey results reveal that the service sector provides the highest level of employment for adolescents at 34%. This is followed by the manufacturing

industry at 21%. The social security coverage of adolescents in these sectors are 33% and 45% respectively. The highest level of coverage is offered by the textile sector (48%), which is a relatively infrequent source of employment for adolescents.

Table 93. Security Coverage of Working Adolescents (by Work Sector) (%)

	Worker in the service sector	Industrial worker	Farm worker	Family worker	Worker in textiles	Total
Yes	33.1	44.9	0.8	19.1	48.0	29.6
No	66.9	55.1	99.2	80.9	52.0	70.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2:16.690$ degrees of freedom:18 $p=0.01$

4. Earnings, Expenses and Savings

A very small percentage of working adolescents, all of whom are girls do not receive wages in exchange for their work. Another relatively small percentage of respondents, also composed only of girls, receives 50-200 TL per month. Unpaid female laborers are in the 16-18 age group and in the lower-middle SES group. The most frequently elected (49%) monthly income is 501-1000 TL per month. The figure rises to 58% for girls, to 55% for the 16-18 age group and to 54% for urban areas and the middle SES group.

Table 94. Monthly Income of Working Adolescents (%)

I don't get paid	0.8
50-200 TL	6.7
201-300 TL	8.3
301-400 TL	6.6
401-500 TL	13.8
501-1000 TL	49.2
1000-2000 TL	5.7
No response	8.9
Total	100.0
Mean	649.4

Average monthly income comparisons show that boys make more than girls, adolescents in the 16-18 age group earn more than their younger peers and that interestingly adolescents in rural areas have higher incomes than those in urban areas (Supplementary Table 51). The SES distribution reveals that there is a direct relationship between average

monthly income and SES level, except for the case of the upper SES group.

Table 95. Monthly Income of Working Adolescents (by Sex) (%)

	Female	Male	Total
I don't get paid	3.5	0.0	0.8
50-200 TL	3.7	7.5	6.7
201-300 TL	4.2	9.5	8.3
301-400 TL	8.4	6.1	6.6
401-500 TL	12.3	14.3	13.8
501-1000 TL	58.0	46.8	49.2
1000-2000 TL	1.7	6.8	5.7
No response	8.3	9.0	8.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	634.0	653.7	649.4

$\chi^2:11.838$ degrees of freedom:18 $p=0.066$

Table 96. Monthly Income of Working Adolescents (by Age Group) (%)

	12-15	16-18	Total
I don't get paid	0.0	0,9	0,8
50-200 TL	21.5	3,5	6,7
201-300 TL	14.2	7,1	8,3
301-400 TL	13.9	5,0	6,6
401-500 TL	8.3	15,0	13,8
501-1000 TL	22.1	55,0	49,2
1000-2000 TL	15.8	3,5	5,7
No response	4.1	9,9	8,9
Total	100.0	100,0	100,0
Mean	557.4	670,3	649,4

$\chi^2:26.325$ degrees of freedom:18 $p=0.000$

Table 97. Monthly Income of Working Adolescents (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
I don't get paid	0,0	0,0	0,0	1,5	0,0	0,8
50-200 TL	62,3	14,3	0,0	6,1	8,1	6,2
201-300 TL	0,0	0,0	10,9	7,6	12,8	8,8
301-400 TL	0,0	3,5	5,9	9,4	2,6	7,0
401-500 TL	0,0	12,8	14,3	10,8	17,9	12,9
501-1000 TL	0,0	49,0	53,6	50,9	49,0	50,5
1000-2000 TL	37,7	16,5	6,3	4,4	1,0	5,0
No response	0,0	3,7	8,9	9,3	8,7	8,7
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
Mean	689,6	829,4	683,2	641,0	581,7	647,8

$\chi^2:27,158$ degrees of freedom:18 $p=0,297$

Average monthly income for adolescents is considerably lower in the Western Black Sea, Western Anatolia, Mediterranean, Southeastern Anatolia and in the Aegean when compared to the overall

sample. Respondents in Eastern Marmara have the highest average monthly income rate (Supplementary Table 52).

Most of adolescents' earning appears to be spent on their families. Only 27.5% of the respondents state that they mostly spend their earnings on themselves.

Table 98. How the Adolescent Spends His/Her Earnings (%)

Mostly for myself	27.5
For myself and my family equally	38.5
Mostly for my family	32.0
No response	1.9
Total	100.0

The tendency to spend earnings on oneself is higher among boys than girls and in urban areas rather than in rural areas (Supplementary Table 53).

Table 99. How the Adolescent Spends His/Her Earnings (by Sex) (%)

	Female	Male	Total
Mostly for myself	23.5	28.6	27.5
For myself and my family equally	49.3	35.6	38.5
Mostly for my family	20.6	35.2	32.0
No response	6.7	0.6	1.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2:2.778$ degrees of freedom:18 $p=0.249$

Table 100. How the Adolescent Spends His/Her Earnings (by Age Group) (%)

	12-15	16-18	Total
Mostly for myself	29,7	27,0	27,5
For myself and my family equally	20,6	42,4	38,5
Mostly for my family	49,7	28,3	32,0
No response	0,0	2,3	1,9
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0

$\chi^2:4,377$ degrees of freedom:18 $p=0,112$

The percentage of adolescents who work increases as SES decreases. As such, it is understandable how working adolescents in the middle, lower-middle and lower SES groups mostly use their incomes towards the needs of their families. Families in the lower SES group especially, appear to depend substantially on their adolescent children's incomes.

Table 101. How the Adolescent Spends His/Her Earnings (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
Mostly for myself	37.7	90.7	34.7	22.2	18.7	27.6
For myself and my family equally	62.3	9.3	36.8	46.9	30.7	39.8
Mostly for my family	0.0	0.0	24.8	28.4	50.6	30.5
No response	0.0	0.0	3.7	2.5	0.0	2.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2:22.633$ degrees of freedom:18 $p=0.004$

There are significant regional differences in relation to how earnings are spent. Adolescents from Western Anatolia, Western Marmara, the Aegean and Istanbul tend more to spend their earnings on themselves. On the other hand, adolescents from the eastern regions as well as the Black Sea appear to spend their earnings mostly on their families (Supplementary Table 54).

One third of respondents who work, states that they have savings. Girls, younger adolescents and urban residents have higher tendencies to save compared to their counterparts (Supplementary Table 55). The SES distribution reveals that those adolescents in the lower-middle and lower SES groups do not or cannot save money.

Table 102. Whether or not the Adolescent Has Savings (%)

Yes	33.3
No	64.5
No response	2.2
Total	100.0

Table 103. Whether or not the Adolescent Has Savings (by Sex) (%)

	Female	Male	Total
Yes	37.6	32.1	33.3
No	55.7	66.9	64.5
No response	6.7	0.9	2.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2:1,297$ degrees of freedom:18 $p=0,255$

Table 104 Whether or not the Adolescent Has Savings (by Age Group) (%)

	12-15	16-18	Total
Yes	48,0	30,2	33,3
No	52,0	67,2	64,5
No response	0,0	2,6	2,2
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0

$\chi^2:1.209$ degrees of freedom:18 $p=0.0272$

Table 105. Whether or not the Adolescent Has Savings (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
Yes	62.3	50.0	55.1	32.1	15.1	34.3
No	37.7	50.0	41.2	65.0	84.9	63.4
No response	0.0	0.0	3.7	2.9	0.0	2.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2:12.253$ degrees of freedom:18 $p=0.016$

C. Satisfaction with Work Life

As described above (in Section III Table 39), adolescents who are not in school work for three main reasons: unwillingness to study (38%), not being successful in university entrance exams (22%) and economic hardship (22%). When probed further, respondents declare two foremost reasons for working instead of going to school: economic hardship (40%) and unwillingness to study (34%). In relation to this prompt, only 10.5% elect the reason “Because I like to work” (Section III, Table 43).

The analysis here offers insight into adolescents’ general level of happiness in relation to work life as well as their levels of satisfaction regarding particular features of their work environment. One may not be surprised to find that none of the prompts in relation to satisfaction received scores below 3 (“I am somewhat satisfied”) on average. However, if one also takes into consideration that none of the prompts reach a score higher than 4 on average, it may be inferred that adolescents are not “very satisfied” (5 points) in relation to their work lives.

Of working adolescents, 42% are happy to be working and 32% are somewhat happy to be working. The average level of happiness is calculated at 3.36 points out of 5. It is noteworthy how adolescents appear this happy about working especially given their long workdays and workweeks and frequent cases of lacking social security coverage.

Male adolescents appear happier than females. No substantial difference is noted based on age (Supplementary Table 56).

Table 106. Adolescent's Level of Happiness with Working (%)

Not happy at all	7.0
Not happy	9.4
Somewhat happy	32.4
Happy	42.2
Very happy	8.8
No response	0.2
Total	100.0
Mean	3.36

Table 107. Adolescent's Level of Happiness with Working (by Sex) (%)

	Female	Male	Total
Not happy at all	17.8	4.1	7.0
Not happy	3.0	11.2	9.4
Somewhat happy	27.0	33.8	32.4
Happy	38.6	43.1	42.2
Very happy	13.6	7.5	8.8
No response	0.0	0.3	0.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	3.27	3.39	3.36

$\chi^2:7.237$ degrees of freedom:18 $p=0.124$

Adolescents were asked about how happy they are in relation to working. Survey results show that the level of happiness drops with SES. It has already been established that 22% of the overall sample work because of economic hardship while the figure reaches 42.5% for the lower SES group. Accordingly, one may infer that adolescents with more limited economic resources are obligated to work and that this sense of obligation prevents them from enjoying work life.

Table 108. Adolescent's Level of Happiness with Working (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
Not happy at all	0.0	7.0	3.9	8.0	9.7	7.4
Not happy	0.0	0.0	7.5	9.2	10.4	8.6
Somewhat happy	0.0	30.3	34.0	30.3	37.8	32.3
Happy	100.0	35.7	44.5	44.8	34.5	42.6
Very happy	0.0	26.9	10.1	7.3	7.5	8.8
No response	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	4.00	3.76	3.49	3.34	3.20	3.37

$\chi^2:9.647$ degrees of freedom:18 $p=0.884$

Adolescents residing in urban areas appear happier when compared to those in rural areas. Given that 41% of the youths in rural areas are agricultural laborers, long workweeks and lack of social security mark their work lives, potentially affecting their level of happiness with work (Supplementary Table 57).

The survey shows that there is a significant regional variation in this regard even though no data was collected to account for this variation. Working adolescents in the Western Black Sea and Eastern Marmara regions appear to be the least happy. The percentage of unhappiness in Istanbul is also rather high. Unlike these regions, adolescents in Central Anatolia and in the Eastern Black Sea state that they are quite happy regarding their work lives (Supplementary Table 58).

The question inquiring into adolescents' general level of happiness about work life was followed by probes that aimed to evaluate their level of satisfaction about work conditions on the basis of four issues. These issues include the work carried out by the adolescent, the work environment, the way in which the respondent is treated by workmates and by bosses, foremen or managers. The participants shared their evaluations on a scale of five, which is presented in the table below and described subsequently. In short, it appears that adolescents are least satisfied with the work they carry out. They are relatively happy with human relations at the work place and they do not complain much about the work environment either.

Table 109. Adolescent's Level of Satisfaction with Components of Work Environment (%)

	The work I do	The work environment	Behavior of my workmates towards me	Behavior of boss/foreman/administrators towards me
Not at all satisfied	8.1	7.0	3.4	4.7
Not satisfied	5.5	4.6	3.0	6.8
Somewhat satisfied	27.4	22.6	16.4	21.2
Satisfied	45.7	45.6	57.5	41.6
Very satisfied	13.0	19.1	17.1	24.1
No response	0.2	1.2	2.5	1.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	3.50	3.66	3.84	3.75

1. Satisfaction Regarding Work Carried Out

Forty six percent of the adolescents are satisfied with the work that they carry out and 13% state that they are very satisfied. Level of satisfaction varies with sex, SEX and type of settlement. However, no significant variation is observed in relation to age (Supplementary Table 59).

Table 110. Adolescent's Level of Satisfaction with Work They Do (%)

Not at all satisfied	8.1
Not satisfied	5.5
Somewhat satisfied	27.4
Satisfied	45.7
Very satisfied	13.0
No response	0.2
Total	100.0
Mean	3.50

Table 111. Adolescent's Level of Satisfaction with Work They Do (by Sex) (%)

	Female	Male	Total
Not at all satisfied	18.5	5.3	8.1
Not satisfied	1.6	6.5	5.5
Somewhat satisfied	20.3	29.4	27.4
Satisfied	47.4	45.2	45.7
Very satisfied	12.1	13.3	13.0
No response	0.0	0.3	0.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	3.33	3.55	3.50

$\chi^2:3.751$ degrees of freedom:18 $p=0.441$

It has already been established that adolescents' level of happiness in relation to working increases with SES. The same relation is true regarding the specific work carried out. Considering the fact that 40% of the adolescents in the lower SES group are agricultural workers, one may conclude that this line of work leads to relative dissatisfaction.

On a similar note, jobs that are available in rural areas may be less satisfactory than those in urban areas which would explain the relative dissatisfaction levels of adolescents living in rural parts of Türkiye (Supplementary Table 60).

Table 112. Adolescent's Level of Satisfaction with Work They Do (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
Not at all satisfied	0.0	0.0	0.0	9.7	13.8	8.1
Not satisfied	0.0	7.0	5.7	4.8	8.4	5.8
Somewhat satisfied	0.0	20.9	31.7	26.7	29.8	27.8
Satisfied	100.0	59.5	52.1	41.4	38.8	44.4
Very satisfied	0.0	12.6	10.4	17.0	9.2	13.8
No response	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	4.00	3.78	3.67	3.51	3.21	3.50

$\chi^2:21.136$ degrees of freedom:18 $p=0.173$

2. Satisfaction Regarding Work Environment

The survey results show that adolescents' level of satisfaction do not vary significantly by sex, age or type of settlement (Supplementary Tables 61-63). On the other hand, SES distribution reveals substantial differences. Respondents in the lower SES group display the lowest level of satisfaction in relation to their work environment. The combined percentage of those who are dissatisfied and very dissatisfied in the lower SES group (25%) exceeds twice the figure for the overall sample (12%).

Table 113. Adolescent's Level of Satisfaction with Work Environment (%)

Not at all satisfied	7.0
Not satisfied	4.6
Somewhat satisfied	22.6
Satisfied	45.6
Very satisfied	19.1
No response	1.2
Total	100.0
Mean	3.66

Table 114. Adolescent's Level of Satisfaction with Work Environment (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
Not at all satisfied	0.0	7.6	5.7	6.0	12.9	7.4
Not satisfied	0.0	0.0	3.7	3.2	12.0	4.9
Somewhat satisfied	0.0	7.0	28.3	19.0	29.5	22.2
Satisfied	100.0	68.0	38.0	45.8	41.9	45.1
Very satisfied	0.0	17.4	24.3	25.5	3.7	20.2
No response	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	4.00	3.87	3.71	3.82	3.11	3.66

$\chi^2:26.678$ degrees of freedom:18 $p=0.063$

3. Satisfaction Regarding Treatment by Workmates

Adolescents in general do not complain about how they are treated by their workmates. At the same time, girls rather than boys and younger adolescents rather than older adolescents appear to be more satisfied in this regard. There is only a slight variation by type of settlement (Supplementary Tables 64–66).

Table 115. Adolescent's Level of Satisfaction with Treatment by Workmates (%)

Not at all satisfied	3.4
Not satisfied	3.0
Somewhat satisfied	16.4
Satisfied	57.5
Very satisfied	17.1
No response	2.5
Total	100.0
Mean	3.84

The SES distribution in relation to treatment by workmates does not provide a consistent curve. Adolescents with the highest level of satisfaction are in the upper-middle SES group (4.13 points) and those with the lowest level of satisfaction are in the middle SES group (3.58 points) (Supplementary Table 67).

4. Satisfaction Regarding Treatment by Boss, Foreman or Manager

Adolescents appear satisfied in relation to how they are treated by their bosses, foremen or managers even though the levels of satisfaction here are lower when compared to those about workmate relations. Variation by age and sex reveals a similar trend here to that of satisfaction with workmate relations. Girls and younger adolescents display higher levels of satisfaction regarding how they are treated by their superiors (Supplementary Tables 68–69). It also appears that respondents living in urban areas are less satisfied in this regard compared to their rural residing counterparts (Supplementary Table 70). The SES distribution shows that those participants in the upper SES group are most satisfied and those in the middle SES group are least satisfied with their superiors (Supplementary Table 71).

Table 116. Adolescent's Level of Satisfaction with Treatment by Boss, Foreman or Manager (%)

Not at all satisfied	4.7
Not satisfied	6.8
Somewhat satisfied	21.2
Satisfied	41.6
Very satisfied	24.1
No response	1.6
Total	100.0
Mean	3.75

D. Violence at the Workplace

Working adolescents were asked if they are subjected to verbal violence (in the form of scolding/insults/foul language), physical violence (in the form of beating/use of force), sexual violence (in the form of verbal/physical harassment) or economic violence (in the form of exploitation/confiscation of money) at the workplace. The results were evaluated on a scale of four. Those adolescents who affirm the existence of any type of violence were also asked to indicate the source of such treatment at the workplace.

Table 117 summarizes the frequency with which working adolescents experience the forms of violence mentioned above. As such, verbal violence appears to be relatively more common compared to other forms of violence that are mentioned with very little frequency. Therefore, infrequent as it may be, violence is a reality of adolescents' work lives.

Table 117. Frequency of Being Subject to Violence at the Workplace (%)

	Verbal	Physical	Sexual	Economic
No, never	75.0	95.4	96.8	91.2
Rarely	16.2	1.6	0.9	3.2
Sometimes	6.0	1.3	1.4	3.1
Often	1.3	0.8	0.0	1.1
No response	1.5	0.9	1.0	1.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	1.32	1.07	1.04	1.13

1. Verbal Violence

Six percent of the adolescents declare that they are "sometimes" subjected to insults, foul language or scolding in the workplace; 1% state that they "often"

experience this form of violence. Another 16% also attest to similar instances, albeit rarely. Subgroup variations show that boys, urban dwelling respondents and those adolescents working in construction, manufacturing or in the family business more frequently experience verbal violence (Supplementary Tables 72-73).

Although there is less variation by age, one may infer that younger adolescents are more frequently subjected to insults or scolding.

Verbal violence in the form of scolding, insults or humiliation is more widespread in Istanbul and the Aegean region (Supplementary Table 74).

Table 118. Frequency of Being Subject to Verbal Violence at the Workplace (%)

No, never	75.0
Rarely	16.2
Sometimes	6.0
Often	1.3
No response	1.5
Total	100.0
Mean	1.32

Table 119. Frequency of Being Subject to Verbal Violence at the Workplace (by Sex) (%)

	Female	Male	Total
No, never	85.7	72.1	75.0
Rarely	4.5	19.4	16.2
Sometimes	0.0	6.6	6.0
Often	3.8	1.6	1.3
No response	6.1	0.3	1.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	1.13	1.38	1.32

$\chi^2:6.911$ degrees of freedom:18 $p=0.075$

Table 120. Frequency of Being Subject to Verbal Violence at the Workplace (by Age Group) (%)

	12-15	16-18	Total
No, never	72.8	75,5	75,0
Rarely	17.9	15,9	16,2
Sometimes	5.4	6,1	6,0
Often	3.9	0,7	1,3
No response	0.0	1,9	1,5
Total	100.0	100,0	100,0
Mean	1.40	1,31	1,32

$\chi^2:0.272$ degrees of freedom:18 $p=0.965$

Table 121. Frequency of Being Subject to Verbal Violence at the Workplace (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
No, never	62.3	72,4	74,2	73,8	76,1	74,2
Rarely	0.0	27,6	18,5	17,0	14,5	17,2
Sometimes	37.7	0,0	4,9	7,2	5,8	6,3
Often	0.0	0,0	2,4	0,3	3,6	1,3
No response	0.0	0,0	0,0	1,7	0,0	0,9
Total	100.0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
Mean	1.75	1,28	1,35	1,33	1,37	1,34

$\chi^2:8.655$ degrees of freedom:18 $p=0.732$

Excluding the upper SES group where very few adolescents are working and those who work also study, there appears to be little variation by SES level. On the other hand, there is a significant relationship between work type and experience of verbal violence. Excluding the construction sector where few adolescents work, those respondents working for the family business constitute the group most subjected to verbal violence. Survey results show that there is also a meaningful correlation between being subjected to verbal violence and Self-Esteem. As Self-Esteem rises, the frequency of being subjected to verbal violence drops (Supplementary Table 75).

Respondents who affirmed the experience of verbal violence at the workplace were probed further with a multiple response question to indicate the source of such treatment. Accordingly, the most common source of verbal violence is the business owner with 42% rate of election, followed by the foreman/assistant foreman at 34%.

Table 122. Source of Verbal Violence at the Workplace (%)

Owner	42.1
Chief/director	10.2
Foreman/assistant foreman	34.2
Workmates	3.2
No response	25.7
Total	115.3
<i>Multiple response</i>	

The source of verbal violence differs, to some extent, by sex but more so by type of settlement and work sector. Forty five percent of urban residing adolescents identify the source of verbal maltreatment as foremen or assistant foremen. The figure is 52% for those working in the manufacturing industry. On the other hand, participants living in rural areas (and thus working in agriculture) often declare that it is their immediate employer who verbally abuses them (Supplementary Table 76).

Table 123. Source of Verbal Violence at the Workplace (by Sex) (%)

	Female	Male	Total
Owner	43.9	41.9	42.1
Chief/director	0.0	11.3	10.2
Foreman/assistant foreman	43.6	33.1	34.2
Workmates	0.0	3.5	3.2
No response	12.5	27.2	25.7
Total	100.0	117.0	115.3
<i>Multiple response</i>			

Table 124. Source of Verbal Violence at the Workplace (by Settlement Type) (%)

	Urban	Rural	Total
Owner	34.1	63.4	42.1
Chief/director	12.7	3.2	10.2
Foreman/assistant foreman	44.6	6.0	34.2
Workmates	4.0	1.0	3.2
No response	25.1	27.3	25.7
Total	120.6	101.0	115.3
<i>Multiple response</i>			

2. Physical Violence

As indicated on the summary table above (Table 117), 4% of the respondents (with differing rates of frequency) state that they have been subjected to beatings or other physical use of force. Evaluating subgroup variations within such a small lot may be misleading therefore such analysis does not appear here. One may consult Supplementary Tables 77 through 81 for these distributions. Also, it must be stated that two thirds of those who declare they are subjected to physical violence refuse to disclose the source of this treatment. Finally, it is worth mentioning that Self-Esteem and being subjected to physical violence are inversely related.

Table 125. Frequency of Being Subject to Physical Violence at the Workplace (%)

No, never	95.4
Rarely	1.6
Sometimes	1.3
Often	0.8
No response	0.9
Total	100.0
Mean	1.07

Table 126. Frequency of Being Subject to Physical Violence at the Workplace (by Self-Esteem) (%)

	Low	Normal	High	Total
1 No, never	82.8	97.3	99.1	96.1
2 Rarely	9.8	0.9	0.0	1.7
3 Sometimes	7.4	0.7	0.9	1.4
4 Often	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

χ^2 : 15.697 degrees of freedom: 6 p=0.015

Table 127. Source of Physical Violence at the Workplace (%)

Foreman/assistant foreman	16.8
Workmates	18.5
No response	66.5
Total	101.8

Multiple response

3. Sexual Violence

The combined figure for those respondents who state that they “rarely” or “sometimes” experience

physical or sexual harassment at the workplace equals to 2%. Of these participants, 89% refuse to disclose the source of sexual violence.

Table 128. Frequency of Being Subject to Sexual Violence at the Workplace (%)

No, never	96.8
Rarely	0.9
Sometimes	1.4
No response	1.0
Total	100.0
Mean	1.04

Table 129. Source of Physical Violence at the Workplace (%)

Owner	2.9
Foreman/assistant foreman	7.8
No response	89.3
Total	100.0

4. Economic Violence

Six percent of the working adolescents either state that they “rarely” or “sometimes” experience economic violence at the work place. One percent declares that they are “often” subjected to this form of violence. However, more than half of these participants do not identify the source of this treatment.

Similar to figures for verbal and physical violence,

there is an inverse correlation between Self-Esteem and being subjected to economic violence.

Twenty nine percent of the adolescents who state that they experience economic violence at work identify the source as foremen or assistant foremen, followed by owners (13%). Of these participants, 53% refuse to disclose the source of economic violence.

Table 130. Frequency of Being Subject to Economic Violence at the Workplace (%)

No, never	91.2
Rarely	3.2
Sometimes	3.1
Often	1.1
No response	1.4
Total	100.0
Mean	1.13

Table 131. Frequency of Being Subject to Economic Violence at the Workplace (by Self-Esteem) (%)

	Low	Normal	High	Total
No, never	67.2	95.6	99.1	93.1
Rarely	12.3	1.8	0.0	2.7
Sometimes	20.5	1.1	0.9	3.0
Often	0.0	1.5	0.0	1.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2: 30.037$ degrees of freedom :6 $p=0.000$

Table 132. Source of Economic Violence at the Workplace (%)

Owner	13.4
Chief/director	3.9
Foreman/assistant foreman	29.4
Workmates	3.9
No response	53.3
Total	103.9
<i>Multiple response</i>	



SECTION 6

ADOLESCENTS' FRIENDSHIPS
AND FAMILY RELATIONS



Friendships

Relations with Family Members

A. Friendships

More than half of the respondents state that they have both male and female friends. Very few participants declare that they have no friends at all. Nine percent of the adolescents only have female friends and 7% only have male friends. Half of the girls and 61% of the boys have friends from both sexes. The percentage of girls who have only male friends and the percentage of boys who have only female friends are less than 1.

Table 133. Distribution of Adolescent's Friends (%)

I have no friends	1.5
Most of my friends are girls	14.6
Most of my friends are boys	11.8
All of my friends are girls	9.2
All of my friends are boys	7.3
I have an equal number of friends from both sexes	55.6
No response	0.1
Total	100.0

Table 134. Distribution of Adolescent's Friends (by Sex) (%)

	Female	Male	Total
I have no friends	2.0	1.0	1.5%
Most of my friends are girls	27.7	2.1	14.6
Most of my friends are boys	1.8	21.3	11.8
All of my friends are girls	18.3	0.5	9.2
All of my friends are boys	0.6	13.7	7.3
I have an equal number of friends from both sexes	49.5	61.3	55.6
No response	0.1	0.1	0.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2:2227.042$ degrees of freedom:4 $p=0.000$

SES appears to be a significant correlate of having friends from both sexes. While more than 70% of the adolescents in the upper SES group have friends from both sexes, the figure drops as SES decreases and reaches 29% for the lower SES group. The opposite tendency is true for those who have friends from only one sex. While 20% of those in the lower SES group have only female friends, the figure drops as SES rises, arriving at 5% for the upper SES group. Similarly, 15% of those in the lower SES group have only male friends but the rate is 2% for the upper SES group.

Table 135. Distribution of Adolescent's Friends (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
I have no friends	1.1	0.6	1.1	1.2	3.3	1.4
Most of my friends are girls	9.9	14.3	16.6	13.5	17.2	14.7
Most of my friends are boys	10.1	10.9	10.8	11.8	15.5	11.8
All of my friends are girls	5.1	1.8	3.7	11.4	19.6	9.2
All of my friends are boys	1.6	3.9	4.2	8.2	15.0	7.3
I have an equal number of friends from both sexes	72.2	68.3	63.4	53.8	29.1	55.4
No response	0.0	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2:381.292$ degrees of freedom:16 $p=0.000$

Seeing as SES levels in rural areas are relatively lower, a trend parallel to the SES trend is observed in relation to type of settlement. Of the adolescents in urban areas, 60.5% state that they have friends from both sexes but the figure drops to 44% for rural areas. The percentage of adolescents who have friends from only one sex is higher in rural areas (Supplementary Table 82).

Having friends from both sexes appears to be less frequent among adolescents in extended families (44%, overall sample 56%). Also, it is noteworthy how adolescents in broken families both display the highest percentage of not having any friends and the highest rate of having friends from both sexes (Supplementary Table 83).

The percentage of adolescents who do not have any friends is relatively high in Istanbul and in North-eastern Anatolia. It is also in Northeastern Anatolia where one finds adolescents whose most friends are of one sex. Adolescents in Southeastern Anatolia have the highest tendency to have only female friends (19%, overall sample 9%) whereas those in Western Anatolia have the highest tendency to have only male friends (17%). The percentage of having only female friends is also relatively high in Western Anatolia (17%). The highest level of having friends from both sexes is found in Western Marmara (81%)

and this figure is lowest in Northeastern Anatolia (22%) (Supplementary Table 84).

1. Close Friends

As evident from the above description, there are no identifiable problems with respondents' friend relations. Most adolescents have friends. More than half of the participants have between 1 and 3 close friends. One third of the adolescents have between 4 and 6 close friends.

Table 136. Number of Close Friends (%)

1-3 Friends	52.2
4-6 Friends	33.7
7+ Friends	10.1
I have no close friends	1.7
No response	2.3
Total	100.0
Mean	4.01
n: 6642	

Girls appear more discriminating in electing close friends. Sixty percent of the girls have at most three close friends whereas the figure is 45% for boys. On the other hand, while 14% of the male respondents declare that they have more than 7 close friends, the figure drops to 6% for female respondents. The fact that boys have more close friendships compared to girls may be explained by how males are relatively freer in forming social relationships, which results in an expansion of their social circles.

Table 137. Number of Close Friends (by Sex) (%)

	Female	Male	Total
1-3 Friends	60.0	44.7	52.2
4-6 Friends	29.6	37.7	33.7
7+ Friends	6.2	13.9	10.1
I have no close friends	2.1	1.2	1.7
No response	2.1	2.5	2.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
<i>$\chi^2:188.533$ degrees of freedom:2 $p=0.000$</i>			
n: 6642			

The number of close friends is higher in lower SES groups. Sixty percent of the adolescents in the upper SES group state that they have between 1 and

3 close friends. However, the figure drops to 47% for the lower SES group. On the other hand, while 27.5% of those in the upper SES group declare that they have between 4 and 6 close friends, this rises to 40% for the lower SES group.

Table 138. Number of Close Friends (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
1-3 Friends	60.4	60.1	53.9	49.4	47.5	52.0
4-6 Friends	27.5	29.0	32.0	35.7	39.8	34.2
7+ Friends	5.0	7.4	10.1	11.8	7.4	10.0
I have no close friends	1.1	0.6	1.2	1.5	3.4	1.6
No response	6.0	2.8	2.7	1.5	1.9	2.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<i>$\chi^2:54.397$ degrees of freedom:8 $p=0.000$</i>						
n: 6241						

2. Topics Talked with Friends

The main topics of discussion with friends appear to be school and exams, boy/girlfriend relations, clothes, sports (especially football). A considerable percentage of respondents state that they talk about "current events" with their friends but there is no data to explore the content of this category in detail. The foremost issue that occupies adolescents' agendas is school (elected with 59% frequency), one may add to this the related subject of high school and university entrance exams at 17%. The second ranking topic is girl/boyfriends, followed by clothes.

The sex distribution shows significant differences regarding issues discussed with friends. Sports and especially football are boys' topics. Boys also tend to talk more about information technology and sexuality when compared to girls. On the other hand, there are multiple subjects where girls appear more interested than boys where especially conversations about clothes tend to occupy girls' agendas. Also, school and exams, family issues, music and TV shows also constitute topics of conversation more frequently for girls than boys.

Table 139. Topics Usually Talked with Friends (%)

School	58.9
Current events	31.1
Girl/boyfriend	29.0
Clothes	25.8
Football	24.1
Sports	20.3
Music	18.2
The future	18.1
Family issues	17.6
High school/university entrance exams	17.3
TV shows	15.1
Work life	8.3
Economic issues	7.0
Celebrities	6.9
Information Technology	6.4
Sexual issues	5.2
Other	0.7
No response	0.5
Total	310.6
<i>Multiple response</i>	
n: 6642	

Table 140. Topics Usually Talked with Friends (by Sex) (%)

	Female	Male	Total
School	64.7	53.4	58.9
Current events	31.2	31.0	31.1
Girl/boyfriend	29.6	28.4	29.0
Clothes	36.6	15.6	25.8
Football	3.7	43.3	24.1
Sports	5.9	33.9	20.3
Music	22.2	14.4	18.2
The future	20.0	16.3	18.1
Family issues	21.5	14.0	17.6
High school/university entrance exams	20.1	14.6	17.3
TV shows	19.8	10.8	15.1
Work life	7.3	9.3	8.3
Economic issues	6.2	7.6	7.0
Celebrities	9.7	4.2	6.9
Information Technology	3.9	8.8	6.4
Sexual issues	3.1	7.1	5.2
Other	0.4	1.0	0.7
No response	0.6	0.5	0.5
Total	306.4	314.5	310.6
<i>Multiple response</i>			
n: 6642			

The age distribution shows that, younger adolescents between the ages of 12 and 15 talk about school (65%) a lot more often than their older peers

(50%, overall sample 59%). Younger respondents are also somewhat more interested in talking about TV. On the other hand, high school and university entrance exams predictably concern the older adolescent group more so than the younger. Older adolescents between the ages of 16 and 18 also discuss the issues of girl/boyfriends, the future and work life more in comparison to their younger peers.

Table 141. Topics Usually Talked with Friends (by Age Group) (%)

	12-15	16-18	Total
School	65.4	49.8	58.9
Current events	27.5	36.2	31.1
Girl/boyfriend	23.9	36.1	29.0
Clothes	24.3	27.9	25.8
Football	24.3	23.8	24.1
Sports	20.6	19.9	20.3
Music	17.9	18.7	18.2
The future	16.0	21.2	18.1
Family issues	16.2	19.7	17.6
High school/university entrance exams	13.2	22.9	17.3
TV shows	16.2	13.6	15.1
Work life	6.1	11.5	8.3
Economic issues	6.1	8.1	7.0
Celebrities	7.3	6.3	6.9
Information Technology	6.3	6.6	6.4
Sexual issues	3.6	7.4	5.2
Other	0.6	0.9	0.7
No response	0.5	0.6	0.5
Total	296.0	331.2	310.6
<i>Multiple response</i>			
n: 6642			

SES is a relevant factor to explain variance in relation to topics discussed with friends. The level of conversation about most of the topics increases with SES. However, there is significant variation by SES regarding some topics. For example, 43% of the respondents in the upper SES group state that they discuss issues of boy/girlfriends with their friends, but the figure remains at 12% for the lower SES group. Also, 27% of those in the upper SES group talk about high school or university entrance exams but the rate is 7.5% for the lower SES group. It is only for the issues of school, family and economic matters where one observes a reverse trend, albeit less evident than that observed in the aforementioned

tioned examples. School occupies agendas more in the lower and lower-middle SES groups when compared to the upper SES groups. In addition, family and economic matters are discussed more in the lower SES group in comparison to other SES groups. It is also worth mentioning that the percentage of talking about the future is relatively high for adolescents living in broken families (25%, overall sample 18%) (Supplementary Table 85).

Table 142. Topics Usually Talked with Friends (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
School	54.3	55.4	57.3	61.9	59.6	58.9
Current events	40.3	35.1	33.3	29.6	24.9	31.1
Girl/boyfriend	42.9	44.4	35.6	25.6	11.7	29.0
Clothes	33.1	29.2	26.2	26.1	20.7	25.8
Football	21.8	24.7	26.0	24.8	19.7	24.1
Sports	21.1	23.8	21.2	20.5	16.4	20.3
Music	28.0	24.7	19.2	16.8	13.3	18.2
The future	23.3	21.3	18.6	18.4	15.1	18.1
Family issues	18.8	18.3	18.4	15.8	20.9	17.6
High school/university entrance exams	27.2	22.7	20.7	16.1	7.5	17.3
TV shows	21.0	15.8	14.7	16.0	11.3	15.1
Work life	9.5	8.8	9.0	8.2	6.1	8.3
Economic issues	7.6	7.1	7.4	6.1	9.5	7.0
Celebrities	11.9	11.6	7.1	6.0	4.1	6.9
Information Technology	11.8	12.9	7.7	5.4	0.8	6.4
Sexual issues	10.6	7.3	7.3	3.9	1.9	5.2
Other	0.5	0.8	0.7	0.8	0.3	0.7
No response	0.3	0.3	0.5	0.5	0.4	0.5
Total	383.9	364.1	331.2	302.5	244.4	310.6
<i>Multiple response</i>						
n: 6241						

Analyzing this issue in relation to type of settlement, one sees that multiple topics are discussed more in urban areas than in rural areas. The highest difference is observed in relation to boy/girlfriend issues, current events, information technology and sexuality (Supplementary Table 86).

B. Relations with Family Members

Participants were asked to evaluate their relations with their family members on a scale of 1 to 5 where 1 represents "very bad" and 5 represents "very good."

Relations with all family members received scores of higher than 4 (good). Adolescents have best relations with their mothers (4.44/5), followed by their fathers and older siblings. Male respondents appear to have somewhat better relations with their younger and older brothers in comparison to female respondents. Adolescents in the younger age group have better relations with their family members than their older peers. Relations with family members and especially the older brother improve as SES decreases. Similarly, adolescents living in rural areas have better relations with their families than urban residing participants (Supplementary Table 87).

Table 143. Adolescent's Relations with Family Members (%)

	Very bad	Bad	Normal	Good	Very good	No response	Total	Mean
Mother	0.3	0.9	8.4	35.4	54.9	0.1	100.0	4.44
Father	0.7	1.9	11.9	37.4	47.9	0.1	100.0	4.30
Older sister	0.8	2.0	13.3	39.4	43.5	1.2	100.0	4.24
Older brother	0.9	3.2	15.5	38.4	40.0	2.1	100.0	4.16
Younger sister	1.0	2.8	14.6	45.0	34.6	2.0	100.0	4.12
Younger brother	1.1	3.3	15.6	43.0	34.5	2.6	100.0	4.09

Table 144. Adolescent's Relations with Family Members (by Sex) (Mean)

	Female	Male	Total
Mother	4.44	4.44	4.44
Father	4.29	4.31	4.30
Older sister	4.29	4.20	4.24
Older brother	4.05	4.27	4.16
Younger sister	4.13	4.10	4.12
Younger brother	4.03	4.17	4.09

Table 145. Adolescent's Relations with Family Members (by Age Group) (Mean)

	12-15	16-18	Total
Mother	4.50	4.35	4.44
Father	4.40	4.17	4.30
Older sister	4.26	4.22	4.24
Older brother	4.22	4.07	4.16
Younger sister	4.17	4.04	4.12
Younger brother	4.13	4.04	4.09

Table 146. Adolescent's Relations with Family Members (by SES) (Mean)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
Mother	4.40	4.42	4.34	4.47	4.50	4.43
Father	4.33	4.33	4.20	4.32	4.35	4.29
Older sister	4.25	4.16	4.13	4.22	4.35	4.23
Older brother	3.97	3.89	4.10	4.08	4.33	4.14
Younger sister	4.04	4.16	3.99	4.12	4.15	4.10
Younger brother	4.03	3.91	4.02	4.07	4.16	4.07

The regional distribution shows that adolescents living in Istanbul have worse relations with their families than those living in other parts of Türkiye. Adolescents in Istanbul generally depict their family relations as “good.” However, their relations with all family members tend to be worse than those adolescents’ family relations outside of Istanbul. Respondents in Eastern Black Sea display the best relations with family members (Supplementary Table 88).

Section Five will detail how adolescents’ Self-Esteem was measured with the use of Rosenberg’s Self-Esteem Scale. These calculations yield a tripartite categorization of adolescents in terms of their Self-Esteem. Analyzing family relations in light of Self-Esteem provides interesting results. Family relations and Self-Esteem display entirely parallel curves. Adolescents who have the worst relations with their families are those who have relatively low Self-Esteem. Family relations improve for those who have normal levels of Self-Esteem and adolescents who have the best relations with their family members have the highest levels of Self-Esteem in comparison to their peers.

Table 147. Adolescent's Relations with Family Members (by Self-Esteem) (Mean)

	Mother	Father	Older sister	Older brother	Younger sister	Younger brother
Low	4.03	3.83	3.92	3.77	3.80	3.91
Normal	4.43	4.30	4.24	4.17	4.12	4.08
high	4.69	4.55	4.40	4.38	4.33	4.30
General	4.44	4.30	4.24	4.16	4.12	4.09

There does not appear to be a specific parallel between adolescents’ relations with their mothers and

the mothers’ level of education. On the one hand, one finds that adolescents who have the best relations with their mothers have mothers who have master’s or doctorate degrees. However, relations with illiterate mothers are better than those with university graduates. Relations with fathers yield even more interesting results. Adolescents whose fathers are illiterate have the best relations with their fathers. Fathers who have master’s or doctorate degrees appear to have the worst relations with their adolescent children.

Table 148. Relations with the Mother in General (by Mother's Education) (Mean)

Illiterate	4.43
Literate, has received no schooling	4.32
Completed primary school	4.48
Completed middle school	4.38
High school graduate	4.40
Two-year associate degree	4.48
University graduate	4.39
Has a masters or a doctorate	4.67
General	4.44

Table 149. Relations with the Father in General (by Father's Education) (Mean)

Illiterate	4.44
Literate, has received no schooling	4.37
Completed primary school	4.33
Completed middle school	4.30
High school graduate	4.21
Two-year associate degree	4.31
University graduate	4.38
Has a masters or a doctorate	4.14
General	4.30

1. Family Relations with Most Conflict

Of all the family members, adolescents have best relations with their mothers. At the same time, the mother tends to be the person with whom the adolescent has most disputes or arguments. Eleven percent of the respondents identify their mothers as the family member with whom they argue most. This is followed by the younger brother at 10% which is to be expected since it has already been established that relations with younger brothers rank relatively low. Nearly half of the participants (49%) state that

they do not have conflicts with any of their family members. The sex distribution shows that girls argue more with their mothers and boys more with their fathers. Also, conflict with parents appears to increase with age (Supplementary Table 89).

The percentage of adolescents who argue with their parents increases with SES. Whereas the rate of arguing with the mother is 4.5% for the lower SES group, the figure rises to 16% for the upper SES group and to 17.5% for the upper-middle SES group. The rate of arguing with the father is 4% for the lower SES group and 14% for the upper SES group. On the other hand, it appears so that the percentage of adolescents who argue with their older and younger siblings is higher for the lower SES groups. One might explain this by how there are more adolescents in the lower SES groups who assume responsibility of their siblings in terms of tutoring, etc.

Distribution by type of settlement shows that adolescents in urban areas argue more with their parents when compared to those in rural areas. Also, the percentage of respondents in rural areas who do not have conflicts with their family members is considerably high in comparison to participants in urban areas (58% and 45.5% respectively) (Supplementary Table 90). The survey results also show that arguments with parents are more common in nuclear families whereas arguments with siblings are more frequent in extended families (Supplementary Table 91).

Table 150. Family Member that the Adolescent Argues/Has Disputes with Most Frequently

My mother	10.6
My father	6.7
My older brother	7.7
My older sister	6.8
My younger sister	8.2
My younger brother	10.3
Other	0.6
I do not argue/have disputes with anyone	49.2
Total	100.0

Table 151. Family Member that the Adolescent Argues/Has Disputes with Most Frequently (by Sex)

	Female	Male	Total
My mother	12.4	8.8	10.6
My father	4.4	8.8	6.7
My older brother	7.5	7.9	7.7
My older sister	6.9	6.6	6.8
My younger sister	9.3	7.1	8.2
My younger brother	10.6	10.1	10.3
Other	0.7	0.5	0.6
I do not argue/have disputes with anyone	48.2	50.1	49.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2:65.403$ degrees of freedom:5 $p=0.000$

Table 152. Family Member that the Adolescent Argues/Has Disputes with Most Frequently (by SES)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
My mother	15.6	17.5	13.2	8.9	4.5	10.7
My father	13.7	8.3	8.0	5.6	4.2	6.7
My older brother	1.7	3.4	7.6	9.5	8.4	7.9
My older sister	4.4	4.1	8.0	7.5	5.3	6.9
My younger sister	4.4	8.2	7.8	8.5	9.9	8.3
My younger brother	3.0	5.9	8.3	12.3	14.3	10.4
Other	0.0	0.2	0.5	0.6	1.1	0.6
I do not argue/have disputes with anyone	57.3	52.4	46.5	47.0	52.2	48.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2:232.272$ degrees of freedom:20 $p=0.000$

The rate of arguing with the mother is highest in the Mediterranean (18%), followed by Istanbul (16%). The rate of arguing with the father is highest in Istanbul (12%). The regions of Mideastern Anatolia and Southeastern Anatolia are those where disputes with siblings are most frequent. The percentage of adolescents who do not have conflicts with their family members is highest in Northeastern Anatolia (72%, overall sample 49%) (Supplementary Table 92).

The above analysis is more meaningful when combined with the data explaining reasons for conflict. Adolescents most frequently identify two reasons for inter-familial conflict: watching TV and spending time on the computer. These two issues mostly cause problems between siblings. Mothers also appear to interfere substantially in regard to ado-

Table 153. Reasons for Arguments or Disputes (%)

Watching TV	34.0
Spending time on the computer	24.9
Studying for school	23.5
Helping out with household chores	16.8
Clothes	14.2
Going out	13.7
Friend choices	10.1
Economic issues	9.0
Coming home late	7.4
Talking on the phone	5.9
Other	7.4
No response	0.4
Total	167.3
<i>Multiple response</i>	
n: 3524	

are concerned. Issues such as going out or staying out until late, friendship choices and money-related matters cause adolescents to experience conflict mostly with their fathers.

Helping out with household chores and clothing choices are more poignant matters of conflict for girls than for boys. The issues that cause more conflicts for male adolescents are spending time on the computer, money-related matters and staying out until late.

The age distribution shows that younger adolescents experience more conflicts over watching television and spending time on the computer. As adolescents

Table 154. Reasons for Arguments or Disputes (by Family Member) (%)

	Mother	Father	Older brother	Older sister	Younger siblings	Total
Watching TV	20.8	16.2	33.3	34.9	47.5	34.0
Spending time on the computer	24.9	19.8	26.9	23.1	26.9	24.9
Studying for school	35.6	33.2	13.9	20.8	18.2	23.5
Helping out with household chores	22.9	8.5	11.2	23.0	15.8	16.8
Clothes	13.2	11.5	18.4	22.3	10.9	14.2
Going out	19.3	29.9	15.1	8.2	6.0	13.7
Friend choices	14.7	18.0	12.5	10.2	3.5	10.1
Economic issues	8.0	25.0	8.9	5.5	5.0	9.0
Coming home late	9.5	21.2	7.3	5.1	2.0	7.4
Talking on the phone	8.2	8.7	5.6	7.8	2.7	5.9
Other	3.3	6.2	6.1	5.7	11.4	7.4
No response	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.8	0.5	0.4
Total	181.0	198.2	159.2	167.4	150.3	167.3
<i>Multiple response</i>						
n: 3524						

lescents' spending time on the computer. Another reason for conflict that is relevant for siblings (especially the older brother or the older sister) has to do with clothing choices. Also, the mother and the older sister are objects of conflict in relation to helping out with household chores. The issue of schoolwork tends to cause arguments and disputes mainly with the parents. The above-mentioned issues (with the exception of schoolwork) that relate to in-house matters do not appear to involve the father. However, the father surfaces as a major figure of conflict as soon as adolescents' relations with the outside world

get older, they begin to have more disputes over extra-home dynamics.

Watching TV, helping out with household chores and speaking on the phone are more pertinent loci of conflict for the lower SES groups. While watching TV has been identified as a source of conflict with the rate of 20% for the upper SES group, the figure reaches 42% for the lower SES group. Similarly, household chores were identified with 26% as causing conflict in the lower SES group but with 10% in the upper SES group. For speaking on the

phone, the figures are 13% for the lower SES group and 5% for the upper SES group. More widespread sources of conflict in the upper SES group include spending time on the computer, schoolwork, going out or staying out until later and friendship choices. Computer-related matters stand out in relation to SES. While spending time on the computer causes arguments at a level of 37.5% for the upper SES group, the figure is 5% for the lower SES group. The reason for this palpable difference can be attributed to low levels of computer ownership in lower SES level homes.

The largest difference between rural and urban areas in terms of sources of conflict has to do with spending time on the computer. This too is likely parallel to differing levels of computer ownership in rural versus urban parts of Türkiye. The level of identifying this as a cause for conflict is twice in urban areas when compared to rural areas (28% and 14% respectively). Issues of going out and friendship choices also appear to be more relevant for urban dwelling youths. One might attribute this to the relative safety of the “outside” in rural areas. Finally a higher percentage of participants in rural areas indicate

Table 155. Reasons for Arguments or Disputes (by Sex) (%)

	Female	Male	Total
Watching TV	33.1	34.8	34.0
Spending time on the computer	19.0	30.7	24.9
Studying for school	22.6	24.4	23.5
Helping out with household chores	25.6	8.1	16.8
Clothes	19.2	9.2	14.2
Going out	12.4	14.9	13.7
Friend choices	10.4	9.7	10.1
Economic issues	6.8	11.2	9.0
Coming home late	4.7	10.1	7.4
Talking on the phone	7.6	7.3	7.4
Other	7.8	4.0	5.9
No response	0.5	0.4	0.4
Total	169.7	164.9	167.3
<i>Multiple response</i>			
n: 3524			

Table 156. Reasons for Arguments or Disputes (by Age Group) (%)

	12-15	16-18	Total
Watching TV	40.8	24.9	34.0
Spending time on the computer	27.6	21.3	24.9
Studying for school	24.7	21.9	23.5
Helping out with household chores	15.5	18.5	16.8
Clothes	11.8	17.3	14.2
Going out	12.2	15.7	13.7
Friend choices	8.2	12.5	10.1
Economic issues	7.3	11.2	9.0
Coming home late	5.3	10.2	7.4
Talking on the phone	7.9	6.8	7.4
Other	4.9	7.3	5.9
No response	0.5	0.4	0.4
Total	166.8	167.9	167.3
<i>Multiple response</i>			
n: 3524			

Table 157. Reasons for Arguments or Disputes (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
Watching TV	20.1	26.9	31.9	36.2	42.1	34.2
Spending time on the computer	37.5	34.4	35.1	21.0	5.0	24.9
Studying for school	27.1	34.5	26.0	21.3	17.9	23.6
Helping out with household chores	9.7	17.3	14.8	16.1	25.6	16.7
Clothes	16.2	11.5	15.7	13.5	15.6	14.3
Going out	20.6	17.4	13.2	13.0	12.4	13.7
Friend choices	12.0	11.1	13.7	8.9	5.3	10.2
Economic issues	9.4	6.7	10.0	8.7	10.2	9.1
Coming home late	13.0	9.0	7.8	6.7	6.7	7.5
Talking on the phone	4.7	6.4	5.1	8.1	13.0	5.9
Other	10.1	8.6	6.9	5.1	3.6	7.6
No response	0.0	0.5	0.4	0.5	0.1	0.4
Total	180.5	184.2	180.8	158.9	157.5	168.1
<i>Multiple response</i>						
n: 3348						

that watching TV is a source of conflict when compared to their urban counterparts (39.5% and 32% respectively) (Supplementary Table 93).

Adolescents in single-parent homes have more conflicts in comparison to their peers especially in relation to matters involving the outside world. Specifically, money-related issues, friendship choices, going out and staying out late are problems identified more frequently by these youths compared to adolescents in other family types (Supplementary Table 94).

2. Most Supportive Family Member in Case of a Problem

As discussed above, mothers are the family members with whom adolescents forge best relations. They are also the figure with whom most conflict is experienced. Survey results show that in addition to these two phenomena, mothers are also the family members who provide the most support for adolescents in case of a problem. An overwhelming 62% of the participants identify their mothers as the source of most support. This is followed by the father at 15%.

Girls more than boys state that they receive from their mothers (70% and 54% respectively). The op-

Table 158. Most Supportive Family Member (%)

My mother	61.9
My father	14.6
My friend	7.0
My older sister	6.0
My older brother	3.8
My girl/boyfriend	1.0
Other	3.0
Nobody	2.3
No response	0.2
Total	100.0

posite is true in relation to support from fathers where 21% of the boys and 8% of the girls identify support from the father. Similarly, female adolescents believe they receive support from their older sisters more so than male adolescents and males

Table 159. Most Supportive Family Member (by Sex) (%)

	Female	Male	Total
My mother	70.4	53.8	61.9
My father	8.3	20.7	14.6
My friend	5.3	8.7	7.0
My older sister	8.8	3.4	6.0
My older brother	1.8	5.8	3.8
My girl/boyfriend	0.8	1.2	1.0
Other	2.8	3.2	3.0
Nobody	1.5	3.0	2.3
No response	0.2	0.2	0.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2:435.038$ degrees of freedom:24 $p=0.000$

state that they receive support from their older brothers more so than female participants.

The main difference in terms of the age distribution relates to support from the mother. Younger adolescents believe they receive support from their mothers more so than older adolescents (65.5% and 57% respectively). Even though the difference is less in regard to fathers, younger adolescents still identify their fathers as the main source of support more so than older respondents (15.5% and 13.5% respectively). These results corroborate previous findings about how younger adolescents get along better and argue less with their parents than older adolescents.

lem more so than in any other family type (20%, overall sample 15%) (Supplementary Table 96).

3. Free Time Companions

Respondents spend most of their free time with their school friends or their friends from the neighborhood. Within the family, most time is spent with the mother. Thirty percent of the participants spend most of their free time with their mothers, 28% with their school friends and 17% with their friends from the neighborhood. The percentage of adolescents who spend most of their free time is at a very low 4%. Girls tend to spend more time with their mothers in comparison to boys (39% and 21% respective-

Table 160. Most Supportive Family Member (by Age Group) (%)

	12-15	16-18	Total
My mother	65.5	56.8	61.9
My father	15.5	13.5	14.6
My friend	5.1	9.7	7.0
My older sister	5.8	6.4	6.0
My older brother	2.5	5.8	3.8
My girl/boyfriend	0.9	1.1	1.0
Other	2.8	3.3	3.0
Nobody	1.6	3.2	2.3
No response	0.3	0.2	0.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2:196.103$ degrees of freedom:24 $p=0.000$

The SES distribution reveals that those who believe their parents to be most supportive in case of a problem are more concentrated in the upper SES groups. By contrast, those who state they receive more support from their older siblings are more widespread in the lower SES groups (Supplementary Table 95). There is no significant variation in this regard by settlement type.

The family type analysis shows that in extended families, support from the mother ranks lowest when compared to other family types (53%, overall sample 62%). On the other hand, it is again in extended families where adolescents identify their father as the main source of support in case of a prob-

Table 161. Most Frequent Free Time Companion (%)

My mother	30.0
My friend(s) from school	28.1
My friend(s) from the neighborhood	16.8
My boy/girlfriend	5.7
My older sister	4.5
My father	3.8
My younger sister	3.3
My younger brother	2.4
My older brother	2.0
Other	3.2
No response	0.3
Total	100.0

ly). Spending time with friends from school or the neighborhood, on the other hand, is more common for boys than girls. Also, more boys spend their time

with their fathers than girls. Age variation in this regard reveals that younger adolescents spend more time with their mothers when compared to older teenagers (33% and 26% respectively).

Spending time with the mother is more common among adolescents in the upper and lower SES groups. The percentage of spending time with the father decreases with SES where the figure is 9% in the upper SES group and 1.5% in the lower SES group. This finding can be explained by structural conditions more so than with personal reasons. As SES decreases, families are more likely to be concerned about day-to-day subsistence. This condition

makes it so that fathers find less time to spend with their children. Regarding time spent with friends, survey results show that adolescents in the upper SES groups spend more time with their school friends in comparison to respondents in the upper SES groups. On the other hand, adolescents in the lower SES groups spend more time with their friends from the neighborhood when compared to those in upper SES groups. This pattern is observable in regard to rural versus urban residence as well. Urban dwelling adolescents spend more time with their school friends and participants living in rural areas spend more time with their neighborhood friends (Supplementary Table 97).

Table 162. Most Frequent Free Time Companion (by Sex) (%)

	Female	Male	Total
My mother	39.3	21,1	30,0
My friend(s) from school	24.6	31,4	28,1
My friend(s) from the neighborhood	10.0	23,3	16,8
My boy/girlfriend	5.4	6,0	5,7
My older sister	6.9	2,1	4,5
My father	2.3	5,3	3,8
My younger sister	5.1	1,5	3,3
My younger brother	1.9	2,9	2,4
My older brother	0.9	2,9	2,0
Other	3.2	3,3	3,2
No response	0.3	0,2	0,3
Total	100.0	100,0	100,0

$\chi^2:652.057$ degrees of freedom:27 $p=0.000$

Table 163. Most Frequent Free Time Companion (by Age Group) (%)

	12-15	16-18	Total
My mother	32.6	26.4	30.0
My friend(s) from school	26.4	30.4	28.1
My friend(s) from the neighborhood	16.7	17.0	16.8
My boy/girlfriend	4.6	7.3	5.7
My older sister	4.4	4.5	4.5
My father	4.1	3.5	3.8
My younger sister	3.6	2.8	3.3
My younger brother	3.1	1.5	2.4
My older brother	1.8	2.2	2.0
Other	2.5	4.3	3.2
No response	0.3	0.2	0.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2:142.254$ degrees of freedom:27 $p=0.000$

Table 164. Most Frequent Free Time Companion (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
My mother	34.2	30.6	27.4	27.9	37.2	29.6
My friend(s) from school	33.1	33.2	33.1	27.8	15.6	28.4
My friend(s) from the neighborhood	6.9	12.0	15.1	18.5	24.3	17.2
My boy/girlfriend	7.6	7.4	5.8	5.7	2.5	5.6
My older sister	2.0	3.2	4.4	4.7	6.0	4.5
My father	9.3	6.7	4.2	2.8	1.5	3.7
My younger sister	2.1	2.6	2.6	3.7	3.8	3.2
My younger brother	2.2	1.9	2.2	2.7	2.9	2.5
My older brother	1.0	1.1	2.1	2.0	2.9	2.0
Other	1.6	1.3	2.7	3.9	3.4	3.1
No response	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.2	0.0	0.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

χ^2 :343.013 degrees of freedom:104 p=0.000

4. Family's Expectations of Adolescents

The main expectation that families have from their children is for them to go to school and do their schoolwork (83% frequency of election). This is followed by keeping one's room clean (17%) and helping out with daily housework (14%). Having no expectations from the adolescent was elected with 7% frequency. Excluding the expectation of keeping one's room clean, the general category of help with housework and taking care of younger siblings amounts to 36%. The expectation that the adolescent must work and make money was identified by the respondents with 5% frequency.

Variation by sex is most noticeable in relation to expectations about helping out with daily housework and cooking. The percentage of listing these expect-

tations is 31 for girls but 6.5 for boys. Similarly, expectations of caring for younger siblings and helping out with shopping are elected more by girls than boys. On the other hand, the expectation of working and making money appears to be directed a lot more to boys than girls (8% and 2% respectively). Younger adolescents state more than older teenagers that their family expects from them to study for school (89% and 74% respectively). Older adolescents, in contrast, more often state that their families expect from them to work and make money when compared to their younger counterparts (9% and 2% frequency respectively) (Supplementary Table 98). There is a significant SES variation regarding families' expectation from their adolescent children. Expectations about studying or keeping one's room clean are identified more frequently by adolescents

Table 165. Family's Expectations of the Adolescent (%)

To succeed in school	82.8
To keep my room clean and tidy	16.9
To do/help out with household chores	13.9
They have no expectations of me	7.0
To care for my younger sibling(s)	6.7
Grocery shopping or helping out	5.4
To work and make money	4.9
Cooking or helping out with cooking	4.9
To tutor my younger sibling(s)	4.8
Other	0.4
No response	0.2
Total	147.8

Multiple response

Table 166. Family's Expectations of the Adolescent (by Sex) (%)

	Female	Male	Total
To succeed in school	81.5	84.0	82.8
To keep my room clean and tidy	19.8	14.1	16.9
To do/help out with household chores	22.8	5.4	13.9
They have no expectations of me	6.6	7.4	7.0
To care for my younger sibling(s)	8.2	5.2	6.7
Grocery shopping or helping out	6.8	4.0	5.4
To work and make money	1.9	7.7	4.9
Cooking or helping out with cooking	8.8	1.1	4.9
To tutor my younger sibling(s)	4.8	4.8	4.8
Other	0.2	0.4	0.3
No response	0.3	0.1	0.2
Total	161.8	134.3	147.7

Multiple response

in the upper SES groups. On the other hand, expectations about household chores or tutoring siblings are voiced more commonly by adolescents in the lower SES groups. Additionally, household chores appear to be relevant expectations in relation to female adolescents in lower SES groups. As such, while the frequency of indicating helping out with

their families expect from them to work and make money or to help out with housework (Supplementary Table 101).

5. Relations with the Mother and Father

Respondents were presented a set of statements to help them indicate the frequency with which they

Table 167. Family's Expectations of the Adolescent (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
To succeed in school	90.5	91.0	84.9	83.5	71.5	83.3
To keep my room clean and tidy	33.6	28.9	22.9	12.9	3.7	17.0
To do/help out with household chores	10.0	8.1	12.1	13.6	21.1	13.5
They have no expectations of me	5.6	6.0	6.3	7.4	7.7	6.9
To care for my younger sibling(s)	7.2	7.1	6.9	6.0	7.4	6.6
Grocery shopping or helping out	4.8	4.2	5.2	5.1	7.5	5.3
To work and make money	4.0	6.2	5.6	4.4	4.4	4.9
Cooking or helping out with cooking	1.2	2.4	3.9	5.1	9.3	4.9
To tutor my younger sibling(s)	2.7	2.3	4.7	4.6	8.2	4.8
Other	0.3	0.0	0.3	30.0	0.5	0.3
No response	0.3	0.1	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.2
Total	160.3	156.2	153.1	172.6	141.5	147.7

Multiple response

household chores is 4% for boys in the lower SES group, the figure rises to 36.5% for girls in this SES group (Supplementary Tables 99-100).

Analysis by family type shows that adolescents in single parent families have more responsibilities compared to their peers. Respondents in this group have a relatively high frequency of indicating that

experience various sentiments considering their relationships with each of their parents. The scoring and average scores are presented in Table 168 for the mother and Table 169 for the father.

Among the various statements inquiring into adolescents' relations with their parents, what receives most agreement is that they feel loved by their par-

ents. Ninety percent of the participants state that they often or always feel that their mothers love them. The figure is lower for fathers at 84%. Related to this statement, adolescents' also appear to be under the impression that their parents trust them and accept them as who they are. Survey results show that a low percentage of participants feel that their parents are overly critical or that they expect from the adolescent to be flawless and perfect. This result is parallel to the aforementioned findings. The statement, which receives the least amount of agreement by the adolescents, has to do with sharing problems with parents. For almost all problems, the score for sharing with the mother is 3.91/5 and 3.44/5 for the father.

The evaluations here once again prove that adolescents have better perceptions about their relations with their mothers in comparison to their relations with their fathers. Mothers receive higher average scores than fathers when adolescents' perceptions of

love and trust are concerned. Also, mothers are perceived as being more controlling which is parallel to how they are understood to be attentive to their children's problems. Fathers, on the other hand, appear to be perceived as relatively indifferent towards their children on multiple grounds. The fact that the score for sharing problems with the father is the lowest may be linked to this.

There does not appear to be very large differences between boys and girls in terms of their relations with their mothers. Mothers tend to be more controlling of their daughters and daughters tend to share their problems more with their mothers (average scores are 4.02 and 3.80 respectively). On the other hand, fathers are more closely attentive to their sons. The average score for girls to share problems with their fathers is very low (3.28/5).

As adolescents grow up, they become more distant from their mothers. Based on participant

Table 168. Relations with the Mother (%)

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Always	No response	Total	Mean
I feel that my mother loves me	0.2	1.1	8.3	30.4	59.7	0.3	100.0	4.49
My mother controls my actions, what I do	1.2	3.6	17.1	37.4	40.4	0.3	100.0	4.12
My mother thinks that I should be perfect and flawless in everything that I do	3.5	8.0	22.7	31.5	34.0	0.4	100.0	3.85
My mother attends to my problems	0.6	3.3	14.4	39.0	42.0	0.6	100.0	4.19
I share almost all of my problems with my mother	2.7	8.7	20.1	31.3	36.7	0.5	100.0	3.91
My mother sees me and accepts me as I am	0.9	3.5	14.1	37.8	43.3	0.4	100.0	4.20
I feel that my mother trusts me	0.6	2.0	11.8	34.4	50.9	0.4	100.0	4.33

Table 169. Relations with the Father (%)

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Always	No response	Total	Mean
I feel that my father loves me	0.9	2.6	12.8	30.4	53.2	0.2	100.0	4.33
My father controls my actions, what I do	2.6	6.7	21.8	35.5	33.1	0.3	100.0	3.90
My father thinks that I should be perfect and flawless in everything that I do	4.2	8.3	24.8	31.5	30.8	0.4	100.0	3.77
My father attends to my problems	2.6	8.6	22.0	35.0	31.3	0.4	100.0	3.84
I share almost all of my problems with my father	7.9	16.4	24.0	26.0	25.2	0.5	100.0	3.44
My father sees me and accepts me as I am	1.9	5.2	17.6	37.3	37.5	0.5	100.0	4.04
I feel that my father trusts me	1.4	2.9	16.7	34.5	44.1	0.4	100.0	4.18

Table 170. Mother/Father Comparison (Mean)

	Mother	Father
I feel that my mother /my father loves me	4.49	4.33
My mother /my father controls my actions, what I do	4.12	3.90
My mother /my father thinks that I should be perfect and flawless in everything that I do	3.85	3.77
My mother /my father attends to my problems	4.19	3.84
I share almost all of my problems with my mother /my father	3.91	3.44
I feel that my mother /my father loves me	4.20	4.04
My mother /My father controls my actions, what I do	4.33	4.18

Table 171. Relations with the Mother (by Sex) (Mean)

	Female	Male	Total
I feel that my mother loves me	4.49	4.48	4.49
My mother controls my actions, what I do	4.17	4.08	4.12
My mother thinks that I should be perfect and flawless in everything that I do	3.87	3.83	3.85
My mother attends to my problems	4.24	4.14	4.19
I share almost all of my problems with my mother	4.02	3.80	3.91
My mother sees me and accepts me as I am	4.20	4.19	4.20
I feel that my mother trusts me	4.33	4.34	4.33

Table 172. Relations with the Father (by Sex) (Mean)

	Female	Male	Total
I feel that my father loves me	4.32	4.33	4.33
My father controls my actions, what I do	3.84	3.96	3.90
My father thinks that I should be perfect and flawless in everything that I do	3.71	3.83	3.77
My father attends to my problems	3.78	3.90	3.84
I share almost all of my problems with my father	3.28	3.60	3.44
My father sees me and accepts me as I am	4.03	4.04	4.04
I feel that my father trusts me	4.18	4.17	4.18

perceptions, mothers are more attentive towards younger adolescents in comparison to older teenagers. Parallel to this finding is how younger adolescents more frequently state that they share their problems with their mothers (average scores are 4.00 for the younger group and 3.78 for the older group).

An analysis of the perceptions about the father shows that adolescents grow more distant from their fathers as they get older. Fathers appear to be less controlling or critical of their older adolescent children but at the same time less attentive to their problems. As adolescents get older, their average scores of sharing problems with their fathers drop (average score is 3.55 for younger adolescents and 3.29 for older adolescents).

Table 173. Relations with the Mother (by Age Group) (Mean)

	12-15	16-18	Total
I feel that my mother loves me	4.51	4.45	4.49
My mother controls my actions, what I do	4.18	4.04	4.12
My mother thinks that I should be perfect and flawless in everything that I do	3.92	3.75	3.85
My mother attends to my problems	4.25	4.11	4.19
I share almost all of my problems with my mother	4.00	3.78	3.91
My mother sees me and accepts me as I am	4.23	4.15	4.20
I feel that my mother trusts me	4.38	4.27	4.33

Table 174. Relations with the Father (by Age Group) (Mean)

	12-15	16-18	Total
I feel that my father loves me	4.40	4.22	4.33
My father controls my actions, what I do	3.96	3.82	3.90
My father thinks that I should be perfect and flawless in everything that I do	3.81	3.72	3.77
My father attends to my problems	3.93	3.72	3.84
I share almost all of my problems with my father	3.55	3.29	3.44
My father sees me and accepts me as I am	4.11	3.94	4.04
I feel that my father trusts me	4.25	4.08	4.18

There are no great variations by SES in terms of perceptions of relations with the mother. The average scores for the upper SES group regarding perceptions of mothers' love, attentiveness to problems and sharing problems with the mother are relatively higher in comparison to other SES groups. The variation is starker in regards to the father. Perceptions of relations with the father receive lower scores as SES drops in reference to almost all of the statement. The largest difference appears with regards to sharing problems. While the average score of sharing almost all problems with the father is 3.67 for the upper SES group, it drops to 3.14 for the lower SES group.

The family type analysis shows that adolescents in broken families display the most variance. Their perceptions of their mothers receive higher scores for almost all of the statement in comparison to adolescents in other types of families. On the other hand, their perceptions about their fathers receive lower scores on almost all of the statements when compared to their counterparts in differing family types. This may be explained by how more of these adolescents reside with their mothers. Finally, adolescents in nuclear families appear to have relatively closer relations with their fathers when compared to participants in other family types (Supplementary Table 102-103).

Table 175. Relations with the Mother (by SES) (Mean)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
I feel that my mother loves me	4.50	4.52	4.48	4.50	4.39	4.48
My mother controls my actions, what I do	4.09	4.11	4.11	4.13	4.09	4.12
My mother thinks that I should be perfect and flawless in everything that I do	3.78	3.71	3.80	3.89	3.84	3.84
My mother attends to my problems	4.32	4.23	4.16	4.20	4.10	4.18
I share almost all of my problems with my mother	4.03	3.89	3.90	3.92	3.80	3.90
My mother sees me and accepts me as I am	4.11	4.08	4.16	4.23	4.19	4.18
I feel that my mother trusts me	4.38	4.30	4.29	4.34	4.35	4.33

Table 176. Relations with the Father (by SES) (Mean)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
I feel that my father loves me	4.38	4.38	4.32	4.33	4.21	4.32
My father controls my actions, what I do	4.01	3.95	3.87	3.92	3.75	3.89
My father thinks that I should be perfect and flawless in everything that I do	3.76	3.72	3.67	3.83	3.69	3.75
My father attends to my problems	3.97	4.00	3.79	3.83	3.72	3.83
I share almost all of my problems with my father	3.67	3.62	3.47	3.43	3.14	3.44
My father sees me and accepts me as I am	4.07	4.04	3.96	4.07	3.98	4.02
I feel that my father trusts me	4.31	4.21	4.10	4.18	4.17	4.17



SECTION 7

FEELINGS, BEHAVIORS AND
ADOLESCENT PERSONALITY TRAITS

Overall Life Happiness

Self-Esteem

*Behavioral Reactions to
Problems*

*Behavioral Changes that Arrive
with Adolescence*

A. Overall Life Happiness

Survey respondents appear, in general, to be happy. Eighty percent of the participants describe themselves as “happy” or “very happy.” Only 4% of the respondents state that they are “unhappy” or “very unhappy.”

Table 177. Overall Life Happiness (%)

Very unhappy	0.9
Unhappy	3.4
Neither happy, nor unhappy	14.6
Happy	57.5
Very happy	22.8
No response	0.8
Total	100.0
Mean	3.99

No significant difference is observed by sex. In terms of age, younger adolescents are happier than older teenagers. Where 85% of the adolescents in the 12-15 age group declare that they are “happy” or “very happy”, the figure drops to 74% for the 16-18 age group.

Table 178. Overall Life Happiness (by Age Group) (%)

	12-15	16-18	Total
Very unhappy	0.7	1.1	0.9
Unhappy	2.5	4.7	3.4
Neither happy, nor unhappy	11.6	18.8	14.6
Happy	58.5	56.2	57.5
Very happy	26.2	18.1	22.8
No response	0.5	1.2	0.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	4.08	3.86	3.99

$\chi^2:5.48$ degrees of freedom:4 $p=0.242$

No significant different in terms of happiness is observed by SES, settlement type or family type. However, adolescents who have high Self-Esteem (See below Section B) appear to feel happier. The combined percentage of those who feel happy or very happy is 52 for adolescents with low Self-Esteem but rises to 81% for those who have a normal level of Self-Esteem and to 91% for those with high Self-Esteem. The percentage of those who are unhappy or very unhappy is relatively high among those who have low Self-Esteem (17%, overall sample 4%). Analysis in terms of Body Mass Index shows that feelings of happiness decrease regularly, in di-

rect correlation with the move from “underweight” to “obese.” Even though respondents who describe themselves as “very happy” are most concentrated in the “obese” category, the aforementioned result remains the same when one takes into consideration the responses of “happy” alongside “very happy.”

Table 179. Overall Life Happiness (by Self-Esteem) (%)

	Low	Normal	High	Total
Very unhappy	3.7	0.7	0.3	0.9
Unhappy	13.2	3.0	0.5	3.3
Neither happy, nor unhappy	30.6	14.5	7.7	14.7
Happy	37.0	61.3	47.5	58.0
Very happy	14.8	19.9	43.7	22.5
No response	0.6	0.60	0.4	0.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2:493.289$ degrees of freedom:8 $p=0.000$

Table 180. Overall Life Happiness (by Body Mass Index) (%)

	Weak	Normal	Fat	Obese	Total
Very unhappy	1.0	1.0	1.2	.0	1.0
Unhappy	3.4	3.4	4.0	2.8	3.4
Neither happy, nor unhappy	11.9	15.7	17.2	24.9	14.8
Happy	58.1	58.1	58.0	39.4	57.9
Very happy	25.1	21.2	18.4	32.9	22.2
No response	.6	.7	1.3	.0	.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2:5.480$ degrees of freedom:4 $p=0.242$

B. Self-Esteem

This research study employs the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (RSE), devised by Morris Rosenberg in 1965 and tested for validity and confidence in Türkiye in 1986 (Çuhadaroğlu, 1986). As described in the Literature Section, this study employs the first subscale of the test, composed of 10 items. These 10 statements were evaluated on a four-point Likert scale. Respondents’ “Self-Esteem scores” were thus calculated during data analysis, based on their responses in relation to the 10 statements.

The scoring and the subsequent calculation proceeded as follows: For the statements 1,2,4,6 and 7, the response of “strongly agree” received 3 points, the response of “agree” received 2 points, the response of “disagree” received 1 point and the response of “strongly agree” received 0 points. For the statements

3,5,8,9 and 10, the response of “strongly agree” received 0 points, the response of “agree” received 1 point, the response of “disagree” received 2 points and the response of “strongly disagree” received 3 points. The maximum score attainable is 30. As such, scores between 15 and 25 represent a normal level of Self-Esteem. Scores below 15 represent low Self-Esteem and above 25 depict high Self-Esteem. Of all the participants, 508 persons failed to provide responses for at least one of the 10 statements. Their remaining data was not included in this analysis of Self-Esteem.

As described in the Literature Section, having high Self-Esteem indicates that one feels “proud, worthy, diligent, effective and successful” (Özkan, 1994:4). Self-Esteem is understood to be a marker of one’s self-respect, self-confidence and self-worth. Based on the above calculations, 6.5% of the survey respondents have low Self-Esteem, 81% have normal Self-Esteem and 12% have high Self-Esteem.

Table 181. Self-Esteem (%)

Low	6.5
Normal	81.3
High	12.2
Total	100.0

Table 182 displays the participants’ average scores out of four, according to the responses they offered for the 10 statements found in the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (1: Strongly agree; 2: Agree; 3: Disagree; 4: Strongly disagree).

Table 182. Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale Statements (Mean)

I feel that I am a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others	1.64
I feel that I have a number of good qualities	1.71
All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure	3.06
I am able to do things as well as most other people	1.83
I feel I do not have much to be proud of	2.91
I take a positive attitude toward myself	1.80
On the whole, I am satisfied with myself	1.73
I wish I could have more respect for myself	2.27
I certainly feel useless at times	3.06
At times I think I am no good at all	3.10

C. Behavioral Reactions to Problems

When faced with a problem, adolescents generally tend to avoid the problem in various ways. Of the respondents, 18.5% state that they ignore the problem and do nothing about it and 13% declare that they take offense and stop talking to the person implicated in the problem. In addition, 10% state that they simply leave. These three responses amount to more than 40% within the overall sample. On the other hand, 23% appear to get aggressive when faced with a problem; yelling and shouting in anger, hitting people or thrashing their surroundings. Finally, more than one third of the adolescents (35.5%) state that they try to resolve the issue by talking about it.

Table 183. Usual Behavior When in Conflict with and Angry at Someone (%)

I try to resolve the issue by talking	35.5
I do not care/I do nothing	18.5
I yell and shout in anger	18.1
I take offense and stop talking to that person	12.7
I just leave	9.6
I hit people	3.5
I thrash the surroundings	1.5
I cry	0.03
No response	0.4
Total	100.0

There are sex-based variances in relation to the different behavioral reactions recounted above. Girls more than boys are likely to try to resolve their problems by talking (38% and 33% respectively). Rates of becoming stern and introverted or the reaction of taking offense and refraining from talking to the person implicated are also higher among girls

(16%) than boys (10%). Boys, on the other hand, resort to verbal or physical violence more frequently than girls (26% and 20% respectively).

Analysis by age groups shows that younger adolescents more often take offense and stop talking whereas older adolescents more frequently display aggressive behavior. The percentage of those who take offense and stop talking is 9 among the older

age group but 15% among the younger adolescents. On the other hand, while 22% of the younger adolescents state that they yell and shout, hit people or thrash their surroundings when faced with a problem, the figure rises to 25% for older adolescents.

Findings related to SES variation are in accordance with each other. First, the percentage of dealing with problems by talking about them drops with

Table 184. Usual Behavior When in Conflict with and Angry at Someone (by Sex) (%)

	Female	Male	Total
I try to resolve the issue by talking	37.8	33.3	35.5
I do not care/I do nothing	16.9	20.1	18.5
I yell and shout in anger	17.0	19.1	18.1
I take offense and stop talking to that person	15.9	9.8	12.7
I just leave	8.7	10.6	9.6
I hit people	1.9	5.1	3.5
I thrash the surroundings	1.4	1.6	1.5
I cry	0.1	0.0	0.03
No response	0.4	0.5	0.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2:139.473$ degrees of freedom:7 $p=0.000$

Table 185. Usual Behavior When in Conflict with and Angry at Someone (by Age Group) (%)

	12-15	16-18	Total
I try to resolve the issue by talking	35.5	35.6	35.5
I do not care/I do nothing	17.4	20.1	18.5
I yell and shout in anger	17.3	19.1	18.1
I take offense and stop talking to that person	15.2	9.3	12.7
I just leave	9.8	9.4	9.6
I hit people	3.4	3.6	3.5
I thrash the surroundings	0.9	2.4	1.5
I cry	0.0	0.0	0.03
No response	0.4	0.5	0.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2:68.739$ degrees of freedom:7 $p=0.000$

Table 186. Usual Behavior When in Conflict with and Angry at Someone (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
I try to resolve the issue by talking	42.6	37.2	36.2	35.8	32.4	35.9
I yell and shout in anger	10.9	15.7	18.9	19.3	16.9	18.1
I do not care/I do nothing	17.3	20.3	16.3	17.0	23.7	18.0
I take offense and stop talking to that person	12.7	12.3	11.5	13.2	14.6	12.8
I just leave	13.3	9.9	10.7	8.8	8.4	9.6
I hit people	1.7	2.2	3.8	3.9	3.3	3.5
I thrash the surroundings	0.6	0.8	2.2	1.7	0.8	1.6
I cry	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.03
No response	0.9	1.5	0.3	0.3	0.0	0.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2:101.676$ degrees of freedom:28 $p=0.000$

SES. While this figure is 43% for the upper SES group, it decreases to 32% for the lower SES group. Also, the percentage of violent behavior such as yelling and shouting, hitting people or thrashing the surroundings is the lowest in the upper SES group.

It appears so that adolescents with low Self-Esteem are more likely to avoid or run away from their problems. Adolescents with high Self-Esteem tend more to resolve their problems by talking about them.

Table 187. Usual Behavior When in Conflict with and Angry at Someone (by Self-Esteem) (%)

	Low	Normal	High	Total
I do not care/I do nothing	22.1	19.0	14.0	18.6
I try to resolve the issue by talking	24.7	35.4	41.6	35.5
I just leave	12.1	9.6	8.0	9.5
I take offense and stop talking to that person	13.7	12.7	12.1	12.7
I yell and shout in anger	18.3	18.3	18.4	18.3
I hit people	4.8	3.3	3.9	3.5
I thrash the surroundings	3.9	1.4	1.9	1.6
I cry	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0
No response	0.4	0.3	0.0	0.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

χ²=35.228 degrees of freedom:12 p=0.000

D. Behavioral Changes that Arrive with Adolescence

Respondents were asked to consider a series of questions relating to potential behavioral changes they undergo during the period of adolescence. Two main groups of changes are discernable based on adolescent responses.

The first group of changes includes anxieties over relations with the opposite sex and one’s physical

appearance. Nearly two thirds of the participants (62%) indicate that they became more interested in clothes, make up or fashions during adolescence. Also, one third of the adolescents began to feel displeased with their physical appearances in this period. Anxieties over one’s physical appearance during adolescence may be linked with the desire to be physically appreciated by the opposite sex. As such, it is worth mentioning that 43% of the respondents state that they began to feel more interested in the opposite sex during the time of adolescence.

The second group of changes includes negative developments in adolescents’ human relations. The period of adolescence appears to include problems in family and school relations while individuals move closer to their friends. Nearly one third of the respondents (30%) indicate that they began to have more frequent in-family disputes during this period and 20% state that they began to experience problems with their teachers. Almost a quarter of the respondents (24%) phrase that they have, in general, become harder to get along with and more aggressive. Some adolescents experience this period in a more introverted fashion rather than overtly displaying their discomfort with various issues (19%). Also, 24% of the participants express that they have grown closer to their friends and more distant from their families.

Changes in regard to school life include, besides experiencing problems with teachers, problems related to attendance (25%) and lower levels of success (28.5%).

Table 188. Changes that Arrive with Adolescence (%)

	Yes	No	No response	Total
I became more interested in clothes, fashions and make-up	62.4	36.8	0.8	100.0
I became more interested in the opposite sex	43.2	55.8	1.0	100.0
I began to dislike my physical appearance (height, weight, etc.)	33.2	65.6	1.2	100.0
I started to argue more with my family, my father and other older relatives	30.3	68.7	1.0	100.0
I became less successful at school/at work	28.5	70.8	0.7	100.0
I began to have attendance problems at school/at work	24.9	74.4	0.7	100.0
I became harder to get along with, more aggressive and antagonistic	23.9	75.2	0.9	100.0
I became detached from my family and grew closer to my friends	23.6	75.4	1.0	100.0
I started to argue more and have more problems with my teachers	20.1	78.8	1.1	100.0
I became introverted and could not communicate with those around me	19.4	79.7	1.0	100.0

Sixty two percent of the adolescents indicate that they became more interested in clothes, fashions or make-up during this period. While no significant variance in this regard is observed by sex, SES, settlement or family type, there does appear a significant variation by age. Older adolescents more often state that they became interested in clothes, fashions or make-up during the period of adolescence (68%) in comparison to their younger peers (58%).

Forty three percent of the respondents agree with the statement “I became more interested in the opposite sex.” Boys tend to agree with this statement more often than girls (52% and 34% respectively). There is a similar difference by age. Older adolescents agree more often with the statement than younger ones (53% and 36% respectively). There is also a variation here by settlement type, albeit less stark. Adolescents dwelling in urban areas more often state that they became more interested in the opposite sex when compared to those residing in rural areas (45% and 39% respectively) (Supplementary Table 104).

Thirty three percent of the participants began to dislike their own physical appearance during the period of adolescence. There does not appear to be large variations between the respondents in this regard by sex, age, SES, settlement or family type. Still, girls more than boys, older adolescents more than younger ones and respondents in upper-middle and lower-middle SES groups display higher figures in this regard compared to overall sample levels.

Thirty percent of the participants agree with the statement “I began to argue more with my family, my father and older relatives.” Older adolescents have more conflicts with their older relatives in comparison to younger adolescents (37% and 26% respectively). While the percentage of agreeing with this statement is around 33-36 for the upper, upper-middle and middle SES groups, the figure drops to 29% for the lower-middle SES group and to 24% for the lower SES group. Urban dwelling

adolescents have more conflicts with their older relatives than those residing in rural areas (34% and 22% respectively). Analysis by family type shows that those living in extended families have a lower rate of beginning to have conflicts with their older relatives when compared to the overall sample level (26%).

Of the respondents, 28.5% agree with the statement “I became less successful at school/at work.” There are significant variations in this regard by sex, age and SES. While 33% of the boys express that they became less successful at school or work, the figure is 24% for girls. Similarly, adolescents in the 16-18 age group agree with this statement more often than their younger peers (34% and 24% respectively). The percentage of agreeing with this statement increases as SES drops. While 22.5% of those in the upper SES group agree with this statement, the figure rises to 31% for the lower SES group. Respondents who experience lower levels of success at school or at work are more concentrated in single parent families and broken families (around 34%). It also appears so that there are fluctuations in success level depending on whether the adolescent works or is in school. Nearly three quarters (73%) of the students declare that they have not experienced lower success levels in school during the period of adolescence. However, the figure drops to below 50% for those who both study and work and for those who do not work but are looking for a job (45% and 46% respectively). In addition, the percentage of those who declare that they began to suffer from lower levels of success at work during adolescence is above 40 (43%).

Table 189. Success at School/Work (by Adolescent's Status) (%)

	I became less successful at school/at work	I did not become less successful at school/at work	Total
Student	27.1	72.9	100,0
Both student and working	54.8	45.2	100,0
Working	43.3	56.7	100,0
Not working, looking for a job	53.7	46.3	100,0
Not working, not looking for a job	36.1	63.9	100,0
Total	28.7	71.3	100,0

$\chi^2: 79.899$ degrees of freedom: $4 p=0.000$

One quarter of the participants states that they experienced a rise in attendance problems at school or work during the period of adolescence. A raise in attendance problems appears to be more common for boys than girls (29.5% and 20% respectively). There is a significant variation by age in this regard as well. The percentage of those who experienced an increase in attendance problems is more than twice as high for the older age group in comparison to the younger age group. Also, adolescents in single parent families and broken families more often agree with the statement about a rise in attendance problems.

Twenty four percent of the survey participants agree with the statement “I became harder to get along with, more aggressive and antagonistic [during the period of adolescence].” The figure is 21% for girls and 27% for boys. Similarly, older adolescents are more likely to agree with this statement than those in the 12-15 age group (29% and 20% respectively). Also, urban dwelling adolescents more so than those residing in rural areas, tend to agree with this statement (26% and 20% respectively). Analysis based on family type shows that adolescents in single parent families differ significantly from their counterparts (29.5%).

Twenty four percent of the respondents agree with the statement “I grew distant from my family and moved closer to my friends.” The most substantial difference in this regard appears to be based on age. Older adolescents have a higher frequency of agreeing with this statement than younger respondents

(30% and 19% respectively). Although the difference is not as stark as in the case of age groups, boys, more so than girls, agree with this statement (26% and 21% respectively). The percentage of agreeing with the statement rises with SES. While the percentage of agreement is 18 for the lower SES group, the figure regularly rises with SES and reaches 31% for the upper SES group. Finally, the percentage of adolescents who state that they have grown distant from their families and moved closer to their friends during the period of adolescence is higher among those respondents in single parent families and in broken families (28% and 30% respectively).

Twenty percent of the survey participants state that they began to argue more with their teachers during the period of adolescence. The figure is higher for boys (23%) than for girls (17%). Also, the frequency of agreeing with this statement increases with age (26% for older adolescents and 16% for younger). The SES analysis yields results similar to those obtained in relation to raised levels of argument with family elders. As such, the percentage of those who experience higher levels of arguments with their teachers drops with SES. While the figure is 25% for those in the upper SES group, it drops to 12% for the lower SES group. The level of agreement to this statement is 22% among urban dwelling adolescents but remains at 15% for those residing in rural areas. Finally, analysis by family type reveals that adolescents in extended families have relatively more agreeable relations with their teacher (15%).

Table 190. Changes that Arrive with Adolescence (by Sex) (%)

	Female	Male	Total
I became more interested in clothes, fashions and make-up	62.8	61.9	62.4
I became more interested in the opposite sex	34.2	51.8	43.2
I began to dislike my physical appearance (height, weight, etc.)	35.8	30.7	33.2
I became detached from my family and grew closer to my friends	20.7	26.3	23.6
I became less successful at school/at work	23.7	33.1	28.5
I began to have attendance problems at school/at work	20.1	29.5	24.9
I became harder to get along with, more aggressive and antagonistic	20.9	26.7	23.9
I started to argue more with my family, my father and other older relatives	28.9	31.8	30.3
I started to argue more and have more problems with my teachers	16.8	23.2	20.1
I became introverted and could not communicate with those around me	20.5	18.3	19.4

Percentage of those who answer “yes” to the statements

Nineteen percent of the survey respondents agree with the statement “I became introverted and could not communicate with those around me.” Although the differences are not too large, girls more than boys, older respondents more so than younger ones and participants from the upper SES group more

so than the lower groups appear to agree with this statement. Family type analysis shows that adolescents who have single parent families or broken families more often agree with the aforementioned statement (26% and 24% respectively).

Table 191. Changes that Arrive with Adolescence (by Age Group) (%)

	12-15	16-18	Total
I became more interested in clothes, fashions and make-up	58.1	68,3	62,4
I became more interested in the opposite sex	36.0	53,2	43,2
I began to dislike my physical appearance (height, weight, etc.)	31.3	35,8	33,2
I started to argue more with my family, my father and other older relatives	25.8	36,6	30,3
I became less successful at school/at work	24.3	34,4	28,5
I began to have attendance problems at school/at work	17.2	35,5	24,9
I became harder to get along with, more aggressive and antagonistic	20.3	28,9	23,9
I became detached from my family and grew closer to my friends	19.0	29,9	23,6
I started to argue more and have more problems with my teachers	15.8	25,9	20,1
I became introverted and could not communicate with those around me	17.8	21,5	19,4

Percentage of those who answer “yes” to the statements

Table 192. Changes that Arrive with Adolescence (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
I became more interested in clothes, fashions and make-up	65.7	65.3	59.9	65.2	59.8	63.0
I became more interested in the opposite sex	48.7	57.9	45.3	44.8	27.0	44.0
I began to dislike my physical appearance (height, weight, etc.)	30.9	35.2	32.9	36.0	26.8	33.6
I started to argue more with my family, my father and other older relatives	32.8	35.9	34.6	28.8	24.2	30.6
I became less successful at school/at work	22.5	25.6	29.5	29.4	30.6	28.9
I began to have attendance problems at school/at work	24.4	27.1	26.8	24.0	24.6	25.2
I became harder to get along with, more aggressive and antagonistic	27.1	26.7	24.3	24.1	21.7	24.2
I became detached from my family and grew closer to my friends	31.3	26.0	25.0	23.7	17.9	23.9
I started to argue more and have more problems with my teachers	24.9	25.2	23.6	19.3	11.8	20.3
I became introverted and could not communicate with those around me	21.4	19.9	19.6	19.4	18.4	19.5

Percentage of those who answer “yes” to the statements

Table 193. Changes that Arrive with Adolescence (by Family Type) (%)

	Nuclear family	Traditional extended family	Single parent household	Broken family	Relatives
I became more interested in clothes, fashions and make-up	62.3	60.9	67.7	61.9	62.4
I became more interested in the opposite sex	43.5	39.3	37.5	48.9	43.2
I began to dislike my physical appearance (height, weight, etc.)	33.1	33.5	36.9	31.3	33.2
I started to argue more with my family, my father and other older relatives	30.3	26.4	35.9	36.3	30.3
I became less successful at school/at work	27.9	31.7	34.4	34.7	28.5
I began to have attendance problems at school/at work	24.6	25.4	28.2	28.7	24.9
I became harder to get along with, more aggressive and antagonistic	23.8	21.9	29.5	25.3	23.9
I became detached from my family and grew closer to my friends	23.4	21.0	28.1	30.3	23.6
I started to argue more and have more problems with my teachers	20.4	15.4	20.6	21.2	20.1
I became introverted and could not communicate with those around me	19.1	19.1	25.9	24.2	19.4

Percentage of those who answer “yes” to the statements

There is a significant positive correlation between being able to adapt to various changes that are brought on by the period of adolescence and Self-Esteem. Adolescents with high Self-Esteem find it easier to deal with these changes. Adolescents who have a normal level of Self-Esteem have a somewhat more difficult experience during adolescence. However, those who have the hardest time in coping with adolescence are those youths who have low Self-Esteem.

Taking into consideration all of these statements together, one may arrive at the following conclusions regarding four groups of adolescents: During the period of adolescence, boys more so than girls, appear to be less successful in school experiencing more problems of attendance and more arguments with their teachers. They also become harder to get along with and develop a relatively higher interest in the opposite sex.

Older adolescents display a growing interest in fashions in comparison to younger respondents, they are more interested in the opposite sex, argue more with their families and spend more time with their friends. They begin to suffer from lower levels of success in school, have higher problems of attendance and experience more conflict with their teachers.

As SES decreases, adolescents have less conflict with their families or teachers but they also have less success at school or work.

Adolescents who grow up in single parent families or broken families tend to have rougher and more problematic experiences of the adolescence period.

Table 194. Changes that Arrive with Adolescence (by Self-Esteem) (%)

	Low	Normal	High	Total
I became less successful at school/at work	45.1	29.1	18.2	28.8
I began to have attendance problems at school/at work	40.0	25.0	19.0	25.2
I became harder to get along with, more aggressive and antagonistic	45.4	23.2	17.8	24.0
I became introverted and could not communicate with those around me	38.1	19.2	12.0	19.5
I became detached from my family and grew closer to my friends	40.1	23.7	16.2	23.8
I became more interested in the opposite sex	46.6	42.9	44.6	43.4
I became more interested in clothes, fashions and make-up	52.8	62.7	71.1	63.1
I started to argue more with my family, my father and other older relatives	53.4	29.3	28.8	30.8
I started to argue more and have more problems with my teachers	36.3	19.9	14.0	20.3
I began to dislike my physical appearance (height, weight, etc.)	44.6	33.2	32.7	33.8

Percentage of those who answer "yes" to the statements



SECTION 8

COPING WITH CHANGES
BROUGHT ON BY
ADOLESCENCE AND HEALTH

Coping with Changes that Arrive with Adolescence

Adolescents' Health

Body Mass Index

A. Coping with Changes that Arrive with Adolescence

More than half of the survey respondents (55%) state that they have not had a hard time coping with the changes they experienced during the period of adolescence. On the other hand, 39.5% declare that they had somewhat of a difficult time during this period.

Table 195. Coping with Changes that Arrive with Adolescence (%)

Yes, I had problems	16.3
Partially	23.2
No, I did not have problems	54.7
I did not experience biological or physical changes	3.9
No response	1.8
Total	100.0

Analysis by sex shows that girls have a harder time coping than boys. Adding together the responses of those who declare they had problems coping and the ones who state they “partially” had a problematic time, results indicate that 43% of the girls and 36% of the boys had some difficulty adjusting to the period of adolescence.

Older adolescents experience more of a challenge in adapting to changes brought on by the period of adolescence when compared to younger participants (43% and 37% respectively). This may be explained by the fact that some younger adolescents are only beginning to experience certain changes and thus might not yet be able to position themselves accordingly.

SES analysis reveals a specific tendency. The percentage of those who do not experience problems coping increases as SES drops. In the lower SES group, 61% of the adolescents declare they had no problems. The figure steadily drops as SES rises where the rate for the upper SES group is 46%. As such, adolescents in upper SES groups appear to have a harder time coping with adolescence. This may be explained by how these participants have higher expectations, standards and levels of awareness about

the period of analysis, which then yield to negative evaluations of their experiences. Higher SES levels are accompanied by various resources, which contribute to adolescents’ raised awareness. This makes it more possible for them to recognize certain processes as “problematic.” Also, high SES levels indicate certain lifestyles and various expectations about one’s standard of living. If the experience of adolescence fails to match those expectations, adolescents may begin to perceive this as a problematic stage and have a harder time coping with this period.

Table 196. Coping with Changes that Arrive with Adolescence (by Sex) (%)

	Female	Male	Total
Yes, I had problems	16.9	15.8	16.3
Partially	26.0	20.6	23.2
No, I did not have problems	52.1	57.2	54.7
I did not experience biological or physical changes	3.2	4.6	3.9
No response	1.8	1.8	1.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2=38.999$ degrees of freedom:3 $p=0.000$

Table 197. Coping with Changes that Arrive with Adolescence (by Age Group) (%)

	12-15	16-18	Total
Yes, I had problems	14.3	19.1	16.3
Partially	22.8	23.8	23.2
No, I did not have problems	55.9	53.2	54.7
I did not experience biological or physical changes	4.7	2.9	3.9
No response	2.4	1.0	1.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2=68.262$ degrees of freedom:3 $p=0.000$

Table 198. Coping with Changes that Arrive with Adolescence (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
Yes, I had problems	19.0	16.5	17.2	16.1	15.5	16.5
Partially	29.5	31.1	25.5	21.5	17.6	23.4
No, I did not have problems	46.3	48.4	52.5	57.1	61.1	55.0
I did not experience biological or physical changes	4.0	3.1	3.4	3.6	4.3	3.6
No response	1.2	0.8	1.5	1.8	1.6	1.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2=59.055$ degrees of freedom:12 $p=0.000$

There are no great differences by settlement type in this regard (Supplementary Table 105). Family type analysis shows that adolescence is single parent families experience more problems adjusting to this period (Supplementary Table 106). Also, those individuals who can be considered “obese” based on the Body Mass Index analysis (see Section VII-C) have a relatively more difficult time coping with the changes brought on by adolescence when compared to their peers (Supplementary Table 107).

B. Adolescents’ Health

Survey results show that a large majority of the adolescents are in good health. A total of 86% of adolescents define their health state as “good,” “very good” or “perfect.” Only 3% of the adolescents declare that they are in “bad” health. No variance is observed in regards to sex, age, SES, settlement or family type.

Table 199. Overall Health (%)

Bad	2.9
Not too bad	10.6
Good	51.0
Very good	28.0
Perfect	7.3
No response	0.2
Total	100.0

Ninety six percent of the survey respondents do not have a health condition which requires them to take regular medication. Also, 98.5% of the participants do not have any disabilities acquired at birth or later. However, 10% of the adolescents complain about attention deficit problems and 5% state that they are hyperactive. Finally, one percent of the respondents have a learning disability.

C. Body Mass Index

The average weight of the survey respondents is 54 kilograms and their average height is 163 centimeters. Adolescents’ weight and height information was used to compute their individual Body Mass Index (BMI) values. Then, participants were categorized based on the cutoff values provided by the World Health Organization (WHO). The categories include “underweight,” “normal,” “overweight” and “obese.” Adolescents who declared they did not

know their heights or their weights were excluded from this analysis. The results show that 29% of the respondents are underweight, 63% are normal in terms of BMI, 6% are overweight and 1% is obese. The category of underweight is more widespread among girls in comparison to boys. And, the categories of normal BMI and overweight appear more commonly among boys than girls. The category of underweight is also more frequently observed among younger adolescents whereas the category of normal BMI is found significantly more among older teenagers (Supplementary Tables 108-109).

Table 200. Attention Deficit Problems, Hyperactivity, Learning Disability (%)

Attention deficit problems	10.3
Hyperactivity	5.1
Learning disability	1.4
None of the above	85.0
Total	101.8
<i>Multiple response</i>	

Table 201. Adolescent’s Weight (%)

40 kg or less	11.1
41 - 50 kg	27.7
51 - 60 kg	25.5
61 - 70 kg	14.9
71 - 80 kg	3.9
81 kg or more	1.8
No response	15.2
Total	100.0
Mean	54.0

Table 202. Adolescent’s Height (%)

150 cm or less	12.3
151 - 160 cm	24.7
161 - 170 cm	28.6
171 - 180 cm	14.2
181 cm or more	2.8
No response	17.4
Total	100.0
Mean	162.7

Table 203. Body Mass Index (%)

Underweight	29.5
Normal	63.3
Overweight	6.2
Obese	1.0
Total	100.0



SECTION 9

VIOLENCE AND RISKS
FACING ADOLESCENTS

Domestic Violence

Violence at School

Violence on the Street

*Insult, Mockery, Humiliation or Sexual
Harassment on the Internet*

Adolescents Resorting to Physical Violence

Risks Facing Adolescents

Survey respondents were asked to indicate whether they faced any form of violence (verbal, physical, sexual) at home, at school or on the street in the past year. Those who answered affirmatively were then asked to identify the frequency and the source of such violence.

A. Domestic Violence

Survey respondents were asked to state how often there are violent incidents including disputes, beatings or verbal insults in their home. Accordingly, 54% express that there are never such incidents in their home. This shows that almost half of the adolescents live in household environments that include such violent events. The survey prompt about frequency reveals that these incidents are not too commonly experienced. Only 2% of the respondents state that such events take place “often” or “always” in their homes.

Table 204. Frequency of Domestic Violence (%)

Never	54.2
Rarely	28.9
Sometimes	14.5
Often	1.7
Always	0.2
No response	0.5
Total	100.0

The percentage of adolescents who recount violent incidents in their homes increases as SES drops. In the upper SES group, 63.5% declare that they never experience such events at home. The figure steadily drops with SES where for the lower SES group the rate is 47%. The percentage of adolescents who declare that there are “sometimes” or “rarely” such incidents in their homes is 34 for the upper SES group. The figure rises as SES drops and reaches 51% for the lower SES group.

The rate of experiencing such incidents “often” or “always” is relatively higher among single parent families and broken families (6% and 4% respectively) (Supplementary Table 110). Also, there is a positive correlation between the frequency of violent

incidents and adolescents’ Self-Esteem. In other words, one may infer that Self-Esteem is impacted by the peacefulness of the home environment. Table 206 depicts how violent incidents are more frequent in the homes of adolescents with low Self-Esteem.

Table 205. Frequency of Domestic Violence (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
Never	63.5	57.6	56.2	51.5	47.2	53.4
Rarely	24.5	30.4	28.9	31.1	26.1	29.4
Sometimes	9.8	9.6	12.0	15.2	24.7	14.8
Often	0.9	1.6	2.2	1.5	1.8	1.7
Always	0.1	0.4	0.0	0.3	0.2	0.2
No response	1.2	0.3	0.7	0.4	0.1	0.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2=125.656$ degrees of freedom:12 $p=0.000$

Table 206. Frequency of Domestic Violence (by Self-Esteem) (%)

	Low	Normal	High	Total
Never	45.4	53.7	59.9	53.9
Rarely	22.3	29.7	28.8	29.1
Sometimes	25.1	14.5	9.9	14.7
Often	6.7	1.4	0.7	1.7
Always	0.5	0.2	0	0.2
No response	0	0.5	0.6	0.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2=49.092$ degrees of freedom:6 $p=0.000$

1. Verbal Violence at Home

Verbal violence includes actions such as yelling, scolding, insulting or swearing.

More than half of the respondents (57%) state that they are never subjected to verbal violence. A total of 25% declare that they are “sometimes” or “often” subjected to the abovementioned forms of violence.

Table 207. Frequency of Being Subject to Verbal Violence at Home (%)

No, never	56.6
Rarely	18.0
Sometimes	20.3
Often	4.9
Prefer not to answer	0.3
Total	100.0

The frequency of these incidents increases as SES decreases. In the upper SES group, 66% of the respondents state that they never experienced verbal violence at home in the past year. The figure drops to 52% for the lower SES group. Similarly, while 2% of the adolescents in the upper SES group declare that they “often” experienced verbal violence at home in the past year, the corresponding figure is 10% for the lower SES group.

Table 208. Frequency of Being Subject to Verbal Violence at Home (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
No, never	66.1	61.1	57.3	52.9	51.9	55.4
Rarely	20.6	20.7	19.2	19.7	10.7	18.5
Sometimes	10.9	15.4	19.3	22.0	27.6	20.8
Often	2.1	2.5	3.7	5.3	9.6	5.0
Prefer not to answer	0.3	0.3	0.5	0.1	0.3	0.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2=125.656$ degrees of freedom:12 $p=0.000$

The most common source of verbal violence is the mother (39% frequency of indication). This is followed by a sibling at 37% and the father at 35%.

Table 209. Source of Verbal Violence at Home (%)

My mother	38.6
My father	35.4
My sibling	36.7
Other	1.4
No response	9.2
Total	121.3

Multiple response
n:2941

Girls are more often scolded by their mothers and boys by their fathers. The percentage of girls who identify their mothers as the source of verbal violence is 44 and the percentage of girls who identify their fathers is 28. On the other hand, 33% of the boys identify their mothers and 42% identify their fathers as the source of verbal violence at home. There is no significant difference between boys and girls in relation to the identification of siblings as sources of verbal violence.

Table 210. Source of Verbal Violence at Home (by Sex) (%)

	Female	Male	Total
My mother	44.4	33.3	38.6
My father	27.8	42.3	35.4
My sibling	37.8	35.7	36.7
Other	0.9	1.8	1.4
No response	8.8	9.6	9.2
Total	119.7	122.7	121.3

Multiple response
n:2941

The main variance by SES has to do with the identification of siblings. As SES drops, the frequency of being subjected to verbal violence by siblings increases. While 19.5% of those in the upper SES group point to their siblings as sources of verbal violence, the figure increases to 41% for the lower SES group. In the lower-middle and lower SES groups, “siblings” outweigh parents as the primary source of verbal violence. This may be explained by the increase in number of children as SES drops and the resulting friction between multiple siblings in the house. While the average number of children for families in the upper SES segment is 1.5, the corresponding figure is 5.25 for the lower SES segment. It is also worth mentioning that the level of parental verbal violence directed towards the adolescent is lower for lower SES groups in comparison to upper SES groups. The percentage of identifying the mother as the source of verbal violence is nine points higher for the upper SES group than the overall sample rate. Similarly, the percentage of identifying the father is seven points higher for the upper SES group than the overall sample rate.

Table 211. Source of Verbal Violence at Home (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
My mother	48.3	36.9	40.8	38.4	35.9	38.9
My father	42.4	38.1	30.0	36.4	38.7	35.4
My sibling	19.5	24.9	32.0	41.5	41.1	36.7
Other	1.8	0.7	0.8	0.6	5.3	1.4
No response	11.7	11.5	15.8	6.1	2.9	8.8
Total	123.6	112.2	119.4	123.0	123.8	121.3

Multiple response
n:2842

Analysis by settlement type reveals that identifying the father as the source of verbal violence at home, is somewhat more common in rural areas than in urban areas (39% and 34% respectively) (Supplementary Table 111).

2. Physical Violence at Home

Physical violence includes beatings and other uses of physical force.

Ninety two percent of the survey respondents state that they have never experienced physical violence at home in the past year. Those who do attest to experiencing physical violence, frequently identify their fathers as the source of violence (37% frequency of indication). This is followed by the siblings at 33%. Sixteen percent of those who have experienced physical violence refrained from identifying the source of violence.

Table 212. Frequency of Being Subject to Physical Violence at Home (%)

No, never	91.6
Rarely	4.3
Sometimes	3.2
Often	0.6
Prefer not to answer	0.3
Total	100.0

Table 213. Source of Physical Violence at Home (%)

My mother	28.7
My father	37.4
My sibling	32.8
Other	1.6
No response	15.8
Total	116.3

Multiple response

n:557

Girls identify their mothers more (35% frequency of identification) and boys their fathers more (43% frequency of indication) as sources of physical violence. Analyzing variance by age shows that younger adolescents mostly suffer from sibling violence. While 22% of those in the 16-18 age group identify their siblings as sources of physical violence, the figure rises to 39% for the 12-15 age group. Younger ado-

lescents also face violence more frequently by their mothers in comparison to older adolescents (33% and 22% respectively). In contrast, fathers appear to be more violent towards their older children than their younger children. While this figure is 35% for the 12-15 age group, it increases to 41% for the older group.

Table 214. Source of Physical Violence at Home (by Sex) (%)

	Female	Male	Total
My mother	35.1	25.4	28.7
My father	26.1	43.3	37.4
My sibling	33.7	32.3	32.8
Other	2.0	1.4	1.6
No response	15.3	16.1	15.8
Total	112.2	118.5	116.3

Multiple response

n:557

Table 215. Source of Physical Violence at Home (by Age Group) (%)

	12- 15	16 - 18	Total
My mother	33.0	21.8	28.7
My father	35.4	40.7	37.4
My sibling	39.2	22.3	32.8
Other	1.4	2.0	1.6
No response	10.8	24.1	15.8
Total	119.7	110.9	116.3

Multiple response

n:557

An analysis of the sources of violence at home by SES yields interesting results. Parents are most often identified in the upper SES segment. In this group, 58% of those adolescents who attest to experiencing physical violence identify their mothers as the source and 57% identify their fathers. The corresponding figures are 40% and 25% in the lower SES group. The lowest frequency of indication for the mother is in the middle SES group and for the father, in the lower SES group. There is an inverse correlation between SES and siblings as sources of violence. As SES decreases, the percentage of identifying siblings increases. While nobody in the upper SES segment suffers from sibling violence, 55% of those in the lower SES group identify their siblings as sources of physical violence at home.

Table 216. Source of Physical Violence at Home (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
My mother	58.5	24.3	16.6	32.4	40.1	29.3
My father	56.8	44	37.4	40.3	25.4	37.3
My sibling	0.0	16.3	22.7	34.1	55.0	32.7
Other	0.0	2.8	1.7	0.3	4.5	1.7
No response	0.0	15.3	27.5	11.9	7.3	15.5
Total	115.3	102.7	105.9	118.9	132.3	116.5

Multiple response
n:531

Identifying the father as the source of physical violence at home receives similar points in urban and rural areas. However, the situation is different when mothers and siblings are concerned. The frequency with which the mother is selected as the source of violence in urban areas is 25% but the figure reaches 40% in rural areas. Similarly while the rate is 29% for siblings in urban areas, it reaches 43.5% in rural areas (Supplementary Table 112).

3. Sexual Abuse at Home

Ninety nine percent of the survey respondents declare that they are not subjected to sexual abuse at home. Of the 1% who gives an affirmative answer, 86% refused to identify the source of such violence.

Table 217. Frequency of Being Subject to Sexual Abuse at Home (%)

No, never	99.0
Rarely	0.4
Sometimes	0.2
Often	0.1
Prefer not to answer	0.3
Total	100.0

Table 218. Source of Sexual Abuse at Home (%)

My mother	6.9
My father	9.4
My sibling	2.0
No response	85.6
Total	103.8

Multiple response
n:49

4. Mockery, Humiliation and Exclusion at Home

Ninety three percent of the survey respondents state that they never experienced incidents of humiliation, mockery or exclusionary behavior at home. Of the 7% who do suffer from these actions, 47% identify their siblings as the source. Mothers and fathers are pointed out with similar frequencies (22% and 21% respectively).

Table 219. Frequency of Being Subject to Mockery, Humiliation, Exclusion at Home (%)

No, never	92.9
Rarely	3.3
Sometimes	2.6
Often	1.0
Prefer not to answer	0.3
Total	100.0

Table 220. Source of Mockery, Humiliation, Exclusion at Home (%)

My mother	21.7
My father	21.0
My sibling	47.0
My paternal uncle	1.2
No response	18.9
Total	109.8

Multiple response
n:473

When fathers mock, humiliate or exclude adolescents, they appear to target their sons more often than their daughters. When siblings engage in this behavior, their targets are more commonly the sisters. Older adolescents are more frequently subjected to this form of violence from their parents. On

the other hand, younger adolescents tend more to be on the receiving end of such treatment from their siblings (32% and 60% respectively).

Table 221. Source of Mockery, Humiliation, Exclusion at Home (by Sex) (%)

	Female	Male	Total
My mother	21.7	21.8	21.7
My father	14.4	27.3	21.0
My sibling	54.3	40.1	47.0
My paternal uncle	1.1	1.3	1.2
No response	15.1	22.5	18.9
Total	106.6	112.9	109.8
<i>Multiple response</i>			
n:473			

Table 222. Source of Mockery, Humiliation, Exclusion at Home (by Age Group) (%)

	12- 15	16 - 18	Total
My mother	17.2	27.0	21.7
My father	17.9	24.7	21.0
My sibling	60.0	32.0	47.0
My paternal uncle	1.3	1.1	1.2
No response	11.9	26.9	18.9
Total	108.2	111.6	109.8
<i>Multiple response</i>			
n:473			

Table 223. Source of Mockery, Humiliation, Exclusion at Home (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
My mother	18.1	23.1	22.1	22.4	24.7	22.4
My father	45.9	16.9	17.9	21.1	27.8	21.4
My sibling	15.9	46.5	40.0	54.2	49.8	46.8
My paternal uncle	4.9	0.0	0.0	1.4	2.1	1.0
No response	15.2	18.4	28.9	12.9	11.2	18.6
Total	100.0	105.0	108.9	112.1	115.6	110.2
<i>Multiple response</i>						
n:451						

The SES analysis shows that the lowest percentage of indicating the mother as the source of mockery and related actions is in the upper SES segment. In contrast, the percentage of selecting the father is by far the highest for this SES group (46%, overall sample 21%). The percentage of indicating siblings is also low for the upper SES group (16%). Among the other SES groups, the lowest frequency

for siblings is 40% for the middle SES group and the highest frequency is 54% for the lower-middle SES segment.

B. Violence at School

1. Verbal Violence at School

Seventy two percent of the survey respondents are not subjected to verbal violence at school, meaning that 28% do experience this form of violence at school.

Boys more so than girls tend to be subjected to verbal violence at school. While 76.5% of girls never experience this sort of treatment at school, the figure drops to 67% for boys. Therefore, while 23.5% of girls are subjected to verbal violence at school, the corresponding figure is 33% for boys. While 18% of the boys state that they “sometimes” or “often” face verbal violence at school, the figure is 11% for girls. There is no great difference in this regard by age. Still, older adolescents are somewhat more prone to facing this form of violence when compared to their younger peers. While 73% percent of adolescents in the 12-15 age group state that they are never subjected to verbal violence at school, the figure is 70% for the older group.

Table 224. Frequency of Being Subject to Verbal Violence at School (%)

No, never	71.6
Rarely	13.3
Sometimes	12.5
Often	2.1
Prefer not to answer	0.4
Total	100.0

Table 225. Frequency of Being Subject to Verbal Violence at School (by Sex) (%)

	Female	Male	Total
No, never	76.5	66.9	71.6
Rarely	12.0	14.7	13.3
Sometimes	9.8	15.1	12.5
Often	1.3	2.9	2.1
Prefer not to answer	0.5	0.4	0.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2=84.165$ degrees of freedom:3 $p=0.000$

Table 226. Frequency of Being Subject to Verbal Violence at School (by Age Group) (%)

	12-15	16-18	Total
No, never	72.6	69.8	71.6
Rarely	12.6	14.6	13.3
Sometimes	12.8	12.1	12.5
Often	1.8	2.7	2.1
Prefer not to answer	0.2	0.8	0.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2=18.866$ degrees of freedom:3 $p=0.000$

SES analysis reveals an interesting result. The frequency of those who declare that they have never been subjected to verbal violence at school in the past year increases as SES drops. While 30% of those in the upper SES group affirm to have been subjected to this form of treatment, the figure falls to 26.5% for the lower SES group. Also, the 10.5%

Table 227. Frequency of Being Subject to Verbal Violence at School (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
No, never	69.8	67.8	70.8	72.1	73.5	71.3
Rarely	19.8	19.5	14.9	12.3	7.0	13.6
Sometimes	10.0	10.9	11.8	13.3	15.3	12.7
Often	0.5	1.7	2.1	2.0	3.6	2.1
Prefer not to answer	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.2	0.6	0.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2=67.700$ degrees of freedom:12 $p=0.000$

Table 228. Source of Verbal Violence at School (%)

The principal/administrators	8.3
My teacher(s)	39.5
My friend(s)	53.5
Other	1.6
No response	14.5
Total	117.4

Multiple response
n:1798

of those in the upper SES group state that they “sometimes” or “often” faced verbal violence whereas the figure is 19% for the lower SES group.

The main source of verbal violence at school is the friends, followed by teachers (frequencies of indication are 53.5% and 39.5% respectively). When teachers, principals and administrators are analyzed together, the rate increases to 48%.

Younger adolescents suffer more from verbal violence at school both from their teachers and their friends in comparison to older teenagers. While 41% of the younger adolescents identify their teachers as the source of verbal violence, the figure drops to 36.5% for older adolescents. Similarly, while 57% of the younger adolescents identify their friends as the sources, the figure is 48% for the older group.

2. Physical Violence at School

Ninety one percent of the survey respondents declare that they have never been subjected to physical violence at school. While 1% states that they have often been subjected to physical violence, a considerable 8% express that they have with some frequency experienced this sort of maltreatment.

Table 229. Source of Verbal Violence at School (by Age Group) (%)

	12-15	16-18	Total
The principal/administrators	7.4	9.8	8.3
My teacher(s)	41.4	36.5	39.5
My friend(s)	56.7	48.4	53.5
Other	1.9	1.1	1.6
No response	11.6	19.3	14.5
Total	119.0	115.0	117.4

Multiple response
n:1798

Table 230. Frequency of Being Subject to Physical Violence at School (%)

No, never	91.4
Rarely	4.3
Sometimes	3.3
Often	0.5
Prefer not to answer	0.5
Total	100.0

Of the 8% who affirm being subjected to physical violence at school, 48% identify their friends as the source. This is followed by teachers at 32% which increases to 44% if principals and administrators are included in the analysis. Twenty three percent of the respondents refused to answer this question. No significant variation is observed by any subcategories except that boys more so than girls appear to face physical violence at school (Supplementary Table 113).

Table 231. Source of Physical Violence at School (%)

The principal/administrators	12.3
My teacher(s)	31.6
My friend(s)	47.7
Other	1.7
No response	23.1
Total	116.5
<i>Multiple response</i>	
n:	523

3. Sexual Abuse at School

Of the survey respondents, 97.5% state that they have not experienced sexual abuse at school. Those who affirm having experienced this form of violence mostly identify their friends as the source (39% frequency of indication). Similar to the question about sexual abuse at home, this question too was met with a high percentage of adolescents refraining from responding (56%).

Table 232. Frequency of Being Subject to Sexual Abuse at School (%)

No, never	97.5
Rarely	1.1
Sometimes	0.8
Often	0.2
Prefer not to answer	0.5
Total	100.0

Table 233. Source of Sexual Abuse at School (%)

The principal/administrators	2.7
My teacher(s)	7.6
My friend(s)	38.8
Other	2.0
No response	55.9
Total	107.0
<i>Multiple response</i>	
n:	123

4. Mocking, Humiliation and Exclusion at School

A large percentage of respondents (88.5%) state that they never experienced mockery, humiliation or exclusionary behavior at school. Six percent of the overall sample indicate that they have “sometimes” or “often” been subjected to this form of violence. Girls appear to be relatively less subjected to this sort of treatment (Supplementary Table 114). There is no substantial variation in this regard by age or SES. Having said that, adolescents in lower SES groups appear to be more frequently subjected to this type of behavior compared to their counterparts in upper SES groups (Supplementary Table 115).

Table 234. Frequency of Being Subject to Mockery, Humiliation, Exclusion at School (%)

No, never	88.5
Rarely	5.5
Sometimes	4.3
Often	1.3
Prefer not to answer	0.5
Total	100.0

BMI analysis shows that (see Section VIII-C) obese adolescents are more prone to being subjected to mockery or similar treatment at school.

Table 235. Frequency of Being Subject to Mockery, Humiliation, Exclusion at School (by Body Mass Index) (%)

	Weak	Normal	Fat	Obese	Total
No, never	90.2	87.5	88.1	80.2	88.3
Rarely	4.4	6.8	5.5	1.7	5.9
Sometimes	3.8	4.1	4.8	13.5	4.1
Often	1.5	1.2	1.1	2.2	1.3
Prefer not to answer	.1	.5	.6	2.5	.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2=13.640$ degrees of freedom:3 $p=0.003$

Eleven percent of the overall sample indicate that they have faced treatment including mockery, humiliation or exclusionary behavior in school. Of these, 69% identify their friends as the source of such treatment. This is followed by teachers at 17% (23% if principals and administrators are included in the same category). Identifying friends as the source of mockery is more common among girls than boys (75% and 64% respectively). The reverse is true for identifying teachers. While 11% of the girls indicate that their teachers subject to them to this kind of abuse, the figure is 21% for boys (Supplementary Table 116). Younger adolescents are more likely to be on the receiving end of this form of behavior from their friends in comparison to older teenagers (76% and 57% respectively) (Supplementary Table 117). There is also a significant SES variation

in terms of being mocked, humiliated, etc. by one's friends. While the rate of those who affirm this is 57% in the upper SES group, the figure rises to 87% for the lower SES group.

C. Violence on the Street

After inquiring into whether and how frequently adolescents are subjected to violence at home and at school, they were asked questions to probe their experiences of violence on the street.

1. Verbal Violence on the Street

Eighty one percent of the survey respondents state that they did not face verbal violence on the street in the past year. Boys more so than girls appear to be subjected to verbal violence on the street. While 88% of the girls declare that they never had such an experience, the figure drops to 74% for boys.

There is no SES variation in terms of those who never experienced verbal violence on the street. However, there is variation by SES in regard to the frequency of facing verbal violence. The frequency of being subjected to verbal violence on the street increases as SES drops. While the rate of those who

Table 236. Source of Mockery, Humiliation, Exclusion at School (%)

The principal/administrators	6.2
My teacher(s)	16.7
My friend(s)	68.9
Other	2.0
No response	17.7
Total	111.5
<i>Multiple response</i>	
n:666	

Table 237. Source of Mockery, Humiliation, Exclusion at School (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
The principal/administrators	2.8	9.2	4.3	7.2	3.5	5.9
My teacher(s)	16	11	14.2	20.4	12.3	16.4
My friend(s)	56.9	60.4	60.9	76.9	86.8	69.9
Other	1.8	0.2	1.9	1.9	4.1	1.9
No response	28.8	21.7	28.5	9.5	2.9	17.3
Total	106.3	102.6	109.7	115.9	109.6	111.3
<i>Multiple response</i>						
n:434						

Table 238. Frequency of Being Subject to Verbal Violence on the Street (%)

No, never	80.7
Rarely	8.3
Sometimes	9.0
Often	1.4
Prefer not to answer	0.6
Total	100.0

Table 239. Frequency of Being Subject to Verbal Violence on the Street (by Sex) (%)

	Female	Male	Total
No, never	88.2	73.6	80.7
Rarely	5.9	10.6	8.3
Sometimes	4.6	13.2	9.0
Often	0.8	1.9	1.4
Prefer not to answer	0.5	0.7	0.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2=224.676$ degrees of freedom:3 $p=0.000$

have “sometimes” or “often” faced verbal violence on the street is 7.5% in the upper SES group, the figure increases to 13% for the lower SES group.

Table 240. Frequency of Being Subject to Verbal Violence on the Street (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
No, never	81.0	80.6	79.4	80.4	80.9	80.3
Rarely	11.5	11.0	9.4	8.1	5.4	8.5
Sometimes	7.1	7.8	9.4	9.1	11.2	9.2
Often	0.4	0.5	0.9	1.9	2.1	1.4
Prefer not to answer	0.0	0.2	0.8	0.5	0.4	0.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2=31.378$ degrees of freedom:12 $p=0.002$

Table 241. Source of Verbal Violence on the Street (%)

People I do not know	28.6
My friend(s)	60.1
Other	0.9
No response	18.6
Total	108.1

Multiple response
n:1290

Inquiring into the sources of verbal violence on the street, one finds that adolescents most often identify their friends (60%) similar to their responses in relation to school violence. On the other hand, the percentage of those who indicate that they were

subjected to violence by strangers is also quite high at 29%.

Analysis by sex shows that the only significant variation arises in relation to the identification of friends as sources. While 54% of the girls elect their friends as the source of verbal violence on the street, the figure is 63% for boys (Supplementary Table 118). Age variation shows that younger adolescents identify their friends as sources more so than older teenagers (64% and 55% respectively) (Supplementary Table 119).

There are various differentiations based on SES segment. As SES drops, the percentage of being subjected to verbal violence by strangers drops as well. While the rate is 35% for those in the upper SES group, it drops to 22% for the lower SES group. The situation is reversed in relation to identifying friends as the source of violence. As SES drops, the frequency with which friends are identified increases. While the figure is 37% for the upper SES group, it is twice as high for the lower SES group (75%).

A tendency similar to that of SES is observed in regard to settlement types. While strangers as source-

Table 242. Source of Verbal Violence on the Street (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
People I do not know	34.9	28.3	30.3	28.8	22.2	28.6
My friend(s)	37.3	58.7	52.9	64.3	75.2	60.6
Other	0.0	0.0	0.3	1.0	2.2	0.8
No response	30.5	18.8	27.1	14.7	5.6	18.2
Total	102.6	105.8	110.6	108.8	105.2	108.2

Multiple response
n:1179

es of verbal violence is higher in urban areas (30%, rural 25%), the frequency with which friends are identified is higher in rural areas (70%, urban 57%) (Supplementary Table 120).

2. Physical Violence on the Street

Ninety two percent of the survey respondents indicate that they were never subjected to physical violence on the street in the past year. Of those who did affirm being subjected to physical violence on the street, 49% identify their friends as the source of such behavior. The frequency with which strangers are identified as the source is 34%.

Table 243. Frequency of Being Subject to Physical Violence on the Street (%)

No, never	92.2
Rarely	3.6
Sometimes	3.4
Often	0.3
Prefer not to answer	0.6
Total	100.0

Table 244. Source of Physical Violence on the Street (%)

People I do not know	33.6
My friend(s)	48.9
Other	1.3
No response	27.2
Total	111.0
<i>Multiple response</i>	
n:511	

3. Sexual Abuse on the Street

Ninety six percent of the survey respondents declare that they have never been subjected to sexual abuse on the street in the past year. Of those who did affirm this kind of abuse, 57% identify strangers as the source. Another 35% refrained from answering the probe about the source of such treatment.

Table 245. Frequency of Being Subject to Sexual Abuse on the Street (%)

No, never	95.9
Rarely	1.6
Sometimes	1.4
Often	0.4
Prefer not to answer	0.6
Total	100.0

Table 246. Source of Sexual Abuse on the Street (%)

People I do not know	56.7
My friend(s)	11.2
Other	0.3
No response	35.2
Total	103.3
<i>Multiple response</i>	
n:236	

4. Mockery, Humiliation and Exclusion on the Street

Ninety three percent of the survey respondents declare that they have never been subjected to mockery, humiliation or exclusionary behavior on the street in the past year. Of those who affirm this sort of treatment, 58% identify their friends as the source. This is followed by strangers at 26%.

Table 247. Frequency of Being Subject to Mockery, Humiliation, Exclusion on the Street (%)

No, never	93.0
Rarely	3.3
Sometimes	2.3
Often	0.8
Prefer not to answer	0.7
Total	100.0

Table 248. Source of Mockery, Humiliation, Exclusion on the Street (%)

People I do not know	26.2
My friend(s)	58.1
Other	2.5
No response	25.6
Total	112.3
<i>Multiple response</i>	
n:457	

D. Insult, Mockery, Humiliation or Sexual Harassment on the Internet

Respondents were asked to indicate if they were ever subjected to insult, mockery, humiliation or sexual harassment on the Internet. Of the participants, 7.5% indicate that they have had experiences such as these. No significant variation among this 7.5% was observed by sex, age or SES.

Table 249. Frequency of Being Subject to Insult, Mockery, Humiliation, Sexual Harassment on the Internet (%)

Yes	7.5
No	69.2
I do not use the Internet	23.1
No response	0.1
Total	100.0

E. Adolescents Resorting to Violence

After inquiring into adolescents' experiences of being subjected to violence, they were also asked to indicate whether they themselves resort to these types of behaviors.

1. Adolescents Resorting to Verbal Violence

Sixty three percent of the respondents indicate that they have never resorted to verbal violence in the past year, meaning that 37% have engaged in this behavior in some way or another.

Boys more so than girls, engage in this type of behavior. While the percentage of girls who declare

Table 250. Frequency of Adolescent Resorting to Verbal Violence (%)

No, never	63.0
Rarely	18.2
Sometimes	16.0
Often	2.7
Total	100.0

Table 252. Frequency of Adolescent Resorting to Verbal Violence (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
No, never	65.6	62.8	64.5	60.8	58.2	61.9
Rarely	23.3	22.0	19.0	19.0	13.7	18.8
Sometimes	10.5	13.3	14.2	17.1	23.5	16.5
Often	0.6	1.9	2.3	3.1	4.6	2.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2=92.327$ degrees of freedom:12 $p=0.000$

Table 253. Frequency of Adolescent Resorting to Verbal Violence (by Self-Esteem) (%)

	Low	Normal	High	Total
No, never	57.9	63.2	62.1	62.7
Rarely	12.8	18.3	18.9	18
Sometimes	22.5	15.6	17.9	16.4
Often	6.8	2.8	1.1	2.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2=30.687$ degrees of freedom:4 $p=0.000$

they have never resorted to verbal violence is 68, the figure drops to 58% for boys. The percentage of those who "often" engage in this behavior is equal for both sexes at 3%. Of the girls, 29.5% indicate that they "rarely" or "sometimes" resort to verbal violence, whereas the figure is 39% for boys.

The frequency with which adolescents affirm resorting to verbal violence increases as SES drops. While the rate of those who have never engaged in such behavior is 66% in the upper SES group, the figure steadily drops with SES and ends up at 58% for the lower SES group. The percentage of those who have "rarely" resorted to verbal violence in the past year is also relatively high in the upper SES groups. On the hand, while the percentage of those who have "sometimes" or "often" displayed such a behavior is 16.5% in the upper SES groups, it rises to 28% for the lower SES group.

Table 251. Frequency of Adolescent Resorting to Verbal Violence (by Sex) (%)

	Female	Male	Total
No, never	67.8	58.4	63.0
Rarely	16.3	20.1	18.2
Sometimes	13.2	18.7	16.0
Often	2.6	2.8	2.7
Prefer not to answer	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2=61.300$ degrees of freedom:3 $p=0.000$

The frequency with which one exhibits such behavior varies by Self-Esteem. Of the adolescents who are in the low Self-Esteem group, 29% indicate that they “sometimes” or “often” resort to verbal violence. The figure drops to 18% for those who have normal levels of Self-Esteem and to 19% for those with high Self-Esteem.

Adolescents were asked to indicate who the target of their violent behavior is. Respondents most often identify their siblings as the target (42%). This is followed by friends from school and the neighborhood (35% and 23% respectively). Taking into account friends from school and the neighborhood together, one finds that “friends” as targets are identified with 58% frequency. Also, 10% of the adolescents identify their mothers as the target of their behavior and 5% declare that their fathers are on the receiving end of their verbal abuse.

Table 254. Target of Verbal Violence on the Part of the Adolescent (%)

My mother	10.3
My father	5.4
My sibling	42.0
My schoolmate	34.9
My friends from the neighborhood	23.2
Someone I do not know	5.6
My teacher	1.3
Other	1.4
No response	10.2
Total	134.3
<i>Multiple response</i>	
n:2544	

Analysis by sex reveals variations in regard to the target of verbal violence. While verbal violence directed at the father appears to be equal for both sexes, girls display verbal violence towards their mothers more often than boys (13% and 8% frequency of indication respectively). Girls also resort to verbal violence more when their siblings are concerned. While the frequency of targeting one’s siblings with verbal violence is 36% among boys, it rises to 50% for girls. As such, girls appear to be less incompatible in the home environment. On the other hand,

it would also be worthwhile to investigate whether these forms of behavior targeting the parents or the siblings attest to offensive aggression or to girls’ need to defend themselves for some reason. Boys appear to resort to verbal violence more at school or on the street when compared to girls. While 50% of the girls declare that they direct their verbal aggression towards school friends, neighborhood friends or strangers, the figure rises to 74% for boys.

Table 255. Target of Verbal Violence on the Part of the Adolescent (by Sex) (%)

	Female	Male	Total
My mother	13.2	8.2	10.3
My father	5.9	5.1	5.4
My sibling	49.9	36.1	42.0
My schoolmate	31.6	37.4	34.9
My friends from the neighborhood	15.7	28.8	23.2
Someone I do not know	2.9	7.6	5.6
My teacher	1.7	1.0	1.3
Other	0.9	1.7	1.4
No response	8.5	11.4	10.2
Total	130.2	137.3	134.3
<i>Multiple response</i>			
n:2544			

Age analysis shows that younger adolescents more frequently exhibit verbal violence towards their siblings in comparison to older teenagers (45% and 38% respectively). Younger adolescents also indicate with more frequency that they direct their verbal aggression towards their school friends when compared to older adolescents (38% and 31% respectively) (Supplementary Table 121).

SES variation also yields differences in regard to the targets of adolescent verbal aggression. First, the frequency of identifying the mother as the target of verbal violence drops with SES. While 22% of the respondents in the upper SES group identify their mothers as the target, the figure drops to 8% for those in the lower SES group. A similar tendency is observed in relation to targeting the father. While the frequency of identifying the father is 14% for the upper SES group, it is as low as 1% in the lower SES group. Second, it is noteworthy to un-

Table 256. Target of Verbal Violence on the Part of the Adolescent (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
My mother	22.2	11.8	12.4	8.6	7.9	10.4
My father	13.8	11.2	6.7	3.7	1.0	5.2
My sibling	21.7	23.8	38.2	47.1	52.1	42.3
My schoolmate	38.9	42.2	33.1	37.1	26.0	35.0
My friends from the neighborhood	12.0	20.9	21.2	23.9	28.9	23.1
Someone I do not know	9.1	7.6	6.9	5.2	2.9	5.7
My teacher	4.3	3.3	0.9	1.3	0.0	1.3
Other	2.1	0.7	1.0	1.7	0.8	1.3
No response	14.8	15.3	16.6	6.5	3.8	9.9
Total	139.0	136.8	137.1	135.2	123.4	134.2

Multiple response
n:2467

derline that the situation is reversed in relation to targeting siblings. As SES drops, the frequency of targeting siblings increases. While the rate is 22% for the upper SES group, it rises to 52% for the lower SES group. This increase may be explained by the increase in number of siblings as SES drops. Finally, one notices two opposing tendencies in relation to targeting school friends and neighborhood friends. As SES drops, the frequency with which adolescents identify school friends as targets decreases but the frequency of identifying neighborhood friends increases. Thirty nine percent of those in the upper SES group declare that they direct their verbal aggression towards their school friends, the figure is 42% for the upper-middle SES group and 26% for the lower SES group. On the other hand, the frequency of identifying neighborhood friends is 12%

in the upper SES group but rises to 29% for the lower SES group.

Analysis of SES and sex together reveals interesting results. Girls in the upper SES group appear to engage in verbal violence a lot more frequently in comparison to boys in the same SES segment. While targeting the mother is identified at 16% by upper SES boys, the figure rises to 28% for upper SES girls. Similarly, 21% of the girls in the upper SES group declare that they are verbally violent against their fathers. However, the rate is 6% for boys in this SES group. Another point worth mentioning in regard to girls in the upper SES segment is that 7.5% of them state that they direct their verbal aggression towards their teachers. The corresponding figure is 1% for boys in the upper SES group. In the lower SES

Table 257. Target of Verbal Violence on the Part of Female Adolescents (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
My mother	28.4	17.4	15.8	11.2	8.0	10.4
My father	21.4	16.7	4.7	4.0	1.7	5.2
My sibling	24.8	26.0	43.5	57.4	62.9	42.3
My schoolmate	47.4	37.9	32.1	33.5	18.1	35.0
My friends from the neighborhood	9.5	15.8	12.8	16.1	18.6	23.1
Someone I do not know	12.2	7.0	2.2	1.9	1.6	5.7
My teacher	7.5	4.9	1.0	1.4	0.0	1.3
Other	0.0	1.5	0.0	1.2	1.5	1.3
No response	10.1	15.3	14.8	4.5	4.0	9.9
Total	161.3	142.5	126.9	131.1	116.4	134.2

Multiple response
n:1092

Table 258. Target of Verbal Violence on the Part of Male Adolescents (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
My mother	16.1	7.5	10.0	6.8	7.8	10.4
My father	6.4	7.0	8.1	3.5	0.4	5.2
My sibling	18.8	22.1	34.6	40.0	42.6	42.3
My schoolmate	30.7	45.4	33.9	39.7	32.9	35.0
My friends from the neighborhood	14.4	24.8	27.0	29.4	38.1	23.1
Someone I do not know	6.1	8.0	10.1	7.5	4.0	5.7
My teacher	1.2	2.2	0.8	1.2	0.0	1.3
Other	4.2	0.0	1.7	2.1	0.1	1.3
No response	19.5	15.3	17.9	7.8	3.6	9.9
Total	117.4	132.4	144.1	138.0	129.5	134.2

Multiple response
n:1375

group, one finds that the percentage of girls who are verbally abusive towards their siblings is rather high (63%). The corresponding figure for boys is 43%.

Regional analysis shows that targeting parents with verbal violence is highest in Istanbul and in the Mediterranean. Targeting school friends or neighborhood friends appears to be most common in the eastern regions. Finally, targeting siblings is considerably higher in Eastern Marmara in comparison to other regions (79%, overall sample 42%) (Supplementary Table 122).

Variation by Self-Esteem reveals that those who have low Self-Esteem more frequently target their parents with verbal aggression (Supplementary Table 123).

Table 259. Frequency of the Adolescent Resorting to Physical Violence (%)

No, never	88.3
Rarely	6.0
Sometimes	5.1
Often	0.7
Total	100.0

Table 260. Frequency of the Adolescent Resorting to Physical Violence (by Sex) (%)

	Female	Male	Total
No, never	92.8	84.0	88.3
Rarely	3.5	8.3	6.0
Sometimes	3.1	7.0	5.1
Often	0.6	0.8	0.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

2. Adolescents Resorting to Physical Violence

Eighty eight percent of the survey respondents state that they have never resorted to physical violence in the past year. Boys appear more prone to using physical aggression in comparison to girls. While 93% of the girls declare that they have never engaged in this type of behavior in the past year, the figure drops to 84% for boys.

Predictably, adolescents fight most with the people they spend most time with: mainly siblings and friends from school or the neighborhood. Thirty one percent of those respondents who did affirm resorting to physical violence, identify their siblings as the target of their violent behavior. This is followed by school friends at 30% and neighborhood friends at 28%. Also, displaying physical aggression towards strangers appears to be relatively high (13%) as well.

Table 261. Target of Physical Violence on the Part of the Adolescent (%)

My mother	1.3
My father	1.5
My sibling	31.3
My schoolmate	30.3
My friends from the neighborhood	28.3
Someone I do not know	12.7
Other	1.3
No response	16.4
Total	123.1

Multiple response
n:830

A tendency similar to that observed in relation to verbal violence appears in relation to physical violence regarding targets of aggression. Girls more often than boys are physically violent towards their siblings (51% and 23% frequencies of indication respectively). On the other hand, boys more so than girls, declare that they target friends (from school or the neighborhood) or strangers. Among the girls, 40% state that they direct their physical aggression towards friends from school or the neighborhood, but the figure reaches 67% for boys. While the rate of targeting strangers is 4% for girls, it amounts to 16% for boys.

Analysis by settlement type reveals that adolescents living in rural areas are more violent towards their siblings as well as their neighborhood friends when compared to their urban dwelling peers. While sib-

lings are identified as targets with 42% frequency in rural areas, the figure drops to 27% in urban areas. While neighborhood friends are identified with 35% frequency in rural areas, the corresponding figure is 26% in urban areas (Supplementary Table 124).

Family type analysis shows that adolescents living in extended families and those who have single parent families stand out. Adolescents in extended families display the most frequency of identifying their siblings or neighborhood friends as targets of their physical aggression (37% and 36% respectively, overall sample 31% and 28% respectively). On the other hand, it is again among these adolescents where one finds the lowest frequency of identifying school friends or strangers as targets of physical violence (22% and 9.5% respectively, overall sample

Table 262. Target of Physical Violence on the Part of the Adolescent (by Sex) (%)

	Female	Male	Total
My mother	2.1	0.9	1.3
My father	1.1	1.7	1.5
My sibling	51.3	22.7	31.3
My schoolmate	23.7	33.2	30.3
My friends from the neighborhood	15.9	33.6	28.3
Someone I do not know	4.1	16.3	12.7
Other	1.5	1.2	1.3
No response	11.5	18.5	16.4
Total	111.2	128.2	123.1
<i>Multiple response</i>			
n:830			

Table 263. Target of Physical Violence on the Part of the Adolescent (by Family Type) (%)

	Nuclear family	Traditional extended family	Single parent household	Broken family	Total
My mother	1.2	0.0	5.7	3.1	1.3
My father	1.6	1.7	0.0	0.0	1.5
My sibling	31.1	37.3	33.2	19.8	31.3
My schoolmate	31.2	22.1	33.6	27.5	30.3
My friends from the neighborhood	27.6	36.0	18.3	34.4	28.3
Someone I do not know	12.8	9.5	16.4	14.1	12.7
Other	1.3	0.4	0.0	3.1	1.3
No response	16.7	16.0	8.8	19.1	16.4
Total	123.4	123.0	116.0	121.1	123.1
<i>Multiple response</i>					
n:830					

30% and 13% respectively). In this regard, one finds the highest frequencies in adolescents with single parent families. These respondents elect their school friends as targets with 34% frequency and strangers with 16% frequency. Also, it appears that adolescents in single parent families or broken families are more prone to displaying physical violence towards their mothers (6% and 3% frequencies of indication respectively).

Table 264. Frequency of the Adolescent Resorting to Sexual Abuse (%)

No, never	99.0
Rarely	0.5
Sometimes	0.4
Often	0.1
Prefer not to answer	0.0
Total	100.0

Table 265. Frequency of the Adolescent Mocking, Humiliating, Excluding Other People (%)

No, never	91.6
Rarely	4.4
Sometimes	3.6
Often	0.5
Prefer not to answer	0.0
Total	100.0

Table 266. Target of Mockery, Humiliation, Exclusion on the Part of the Adolescent (%)

My mother	1.7
My father	1.0
My sibling	25.7
My schoolmate	53.4
My friends from the neighborhood	34.3
Someone I do not know	5.3
Other	1.7
No response	15.2
Total	138.3

Multiple response

n:583

3. Adolescents Resorting to Sexual Abuse or Humiliation

Ninety nine percent of the survey respondents declare that they have never abused anyone sexually in the past year. A large majority of the adolescents (92%) state that they have never engaged in behavior that includes humiliating, mocking or humiliating

anybody. Of those who affirm treating people this way, 53% identify their school friends as the target. This is followed by neighborhood friends as 34%.

F. Risks Facing Adolescents

Respondents were asked whether or not they have ever been summoned to the police station or the juvenile court. A total of 2.5% answer affirmatively.

1. Running Away from Home, Giving Up on Life

Ninety five percent of the respondents state that they have never thought about running away from home. Of the 5% who have had thoughts in this vein, 36% have in fact taken action and run away from home.

The most frequently identified reason for running away from home is feeling a lack of peace in the home environment (40%). Other commonly elected reasons include “being bored in the home environment” (28%) and “Because my family does not care about me/love me” (16%).

Only 4% of the adolescents have ever considered hurting themselves. Of this 4%, 33% have engaged in actions to hurt themselves.

Ninety six percent of the survey respondents have never considered committing suicide. Of the remaining 4%, 24% have actually attempted to end their lives. The most common reason put forth to explain this kind of behavior is “family problems” (38%). This is followed by “problems with the boy/girlfriend” at 14%. Taking into consideration “being unsuccessful in school” and “too many exams on top of each other”, one finds that school or exam related reasons amount to 13.5%.

2. Smoking and Drinking

Survey respondents were asked to indicate whether they smoke, drink or consume such addictive substance as marijuana, bally, thinner or Ecstasy.

Eight two percent of the adolescents have never smoked. Seven percent attest to smoking once in

their lives. Five percent of the adolescents smoke every day. Considering those who have tried smoking once and those who are smokers together, it appears that most adolescents smoke for the first time in the middle stages of age 13.

Table 267. Smoking (%)

I have never used it	82.2
I tried once	6.7
I used to use it but I quit	1.2
Sometimes	4.4
Every day	5.4
No response	0.0
Total	100.0
Average age for initial use	13.4

Boys tend to smoke more so than girls. Ninety percent of the girls state that they have never smoked or tried a cigarette in their lives. This figure drops to 76% for boys. Two percent of the girls state that they smoke every day while the corresponding figure is 9% for boys.

Table 268. Smoking (by Sex) (%)

	Female	Male	Total
I have never used it	89.2	75.6	82.2
I tried once	6.1	7.4	6.7
I used to use it but I quit	0.5	1.8	1.2
Sometimes	2.5	6.2	4.4
Every day	1.7	8.9	5.4
No response	0.0	0.1	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2=267.930$ degrees of freedom:4 $p=0.000$

Analysis by age shows that older adolescents smoke more so than younger adolescents. While 71.5% of

Table 269. Smoking (by Age Group) (%)

	12-15	16-18	Total
I have never used it	90.0	71.5	82.2
I tried once	5.8	8.1	6.7
I used to use it but I quit	0.7	1.9	1.2
Sometimes	2.1	7.6	4.4
Every day	1.5	10.8	5.4
No response	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2=595.006$ degrees of freedom:4 $p=0.000$

the adolescents in the 16-18 age group have never smoked, the figure reaches 90% for the younger group. Of the older teenagers 11% state that they smoke every day but the corresponding rate remains at 1.5% for younger adolescents.

SES analysis shows that the percentage of those who have never smoked increases as SES drops. While 76% of those in the upper SES segment state that they have never smoked in their lives, the corresponding figure is 89% for the lower SES group. Those who sometimes smoke are more concentrated in the upper SES group in comparison to the overall sample and those who smoke every day are more widespread in the middle SES group when compared to the overall sample.

Consuming alcohol appears with less frequency than smoking. Ninety one percent of the survey respondents have never had an alcoholic drink in their lives. Three percent have only tried an alcoholic beverage once. There is almost nobody who stated that they drink every day (0.1%). It appears that adolescents first try alcohol at the age of 14.2.

Table 270. Smoking (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
I have never used it	75.7	80.4	80.1	83.0	88.6	82.4
I tried once	11.6	7.8	8.2	6.4	1.7	6.6
I used to use it but I quit	0.9	1.8	1.0	1.0	1.3	1.1
Sometimes	8.0	4.6	4.2	4.1	3.8	4.3
Every day	3.8	5.3	6.2	5.5	4.7	5.5
No response	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2=73.506$ degrees of freedom:16 $p=0.000$

Table 271. Consuming Alcohol (%)

I have never used it	91.1
I tried once	3.0
I used to use it but I quit	0.5
Sometimes	5.2
Every day	0.1
No response	0.0
Total	100.0
Average age for initial use	14.2

Although the difference is not too grand, boys appear to consume alcohol more so than girls. Ninety five percent of the girls state that they have never consumed alcohol in their lives. The figure drops to 88% for boys. While 3% of the girls declare that they sometimes drink, the corresponding figure is 8% for boys.

Analysis by age shows that, predictably, older teenagers drink more so than younger adolescents. Ninety six percent of the adolescents in the 12-15 age group have never consumed an alcoholic drink in their lives. The corresponding figure is 84% for the older group. Ten percent of the older teenagers declare than they sometimes drink but the figure remains at 2% for the younger group.

The percentage of those who consume alcohol drops with SES. While 79% of the adolescents in the upper SES group have never had an alcoholic drink, the figure reaches 98% for the lower SES group. Similarly, while 13% of those in the upper SES group state that they sometimes drink, the rate for the lower SES group remains at 1%.

Table 272. Consuming Alcohol (by Sex) (%)

	Female	Male	Total
I have never used it	94.7	87.8	91.1
I tried once	2.2	3.7	3.0
I used to use it but I quit	0.5	0.5	0.5
Sometimes	2.6	7.7	5.2
Every day	0.0	0.2	0.1
No response	0.0	0.1	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2=90.714$ degrees of freedom:4 $p=0.000$

Table 273. Consuming Alcohol (by Age Group) (%)

	12-15	16-18	Total
I have never used it	96.1	84.3	91.1
I tried once	1.7	4.7	3.0
I used to use it but I quit	0.4	0.6	0.5
Sometimes	1.8	10.0	5.2
Every day	0.0	0.3	0.1
No response	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2=436.965$ degrees of freedom:4 $p=0.000$

Table 274. Consuming Alcohol (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
I have never used it	78.8	84.0	89.2	93.7	98.0	91.3
I tried once	6.1	5.5	4.0	1.7	0.6	2.8
I used to use it but I quit	1.2	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.5
Sometimes	13.4	9.9	6.2	4.1	0.9	5.3
Every day	0.4	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
No response	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2=196.256$ degrees of freedom:16 $p=0.000$

It appears to be more common to drink in urban areas when compared to rural settlements. While 96% of rural residing adolescents have never drunk, the rate is 89% in urban areas (Supplementary Table 125).

Survey results show that that a very small percentage of adolescents engage in substance abuse through the consumption of marijuana, bally/thinner or Ecstasy (2%, 1% and 0.5% respectively). The average age for beginning to use or try these drugs is the middle stages of age 14 for marijuana and bally/thinner and the last stages of age 15 for Ecstasy.

3. Risks Facing Adolescents and Self-Esteem

The risks explored above were analyzed in relation to Self-Esteem. This analysis yields the result that those adolescents who have low Self-Esteem are at higher risk in terms of the phenomena above than those adolescents with normal or high levels of Self-Esteem. While 15.5% of those who have low Self-Esteem state that they have thought about running away from home, the figure drops to 5% for those with high Self-Esteem and to 4% for those at

normal levels of Self-Esteem. In addition, 41% of those who have low Self-Esteem have actually put their thoughts into action and run away from home whereas the corresponding figure is 29% for those with high Self-Esteem.

Fifteen percent of those with low Self-Esteem have thought about hurting themselves. The figure is 4% for those with high Self-Esteem and 3% for those who have normal levels of Self-Esteem. Those who have engaged in such behavior are more concentrated in the categories of low and high Self-Esteem (46% and 42% respectively) in comparison to the category of normal Self-Esteem (27%).

Of the adolescents who have low Self-Esteem 14.5% have considered committing suicide. The rate is around 3% for those who have high or normal levels of Self-Esteem. Finally, attempting suicide is also more concentrated in the low Self-Esteem group where 37% have put their thoughts to action and attempted to end their lives.

Table 275. Thinking about Running Away From Home (by Self-Esteem)

	Low	Normal	High	Total
Yes	84.5	96.0	94.6	95.1
No	15.5	4.0	5.4	4.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2=88.299$ degrees of freedom:2 $p=0.000$

Table 276. Running Away From Home (by Self-Esteem) (%)

	Low	Normal	High	Total
Yes	59.4	65.9	70.7	65.2
No	40.6	34.1	29.3	34.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2=2,268$ degrees of freedom:2 $p=0,332$

n: 290

Table 277. Thinking about Physically Harming Oneself (by Self-Esteem) (%)

	Low	Normal	High	Total
I never have	85,3	97	96,2	96,1
Once	6,2	2,0	2,4	2,3
Many times	8,5	1,0	1,4	1,5
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

$\chi^2=8.664$ degrees of freedom:2 $p=0.013$

Table 278. Physically Harming Oneself (by Self-Esteem) (%)

	Low	Normal	High	Total
No	47.0	65.4	56.2	59.7
Yes	45.9	27.2	41.9	33.7
No response	7.2	7.4	1.8	6.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2=4.215$ degrees of freedom:2 $p=0.112$

n: 233

Table 279. Having Suicidal Thoughts (by Self-Esteem)

	Low	Normal	High	Total
I never have	85.5	96.9	96.6	96.1
Once	5.8	2.0	2.0	2.2
Many times	8.7	1.2	1.4	1.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2=9.526$ degrees of freedom:2 $p=0.009$

Table 280. Attempting Suicide (by Self-Esteem)

	Low	Normal	High	Total
No	63.4	77,1	86,4	74,8
Yes	36.6	22,2	13,6	24,8
No response	0.0	0,7	0,0	0,4
Total	100.0	100,0	100,0	100,0

$\chi^2=7,332$ degrees of freedom:2 $p=0,026$

n: 236



SECTION 10

PERCEPTION OF RELIGION



Survey respondents were asked a question inquiring into how they relate to religion. Forty six percent of the participants declare that they believe in a religion and that they fulfill some components of worship. The total rate of those who try to fulfill all components of worship and those who fulfill most components of worship is 26%.

Analysis by sex shows that it is more common for girls than boys to believe in a religion and fulfill all or most components of worship (30% and 22% respectively).

SES analysis reveals a particular tendency. As SES decreases, the percentage of those who worship increases. In the upper SES group, 3% of the adolescents declare that they fulfill all components of worship. The figure steadily increases as SES decreases and reaches 10% for the lower SES segment. Similarly, those who fulfill most component of worship are also concentrated in the lower SES groups. While in the upper SES group, 13% of the respondents fulfill most components of worship, the figure is 26% for the lower SES group. Analyzing belief by SES shows that while 84% of those in the upper SES group state that they are believers in a religion, the figure reaches 99.7% for the lower SES group.

Table 281. Perception of Religion (%)

	5,5
I believe in a religion and I fulfill all components of worship	5.5
I believe in a religion and I fulfill most components of worship	20.5
I believe in a religion and I fulfill some components of worship	46.3
I believe in a religion but I do not practice worship	23.6
I believe in a Creator but I am against religions	1.3
I do not believe in a Creator but I respect all religions	0.6
I do not believe in a Creator and I am against all religions	0.3
I do not care about religion or the issue of the Creator	0.8
No response	1.1
Total	100.0

Table 282. Perception of Religion (by Sex) (%)

	Female	Male	Total
I believe in a religion and I fulfill all components of worship	6.1	5,1	5,5
I believe in a religion and I fulfill most components of worship	24.1	17,1	20,5
I believe in a religion and I fulfill some components of worship	44.6	47,9	46,3
I believe in a religion but I do not practice worship	21.3	25,8	23,6
I believe in a Creator but I am against religions	1.4	1,1	1,3
I do not believe in a Creator but I respect all religions	.7	,5	,6
I do not believe in a Creator and I am against all religions	.3	,3	,3
I do not care about religion or the issue of the Creator	.6	1,0	,8
No response	1.0	1,2	1,1
Total	100.0	100,0	100,0

$\chi^2=28.492$ degrees of freedom:6 $p=0.000$

Table 283. Perception of Religion (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
I believe in a religion and I fulfill all components of worship	2.7	3.5	5.2	5.2	9.7	5.5
I believe in a religion and I fulfill most components of worship	13.0	17.5	18.9	19.8	26.1	19.8
I believe in a religion and I fulfill some components of worship	32.8	40.1	43.5	50.4	51.2	46.7
I believe in a religion but I do not practice worship	35.5	31.7	28.2	22.4	12.8	24.2
I believe in a Creator but I am against religions	4.6	3.1	1.5	0.7	0.1	1.3
I do not believe in a Creator but I respect all religions	3.5	1.5	0.5	0.2	0.0	0.5
I do not believe in a Creator and I am against all religions	0.7	1.5	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.3
I do not care about religion or the issue of the Creator	5.9	0.4	0.7	0.4	0.0	0.7
No response	1.4	0.7	1.4	0.7	0.1	0.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2:404.639$ degrees of freedom:24 $p=0.000$



SECTION 11

THOUGHTS ABOUT THE
FUTURE AND TÜRKİYE



Choice of Profession

Expectations from the Future

Expectations from Public Institutions



A. Choice of Profession

Survey respondents were asked to indicate which profession they intend to pursue in the future. The two most frequently elected professions are being a doctor (17%) and being a teacher (17%). These are followed by the responses of “engineer” at 13% and “policeman” at 11%.

Table 284. Desired Profession (%)

Teacher	17.4
Doctor	17.4
Engineer	13.1
Policeman	10.6
Lawyer	7.2
Football player	3.5
Civil servant	3.3
Soldier	3.0
Nurse	2.5
Merchant	2.1
Architect	1.6
Politician	1.4
Journalist	1.3
Artist	1.0
I do not know/I have not decided	3.0

The table does not include professions with very low frequencies of indication

The most common profession that girls desire is being a teacher (26%). The corresponding figure is 10% for boys. The most common response that boys elect is being an engineer at 19%. On the other hand, 7% of the girls wish to be engineers in the future. Being a doctor also appears to be more attractive for girls than boys (22% and 13% respectively). The second most popular profession for boys is being a policeman, which ranks second for them, together with being a doctor (13%).

There is no great difference between the number of professions that boys declared and the number of professions that girls declared. On the whole, girls identified 88 different professions when indicating their desired profession for the future. The number is 98 for boys.

Analysis by age shows a significant variation in relation to the desire to become a doctor. While 22% of younger adolescents wish to become doctors, the figure drops to 11% for older adolescents (Supplementary Table 126).

Table 285. Desired Profession (by Sex) (%)

	Female	Male	Total
Teacher	25.7	9.6	17.4
Doctor	21.6	13.3	17.4
Engineer	6.7	19.1	13.1
Policeman	7.6	13.4	10.6
Lawyer	8.6	5.9	7.2
Football player	0.2	6.7	3.5
Civil servant	2.9	3.7	3.3
Soldier	1.4	4.5	3.0
Merchant	0.5	3.6	2.1
Politician	1.0	1.8	1.4
Artist	1.2	0.8	1.0

$\chi^2:1083.002$ degrees of freedom:13 $p=0.000$

The table does not include professions with very low frequencies of indication.

The percentage of those who state that they want to become teachers increases as SES decreases. In the upper SES group, 9% of the adolescents wish to become teachers in the future, the figure steadily rises as SES drops and reaches 27% for the lower SES group. A similar tendency is observed in relation to wanting to be a policeman. While 5% of the respondents in the upper SES group wish to be policemen in the future, the figure is 12% for the lower SES group. The opposite relation is true for wanting to be engineers. In the upper SES group, 17% of the respondents desire to be engineers in the future but the corresponding figure is 5% for the lower SES group. A similar curve is observed in regard to wanting to be a lawyer. Careers in politics or arts also appear to be rather unpopular for the lower SES groups.

Table 286. Desired Profession (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
Teacher	9.4	13.3	13.8	18.9	26.9	17.6
Doctor	23.8	18.9	18.1	15.5	19.9	17.5
Engineer	16.7	19.0	15.4	12.3	5.0	13.0
Policeman	4.6	6.5	9.4	12.6	12.1	10.7
Lawyer	13.8	11.2	6.6	6.8	5.6	7.4
Football player	2.6	2.3	4.6	3.4	3.6	3.6
Civil servant	2.1	1.5	3.7	4.0	2.0	3.3
Soldier	2.6	2.3	4.4	2.6	2.0	3.0
Merchant	1.6	1.3	2.2	2.6	1.3	2.1
Politician	2.6	2.8	2.4	0.7	0.0	1.4
Artist	3.2	1.9	0.8	0.8	0.4	1.0

$\chi^2:420.439$ degrees of freedom:52 $p=0.000$

The wish to become a teacher in the future is more popular in rural areas than in urban settlements (24% and 15% frequency of indication respectively). In contrast, it is more common for urban dwelling adolescents to indicate that they want to be engineers (15%) in comparison to adolescents in rural areas (8%) (Supplementary Table 127).

Adolescents were asked to indicate whether they believe they will be able to attain their desired profession in the future or not. In general, participants appear optimistic in this regard. Eighty seven percent of the survey respondents believe that they will be able to realize their goals about their desired professions. Age analysis shows that younger adolescents are more optimistic in this regard compared to older teenagers. While 91% of those in the 12-15 age group believe that they will attain their desired profession, the figure is 82% for the 16-18 age group (Supplementary Table 128).

Table 287. Hope of Practicing the Desired Profession (%)

Yes	87.2
No	12.4
No response	0.3
Total	100.0

There is also a significant SES variation in regard to adolescents' hopes about reaching their desired profession. The percentage of participants who believe that they will be able to realize their professional goals drops with SES. While the figure is 93% for the upper SES group, it remains at 78% for the lower SES group.

Table 288. Hope of Practicing the Desired Profession (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
Yes	93.1	90.3	88.9	88.0	77.7	87.4
No	6.9	9.1	10.9	11.7	21.8	12.3
No response	0.0	0.6	0.3	0.3	0.5	0.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2:65.88$ degrees of freedom:4 $p=0.000$

Survey respondents were asked whether they have any famous idols. Seventy eight percent of the par-

ticipants answered negatively. Of those who did affirm having an idol, 62% have idols who are Turkish or foreign singers and 23% have idols who are sportsmen.

Table 289. Whether or not the Adolescent Has an Idol (%)

No	78.0
Yes	22.0
Total	100.0

Table 290. Profession of the Idol (%)

Artist	62.0
Sportsman	22.7
Politician	5.2
Writer	2.0
Scientist/academic	1.4
Businessman	1.3
Religious scholar	1.0
Other	4.5
Total	100.0

n: 1595

On the whole, survey respondents named 443 persons or groups as idols. The 15 most popular among these are presented in Table 291.

Table 291. Adolescents' Idols (%)

Murat Boz	7.0
C. Ronaldo	5.9
Messi	3.8
Hadise	3.0
Justin Bieber	2.2
Recep Tayyip Erdoğan	2.0
Demet Akalın	1.8
İbrahim Tatlıses	1.7
Mustafa Çeçeli	1.7
Ahmet Kaya	1.7
Atatürk	1.6
Tarkan	1.6
One Direction	1.4
İsmail YK	1.4
Arsız Bela	1.3

n: 1595

B. Expectations from the Future

Survey participants were presented with a series of options with a view as to understand their expectations from the future. Respondents were asked to pick one or more of the choices offered. Two main themes stand out in relation to adolescents' expect-

tations from the future: Profession and family. First, adolescents appear to be evaluating their futures in tandem with their desired professions. Their basic expectation from the future is a prestigious profession (88% frequency of indication). Related to this, the option of “having a high earning job” is elected with 55% frequency. The choice of “studying in a good school” is indicated with 40% frequency. One may infer that this choice too is related to professional life as a way to prepare for acquiring one’s desired profession. The second set of responses revolves around the theme of family whereby the choice of “getting married and having a family” receives 72.5% frequency of indication and the related response of “having children” receives 26.5% frequency of indication. Another family-related option, which is “To make sure my parents live comfortably in their old age” is elected with 31% frequency.

Table 292. Future Expectations (%)

To have a prestigious profession	87.9
To get married and have a family	72.5
To have a high earning job	55.2
To study in a good school	39.6
To make sure my parents live comfortably in their old age	30.6
To have children	26.5
To be of service to my country	19.7
Other	1.1
I have no expectations	0.1
No response	0.4
Total	333.6
<i>Multiple response</i>	

Table 293. Future Expectations (by Sex) (%)

	Female	Male	Total
To have a prestigious profession	89.4	86.5	87.9
To get married and have a family	71.9	73.2	72.5
To have a high earning job	50.1	60.1	55.2
To study in a good school	42.6	36.7	39.6
To make sure my parents live comfortably in their old age	30.7	30.6	30.6
To have children	27.5	25.5	26.5
To be of service to my country	19.2	20.1	19.7
Other	0.9	1.3	1.1
I have no expectations	0.1	0.0	0.1
No response	0.4	0.4	0.4
Total	332.6	334.5	333.6
<i>Multiple response</i>			

Sex analysis reveals a variance in relation to two expectations. Boys more so than girls, indicate that they expect to find a high-earning job (60% and 50% respectively). In contrast, it is more common for girls to state that they expect to study in a good school when compared to boys (47% and 43% respectively).

SES analysis yields a few distinct tendencies. First, the desire to get married and form a family increases as SES decreases. While 65% of the individuals in the upper SES group elect this option as their expectation from the future, the figure is 74% for the lower SES group. The expectation to study in a good school, on the other hand, drops with SES. While 51% of the adolescents in the upper SES group declare that this is what they expect from the future, the figure remains at 33% for the lower SES group. The option related to making sure one’s parents live comfortably in their old age is more commonly selected in the lower SES groups. While 25% of those in the upper SES group indicate this as their expectation from the future, the figure rises to 39% for the lower SES group. A general inspection shows that adolescents in the lower SES groups are more preoccupied with everyday concerns, which impacts their expectations from the future. As such, it is noteworthy to mention that the option “to be of service to my country” is more popular in the upper SES groups than the lower groups (24% and 16% respectively).

There are four options of expectations from the future that adolescents with high Self-Esteem selected with considerable more frequency than their counterparts. The expectation to study in a good school, to have a prestigious profession, to make sure that parents live comfortably in their old age and to be of service to one’s country are most indicated by adolescents with high Self-Esteem. Those who have a normal level of Self-Esteem elect these options with less frequency and those with low Self-Esteem pick these options with the lowest frequency. The ten

Table 294. Future Expectations (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
To have a prestigious profession	90.3	87.3	88.3	87.7	86.0	87.7
To get married and have a family	65.4	67.6	69.4	77.7	74.1	73.4
To have a high earning job	55.9	54.1	56.4	54.9	52.9	55.0
To study in a good school	51.3	46.8	42.0	37.2	32.9	39.5
To make sure my parents live comfortably in their old age	24.6	28.5	28.8	29.7	38.9	30.3
To have children	25.0	28.9	29.9	25.3	26.4	27.0
To be of service to my country	22.4	20.6	19.3	20.5	16.0	19.7
Other	1.2	1.5	1.3	0.9	0.7	1.0
I have no expectations	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1
No response	0.0	0.5	0.4	0.2	0.5	0.3
Total	336.0	335.8	335.8	334.2	328.5	334.1

*Multiple response***Table 295. Future Expectations (by Self-Esteem) (%)**

	Low	Normal	High	Total
To have a high earning job	52.6	50.6	47.3	50.4
To study in a good school	24.0	32.9	33.2	32.3
To have a prestigious profession	51.8	67.7	71.8	67.2
To get married and have a family	23.1	22.5	25.2	22.9
To have children	15.6	9.2	8.5	9.6
To make sure my parents live comfortably in their old age	23.4	30.1	40.1	30.9
To be of service to my country	13.8	18.4	31.2	19.6
Other	1.1	0.6	0.9	0.7
No response	0.0	0.3	0.1	0.3
Total	205.4	232.3	258.3	233.9

*Multiple response***Table 296. "I feel that everything in my life will turn out fine" (%)**

Strongly disagree	4.9
Disagree	6.6
Neither agree, nor disagree	21.0
Agree	49.9
Strongly agree	17.1
No response	0.4
Total	100.0

Table 297. Thoughts Regarding the Future of the Country (%)

I think that our country will do greatly in the future	38.9
I do not think there will be a change in the state of our country in the future	28.0
I think that our country will do very badly in the future	19.5
Do not know / No response	13.6
Total	100.0

dency is reversed in relation to the expectation of having a high-earning job or having children. These options are identified with most frequency by adolescents with low Self-Esteem in comparison to their counterparts who display lower frequencies in these regards.

Survey participants are generally under the impression that they will have good lives. Two thirds of the respondents either agree or strongly agree with the statement "Thinking about the future, I feel that everything in my life will turn out fine." On the other hand, 11.5% appear pessimistic about their future.

Adolescents are less optimistic about the future of the country. Of the participants, 39% state that the country will do greatly in the future. On the other hand, 19.5% believe the opposite and elect the statement, "I think that our country will do very badly in the future." Twenty eight percent of the participants do not anticipate any changes in regard to how the country fares. Also, 14% state that they have no opinions in this regard.

Age analysis shows that younger adolescents are more optimistic. While 42% of the participants in the 12-15 age group believe that the country will have a great future, the rate remains at 35% for the older group. Also, one quarter of the individuals in the 16-18 age group believe that the country will fare very badly in the future.

are hopeful about the country's future. However, the corresponding figure for the future condition of the world with 29%. Parallel to this finding, while 19.5% believe that the state of the country will be very bad in the future, 26% elect the same prospects in regard to the future state of the world.

Table 298. Thoughts Regarding the Future of the Country (by Age Group) (%)

	12-15	16-18	Total
I think that our country will do greatly in the future	41.8	34.9	38.9
I do not think there will be a change in the state of our country in the future	27.2	29.2	28.0
I think that our country will do very badly in the future	16.0	24.3	19.5
Do not know / No response	15.0	11.7	13.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2=101.548$ degrees of freedom:3 $p=0.000$

Table 299. Thoughts Regarding the Future of the Country (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
I think that our country will do greatly in the future	31.1	37.9	37.0	39.5	47.3	39.3
I do not think there will be a change in the state of our country in the future	29.7	31.4	34.1	28.1	13.9	28.2
I think that our country will do very badly in the future	23.5	19.8	19.5	20.5	13.2	19.3
Do not know / No response	15.8	10.8	9.5	12.0	25.5	13.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2=164.125$ degrees of freedom:12 $p=0.000$

The percentage of those who believe that the country will have a great future increases as SES drops. While 31% of those in the upper SES group are optimistic, the rate is 47% for the lower SES group. One quarter of the adolescents in the lower SES group refrained from answering this question. In addition, rural dwelling adolescents appear to be more optimistic in regard to the country's future than their urban counterparts (45% and 36% respectively) (Supplementary Table 129).

Respondents are even less optimistic about the future of the world than they are about the future of Türkiye. As explained above, 39% of the participants

Table 300. Thoughts Regarding the Future of the World (%)

	29.4
I do not think there will be a change in the state of our world in the future	26.3
I think that our world will do very badly in the future	26.3
Do not know / No response	18.0
Total	100.0

Similar to the trend regarding the future of the country, it is the younger adolescents who are more optimistic about the future of the world in comparison to older teenagers (32% and 26% respectively). Similarly, while 31% of the adolescents in the 16-18 age group believe that the state of the world will be very bad in the future, the figure remains at a lower 23% for younger respondents.

Table 301. Thoughts Regarding the Future of the World (by Age Group) (%)

	12-15	16-18	Total
I think that our world will do greatly in the future	31.7	26.3	29.4
I do not think there will be a change in the state of our world in the future	25.9	27.0	26.3
I think that our world will do very badly in the future	22.8	31.1	26.3
Do not know / No response	19.6	15.6	18.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2=101.548$ degrees of freedom:3 $p=0.000$

The percentage of those who are pessimistic about the future condition of the world decreases with SES. While 29% of the adolescents in the upper SES group are under this impression, the corresponding figure is 22% for the lower SES group. In the lower SES group, 33.5% of the participants refrained from answering this question.

C. Expectations from Public Institutions

Survey respondents were asked to indicate which kinds of services they expect from public institutions, taking into consideration their own as well as their peers' needs. The two most frequently stated expectations are: 1) "the establishment of new sports and entertainment facilities" (43% frequency

Table 302. Thoughts Regarding the Future of the World (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
I think that our world will do greatly in the future	31.9	31.9	27.7	29.0	32.6	29.6
I do not think there will be a change in the state of our world in the future	24.0	30.5	32.3	26.9	11.9	26.6
I think that our world will do very badly in the future	29.1	24.8	27.2	27.1	22.0	26.3
Do not know / No response	15.0	12.8	12.8	17.0	33.5	17.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2=164.125$ degrees of freedom:12 $p=0.000$

Table 303. Expectations from Public Institutions (%)

The establishment of new sports and entertainment facilities	42.8
Increasing job opportunities	40.1
Social services for the poor	36.6
Environmental planning	25.3
The establishment of libraries	21.9
Youth camps and trips	20.3
Increase in cinemas, theaters and concerts	19.4
Resolving the problem of traffic	13.6
Increase in disabled-friendly environments for children and the youth	11.8
Increase in science museums and science parks	9.6
Other	1.0
Do not know	1.7
Total	244.1

Multiple response

Table 304. Expectations from Public Institutions (by Sex) (%)

	Female	Male	Total
The establishment of new sports and entertainment facilities	34.2	50.9	42.8
Increasing job opportunities	41.1	39.1	40.1
Social services for the poor	38.4	34.9	36.6
Environmental planning	26.3	24.4	25.3
The establishment of libraries	25.6	18.4	21.9
Youth camps and trips	20.3	20.2	20.3
Increase in cinemas, theaters and concerts	20.9	18.1	19.4
Resolving the problem of traffic	13.1	14.0	13.6
Increase in disabled-friendly environments for children and the youth	12.2	11.5	11.8
Increase in science museums and science parks	9.1	10.2	9.6
Other	1.0	1.0	1.0
Do not know	1.8	1.6	1.7
Total	244.0	244.2	244.1

Multiple response

of indication) and 2) “increasing job opportunities” (40%). The expectation about social services for the poor also received relatively high rates of indication at 37%.

SES analysis reveals significant variations. Boys more so than girls, state that they expect from public institutions to establish more sports and entertainment grounds (51% and 34% respectively). On the other hand, the demand for more libraries is more widespread among girls than boys (26% and 18% respectively).

The demand for sporting and entertainment facilities is also more prevalent among younger adolescents in comparison to older teenagers (46% and 39% respectively). On the other hand, older adolescents are more keen on demanding an increase in job opportunities (45%, younger group 36%) (Supplementary Table 130).

The frequency of adolescents who demand sporting and entertainment grounds as well as an increase in job opportunities increases as SES decreases. While 36.5% of the adolescents in the upper SES group declare they expect sports and entertainment facilities, the figure is 45.5% for the lower SES group. Similarly, while 33% of the individuals in the upper SES group demand an increase in job opportunities, the corresponding figure is 48% for the lower

SES group. The most commonly voiced expectation from the lower SES group is social service for the poor at 53%. The expectation that public institutions should resolve the traffic problem decreases with SES. While 26% have this expectation in the upper SES group, the figure remains at 7% for the lower SES group. A similar tendency is observed in relation to the establishment of science museums or science parks. While 16% of the adolescents in the upper SES group have expectations in this regard, the figure remains at a much lower 4% for the lower SES group. The demand for more cinemas, theaters and concerts is also more than twice as high in the upper SES group in comparison to the lower SES group (22% and 10% respectively).

The pattern observed in relation to adolescents' expectations from the future is evident here as well. Needs arising from economic deprivation are voiced more often as SES decreases. Issues such as job opportunities or social services for the poor concern those in lower SES groups more so than their better-off counterparts. As such, matters such as the traffic problem, cinemas, theaters or science parks have lower priority for this group. The fact that demands for sporting and entertainment grounds are common in the lower SES group may be related to how adolescents in this group are deprived of such resources.

Table 305. Expectations from Public Institutions (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
The establishment of new sports and entertainment facilities	36.5	42.2	42.4	42.1	45.5	42.4
Increasing job opportunities	33.2	33.8	38.8	41.3	47.9	40.4
Social services for the poor	30.1	29.7	31.1	37.8	53.0	36.8
Environmental planning	24.1	26.1	27.0	25.0	18.9	24.8
The establishment of libraries	27.6	25.6	22.5	21.8	16.0	21.9
Youth camps and trips	23.6	25.5	22.2	19.2	15.4	20.3
Increase in cinemas, theaters and concerts	21.9	21.7	24.5	19.6	10.4	20.0
Resolving the problem of traffic	26.4	21.6	17.5	10.3	7.0	13.7
Increase in disabled-friendly environments for children and the youth	12.0	10.9	10.4	11.6	14.6	11.6
Increase in science museums and science parks	16.2	13.2	11.4	9.1	3.6	9.7
Other	0.0	1.1	0.6	1.0	2.1	1.0
Do not know	0.9	0.9	1.3	1.6	2.3	1.5
Total	252.5	252.5	249.8	240.3	236.6	244.2

Multiple response

Two expectations in particular stand out based on analysis by settlement type. First, 16% of urban dwelling adolescents demand a resolution for the problem of traffic. In rural areas the figure is 8%. Second, 11% of the youths in urban areas expect from public institutions the establishment of science museums and parks while the corresponding figure for the rural parts of Türkiye is 5.5%.

Regional analysis reveals that there are some differences between the expectations of youths based on whether they live in the east or west of Türkiye.

The demand for the establishment of new sporting and entertainment sites is more common in the east when compared to the rest. Similarly, youth camps and trips are demanded more often in the regions of Eastern Black Sea and Northeastern Anatolia. On the other hand, adolescents living in the western regions of Türkiye more often phrase that they demand a resolution for the problem of traffic as well as the establishment of more cinemas, theaters and concert facilities (Supplementary Table 131).

Table 306. Expectations from Public Institutions (by Settlement Type) (%)

	Urban	Rural	Total
The establishment of new sports and entertainment facilities	42.1	44.3	42.8
Increasing job opportunities	39.0	42.6	40.1
Social services for the poor	35.5	39.3	36.6
Environmental planning	26.0	23.7	25.3
The establishment of libraries	22.9	19.4	21.9
Youth camps and trips	20.7	19.3	20.3
Increase in cinemas, theaters and concerts	20.5	16.9	19.4
Resolving the problem of traffic	16.1	7.6	13.6
Increase in disabled-friendly environments for children and the youth	11.5	12.8	11.8
Increase in science museums and science parks	11.4	5.5	9.6
Other	0.8	1.6	1.0
Do not know	1.5	2.2	1.7
Total	247.9	235.2	244.1

Multiple response



SECTION 12

ACTIVITIES

Activities

Hobbies

*Computer, Internet,
Mobile Phone Use*

A. Activities

Respondents were asked to state how often they engage in various activities. To reflect on frequency, they were presented with a scale of 5 where 1 indicates “never” and 5 indicates “always.” Among all the activities, “listening to music” receives the highest score (above 4, which indicates “often”). Scores for all the other activities are below 3, which indicates “sometimes.”

Fifty eight percent of the respondents never go to the theater. Nearly half of them (47%) never read the newspaper. Thirty seven percent never go to the cinema. Twelve percent state that they “often” or “always” go to the Internet café. Also, 90% of the respondents declare that they do not engage in any sort of handcrafts like carpentry, repairs, sewing or embroidery.

Table 307. Adolescents' Activities (%)

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Always	NR	Total	Mean
Reading the newspaper	46.7	20.1	22.9	7.6	2.3	0.4	100.0	1.98
Listening to music	1.1	5.5	17.8	35.8	38.8	0.8	100.0	4.07
Going to the theater	58.0	22.4	13.0	4.3	1.2	1.1	100.0	1.67
Going to the cinema	37.1	21.8	27.7	10.1	2.4	0.9	100.0	2.18
Sports/Exercising	26.1	15.5	25.8	19.5	12.0	1.1	100.0	2.76
Going to cafés, tea gardens or similar places	32.9	19.9	26.8	14.4	4.7	1.3	100.0	2.37
Going to an Internet café or PlayStation café	52.6	16.7	17.3	8.9	3.3	1.2	100.0	1.92
Doing handcrafts (carpentry, repair, sewing, embroidery)	88.9	11.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	1.11

Activities such as reading the newspaper, going to the movies, the theater or cafés are most often observed in Istanbul. All activities except for sports and listening to music are carried out least in the eastern regions. Handcrafts are very infrequent in all the regions (Supplementary Table 132).

Although the relevant percentages are rather low, boys appear to read newspapers more so than girls. While 8% of the girls state that they “often” or “always” read the paper, the figure reaches 12% for boys. Also, the percentage of girls who never read the paper is higher than the corresponding percentage for boys (49% and 44% respectively). Age analysis shows that older adolescents read the paper

more so than younger ones. While 51% of the 12-15 age group state that they never read the paper, the figure is 41% for the older group. Also, while 8% of the younger adolescents state that they “often” or “always” read the paper, the figure reaches 13% for older teenagers.

The frequency of reading newspapers varies substantially by SES. Twenty seven percent of the adolescents in the upper SES group declare that they never read the paper. But the figure reaches a much higher 67% for the lower SES group. Also, while 20% of the adolescents in the upper SES group “often” or “always” read the paper, the figure is a meager 3% for the lower SES group.

It is more common for urban dwelling adolescents to read the paper than their rural peers. Forty percent of urban residents say that they never read the

paper but the figure reaches 62% for the rural areas. In addition, while 12% of those residing in urban areas state that they “often” or “always” read the favor, the figure drops to 4% for rural areas (Supplementary Table 133).

Table 308. Reading the Newspaper (by Sex) (%)

	Female	Male	Total
Never	49.1	44.4	46.7
Rarely	20.1	20.0	20.1
Sometimes	22.5	23.3	22.9
Often	6.0	9.2	7.6
Always	1.8	2.7	2.3
No response	0.5	0.3	0.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	1.91	2.06	1.98

$\chi^2:45.813$ degrees of freedom:4 $p=0.000$

Table 309. Reading the Newspaper (by Age Group) (%)

	12-15	16-18	Total
Never	50.6	41.2	46.7
Rarely	19.7	20.6	20.1
Sometimes	21.5	24.9	22.9
Often	6.0	9.9	7.6
Always	1.6	3.2	2.3
No response	0.5	0.2	0.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	1.88	2.13	1.98

$\chi^2:165.483$ degrees of freedom:4 $p=0.000$

Table 310. Reading the Newspaper (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
Never	27.1	34.3	38.2	49.9	66.8	46.3
Rarely	22.5	21.1	22.7	20.4	12.4	20.1
Sometimes	30.1	26.3	26.3	22.0	17.1	23.4
Often	16.4	12.4	9.5	6.2	2.9	7.8
Always	3.3	5.7	3.1	1.5	0.3	2.3
No response	0.6	0.1	0.3	0.0	0.5	0.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	2.46	2.34	2.16	1.89	1.57	1.99

$\chi^2:342.426$ degrees of freedom:16 $p=0.000$

Girls appear to listen to music more so than boys. The most prominent sex variation in this activity is in relation to those who attest to “always” listening to music. While 35% of the boys declare that they always listen to music, the figure reaches 43% for girls.

There is no substantial variation in terms of listening to music by age or SES. The younger age group has a 3-point higher score for “often” listening to music (37 versus 34%) and the older age group has a 6-point higher score for “always” listening to music (42% versus 36%). The percentage of those who often or always listen to music is 78 for the upper SES group and 72 for the lower SES group. The variation by settlement type is not too grand either. Seventy percent of the adolescents in rural areas often or always listen to music and the figure is 77% for urban dwelling adolescents (Supplementary Table 134).

Family type analysis reveals that more than 50% of the adolescents in broken families declare that they always listen to music (Supplementary Table 135).

Table 311. Listening to Music (by Sex) (%)

	Female	Male	Total
Never	0.9	1.4	1.1
Rarely	4.3	6.8	5.5
Sometimes	17.0	18.6	17.8
Often	33.8	37.7	35.8
Always	43.2	34.7	38.8
No response	0.8	0.8	0.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	4.15	3.98	4.07

$\chi^2:52.69$ degrees of freedom:4 $p=0.000$

Table 312. Listening to Music (by Age Group) (%)

	12-15	16-18	Total
Never	1.5	0.6	1.1
Rarely	6.1	4.7	5.5
Sometimes	17.9	17.8	17.8
Often	37.4	33.7	35.8
Always	36.3	42.3	38.8
No response	0.7	1.0	0.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	4.02	4.13	4.07

$\chi^2:19.398$ degrees of freedom:4 $p=0.001$

Table 313. Listening to Music (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
Never	0.0	0.2	0.5	1.5	2.3	1.1
Rarely	5.9	6.5	6.1	5.4	5.0	5.6
Sometimes	14.5	16.0	18.0	17.3	20.5	17.6
Often	35.8	41.6	35.4	35.1	36.3	36.0
Always	41.8	35.5	39.4	40.5	35.7	39.2
No response	2.1	0.3	0.7	0.3	0.3	0.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	4.16	4.06	4.08	4.08	3.98	4.07

$\chi^2:75.183$ degrees of freedom:16 $p=0.000$

There is no great variation for going to the theater by sex or age. SES analysis, on the other hand, yields significant variation. While 19% of the respondents in the upper SES group never go to the theater, the figure reaches as high as 86% for the lower SES group. Also, 19% of the participants in the upper SES group affirm that they often or always go to the theater, but the figure remains only at 1% for the lower SES group.

There is also significant variation in this regard by settlement type. While 48.5% of urban residents never go to the theater, the figure is 81% for adolescents living in rural areas. Also, the percentage of those who often or always go to the theater is relatively higher in urban areas in comparison to rural areas (7% and 2% respectively) (Supplementary Table 136).

In regard to family types, it is worth mentioning that the percentage of those who never go to the theater is higher for adolescents in extended families as well as those in single parent families (70% each) (Supplementary Table 137).

Table 314. Going to the Theater (by Sex) (%)

	Female	Male	Total
Never	55.7	60.2	58.0
Rarely	22.7	22.0	22.4
Sometimes	14.5	11.5	13.0
Often	4.8	3.9	4.3
Always	1.1	1.2	1.2
No response	1.1	1.1	1.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	1.71	1.62	1.67

$\chi^2:20.658$ degrees of freedom:4 $p=0.000$

Table 315. Going to the Theater (by Age Group) (%)

	12-15	16-18	Total
Never	59.2	56.4	58.0
Rarely	22.2	22.5	22.4
Sometimes	12.4	13.8	13.0
Often	4.0	4.9	4.3
Always	1.1	1.4	1.2
No response	1.1	1.0	1.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	1.64	1.71	1.67

$\chi^2:49.49$ degrees of freedom:4 $p=0.000$

Table 316. Going to the Theater (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
Never	19.0	27.9	43.9	68.9	86.3	58.0
Rarely	32.9	33.9	29.6	19.2	8.2	22.7
Sometimes	27.5	25.5	17.1	9.1	4.0	13.1
Often	14.9	9.2	6.5	1.8	0.8	4.3
Always	3.8	2.5	1.7	0.6	0.1	1.2
No response	1.8	1.0	1.2	0.5	0.7	0.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	2.51	2.24	1.91	1.45	1.19	1.67

$\chi^2:987.558$ degrees of freedom:16 $p=0.000$

There is no substantial variation by sex or age in relation to the frequency of going to the movies. However, it is worth mentioning that 33% of those in the 16-18 age group never go to the cinema while the figure is 40% for the younger group.

SES analysis reveals significant variations here as well. Those in the upper SES group go to the movies more often than their peers. Eighty three percent of the adolescents in the lower SES group never go to the cinema. While 37% of the respondents in the upper SES group declare that they often or always go to the movies, the corresponding figure is less than 1% for the lower SES group. Settlement type analysis shows that while 25% of the individuals living in urban areas never go to the cinema, the rate is 67% for those in rural areas (Supplementary Table 138).

Similar to the trend for theater attendance, it is once again those adolescents in extended families or single parent families who never go to the cinema (54% and 55% respectively, overall sample 37%). On the other hand, adolescents in nuclear families and broken families appear to go the movies more often than their peers (Supplementary Table 139).

Table 317. Going to the Cinema (by Sex) (%)

	Female	Male	Total
Never	37.2	37.1	37.1
Rarely	22.1	21.4	21.8
Sometimes	26.0	29.3	27.7
Often	11.0	9.2	10.1
Always	2.7	2.1	2.4
No response	1.0	0.8	0.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	2.19	2.17	2.18

$\chi^2:10.773$ degrees of freedom:4 $p=0.029$

Table 318. Going to the Cinema (by Age Group) (%)

	12-15	16-18	Total
Never	40.4	32.6	37.1
Rarely	22.3	21.0	21.8
Sometimes	25.8	30.3	27.7
Often	8.5	12.2	10.1
Always	2.1	2.8	2.4
No response	0.9	1.0	0.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	2.09	2.31	2.18

$\chi^2:156$ degrees of freedom:4 $p=0.000$

Table 319. Going to the Cinema (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
Never	4.4	6.1	16.2	45.5	83.4	36.8
Rarely	15.4	22.3	26.0	24.5	9.0	22.2
Sometimes	41.2	45.4	38.7	22.9	6.7	28.1
Often	29.3	20.0	15.0	5.5	0.4	10.0
Always	7.3	5.8	3.2	1.1	0.2	2.3
No response	2.3	0.4	0.9	0.5	0.2	0.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	3.20	2.97	2.63	1.92	1.24	2.19

$\chi^2:1749.468$ degrees of freedom:16 $p=0.000$

Boys engage in sports more so than girls. This variation may be attributed to the widespread popularity of playing football among boys.

Although there is no great variation by age group, it is evident that the practice of engaging with sports decreases in frequency with age. This may relate to how especially student adolescents are subjected to the pressure of schoolwork and exams which results in them not being able to allocate time for sports.

SES analysis shows that the most frequent response from the upper, upper-middle and middle SES groups in relation to exercising or sports is “sometimes.” On the other hand, the most frequently elected response from the lower-middle SES group is “I never practice sports or exercise” (30%). Similarly, the response of “never” is the most frequently repeated choice for the lower SES group at 38%.

Urban to rural distribution shows that the percentage of urban adolescents who practice sports or exercise is twice than that of rural residing adolescents. While 21% of those in urban areas provide the response “never” for this question, the figure rises to 39% for rural areas. Similarly, while 8% of the adolescents in rural areas state that they always practice sports or exercise, the figure increases to 14% for urban dwelling youths (Supplementary Table 140).

Comparing family types, one notices that the percentage of adolescents who respond with the choice “never” is higher in single parent families when

compared to other family types (32%, overall sample 26%) (Supplementary Table 141).

Table 320. Sports/Exercising (by Sex) (%)

	Female	Male	Total
Never	35.4	17.2	26.1
Rarely	20.5	10.8	15.5
Sometimes	26.2	25.4	25.8
Often	11.7	26.9	19.5
Always	5.1	18.6	12.0
No response	1.1	1.1	1.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	2.30	3.19	2.76

$\chi^2:781.209$ degrees of freedom:4 $p=0.000$

Table 321. Sports/Exercising (by Age Group) (%)

	12-15	16-18	Total
Never	26.3	25.7	26.1
Rarely	14.6	16.8	15.5
Sometimes	24.8	27.2	25.8
Often	20.0	18.8	19.5
Always	13.4	10.2	12.0
No response	1.0	1.3	1.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	2.79	2.71	2.76

$\chi^2:35.317$ degrees of freedom:4 $p=0.000$

Table 322. Sports/Exercising (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
Never	11.1	12.6	19.9	29.7	38.1	25.6
Rarely	22.1	20.2	18.6	14.6	8.0	15.7
Sometimes	33.1	30.0	26.7	23.2	27.7	25.9
Often	19.8	24.3	19.9	20.0	16.4	19.9
Always	11.6	11.8	13.8	12.1	9.1	12.1
No response	2.4	1.2	1.0	0.5	0.7	0.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	2.99	3.02	2.89	2.70	2.50	2.77

$\chi^2:231.469$ degrees of freedom:16 $p=0.000$

Thirty three percent of the survey respondents state that they never go to cafés, tea garden or other similar places. Boys more so than girls appear to frequent such places. Also, it appears so that older adolescents go to these places more so than their younger peers. As such, while 60% of the younger adolescents state that never or rarely go to cafés or tea gardens, the figure is 43% for the older group.

There is a significant SES variation in this regard. While 74% of those in the lower SES group never go to cafés or tea gardens, the figure drops to 7% for the upper SES group. Similarly, 35% of those in the upper SES group declare that they often or always frequent such places whereas this response is elected with 4% frequency in the lower SES group.

Analysis by settlement type also yields significant variation. The percentage of rural residing adolescents who never go to cafés or tea gardens is twice as high as that of urban dwelling adolescents (52% and 25% respectively). Also, the percentage of those who often or always frequent such places is higher in urban areas. These figures may indeed relate to the difference of preferences in regard to spending one's free time, but they may also be attributable to the fact that cafés and tea gardens are more prevalent in urban areas (Supplementary Table 142).

One does not observe too great of a variation when comparing family types. Still, adolescents in nuclear families and broken families stand out. Adolescents in these types of families more often go to cafés or tea gardens. While 43% of the respondents in extended families or single parent families state that they never go to such places, the figure drops to 30% for adolescents in broken families (Supplementary Table 143).

Table 323. Going to Cafés, Tea Gardens, etc. (by Sex) (%)

	Female	Male	Total
Never	37.6	28.3	32.9
Rarely	20.0	19.8	19.9
Sometimes	24.8	28.8	26.8
Often	12.0	16.7	14.4
Always	4.4	5.0	4.7
No response	1.2	1.3	1.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	2.24	2.50	2.37

$\chi^2:70.364$ degrees of freedom:4 $p=0.000$

More than half of the survey respondents state that they never go to Internet cafés or PlayStation cafés.

The percentage of those who go to such places is higher among boys than girls. While 84% of the girls

Table 324. Going to Cafés, Tea Gardens, etc. (by Age Group) (%)

	12-15	16-18	Total
Never	39,1	24,2	32,9
Rarely	20,9	18,5	19,9
Sometimes	24,3	30,4	26,8
Often	10,9	19,3	14,4
Always	3,4	6,5	4,7
No response	1,3	1,1	1,3
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0
Mean	2,17	2,65	2,37

$\chi^2:422.608$ degrees of freedom:4 $p=0.000$

Table 325. Going to Cafés, Tea Gardens, etc. (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
Never	6.8	11.5	18.2	35.9	74.2	32.4
Rarely	21	18.4	21.9	23	7.9	20.1
Sometimes	35.4	36	32.7	25	13.8	27.2
Often	24.7	26	19.7	11.9	2.3	14.7
Always	10.5	7.9	6.4	3.1	1.4	4.6
No response	1.6	0.2	1.2	1	0.3	0.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	3.11	3.01	2.74	2.22	1.48	2.38

$\chi^2:1109.505$ degrees of freedom:16 $p=0.000$

state that they never or rarely go to Internet cafés or PlayStation cafés, the corresponding figure is 55% for boys. Also, the percentage of adolescents who frequent these places rises with age.

In terms of socio-economic status, the lower SES segment stands out. Seventy five percent of the adolescents in the lower SES group state that they never go to Internet cafés or PlayStation cafés. The corresponding figure for this is also relatively high for the lower-middle SES group at 54%. Also, the percentage of those who go to such places is higher for the lower-middle SES group when compared to the lower SES group. A higher SES level indicates the ability to enjoy one's time in Internet or PlayStation cafés. Seventeen percent of the adolescents in the higher SES group state that they often or always go to these places while the figure is a low 6% for the lower SES group.

The percentage of those who frequent these places is higher in urban areas when compared to the rural parts of Türkiye. Both SES level and the actual avai-

lability of Internet cafés or PlayStation cafés impact this result (Supplementary Table 144).

There are no great variations in this regard by family type. Still, it is worth mentioning that those who often go to these places are more concentrated in nuclear families and in single parent families (Supplementary Table 145).

Table 326. Going to Internet Cafés or PlayStation Cafés (by Sex) (%)

	Female	Male	Total
Never	69.3	36.8	52.6
Rarely	14.5	18.9	16.7
Sometimes	9.5	24.8	17.3
Often	4.3	13.1	8.9
Always	1.3	5.2	3.3
No response	1.2	1.2	1.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	1.52	2.30	1.92

$\chi^2:862.896$ degrees of freedom:4 $p=0.000$

Table 327. Going to Internet Cafés or PlayStation Cafés (by Age Group) (%)

	12-15	16-18	Total
Never	54.7	49.8	52.6
Rarely	16.2	17.4	16.7
Sometimes	16.8	18.0	17.3
Often	8.6	9.2	8.9
Always	2.6	4.3	3.3
No response	1.1	1.3	1.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	1.87	1.99	1.92

$\chi^2:54.607$ degrees of freedom:4 $p=0.000$

Table 328. Going to Internet Cafés or PlayStation Cafés (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
Never	43.0	42.1	44.5	53.7	75.1	52.4
Rarely	22.3	21	20.5	16.5	7.6	17.1
Sometimes	15.3	20.5	18.5	18	11.4	17.3
Often	13.6	11.5	11.1	8.3	3.7	9
Always	3.6	4.4	4.6	2.7	1.9	3.3
No response	2.2	0.5	0.9	0.8	0.3	0.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	2.10	2.15	2.10	1.89	1.49	1.93

$\chi^2:208.536$ degrees of freedom:16 $p=0.000$

A large majority of the survey respondents (89%) state that they never engage in handcrafts including carpentry, repairs, sewing or embroidery. The remaining 11% state that, they rarely engage in these activities. There is no difference between boys and girls in this regard. No significant variation is observed by age groups either.

SES analysis reveals that the percentage of adolescents who engage in these activities decreases with SES. While 19% of the individuals in the upper SES group are involved in handcrafts, albeit rarely, the corresponding figure is 7% for the lower SES group. Similarly, 93% of the adolescents in the lower SES group attest to never engaging in such activities while the figure is a lower 81% for the upper SES group (Supplementary Table 146).

Table 329. Engaging in Handcrafts (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
Never	81.4	85.2	88.5	89.4	93.2	88.8
Rarely	18.6	14.8	11.5	10.6	6.8	11.2
Sometimes	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Often	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Always	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
No response	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	1.19	1.15	1.12	1.11	1.07	1.11

$\chi^2:36.526$ degrees of freedom:4 $p=0.000$

Table 330. Engaging in Handcrafts (by Settlement Type) (%)

	Urban	Rural	Total
Never	87.4	92.5	88.9
Rarely	12.6	7.5	11.1
Sometimes	0.0	0.0	0.0
Often	0.0	0.0	0.0
Always	0.0	0.0	0.0
No response	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	1.13	1.07	1.11

$\chi^2:5.424$ degrees of freedom:1 $p=0.020$

Urban to rural distribution reveals some variation as well. Adolescents in urban areas appear to undertake these activities more so than those in rural areas, even though their overall engagement frequency is still ranked at “rarely” (Supplementary Table 147).

B. Hobbies

Survey respondents were asked to indicate whether or not they have any hobbies or special interests apart from the activities discussed above. As such, 11% declare that they indeed have other hobbies. There are no substantial differences in this regard by age or sex.

The percentage of adolescents who have alternate hobbies increases with SES. While 18% of the adolescents in the upper SES group claimed different interests or hobbies, the corresponding figure is 6.5% for adolescents in the lower SES group. Also, respondents in urban areas more so than those residing in rural areas state that they have different hobbies or interests than those discussed in the previous section.

Comparing family types, one finds that adolescents in single parent families or broken families stand out. In these types of families, 15% of the adolescents declare that they have alternate hobbies, whereas the corresponding figure is 11% for adolescents in other family types.

C. Computer, Internet, Mobile Phone Use

Nearly two thirds of the respondents have computers in the homes. Accordingly, 35% do not have computers in their homes.

SES, predictably, appears to be a significant variant to explain computer ownership. The percentage of adolescents who have computers in their homes increases with SES. While 7% of those in the lower SES group have computers in the homes, the figure rises to 96% for the upper SES group. Although the variation is not as stark, urban to rural settlement distribution also appears to impact this issue. While three quarters of the adolescents in urban areas have computers in their homes, the figure remains at 42% for rural areas. This variation may be linked to SES variation itself. The main line of variation that follows these two has to do with family types. While the percentage of computer ownership is 45% and 50% for extended families and single parent families

Table 331. Other Hobbies or Special Interests (by Sex, Age Group, SES, Settlement Type and, Family type) (%)

	No	Yes	No response	Total
SEX				
Female	89.1	10.9	0.0	100.0
Male	89.0	11.0	0.0	100.0
<i>$\chi^2:0.502$ degrees of freedom:1 $p=0.479$</i>				
AGE GROUP				
12-15 age group	89.3	10.7	0.0	100.0
16-18 age group	88.7	11.3	0.0	100.0
<i>$\chi^2:0.29$ degrees of freedom:1 $p=0.059$</i>				
SES				
Upper	81.6	18.4	0.0	100.0
Upper-middle	85.4	14.6	0.0	100.0
Middle	88.5	11.5	0.0	100.0
Lower-middle	89.6	10.4	0.0	100.0
Lower	93.4	6.5	0.1	100.0
<i>$\chi^2:36.583$ degrees of freedom:4 $p=0.000$</i>				
SETTLEMENT TYPE				
Urban	87.6	12.4	0.0	100.0
Rural	92.6	7.3	0.1	100.0
<i>$\chi^2:5.721$ degrees of freedom:1 $p=0.017$</i>				
FAMILY TYPE				
Nuclear family	89.2	10.7	0.0	100.0
Traditional extended family	89.5	10.5	0.0	100.0
Single parent household	85.3	14.7	0.0	100.0
Broken family	84.8	15.2	0.0	100.0
<i>$\chi^2:2.098$ degrees of freedom:3 $p=0.552$</i>				
Total	89.0	10.9	0.0	100.0

Table 332. Having a Computer at Home (%)

	65.3
Yes	65.3
No	34.7
No response	0.0
Total	100.0

respectively, it rises to 66% for broken families and to 67% for adolescents in nuclear families.

Variation by sex in this regard appears to be relatively low. Sixty three percent of the girls and 68% of the boys have computers in their homes. Variation by age is inconsequential.

Adolescents who have computers in their homes were asked to indicate whether or not they have Internet connection. Eighty two percent of the

adolescents who have computers also have Internet connection.

Table 333. Having a Computer at Home (by Sex, Age Group, SES, Settlement Type and, Family Type) (%)

	No	Yes	Total
SEX			
Female	62.8	37.2	100.0
Male	67.6	32.4	100.0
<i>x²:18.826 degrees of freedom:1 p=0.000</i>			
AGE GROUP			
12-15 age group	65.0	35.0	100.0
16-18 age group	65.7	34.3	100.0
<i>x²:20.846 degrees of freedom:1 p=0.000</i>			
SES			
Upper	96.1	3.9	100.0
Upper-middle	93.4	6.6	100.0
Middle	88.6	11.4	100.0
Lower-middle	60.2	39.8	100.0
Lower	6.6	93.4	100.0
<i>x²:2145.375 degrees of freedom:4 p=0.000</i>			
SETTLEMENT TYPE			
Urban	74.9	25.1	100.0
Rural	42.2	57.8	100.0
<i>x²:612.043 degrees of freedom:1 p=0.000</i>			
FAMILY TYPE			
Nuclear family	67.4	32.5	100.0
Traditional extended family	45.3	54.7	100.0
Single parent household	49.7	50.3	100.0
Broken family	65.5	34.5	100.0
<i>x²:86.789 degrees of freedom:3 p=0.000</i>			
Total	65.3	34.7	100.0

Table 334. Having Internet Connection at Home (%)

Yes	81.8
No	18.2
Total	100.0
n: 4403	

Having Internet connection at home is positively correlated with SES. In the upper SES group, 98.5% of those who have computers at home also have Internet connection. The figure drops steadily with SES and reaches 55% for the lower SES group. Recalling how computer ownership is at 7% for the lower SES group, it is evident that a large majority in this group is deprived of Internet access at home.

Having Internet access at home varies by settlement type as well but the variation is not as stark as that which relates to computer ownership. Eighty four percent of urban homes where there is a computer also have an Internet connection. The corresponding figure is 75% for rural areas.

Family type analysis shows that among nuclear family homes where computer ownership is relatively widespread, 83% have Internet access. On the other hand, in single parent family homes where computer ownership is less common, the figure for Internet access remains at 74%.

Table 335. Having Internet Connection at Home (by Sex, Age Group, SES, Settlement Type and, Family Type) (%)

	Yes	No	Total
SEX			
Female	82.4	17.6	100.0
Male	81.2	18.8	100.0
<i>x²:6.044 degrees of freedom:1 p=0.014</i>			
AGE GROUP			
12-15 age group	81.5	18.5	100.0
16-18 age group	82.2	17.8	100.0
<i>x²:12.685 degrees of freedom:1 p=0.000</i>			
SES			
Upper	98.5	1.5	100.0
Upper-middle	94.7	5.3	100.0
Middle	84.4	15.6	100.0
Lower-middle	72.6	27.4	100.0
Lower	54.6	45.4	100.0
<i>x²:265.741 degrees of freedom:4 p=0.000</i>			
SETTLEMENT TYPE			
Urban	83.5	16.5	100.0
Rural	74.6	25.4	100.0
<i>x²:47.188 degrees of freedom:1 p=0.000</i>			
FAMILY TYPE			
Nuclear family	82.7	17.3	100.0
Traditional extended family	73.5	26.5	100.0
Single parent household	64.0	36.0	100.0
Broken family	80.2	19.8	100.0
<i>x²:22.602 degrees of freedom:3 p=0.000</i>			
Total	81.8	18.2	100.0

Forty seven percent of the adolescents who attest to having Internet access at home declare that they use open access connections and no filters on their Internet at home. On the other hand, 20% use the “family profile” filter and 8% use the “child profile”

filter. It must also be noted that one quarter of the respondents for this question are not aware of which profile they use. One may infer from this that the adolescent is not the main user of Internet in the house.

Forty eight percent of the adolescents who have Internet at home state that they have friends with whom they connect regularly online. For this question, 23% answered saying that they do not use the Internet (Supplementary Table 148). Whether or not the adolescent has friends they meet with regularly online varies with sex, age, settlement type, family type and especially SES. Boys more so than girls, older teenagers rather than younger adolescents, and urban-dwelling respondents more so than those living in rural areas, tend to have friends with whom they connect regularly online. Having a group of friends online and SES are positively correlated. While this figure is 68% for the upper SES group, it decreases steadily with SES, reaching a low of 12%

Table 337. Friendship on the Internet (by Sex, Age Group, SES, Settlement Type and, Family Type) (%)

	Yes	No	I do not use the Internet	No response	Total
SEX					
Female	40.5	31.1	28.3	0.1	100.0
Male	54.9	26.8	18.1	0.1	100.0
<i>$\chi^2:46.232$ degrees of freedom:1 $p=0.000$</i>					
AGE GROUP					
12-15 age group	44.1	30.4	25.4	0.1	100.0
16-18 age group	53.1	26.9	19.9	0.1	100.0
<i>$\chi^2:49.715$ degrees of freedom:1 $p=0.000$</i>					
SES					
Upper	68.1	30.3	1.6	0.0	100.0
Upper-middle	67.9	29.3	2.8	0.0	100.0
Middle	61.3	30.6	8.0	0.0	100.0
Lower-middle	45.5	30.7	23.7	0.1	100.0
Lower	12.0	20.2	67.8	0.0	100.0
<i>$\chi^2:92.406$ degrees of freedom:4 $p=0.000$</i>					
SETTLEMENT TYPE					
Urban	54.4	30.0	15.5	0.1	100.0
Rural	32.4	26.3	41.2	0.1	100.0
<i>$\chi^2:12.079$ degrees of freedom:1 $p=0.001$</i>					
FAMILY TYPE					
Nuclear family	49.2	28.7	21.9	0.1	100.0
Traditional extended family	32.9	30.2	36.9	0.0	100.0
Single parent household	39.7	34.4	25.9	0.0	100.0
Broken family	54.1	26.2	19.6	0.0	100.0
<i>$\chi^2:13.784$ degrees of freedom:3 $p=0.003$</i>					
Total	47.9	28.9	23.1	0.1	100.0

for the lower SES group. It is also noteworthy that adolescents in broken homes have the highest percentage of having online friendships (54%).

Table 336. Type of Internet Connection Profile (%)

Children	7.7
Family	19.9
Open	47.3
Do not know	25.0
Total	100.0
<i>n:3582</i>	

Twenty nine percent of the adolescents state that they have friends from the Internet with whom they have met outside. On the other hand, 68% have refrained from carrying their online friendships into the outside world (Supplementary Table 149). In this regard, variation by sex, age, SES group, settlement type and family type is parallel to the variation identified in relation to having friends from the Internet.

Table 338. Continuing Internet Friendship in Real Life (by Sex, Age Group, SES, Settlement Type, and Family Type) (%)

	No	Yes	I do not approve of it	No response	Total
SEX					
Female	21.9	74.6	3.0	0.6	100.0
Male	34.7	62.8	2.1	0.5	100.0
<i>$\chi^2:111.029$ degrees of freedom:1 $p=0.000$</i>					
AGE GROUP					
12-15 age group	25.8	71.3	2.3	0.6	100.0
16-18 age group	32.8	64.1	2.8	0.3	100.0
<i>$\chi^2:71.378$ degrees of freedom:1 $p=0.000$</i>					
SES					
Upper	39.5	59.7	0.8	0.0	100.0
Upper-middle	38.1	59.1	2.8	0.0	100.0
Middle	32.1	65.3	2.4	0.3	100.0
Lower-middle	23.5	73.5	2.4	0.7	100.0
Lower	20.5	76.0	2.1	1.4	100.0
<i>$\chi^2:67.076$ degrees of freedom:4 $p=0.000$</i>					
SETTLEMENT TYPE					
Urban	30.4	66.4	2.6	0.6	100.0
Rural	23.5	74.3	2.0	0.2	100.0
<i>$\chi^2:8.033$ degrees of freedom:1 $p=0.005$</i>					
FAMILY TYPE					
Nuclear family	28.8	68.2	2.4	0.5	100.0
Traditional extended family	26.3	71.1	2.3	0.3	100.0
Single parent household	24.1	70.8	4.3	0.8	100.0
Broken family	38.9	57.6	3.5	0.0	100.0
<i>$\chi^2:7.49$ degrees of freedom:3 $p=0.058$</i>					
Total	28.9	68.1	2.5	0.5	100.0

Of those adolescents who use the Internet, 67% state that they spend 1 to 2 hours online every day. Twenty percent spend 3 to 4 hours a day online. Therefore, the average amount of time spent online is calculated at 2.2 hours.

Table 339. Average Internet Usage per Day (%)

Less than 1 hour	5.3
1-2 hours	66.9
3-4 hours	19.9
5-6 hours	3.6
More than 7 hour	1.5
No response	2.9
Total	100.0
Mean hours	2.17
n:5514	

There appears to be substantial variation in this regard by SES and by settlement type. Adolescents in upper, upper-middle and middle SES groups tend

more to use the Internet between 3 to 4 hours a day. In contrast, adolescents in lower-middle and especially the lower SES groups more commonly use the Internet between 1 to 2 hours per day. Also, 12% of those in the lower SES group use the Internet for less than one hour a day.

A multiple response question was posed to inquire into which sorts of web sites adolescents visit most often. As such, 76.5% indicate that they visit social networking sites. This is followed by game sites at 51%, music/radio sites at 29% and search sites at 23%.

Male adolescent visit game sites more so than female adolescents and while the difference is not too great, they also visit social networking sites more so than girls. On the other hand, girls appear to visit music/radio sites and educational sites more so than

Table 340. Average Internet Usage per Day (by Sex, Age Group, SES, Settlement Type, and Family Type) (%)

	Less than 1 hour	1-2 hours	3-4 hours	5-6 hours	More than 7 hour	No response	Total
SEX							
Female	5.5	69.5	17.7	2.9	1.1	3.3	100.0
Male	5.1	64.6	21.7	4.1	1.9	2.6	100.0
<i>$\chi^2:26.801$ degrees of freedom:4 $p=0.000$</i>							
AGE GROUP							
12-15 age group	5.1	68.7	19.5	2.7	1.1	2.9	100.0
16-18 age group	5.5	64.4	20.5	4.7	2.0	2.9	100.0
<i>$\chi^2:49.044$ degrees of freedom:4 $p=0.000$</i>							
SES							
Upper	0.6	59.0	31.1	6.4	0.9	1.9	100.0
Upper-middle	2.3	60.9	29.5	3.5	1.4	2.3	100.0
Middle	4.5	63.9	22.9	4.3	1.4	3.0	100.0
Lower-middle	6.2	71.7	14.8	2.9	1.9	2.5	100.0
Lower	12.4	74.6	5.3	1.3	0.9	5.5	100.0
<i>$\chi^2:204.803$ degrees of freedom:16 $p=0.000$</i>							
SETTLEMENT TYPE							
Urban	4.7	63.8	22.7	4.2	1.5	3.1	100
Rural	7.1	77.5	10.3	1.4	1.7	2.1	100
<i>$\chi^2:76.092$ degrees of freedom:4 $p=0.000$</i>							
FAMILY TYPE							
Nuclear family	5.1	67.3	20.0	3.6	1.2	2.8	100.0
Traditional extended family	6.3	67.0	17.2	3.0	2.5	4.1	100.0
Single parent household	7.3	55.9	20.6	1.3	8.7	6.2	100.0
Broken family	6.4	62.6	23.2	3.9	3.1	0.8	100.0
<i>$\chi^2:19.606$ degrees of freedom:12 $p=0.075$</i>							
Total	5.3	66.9	19.9	3.6	1.5	2.9	100.0

boys. Also, adolescents are likely to become more interested in social networking sites and tend to grow less interested in games sites as they get older. Finally, educational sites are more popular among older teenagers than younger adolescents.

The popularity of sites for social networking, music, downloading/sharing, watching films/shows, journals/newspapers/news, forums and shopping is positively correlated with SES. On the other hand, educational sites appear to be relatively more popular among lower and lower-middle SES groups. It is also worth mentioning that adolescents in the lower SES group and in the upper SES group appear to visit game sites less often than their peers.

In regard to settlement types, adolescents in urban areas more often recount visiting music/radio sites, downloading/sharing sites and websites to stream films or shows. On the other hand, educational sites are more popular for adolescents in rural areas than those in urban parts of Türkiye (Supplementary Table 150). Family type analysis reveals that social networking sites and education sites are relatively more popular among adolescents in broken families. On the other hand, the percentage of adolescents in broken families who visit

newspaper/journal/news sites is relatively low. Also, survey results show that adolescents in single parent homes do not tend to prefer education sites or forum sites very much (Supplementary Table 151).

Table 341. Most Visited Websites (by Sex and Age Group) (%)

	Female	Male	12-15	16-18	Total
Social networking sites (Facebook, Twitter)	73.7	78.9	73.6	80.2	76.5
Game sites	38.6	60.6	56.7	42.7	50.6
Music/Radio sites	32.1	25.9	27.3	30.6	28.7
Search sites	23.8	22.0	21.8	24.1	22.8
Educational sites	21.6	13.5	19.0	14.9	17.2
Sites to download books, music, films, programs, etc.	15.1	12.8	13.5	14.3	13.9
Sites to watch films or series	12.2	14.5	12.2	15.1	13.5
Forum sites (Sites to share information)	9.4	10.8	8.8	12.0	10.2
Newspaper/Magazine/News sites	9.6	10.6	8.0	12.8	10.1
Dictionary sites (Turkish, English, German dictionary sites)	8.2	5.8	7.2	6.5	6.9
Shopping sites	5.6	3.3	2.9	6.1	4.3
Erotic sites	1.4	4.4	1.9	4.5	3.0
Sites of formal institutions	2.4	2.3	1.9	2.9	2.3
Banking sites	0.7	0.8	0.6	0.9	0.7
Other	0.2	0.6	0.3	0.6	0.4
No response	1.3	0.7	1.2	0.6	1.0
Total	255.9	267.5	256.9	268.8	262.1
<i>Multiple response</i>					
n: 5154					

Table 342. Most Visited Websites (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
Social networking sites (Facebook, Twitter)	79.8	76.6	78.7	77.0	61.1	76.8
Game sites	44.9	51.9	52.8	51.5	44.0	51.1
Music/Radio sites	36.4	33.5	31.2	25.5	18.5	28.6
Search sites	16.8	25.9	23.6	24.7	10.5	23.2
Educational sites	12.6	14.5	15.8	19.3	21.8	17.3
Sites to download books, music, films, programs, etc.	22.1	20.2	16.8	9.8	5.2	13.8
Sites to watch films or series	18.3	17.4	16.8	9.9	5.3	13.3
Forum sites (Sites to share information)	20.1	15.1	12.0	6.8	5.3	10.2
Newspaper/Magazine/News sites	15.3	12.7	11.6	8.5	2.0	10.1
Dictionary sites (Turkish, English, German dictionary sites)	7.5	6.4	8.5	6.0	4.8	6.9
Shopping sites	8.7	5.7	5.3	2.9	2.1	4.3
Erotic sites	3.5	2.7	4.7	1.6	0.9	2.8
Sites of formal institutions	2.7	4.5	3.3	1.0	0.2	2.2
Banking sites	1.1	0.8	0.8	0.5	0.0	0.7
Other	0.0	0.6	0.3	0.5	1.3	0.4
No response	0.4	0.2	0.4	1.0	5.8	0.9
Total	290.2	288.7	282.6	246.5	188.8	262.6
<i>Multiple response</i>						
n: 5154						

Table 343. Mobile Phone Ownership (by Sex, Age Group, SES, Settlement Type, and Family Type) (%)

	No	Yes	No response	Total
SEX				
Female	45.4	54.5	0.1	100.0
Male	36.8	63.1	0.1	100.0
<i>$\chi^2:57.47$ degrees of freedom:1 $p=0.000$</i>				
AGE GROUP				
12-15 age group	52.1	47.9	0.0	100.0
16-18 age group	25.6	74.3	0.1	100.0
<i>$\chi^2:582.664$ degrees of freedom:1 $p=0.000$</i>				
SES				
Upper	22.4	77.6	0	100.0
Upper-middle	26.5	73.5	0	100.0
Middle	29.2	70.8	0	100.0
Lower-middle	43.4	56.5	0.1	100.0
Lower	71.5	28.5	0	100.0
<i>$\chi^2:579.85$ degrees of freedom:4 $p=0.000$</i>				
SETTLEMENT TYPE				
Urban	35.8	64.1	0.1	100.0
Rural	53.4	46.6	0.0	100.0
<i>$\chi^2:154.631$ degrees of freedom:1 $p=0.000$</i>				
FAMILY TYPE				
Nuclear family	40.0	60.0	0.1	100.0
Traditional extended family	52.2	47.8	0.0	100.0
Single parent household	41.9	58.1	0.0	100.0
Broken family	41.6	58.4	0.0	100.0
<i>$\chi^2:26.628$ degrees of freedom:3 $p=0.000$</i>				
Total	41.0	58.9	0.1	100.0

Fifty one percent of the adolescents who have mobile phones have smart phones. Smart phone ownership is also positively correlated with SES. Also,

Table 344. Smartphone Ownership (by Sex, Age Group, SES, Settlement Type, and Family Type) (%)

	No	Yes	No response	Total
SEX				
Female	50.9	48.5	0.6	100.0
Male	50.9	48.9	0.2	100.0
<i>$\chi^2:0.086$ degrees of freedom:1 $p=0.770$</i>				
AGE GROUP				
12-15 age group	48.8	50.8	0.4	100.0
16-18 age group	52.8	46.9	0.3	100.0
<i>$\chi^2:23.757$ degrees of freedom:1 $p=0.000$</i>				
SES				
Upper	75.2	24.8	0.0	100.0
Upper-middle	65.2	34.4	0.4	100.0
Middle	54.7	45.3	0.0	100.0
Lower-middle	44.3	54.9	0.7	100.0
Lower	27.4	72.1	0.4	100.0
<i>$\chi^2:183.598$ degrees of freedom:4 $p=0.000$</i>				
SETTLEMENT TYPE				
Urban	53.5	46.3	0.2	100.0
Rural	42.4	56.7	0.9	100.0
<i>$\chi^2:27.61$ degrees of freedom:1 $p=0.000$</i>				
FAMILY TYPE				
Nuclear family	51.4	48.3	0.4	100.0
Traditional extended family	43.3	56.4	0.4	100.0
Single parent household	45.5	54.5	0.0	100.0
Broken family	57.4	41.3	1.3	100.0
<i>$\chi^2:13.041$ degrees of freedom:3 $p=0.005$</i>				
Total	41.0	58.9	0.1	100.0

older teenagers rather than younger adolescents in urban dwelling respondents rather than those residing in rural areas are likely to have smart phones.



SECTION 13

MEDIA USAGE HABITS

Watching Television



Reading Newspaper



Listening to Music



A. Watching Television

More than half of the survey respondents (55%) watch TV for 1 to 2 hours per day on average. There is also a considerable portion of adolescents who watch TV for 3 to 4 hours a day, on average. Taking these two categories into account together, one finds that 89% of the adolescents watch TV for 1 to 4 hours a day, on average. Three percent state that they never watch TV. On the whole, the average viewing time is 2.51 hours per day.

Table 345. Length of Daily TV Viewing (%)

Less than 1 hour	0.0
1 - 2 hours	54.9
3 - 4 hours	33.9
5 hour or more	7.4
I do not watch TV	2.6
No definite	0.0
No response	1.2
Total	100.0
Mean	2.51

There is no substantial difference in this regard by age or settlement type. There is variation by sex, SES and family type especially in regard to those who watch TV for more than five hours a day on average. Ten percent of the girls watch TV for more than five hours a day on average whereas the corresponding figure is 5% for boys. The average daily viewing time is 2.62 hours for girls and 2.44 hours for boys. Hours spent watching TV increase as SES decreases. While 14% of those in the lower SES group state that they watch TV for more than five hours a day, on average, the corresponding figure is 2% for the upper SES group. Also, while the average daily viewing time is 2.92 for lower SES groups, the figure is 2.16 hours for upper SES groups. The percentage of adolescents in single parent homes who watch TV for more than 5 hours a day, on average is nearly twice than that of the overall sample.

Table 346. Length of Daily TV Viewing (by Sex, Age Group, SES, Settlement Type, and Family Type) (%)

	1 - 2 hours	3 - 4 hours	5+ hour	I do not watch TV	No response	Total	Mean
SEX							
Female	53.0	33.3	9.6	2.9	1.3	100.0	2.62
Male	56.8	34.4	5.2	2.4	1.2	100.0	2.44
<i>$\chi^2=29.07$ degrees of freedom:2 $p=0.000$</i>							
AGE GROUP							
12-15 age group	54.6	35.1	7.4	1.5	1.3	100.0	2.58
16-18 age group	55.4	32.2	7.3	4.1	1.0	100.0	2.45
<i>$\chi^2=4.063$ degrees of freedom:2 $p=0.131$</i>							
SES							
Upper	67.5	25.3	2.4	3.0	1.8	100.0	2.16
Upper-middle	67.9	24.9	4.3	1.9	1.0	100.0	2.18
Middle	60.7	30.9	4.3	2.6	1.5	100.0	2.35
Lower-middle	51.6	36.7	8.3	2.3	1.2	100.0	2.63
Lower	43.2	39.0	13.8	3.8	0.2	100.0	2.92
<i>$\chi^2=194.255$ degrees of freedom:8 $p=0.000$</i>							
SETTLEMENT TYPE							
Urban	55.9	32.8	7.5	2.5	1.3	100.0	2.52
Rural	52.6	36.4	7.1	2.9	1.0	100.0	2.56
<i>$\chi^2=4.372$ degrees of freedom:2 $p=0.112$</i>							
FAMILY TYPE							
Nuclear family	55.0	34.0	7.1	2.7	1.3	100.0	2.52
Traditional extended family	56.7	32.2	8.3	2.3	0.6	100.0	2.60
Single parent household	50.7	32.6	12.9	3.2	0.6	100.0	2.83
Broken family	51.1	37.4	8.4	1.8	1.2	100.0	2.57
<i>$\chi^2=17.719$ degrees of freedom:6 $p=0.007$</i>							
Total	54.9	33.9	7.4	2.6	1.2	100.0	2.51

The most popular kinds of TV programs among adolescents are Turkish series (66%). This is followed by music programs at 36% and Turkish films at 27%. Game shows and sports programs also appear to be quite popular (24% and 18% respectively). Six percent of the respondents state that they watch the news.

Male and female adolescents appear to have different tastes in TV programs. First, even though Turkish series are the most often stated category for both sexes, there is a substantial difference in the percentages of indication. While 74% of the girls indicate that they watch Turkish series, the figure is 58% for boys. A similar tendency is observed in relation to music programs. Girls appear to watch these programs more so than boys (44% and 29% respectively). Finally, girls more so than boys, state that they watch tabloid programs (12% and 3% respectively).

The types of programs preferred more by boys than girls are mainly foreign films and sports programs. While 20% of the boys state that they watch foreign films, the figure is 10% for girls. There is a very large difference between boys and girls in relation to watching sports programs. While the figure is 32% for boys, it remains at a meager 3% for girls.

Watching music programs and SES appear to be inversely related. While 26% of the adolescents in upper SES groups watch music programs, the figure reaches 42% for adolescents in the lower SES group. The same tendency is true in relation to Turkish series. While 55% of the adolescents in the upper SES group watch Turkish series, the percentage reaches 71 for the lower SES group. A similar pattern is observed for Turkish films and sports programs.

There are also types of programs where the frequency of watching and SES are positively correlated. These include game shows, documentaries, talks shows and foreign series. While around 25-27% of those in the upper SES group indicate that they watch game shows, the figure drops to 18% for the lower SES group. Whereas 11% of those in the upper SES group state that they watch documentaries, the figure remains at 5% for the lower SES group. Similarly, 15% of those in the upper SES group watch talk shows but the rate is 5% for the lower SES group. Finally, adolescents in the lower SES group almost never watch foreign series (1%) but the figure is 16% for adolescents in the upper SES group.

Table 347. Most Frequently Watched TV Program Types (by Sex) (%)

	Female	Male	Total
Music programs	74.1	58.4	66.0
Turkish films	44.0	28.8	36.2
Turkish series	26.3	27.3	26.8
Game shows	26.9	20.6	23.6
Cartoons	2.7	32.4	17.9
Documentaries	9.7	19.9	14.9
Talk shows	9.3	12.8	11.1
Religious programs	10.2	8.8	9.5
Tabloid programs	11.6	3.4	7.4
Foreign films	5.8	8.7	7.3
Foreign series	4.5	6.9	5.8
News programs	5.4	5.1	5.2
News	2.8	4.5	3.7
Sports programs	3.1	2.4	2.7
Panel discussion programs	1.5	1.6	1.6
Other	0.1	0.1	0.1
No response	0.1	0.1	0.1
Total	238,0	241,8	239,9

Table 348. Most Frequently Watched TV Program Types (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
Music programs	25.8	34.8	36.4	35.1	42.2	35.9
Turkish films	21.2	23.3	28.4	25.8	29.1	26.5
Turkish series	55.4	61.2	62.3	69.0	71.4	66.0
Game shows	25.2	26.6	23.7	24.6	17.6	23.7
Cartoons	14.3	12.6	10.3	10.5	12.2	11.0
Documentaries	11.1	10.0	8.3	6.1	4.9	7.2
Talk shows	14.6	14.0	11.7	8.3	4.9	9.7
Religious programs	1.9	1.9	3.3	2.6	2.6	2.7
Tabloid programs	9.7	8.0	8.2	6.9	6.1	7.4
Foreign films	15.1	14.9	16.8	16.4	9.4	15.4
Foreign series	16.1	8.7	6.0	4.0	1.1	5.2
News programs	4.5	3.5	3.1	4.4	2.3	3.7
News	6.8	6.6	5.6	5.5	6.7	5.8
Sports programs	13.6	16.3	18.1	18.9	18.8	18.2
Panel discussion programs	1.9	1.9	2.2	1.3	0.7	1.6
Other	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.1
No response	0.0	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.1
Total	237.2	244.3	244.6	239.7	230.4	240.1

Multiple response

Foreign films are most popular in middle and lower-middle SES groups, news programs are most commonly watched in upper and lower-middle SES groups. Adolescents in upper and lower SES groups most often watch the news and religious shows are most popular among adolescents in the middle SES group.

Although the difference is not too great, adolescents in rural areas appear to watch Turkish films and series more so than those in urban areas. While 31% of the adolescents in rural parts watch Turkish films, the figure is 25% for urban areas. While 72% of the adolescents in rural areas watch Turkish series, the figure is 64% for urban areas. Finally, game shows appear to be more popular in urban areas than in the rural parts of Türkiye (25% and 20% respectively).

B. Reading Newspapers

Adolescents were also asked reflect on their habits of reading newspapers. Forty seven percent of the respondents do not read the newspaper. For those who do read the paper, sports and tabloid news ap-

pear to be the most popular sections (25% and 20% respectively). Fourteen percent state that they read columns.

Table 349. Most Frequently Watched TV Program Types (by Settlement Type) (%)

	Urban	Rural	Total
Music programs	36.4	35.6	36.2
Turkish films	25.1	30.9	26.8
Turkish series	63.6	72.0	66.0
Game shows	25.1	20.3	23.6
Cartoons	11.5	10.1	11.1
Documentaries	8.2	5.1	7.3
Talk shows	10.1	7.9	9.5
Religious programs	2.6	3.0	2.7
Tabloid programs	7.6	6.8	7.4
Foreign films	15.7	13.2	14.9
Foreign series	6.0	3.4	5.2
News programs	3.3	4.7	3.7
News	5.3	6.9	5.8
Sports programs	18.3	16.9	17.9
Panel discussion programs	2.0	0.6	1.6
Other	0.2	0.0	0.1
No response	0.1	0.1	0.1
Total	241.0	237.4	239.9

Multiple response

Table 350. Most Frequently Read Newspaper Sections (%)

I do not read the newspaper	46.9
Sports news	24.9
Tabloid news	20.2
Columns	14.4
Third page news	11.8
Economy news	4.9
Current events/headlines	1.3
Other	0.2
No response	0.2
Total	124.8
<i>Multiple response</i>	

Older teenagers more often state that they read the paper compared to their younger peers. While 41% of those in the 16-18 do not read the paper, the figure rises to 51% for the younger group. Also, the frequency with which adolescents state that they read the whole paper is higher among older respondents (Supplementary Table 152).

The frequency of reading the paper is positively correlated with SES. The percentage of adolescents who read the paper drops with SES. While 27%

Table 351. Most Frequently Read Newspaper Sections (by Sex) (%)

	Female	Male	Total
Columns	16.7	12.2	14.4
Tabloid news	30.9	10.1	20.2
Third page news	13.8	9.9	11.8
Economy news	4.9	4.9	4.9
Sports news	7.0	41.9	24.9
Current events/headlines	1.3	1.2	1.3
Other	0.2	0.3	0.2
I do not read the newspaper	49.4	44.4	46.9
No response	0.2	0.2	0.2
Total	124.4	125.1	124.8
<i>Multiple response</i>			

Tabloid news is the most popular section for girls and the sport section is the most widely read section for boys. Girls more so than boys read tabloid news (31% and 10% respectively) and the reverse is true in relation to the sports section (42% for boys and 7% for girls).

of the respondents in the upper SES group do not read the paper, the figure rises to 67% for the lower SES group. The same tendency is true in relation to almost all sections of the newspaper. For specific sections as well, the frequency of those who read increases with SES.

Table 352. Most Frequently Read Newspaper Sections (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
Sports news	28.8	29.6	28.7	25.3	13.5	25.2
Tabloid news	37.6	26.0	23.4	17.8	12.1	20.4
Columns	28.6	26.0	17.2	10.8	7.6	14.5
Third page news	18.6	14.3	14.3	10.8	7.7	12.1
Economy news	8.5	7.7	6.4	3.5	3.1	4.9
Current events/headlines	0.7	1.3	1.3	1.6	0.4	1.3
Other	0.0	0.3	0.4	0.2	0.0	0.2
I do not read the newspaper	27.1	34.3	38.2	49.9	67.2	46.4
No response	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.1	0.1
Total	149.8	139.5	130.2	119.8	111.7	125.0
<i>Multiple response</i>						

Urban dwelling residents appear to read the paper more so than their rural residing counterparts. While 40% of those in urban areas do not read the paper, the figure is 63% for those in rural areas. The readership is more urban in terms of specific newspapers sections as well (Supplementary Table 153). Family type analysis shows that adolescents who do not read the paper are more concentrated in extended families (59%, overall sample 47%) (Supplementary Table 154).

C. Listening to Music

Turkish pop music appears to be most popular among adolescents (44%). This is followed by foreign pop music at 21% frequency of indication and rap music at 10%. Also, the percentage of those who indicate that they listen to every kind of music is rather high (34%).

Sex analysis shows that Turkish pop music is more popular among girls than boys (51% and 37% respectively). Boys, on the other hand, tend to prefer rap music more so than girls (13% and 7% respectively) as well as arabesque music (12% and 6% respectively).

Adolescents in different SES segments have different musical preferences. The frequency of those listening to foreign pop music decreases with SES. While 33% of those in the upper SES group listen to foreign pop music, the figure steadily decreases with SES and ends up at 6.5% for the lower SES group. A similar tendency is true in relation to rock music. While 21% of those in the upper SES group

Table 353. Most Frequently Followed Music Genres (%)

Turkish pop	43.6
I listen to all kinds of music	34.2
Foreign pop	21.2
Rap	10.3
Arabesque	9.0
Rock	7.7
Turkish folk music	6.3
Turkish classical music	2.4
Western classical music	2.1
Metal	1.9
Jazz	1.5
I do not much listen to music	2.9
Other	2.4
No response	0.1
Total	145.5
<i>Multiple response</i>	

Table 354. Most Frequently Followed Music Genres (by Sex) (%)

	Female	Male	Total
Turkish pop	50.8	36.7	43.6
I listen to all kinds of music	33.9	34.5	34.2
Foreign pop	22.1	20.3	21.2
Rap	7.2	13.3	10.3
Arabesque	5.7	12.1	9.0
Rock	8.3	7.1	7.7
Turkish folk music	5.7	6.9	6.3
Turkish classical music	2.7	2.2	2.4
Western classical music	2.2	1.9	2.1
Metal	1.5	2.2	1.9
Jazz	1.7	1.4	1.5
I do not much listen to music	2.5	2.4	2.4
Other	2.3	3.6	3.0
No response	0.1	0.1	0.1
Total	146.6	144.5	145.5
<i>Multiple response</i>			

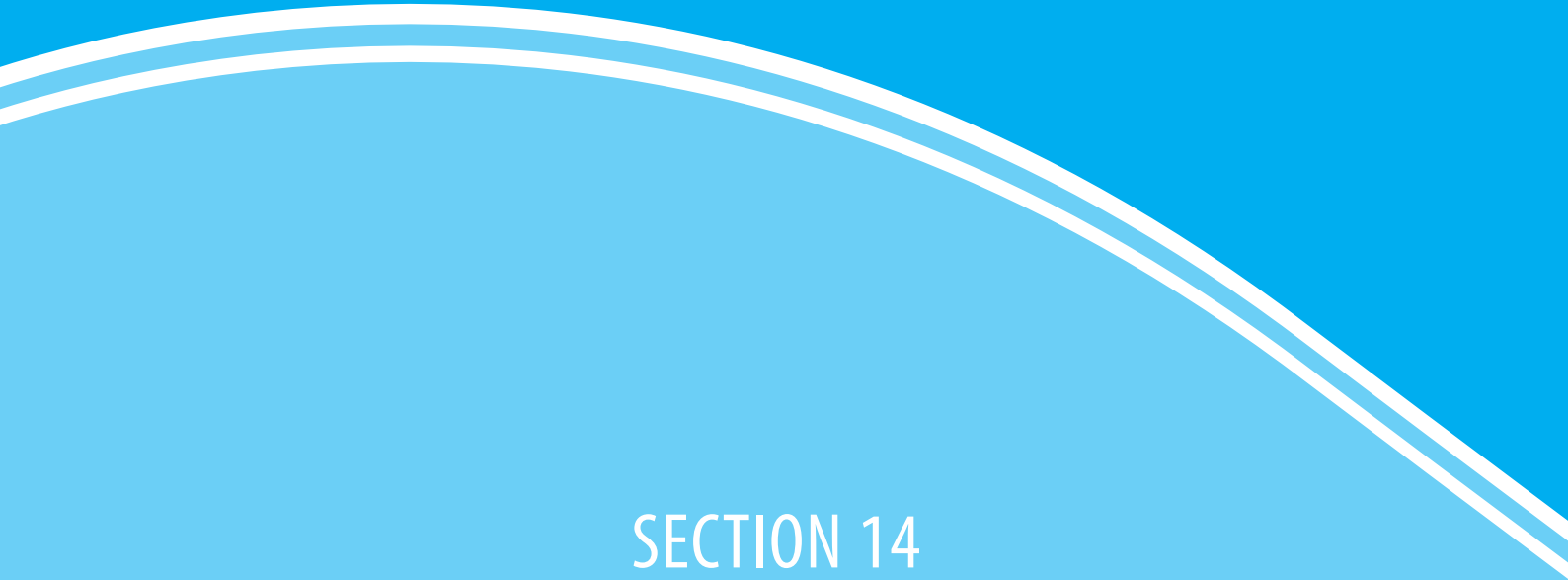
Table 355. Most Frequently Followed Music Genres (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
Turkish pop	34.6	42.4	46.1	45.9	37.0	43.9
I listen to all kinds of music	40.3	36.2	34.9	32.9	32.9	34.1
Foreign pop	33.1	30.2	27.9	18.5	6.5	21.3
Rap	5.8	8.8	7.3	11.5	14.8	10.3
Arabesque	3.6	3.5	6.0	11.1	13.2	8.9
Rock	20.9	13.8	8.5	6.0	2.6	7.8
Turkish folk music	5.5	5.4	6.0	5.5	9.2	6.1
Turkish classical music	4.1	3.3	2.6	2.1	0.9	2.3
Western classical music	4.2	2.9	1.5	2.4	0.9	2.1
Metal	7.5	5.1	2.3	0.8	0.2	1.9
Jazz	5.6	1.6	1.3	1.3	0.2	1.4
I do not much listen to music	0.8	2.5	1.7	2.2	4.4	2.3
Other	0.8	2.5	2.7	3.0	4.9	3.0
No response	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Total	166.8	158.2	149.1	143.3	127.7	145.4

Multiple response

listen to rock, the corresponding figure is 3% for the lower SES group. The reverse curve is observed in relation to some other genres of music. For instance, while 4% of the individuals in the upper SES segment listen to arabesque music, the percentage rises to 13 for the lower SES group. Similarly, the frequency of those who listen to rap increases as SES

drops. While 6% of those in the upper SES segment listen to rap, the figure is 15% for the lower SES group. Turkish folk music listeners are also mostly concentrated in the lower SES group (9%). Finally, it must be noted that Turkish pop music is most widely preferred by adolescents in the middle and lower-middle SES segments (46%).



SECTION 14
SEXUALITY



Thirty two percent of the survey respondents do not approve of romantic relations between male and female adolescents. Eighteen percent state that even though they do approve of such relations, they do not find this type of engagement suitable for themselves. Therefore half of the adolescents interviewed disapprove of romantic relations between opposite sexes in one way or another. Forty six percent state that they approve of such relations.

Table 356. Thoughts about Romantic Relations, Flirting, Going Out, etc. (%)

I find it inappropriate	31.9
It's possible but not for me	17.8
I think it's appropriate	46.0
Do not know	2.3
No response	2.0
Total	100.0

Sex analysis shows that boys are more in favor of romantic relations between the sexes than girls. While 55% of the boys approve of such relations, the figure drops down to 37% for girls. A similar variance is true in regard to age groups. Older adolescents are more inclined to approve of romantic relations than the younger group (57% and 38% respectively). SES distribution reveals that the percentage of those who approve of romantic relations between opposite sexes drops as SES decreases. While 57% of those in the upper SES group approve, the figure remains at 28% for the lower SES group. Urban dwelling adolescents rather than rural residing respondents tend to approve of such relations (49% and 30% respectively). As per family type variance, one finds that adolescents in broken families display the highest frequency of approving such relations (53%, overall sample 46%). On the other hand, adolescents in

Table 357. Thoughts about Romantic Relations, Flirting, Going Out, etc. (by Sex, Age Group, SES, Settlement Type, and Family Type) (%)

	I find it inappropriate	It's possible but not for me	I think it's appropriate	Do not know / No response	Total
SEX					
Female	36.2	22.1	36.7	5.0	100.0
Male	27.8	13.6	54.9	3.7	100.0
<i>$\chi^2=228.981$ degrees of freedom:2 $p=0.000$</i>					
AGE GROUP					
12-15 age group	37.7	19.3	38.2	4.8	100.0
16-18 age group	23.8	15.7	56.9	3.6	100.0
<i>$\chi^2=316.148$ degrees of freedom:2 $p=0.000$</i>					
SES					
Upper	19.2	20.4	57.3	3.1	100.0
Upper-middle	20.8	20.3	57.0	1.8	100.0
Middle	25.2	18.1	52.1	4.6	100.0
Lower-middle	33.1	17.8	45.9	3.3	100.0
Lower	54.8	15.9	24.7	4.6	100.0
<i>$\chi^2=321.259$ degrees of freedom:8 $p=0.000$</i>					
SETTLEMENT TYPE					
Urban	27.6	18.6	49.0	4.8	100.0
Rural	42.2	15.8	39.0	3.0	100.0
<i>$\chi^2=136.596$ degrees of freedom:2 $p=0.000$</i>					
FAMILY TYPE					
Nuclear family	31.0	18.0	46.6	4.4	100.0
Traditional extended family	44.2	14.8	37.4	3.6	100.0
Single parent household	30.9	17.5	46.2	5.5	100.0
Broken family	25.7	18.4	53.2	2.7	100.0
<i>$\chi^2=34.394$ degrees of freedom:6 $p=0.000$</i>					
Total	31.9	17.8	46.0	4.3	100.0

extended families have the highest frequency of disapproval (44%, overall sample 32%).

Survey respondents were asked to share their opinions about the appropriateness of premarital sexual relations. Of the participants, 64.5% state that they do not approve of premarital sex. Also, 16.5% declare that while they do approve of premarital sex, they do not find this sort of engagement appropriate for themselves. As such, 81% appear to be against premarital sex in one way or another. Twelve percent of the adolescents approve of premarital sex.

Table 358. Thoughts about Premarital Sexual Relations (%)

I do not approve. I find it inappropriate	64.5
It's possible but not for me	16.5
I think it's appropriate and normal	11.6
Do not know	4.1
No response	3.3
Total	100.0

Boys have a higher percentage of approving sexual relations before marriage (17%, girls at 6%). While 16% of the individuals in the 16-18 age group approve of premarital sex, the figure drops down to 8.5% for the younger group of adolescents. The frequency of respondents who approve of such relations decreases with SES. While 23% of the participants in the upper SES group approve, the figure drops down to 4% for the lower SES group. The percentage of those approving premarital sex is higher in urban areas than in rural areas (14% and 6% respectively). Adolescents who approve of such relations are most concentrated in broken families (16%, overall sample 12%). On the other hand, adolescents in extended families appear to display highest levels of disapproval for premarital sex (72%, overall sample 64.5%).

Survey respondents were asked to indicate from where/whom they first gathered information about sexuality. The most striking finding here is that a quarter of the adolescents state that they have not received any kind of information on sexuality from anywhere. For those who have received some infor-

mation on sexuality, the foremost source appears to be the mother. Twenty four percent of the respondents indicate that they first received information on sexuality from their mothers. This is followed by "friends" at 19% and "school" at 15%. Combining all results that point to a family member, including the mother, one finds that one third of the respondents have received initial information about sexuality from within the family.

Table 359. Thoughts about Premarital Sexual Relations (by Sex, Age Group, SES, Settlement Type, and Family Type) (%)

	I do not approve, I find it inappropriate	It's possible but not for me	I think it's appropriate and normal	Do not know / No response	Total
SEX					
Female	69.6	16.9	5.9	7.7	100.0
Male	59.7	16.2	17.1	7.0	100.0
<i>x²=194.795 degrees of freedom:2 p=0.000</i>					
AGE GROUP					
12-15 age group	67.7	14.8	8.5	8.9	100.0
16-18 age group	60.0	18.9	16.0	5.1	100.0
<i>x²=209.064 degrees of freedom:2 p=0.000</i>					
SES					
Upper	36.9	32.3	23.0	7.7	100.0
Upper-middle	46.8	29.0	19.0	5.2	100.0
Middle	58.7	19.7	14.0	7.5	100.0
Lower-middle	70.3	13.5	9.9	6.3	100.0
Lower	82.7	6.9	3.6	6.8	100.0
<i>x²=448.319 degrees of freedom:8 p=0.000</i>					
SETTLEMENT TYPE					
Urban	59.6	18.7	14.0	7.7	100.0
Rural	76.2	11.2	6.1	6.6	100.0
<i>x²=172.571 degrees of freedom:2 p=0.000</i>					
FAMILY TYPE					
Nuclear family	63.8	17.0	11.7	7.5	100.0
Traditional extended family	72.3	13.6	8.4	5.7	100.0
Single parent household	66.2	8.8	15.2	9.8	100.0
Broken family	63.1	17.5	15.7	3.7	100.0
<i>x²=30.788 degrees of freedom:6 p=0.000</i>					
Total	64.5	16.5	11.6	7.4	100.0

Table 360. Initial Source of Information on Sexuality (%)

My mother	23.7
My friends	18.6
School	14.8
My father	5.5
Internet	5.5
My older brother	1.7
My older sister	1.7
TV	1.5
No one/No place	24.6
Other	1.7
No response	0.4
Total	100.0

For girls, the foremost source of information on sexuality is the mother (41%), for boys it is his friends (27%). While mothers are a major source of information for their daughters, the same does not appear to hold for fathers and sons. Only 10 percent of the boys indicate that their initial source of information about sexuality is their father. Therefore, one may infer that while girls are relatively com-

fortable talking to their mothers about these issues, boys may not be as comfortable with their fathers. Alternatively, one may conclude that mothers feel more responsible towards their daughters in regard to sharing information on sexuality compared to how fathers feel regarding their sons. On the other hand, it also appears that girls are less comfortable talking about sexuality amongst each other, when compared to boys.

There are two main points of differentiation in regard to age groups. First, older adolescents discuss sexuality more with their friends in comparison to younger adolescents. While 25% of the respondents in the 16-18 age group have received their initial information about sexuality from their friends, the figure drops down to 14% for the younger group. Second, 30% of the adolescents in the younger group have not yet had a chance to get any information about sexuality from anywhere. The figure is 17% for the older group.

Table 361. Initial Source of Information on Sexuality (by Sex, Age Group, SES, Settlement Type, and Family Type) (%)

	Mother	Father	Friends	Internet	School	No one/No place	Other	No response	Total
SEX									
Female	40.7	0.9	10.5	2.0	13.4	25.6	6.7	0.3	100.0
Male	7.5	9.8	26.4	8.9	16.1	23.6	7.0	0.6	100.0
<i>$\chi^2=1325.84$ degrees of freedom:4 $p=0.000$</i>									
AGE GROUP									
12-15 age group	24.2	6.0	14.2	4.5	15.3	29.9	5.5	0.4	100.0
16-18 age group	22.9	4.6	24.8	7.0	14.1	17.3	8.8	0.5	100.0
<i>$\chi^2=161.31$ degrees of freedom:4 $p=0.000$</i>									
SES									
Upper	24.3	6.7	19.0	10.5	3.7	27.9	7.1	0.8	100.0
Upper-middle	22.9	8.3	22.5	10.1	8.8	21.7	5.7	0.0	100.0
Middle	22.3	6.2	20.9	7.0	14.0	21.1	8.0	0.5	100.0
Lower-middle	24.3	5.2	19.0	4.6	17.7	22.7	6.2	0.3	100.0
Lower	24.1	1.7	12.5	1.2	17.3	35.9	7.4	0.0	100.0
<i>$\chi^2=133.27$ degrees of freedom:16 $p=0.000$</i>									
SETTLEMENT TYPE									
Urban	22.6	5.7	18.8	6.4	13.6	24.8	7.5	0.6	100.0
Rural	26.2	5.0	18.2	3.3	17.7	24.2	5.3	0.1	100.0
<i>$\chi^2=6.893$ degrees of freedom:4 $p=0.142$</i>									
FAMILY TYPE									
Nuclear family	23.6	5.6	18.9	5.8	14.2	24.7	6.8	0.4	100.0
Traditional extended family	26.0	4.7	15.9	2.1	19.8	24.6	6.7	0.2	100.0
Single parent household	16.8	3.5	15.6	4.3	22.0	29.3	7.6	0.9	100.0
Broken family	27.4	4.8	20.2	8.6	13.1	18.2	6.9	0.8	100.0
<i>$\chi^2=35.638$ degrees of freedom:12 $p=0.000$</i>									
Total	23.7	5.5	18.6	5.5	14.8	24.6	6.6	0.4	100.0

The lower SES segment appears to stand out in this regard. Adolescents who have received information on sexuality from their fathers, friends or the Internet are least concentrated in the lower SES group (2%, 12.5% and 1% respectively. In addition, it is the lower SES group where one finds the highest frequency of adolescents who have not gathered any information on sexuality thus far (36%). For the lower SES group and the lower-middle sex group, the main source of information on sexuality is the mother, followed by school. The largest difference between the upper SES group and the lower SES group in this regard has to do with the Internet and the school. While 10.5% of the respondents in the upper SES group have received their initial information from the Internet, the figure drops down to 1% for the lower SES group. Here, one must recall how adolescents in the lower SES segment have very limited access to the Internet. On the other hand, while 4% of the individuals in the upper SES group have received their first information at school, the figure rises to 17% for the lower SES group. Finally, it must be noted that the percentage of those who have not received any information about sexuality is rather high in the upper SES group (28%).

Excluding those who have not received any information about sexuality, it appears so that nearly half of the adolescents (46%) have received their initial information on sexuality between the ages of 11 and 12. Twenty nine percent have received initial information between the ages of 13 and 14. As such, the average age for obtaining information about sexuality is 12.

Table 362. Initial Age at which Information on Sexuality is Received (%)

5-10 years old	14.0
11-12 years old	45.9
13-14 years old	28.8
15-17 years old	8.4
No response	2.8
Total	100.0
Mean age	12.18
n:4888	

Table 363. Initial Age at which Information on Sexuality is Received (by Sex, Age Group, SES, Settlement Type, and Family Type) (%)

	5-10	11-12	13-14	15-17	No response	Total	Mean
SEX							
Female	12.8	47.6	27.7	8.6	3.3	100.0	12.2
Male	15.2	44.3	29.9	8.2	2.4	100.0	12.1
<i>$\chi^2=17.984$ degrees of freedom:3 $p=0.000$</i>							
AGE GROUP							
12-15 age group	17.8	56.6	20.4	1.7	3.4	100.0	11.7
16-18 age group	9.6	33.3	38.8	16.2	2.1	100.0	12.8
<i>$\chi^2=669.808$ degrees of freedom:3 $p=0.000$</i>							
SES							
Upper	24.3	47.3	21.4	6.1	0.8	100.0	11.7
Upper-middle	24.8	43.6	25.3	4.8	1.5	100.0	11.8
Middle	16.0	46.0	27.8	7.8	2.5	100.0	12.1
Lower-middle	11.4	46.3	29.7	10.1	2.5	100.0	12.3
Lower	8.1	49.7	36.1	5.0	1.2	100.0	12.3
<i>$\chi^2=81.92$ degrees of freedom:12 $p=0.000$</i>							
SETTLEMENT TYPE							
Urban	15.6	45.9	27.9	8.1	2.5	100.0	12.1
Rural	10.4	45.9	31.1	9.1	3.5	100.0	12.3
<i>$\chi^2=7.852$ degrees of freedom:3 $p=0.049$</i>							
FAMILY TYPE							
Nuclear family	14.4	45.8	28.5	8.5	2.9	100.0	12.2
Traditional extended family	10.1	48.6	31.2	7.1	2.9	100.0	12.3
Single parent household	13.1	44.5	30.1	9.0	3.3	100.0	12.3
Broken family	15.4	42.3	33.0	8.3	1.0	100.0	12.2
<i>$\chi^2=20.324$ degrees of freedom:9 $p=0.016$</i>							
Total	14.0	45.9	28.8	8.4	2.8	100.0	12.2

The age at which one receives information about sexuality increases as SES decreases. While 24% of those in the upper SES group indicate that they first received information on sexuality between the ages of 5 and 10, the corresponding figure is 8% for the lower SES group. The average age for the initial obtainment of information is 12.3 for the lower SES group but 11.7 for the upper SES group. Adolescents residing in urban areas also appear to learn about sexuality earlier in their lives in comparison to

rural dwelling participants. While 16% of those in urban areas declare that they first received information on sexuality between the ages of 5 and 10, the corresponding figure is 10% for adolescents living in rural areas.

Forty one percent of the survey respondents state that they are able to get adequate answers to their questions about sexuality. On the other hand, 15% declare that they are not able to attain adequate replies. Also, 15% of the participants refrained from answering this survey question.

Table 364. Ability to Get Adequate Answers to Questions about Sexuality (%)

Yes I can	40.6
Partially	29.8
No I cannot	14.7
No response	14.9
Total	100.0

Boys more so than girls are able to find satisfactory answers to their sexuality related questions (44% and 37% respectively).

Age analysis shows that younger adolescents have a harder time soliciting satisfactory replies in comparison to older teenagers. While 35% of the younger adolescents answered to this survey question affirmatively, the figure is 49% for older adolescents. Parallel to this finding, one finds that 18% those in the younger group state that they are unable to get satisfactory answers to their sexuality related questions while the figure drops to 10.5% for the older group.

Those in the middle SES group appear to be at most advantage in regard to finding satisfactory answers to their questions about sexuality. Adolescents with the highest frequency of affirmative replies to this survey question are concentrated in the middle SES segment. Parallel to this, the lowest levels of not finding satisfactory replies are also found in this SES group (12%). On the other hand, adolescents in the lower SES group are at a disadvantage

compared to their counterparts. This group has the lowest percentage of affirmative answers and the highest percentage of negative answers to this survey question.

Table 365. Ability to Get Adequate Answers to Questions about Sexuality (by Sex, Age Group, SES, Settlement Type, and Family Type) (%)

	Yes I can	Partially	No I cannot	No response	Total
SEX					
Female	37.3	30.3	15.0	17.4	100.0
Male	43.8	29.4	14.4	12.5	100.0
<i>$\chi^2=21.398$ degrees of freedom:2 $p=0.000$</i>					
AGE GROUP					
12-15 age group	34.6	29.9	17.7	17.8	100.0
16-18 age group	49.0	29.7	10.5	10.8	100.0
<i>$\chi^2=136.022$ degrees of freedom:2 $p=0.000$</i>					
SES					
Upper	39.4	27.0	15.3	18.3	100.0
Upper-middle	42.5	32.5	12.7	12.2	100.0
Middle	43.9	30.7	11.9	13.6	100.0
Lower-middle	40.9	32.0	13.6	13.5	100.0
Lower	34.2	25.4	22.8	17.6	100.0
<i>$\chi^2=70.895$ degrees of freedom:8 $p=0.000$</i>					
SETTLEMENT TYPE					
Urban	41.3	29.3	13.7	15.7	100.0
Rural	38.9	31.1	17.0	13.1	100.0
<i>$\chi^2=19.863$ degrees of freedom:2 $p=0.000$</i>					
FAMILY TYPE					
Nuclear family	40.7	29.6	14.6	15.0	100.0
Traditional extended family	36.7	33.6	16.0	13.7	100.0
Single parent household	43.5	25.9	12.2	18.4	100.0
Broken family	45.0	28.8	14.8	11.3	100.0
<i>$\chi^2=7.618$ degrees of freedom:6 $p=0.267$</i>					
Total	40.6	29.8	14.7	14.9	100

Survey respondents were asked to indicate their preferred source of receiving information about sexuality by rating various options on a scale of 5 where 1 represents “would not at all be helpful” and 5 represents “would be very helpful.” According-

Table 366. Preferred Medium to Receive Information on Sexuality (%)

	Would not at all be helpful	Would not be helpful	Would be partially helpful	Would be helpful	Would be very helpful	Do not know	Mean	Would not at all be helpful
School	21.2	10.7	19.4	28.5	14.2	6.0	3.04	100.0
TV	29.6	24.9	17.6	16.5	4.8	6.5	2.38	100.0
Internet	33.1	19.7	15.9	17.1	6.5	7.8	2.39	100.0
Within the family	18.0	12.1	16.5	32.4	15.6	5.4	3.16	100.0

ly, “the family” receives the highest score (3.16/5) in terms of the source through which it would be helpful for adolescents to obtain information about sexuality. This is followed by “the school” which received 3.04 points. These values are slightly above 3 points, which indicates “would be partially helpful.” On the other hand, it is noteworthy how the relative frequencies of those who answer with the choice of “would not at all be helpful” or “would not be helpful” are rather high. Fifty five percent of the adolescents do not think that it would be helpful to have information about sexuality on TV. The corresponding figure is 53% for the Internet, 32% for the school and 30% for the family.

The sex distribution shows variations in all categories but the school. Girls more so than boys are under the impression that it would be helpful to receive information on sexuality from within the family (3.26 and 3.07 respectively). Boys, on the other hand, more often elect the choices of TV and Internet as being helpful. While the boys’ score for TV is 2.46, the corresponding value for girls is 2.29. Similarly, while the boys’ score for the Internet is 2.53, the value for girls is 2.25. Finally, boys have equal preferences in relation to the family and the school.

SES analysis reveals a particular tendency in relation to adolescents’ viewpoints on receiving sexuality related information from TV or from the Internet. The scores for finding these sources helpful drop with SES. While the average score for TV as a resource is 2.77 in the upper SES group, it drops down to 2.37 for the lower SES group. A similar curve is true for the Internet (average scores of 2.70 and 2.21 respectively). It is also worth mentioning

that those who find the family and the school as most helpful are concentrated in the upper and lower SES groups. The scores for these sources decrease in the middle SES group.

Settlement type analysis reveals a variation in relation to school and the Internet. Adolescents living in rural areas assign considerably higher scores to the school than their urban counterparts (average scores are 3.17 and 2.99 respectively). On the other hand, adolescents living in the urban parts of Türkiye assign higher scores to the Internet when compared to their rural residing peers (average scores are 2.47 and 2.20 respectively).

Table 367. Preferred Medium to Receive Information on Sexuality (by Sex) (Mean)

	Female	Male	Total
School	2.99	3.09	3.04
TV	2.29	2.46	2.38
Internet	2.25	2.53	2.39
Within the family	3.26	3.07	3.16

Table 368. Preferred Medium to Receive Information on Sexuality (by SES) (Mean)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
School	3.26	3.11	2.95	3.03	3.25	3.06
TV	2.77	2.55	2.46	2.25	2.37	2.38
Internet	2.70	2.69	2.46	2.29	2.21	2.39
Within the family	3.38	3.22	3.04	3.14	3.43	3.17

Table 369. Preferred Medium to Receive Information on Sexuality (by Settlement Type) (Mean)

	Urban	Rural	Total
School	2.99	3.17	3.04
TV	2.40	2.32	2.38
Internet	2.47	2.20	2.39
Within the family	3.13	3.24	3.16



SECTION 15

CONCLUSION AND
POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS



This research study investigates Türkiye's adolescent population, between the ages of 12 and 18, in terms of their family, school and work lives. The study also analyzes adolescents' problems, feelings, attitudes and behaviors, their thoughts about sexuality as well as the risks facing them and potentially violent situations that might implicate them. Finally, the research casts a light on the frequency with which adolescents engage in various activities and their viewpoints and expectations in regard to the future.

Adolescents in Family Life

Three main points are worth noting in relation to adolescents' family lives. The first one has to do with the adolescent's relations with his/her mother and the centrality of the mother in adolescent lives. Within the family, adolescents form the best relations with their mothers. At the same time, the mother is the person with whom the adolescent has most conflict. Among all the family members, adolescents spend the most amount of time with their mothers who are the people providing most support for the adolescent in case of any problems. Sixty two percent of the interviewed youths declare that they receive most support from their mothers. The father follows the mother but only at 15%.

The second noteworthy issue in relation to adolescents' family life is their relations with their fathers. In contrast to the centrality of the mother, fathers appear more to be figures of authority. Fathers appear to be less involved in their children's life, for better or for worse. Adolescents have relatively good relations with their fathers but while 30% state that they spend their free time with their mother, the figure is 4% in regard to fathers. Fathers rank third (after mothers and siblings) in terms of the people adolescents have conflict with in the family. As established above, receiving support from the father in case of a problem is also quite rare, especially in comparison to mothers. The fact that adolescents are more distant from their fathers can also be attributed to structural conditions. As qualitative research shows, fathers who work all day tend to be "tired and aggressive" when they come home in the evening. Some fathers work outside of the city where

their family lives or abroad. However, structural conditions are not all determining since the father still appears to be the foremost figure with whom the adolescent interacts in matters that involve the outside world, such as going out or staying out late.

Recommendation: *Parents need to be educated about various facets of family life, especially in regards to communicating with their children. As such, it is significant for "Effective Parenting" programs or "Parent Schools" to be more widespread.*

The Ministry of Family and Social Policies currently has projects to prevent domestic violence and child abuse. These projects must be made to reach large sectors of the society through effective communication campaigns.

It is important to follow how various NGOs are working towards alleviating this issue. It would be helpful to endorse and disseminate some of their work to larger sectors of the society.

Detailed analysis is needed towards pinpointing the target population of such projects since they should entail something beyond mere "schooling." There is a need for an education program with further reach since, for example, the percentage of adolescents who have conflicts with their parents is higher among the better-schooled groups and the upper SES sectors. Similarly, one finds that the percentage of adolescents who state that they are subjected to verbal or physical violence by their parents is higher among the upper SES groups in comparison to the lower SES segments.

When adolescent-family relations are smooth, this both serves to stabilize the adolescent's emotional state and also prevents the adolescent from engaging in unfavorable activities. If mothers can be provided an education from the first days of motherhood, then, healthy parent-child relations can transform into healthy parent-adolescents relations. This would, in turn, benefit and protect the adolescent's psychological wellbeing.

The third key issue about adolescents' family life is concerned with the situation of daughters. Female adolescents acquire particular burdens and are lim-

ited in specific ways especially in lower SES families. In general, girls are less educated than boys and the percentage of girls who work is less than that of boys. Eight percent of the girls neither study, nor work. A higher percentage of girls quit school after primary education than boys. Also, more than 8% of the girls state that their families would not send them to school for reasons relating to customs and traditions. The rate increases to 11% for girls in the lower SES group. In addition, the percentage of girls who are not in school because of health problems or because of a parent's health problems is higher in comparison to the corresponding percentage for boys. Finally, it appears that girls also bear the responsibility of taking care of their siblings at home.

Recommendation: *The problems of girls, who are the future mothers, in especially the lower SES segments of the society need to be analyzed with the goal of devising programs for resolution.*

The Ministry of Family and Social Policies could work towards disseminating relevant studies of the United Nations and the European Union. Also, a far-reaching communication campaign would be useful to ensure the participation of various sectors of the society in related projects.

Adolescents in School Life

Four main themes stand out in relation to adolescents' school life. The first issue has to do with how the adolescents relates to school and the basic obstacles that adolescents face in deciding whether or not they will continue their education. The desire to continue education appears to be at a similar level for all SES groups (98% for the upper SES group and 96% for the lower SES group). On the other hand, while the percentage of adolescents who are currently in school is 98 for the upper SES group and 96 for the upper-middle SES group, the corresponding rates are 88% for the lower-middle group and 75% for the lower SES group. If one considers that there are more adolescents in the lower SES group, one might reach the conclusion that a significant portion of teenagers lack access to schooling

even though they desire to study. The main reason for this, as stated by representative adolescents in the lower SES segment, is economic hardship.

Recommendation: *Adolescents in low-income families should be provided the opportunity to work and receive vocational education simultaneously, after they complete primary education. Also, there is a need for a scholarship system for these individuals.*

The second prominent issue in regard to school life concerns the guidance services at schools. The majority of the schools have guidance services but more than 70% of the adolescents were found to never have consulted with them. For those who have consulted with the guidance services at their school, the most pressing issue of consultation has been schoolwork. Also, qualitative research shows that guidance counselors are more often than not burdened with administrative duties, which keeps them from performing effectively in their primary jobs.

Recommendation: *Guidance consultation services at schools must be reorganized, addressing the following issues:*

1. *A separate mentoring system should be developed to provide students with resources to consult about schoolwork.*
2. *Students must be encouraged to speak with guidance counselors in regard their personal problems that arise with or independent of the period of adolescence.*
3. *Guidance teachers must not be assigned administrative tasks*
4. *There must be on-the-job training programs for guidance teachers*
5. *Counseling and Research Centers must be reviewed and improved.*
6. *A detailed study is needed to carefully identify the problems associated with guidance services. This study would include data on the workings of Counseling and Research Centers as well as a compilation of guidance teachers' opinions regarding the matter.*

The third issue in regard to adolescents' school life is their relations with their teachers. Quantitative

research results reveal that students are generally happy with their teachers. At the same time, the frequency with which adolescents indicate that their teachers or administrators display violence, humiliate or mock students is quite high. Qualitative study findings are in accordance with these figures.

Adolescents appear to have very low interest in cultural activities in general. Identifying their expectations from the state, they rank the option of “more facilities such as cinemas, theaters or concert halls” as seventh. Also, the option of “science museums and parks” is ranked last out of 10 choices. A rough categorization of their idols is quite telling as well. There are very few mentions of globally acclaimed politicians, scientists or artists. Not a single figure is recalled from 600 years of Ottoman past. Teachers do not appear to be very successful in terms of acquainting students with historically and culturally significant figures in Türkiye or abroad.

Recommendation: *Educators need to be educated. There must be on-the-job-training programs for teachers whose subsequent in-school implementations must be supervised.*

Courses such as communications, class management or special education in Teacher Training programs must be applied and not only theoretical.

Arts or sciences clubs in schools should be encouraged so that students may be involved in extra-curricular activities. Teachers taking part in such clubs would be beneficial both for the students and for the teachers themselves.

The fourth main issue in regard to school life concerns the physical conditions of schools. It is evident that there are some inadequacies in terms of course tools and materials and laboratories. Qualitative research shows that it may not be sufficient to have a computer room in the school. The ways in which students have or do not have access to that room is also critical.

Toilets are a foremost issue in relation to schools' physical conditions. Quantitative research shows

that students are least satisfied with the toilets of their schools in comparison to other facilities. Qualitative study findings are in accordance with this where students voice complaints about the hygienic qualities of school toilets as well as the problem of smoking in bathrooms.

Recommendation: *There is need for a detailed survey of schools' physical conditions. Necessary improvements can be made upon this detailed study.*

Adolescents in Work Life

The majority of working adolescents work for six or seven days a week and for more than seven or eight hours a day. In addition, the majority of working adolescents do not have social security coverage.

Recommendation: *Working adolescents' work conditions must be reorganized to befit legal standards. Various inspection and implementation mechanisms may be needed for this.*

It is therefore crucial for the consultants of the Ministry of Labor to be attentive to the social security situations of working adolescents as well as their work hours. Also, employers must be informed in regard to relevant legal standards. It would also be helpful to include informative sessions on workers' rights in apprenticeship and foreman courses.

Work for adolescents must be reorganized in a fashion that would not isolate these individuals from education. More widespread apprenticeship schools would be beneficial in this regard as well as a system, which would ensure that adolescents would receive vocational education as they work.

Adolescents are largely employed in the service sector. Human relations are a key feature of this sector, which means that adolescents are vulnerable to being emotionally abused especially if they are undereducated. These adolescents, whose emotional auto-control mechanisms are in the process of formation, need to be provided with education on communications.

A substantial part of working adolescents share their income with their families. Apart from these, one third of the working adolescents state that they are saving their money.

Recommendation: *The state offers 25% supplement for the individual retirement system. A similar provision could be devised to encourage saving for working adolescents.*

Adolescent Problems

Young people find themselves in the position to cope with various problems during the period of adolescence. Anxieties about the opposite sex and about physical appearance are reinforced during this period. It is also in this life stage when adolescents experience changes in their human relations. The frequency with which someone is subjected to violence or their tendency to resort to violence often result in more intense experiences of the aforementioned changes.

Research findings show that adolescents have conflict with parents and siblings, school friends and teachers as well as strangers on the street. Although the mention of physical violence is not too high, there appears to be considerably frequent experiences of verbal violence at home and at school. Adolescents in single parent families and broken families especially have domestic problems. Also, not always are these problem directly related to families' socio economic statuses. For example, there are cases where adolescents in the upper SES groups more frequently identify violent instances.

In terms of coping with problems, it is noteworthy how around one third of the research participants indicate that they solve problems by talking about it. The majority of the adolescents embraces either a passive or an aggressive attitude and end up avoiding the problem.

The second prominent issue in terms of problems is that adolescents experience difficulties in relation to sharing their problems. The weakest part of adolescents' relations with their parents concerns the

sharing of problems. This issue was studied in detail through the qualitative part of this study. The percentage of adolescents who state that they share psychological problems with guidance teachers is also very low. For instance, adolescents have very limited resources in terms of where they acquire information about sexuality. One quarter of the research participants declare that they have not gathered any information about sexuality at all. Also, only 40% of the adolescents state that they are able to find adequate answers to their questions about sexuality.

One major risk that faces adolescents is substance abuse. Adolescents try smoking or alcohol at around the ages of 13 or 14. Five percent of the participants state that they smoke every day. The figure rises to 9% for boys.

Recommendation: *Two main loci of overcoming adolescents' problems are the family and the school. Therefore, there must be programs to equip these two institutions with the information and approach necessary to handle and resolve relevant problems.*

As recommended above, school guidance services must be revised and reinforced. Adolescent problems must be dealt with in formal curricula. Parents and adolescents must be educated on these issues through the media and other channels.

A social support network would be beneficial for the psychological health of adolescents. Such a network would be formed by the collaboration of guidance services, school administrations, parents and teachers. Therefore, these agents must work together and establish such a network.

Stronger cooperation between the Ministry of Family, the Ministry of Youth and Sport and local administrators would be beneficial towards providing a healthier growth environment for adolescents and to protect them in the face of various risks. A special coordination unit could be formed for this collaborative purpose. Also, local administrations could offer resources geared at adolescents' more productively spending their extracurricular time. The Ministry of Sport could meet the need for educators or trainers in this regard.



TEPA 2013
QUALITATIVE REPORT

Family Life

School Life

Social Life

Work Life

Future Plans and Expectations

Conclusion

RESEARCH ON ADOLESCENT PROFILES IN TÜRKİYE - FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

Twelve focus group discussions were conducted in seven provinces in September 2013 for the research project entitled “Adolescent Profiles in Türkiye”. The distribution of focus groups by province and group composition is presented below.

on some topics. It was observed that the participants’ views differed depending on the region they lived in. The participants themselves also reported that there were differences between the East and the West of the country.

Province	Number of Participants	Gender	SES	Age	Date
Mersin	9	Male	Upper middle	12-15	2.9.2013
Mersin	9	Female	Lower middle/lower	16-18	2.9.2013
Ankara	8	Male	Lower middle/lower	16-18	4.9.2013
Izmir	8	Mixed	Upper	16-18	4.9.2013
Erzurum	10	Male	Lower middle/lower	16-18	5.9.2013
Erzurum	9	Female	Upper middle	16-18	5.9.2013
Diyarbakir	9	Male	Lower middle/lower	16-18	6.9.2013
Diyarbakir	9	Female	Upper middle	16-18	6.9.2013
Istanbul	9	Male	Upper middle	16-18	10.9.2013
Istanbul	9	Female	Middle	12-15	10.9.2013
Trabzon	9	Male	Upper middle	12-15	12.9.2013
Trabzon	9	Female	Upper middle	16-18	12.9.2013

The following topics were discussed in the focus groups:

- Family communication and relationships, family expectations and expectations from the family
- Relationships with friends
- The importance of school in the youth’s life, complaints, relationships with teachers and school counselors, social facilities, school surroundings and security
- Violence, cigarette, alcohol and drug use
- Social life, leisure time activities, social environment and pressures
- Technology and social media use
- Physical changes in the adolescent period and education about sexuality
- Work life, work-school relationship
- Future plans, career dreams and expectations from the state

It was observed that the participants shared common views on most of the topics in group discussions. At times, different ideas were also expressed. Males and females disagreed about their opinions

Nine of the focus groups were held with adolescents aged 16-18 years, while three of them were held with those aged 12-15 years. Despite the relative age difference, there were no notable differences in their general discourses, behaviors and attitudes. Family and school problems reported in both age groups were found to be similar. Expectations from the family and the state, and career plans were alike in general in both age groups. A shared problem for both groups was that the family put pressure on the youth during their preparation for high school and university entrance exams. Irrespective of the age group, cigarette smoking was prevalent. The family’s control differed by the adolescent’s gender rather than by age. It was found that males felt freer, while females had common problems about their life style.

I. FAMILY LIFE

Family life was an important topic of discussion in the groups conducted with adolescents. While talking about family relationships, lack of communication in the family was frequently mentioned. In addition, the following issues are included in this

section: Relationships with the mother, the father and siblings, family members serving as role models, perceptions about family expectations and the participants' expectations from their families, family attitudes towards dating and domestic violence.

A. Family Communication

A significant issue related with the adolescents' relationships with their parents as well as their friends and teachers is communication. Lack of communication was considered to underlie most of the problems mentioned in the group discussions. Regardless of their age, the participants wanted to be treated as equal individuals, even if they could not clearly state it. This expectation was obviously apparent in their relationships with their families and teachers:

They say that the young ones do not have a voice. [They say] First, you need to grow up. (*Ankara, male, 16-18*)

We have never had such a family environment ... I have never seen a mother and a father come together, make a decision, ask their children about it ... [There is no such decision making]. (*Izmir, male, 16-18*)

I do not have a right ... They tell us what to think. (*Diyarbakir, male, 16-18*)

I am having a lot of trouble about this issue. They do not show any respect for my decisions. (*Diyarbakir, female, 16-18*)

They make a decision about me, [They say] you have to comply. (*Trabzon, female, 16-18*)

We have no problems in our family, but between me and my father, there is a lack of communication, disharmony and conflict. In fact, there are more problems ... Firstly my friends hear about everything, and then my mother hears about it, and lastly my father. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

I also do not tell my mother or father anything, because none of them understands me. They get angry, I am sure that they are angry with me. Because of this, I have a friend, he is older than me, I talk to him. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

In family relationships, "talking" and "explaining" were rarely seen. In fact, it was observed that this was the root cause of the lack of communication. When there was a problem, getting angry, scolding and at times physical abuse were more frequently reported. On the basis of the participants' reports, it was concluded that parents rarely talked and discussed about a problem with their children, and put an effort to find a solution. The parents' angry reactions, the mothers' throwing a slipper to children, the fathers' yelling at them were more frequently mentioned. In some families, relationships with siblings could also be tense.

I cannot tell anybody anything. They absolutely make a negative comment, they get angry with everything. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

When there is an issue that they do not like, they may... One can anticipate what they may do. They get angry, they yell. At worst, they punish me. (*Diyarbakir, male, 16-18*)

Sometimes he [My father] is angry. When he is angry, even if you say "hello", he comes from work sleepless you know... he gets mad. He may not allow me to go out. He may say "your grades will be low. Stay at home and study". (*Diyarbakir, male, 16-18*)

Every day we have an argument about cigarettes. (*Istanbul, male, 16-18*)

My sister is a little asocial. I think she always plays with her phone. She goes to her bed and sends messages ... I give up my hope on my sister now. I am not interested. (*Erzurum, male, 16-18*)

B. Relationships with Parents

The mother and the father are primary figures in the adolescents' family relationships, followed by older siblings and younger siblings. In most families, relationships with the mother had a decisive effect. The mother was the figure who arranged family life and most frequently contacted with the adolescents. In general, relationships with the father were more distant, although different experiences were also reported. One reason for this was that the father spent a lot of time outside his home (province, even country in some cases). Another reason was behavioral patterns brought about by the "fatherhood" role.

Having frequent contact with the mother had positive as well as negative consequences. In most cases, physical closeness with the mother brought along emotional closeness; most problems were solved with the mother, and troubles and secrets were shared with her. The mother also played the role of a negotiator and relationship regulator in the family. On the other hand, this high level of interdependence, even enmeshment, also generated conflict. In the absence of the father, the mother's necessity to exert "authority" pitted her against her children. The father worked all day and was outside his home, as stated above. When he came home, he could be "exhausted and angry", and this in turn negatively affected his relationship with his children. The problem of making a living had implications for the whole family, yet it was associated more with the father.

I talk more with my mother; I can share all my troubles with her. She is one of the rare people that I can trust in this world. I share all my problems, sorrows, difficulties with her. When I am in trouble, she always guides me. (*Istanbul, male, 16-18*)

My father comes home late, he works and I am always with my mother. For example, he comes at 12 a.m. or so. Because I am always with my mother, I cannot help but be more close to her. (*Izmir, female, 16-18*)

My father works six days a week. Sometimes he works on Sundays too. When he has free time, he goes to our garden and works there. That is to say we do not spend much time together. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

I generally talk with my mother. I do not talk much with my father. Because my father is out of the country most of the time, we are distant. When he returns, in his presence, it is much the same. (*Mersin, female, 16-18*)

Since my mother is always at home, we have more arguments with her. (*Ankara, male, 16-18*)

Because my father is always far away... He was also far away before, he worked at the sea. I do not know, but I have never felt the presence of my father besides me. (*Mersin, female, 16-18*)

I cannot even ask for money from my father. I tell my mother, she asks for it. (*Trabzon, female, 16-18*)

My father is also out of town, he works in Istanbul. But we are good with other family members. We do not have any arguments. Sometimes, maybe ... I only fight with my mother, that's it. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

Actually I have a lot of problems with my mother... In fact it is better now. My father is always on the road. He comes home once in two or three months, but he does not stay for long. He stays for two days at most. Because of this, I do not know my father very well. My mother has just begun to work; she does not stay at home too. We are just hanging around, what can I say? Recently they have neglected us. (*Trabzon, female, 16-18*)

Since my father's job is stressful and he works from day to night, he comes home distressed. Sometimes there are quarrels. They argue with my mother too. We get a beating ... It absolutely happens once a week. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

It was found that the family conflicts and arguments were raised by a number of main issues. One principal issue was studying. The issue of studying for lessons was closely associated with spending time on the computer. Parents wanted their children to spend less time on the computer and spend more time studying, and put pressure on them. On the other hand, there were few parents who talked and made a time management plan with their children, and guided them towards effective use of time beginning from early years. Another issue causing conflict with parents was the time at which the adolescents were supposed to come home. This issue had two aspects: Firstly, parents deemed their teens' staying out late at night inappropriate, and secondly they believed that going outside restricted the amount of available time left for studying. Harmful habits like cigarettes were another issue about which the parents and the adolescents conflicted.

I always fight with my father. My relationship with my father is very bad, but we are very good with my mother. We get on very well with each other. I always fight with my sibling too ... My father always says "Do not sit in front of the computer, study your lessons, play the guitar, do this, do that". That is why we fight. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

Especially my father gets angry when I go out at night, particularly when I have exams, he knows. At times like these, we become more distant. We see each other less. I am always in my room. In fact I do not do anything in my room, but if I get a low score from the exam, I do not want them to say "You did not study; you cannot go out with your friends". (*Istanbul, male, 16-18*)

I want to be honest with you. I smoke cigarettes. That is the reason of all our arguments. In fact she wants me to be good, I know, I think she is right, I do not have any objections to this. That is why we argue. (*Trabzon, female, 16-18*)

Inconsistencies about the parents' behaviors were mentioned in the group discussions. An important example related to this issue was that the participants were compared with peers by their parents. It was found that such comparisons were frequently made about study hours and school grades. The main problem here is that the course of action chosen and used by the parents to encourage their teens was ultimately perceived as denigrating and scorning. This is intricately linked with the relationship between punishment and reward. Punishments were mostly mentioned in the groups, while the term reward was rarely used. It was notable that the adolescents mostly received a warning about their duties, while awareness about their rights was absent. Parents' lack of education about some issues regarding their teens was perceived as neglect and it raised disappointment in relationships with parents. Parents loved their children and they wished them well. Their fundamental desire was a good future for their children, and they believed that the school was the only way to achieve this aim. On the other hand, they struggled to protect their teens from threats in the outside world. The adolescents' success at their lessons and exams, their relationships with friends and the risk of falling into harmful habits were all sources of unremitting anxiety for parents. Most parents did not know how to cope with these anxieties, and they did the best they could for their children. However, in most cases this was not the best way for adolescents.

Especially talking about our neighbor's child's situation ... "Look at her, she did such and such, you still have not achieved anything" ... Personally I feel very bad. She praises somebody else's daughter. Statements like "You cannot do anything, you cannot succeed" make me sad. (*Diyarbakir, female, 16-18*)

Most frequently they do this, [They say] "Her child always studies. Do you see how successful he is? And look at yourself". And I respond "If so, leave me, go and get him". (*Trabzon, male, 12-15*)

Generally they try to compare me with others, close relatives for example. They say “His son entered into medical school, you should study too, and you should enter into a college too. If you cannot succeed, [They would say] You have studied that much? [How come you are still not successful?] What will the others think?”. Sometimes, we argue because of this. (*Ankara, male, 16-18*)

The participants explained their parents’ inconsistent attitudes by giving reference to the instances in which they were compared with others.

If it serves a parent, he/she can see you as a child. If it doesn’t serve him/her, you are grown up. (*Izmir, male, 16-18*)

They get angry when I say “Look, his mother gives him 25 TL, why don’t you?”. She says “It is not our business what others do”. (*Trabzon, male, 12-15*)

For instance, when a friend of mine gets a higher score at an exam than me, they say “You cannot be as good as him”. When I get a higher score than him at another exam, they say “I don’t care about him”. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

Under some circumstances, interventions to the adolescents reflected parents’ efforts to shape them according to their own desires. In such cases, the teens’ tendencies, future plans and expectations were not valued, and the parents’ plans gained priority. It was demonstrated that parental pressures caused the adolescents to behave stubbornly, and prevented them from doing some of things they would be willing to do, if they were not under pressure. In some families, the mother and the father could have different attitudes.

This applies more to my father. I am not the person he wants me to be. And this causes conflict between us. (*Izmir, male, 16-18*)

I am going to an industrial vocational school. I have chosen my department. I will study electric-electronic. My father’s only expectation from me is that, he says “Be an electric-electronic engineer”. He says nothing more. In fact my aim was seafaring. When I began high school, he did not allow me to go to the maritime college or the vocational school of tourism. He said “You will go to the industrial school”. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

I want to go to the Akdeniz University ... but my father refuses. He does not want me to go to a far place. He even did not send my sister. (*Trabzon, female, 16-18*)

Yesterday we had a very bad fight with my father because of this. He says “You will study here”. He is obsessed. “You will study here, you will not go anywhere” ... I say “I will go. Even if I win a university in Hakkari, I will go. I will get out of Trabzon. I will go”. He distressed me that much. Under normal circumstances, I would study in Trabzon. Trabzon is a nice place. The university is good. Just because he opposes, I will not study in Trabzon. (*Trabzon, female, 16-18*)

My mother makes most of the decisions in our home. She has the character of a dictator. If she says “It will happen”, then it happens. Because of this, she does not ask us anything. My father asks more. He says “Should we do such and such?”. In the end, it is his job ... My father asks me ... but my mother does not ask. She does what she wants. (*Trabzon, female, 16-18*)

It was evident that parents were considerably sensitive about their teens’ relationships with friends. The main reason for this was their protective attitudes, as stated above. The adolescents’ friendship networks interested parents, because of the risk of picking up a harmful habit.

In most of the group discussions, the participants mentioned their families' disapproval of their friends. In some cases, this caused the adolescent to conceal his/her friends from the family. On the basis of their reports, it was apparent that families were continuously worried and anxious; they feared that their children spent time with friends who might be bad role models.

According to them, I become friends with the wrong people. For this reason, I do not mention them, not talk about them. That is I do not reveal them. (*Ankara, male, 16-18*)

They say "Do not hang out with these people". In the first place, I do not smoke cigarettes. They say "They may involve you, they may do something wrong and they may cast the blame on you". (*Ankara, male, 16-18*)

No, I will not introduce my friends. Because I know, if I introduce them, they will say "You find people just like yourself". All of them are of my type. In the face book, or in face-to-face contact at school, my old school friends ... My grandmother would not want me to talk to them ... That is the reason why I do not want them to know. (*Mersin, female, 16-18*)

My older brother's circle of friends is very bad. My father does not want him to spend time with them. I do not know, there are lots of [risks] ... For instance he started smoking. My father is striving to make him give up. He does not give up, he is used to it. He tries to keep him away from them. As he tries to keep them away, my brother contacts with them more. He says "Leave me alone, leave me". (*Mersin, female, 16-18*)

My family has a positive approach if my friend is a girl. If my friend is a boy, they keep their distance. But there is nothing to do. He is my friend. But when they say something, I can invite and introduce him. (*Mersin, female, 16-18*)

If I get into a bad circle of friends, he [My father] says "Do not get involved with such messy people". (*Diyarbakir, male, 16-18*)

If my group of friends at school is bad, I never say anything about it to my father. I never say "My friends did this, she went through this and that". If I tell him, he restricts me. (*Diyarbakir, female, 16-18*)

From time to time, parents' motivation for protecting their teens paved the way for oppressive attitudes. Some participants complained about their parents' restrictive and controlling behaviors. According to them, grownups met "all kinds" of people in their environment and for this reason they wanted to keep their children away from the settings that might be harmful for them. As a consequence, they put a restraint on their children's going out especially at night. In addition, parents were sensitive about their teens' going somewhere without notifying. At times, the participants acknowledged their parents and these behaviors to be right, while sometimes they felt that their freedom was restrained and they preferred to be left alone. They asserted that their parents never left them alone, and this caused a loss of self esteem on their part.

My father runs a shop. I think he sees all kinds of people there. I think that is why he tells me "Do not go, do not do", "You cannot go there". It results from the environment. (*Izmir, female, 16-18*)

I wish they do not criticize us and they do not interfere with our studies. We are already studying. They give bad examples. For example, I go to a friend to stay over. They do not know him/her. They say "It can be organ mafia ... they will drug you, cut you open...put you to sleep". My parents are quite psychopath. (*Ankara, male, 16-18*)

For instance, we go somewhere. I always get permission from my father; my mother always says

“No”. I go to my father to ask for permission. The reason that I notify them is that, for instance we want to go out ... [Let’s say] Somebody stopped his car at the corner and kidnapped me. My mother would know, that is why I want to have permission. Or when we fight with someone, I can say “I had permission. I had permission to go out”. I obtain permission for these situations. If I do not notify them, my mother and my father gets worried. (*Mersin, female, 12-15*)

There is pressure ... I think they should leave us alone and set us free. They keep us under extreme pressure. It is as if they can be beside you at any minute. (*Izmir, female, 16-18*)

I observe my environment. My uncle and aunt’s behaviors towards their child are similar. They never leave him/her alone. They are always by his/her side. He/she has no Self-Esteem left. He/she always needs somebody. I think he/she is not like he/she is supposed to be. (*Izmir, female, 16-18*)

Male participants aged 12-15 years commonly indicated that they asked for their mother’s permission when they went out, although this was not a necessity. Among male participants aged 16-18 years, obtaining permission gave way to “letting the parents know”. However, for females, family attitudes towards going out in the evening were negative.

I generally call them when I do not go home. They have never refused to give permission, but I ask anyway. One should ask as a matter of courtesy. I feel comfortable about this issue. If I return home too late, if I go home at around 3 or 4 a.m., I call them and say “For your information”. I get permission, when I do not go home. (*Istanbul, male, 16-18*)

We should not stay out until late hours, that is after 10 p.m. When I meet my friends, I have to return home by that time. (*Istanbul, female, 12-15*)

On the other hand, it was indicated that when adolescents felt too much pressure on them, they developed various methods to resist it. One method related with the issue of getting permission was using different “strategies” with the mother and the father. The adolescents knew what their mother would permit and what their father would prohibit, and they behaved accordingly. The most negative aspect of this type of relationship was that it directed adolescents to assume an inauthentic attitude. Some participants explicitly stated that in order to be able to do what they wanted, they did not reveal the whole truth about various situations.

I tell my mother about the issues that she can solve and my father about the issues that he can solve. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

I always get permission from my mother. My mother talks to my father ... We do not get on well with my father. We constantly fight, because of this I ask for permission from my mother. (*Istanbul, male, 16-18*)

You have mentioned about getting permission to go out. Most of the time I obtain permission from my mother, but it depends on the place that I will go. If it is a nearby market, I ask for it from my mother. If it is a far place, if I need to take a bus to get there, I have to ask my father. Because if someone sees me outside, it reaches my father’s ears. (*Erzurum, female, 16-18*)

I go to my aunt if I want to be at a place that my mother will not allow me to go. I pretend that I am staying at my aunt’s. Then, I slip from there ... My aunt has the capacity to understand youth. They can understand me very well. (*Diyarbakir, female, 16-18*)

I usually go out without getting permission. Because when I ask, they do not easily allow me. For instance, when I want to go somewhere and if it is a far place, I say that it is nearby. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

If I cannot obtain permission for something, I try to get their permission for something else. For instance, I like to go out with my cousin. Sometimes they do not allow me to play games with my cousin. Because they do not allow me, I go and ask if I can use the lap top. In this case, they say “Yes, you can”. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

Besides problems coming along with the adolescent period, the youth continuously experienced test anxiety, and thus might seek support primarily from their family and teachers and might need someone to share their problems with. However, it was found that most adolescents did not have such an opportunity and that they could not talk about their private lives with their parents because of cultural factors or difficulties related with their family life style.

I do not have anything in common to share with my parents. It is unavoidable. I suppose the era we live in is different. (*Diyarbakir, male, 16-18*)

Even if I am at home, we cannot say that this means I am spending time with my family. Everyone does something different. There is nothing that we do together. It is not like spending time together. We have nothing to do with each other when we are at home. We can only sit together and watch television. (*Diyarbakir, female, 16-18*)

If four of us are in the same setting and talk to each other, it must have been due to a power cut on that day, or something different must have happened. Besides this, we get together once in two weeks for cinema or dinner. Apart from that, everyone is isolated. We are in different rooms under the same roof. (*Trabzon, female, 16-18*)

On the other hand, contrary to the statements mentioned above, there were examples where intra-family relationships were not conflictual, and were well-managed. The adolescents’ positive relationships with their parents and siblings had

different implications for various aspects of family life. In such families, communication between family members worked well. “Sharing” was an essential concept. In those families, problems were shared as well as time spent together. Family members’ spending time with each other was important in the development of good relationships. It was observed that a peaceful family environment liberated and relieved the youth and consolidated their confidence.

I speak with them. I can comfortably talk about everything. When there is something that I do not like about them, when I feel that their behaviors towards me are unsatisfying, I can tell them “You behave like this, it is better if you treat me like that”, whatever it is. For instance, if my father is going to take a new job, he asks my opinion “What should I do my daughter? Should I do this? Should I do that?”. The way we talk is good. (*Mersin, female, 16-18*)

I try to be like friends with my mother and my father. Or rather they try to make friends with me. (*Mersin, female, 16-18*)

I am good with my father, he is devoted to me. I am good with my mother as well. My mother knows to be like a mother when necessary and to be a friend if need be. (*Diyarbakir, female, 16-18*)

The time we spend together as a family is nice. My uncle calls us at night, we gather around his car. He takes us to the Newroz Park or a funfair. He takes us out. (*Diyarbakir, female, 16-18*)

I am very good with my mother. I can comfortably talk with her about everything. She welcomes ... There are not many restrictions in our home. I can say “I have a social mother”. My father is similar too. He does not interfere. About the things that I share with my friends, I can talk with my mother. (*Diyarbakir, female, 16-18*)

Sometimes we go to the seaside, sometimes we take a day-trip to swim. At times we go to an AstroTurf with my father, we play football there. There are gun games in the play station. We turn on the television and play those games with my father. That is to say, we spend time together. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

I am always with my family. I mean we are always together. We rest together in our leisure times. When it is time for work, we work together. I do not feel obliged to do any of those. (*Trabzon, female, 16-18*)

In our leisure times, we play games as a family. My grandmother has a farm. At weekends, mostly we go there. (*Istanbul, female, 12-15*)

I am good with my mother and my father. In fact, I am better with my sibling. I do not shy away from them, I am comfortable beside them. I don not know [how], but I feel safe. If I have a problem, I share it without any reserve. We try to find a solution together. So, our communication is good. (*Istanbul, male, 16-18*)

On the other hand, there were participants who did not share much with their families. It was reported that in some families, areas of interest were different; everybody lived in his/her own world and there was not much of a communication among family members. There were cases in which the family did not come together even for a meal.

We have dissimilar tastes. Our likes are different. That is why we sometimes have conflicts. (*Trabzon, female, 16-18*)

Nowadays, I cannot spend much time with them. I have started to go to a training center, from morning till evening, from 08:00 a.m. to 17:00 p.m. When I return home in the evening, I do not want to stay at home. I leave my bag and go out. We wander around with friends. (*Erzurum, male, 16-18*)

We do not very frequently go out with my mother and my father. Maybe we go outside for dinner, yet we do it once in a while. (*Erzurum, female, 16-18*)

I never spend time with my father. My father is not social. On Saturdays and Sundays, I always wander around with my friends. My father never takes us to anywhere on Sundays. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

Everyone cannot eat the same meal in our home. In general, our meal times are also different. Everyone is different. We, that is children, can never eat the meals that our father eats. My mother cooks for him separately. He comes home late anyway. We set the table for two or three times. (*Diyarbakir, female, 16-18*)

No one cares about anyone at home. One sits there and watches television. Another one plays with his/her phone. Everybody is by himself/herself. We go home in the evening and we want to have a meal. There is no meal. We realize that we forget to cook a meal. (*Trabzon, female, 16-18*)

The secure bond between parents and adolescents emerged as a fundamental aspect of family relations. Both negative and positive cases regarding this issue came forward in the groups. As explained above, in such cases where the external world was perceived as a world of dangers, an adolescent rarely felt that his/her family had confidence in him/her. In one such example, it was found that it has a positive effect when the family got acquainted with friends.

Since my mother knows that I do not do anything bad, she trusts me. For instance, I go to the seashore with my friends. I go to swimming. She has confidence in me about these issues. Because she knows that I will not do bad things or things that put me at risk. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

My mother knows my friends. She is acquainted with all my friends. That is why she feels at ease.

She meets with their mothers. Thus, we do not have any problems. (*Mersin, female, 16-18*)

She trusts me one hundred percent. She knows that I will not do bad things. For instance she knows that I will not get into a fight with my friends. Similarly, there is something called *cat-apat*. When you throw it, it bursts. They call it a ball. She knows that I will not do such things. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

Some participants reported that their families had no confidence in them. One participant referred to the stereotypical statement “We trust you, but not the environment” in order to explain his/her parents’ attitude. Another notable point was the participants’ lack of confidence in their parents. At times, it emerged as an element of general disbelief in the society and the environment, while sometimes it originated from parental inconsistencies.

[They say] “We were not like you in the past. Now, you want to discover everything. You are so young”. In fact, they really trust me, but they should make me feel it too. You know they say “We trust you, but we do not trust the environment”. As long as we have a rational mind, the environment cannot have any effect on us. (*Diyarbakir, female, 16-18*)

I do not feel that [my family has any faith in me]. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

My father has never had any confidence in me. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

There is a saying you know... “In this era, you should not even trust your father”. I do not trust anyone. I think one should not trust. For instance, if anything happens, you cannot anticipate how problems will emerge. For instance, one can make promises that he/she cannot keep. This makes me angry. (*Trabzon, female, 16-18*)

I do not trust my mother. I hear from my father about the things that I tell my mother. (*Trabzon, female, 16-18*)

C. Relationships with Siblings

It is necessary to examine sibling relationships in the family as a separate topic. In the groups, the participants mostly elaborated on their relationships with older sisters and brothers, while at times they mentioned of their younger siblings’ attitudes. It was found that the relationships with siblings were generally positive in spite of occasional conflicts and fights. The first thing to notice in those relationships was that older brothers and sisters assumed a special role which was left empty and unattended by parents. The adolescents shared the things that they did not share with their parents with their older sisters and brothers. Another important function of older brothers and sisters for the adolescents was that of serving as role models. Although in some cases, harmful habits were taken up, older siblings were generally good models for the young ones. Besides older sisters and brothers, cousins could sometimes play a positive role in the lives of the adolescents. The nature of their relationship with cousins was very similar to that of older siblings (i.e. confidentiality, modeling).

I always talk with my older brother ... With others, we are not very close ... Because my father goes in the morning and comes in the evening, I do not see him very frequently. (*Diyarbakir, male, 16-18*)

I can talk about everything with my older brother. In that regard, my brother is not like an elder, but like a friend to me. However, about some issues, I may not talk to my family. (*Ankara, male, 16-18*)

My uncle has a son. He is like an older brother to me. He is 24 years old. As one of our friends here has said, I also share my problems with him. It feels more comfortable than [talking with] my

mother or my father. He understands me better because his age is close to mine. He tries to help me with every problem. (*Istanbul, male, 16-18*)

Since I was young, I aspired to be like my older sister. I have always wanted to be like her. Because I do whatever she does, I have begun smoking. (*Trabzon, female, 16-18*)

I get on well with all of them, but we fight with my older sister very often. Yet, we make peace after one hour. (*Mersin, female, 16-18*)

[If my mother and my father know that I smoke] they will probably shoot me. One of my cousins knows. He is 4 or 5 years older than me, my aunt's son. (*Istanbul, male, 16-18*)

D. Modeling Family Members

In spite of problems in the relationships with fathers, it was revealed that some participants took their father as role models and aspired to be like them in the future. One explanation for this can be that the father's distant position has been transformed into an abstract representation of an authority figure in the youth's mind. Because the father is away from home due to work, it renders the father hardworking and self-sacrificing.

When I say closer, I mean that I have some sympathy for my father. It is like following his lead. I try to do the things that he does. I always try to keep up with him. (*Erzurum, male, 16-18*)

I want to resemble my father; because I want to be someone who is hardworking and has a good job like my father. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

I want to resemble my father, because my father has a lot of friends. I want to have that too. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

Besides the father, the participants modeled other male adult members of the family, as evidenced in

their desire to resemble their maternal or paternal uncles. In these examples, the reasons for modeling were primarily their manners, attitudes, social characteristics, occupations and life styles.

Like my friend here has mentioned, I would like to resemble my father and my [paternal] uncle. My uncle participated in many activities in his childhood. He did taekwondo; he played basketball, volleyball and such. That is why I want to be like my uncle in the near future, at the time same time I want to resemble my father. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

My [maternal] uncle constantly laughs. Because he is always a likable person, I try to look up to him. (*Ankara, male, 16-18*)

[I would like to resemble my paternal uncle]. He is my idol. I want to learn his occupation. I want to be a person like him. The person I am talking about is in Erzurum, he is a construction engineer ... Generally speaking he is the one I spend most of my time with. (*Erzurum, male, 16-18*)

In fact I have an [paternal] uncle whom I aspire to be like ... My uncle is 35 years old. He still has not got married. He is a cook and works at ships ... He lives in his own way at the sea. He spends the money he earns only for himself. One aspires to him. (*Istanbul, male, 16-18*)

I want to resemble my [parental] uncle, because he is a teacher. (*Diyarbakir, male, 16-18*)

About their educational and career aims, the participants also took their cousins as role models.

I would like to be like my cousin ... He/she is hardworking and well-behaved. Right now, he/she studies at Capa Medical School. (*Diyarbakir, male, 16-18*)

I have a cousin. He/she lives with his/her friends.

He/she likes to talk. He/she comes in summer. When we visit them, he/she talks and talks. He/she has a sibling who is my age mate. Because he/she says “You should do this, you should do that if you go to the university”, I am influenced a lot by him/her. (*Diyarbakir, female, 16-18*)

E. Family Expectations and Expectations from the Family

The primary expectation of families from their teens was related to the school. The parents’ primary concern pertained to their teens’ continuing education, graduating from a prestigious school, “looking after themselves” and “standing on their own feet”. In addition to this, under some circumstances concerns caused by potential external threats predominated. As mentioned in the section explaining parental reactions to the youth’s future plans, some families did not have a positive attitude towards their teens’ moving away or separating from home even if it was for educational purposes.

They generally say “Look after yourself, this is sufficient [for us]”. (*Ankara, male, 16-18*)

They say “You should study, it is sufficient”, but [I think] they certainly have thought such things like “They will look after us”. [I think] They must have thought like this. It is obvious ... But they do not explicitly say it. (*Ankara, male, 16-18*)

They only expect me to go to a good school and have a good future. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

Study at your school and enjoy your life [freely]. If you do not grow up, there is no such thing. You should go to the school, so that you can stand on your own feet and they will let you [go]. (*Diyarbakir, female, 16-18*)

No one has wanted me to work. They only want me to study. (*Erzurum, male, 16-18*)

I want to go out of the city, but my father does

not let me. He says “You will not go to another city, not out of Trabzon, to study at university when you grow up”. (*Trabzon, male, 12-15*)

Test anxiety experienced by the adolescents have been mentioned in the sections dwelling on the issues of parental permission, parental perceptions of the youth’s relationship with technology, psychological problems emerging in the adolescent period and various aspects of school life. There was considerable pressure about exams and studying on the youth. In fact, one aspect of the family expectations about “studying and growing up” was the pressure put on the teens regarding exams and courses. The statements of a participant from Ankara demonstrated both sides of the same coin.

Everything is about exams, life is also an exam. Exam after exam. (*Mersin, female, 16-18*)

In general, lessons are not a problem. But this year, I am at the 12th grade. I have a forthcoming exam. Will we be able to pass it or not? ... Our families have sent us to school for 12 years. That is, they have some expectations. [They think] “Can they pass the exam or not?”. They only put pressure on me about lessons. At the 10th or 11th grade, there was no such pressure. (*Ankara, male, 16-18*)

They expect me to go to the university and I think they are right, because they have sent me to school for years, they have put an effort. They get tired as much as I do. (*Diyarbakir, female, 16-18*)

Although low in number, there were parents who chose to remind the adolescents about their responsibilities or to comfort them, rather than putting them under pressure.

My mother expects me to study. She always says “Do not spend too much time with the computer. Study your lessons”, because she wants me to get

into a good high school in the SBS [The High School Entrance Exam]. On the other hand, my father has no expectations. He says “This is your life. If you study, it is for yourself. If you do not study, it is also for yourself”. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

No, they definitely put no pressure. For instance, in the YGS [The University Entrance Exam] I could not get the score that I wanted, I cried. They got angry with me. They said “It is not the end of the world. Do not do this”, but they want it as much as I want. They get tired as much as I do. In each morning, when I go to the training centre, my mother also wakes up and prepares breakfast. (*Diyarbakir, female, 16-18*)

Some of the terms and concepts used in the discussion of the adolescents’ expectations from their families were the following: Tolerance, leaving room, understanding, enjoyment, resembling them, accepting their own values, getting angry, shouting. In sum, the adolescents expected understanding and tolerance from their parents. They wanted their parents to interfere less and to leave them more space. They expected their parents not to impose their own values on them and not to put effort to raise them as they were raised by their own parents. They did not want to be shouted at or scolded. In fact, they wanted to enjoy their time with their parents rather than fighting with them.

I think they should not try to raise me as they were raised. In the end, their era was approximately 30 years ago. Now what type of an era are we living in? I think they are still attached to those times. (*Diyarbakir, female, 16-18*)

The biggest trouble I personally experience is that I sometimes have problems when I go home late at night. I want them to be more tolerant about it. I express my ideas, but I suppose it does not work. I am always the one who is defeated. The only thing I want from my family is that

they should not give me such hard time when I return home a little late. There is nothing else. (*Erzurum, male, 16-18*)

They have their own rights and wrongs, their previous experiences ... For them, the rights and wrongs are fixed. Sometimes we cannot get beyond them ... You cannot teach an old dog a new trick. (*Izmir, female, 16-18*)

I tell my mother “It is better if you leave me more room”. She says “You have not seen an oppressive mother. You are already very relaxed and free” ... According to her, I am very relaxed. To her, my going out once in two days is a favor... According to me, it is not. I think it is normal. (*Izmir, female, 16-18*)

I expect my mother to understand my problems and other things and not get angry with me, shout at or beat me. My expectation from my father is to be able to have fun with him. That is, the things that we do are enjoyable, but I want to focus on some of them with him. I have no expectations from my older sister. Our bonds are completely cut off. I still love her as an older sister, but she does not spend much time with us. So, I do not expect anything from her. That is, I do not want to. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

Besides the above mentioned desires for “understanding”, “tolerance”, “freedom” and “leaving room”, one fundamental expectation of the youth from their parents was consistency in their relationships. As explained above, they wanted to establish a secure relationship and to see that promises were kept. The “disappointment” elicited in the absence of such relationships were found to be hurtful and harmful.

My father is very interesting in that regard. He never says no to anything. For instance, assume that I want something, something expensive or cheap. He says “Ok, we can figure it out”. But

when the day comes, when the day when it is supposed to happen comes, he finds excuses. He says “It did not work out”. He does not bother to make an explanation. He just says “It did not work out” and leaves. There is always stalling. I do not know if he thinks “I should not break her heart”, “I should manage the situation”. (*Diyarbakir, female, 16-18*)

I won the right to enter into an Anatolian High School. Because my father did not make my enrollment on time, I lost my right. I was extremely disappointed. Now, I will have to go to a vocational school. I stayed at my aunt’s, I did not go home. They called. [I said] “I will not come home”. I was like I left home. Then my father came, said “It was my fault”. I observed that he attended to this matter. I saw that he made an effort. I said “Ok, I will make peace with him”. In the end, he is the father. It was also not his fault. It was a moment of carelessness. (*Diyarbakir, female, 16-18*)

She [My mother] says “I will do it”, “I will definitely make it happen”, then she does not do it ... I cannot give an example; she says “I will buy this for you”. She says “Certainly”, but then she does not do it. This makes me angry. (*Trabzon, female, 16-18*)

Particularly in Erzurum and Diyarbakir, female adolescents complained about being obliged to do housework constantly. The girls’ obligation to do housework did not only arise from parental expectations; especially older or younger brothers laid burden on them and wanted them to take care of their own jobs.

I already do the cleaning every morning. I get up and sweep the house. But my mother comes and she does not appreciate it. She says “Do not do this anymore”. But next morning, I do it again. It is not like this in the West. I go to my grandmother every summer. There is no such thing

there. We do it every morning ... On Saturdays or Sundays, I cannot go out if I do not do the cleaning. Cleaning must be finished, only then I can go out. (*Erzurum, female, 16-18*)

At the time I first started school, my mother used to sweep the house and I used to follow her mopping the floor. I grow up, it is still the same. I have a sister, she also does it. She also started when she was young. I do not know when it will end. (*Erzurum, female, 16-18*)

Wash the dishes, sweep and mop the house, do the cleaning, wash the carpets, done. [The day is] over. (*Erzurum, female, 16-18*)

My older brother makes us do a lot of work ... Be it ironing, be it setting and clearing the table. He says “Girls, do this”. In general, he makes us do his own work too. (*Diyarbakir, female, 16-18*)

For instance [my older brother says] “Take off my shoes, put my socks on”. (*Diyarbakir, female, 16-18*)

It is also the same [in our home]. I make my siblings do some work but I do it for their own sake. They should not grow up being spoiled; they should know how to behave. Back in the day my mother treated me in the same way, I do not have any regrets about it. (*Diyarbakir, female, 16-18*)

I have three younger sisters. I take off my clothes and leave them. I do not put myself into the trouble of picking them up. It is very comfortable in that regard. (*Erzurum, male, 16-18*)

F. Dating and Family Attitudes

In this section, firstly the participants’ views on dating relations are briefly summarized, and then family attitudes towards this issue are explained. Some participants held positive opinions about pre-marital romantic relationships, while others disapproved such relationships because of their young age.

Among those who were in favor of such romantic relationships, it was found that there was a concern over “not going to extremes”.

One should experience it in youth. In the future you will get married; you will have a serious relationship. Right now, one should enjoy one’s life to the full. (*Istanbul, male, 16-18*)

Regarding relationships, I think one should develop a friendship first. (*Diyarbakir, male, 16-18*)

She has a boyfriend and she can talk about it with my parents. Because I think I am quite young, I never talk about such issues. (*Diyarbakir, female, 16-18*)

[In dating relationships] It is enough if they do not go to the extremes. (*Ankara, male, 16-18*)

There should not be any skin to skin contact. (*Ankara, male, 16-18*)

Despite such concerns, most participants expressed their opinions about whether they could talk with their parents about dating relationships. The views of those participants who indicated that they could talk about their relations with some, but not all family members are presented below. As can be seen, most participants, regardless of their gender, indicated at least one person whom he/she could talk to about the issue of dating relationships in Istanbul as well as in smaller cities. As evident in the quotations, the seriousness of the relationship or the degree of affection and love was considered as one criterion for sharing these issues with parents.

I talk about the issue of girlfriends with my older brother. (*Istanbul, male, 16-18*)

I have never talked about the issue of boyfriends with my family, but I can ... I have [a boyfriend] but I have not told them, because I think it is not necessary. We are at the beginning. If my love for

him grows or if his love for me grows, I may talk to my parents ... I can talk to anyone except my brother. My brother has a harsh attitude towards these issues. Some of us cannot talk to their father, but I believe I can easily tell my father. (*Diyarbakir, female, 16-18*)

I talk about everything with my mother. My mother knows everything about me. I tell her “This and that”. If I have a boyfriend, I tell her about him too. If there is someone I like or if I have someone in my sights, I talk about him too. She knows everything down to the last detail. (*Istanbul, female, 12-15*)

Firstly I tell my father. I also tell my mother, but she has so much confidence in me about these issues. Firstly, I become sure of myself. Then, I become sure of the person I am with. Then, I come to the phase of telling my mother. She thinks that such relationships are early for my age ... I do not mean [that she says] “It cannot happen, it should not happen”. She is more mild-mannered. First I tell my father, and then I drop a hint to my mother. And then, I tell my older brother, gradually. (*Mersin, female, 16-18*)

I will talk frankly. I have had a boyfriend before. People have come into my life. They were discreet; we were more like friends rather than lovers. The only thing we do was constantly spending time together. We were together; we wandered around. We get on very well with my mother about this matter. If I do not tell my mother, she feels very sorry. She says “If there is someone in your life, you should definitely share it with me”. She says “Inform me about what you do”. I do not have any problems about this issue. (*Trabzon, female, 16-18*)

If I have a boyfriend and if I really love him, I can easily tell my father. I can also tell my mother. (*Diyarbakir, female, 16-18*)

In some cases, the participants expressed opinions which reflected the following statement: “I can talk with them, but I do not choose to”.

For instance, my father is benign. So I can tell him about everything. I am closer to my father compared to my mother. For instance, if I have a boyfriend, I cannot tell my father. But when he learns, he would react positively and he would not put pressure on me, of course relative to my mother. My mother has stricter rules. (*Erzurum, female, 16-18*)

If I tell them [about the person I like], they would not say anything [negative]. But in general, I do not consider it necessary. I never tell my father, there is no need for him to know. (*Diyarbakir, female, 16-18*)

In spite of the diversity of examples presented above, it was frequently observed that there were teens who indicated that they could not talk about their premarital romantic relationships with their families. The fact that the relationship could be perceived as more serious than it actually was and the fact that the relationship was not serious enough were both barriers to sharing it with parents. Some adolescents explained that their families were marriage-oriented, and their opinions about any relationship were shaped by reference to this criterion. Some participants stated that this was a peculiar characteristic of the East, while others explained it by the difference between “the times” of the parents and the teens. It was mentioned that in some places, girls and boys were treated differently.

I can only tell him about a boyfriend if it gets serious, not about someone I like. I can introduce my social, male friends to my father, but I cannot say “Father, there is a boy I like”. (*Diyarbakir, female, 16-18*)

Since we are at a certain age, we cannot tell our father. He misunderstands. When we were

younger, we could tell, but now we are at a certain age and we think that he can take it seriously. (*Istanbul, female, 16-18*)

Mothers who have daughters tell them “You are still young. How old are you?”, when they have a boyfriend ... They are strict with girls, but they tell their sons “Just wait for now, you still have time. I will marry you to somebody”. They worry about getting them married. (*Erzurum, male, 16-18*)

If there is a boyfriend, the issue is shared with the mother. The mother similarly says “End it”. In the East, if they hear that girls have a boyfriend at a young age, that is at high school, they [the families] think that they will immediately get married. Since they get married at the age of 16-17, they think that their daughters are similar. They get the idea that “She loved him, she will get married, and she will go”. If they learn, they say “Separate from him” straightaway. I do not want to think what the father will do, if he hears. (*Erzurum, female, 16-18*)

Because people’s lifestyles and the way they were raised are different. When we go the West, [relationships between] boys and girls are seen as natural, but when we come to the Eastern part ... There is a mentality which opposes girls and boys’ becoming friends. With this mentality, not easily ... Even if you look for a solution, it will not change. (*Diyarbakir, male, 16-18*)

Some participants on the other hand stated that their parents got angry when this issue came up; they did not accept it and wanted them to end their romantic involvements.

G. Domestic Violence

While discussing the issue of domestic violence, although the participants mostly emphasized verbal abuse, there was some who mentioned physical violence. It was found that the cases of physical vio-

lence generally occurred between fathers and sons, while mothers also engaged in violence by “throwing a slipper”. In discussions of violent incidents, some participants complained about their father’s being “angry” and yelling at them. Incidents of verbal abuse were expressed in the following way:

If it [a conflict] lasts a short time, there is not much yelling, but if it lengthens, doors and such [are involved] ... We do not inflict violence against each other. (*Izmir, male, 16-18*)

It depends on their level of anger, their mood at the time. If my father works too hard in one day, gets angry with someone, comes and sees that I still play at the computer, then he gets mad. But if he is happy, he does not say anything. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

Probably because of my father, either because of me or my father. My father gets angry with everything, he has a quick temper. He has such a trait. Because of this, I do not talk to him about anything. [I talk to] my mother about everything. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

Because I fear my older brother and also I respect him, I do not tell him about most of my issues, because my brother gets angry with minute details. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

In our home, while my mother and my sister fight, if my brother intervenes, the fight gets bigger. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

Not violence, but my father’s yelling. He does not intervene in anything for a long time. We yell every day, we fight every day but when he yells one day, it is really bad. It is very repulsive. I do not want to hear his voice. (*Diyarbakir, female, 16-18*)

Besides the statements presented above, especially in the group conducted with the adolescents aged

12-15 years in Mersin, more than one participant indicated that they were physically abused. In addition, one participant from another group shared a violent incident occurring in his extended family rather than nuclear family and indicated how negatively he was influenced by the event. Among all these examples, one participant told that his parents “silenced him by beating him”; this is a striking example of the lack of communication mentioned above.

I have two little siblings. They excessively fight with each other. Because of them, I also get a beating. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

My mother throws a slipper and such. Now she does not beat me, but before she used to throw her slipper. Then I used to go and apologize, because I did not want her to tell my father. We used to make peace. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

It is not always the same. If my father gets very angry, he hits me with something hard. If he gets a little angry, he hits with something soft. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

I have an older sister whom I fear. For instance, if there is an issue concerning her, she yells and sometimes she beats me. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

The one I am most distant from is my father. I am most distant from my father, because he is very furious. If I say something wrong, his hands are twice or third times as large as mine, [what if] he slaps me. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

When our parents beat us, if we do not stop speaking, they make us stop my beating. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

My grandfather is very strange, that is repulsive ... When he drinks [alcohol], he directly attacks my grandmother, not anyone else. Once he hit my grandmother. I saw it right under my nose.

He hit hard. After that, she stayed in the intensive care unit. This time, my father hit my grandfather. I saw another fight there. Except these, I cannot stand seeing such things. I have panic attacks, I have got a mental illness ... When I am stressed, I faint. Because of this, they do not show me such things. Thus, I do not see it. I do not witness it. (*Mersin, female, 16-18*)

II. SCHOOL LIFE

Most of the participants in the focus groups were students, although some of them worked or both worked and studied. Below, the youth's opinions about this important socialization setting in their life are presented under various headings.

A. Benefits of School

Positive views about school and school life can be grouped into two. Some participants emphasized that the school provided socially enriching experiences, while others focused on the functions of education, instruction and provision of employment. Besides considering school as a setting which introduced an individual to the social life and enabled him/her to meet different people, the participants expressed the view that the school served to "free" women.

I think it prepares us for life, because we meet a lot of people, we communicate a lot. If we would stay at home, it would not me that much. (*Izmir, female, 16-18*)

In the school, you enter into the society ... Your ability to establish friendships improves. (*Trabzon, male, 12-15*)

[Benefits of school are] Being informed, meeting new friends, establishing a circle of friends, being more expressive. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

I think even our freedom depends on school. If we had not gone to school, [they might say] "There is no need for you to go out" ... We went out to

go to the training center and saw lots of different things. We went out for school and we learnt lots of new things. Otherwise, in today's society, especially in Diyarbakir's society, if it is not for the school, which girl can go to another city and set up a home? (*Diyarbakir, female, 16-18*)

As can be seen in the statements above, the school can be considered as a force which grants the youth the chance to "go out". The school plays an important role in the youth's social development by providing a legitimate reason for going out rather than staying at home. While some students named it as "entering the society", as evident in the above quotation, it was noted that the school increased the social status of women and raised their awareness of the right to act independently. Considering the protective attitude of families towards the adolescents and the restrictions they imposed on their friendships, the school became a way through which the young could escape from the guardianship of their home. In addition, some participants mentioned that the school prepared them for life by providing education and instruction.

It teaches us to read and write when we start for the first time. It makes us study the lessons that we find difficult. It makes us acquire a profession. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

It strengthens us, with respect to our knowledge base. (*Trabzon, male, 12-15*)

One participant made an explanation which showed that she made note of both the educational-instructional function and the socialization function of the school. One noteworthy aspect of the statement below was that the school was considered as a structural source of "order/regularity", and this institutional aspect was primarily emphasized. This comprehensive perspective which highlights the importance of the school in the social life rather than focusing solely on daily courses, exams and grades is important.

I think ... the school is not only about teachers, lessons. It is not all about it. For one thing, the school brings regularity to people's [lives]. Let's assume that you get up at 7 a.m. five days a week, you go to school. There is some regularity in your life. You have to abide by some rules. The society has its rules, as well. Thus, it prepares us for life, it informs us. As they generally say, although we may have problems with our teachers, they are there to teach us new information and educate us ... We do not only get education, we also learn some things. Thus, the school is of great benefit to people. (*Trabzon, female, 16-18*)

B. Dissatisfaction with School

The adolescents who held negative opinions of school and school life generally explained their viewpoint by comparing schools and training centers. That is, while the participants discussed their dissatisfaction with school, they also expressed their need for training centers. This indicates that one fundamental factor which determines the level of school satisfaction is the exams taken at various grades and exam success. Within an educational system where progress depends on one's achievement in a series of exams, students find it hard develop an independent and comprehensive understanding of school. While some students criticized school on the grounds that it did not sufficiently prepare students for exams and trusted training centers, some of them highlighted the difference between secondary and high schools in this regard.

I think it [the school] does not prepare me for the profession I want to acquire. (*Izmir, female, 16-18*)

I also think that it does not prepare [an individual for life] ... [We study] mathematics, biology, chemistry, physics at the training center ... I have not seen any of them at school. I only have vocational courses. Thus, it will not contribute to my success. (*Istanbul, male, 16-18*)

Someone who wants to get into the university have very little chance of achieving it without going to a training centre, because the school does not educate us and not provide information. They give you what is written on the book, you memorize it, you write it down and you leave it behind. Those who want to get into the university have to go to a training centre. (*Izmir, male, 16-18*)

Not the school, but the training center. When I was preparing for the SBS [The High School Entrance Exam] at the 6th, 7th and 8th grade, I always got support from the training center ... I can say that the school is more superficial. I did not understand the lessons at school. I did not understand at the secondary school. High school is different. I have started to understand the lessons at high school. I mostly learn at school. I do not need to go to the training center. (*Istanbul, female, 16-18*)

All the students who expressed their dissatisfaction with school associated it with the testing system. There were some adolescents who indicated that the school made "no" contribution to themselves and complained about the discipline system implemented and pursued at school. In the quotations below, there is a rebellious attitude which is considered as a defining characteristic of the adolescent period. Thus, the youth may consider the school as a control system and an institution which tries to suppress and homogenize them. While the school was seen as providing "regularity" or "freedom" on the one hand, it was noteworthy that on the other hand, there were comments like those presented below.

I also think that it does not have any contributions. It is normal that the primary school education is mandatory. But, those who do not want to study at high school should not study. (*Istanbul, male, 16-18*)

For one thing, none of us here needs the kind of education offered by the school. All people here are right-minded. It is not necessary for the school to educate you. You can educate yourself. The school will turn you into this: you will work, you will earn your money, you will have your meal and you will die when the time comes. You will not question, you will not do anything. (*Izmir, male, 16-18*)

To begin with, discipline rules are very strict at school. For instance, they give a warning for growing hair. I think it is a big problem. Or they give a warning if a male wears earrings. Women have different problems. I think these are not supposed to happen. Long hair neither prevents anyone from learning nor causes anything else. For instance, teachers get angry and warn you to have your hair cut. However, there is nothing about it that might influence or disturb them. It [Long hair] is not something that draws their attention while they teach. This is how they were raised, these are the things that were taught to them, and they try to teach the same to us as well. There is nothing that prepares us for life. They try to create the people they want. (*Izmir, male, 16-18*)

In this account, the school seemed to be an unnecessary institution for education, preventing the youth's self-expression and involving irrational discipline rules. In order to change this perception, the mentalities underlying various implementations and arrangements should be explained to students.

C. Social Environment at School and Relationships with Peers

It has been mentioned above that the students viewed the school as a socialization environment. However, when we focus on the participants' experiences with friends and peer relations, a different picture emerges. The youth complained about the relationships established at school. Because they generally expected similar negativities in life,

they thought that the school was a good place of preparation. In other words, some thought that the school's function of preparing someone for social life was associated with the chance it provided to meet the life's adversities beforehand.

You get to know people. You meet a lot of people at first. Then, all of them do something wrong one by one. You forget them all, 2-3 people remains. (*Diyarbakir, female, 16-18*)

Regarding lessons, public school may not support you much, but when I think about the circle of friends, it teaches you not to trust anyone. Because a person to whom you trust very much can betray you. Thus, one is not supposed to think that everything is about school, one is supposed to consider ordinary life. I think it has many benefits from this perspective. There may be some people to whom you can trust and some people to whom you cannot trust. I believe it grants you with the experience. (*Istanbul, male, 16-18*)

You get to understand people. It makes you a good judge of character. (*Diyarbakir, female, 16-18*)

Some students form groups. They sometimes approach loners for their own benefit. (*Trabzon, female, 16-18*)

Distrust of school friends was mentioned both in large cities like Istanbul and in smaller cities in Anatolia. In some cases, it was mentioned that one could not know his/her school friends for long enough, while knowing his/her friends from his/her own neighborhood well and trusting them more. It seems that as the youth change schools, their school friends also change, making it more difficult to trust them. As can be seen in the first quotation under the subheading entitled "Security issues related to school", distrust of school friends was eliminated when the youth had the opportunity to get to know people around for a long time.

One cannot trust anyone from the school. For instance when you start high school, you meet new people. You cannot get to know them well in 4 years. But in our neighborhood, [there are] people whom I know since my childhood. (*Erzurum, male, 16-18*)

I do not trust anyone at school ...Because I do not know anyone well enough. (*Istanbul, male, 12-15*)

D. Relationships with Teachers

Similar to the issue of general views about school, negative and positive ideas about relationships with teachers were expressed. It was prevalent that students had a single teacher or a couple of teachers whom they got on well with, especially loved and shared their problems with. This was evident even among those students who indicated discontent with teachers at their school. There were examples in which students disclosed some of their habits (i.e. smoking) which they concealed from their parents to the teachers. Some students were comfortable with phoning their teachers and taking their advice on issues related to school or their lives outside of school. The quotations below help to understand the details of those intimate relationships:

My physics teacher, the assistant manager ... For instance, this teacher came from the college of business and commerce ... People from the college say that he/she is a very angry teacher. But he/she is nice to us, because there are no fights in our school, especially to me. We are very close. We always talk to each other like friends. He/she does not show as much interest to anybody as he/she shows to me. He/she is my favorite teacher. (*Erzurum, male, 16-18*)

He/she is like a friend of students. He/she does not treat us as students, but as friends. He/she speaks with them in a way that is appropriate to their level. He/she does not say "My son", but says "The youth". That is the reason why I love

this [geography] teacher and I want to learn. (*Ankara, male, 16-18*)

Honestly speaking her appearances, her body, the teacher was a woman. She was a beautiful teacher. I liked the way she dressed, I loved her, she was a different teacher. She taught the lessons well. It stuck in our mind. She assigned different topics to each of us. You were supposed to study the topic in the evening, go to the blackboard and lecture on it like a teacher. The way she taught stuck in our mind. We gave a lecture like a teacher every day, it was efficient. She liked me too. She said "You are interested in this area, you should study and practice it as your profession". It happened. (*Trabzon, female, 16-18*)

I do not hide it [smoking] from my teacher. I do not see any harm in it. But, I do not tell my mother and my father about it. (*Izmir, male, 16-18*)

A senior high school student in Izmir described the intimacy he experienced in his relationship with his branch teacher with the term "like my mother". Considering the communication problems the adolescents experience in their home and family lives, the quotation below is very meaningful. It was found that teachers provided some students with the communication and support which was lacking in other areas of their life.

My branch is gastronomy. We are always in the kitchen. Our branch teacher is always with us. Competitions are organized, for instance cooking competitions. A couple of people and our branch chief attend to those competitions from the school. I was in this group once. When we went ... she was always there ... there were also other teachers, but because she was interested in us, [she asked] "Do you have any problems?", "Tell me". We directly tell her, we always communicate ... My branch teacher is like my mother. Sometimes I talk to her about my problems.

Sometimes she stands by me more than my mother, she supports me. I suppose I gained her [support and closeness]. (*Izmir, female, 16-18*)

One factor which determines the quality of the relationship with teachers is communication. For instance; one student explained that their class teacher served as a mediator for him and his peers and they asked for help from the class teacher instead of the school principal. It seemed that some teachers assumed a similar role to the mother who served as a “pivot”.

We have a couple of deputy principles. We are not good with none of them, but one. Our class teacher is a mediator, because she/he gets on well with him/her. For instance, we used to tell our troubles and problems to our class teacher. She/he used to convey them to the principle she/he got on well with. They [the problems] were solved in this way. (*Diyarbakir, female, 16-18*)

In the example below, it was emphasized that whether the relationship with the school principle was satisfactory or not also depended on communication; it was explained using a concrete example that the youth expected their problems and complaints to be heard, taken seriously and solved. This narrative conveyed an important message which could be stated as “the principal should know our names, get to know us and be accessible”. This narrative implied that the adolescents needed to be taken seriously and listened to in order to express themselves, gain recognition and obtain a position in the society. It was evident that listening to the adolescents and showing interest in them facilitated their passage through this “transition period” and their development of a balanced and holistic identity.

We used to talk to the principle. We solved very big problems. We could even change the school principle with our complaints. We did not see our principle much back then. If someone is a school principle, he/she should be well known.

If I pass by him/her and he/she does not know my name, I think this is a big problem. We had a lot of problems. We talked to the principle. We wrote a petition stating “We cannot find the principle in his office, we cannot tell him about our problems”. The principle canceled three class hours, came and talked to us. He/she apologized. We solved our problems in this way. (*Diyarbakir, female, 16-18*)

In spite of the diversity of examples presented above, there were also some participants who were not content with their relationships with teachers and had negative experiences. While some participants explained their discontent by giving short statements such as “the teachers are bad”, others gave examples to indicate that the teachers did not understand them and they even undermined their Self-Esteem. In addition, there were complaints about the teachers’ level of education. As mentioned in some of the quotations and detailed under the subheading of “Security issues related to the school”, the problems between teacher and students could involve verbal or physical violence.

I think the school here does not do such a thing [not prepare for life], because the teachers are very bad. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

Ours do not care about us, because we are crowded. Even the teachers say that “We cannot care about all of you, you are too crowded”. (*Izmir, female, 16-18*)

I will tell you one reason. The teacher was writing something on the board in the lesson. I crossed my legs. I was not aware of it. He/she suddenly said “I am the teacher of seven warships, put down your leg”; he/she slapped me. I stood up, we had an affray outside, I received disciplinary punishment. (*Istanbul, male, 16-18*)

We had a lot of problems about our physical education class. The teacher did not care about us.

He only gave us balls. Those who could not take a ball formed a group and listened to music. Boys held a match between each other. Our physical education classes passed in this way. It could have been better. (*Diyarbakir, female, 16-18*)

For instance the teachers at our school, some of them are really terrible. They do not have any relationship with the students, they are cut off, they do not teach the lesson. For instance, one of our teachers says nothing when the whole class cheats right under his/her nose. He/she just looks at them. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

There is the issue of our teachers' lack of education. Our teachers' level of education is low because old testing systems are different from the new ones. Thus, they provide us with low-level education. Because of this, it is good that there are specific tests for each subject. (*Erzurum, female, 16-18*)

I can give a very simple example. I failed a course because of two missing points. No one helped me. Teachers only scolded me. It was complicated. Thus, it brings no benefits. (*Trabzon, female, 16-18*)

As mentioned in the discussions about the benefits of school, a comparison between school and training center comes to fore once again. The school teachers were more distant than the teachers in the training center, because of the grading system prevalent at schools and the perception that the school teachers had the authority to assign a grade to students.

Teachers at the training centers are more successful and knowledgeable ... We have a chemistry teacher at school. He/she cannot teach anything. She trusts those students who go to the training centre. She writes a question and asks one of those who go the training center "Did I make it right? [solving the problem]". There are a couple of such teachers. (*Erzurum, female, 16-18*)

Even if we say, there is not much change. The teachers at school are different from those at the training centre. We can talk with the latter more comfortably. We can say "I could not understand this" and they can explain it for three times. It is not like that at school. For one thing, classes are very crowded, at least 25-30 students. But, since at the training center we are in classes of 15-20, it is more comfortable, we can understand and we remember more easily. In addition, you feel uneasy about the teachers at school, because there is the participation grade and such. You behave more carefully. Thus, we do better at the training centre. (*Istanbul, female, 12-15*)

As explained above, under some circumstances students considered their teachers as mediators. Especially when they wanted to communicate with teachers or school principles whom they had difficulty in accessing or they refrained from, the teachers they felt close to gained importance. In such a case, the teacher assumed the role of a "confidant" or "companion". As between most confidants, commitment and cooperation were important for close relationships established with teachers. Thus, when the teacher betrayed his/her confidant role and shared the student's material without his/her consent, the student was likely to feel deserted.

I think teachers should not disclose the events which take place in the class. It was not like this at our school. People gossiped. We used to say something about a teacher to someone we felt close to. He/she gossiped about it to that teacher. The teacher used to tell us "I have heard that you have said such and such about me. Is there a problem between us?". There was this preoccupation with gossiping. (*Mersin, female, 16-18*)

In some cases, it was found that the teachers engaged in physical and verbal violence and did harm to the students' delicate psychological balance. For instance, with the repeal of school uniforms, it was mentioned that some teachers "mocked" students'

clothes and appearances. The important point here is not whether the teachers actually mocked students, but the fact that the teachers' reactions were perceived as ridicule by them. In the examples below, the teacher went beyond ridicule, gave students a seriously hard time and insulted them.

[When I was enrolled to school] He/she [the teacher] made my registration ... I had reports from the other school, I had psychiatric reports. I suppose he read them. He/she insulted me there, "You have psychological problems, you are sick, mad", "How can they accept you to this school?". Then, he/she slapped me in the face. (*Trabzon, female, 16-18*)

We had a teacher, physical education teacher at the first year of high school ... He/she wanted us to go out, even if there was rain or snow. He used to say "Put on your coat. You cannot sit in the class". That is it ... He used to make us run, but he/she himself/herself went to the canteen and sit there warmly and cozily. He used to tell us "Do this" ... He/she sat and drank tea while making a verbal examination. We used to do push-ups. (*Ankara, male, 16-18*)

There is also swearing. [The teacher swears at the student]. The student swears back at him/her too. (*Izmir, female, 16-18*)

There was no consensus among the participants about how an ideal teacher-student relationship was ought to be. Some participants made such statements like "As far as I know, a teacher should bring students to heel", while some of them indicated that "No authority can be founded on fear". It was observed that the students had a different construction of the concepts like "discipline", "authority", and "closeness". On the other hand, teachers need to develop and apply accurate conceptualizations which are based on pedagogical knowledge.

Some participants were not content with their

teachers at school, yet they held themselves responsible for this.

In the end, the school is crowded. It can socialize people in every respect ... Our teachers are bad, there are bad teachers at my school too, there are a lot of teachers that I do not get on well with. However, I absolutely do not think that the problem is one-sided. For sure, I have a part in it. So, I do not think that it [the school] does not bring any benefits. (*Trabzon, female, 16-18*)

The school brings along many benefits. In the end, we construct our future by means of school. We learn and construct something by going there. Everybody has their own opinions. Even though we do not get on well with teachers, this is not one sided. We also make mistakes. They think about us for sure. (*Trabzon, female, 16-18*)

E. Relationships with School Counselors

It was identified that school counselors helped students under some circumstances, while being ineffective at times. Although statements such as "There are no counselors at our school" were expressed in the female adolescent groups in Istanbul, it was noted that school counselors worked at most schools. In the narrations of experiences with school counselors, the adolescents reported that school counselors knew students, listened to their problems and supported them to make their choices about the next stage in one's academic life.

Our counselor was not like that [unconcerned]. He/she knew the names of most of us; he/she talked and chatted with us. He/she knew our previous grades and even monitored them. That is, he/she talked to us ... This had a positive effect on me. He/she even called me and say "Let's do this, that". We made it together, we talked. He/she was very interested. He/she is verly well-liked by his/her students. (*Diyarbakır, female, 16-18*)

They talked about his/her problems ... For instance, I had a friend. He/she had a problem with his/her teacher, math teacher. He/she shared it with him/her [the school counselor]. He/she told him/her something. They share more of his/her problems. They talked about his/her family problems. [When I went to see the school counselor] He/she did not say much to me. (*Istanbul, female, 12-15*)

In fact, school counselors are helpful. They make study timetables. They fill in for teachers at some class hours. They talk with those who have psychological problems, outcasts. They talk with them in order to prevent them from repeating same behaviors and explain the damages they cause. Spoiled ones are referred to school counseling at first, before inflicting a disciplinary punishment. They take care of them there. They are helpful. (*Trabzon, male, 12-15*)

Under some circumstances, school counselors assumed the above mentioned “mediator” role.

A teacher swore at me. I told him/her [the school counselor] about it. He/she called the teacher; he/she made him/her apologize. I apologized to him/her too. (*Diyarbakir, male, 16-18*)

On the other hand, some students had weak relationships with school counselors. One reason for this was school counselors’ “indifference”. For instance, some participants reported that school counselors only prepared and distributed study timetables and did not take on any other tasks. In a similar vein, it was mentioned that school counselors made “surveys” in classes, yet did not make any attempt to solve the problems reported in these surveys.

There is a school counselor in our school, but he/she mostly locks his/her door. Trainee teachers come and talk. They come to the class, ask one or two questions and go. At times, they distribute schedules. Nothing more. (*Erzurum, male, 16-18*)

I went there [school counselor] a few times because of a couple of problems. He/she offered momentary support. He/she said a few sentences and that was it. But in general, he/she makes surveys at the school. The Ministry of National Education sends them [the surveys]. He/she has to make them ... He/she says “Why are you unsuccessful?”. He/she comes and conducts a survey, but does not finalize it. He/she does not talk about the issue with the students one-to-one or does not make any presentations about it in the class. He/she makes surveys about teachers. We do not see any improvement in the teachers. The surveys are futile; they are not beneficial. (*Erzurum, female, 16-18*)

We also had one [school counselor], but they were not interested in us. (*Istanbul, female, 12-15*)

[When I had a problem with a school mate] I went to the counselor. Now I have found a negative aspect of our school. The school counselor did not do anything. No matter how many times I went there, in fact I went there twice and he/she got bored. (*Trabzon, female, 16-18*)

In some schools, the unwanted consequences of school counselors’ excessive workload had repercussions for students. The assignment of administrative duties to school counselors and their contractual agreements with multiple schools were mentioned to have negative effects. As can be seen above, one statement which indicated the effectiveness and positive aspects of school counseling was that “he/she knows our names”. When there is an overload at work as indicated in the following examples, this kind of an intimate relationship could not be possibly established.

They bring papers and make surveys in our school too. The surveys even cannot reach the counselor’s office. Teachers keep them for weeks. In fact, generally class teachers give the coun-

seling course. Our school counselor even works at another school. He/she works contractually at our school for two days a week. That is the reason why we have so many problems about school counseling. (*Erzurum, male, 16-18*)

Our counselor complained about this: “I am a school counselor. I have to do administrative duties during the time which I should allocate to you”. He/she wanted to talk to us, but paperwork for the administration, this duty, that duty, this is the reason. (*Izmir, female, 16-18*)

As explained in one of the quotations above, school counselors were considered as “the step preceding disciplinary punishment” at some schools. Thus, if a student breaks a rule which requires disciplinary punishment, he/she is first referred to a school counselor, and later to the disciplinary board if the problems are not solved. Although the system is established for the good of students, it also causes a student to consider his/her school counselor as “a savior” who rescues him/her from disciplinary punishment. In the example below, the student escaped disciplinary punishment owing to his school counselor, yet he did not feel the necessity to contact him/her again later.

There was a counselor at school. I went to see him/her because of disciplinary punishment. I did not go there on my own. Thank God, he/she saved me from disciplinary punishment. He/she said “I do not want this to be repeated”. He/she came to the class and made a speech. He/she said “If you have any problems, do not hesitate to come and ask me”, but I did not go there by myself. I did not need to. (*Istanbul, male, 16-18*)

As explained in the section entitled “Relationships with teachers”, some students established close bonds with their class and branch teachers. In a parallel vein, some students indicated that they would prefer to talk to their class or branch teachers whom they felt close to rather than their school counselor.

I do not have to talk about my problems with him/her, just because he/she is a school counselor. I talk to those whom I feel comfortable with. (*Diyarbakir, male, 16-18*)

F. Social Facilities and Satisfaction with the Physical Environment at School

It was found that the level of general satisfaction with social facilities and physical environment at school was low. In this section, the ideas of those students who held positive views about the issue will be presented in the first place and their complaints will be reviewed in the second place. Cleanliness emerges as a significant factor which determines the level of satisfaction. A student who had positive ideas about their school’s cleanliness indicated that they achieved it with their own efforts.

Our garden was very nice. I still admire that garden. We could not wander around it much but it was a beautiful garden. I cannot go to the toilet everywhere. I have such obsessions, but it is very comfortable and clean at our school. After all, cleaners always work. Food and so on is good. (*Diyarbakir, female, 16-18*)

I suppose the topic is cleanliness. We won the White Flag. I suppose it is the symbol of cleanliness. We enrolled on our own as a group of girls. We cleaned the whole school by ourselves, its walls and windows. In any case, there are 50 or 60 classes. In the end, we won the White Flag. (*Diyarbakir, female, 16-18*)

Last year, it [our school] was selected as the one which had the cleanest toilet. (*Trabzon, male, 12-15*)

Contrary to the examples above, the students in most of the meetings complained about the physical environment at school and especially the uncleanness of toilets. An important reason of the hygiene problem in toilets was smoking. However, regardless of smoking, cleanliness was a serious problem.

Toilets are very dirty. Noone cleans the toilets. Not only in our school, it is the same in most schools. There is not even liquid soap [to use] after getting out of the toilet. A tankard and such, there are none of them. They are very dirty. (*Erzurum, male, 16-18*)

Toilets do not have doors at our school. (*Erzurum, male, 16-18*)

Sometimes, toilet paper and such is lacking. You bring it yourself. (*Istanbul, female, 12-15*)

The student toilets do not receive as much attention as the teacher toilets. There is paper towel in teacher toilets, but not in ours. We have to take towels from teacher toilets. (*Trabzon, male, 12-15*)

There is even no soap [in the toilet] (*Ankara, male, 16-18*)

I have a complaint about the desks. They are all scratched. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

I do not like two things about my school: uncleanliness of the class and I do not like it when our washbasin is not clean. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

Our school's garden is not very big. They have planned to build a football pitch behind it. They have postponed it for 4-5 years. There is no paper towel in the toilets. Soap and such are all worn out. Teachers are normal. (*Trabzon, male, 12-15*)

Our washbasins are very bad, not in terms of cleanliness, but there are millions of men's phone numbers on the washbasins. They have written them everywhere. (*Trabzon, female, 16-18*)

In the Istanbul meetings with girls, dilapidation of toilets was explained by schools' poverty level and the resignation of cleaning staff who were not satisfied with their wages. Similar to the example above in which the duty of cleaning was shouldered by students, in this quotation it was explained that

economic support was expected from students to ensure the cleanliness of toilets.

Sometimes cleaners in our school resign because wages are too low. [Under such circumstances] It remains dirty. The principle asked us for money, you know "If you do not want the cleaners to resign, you should give money, so that your toilets will be clean" ... In fact we do not have to pay just because of the school ... Sometimes we gave money to keep the cleaners and have a clean toilet. (*Istanbul, female, 12-15*)

Dissatisfaction with the physical environment at school was not limited to toilets. Students complained a lot about inadequate social facilities at school and voiced their negative views. The dissatisfaction was partly related to the hygiene problem, partly to inadequate facilities and partly to dense student population at some schools.

Ours is very bad. There is the canteen, it is squalid. You cannot eat meat. All is dirty. They slice breads on the marble counter. (*Diyarbakir, female, 16-18*)

There is not even a football pitch in our school. This year we prepared a play with one of our teachers and performed it. Because of our schools' incapacity, there is a small hall. Because the team was crowded, the hall was not adequate. One day we practiced in one school, the next day we practiced in another school. We put the play on stage in an entirely different school. Like an immigrant ... There are 600 students in our school. We are squashed into the garden when we gather for ceremonies or such. At the beginning, they raised a building. Its garden was big. Later, another building as large as this one was raised next to it. Very little space was left in the garden ... Besides this, they located the canteen in the garden. We have a 60-minute lunch break. It takes 30 minutes to buy something to eat. It is too crowded. (*Izmir, male, 16-18*)

It is very bad. There is no laboratory in our school, no sports hall, nothing. They do not organize any trips. They say that we are too crowded and that is the reason. The only thing we do ... is going to AKM [a shopping mall]. The mall is very close to our school on foot. That is all. (*Izmir, female, 16-18*)

In the primary school, my school had the largest sports hall in Ankara. I came here, we try to do physical exercise in a shelter in winter. (*Ankara, male, 16-18*)

There is neither a sports hall, nor a library in our school. Its garden is very small. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

Apart from the lack of a series of opportunities at schools, there were examples in which facilities were available but not used. In the examples below, the students complained that they could not use available opportunities and resources, they had to “coax” to have access or their access was totally restricted. Regarding school facilities, another point was that the students might feel uncomfortable with internet inspection.

We were supposed to research something. We have computer labs, but we cannot use them ... They are not always open. You have to search and find the teacher, the key ... It is quite funny, that is it is difficult. We have two information processing rooms, but we have never used them. (*Trabzon, female, 16-18*)

It is available but we cannot access at anytime we want. We have volleyball net, but you have to coax your physical education teacher to get it. You have to say “Can we play, teacher? Please, please” ... Until we implore him to get it, time passes. It [the net] is not always hung up. (*Trabzon, female, 16-18*)

We have internet, but it is restricted to Google. You can only open Google page. There is noth-

ing else. An hour passes until you make a query. Then, you do not want to use it. (*Ankara, male, 16-18*)

The narrations about relationships with teachers as well as hygiene bring to the fore a significant issue. Although the students might not explicitly state it, one of their fundamental needs seem to be “being treated with respect”. Considering some teachers’ behaviors towards students and the level of cleanliness they deem proper, the students’ reactions seem to be understandable. It will be beneficial to analyze teacher-student relationships, school facilities and resources and more importantly the way they are presented to students.

G. Security

One of the biggest problems about school was security in and out of school. For some students, the school was a secure place. However, as the students took a step outside of school, negative realities such as physical violence, fight, abuse and drugs awaited them. In addition, it was found that a considerable level of violence was committed among students and by teachers or principles towards students. While some students complained about this issue; others treated it as a joke, stated that they got used to such incidents and did not complain about fights and quarrels since they helped to “disrupt the lesson”. In any case, the issues of security, peace and order at schools emerge as significant problems. Here, security issues related to school and to school surroundings are grouped into two and examined separately.

1. Security Issues Related to School

One phenomenon which causes security problems at schools was grouping among students and gang formation. Gangs or the groups which created unrest could be composed of girls or boys. Delinquent behaviors ranged from damaging the school and bullying younger ones to intimidate and take their money, to spreading fear over the whole city. The quotations below explain the sense of victimization they felt due to such groups.

They are three people. The whole school knows them. We know their names, even their background. Normally people are afraid of men, but we have a gang of three [girls] and they dominate the school. (*Diyarbakir, female, 16-18*)

I studied at an industrial vocational school. When I first started school, there were people who carried guns or knives. At the time when I had two more years to graduate, it was cleansed, but still there are many groups. Crap schools are widely known. (*Erzurum, male, 16-18*)

I was exposed to violence. Some time, big brothers beat me. They stole my money ... They forced me into a corner at the toilet, they beat me. I had a considerable amount of money ... to pay for [something] ... They pushed me to the wall, beat me. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

In our school, there are crazy people like fans. They demolish the school. They scream "Trabzon, Trabzon". The door was broken. Our classroom door was broken. At that moment, I was around and the teacher took us all ... although I was not doing anything wrong. (*Trabzon, male, 12-15*)

There are those who listen to arabesque rap ... They have a crew. There are also the young who generally listen to Turkish or foreign singers. In general, there is always a conflict between these two groups. At times, it is verbal. There are groupings at schools. For instance, on the Cumhuriyet Street there is a group called Caykara Youth ... As our friend here said, I also do not go to the Cumhuriyet Street, just to be safe. They all carry blades, their arms and such. The probability of finding oneself among them at a moment's notice is very high. (*Erzurum, male, 16-18*)

Violent incidents which occurred among students at school and were related to grouping were accompanied by alcohol, cigarette and at times drug use. One

participant from Diyarbakir explained this issue in the following way:

The gang that I have just mentioned about brought alcohol to the school, not drugs. In fact, you could not draw near to them because of smell, cigarette smell ... Our toilet is quite big. There is a mirror in the first section, the other one is for washing hands, and the other one is for toilets. They walk in to these toilets, close the door and smoke cigarettes. I am very uncomfortable with this smell. Even the school principle does not do anything. The situation is such that because of the penalty, they call for a meeting with the family of those who smoke and take approximately 100 TL from them. Because they are rich, it does not make any difference. (*Diyarbakir, female, 16-18*)

In general, the reason behind school fights was related to "the issue of girls" or "boys". Arguments after football matches or even a glance could raise conflict and fight. It was noteworthy that these fights involved a physical dimension and at times the students' pulling a knife on each other.

Mostly they fight over boys, mostly because of this or teasing. Even your glance at him annoys her. (*Trabzon, female, 16-18*)

In Erzurum, the address for fights is our school. It is a well-known school. In general, there are no verbal disputes, but fists and kicks. It happens mostly in the canteen or outside. If it takes place outside, it is like Malazgirt Wars. 200 people from here. (*Erzurum, male, 16-18*)

For instance when there is a fight, they go and invade a classroom. Even the teacher cannot say anything to them ... Once, they beat the teacher in another class, not in our class. They took the boy and left. No one could not say anything. (*Erzurum, male, 16-18*)

A fight definitely took place once in approximately two days. (*Istanbul, male, 16-18*)

Ours [our school] is not safe ... I do not know how many times stabbing incidents occurred at school. (*Diyarbakır, male, 16-18*)

It also happens in our school, generally between classes ... It mostly happens after football games because of "You say this and that to me" ... There were many times when the principle came and broke up the fight in the corridor. (*Istanbul, female, 12-15*)

When asked about their methods of coping with this type of violence, some participants mentioned security guards or surveillance cameras at school. In addition, the presence of a police station near the school and the possibility of police involvement were considered as assurances which ended fights. The young who indicated that these measures were not preventive also mentioned about the ineffectiveness of disciplinary punishment at school.

Once there was a big fight in our school. I can say that 80 percent of boys at school hit each other somewhere since the school garden was large. Six or seven police teams came. The teams waited for the fight to end. It lasted nearly 1.5 hour. Ten or more people were hospitalized. After the fight was over, they took those who they set eyes on. They did not do anything else. (*Erzurum, male, 16-18*)

Once, the police came to our school. It is not safe ... There is a security weakness. As I have said, the construction is going on in some parts. These parts are remote. Ok, there are the cameras and the teachers keep their watch, but there it [security weakness] was ... For instance, someone can push you to the wall and stick a knife. (*Istanbul, male, 16-18*)

They receive disciplinary punishment, but they

do no care anymore. Their aim is not to get education, they say it themselves. (*Istanbul, female, 12-15*)

Participants were asked whether they could complain about such bitter experiences at school. Besides ineffective disciplinary punishment, students indicated that they could not speak up under such circumstances because of peer pressure. Therefore, "the bullying system" mentioned in the literature does not only include physical abuse or stealing, but also social pressure.

Our school is more decent, it is out of town, but still such students exist. Some of our friends even drink alcohol at school. They smoke cigarettes in the toilets. Somehow, they always go unnoticed by the teachers. In fact, there is nothing like informing on them in order to protect our friendship. (*Erzurum, male, 16-18*)

Sometimes we go to the toilet with our friends. There are girls who smoke cigarettes there. For instance they smoke and leave before we do. Then the hall monitor comes and tells us "Go out, you have smoked cigarettes" ... as if we have smoked. They worm their way out. We are held responsible. But, you cannot say anything. They are troublesome people. The girl carries a knife. You cannot tell her "You did this and the teacher held us responsible". They would kill you and break you into pieces. They are reckless. Now boys calm down, but girls start. I do not have any interaction with them. Honestly, I am afraid of them. (*Erzurum, female, 16-18*)

It was found that violence at school did not only occur between students, but also involved teachers and directors. This type of violence could be directed at students, while students also swore at, hit and even pull a knife on their teachers. Therefore, the young who observes the use of violence as a problem solving and communication method at school, home and workplace inflict violence themselves to

express or solve their problems with each other. This issue warrants particular attention. The incidents of physical and verbal violence involving teachers or directors were explained in the following way:

Those who pull out a knife... I even saw those who pulled out a knife on my teacher. They stole her bag. What is more is that she was pregnant ... She was a former graduate of the school. She wanted a new place of assignment. She said "A student that we educated, I cannot accept this. A public school can be very disciplined, but I cannot accept this". She left the school for a new place of assignment. (*Diyarbakir, female, 16-18*)

They smoke cigarettes, sometimes marijuana. We have a friend, we are at the same school. As we have talked about, there are many incidents in which teachers are beaten up. It was last year or so ... This student pulled a gun on a teacher. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

Once, a teacher had a nervous breakdown in the classroom. His hands and feet trembled. He was a very angry teacher. Then he was assigned to work at another school ... We had a friend. He hit him a couple of times just because his necktie was above his shirt. Then he [the teacher] had a nervous breakdown. Other teachers came and take him away. (*Izmir, female, 16-18*)

A teacher beat me once. More precisely, we had a primary school teacher. He/she beat up children. He/she held us, put one of his feet over ours, grab our hand with his other hand and hit. We could not escape. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

The teacher had an iron ruler like this and hit us on the head with it. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

For instance once, the teacher pushed someone in our class against the board. The student was a boy. His hair was a bit long. He cut it with scissors; the boy shed blood ... Here, there was a

tail behind. He/she stuck the scissors into him while cutting it. The boy bled. (*Trabzon, female, 12-15*)

The quotes below exemplify how violence is learned, repeated and reproduced. In one of those quotations, the participant jokingly compared the violence inflicted by teachers with that of his father. In the second example, the participant was beaten up by the school director as a punishment for his resorting to physical violence in order to solve a problem with his friend. The third quotation exemplified the view that violence was a reasonable method of punishment for those who "deserved it". Therefore, as physical power was used as a tool for communication, problem solving and punishment, the youth repeatedly used the same method.

There is a teacher in our school. He holds a boy, brings him out and beats him badly. It is not more than that of my father, but he beats him very badly. He kicks him. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

I was subjected to violence once. I had a friend. He frequently picked on me. One day I got angry and beat him. He came with 7 more people. I beat them up all. Then, they took me to the deputy principle's office. The principle beat me up there. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

A teacher should beat a student. Because, for instance we had a friend and the teacher hit him. I suppose he hit him lightly. Our friend sat at his desk ... He shouted saying "It did not hurt" from the backside. The teacher called him again and beat him. (*Ankara, male, 16-18*)

Besides these examples, there were participants who reported that they felt secure and did not encounter any acts of physical violence at school.

I study at an Anatolian High School ... As they talk and explain [violent incidents], I get surprised. There is nothing like this in our school.

There is discrimination between one student and the other, as others mentioned. The teacher behaves more positively towards some students, because he/she loves them. This happens in each school, I know, but there are no such extremes ... If the teacher uses violence, if it happens in our school, the teacher would be expelled from the school ... There is order in our school. They say "You cannot do this". [Then] you cannot do it". (*Trabzon, female, 16-18*)

Security problems related to school are serious. However, the students indicated that they encountered more violent incidents when they went out of school, that is in school surroundings.

2. Security Issues Related to School Surrounding

One female participant from Diyarbakir indicated that she did not experience the above stated problems at school and that everybody at her school knew each other for a long time and got on well. However, even in such peaceful school environments, it was mentioned that students encountered some troubles such as verbal abuse, bad role models who smoked cigarettes, when they got out of school.

In general, nearly everybody knows each other in our school, because they are friends since the primary school ... In our neighborhood, there are one or two primary schools. Those who graduated from these schools all went to the same high-school. Because we all know each other, there are no problems. The only problem is those students who come from other schools. Those students who are not enrolled in our school, but stand in front of it cause many problems ... For instance, their smoking cigarettes, their teasing, all are important problems on their own. [The problem is] outside the school. There was no problem within the school, because everybody treated each other as siblings, sisters and friends. Since our teachers were from Diyarbakir and they grew up in Diyarbakir, they understood us. Since they knew our family structure, they were more understanding

towards us. The only problem was the students outside the school. (*Diyarbakir, female, 16-18*)

Besides verbal abuse or smoking in the school surroundings, it was found that there were cases of physical violence or of contact with dealers who tried to sell drugs. Although the students complained about this situation, they generally accepted and calmly explained it without any surprise. These quotations highlighted the risk of the normalization of violence in daily life and the contribution of school surroundings to the sense of ordinariness regarding violence.

In our case, [the problems were] not inside, but outside the school. There were many troubles when we got into and out of the school, because they were waiting at the school's door. They literally occupied the pavement; we had to pass through them ... They did not do anything, but they looked at us as if they would eat us and that was enough. (*Diyarbakir, female, 16-18*)

It happened. There was a group of 70-80 people. There is a park just next to it [the school]. They fought. I witnessed it. One of them was hospitalized. No one could do anything. (*Istanbul, male, 16-18*)

Our school's surrounding is bad. The school is good, but its surrounding is bad, both its road and the people living in the neighborhood. As you get out of school, a group of outcasts meet you. They begin to make a pass or swear at us. A lot of fights take place there. (*Trabzon, female, 16-18*)

There was a man. I heard that he sold pills. I did not know, but when we waited for the school bus, he stood in front of the door. Then, somebody made a complaint, but the man was strange. He sold pills ... Then, they collected money and hired a security guard. The security guard came, then I left that school. (*Erzurum, female, 16-18*)

The school surrounding was very bad until last year. Be it stabbing, be it drug dealers, there were a lot of such people, but now they have cleaned the area. When the semester begins, undercover cops stay in front of the school. The school is good in terms of security. Until last year, it was bad. This year it is good. (*Trabzon, female, 16-18*)

The below mentioned statements of a participant from Ankara indicated how ordinary violent incidents at school surroundings were and how normal the students perceived such events.

Let's say you picked on someone. People immediately gathered at school. At the end of the school day, there was a war. Lately, gendarmerie begins to come. Everything is normal. I take the school bus to go home. (*Ankara, male, 16-18*)

Cigarette, alcohol and drugs encountered in the school surroundings played a role in the other parts of the youth's life. In the focus groups, it was identified and observed that cigarette smoking was prevalent among the youth. In fact some groups of 16-18 years old adolescents asked for a break to smoke. In the section below, the adolescents' use of cigarettes is explained, followed by that of alcohol and drugs.

H. Smoking, Alcohol, Drugs

1. Smoking

As can be expected, the youth concealed their smoking from their families. Thus, the issues of smoking or getting caught smoking were important issues in the family. Even though qualitative research does not supply data about tendencies or frequency nationwide, it is worth noting that the school appears to be a substantial locus of cigarette consumption. As there were stories of students who received punishments because of smoking, participants also recounted instances where teachers would turn a blind eye to students' smoking. In spite of daily punishments or sanctions, schools do not appear to be engaged in devising permanent solutions to alter the students' behavior. A student from Izmir indicated

that smoking cigarettes at school was the "enjoyable part of the job" and explained the sense of excitement and entertainment which came along with doing something forbidden.

While talking about the issue of smoking, some students mentioned about the camera systems in their school and indicated that those surveillance systems were ineffective. Some of them even pointed out the fact that teachers sabotaged the school's camera system themselves in order to smoke cigarettes comfortably.

They installed a camera in the toilet. They catch those who smoke. They call their parents. (*Ankara, male, 16-18*)

There are cameras everywhere in our school, except the toilets. But the teachers turned off their sensors and I do not know whether the cameras are working anymore. I have seen teachers smoking cigarettes in the corridors, also the principle. The principle always smokes. He/she smokes in his room and this is not a problem for him. (*Erzurum, male, 16-18*)

In our school, there are a lot of students who smoke cigarettes in the toilets. For instance, I was in the toilet and someone next to me was smoking a cigarette. For a second, I thought the teacher I feared came and I might be held responsible. I do not think that smoking in the toilets is a nice thing. If they smoke outside, the teachers see. One goes into the toilet to smoke, another keeps watching the corridor. It is like an operation. (*Erzurum, male, 16-18*)

In our school, they installed voice recorders in the toilets. (*Trabzon, male, 12-15*)

I do not think that the principles in our school care. They are not interested. If someone writes a petition to the Ministry of National Education, maybe they can ... There are no drugs, but most-

ly cigarettes in our school. There are those who try to sell cigarettes, not drugs. (*Istanbul, female, 12-15*)

A friend of mine was smoking, I made a complaint but nothing happened. (*Erzurum, female, 16-18*)

Smoking cigarettes at school, mainly in the toilets, had an impact on the school's physical characteristics. Some students complained about the smell, smoke and cigarette butts in the toilets. Others mentioned of certain areas which were formally or informally designated for cigarette smoking. When inquired into the level of satisfaction with the school building, social facilities and physical looks, it was noteworthy that students directly pointed out the toilets and the issue of cigarette smoking.

We are not content. Firstly the toilets, they are not used as toilets anymore. It is used as a smoking area. They wrote their names on the walls with cigarette ashes. (*Erzurum, male, 16-18*)

They designated an area for the senior 4th year students in the middle of our [high] school. There is the engine department there. The 4th year students are allowed to smoke there. Senior students are allowed to smoke in a certain area. It is an open area, there is a little garden next to to the café, the dining hall. It is free to smoke there only for seniors, not the younger ones. (*Ankara, male, 16-18*)

There is a small cabin in our school garden. Everybody smokes there in general. (*Ankara, male, 16-18*)

Toilets are a problem in our school. Cigarettes smell. Nearly %95 of my acquaintances uses cigarettes. (*Diyarbakir, male, 16-18*)

There are many smokers in our neighborhood. I think there are smokers in the school, definite-

ly. There are those who smoke on the fire escape stairs, those who smoke in the toilets. There was even someone who smoked in the garden. He/she got caught. (*Trabzon, female, 16-18*)

In order to prevent cigarette smoking in the toilets, their doors were locked up in some schools while in others the teachers broke the door window to get in. It was found that these methods exacerbated the problems associated with the schools' and the toilets' physical conditions, rather than preventing cigarette smoking.

The toilets are very bad in our school. Teachers break the windows. There is the toilet door window ... They smoke cigarettes. They lock the door. Teachers knock at the door, they understand that something is going on. They break the window. If somebody is smoking, they catch him/her. (*Mersin, erkek, 12-15*)

Toilets were not enough. They locked the doors to smoke cigarettes there ... I generally took the keys from school janitors and smoked in already locked rooms ... There were six toilets in our school. Three of them were locked up, no one went there. I smoked there and got on well with everybody. (*Istanbul, erkek, 16-18*)

It is the same in our school. If there are 10 toilets, 5 of them are locked. (*Istanbul, male, 16-18*)

In order to explain the impact of cigarette smoking in one's surroundings on the youth, a participant from Istanbul used the word "imitation". The quotation below exemplifies a widely cited and prevalent phenomenon in which the desire to imitate others and satisfy one's curiosity lead to start smoking. It was found that besides imitation, peer pressure and bullying also prompted the youth to start smoking.

Most of my friends think "Give me one, I also want to taste it". It is like they want to imitate

... They are curious. It is like saying "I also want to smoke one". Most of my friends do this. They want to be like and imitate smokers. They say "We should also go [out to smoke] like them". (*Istanbul, female, 16-18*)

Why is it bad? ...I have come to my senses because of this environment. I had a friend, she smoked. She forced me ... to smoke. She tempted me [to smoke]. I had such problems, until I found the right person. I have found her now. (*Trabzon, female, 16-18*)

I started smoking because my friends used to smoke back then. Now, they are not my friends anymore, but I still smoke. Now, my friends are not smokers. I stick around with them. They say "Do not smoke", but we still smoke. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

Although peer pressure and imitation were frequently mentioned, some participants indicated that they were not influenced by them. The quotation below exemplifies this point.

A couple of my friends smoke cigarettes, marijuana. They also offer me, but I do not smoke. Some people want to imitate and resemble others, they want to taste it. I have never wanted it. I have never smoked a cigarette or drunk beer just because my friends offered. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

In fact, all of my friends smoke cigarettes now, but I do not use cigarettes. If there was such a thing as peer influence, I would have already started smoking. (*Ankara, male, 16-18*)

Besides cigarettes, alcohol and drug use was also mentioned by the adolescents who participated in the focus group meetings. Although alcohol consumption was less frequently mentioned, drug use, especially marijuana use, was evident in more than one city.

2. Alcohol and Drugs

The issue of drug use among the youth came to the fore in almost all meetings. Although the number of adolescents who reported their drug use was limited, a lot of participants encountered such incidents in their surrounding. Two types of attitudes towards drugs were prevalent among the young. Firstly, some participants stated that nothing could be done to help drug users and they could not change their behavior with indoctrination or suggestion. Besides, some adolescents held normative and negative moral convictions related with alcohol and drug use. In addition, while cigarette and alcohol use was evident in both boys and girls, drug use seemed to be more prevalent among boys.

Our [social] surrounding was dirty ... We used to smoke marijuana ... At the very least, we start with marijuana ... What can I say? Most friends are condemned to marijuana, always marijuana. (*Diyarbakir, male, 16-18*)

If someone smokes, he smokes. I only say "Do not smoke" ... If you see someone who smokes, you should save your breath. As our friend here said, if him "Do not you say use marijuana", he will not listen. He has to have some issues, that is why he smokes. (*Diyarbakir, male, 16-18*)

They [drug users] are everywhere. They are even in the parks in decent neighborhoods. They use glue, marijuana ... We cannot go to parks because of them. (*Erzurum, male, 16-18*)

I have friends who use it [marijuana]. I am not close to them, but they are my friends. I say "Do not use". I have a lot of friends who started with using drugs and ended up in dealing drugs ... Be it Tuzla, Icerenkoy. I say "Do not do this". He says "The life has driven me into this, do not interfere". Well I say "What is that to me". (*Istanbul, male, 16-18*)

I have a friend who uses drugs ... What kind of reactions does he get? "God damn you, do not use this". I have tried it once or twice. It is not reasonable. Its taste is different. I have friends who use alcohol or cigarettes ... I am comfortable with these issues. I do not warn anyone because it is his/her choice. (*Istanbul, erkek, 16-18*)

For instance, there is something called cooler. They smoke it too. They used to gather and go. We knew somebody brought cooler. (*Izmir, female, 16-18*)

In our school, sometimes they smoke marijuana even in the toilets. I sometimes see them. They used to drink vodka and they offered everybody. (*Ankara, male, 16-18*)

Our schools are bad because of students. No one talks politely. Glue-sniffers, hashish smokers, they are all in schools. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

As evident in some of the quotations above, the incidents of verbal and physical violence are intermingled with cigarette, alcohol and drug use in schools. Although it is difficult to conclude that there is a causal relationship between the two, it was observed that those habits were concurrent with violent incidents and this was also perceived as such by the students. Moreover, this concurrency was also evident in the measures which were planned to be taken. For instance, when the moderator asked what could be done to prevent the above stated behaviors, the answer was "You have to beat them, if it is necessary" in one of the meetings in Izmir. The widely held idea that problems can only be solved with violence came up once again.

They pulled a knife on me in the toilet at school. I was scared and I screamed. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

Moderator: Why did they pull a knife on you? Were they students?

He was smoking marijuana back there. I got scared and screamed. He even tried to stick it in me. He threw it, I stood back. I ran and called the principle. They caught him in the toilet, they took him out and turned him in. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

It is going to be our 4th year in the high school. There will be a lot of junior 1st year students who newly come to school. There is a big difference between us in terms of age and physical qualities. They cannot help, but take you as a model. Let's say you roll a joint in the class and if one of them sees you doing it, when he/she comes to the 4th grade ... he/she will learn that the 4th year means rolling a joint and he/she will also do it. Even though you cannot intervene, you should not allow students to roll a joint in school. (*Izmir, male, 16-18*)

Moderator: To whom can you talk about this?

You solve it yourself. (*Izmir, male, 16-18*)

Moderator: Who else do you consult with?

You will beat them if it is necessary. (*Izmir, male, 16-18*)

Although the prevalence of verbal and physical violence and the idea that no one should interrupt those who used marijuana were frequently mentioned, some participants indicated that those young people needed a different type of care and concern.

You cannot expel anyone from school just because he/she rolls a joint. He/she must have gone to somewhere wrong, because now you do not know how he started. You cannot beat or expel him/her from school. You need to help. Maybe because no one has taken him/her by the hand, maybe because everyone has beaten him/her up, that is why he is... (*Izmir, male, 16-18*)

III. SOCIAL LIFE

In this section, the elements of the youth's social lives which involve leisure time activities, friendships and relationships are discussed. The young mostly socialize on the internet. Thus, the ideas and experiences related with technology, internet and social media are presented in this section. In addition, physiological and psychological changes occurring in the adolescence period and sex education have an impact on the young's social life and relationships. Lastly, the adolescents, particularly girls, mention about the issue of "social pressure". These topics are also presented in this section.

A. Leisure Time Activities and Friends

A well-established theme in the literature on adolescence is that the young drift away from their parents and they tend to spend leisure time with friends. Although there were some participants who reported that they spent time with their families in the group meetings, this time was used to "sit under the same roof". "Spending quality time" with the family was uncommon. With friends, leisure time activities are somewhat diversified. The main activities coming to the fore were playing ball and going to video arcades. In addition, visiting recreation areas or touristic centres and going to the library with friends were also mentioned.

I spend time with my friends. In general, we play football in the pitch. Our pitch is pulled down. Before, we used to pay for it. Now, because they pull down the pitch, we play there for free. In general, we play ball with friends. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

We go to cyber cafés or play ball with friends from our neighborhood. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

We go to a [cyber] café and play Counter Strike with friends from our apartment. (*Trabzon, male, 12-15*)

We go up to the Keci Burcu. We play guitar and sing.

We mostly play bowling. We go outside for breakfast very frequently. (*Diyarbakir, female, 16-18*)

I have friends from the training center, two girls ... I turned 18, for the first time in my life I went up to Boztepe with them. We go to places we have never seen before. We go to movies. We go to the library. We look around book sellers. (*Trabzon, female, 16-18*)

Schools, training centers, various courses or clubs, workplace, neighborhood, building complexes or apartments established the adolescents' social networks. In addition, they made friends through social media sites like Facebook. As explained in the section on school life, in situations where friendships at school were newly established, the young reported that they trusted their old friends more.

In one's circle of friends, some friends endure from primary school. Some of them are from the workplace, and high school. We meet each of them one by one. (*Diyarbakir, female, 16-18*)

You cannot entirely trust anyone from school. For instance, when you start high school, you just get to know them. You cannot know them well in four years. But in our neighborhood, there are those whom I know since I was a child. (*Diyarbakir, male, 16-18*)

In one example, a participant explained that his trust for those "friends who lived in the same building complex" with them was based on the fact that he "knew their mothers". As will be explained below, the young indicated their parent's involvement and interference with their relationship with friends; while meeting friends was an important criterion for parents. As can be seen in this example, the adolescent applied the same criterion to himself as well.

I think friends from the building complex are better than school friends, because you know their mothers. So, you can understand what kind

of a child or friend he is. You can get to know him on the basis of his family. (*Trabzon, male, 12-15*)

Besides these activities, some adolescents mentioned that they stayed at home and spent time on the computer or alone in their rooms in their spare time.

I stay at home in my spare time. I watch TV. I have birds, I take care of them. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

I spend time on the computer. I paint my nail and do my hair. If my room is messy, I tidy it up. I take care of my closet. I cannot even open it. I open it, look at it, tidy it and then get bored and squeeze everything back into the closet. There is nothing to do. I get bored there too ... I listen to music [on the computer]. I am a fan of rap music. I listen to music. I spend time on the Facebook. I also play a game, a football game. (*Mersin, female, 16-18*)

As evident in some of the quotations above, internet, social media and video games have an important place in the young's life. While talking about their social experiences and leisure time activities, they make explanations which help us understand their relationship with technology. The next sub-heading dwells on this topic.

B. Technology, Internet and Social Media

New technological tools, internet and particularly social media websites, messaging programs and video games were activities on which the young spent most of their time. Some participants did not question their preoccupation with these technological tools, while others explicitly defined it as an "addiction". An important element of the culture of technology was keeping up with newly released tools.

In general, I follow telephone programs most, and also computer programs. I have learnt Auo-

toCAD and such in this way. Generally speaking, I know most of the computer programs. I follow technology very well. If there is a new release, I try to buy it. (*Erzurum, male, 16-18*)

Almost every minute, I investigate when it will be on the market, what they will revise, how the superior model will be different. It is about curiosity. I like to look into it. (*Istanbul, male, 16-18*)

I keep up with telephones, watches, laptops, computers. One day I saw a watch. There was water around it. I saw a watch which runs on water. I wanted to buy it. It costed 90 billion Turkish Liras. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

I started to use a mobile phone when I was 8. It was a present for my circumcision. I have been using a mobile phone since then. (*Istanbul, male, 16-18*)

Besides following products, the participants surfed through websites and used social media tools. Social media websites, mainly Facebook, was not only used for establishing friendships or contacting friends, but also for getting the news, playing a game, watching a movie or listening to music.

I have such a friend [whom I met on the internet and went out]. We met on Facebook. Now, we are very close friends ... Last year, we even exaggerated it a little bit. We used to go to the cinema every Saturday. This year there is no such thing, not once in a week or so. (*Erzurum, male, 16-18*)

I talked with a friend for 2.5 years [on the internet]. Then, I realized that he went to our training centre. Now, we hang out together. He is a close friend. (*Erzurum, male, 16-18*)

Sometimes I even watch a movie on Facebook. Facebook is a very nice thing. (*Erzurum, male, 16-18*)

We get the news from Facebook. The news spread somehow. There are also pages about the news. We learn everything from them. (*Erzurum, female, 16-18*)

I also use Facebook to communicate, but also to follow anything. (*Ankara, male, 16-18*)

I generally enter the Facebook site. I download my music and videos from it, mostly I download it to my phone. I never struggle with the internet. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

I only enter Mynet. I generally look at famous actors' galleries there. (*Ankara, male, 16-18*)

I sometimes do a test on the internet. I look some books over. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

To watch a video, play a game and such. For instance, to talk with my friends through Facebook, because we can only communicate through Facebook. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

I focus on Facebook. Besides this, I look recipes or dessert recipes up because I like it very much to cook. It is busy... If I spend a total of one hour [on the internet], I allocate half of it to do this and half of it to enter Facebook. A lot people write to me on the Facebook, but I do not respond. I play rummikub. (*Mersin, female, 16-18*)

The issue of online shopping came to the fore in a couple of meetings. The adolescents indicated that they bought clothes, technology etc. using their own debit cards or their parents' credit cards.

I always buy things from the websites which sell goods. I follow discounts. I buy the cheapest things straightaway. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

You can find cheaper things on the internet. You can look into different websites without moving. They directly bring it to your home. (*Izmir, female, 16-18*)

As can be understood from the statements below, internet was not considered as an external structure which was independent of one's social life. Internet was an inseparable element of social life and in some cases school life. Internet was a space in which relationships were not only maintained, but also established. In other words, a part of the life which involved internet from early years on was also lived and experienced on the internet.

When you use the internet, you do not aim to do something specific. Time always passes by ... The thing that they call surfing, it is an ongoing thing. You stop where you want to stop. (*Izmir, male, 16-18*)

I go online at 12 p.m. in the daytime. I go offline at 12 a.m. at night. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

My aunts and uncles are computer engineers. They studied information technologies. I started using computers when I was 4-5 years old, when I was a child. That is why I learned to read and write early. Since then, I am engaged in it. Not wishing to boast, but I am very good at it. (*Trabzon, female, 16-18*)

I never use a computer, only [mobile] phone ... I do everything [on the phone]. Facebook, Twitter and lots of other things, games too. (*Izmir, female, 16-18*)

In spite of the internet's ordinary presence in life, most of the participants found the amount of time they spent on the internet excessive. The idea that the habit of internet use turned into an "addiction" came forward in a couple of meetings. There were some participants who mentioned negative effects and potential harms of internet and computer or technology use. Family attitudes towards the youth's internet use correspond to the quotations below.

It causes addiction. The reason is that it has something in it. For instance, some websites, you enter Facebook. As you play, you want to play more.

As you write to each other, you want to write more. For instance, you play a game. As you play, you want to play more. You want to do it more. Your eyesight may deteriorate. There is even the risk of blindness. Because of the computer, you may be held responsible for something. You may enter a wrong website. The police may come to your house. Anything can happen. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

If I sit [in front of the computer] for more than half an hour, I want to sit there everyday. I want to spend every minute there. I want to chat night and day. That is why I do not do it for longer than half an hour. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

I got addicted to games back then ... When there was no internet connection at home, I used to go to a cyber café and played there for 7-8 hours. But it is different now. I gave it up, I do not engage in it anymore. I do not use the computer that much. I mostly use the phone to connect to the internet. (*Diyarbakir, male, 16-18*)

I use the computer mostly for Twitter or a movie. I watch a lot of movies. That is the reason. (*Trabzon, female, 16-18*)

My brother does not get out of a cyber café. (*Trabzon, female, 16-18*)

I am always in front of the computer. When there is the news in the evening, we sometimes watch it with my father. Otherwise, I do not have much of a relationship [with him]. (*Erzurum, male, 16-18*)

As evident in the last quotation above, the young's spending time on the internet meant under some circumstances that they locked themselves in their room and disengaged from their family members. This isolating effect and the belief that it caused the youth to "lose time" led families to limit their internet use. Therefore, "internet surveillance" was

carried out through multiple channels. Besides formal surveillance and the blocking of access to some websites at schools, family control systems emerged as effective restraining measures.

From the examples below, it could be concluded that the surveillance system at schools were not entirely effective in some cases.

There is a wireless one. Somebody has broken the password. The whole school knows the password. We use this connection to go online through our phones. (*Istanbul, female, 12-15*)

Let's say there are 36 people in our classroom. At most, 4 people do not have a mobile phone. Everybody has a phone. Although it is a prohibition, everybody brings their phone to school. It is so advanced. They write all answers in a message on the phone during the exam and send them to another student. A student who got 40 [before] managed to take 90 in an exam. (*Trabzon, male, 12-15*)

There were various reasons for family-based surveillance and restriction. The parents' or family elders' inclination to prevent friendships which were established through the internet and were considered to be harmful resulted in a series of restrictions. If spending a lot of time on the internet caused the young to ignore their responsibilities at home, similar restrictions came to the fore. Besides them, if the internet or computer games hindered one's school work, family members resorted to control once again.

I had a Facebook account, but my uncle said "Do not make me force you, close your account". My uncle's daughter had a relationship in Facebook. The boy persuaded her. They ran away and got married. Our uncles got angry with us and said that "You will close your Facebook accounts". (*Diyarbakir, female, 16-18*)

My sister and my mother argue with each other in general. My sister is more social. She loves messaging systems like Facebook, cell phones and computers. My mother wants her to be inclined to do housework. Cleaning, cooking, setting the table and clearing it. That is why they argue. (*Erzurum, male, 16-18*)

I wake up in the morning. I never stop until midnight. I sometimes stop only when I am working. I evade [the work] and send texts again. At home, I spend half an hour or so with my parents. Then, I immediately flee to my room. (*Mersin, female, 16-18*)

Internet connection will be gone when the semester begins ... They would say "A student does not study for his courses when there is the internet. He always plays games. When your exams are over, you can play as much as you like. When the mid-term break comes, the summer break comes, you can sit in front of it day and night". [Now] If I stay there for 2 hours, they would say "You played a lot. Leave it." (*Ankara, male, 16-18*)

I do not use it during the semester. I have already said that it [internet access] is password protected. Besides the semester, I really like American tv series. During the summer break, I can watch all episodes of two or three tv series. (*Diyarbakir, male, 16-18*)

The only problem in our home is that I play with my phone a lot and I do not study my lessons. (*Mersin, female, 16-18*)

In one example, a participant explained in the following way that such prohibitions were not effective:

I always hang out in Facebook, for a total of 3 or 3.5 hours a day at home ... When my mother comes and makes me stop, I go to a cyber café. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

In another example, a participant indicated that she put a restriction on herself and provided explanations which were similar to that of parents.

Phones, WhatsApp and such. I used WhatsApp in my phone for text messaging. I was preoccupied with it, [I thought] who did write a message and such? Because of this, I do not use my phone during the semester in order to be able to devote myself to my lessons. I begin to use my phone in the summer break. (*Istanbul, female, 12-15*)

In spite of its prevalent use, the young mentioned in some meetings that excessive technology use could be harmful.

I do not think that it is difficult to gather young people and educate them during the summer break. For instance, high school students skip school in the morning. Some of them are our friends. They are on the internet from the morning till the ending time. They cannot do anything, but play *batak* [a game]. I do not think that they are monitored somehow. (*Erzurum, male, 16-18*)

It [Facebook] is good but they exaggerated it. Some girls and boys really exaggerated it to become more popular and to earn fame. Their mother or father would disown them, if they had seen it. (*Ankara, male, 16-18*)

Benefits and harms of social networking sites, people make a comment on something you share. It has happened to one of my friends, a girl friend, somebody I regard as my cousin or my sister. She had shared a photo that was taken on a beach. They manipulated the picture, changed it and shared it in the Facebook. Such things can be bad. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

It depends on the way you use them [technologies]. They may harm you depending on the way you use them. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

Concordantly, some participants had a positive attitude towards more formal prohibitions and surveillance of the internet.

For instance, we search for something. Different things pop up. It is nonsense. (*Istanbul, female, 12-15*)

There are a lot of things which are different from what we search for in the internet. Because of this, it is better if it is controlled and put in order somehow. (*Istanbul, female, 12-15*)

There should not be any bad sites ... People should not watch them. This should not happen. Those who do it are always men. (*Istanbul, female, 12-15*)

Undercover cops should inspect. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

As the ideas presented above were mentioned, the participants were asked whether they agreed with them. There was no meeting in which consensus was reached regarding the issue of surveillance. In one of the meetings, it was explained that Facebook use concerned one's "private life", Facebook administrators could make a series of inspections, yet the family was not supposed to assume such a responsibility.

I use it [Facebook]. I have an uncle who is 56 years old. He even uses it. The whole family had a Facebook account. Until now, it has never been a problem. I do not think that surveillance is necessary. I think it is not right for my family to inspect my Facebook account. Facebook administrators should inspect some things. It can be, but my family should not interfere. It is private life. I send and take messages there. (*Diyarbakir, female, 16-18*)

C. Changes Experienced in the Adolescence Period

In the literature, the fluctuations occurring in the adolescent period are explained by the physical

changes experienced by teens. Bodily changes, difficulty in adapting to these changes or sense of loss of one's position in the society due to these changes can have a negative impact on the adolescents' mood. In light of this information, the participants were asked to express their ideas about the physical changes they experienced in different phases of the adolescent period and discuss the implications of these changes. In general, both boys and girls complained about physical changes. While some participants only mentioned about the physical changes in themselves, some of them also indicated their psychological and social implications. The primary changes mentioned by males were related to voice and hairing. For instance, one participant who was uncomfortable with the fact that his thicker voice was considered as a sign of "masculinity" attempted to consolidate his gender identity by stating that "I had already been a male". In addition, school teachers' adverse reactions toward voice changes had a negative impact on teens.

When a guest comes [to our house], [he/she says] "His voice is getting thicker. He is becoming a man" ... I feel like saying "I had already been a male". (*Diyarbakir, male, 16-18*)

At times, my English teacher scolds me just because my voice is thick. (*Diyarbakir, male, 16-18*)

It is not nice. You feel small beside other people. You know, [it's like] expressing one's love for young children and saying "Wow, you have grown up". (*Diyarbakir, male, 16-18*)

One cannot help, but feel ashamed. One cannot say what he wants to say. (*Diyarbakir, male, 16-18*)

As evident in the quotations above, when the teens passed through some changes which were considered as a sign of "growth" in the society and when this was flung up in their faces, they were likely to feel ashamed and withdraw.

Besides voice changes, boys mentioned the growth of body hair and indicated their sense of discomfort with it. In addition, one male participant stated that he was discontent with his height and weight.

[Body] hair is disturbing, hair. (*Diyarbakir, male, 16-18*)

I wish I did not have that much beard in my high school years ... I always have to shave. During the semester, I have to shave twice a week. (*Istanbul, male, 16-18*)

I wish I was tall and thin. I do not mind that I am short and overweight. In fact the reason is that I am too lazy. I could have started to go to a sports center. (*Istanbul, male, 16-18*)

Besides these views and comments, there were some male participants who indicated that the above mentioned changes were not discomforting for them and coped with these processes sometimes by “laughing it off” and sometimes by accepting the inevitability of growth.

I was comfortable with that issue. I did not have any psychological problems. I have an easy attitude towards life. I always laugh. I do not take anything seriously. I treat everything as a joke. (*Istanbul, male, 16-18*)

I was also comfortable. [I thought] I would experience it if it was supposed to happen. (*Istanbul, male, 16-18*)

I take it normally. As our friend here has told, we can not change something that is supposed happen. (*Istanbul, male, 16-18*)

It was found that gaining weight, being short and getting used to menstruation were the major issues which disturbed female participants. In some cases, the girls explained their difficulty in coping with these physical changes by giving reference to their

social lives. In other words, similar to the male participants’ sense of discomfort with changes which were considered as a manifestation of “one’s masculinity”, the female participants’ transition to “womanhood” had social implications and influenced their social relationships and public presence.

I did not like it. I thought I was good before. I do not know, menstruation and such. Why did it happen? This kind of thing. (*Diyarbakir, female, 16-18*)

I even started dieting ... I put on excessive weight. I did not know whether my appetite has increased, but I tried to diet. I could not do it. Later, because of test anxiety, I spontaneously began dieting. (*Diyarbakir, female, 16-18*)

I can’t get taller. I just can’t. For as long as I can remember, I drink milk, but it is not growing. I am not struggling any more. I accepted myself as I am. My body is shaped, but not elongated. It is enlarged. This is my body. (*Mersin, female, 16-18*)

I want to grow taller, because all of my friends are tall. I talk about this with my mother. She said “You do not eat healthy food”. She said “You do not eat adequately”. (*Istanbul, female, 12-15*)

The participant below indicated that her mother talked to her beforehand about the changes she would experience. In spite of this, she complained that “She had a lot of problems while growing up” and her environment was not tolerant and understanding enough.

When I was 11 or 12 years old, my mother told me “You are going to grow up. You will have such and such problems”. I do not know, she said “You will go through the adolescent period. Pimples will appear everywhere on your body. You will have to wax [your legs etc.]. You will be like this. You will be like that”. She said “We will have big arguments about this”. As they say, as you

grow up, one's form changes, one's body shape also changes. My maternal relatives are all as tall as a maypole. My paternal relatives are all shorties, they are short and also a little overweight. I resemble my paternal relatives. As somebody has mentioned, I also have a lot of problems while growing up. I want to grow up comfortably, but it does not work this way. They make a trouble about every issue. I have already grown up. I go to my hairdresser. I have my hair done, my eyebrow or moustache plucked. [They say] "Why is it necessary to become that much beautiful?". I do not become beautiful. It is just an eyebrow. When it grows, I have it plucked. They say "You cannot go [to the hairdresser], I say "I will". Really as one grows up, problems get bigger. (*Mersin, female, 16-18*)

In the quotation above, family dynamics created by these physical changes and by the efforts to cope with these changes were explained. Below, the female participants highlighted the social implications of these changes.

Until now, we all have lived in a patriarchal society. Women have always been pushed to the background. Just because I have breasts now, because of [men's] gazes, I cannot dress comfortably. Just because I am a woman, because I do not wear a headscarf, I cannot put on make up comfortably. In this neighborhood, people look a lot, they gossip a lot. As I have already said, it has been a patriarchal society until now. I really want women to come to the forefront. We should be free. At some point, I want to be able to go out at 12 a.m. without having any problems, without fear more precisely. It is not only about the family. It is also about the environment. (*Diyarbakir, female, 16-18*)

We started to wear loose clothes. There was shame. (*Trabzon, female, 16-18*)

In the section below which dwells on the issue of so-

cial environment and pressure, the system of control exercised particularly over girls will be explained. In the quotation above, it was found that one reason for this social pressure to come to the fore in the adolescent period was the physical changes experienced by girls. In the remaining of this section, the psychological impact of changes occurring in adolescence will be presented. However, as evident in the quotation above, physical changes during adolescence had psychological as well as social impact to a considerable extent. Some participants shared the psychological dimension of their problems in adolescence.

We quarreled a lot with my mother. I could not get on well with her. I used to storm off and not turn back to home. In fact my mother made a great deal of effort for this, but I guess I could not see it back then. Now at my current age, I understand her better. She took me to psychiatrists. She made a lot of effort though I did not want it. (*Trabzon, female, 16-18*)

I was very withdrawn in the beginning. I did not talk at all. I did not get out of my room. I did not go either to the school, or to the training center. I stuck around all by myself. I was silent. It did not make any difference whether I was around or not. My mood was very bad ... Those years were important phases for me. We took exams. There was a lot of pressure over all of us, over all of my friends ... It was a period when I was really depressed. (*Trabzon, female, 16-18*)

In various sections of the present report, the students' discontent with and problems about the education system, exams and the training centre schedule were presented. In this section, it was evident that the anxiety over the education system and exams overlapped with changes in adolescence, and were likely to trigger the adolescents' psychological problems.

Another issue related with physical changes in adolescence was that of one's awareness of his/her sexu-

ality. Although scientific information about sexuality, sexual life and sexual intercourse was provided in some schools, it was indicated in most of the meetings that these issues were not systematically discussed at home or at school. Few participants briefly mentioned that they found relevant information in books about health, biology or physical sciences. However, it was also reported that the way this issue was handled in these books was not effective and informative.

In the 6th grade physical science book, there is everything you want to learn. (*Ankara, male, 16-18*)

I also saw it in the 9th grade medical book. (*Ankara, male, 16-18*)

Biology, now we are in the high school. It was mentioned in the biology class. (*Ankara, male, 16-18*)

They do not discuss it in the class, they laugh and such. (*Ankara, male, 16-18*)

Somebody laughs and it continues. In a few seconds, the teachers let loose of them. Then, there is ridicule until the end of the class. (*Ankara, male, 16-18*)

On the basis of the participants' reports, it could be concluded that education about sexuality and sexual development at school was provided informally as an extra-curricular activity. However, it was found that such educational activities disturbed some of the students. Some participants deemed it problematic to get sex education at school. They expressed their and their families' disfavor with this issue. On the other hand, some participants emphasized that girls and boys were supposed to be separated while discussing such issues.

They explained such kind of things in some educational activities at school. For instance, we

went to our home and talked about them with our parents. They got angry at our teachers, saying "Why do they teach this stuff to you at such a young age?". In the 6th grade, they drag people to different things at this young age. Maybe, that is the reason why we are in the current situation. Because, there are a lot of atypical students, there are a lot of people who establish unusual relationships. I think the reason for all of them is that of being taught [about this staff] in advance. (*Erzurum, female, 16-18*)

It was taught in our 6th grade books. Teachers used to talk about girls' private issues indiscreetly when boys were around. Girls may go out, private issues concerning boys can be taught. It did not work this way ... What did we know in the 6th grade? They simply talked about it. The education was flawed in that sense. (*Erzurum, female, 16-18*)

They implemented [sex education] it in our school. They separated boys and girls. (*Izmir, female, 16-18*)

One participant who opposed to the provision of sex education in school suggested that families ought to receive such education, and later transmit their knowledge to their teens.

It is better if we learn this information from our families. It is wrong that we learn them at school with our teachers, friends. Our families can be informed through conferences. (*Erzurum, female, 16-18*)

In general, it is discussed with mothers. (*Istanbul, female, 12-15*)

In a similar vein, some participants indicated that their parents did not receive any education on sex, and for this reason, they could not share such information with them.

Have my mother or father ever received any education on sex? How can they provide it to their children? (*Izmir, male, 16-18*)

Since I was a little child, my parents said that these things were disgraceful ... [They said] "Kissing is disgraceful". (*Izmir, male, 16-18*)

Moderator: Have your parents ever tried to talk to you about sexuality?

Participant: They do not have the heart to say. (*Ankara, male, 16-18*)

On the other hand, one participant from Izmir opposed another participant's view which stated that "Children should learn by themselves, they should not be shamed". He indicated that both parents and the school were responsible with providing adolescents with such education and that in the absence of it, serious social problems were inevitable.

If you want to teach something, you teach it. It does not depend on whether the child is 14 or 16. If you cannot teach it to your child when he/she is 14, then you cannot do it at the age of 21. Now, because there is no education on this issue [sex] or on racism in Türkiye, five women are killed in a day, they are raped and treated as second-class citizens. Then, we say "Let's play volleyball; let's attend to the physical education class". Because such education is not available at schools, the whole education system is wrong. (*Izmir, male, 16-18*)

As evident in the preceding quotations, the adolescents need to be informed about bodily changes occurring in adolescence and their sexual, psychological and social relevance, and to be supported by their family and school. The strictness of taboos about these issues is likely to cause lack of communication and depression, and to have a negative impact on teens.

D. Social Environment, Pressure, Abuse

While discussing the issues of establishing a social life, spending time outside school and organizing activities with friends, some participants complained about the social structure, particularly the street culture of the city in which they lived in. Mostly girls narrated a series of verbal harassment incidents, while it might also be on the boys' agenda.

In the previous sections on relationships with family and friends, parental attitudes towards dating and school security, the themes of trust, danger and anxiety were discussed. The family's view of the external world restricted the young, while simultaneously teens spent time in insecure settings under some circumstances as explained in the section on school security. In the face of these security problems combined with incidents of verbal harassment in the streets, it was observed that family pressure particularly on female adolescents increased.

Below, the female adolescents' reports of verbal harassment on the phone or in the streets are presented. One participant explained the high frequency with which she was exposed to such incidents by giving reference to the differences between the East and the West in Türkiye.

For instance, this morning, while I was coming here, two people saw me. They said "Has the semester already begun?" and they tried to head me off. I really get scared. (*Diyarbakir, female, 16-18*)

The other day, we were shopping from the fishers with my friends. There was the three of us. Two boys were sitting; they verbally assaulted us and blowed us a kiss. I stood in front of him and said "I am in front of you". I said "Say what you want to say in the middle of the square". I hit him on the head with my bag. If we react to them for several times, they may get scared after a while. He said "I am sorry sister" ... Yes, we hit him on the head. What can we do? If he says such things, why should I run away, why should I be

scared? Why should I withdraw? (*Diyarbakir, female, 16-18*)

Lately, I received a call from an unidentified number, you know, to meet me. I hung up. Then, he continuously called for a while. He said "If you do not meet me, I will distribute your number". In one month, approximately 20 different numbers called and disturbed me. I had to change my number. Such problems also occur. (*Diyarbakir, female, 16-18*)

I had such an experience, but this incident was strange. He was apparently disabled, but I did not understand it. He approached me from the back. In fact it happened recently. I was looking at him, I was paralyzed. I could not say anything. I just grinned. I got angry. I looked at him and he approached me. I left immediately ... I did not run, but I started walking. (*Mersin, female, 16-18*)

Men who are as old as our fathers. It is very strange. (*Mersin, female, 16-18*)

If you wear a short and go out, they do not look at you in the West, but if you wear a slightly tight trouser, they begin to follow you ... They verbally assault you ... They look at you. Their gaze is enough. (*Erzurum, female, 16-18*)

The experiences reported above all belonged to the female participants. However, as can be seen in the example from Erzurum, feeling insecure in the streets of the city was not a problem which specifically influenced only girls. In the quotations below, the participants explained that a bullying system similar to that of the school existed in the city of Erzurum and because of this they felt uneasy when they went to the city centre.

There is such a thing in the Cumhuriyet Street. For instance, I am 18 years old. I do not go to this street if there is nothing I need to do there,

because a group of outcasts hang around this street. When you walk on the street and if there is a girl beside you, they try to put pressure on you as if you did something wrong to them. They are ready to start a fight. This is a trouble. I do not go to this street unless I have some work to do there. (*Erzurum, male, 16-18*)

There are those who listen to arabesque rap ... They have a crew. There are also the young who generally listen to Turkish or foreign singers. In general, there is always a conflict between these two groups. At times, it is verbal. There are groupings at schools. For instance, on the Cumhuriyet Street there is a group called Caykara Youth ... As our friend here said, I also do not go to the Cumhuriyet Street, just to be safe. They all carry blades, their arms and such. The probability of finding oneself among them at a moment's notice is very high. (*Erzurum, male, 16-18*)

One consequence of the insecurity of the streets was that the young were restricted by their families. On the basis of the female participants' reports, it was concluded that fathers, older and younger brothers played a controlling role, and restricted the adolescents' freedom in order to avoiding social pressure. A participant from Erzurum explained this situation by stating that "My life is based on my older brothers' wants". Although this situation was considered to differentiate the East from the West, a female participant from Istanbul described her relationship with her older brother in a similar way. This indicated that the difference between the East and the West was more like a discursive phenomenon, rather than reflecting actual practices.

My older brother is a male. He does not get scared at night. Why does he fear men? He can come home late at 2 a.m., but me ... They even grudge allowing me to return home before 10 p.m. (*Diyarbakir, female, 16-18*)

It is out of respect. My younger sibling is a male. Because he is the only male, he is spoiled. They do not treat him as they treat us. Because we are girls, my father thinks “They should be serious, they should be ladylike”, “They should not look around when they go out”. (*Erzurum, female, 16-18*)

I also have a brother who is older than me. We do whatever he says. My life is based on his wants. Whatever he wants, that is it. He has the final word in our home ... When I want to go somewhere, my older brother ... My father says “I do not intervene. Do whatever your brother says”. (*Erzurum, female, 16-18*)

For instance I used to wear trousers. I did not wear a headscarf. People around us incited my parents, saying “Why is she like this? Why she does not wear a headscarf? Why does she wear trousers? Why does she wear short skirts?”. What happened then? My parents used to put pressure on me because of their incitements. [They used to say] “Why are you like this? Why do you make them talk? Why do we let them talk about us? Be like this and that, so that they cannot talk”. The environment is a very influential factor. (*Erzurum, female, 16-18*)

For instance, if we go somewhere, he interferes, says “Do not wear anything short” ... He poses as an older brother. (*Istanbul, female, 12-15*)

The relationships defined by statements such as “People hear everything”, “People gossip”, “There is pressure”, and “The environmental factor” did not only emerge in the girls’ narratives, but also in the boys’ comments on gender roles. One male participant from Erzurum which was an important centre of the above mentioned complaints confirmed the girls’ perceptions by expressing his ideas in the following way:

I believe girls should be ladylike. Men should

also be similar, but I think now the system runs very differently than before. A 16 or 17 year old girl can comfortably go out at night at 1 or 2 a.m. and wander around. I think this is definitely wrong. (*Erzurum, male, 16-18*)

IV. WORK LIFE

Among those who participated in the focus group discussions, some went to school and simultaneously worked, some worked only during summer, and some, although few in number, only worked and did not go to school. When the participants were asked about the age at which they got their first job, they indicated very young ages such as 7 or 8 and responded by saying “I have been working for as long as I can remember”. Among the participants, there were those who started working at a later age such as 14 or 17. The jobs taken at a young age generally involved working as an artisan apprentice or supporting family business. Among the jobs taken at an older age, there were those which required certain skills such as accounting, veterinary assistant. In this section, the information gathered and the conclusions drawn regarding the adolescents’ work life will be presented.

A. Types of Jobs Performed

The types of jobs performed by the adolescents were highly diverse. Some of them worked in their family corporation beside their father or older brother, while others find a job outside of their family business. It was found that the teens’ narratives of work evolved around the theme of “working at a job which was suitable at the time” and that they did not spend a long time to actively look for a job.

I am an electrician. For approximately 10 years, separate [from my family]. I am very interested in electronics. Now I suppose I have somewhat improved. (*Erzurum, male, 16-18*)

I work at the Congress Office Block. (*Erzurum, male, 16-18*)

I am a musician. I work at wedding ceremony halls. (*Erzurum, male, 16-18*)

There are some employment agencies. I sometimes work for them as a team member when a job opportunity arises at markets or at a [advertising] campaign. (*Izmir, female, 16-18*)

[I do] Not [work] at those places which I do not know, but for instance our acquaintances have a tea shop in Guzelyali. I sometimes go there [to work]. Now, there is such a place at the fair, I work there. (*Izmir, male, 16-18*)

I worked at a veterinary clinic until I was 17. I quit while the university entrance exam was approaching. Now, I am going to work somewhere else. (*Istanbul, male, 16-18*)

I work at an accounting office. I have done my internship. It was complete in June. I also worked there during the summer term. God willing, this Friday is my last day. (*Istanbul, male, 16-18*)

I work at a car mechanic or a barber every summer. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

[I work] At a stationary shop. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

[I work] At the café just around the corner. I deal with customers. In fact it is not like waitering. I take part in everything there. (*Mersin, female, 16-18*)

I worked at a patisserie this year. I worked at a grocery store; a patisserie, a grocery store and a [nylon] bag seller ... In the [nylon] bag seller, they used to supply napkins and straws. I used to supply such materials, packaging material. (*Trabzon, male, 12-15*)

[I work at the business of] Glass balconies. The business is ours. My older brother and my uncle

became partners and set it up. I worked there because I did not want them to employ strangers. I manufactured them, I worked. (*Trabzon, male, 12-15*)

I work at a restaurant with my father. (*Diyarbakir, male, 16-18*)

Some time, I worked at a hairdresser. (*Erzurum, female, 16-18*)

I have been working with a plumber and also at a pharmacy for two years. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

My first job was working as a dental technician at a dental laboratory. It belonged to my friend's uncle. He called me, but I did not apply. [Later] I was already working there. I was thinking about quitting. The master from the place where I did my internship called me and said "One of my workers left, I urgently need to employ someone". I started to work there. I did not look for it, it was a coincidence. (*Diyarbakir, female, 16-18*)

Both among girls and boys, there were some participants who reported that they wanted to work, yet were unable to do so because their parents did not allow them. Some working adolescents were content with their jobs and being employed. Loving one's job, earning money and being a working woman were among the reasons for their contentment. On the other hand, there were some who indicated that working was "exhausting" and it restricted their "contact with friends". However, the main reason for their sense of dissatisfaction was that of being exposed to physical or verbal abuse at the workplace, as will be detailed below.

B. How Earnings are Spent

The teens spent the money they earned on themselves. There were few participants who reported that they worked to support their family or gave all their winnings to their family. Therefore, the high rate of employment among the adolescents did not

result from inadequate economic resources of the family. The youth worked in order to get the most out of their summer break, to do internship in their field of study, to support family businesses or solely to earn their pocket money.

I have it [my winnings]. I keep it. Sometimes I give it to my family, sometimes I keep it, but they do not have any expectations from me. (*Erzurum, male, 16-18*)

No, I work voluntarily, not because my family wants me to. I spend my money on myself. I do not spend much of it on my family. (*Erzurum, male, 16-18*)

We talked about the issue of money. My father laughed it off, saying “You will give me your money”, but in the end I will keep it. Well, maybe in the beginning I can buy small gifts for them, but later I do not know. (*Izmir, female, 16-18*)

[My parents do not want my winnings] Only my little sisters. I sometimes [give them money]. (*Trabzon, male, 12-15*)

I do not find it right to take money from my family. (*Diyarbakir, female, 16-18*)

My winnings are no use to me. It can support the family. (*Erzurum, male, 16-18*)

C. Mistreatment at the Workplace

The adolescents who complained about their work life and work conditions explained that their sense of discontent was caused by the mistreatment they experienced at the workplace. The participants indicated that they sometimes had conflicts with customers at their workplace as well as bosses. In addition, they also mentioned of the incidents of economic, verbal and physical abuse.

The cases of verbal harassment which were experienced by the female adolescents on the streets were

discussed above. Some participants gave reference to similar incidents in the context of their work life. For instance, one female participant who worked full time and did not go to school in Mersin explained that getting out of the restaurant and delivering customer orders were a natural part of her job and that she was verbally assaulted a lot during delivery. In addition, she stated that she was disturbed by customers coming to her workplace.

While I am working, I deliver packages. That is, I make home deliveries. During delivery, I am verbally harassed a lot. There are a lot of people who verbally assault me ... They say “My darling”, “How much for one night?”. They really irritate me. I pick a quarrel, and then turn back to the shop ... For instance, some customers come and sit at the table. You have to make eye contact, even if you do not want to. That is to understand “Does he want to have anything or not?”. What happens? He looks at you, he gives you the once-over. You go to his table, he pays the bill and leaves. His number is written on a napkin at the table, saying “Call me”. I have seen it a lot of times. Each time, I consulted my boss, the boss did what was necessary ... After I consulted my boss, he took the man aside and talked to him ... I am against such things, like giving one’s number, harrassing someone verbally. I immediately pick a quarrel ... I directly say it. (*Mersin, female, 16-18*)

In a similar vein, there were other participants who complained about the customers who came to their workplace. The quotation below pointed out a previously mentioned issue which was the cliques formed by the young in Erzurum.

We regularly play at various concerts, at school concerts. This year, we are going to start to play at nearly all concerts ... We work, but there are a lot of outcasts in the places we work. When we go there, they yell at us saying “Your back is like a guitar”. When we react, it causes a fight. We

generally win fights, but it is very bad that they behave in this way. (*Erzurum, male, 16-18*)

Besides customers or visitors, some problems were caused by co-workers and employers. Below, the participants' narratives about verbal or physical mistreatment and their discontent with work conditions are presented.

There was one [a coworker]. He had a big fight and quitted. He asked my number. He said "I like you". I could not tolerate it. I told my boss about it. The boss said "There is nothing to do" Because he constantly looked at me, I had his eyes on me. I could not take it anymore. I yelled at him because of a trivial mistake he did. Ok, I was the one who got a scolding, but I was proud that he quitted. I do whatever I can. I do not want to take the bread out of someone's mouth, but if somebody sets his eye on me, then it means that he is in trouble. (*Mersin, female, 16-18*)

I experienced it [mistreatment at the workplace]. At my previous workplace, they mistreated me even though I did my job. Here, most artisans, how can I explain, if you do not perform the job in the way they want...(*Erzurum, male, 16-18*)

Sometimes he sends me out to Mezitli on foot. He says "You will come". Sometimes if a dolmush passes by, he sends out me there by dolmush. At times, when he buys wire, the wires are heavy; they weigh 10 or 20 kgs. I cannot carry them but I try to carry anyway. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

[You are going to go up] to the 7th floor, he put 30 kgs on your back. (*Trabzon, male, 12-15*)

I love my job. Sometimes we get a beat-up ... Yes, sometimes I get a beating. Sometimes, they say things that are hard to digest, I get angry and I get out of the place. I cannot tolerate ... I have been beaten up for as long as I have known myself. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

In general, there is swearing and beating. There is nothing else. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

When the participants were asked about the reason why they were scolded or beaten up, they mentioned about their carelessness and mistakes. It was found that their mistakes were punished with violence by the employer.

I was swindled a couple of times, I was slandered, I was swindled. Because of this, they got angry with me. I quitted my job there, because I was very sad ... Then, the man called me back, he called me and said "Come for the new season". He apologized. I said "Do not mention it, I will come again". I am still working there. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

In general you forget parts of the tool box somewhere. Then, you cannot gather it. He gets angry and yells. I directly... I react. That is it. We generally argue. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

Besides heavy working conditions and incidents of physical and verbal mistreatment, the participants indicated some situations which could be construed as "economic violence". Working uninsured, performing one's job but not getting paid were primary examples of this situation.

In Erzurum, at least 80-90 percent of working places does not insure their employees. They do not do it. The wage you earn in Erzurum is definite. One can earn at most 1.500 TL when he works outside. What else can be? If you do not do your job well, you are ostracized. There are such problems ... I have been working for 10 years. I have never had insurance. (*Erzurum, male, 16-18*)

I am also not content [with my job], because I work, but I do not receive my money, I am also beaten up ... In addition, we had a garden. There were two buckets and I carried them. It is a difficult thing. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

D. Work-School Relationship

Those participants who were employed were asked about how their work life influenced their relationship with school. While some adolescents indicated that their school was not affected since they worked only during summer breaks, some of them only worked rather than going to school. One dimension of work-school relationship was related to the decision to continue one's education after graduating from high school. In some meetings, the issues of going to the university or continuing to work came forward.

Those teens who worked only during summer in order to gain their own pocket money stated that their worklife did not have any impact on their school. Such examples were found in various cities such as Erzurum, Izmir, Trabzon and Diyarbakir. However, one participant who was a professional football player in Izmir mentioned that he exercised after school and played football matches at weekends. Another participant who was employed during the semester explained that he had difficulty in keeping up with the social life at school, rather than his courses.

When we work, we do not have much time to spend with friends ... Think about it, you are at the same place for 10 hours. (*Diyarbakir, male, 16-18*)

In some cases, the teens indicated that they worked or do internship to prepare for their future work life, rather than working during breaks. In such instances, school and work life could be considered as complementary elements.

I will start to work, three days for internship and two days for school. I study food and beverages. My section is food science. Because of this, I will work at a hotel kitchen. (*Izmir, female, 16-18*)

I have started to do internship when I was at the 11th grade at highschool. After the 11th grade, at the 12th grade I always worked. I both stud-

ied and worked at the 12th grade. (*Diyarbakir, female, 16-18*)

There was one participant who stated that she left school, chose to work and did not want to continue her education. This adolescent indicated that she had academic difficulties at school; she did not feel any sense of attachment to her school and education life, and did not choose to study despite her parents' opposing wills.

I became alienated from school. I used to go to school in Cyprus. I studied the 6th grade three times, the 7th grade twice. I said "I will not study anymore". I dropped out of school. Now they say "Enroll in distance education courses". My family always says "Start school", I say "I will not go" ... I did not attend to the classes anymore. I used to skip school all the time ... I am not motivated at all to start ... I lost my eagerness for studying. There is no such enthusiasm. (*Mersin, female, 16-18*)

Some adolescents mentioned that they would go to the university either to please one's family, to have more job opportunities in the future or to satisfy curiosity about the social life at university.

At the beginning, I had that idea that I would not go the university, but now under current circumstances because a university degree is a must, I am preparing [for the exam]. We will see, I hope for the best. (*Erzurum, male, 16-18*)

I prefer to go to the university, because there is friendship and a social life there. (*Trabzon, male, 12-15*)

I want to go to the university and please them [my family]. It is good to put effort on something. (*Erzurum, male, 16-18*)

The football player from Izmir was the one who most extensively mentioned the conflict between

going to the university and working professionally after high school. The participant stated that “If I had followed my real dreams, now I had been a professional football player at Altay”. He indicated that being a football player did not provide a secure job; he rejected their offer in order to ensure his parents’ and his own economic security and decided to continue college education after high school.

V. FUTURE PLANS AND EXPECTATIONS

This section dwells on the adolescents’ future dreams, the careers they aim at and the cities or countries they want to settle in. In addition, the participants were asked how they envisaged the future of Türkiye and the world, and their expectations from the state were inquired. It was found that the participants had an idealist approach to their own future, while being more complainative and pessimistic about the future of the country.

A. Career Dreams

The participants’ career dreams were varied and ambitious. Occupations which were deemed to be prestigious in the society such as engineering, law appealed to the youth. Both boys and girls mentioned these occupations besides others. With respect to future plans, some participants stated that they did not yet decide upon which profession they wanted to practice. However, there were only a few who did not anticipate having a career. Both male and female participants mentioned about going to the university and having a profession. Only one female participant in the Diyarbakir meeting defined her future plan as “getting married” and “working if her husband allows”. It was possible that other participants shared a similar view, yet did not express it. However, the considerable amount of emphasis on career plans indicated that the youth imagined themselves to be included in the worklife in the future. While talking about their future plans, some participants described what was missing in their family of origin and what type of arrangement they wanted to have in the future.

If you ask me what I dream about, I would say that I would be a mechanical engineer, establish companies, have a beautiful house, and treat children nicely. There would be no violence or scolding ... I would let them be free. I am not that free now. (*Ankara, male, 16-18*)

To be the best at one’s profession. For instance, you are going to be a judge, you are going to be a prosecutor. I would want to become a prominent judge in my country. This is my aim. (*Ankara, male, 16-18*)

I want to study law. After I complete it ... How can I say, internship at big law firms. Then, I want to practice as a company lawyer. These are my dreams. Then, studying at a good graduate program abroad ... Maybe Erasmus ... These are my plans and my career is more important than everything for me. (*Mersin, female, 16-18*)

I also want to study law. I want to go to law school, but I want to be a prosecutor. (*Mersin, female, 16-18*)

I want to study mechanical engineering, but it is necessary to study it at a good university. Now for engineers, going to the university is not enough. It is necessary to graduate from a good university. (*Erzurum, male, 16-18*)

Because I study at the department of electrics and electronics [at the vocational high school], I want to study electrical engineering [at the university]. What I need is going to a good university. Then, the future seems secure. (*Erzurum, male, 16-18*)

In the section which dwelled on the issue of modeling family members, it was mentioned that some participants wanted to resemble their cousins who studied medicine. A similar example is also presented below. In addition, parents influenced, even put pressure on the young to convince them to study at

medical school. This exemplifies the impact of parents on the young's future plans, a topic which was also examined in the section on family relationships.

I also want to study dentistry at Marmara University. We have a very close relative. I went to his/her clinic. I have seen it there, and I set my target to become a dentist. (*Istanbul, female, 12-15*)

Just like everybody, they say "Be a doctor". I want to study construction engineering, because my uncles work in the construction sector ... My mother wants me to be a doctor. (*Erzurum, male, 16-18*)

My mother wanted me to go to the medical vocational high school, because there is the chance of finding a job shortly after graduation. I did not want it. I did not choose it after I graduated from the primary school ... What they want was supposed to happen, but I did not do it. (*Trabzon, female, 16-18*)

My mother expects me to study medicine, but I do not want it much. (*Trabzon, female, 16-18*)

Female participants particularly wanted to have professions such as child development, psychological counseling and guidance. One reason for this might be that they realized the insufficiency of these services in their own education. Besides this, there were some participants who wanted to be a teacher or an academician.

I want to become a teacher for the mentally disabled for 8 years. I want it so much. (*Izmir, female, 16-18*)

I want to study psychology. I want to be a psychologist, a child psychologist. My biggest dream is that I want to get my master's degree abroad after college. (*Mersin, kız, 16-18*)

Because I want to be a child development teacher, some people say "I also studied child development, it is difficult" ... In spite of this, I say "I can do this job, because I love children". (*Istanbul, female, 16-18*)

I want it very much to study guidance and psychological counseling at Konya Selcuk University. I hope to do it. Guidance and psychological counseling is well paid, and it is a very appealing job for me. (*Diyarbakir, female, 16-18*)

I can envision myself as a professor at the department of English Literature or a vice dean. (*Izmir, male, 16-18*)

I am interested in English. I want to practice it professionally. I can be an English teacher or a translator. (*Erzurum, male, 16-18*)

I want to be a math teacher, but I do not want to study here. (*Diyarbakir, female, 16-18*)

Besides these, being a policeman/woman, nurse, artist, architect, athlete, food engineer or dietician were among the occupations which the adolescents showed an interest and included in their future dreams.

B. Dreams about Future Place of Residence

When asked about their future place of residence, some participants indicated that they planned to stay in the cities they were currently living in. However, it was observed that the teens mostly wanted to leave their hometown or city and wanted to spend some time abroad for educational or career purposes.

Among those participants who wanted to stay in their hometown, a precariousness which extends to fearfulness became apparent. In some cases, the participants explained that they could not cope with the difficulties which were involved in moving to another place (i.e. going abroad to learn a foreign language).

If I leave home, something bad will definitely happen to me. I may break my leg. Either tonsillitis, or I may have a fever ... When I leave home, even when the scent of the setting changes, something bad happens to me. Because of this, my older brother says "I will not let you go anywhere". (*Erzurum, female, 16-18*)

If I stay in Diyarbakir, I think I will be more comfortable, because I am not under pressure about going out. I will be very comfortable financially. If I go somewhere else, I will have a very limited budget to spend on myself because of house rent and this and that. I do not have any problems with my family. Because of this, I want to stay here. (*Diyarbakir, female, 16-18*)

I cannot get on well with people there. In the first place, I cannot learn a foreign language. I have taken English courses since the 4th grade, but I have not learned anything until now. Maybe this is because of the school. Because I go to an Anatolian high school, I took both English and German courses. If a foreigner comes now, I cannot talk. Probably, I cannot learn a foreign language. (*Izmir, male, 16-18*)

I do not have much information, but I have heard bad things about Istanbul. Lastly my aunt went there. [She said] There was nothing special at all. (*Diyarbakir, female, 16-18*)

As mentioned in the section on career dreams above, some participants preferred to go to other cities in Türkiye for college education. Istanbul, Ankara, Konya and Eskisehir were among the cities mentioned. In addition, other participants indicated that for various reasons, they were unsatisfied with the city they lived in and they wanted to move out in the future. Particularly for those who lived in Erzurum which was far from seashore, Izmir and Antalya were among the appealing cities.

I get distance education now. I wish I had a pro-

fession too. I do not like Diyarbakir at all. Although it is my hometown, I do not like it at all. (*Diyarbakir, female, 16-18*)

I think about leaving here. There is no sea in Erzurum. Because of this, Antalya, Akdeniz University can be an option. Izmir University can be an option. (*Erzurum, male, 16-18*)

I go to school only for college education. Now it sounds very good to go to another city and live on your own, really. For instance, a friend of my older sister got into a university in Antalya after two years. She went there on her own. Now she has rented a house there. I think that it is really nice. If I get into a university in Antalya and go there, I suppose she will not return here. To be honest, I do not want to stay in Erzurum. I really love here. People here love to gossip but they are good. I was born and raised here, but... (*Erzurum, female, 16-18*)

Besides moving into another city in Türkiye, most of the participants explained that they wanted to go abroad for education, career or settling. Attractive economic opportunities, comfortable life styles and the opportunity to meet "new cultures" were among the reasons mentioned. It was evident that some participants were curious about other countries and wanted to resemble those acquaintances who had the chance to go abroad.

I wish I lived in a foreign country where the child I would give birth to had a future, rather than in Türkiye ... I have learned that when a child is born in Germany, they put 30 thousand TL into his/her bank account. (*Diyarbakir, male, 16-18*)

As our friend here says, I want to visit Europe and especially America. Besides visiting, I want to live there for 3 or 4 years. (*Istanbul, male, 16-18*)

I aspire to foreign countries. It seems to me that

life style is more comfortable and entertaining there. (*Istanbul, male, 16-18*)

One needs to learn about different cultures. (*Istanbul, male, 16-18*)

I also do not plan to marry. I want to earn a lot of money and go to Rio, Brazil ... If God pleases. (*Ankara, male, 16-18*)

I want to go to Spain since my childhood, to visit historical places there. Not only that country, I am also very interested in other countries. (*Trabzon, female, 16-18*)

Some participants explained that Türkiye was not an ideal place where they could perform their dream job, and that was the reason why they wanted to go abroad. It was evident that the participants modeled their relatives and acquaintances who had experience in foreign countries.

He/she [My cousin] is going to England this evening. He/she will study there. I had a similar aspiration. I am interested in foreign countries, but after I have learned that he/she is going to England, I have become more ambitious. I also want to go abroad to study at a college after high school at the least. (*Istanbul, male, 16-18*)

If I study gastronomy, I definitely want to go to abroad ... When you graduate from universities here; you do not have a lot of job opportunities. If you turn back to Türkiye from the universities abroad, you can have more opportunities to work ... The gastronomy companies recruit employees from abroad. If I work at such a company, as a matter of course they say "Go to this country". They provide you with the opportunities, money. (*Izmir, female, 16-18*)

I have always wanted to go abroad since I was very young. My aim is studying interior architecture. I have already been taking courses, be it

drawing and other courses. My mother always stands behind me, [she says] "Get into whatever college you want, if necessary we can come with you" ... I have a friend whom I trust very much. I always have dreamed of it with her. If God pleases, I want to get into the same college with her and go abroad. (*Trabzon, female, 16-18*)

C. Expectations from Türkiye's Future and the State

The participants were asked what they thought about Türkiye's future as well as about their future expectations from the state. The answers can be grouped into three categories. In the first place, the participants voiced their complaints and expectations about education and job opportunities, and general economic life. Secondly, they expressed their view on Türkiye's political and social development. Lastly, the issue of war kept a lot of young people preoccupied.

The participants expressed their views about the education system, exams, job opportunities after graduation, career choice and general financial situation of the country's population.

It would be better, if they could have developed a more rational examination system because it changes constantly. For instance, we took SBS [The High School Entrance Exam] at the 6th, 7th, 8th grade, at the end of each grade. Now I suppose the 8th graders will take twelve written exams. Different things, I think it is nonsense. (*Istanbul, female, 12-15*)

I think teachers should be improved. For a student to be successful, the teacher should be successful. If a student loves the teacher, he/she is interested in his/her course and studies more. If there is a teacher you do not like, you will not be interested in his/her course. (*Erzurum, male, 16-18*)

I wish there were no exams, but exams are part

of our reality. For instance; in some countries people or students can be grouped according to their branches, their skills and abilities after high school. We keep on studying for exams, because it is not possible for such a thing to happen. (*Mersin, female, 16-18*)

I am not very optimistic about the future of Türkiye, because there is a university in every city for now. This will increase the number of young people who study at the university, yet it will be of no use, because everybody will be educated but job opportunities will be limited. How many thousands of teachers are there and how many of them do they recruit? Three or four. Because of this, the educated will rise in number, the young population will be high in number but there will be no jobs. This will bring a decline. When there were few universities in the past, studying was more difficult. It is easier to study now. Back in the day, if you were educated, you could directly find a job. How much difference is there between those who got into METU [Middle East Technical University] and those who got into Ataturk University? So, if job opportunities increase, Türkiye will develop. (*Erzurum, male, 16-18*)

Information about different professions should be presented at schools, each profession ... It is done, but not very frequently. It is rarely done. (*Erzurum, female, 16-18*)

My expectation from the state is that there are some very rich people and they go to a private school. They take up a good job. We also study hard and get into a good school in order to acquire a profession. Yet, those who are rich or economically well off do it before us. (*Trabzon, male, 12-15*)

I want it very much that the unemployed people take up a job. The state should provide job opportunities to those who need to work, yet cannot find it. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

After my graduation from university, the state should lay its hands on me. (*Diyarbakir, female, 16-18*)

The state should give me a scholarship. (*Diyarbakir, female, 16-18*)

They should give money to everybody. For instance, some people does not have any money, their family is poor. There should be a credit limit for everybody. For instance, to those who are too poor to buy clothes, 5000 TL or so should be given. To those who are rich, 1000 TL. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

It is reported that per capita income is 16 thousand dollars, but most people in Diyarbakir are poor ... These problems can be solved. (*Diyarbakir, male, 16-18*)

On the other hand, some participants talked about the current problems in Türkiye and in the world, and described the characteristics of Türkiye in which they dreamed to see in the future.

My expectation from the future is to stop global warming and establishing a waste system in order to enable the future generations to live. I think an alarm should go off when someone throws a litter. This is the kind of thing that I expect. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

I want to get old at a place which is peaceful. I want it to be cleaner. For instance, a place where everyone can do whatever they want. For instance, [a place which has] progressed. (*Trabzon, female, 16-18*)

I think Türkiye should be divided ... It should be divided into provinces ... Now people storm "We want education in the mother tongue". This is a natural right. It should be granted. They say "I want to be registered as a Kurdish citizen in my identification card". (*Diyarbakir, male, 16-18*)

I would expect more free lifestyles. (*Istanbul, male, 16-18*)

In fact I do not have many hopes, but we have talked about dreams. It [the state] can make it convenient to go abroad. Petrol and such ... It should be a more liveable country. Public order should be maintained. (*Istanbul, male, 16-18*)

There should be social facilities. A shopping mall was opened ... Mostly, high school students go there. People are out to chat up girls ... There should be parks, body building centers. There should be more cyber cafes. It would be good for us. (*Erzurum, male, 16-18*)

I expect the state to cover the fee for the gym I will go. (*Trabzon, male, 12-15*)

While talking about contemporary problems, the most prominent and widely emphasized issue was war. The participants complained about war and its effects.

I expect from the state to find a solution to these wars ... A nuclear power station is being constructed here, in Mersin. We do not want it to be constructed, because our future ... It can be constructed in less densely populated areas, but it should not be in Mersin. For instance, the population is less dense in the East. It can be constructed there. I am not against the construction of nuclear power plants, because our country needs nuclear weapons. Because of this, it needs nuclear power stations. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

I would want the war to stop. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

I also want the war to stop. The number of martyrs is increasing further. It makes me sad. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

It [the state] should do whatever it can to pre-

vent the death of soldiers. For instance, they can wear a very strong [protective] vest at war. Nowadays, there are a lot of incidents involving martyrs. These incidents should not take place. I would expect the state to do something not to grieve the families. (*Mersin, male, 12-15*)

There are a lot of things that the state should do. As I have said, I follow the news a little too closely. It can make better decisions in the current war environment. (*Diyarbakir, female, 16-18*)

In the first place, there are wars. It really influences and annoys me a lot. (*Trabzon, female, 16-18*)

I do not want any wars. (*Trabzon, female, 16-18*)

There is nothing that the state can grant me. My only expectation from the state is that there should be a peaceful environment; there should be no wars; everybody should live freely as he/she wants. (*Istanbul, male, 16-18*)

CONCLUSION

Twelve focus group meetings held in seven provinces enabled us to draw a sketch of the adolescents' lives living in Türkiye. The fundamental conclusion obtained as a result of the meetings was the following:

The youth who have been going through a significant turning point in their lives had basic material and psychological needs. They were aware of some of these needs and directly expressed them; on the other hand, they had difficulty in clearly identifying some of them.

The adolescents had to cope with "internal" and "external" problems because of their developmental stage. Internal problems were caused by physical and psychological changes which were brought along by the adolescent period. On the other hand, the sources of external problems were varied: school

life, family life, work life etc. The biggest source of pressure for students was the exams they faced with in various stages of their school life. The issue of exams and studying dragged them into a “crisis” since their childhood years and in most families, this crisis was not managed well. This continuously harboured family disturbance.

The adolescents had two alternatives: either solving problems or avoiding them. When the problems cannot be solved, phones and internet were widely used as escape routes. With parents’ opposing reactions, this turned out to be another problem.

In order to solve adolescent problems, support was expected mainly from family and teachers. As far as we understand, there was a “weakness” regarding this issue. At the bottom of this, there was the fact that the adolescents were not accepted as individuals and they were treated with respect neither by their family nor by their teachers. On the other hand, both the family and teacher expected “compliance”, rather than respect from adolescents. The idea that problems can be solved only by communication which is based on mutual respect seems not to be adopted yet.

It was important to consider an adolescent as an individual because this conception had implications for the relationships established with them and the environments provided to them. In this context, having a private space at home, ensuring cleanliness at schools, setting appropriate work conditions were fundamental issues.

Widely held ideas about certain issues which were discussed in the group discussions are summarized below.

Lack of communication in the family emerged as a significant problem for the participants in the focus group meetings. Families which “existed” under the same roof, yet lacked the capacity to share any intellectual and emotional material were described.

Especially in single earner families, the father spent long hours at work and sometimes worked out of town. Because of this, the adolescents did not have the opportunity to get to know their father as an individual.

The adolescents’ relationship with the mother was more close and sincere. The mother was a confidant and she organized home; she was an authority figure in the absence of the father and she acted as an intermediary by being the authority who gave permission prior to the father. Some adolescents indicated that they argued most with the mother, because she was the one who they were in most frequent contact with.

The major source of conflict between parents and adolescents was related to studying for lessons. If parents restricted the adolescents’ social relationships, internet use, going outside and such, these restrictions were all based on the extent to which they studied. This reflected the adolescents’ subjective perception and personal experience of the situation.

The youth complained that their parents restricted them and did not let them be free and comfortable. The adolescents who thought that their families considered the street as a “world of dangers” were disturbed by their parents’ over-protective and possessive behaviors and attitudes. There were some participants who indicated that their parents trusted them. However, family relations which were characterized by a high level of insecurity were also identified. In such cases, it was found that the adolescents lied to their families and misguided them to get their permission.

Besides these, there were also some participants who valued the time they spent with their family, put effort to see them more frequently and were satisfied with the level of intra-family communication.

It was reported that the major complaint about school life was that of school cleanliness and smok-

ing in the toilets. In addition, serious problems about security in the school surroundings were mentioned.

Because most of the participants in the focus group discussions were students, many issues related to school life were discussed. It was observed that the students were exhausted by the changes in exam and education systems. The students who prepared for exams by going back and forth between school and training centre could be rebellious and exhausted.

There were complaints about insufficient social facilities (i.e. playfield, library, laboratory etc.) at school. However, the most frequently mentioned complaint about the physical environment at school pertained to the toilets. The fact that the toilets were not clean and the fact that no toilet paper or soap was provided was mentioned countlessly in various cities. In addition, both male and female participants from different cities mentioned that the toilets at school were used as a smoking area. It was concluded that cigarette smoking among the youth was prevalent. The school and its surrounding were those places where cigarette use was most widespread.

Those participants who mentioned that the school brought benefits indicated its educational and social functions. In addition, there were a lot of participants who complained about teachers. The teachers were indifferent, even ignorant. School counselors might not provide the expected services because of their indifference and sometimes their heavy work load.

In addition, there were some participants who established positive relationships with teachers. Some of them described their teachers as “a mother”. Some talked to their teachers about the issues which they could not share with their parents.

It was observed that the adolescents had at least one confidant or anchor. This figure could be an older brother, a cousin, a mother or father and at times a teacher. Although lack of communication was a

significant problem, most adolescents did not experience it in all relationships. A prevalent experience was that the adolescents identified a significant other, confide to him/her and took advice and support from him/her. It was found that this significant other was a school teacher in more than case.

One of the most essential problems at school and its surrounding was related to security. In more than one city, incidents of physical violence involving stabbing were mentioned. While explaining these fights, it was observed that some participants were indifferent and described violent incidents as ordinary and normal. Among the risky behaviors and situations at school and its surrounding, the issue of drug use and sale was mentioned. However, it was found that alcohol and drugs were not as prevalent as cigarette use. It was noteworthy that such issues came to the fore in the discussions about the school and its physical environment.

The youth spend their spare time with their friends and/or on the internet. In the discussions about social life, one prominent theme was “social pressure”. Particularly in the East, the female adolescents complained about verbal harassment they experienced on the streets.

Patriarchy, the restriction of freedoms in the public domain, parents’ lack of trust in the security of the streets, parental restriction of their adolescents and the adolescents’ rebellion against parental restrictions triggered each other and formed a vicious circle. Although this vicious circle seemed to be unique to the East, it was more about how the East was perceived and its indicators were evident in all areas.

Those participants who were employed either worked for their family business or acquaintances in their neighborhood in order to earn their pocket money. There were some participants who did inter-ship in their own profession at the last few years of high school. The biggest problem in work life was

verbal, physical and economic abuse. Those adolescents who worked as an artisan apprentice since they were young particularly mentioned verbal and physical violence. Uncovered employment was extremely prevalent.

Those adolescents who mentioned of violence at school and workplace complained less about domestic violence. In spite of this, “scolding”, “yelling”, “throwing a slipper” were all mentioned. It was revealed that particularly male adolescents were subjected to physical violence by their father.

As frequently noted in the literature, physical and psychological changes occurring in the adolescent period influenced the youth. For the adolescents who coped with changes in height, weight, skin, voice or mood, this period seemed to be more challenging when it was intertwined with text anxiety. “Bullying system” which was another issue frequently mentioned in the literature could be a source of problems in this period when the adolescents were open to external influences. Such detrimental peer relationships at school and on streets were mentioned.

Friendship with the opposite sex and dating were considered as normal in most of the meetings and the participants shared their own experiences about these topics. Although the adolescents faltered when they talked about romantic relations, there were some participants who had boy or girlfriends. The young did not share their romantic relationships with their whole family, yet they found someone to confide to. It was observed that the male adolescents were more comfortable with this issue.

The families thought that romantic relationships with boy or girlfriends should end up in marriage and they considered sexuality as “dishonorable”. Thus, the adolescents did not talk about these issues with their families. Particularly, there was a void about obtaining systematic and correct information on sexuality.

Internet was not a medium which was independent from life or “used”; it turned out to be an environment in which life could be lived in its fullest. Using different terms, the youth explained that they did not use the internet; they were already and continuously “online”. This was the major difference between them and their family: The youth was on the internet. On the other hand, the families considered internet and related technology use as distraction. Some adolescents construed this situation as an “intergenerational difference”.

The youth were idealist and optimist about their future. There were many male and female adolescents who aimed to study at prestigious colleges and work at esteemed jobs. Most of the young indicated that they would prefer to go abroad either for a certain period of time or for permanent settlement. While they were optimist about their own future, their perception about Türkiye’s trajectory was different. They were particularly concerned about their future financial situation and employment. The most important expectation from the state was taking support to get higher education and find a job. In addition, most of the adolescents stated that they wanted to live in a peaceful and liberated society which was free of war.



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SUPPLEMENTARY TABLES



Supplementary Table 1. Socioeconomic Status

	%	Puan
Upper	4.9	70 points and more
Upper-middle	9.4	Between 60 and 69.99 points
Middle	28.2	Between 50 and 59.99 points
Lower-middle	43.9	Between 40 and 49.99 points
Lower	13.6	40 points less
Total	100.0	

Supplementary Table 2. Self-Esteem (by Father's Education) (%)

	Illiterate	Literate	Completed primary school	Completed middle school	High school graduate	Two-year associate degree	University graduate	Total
Low	8.3	5.1	5.5	6.0	8.2	6.8	5.6	6.5
Normal	87.9	86.2	82.8	80.6	78.8	78.3	79.9	81.2
High	3.8	8.7	11.7	13.4	13.0	14.8	14.5	12.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2:29.591$ degrees of freedom :16 $p=0.020$

Supplementary Table 3. Future Expectations and Happiness (Mean)

Very unhappy	3.11
Unhappy	3.10
Neither happy. nor unhappy	3.47
Happy	3.73
Very happy	3.81

Supplementary Table 4. Domestic Violence and Perception of Success (%)

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Always
Not at all successful	0.6	0.6	1.8	4.4	9.4
Not successful	2.1	3.8	6.6	8.6	19.4
Somewhat successful	28.7	34.6	39.2	39.4	31.4
Successful	55.2	51.8	44.7	39.2	37.7
Very successful	13.4	9.3	7.7	8.5	2.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2:174.845$ degrees of freedom:16 $p=0.000$

Supplementary Table 5. Resorting to Violence and Perception of Success (%)

	No. never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Total
Not at all successful	0.6	0.5	1.4	6.5	0.8
Not successful	2.5	3.6	6.0	6.8	3.4
Somewhat successful	30.7	32.7	35.0	41.4	32.0
Successful	53.9	53.9	48.8	31.6	52.5
Very successful	12.4	9.3	8.8	13.6	11.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2:111.169$ degrees of freedom:12 $p=0.000$

Supplementary Table 6. Family Type (by Region) (%)

	Istanbul	Western Marmara	Aegean	Eastern Marmara	Western Anatolia	Mediterranean	Central Anatolia	Western Black Sea	Eastern Black Sea	Northeastern Anatolia	Mideastern Anatolia	Southeastern Anatolia	Total
Nuclear family	91.6	93.7	91.0	85.0	89.7	82.3	90.9	88.9	82.7	84.1	81.8	82.4	87.1
Traditional extended family	4.0	1.4	3.6	8.8	5.7	10.2	5.9	9.0	12.6	12.6	12.2	10.6	7.6
Single parent household	1.3	1.1	1.9	2.7	2.4	3.1	0.9	0.5	0.8	0.8	4.1	4.8	2.4
Broken family	3.1	3.9	3.4	3.5	2.1	4.0	2.3	1.2	3.9	2.5	1.9	2.1	2.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2=215.244$ degrees of freedom:55 $p=0.000$

Supplementary Table 7. Number of Children (by Settlement Type) (%)

	Urban	Rural	Toplam
One child	18.5	11.7	16.5
2 Children	37.8	25.5	34.2
3 Children	23.4	23.2	23.4
4 Children	9.9	12.4	10.7
5 Children	4.2	6.7	5.0
6 Children	2.1	6.2	3.3
7 Children	1.5	4.9	2.5
8 Children	1.1	2.9	1.6
9 Children	0.5	2.8	1.2
10+ Children	0.8	3.5	1.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	2.71	3.76	3.02

$\chi^2:403.751$ degrees of freedom:9 $p=0.000$

Supplementary Table 8. Number of Children (by Region) (%)

	Istanbul	Western Marmara	Aegean	Eastern Marmara	Western Anatolia	Mediterranean	Central Anatolia	Western Black Sea	Eastern Black Sea	Northeastern Anatolia	Mideastern Anatolia	Southeastern Anatolia	Total
One child	34.7	39.2	12.3	17.3	20.0	11.9	18.3	14.0	4.9	5.6	3.2	3.1	16.5
2 Children	42.5	47.1	52.7	45.8	39.0	32.9	40.1	42.1	28.3	16.5	12.0	8.0	34.2
3 Children	17.5	10.4	22.3	25.6	25.5	27.2	29.5	29.0	40.5	30.4	22.5	17.8	23.4
4 Children	4.1	1.5	6.7	7.9	9.0	15.0	8.2	7.2	22.0	17.1	20.8	17.3	10.7
5 Children	0.6	0.2	2.5	1.1	4.1	4.6	2.7	5.1	2.9	10.1	10.8	14.1	5.0
6 Children	0.3	1.2	1.4	0.4	1.0	2.8	1.0	1.6	1.3	5.5	8.4	12.7	3.3
7 Children	0.0	0.0	1.2	0.7	0.9	2.5	0.0	0.7	0.0	4.4	8.5	9.1	2.5
8 Children	0.1	0.0	0.6	0.6	0.4	1.3	0.2	0.4	0.0	5.6	4.2	6.0	1.6
9 Children	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.5	0.0	1.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.6	3.0	5.5	1.2
10+ Children	0.1	0.0	0.3	0.2	0.0	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.1	6.6	6.5	1.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	1.95	1.81	2.49	2.41	2.47	3.05	2.41	2.57	2.94	4.09	4.80	5.20	3.02

$\chi^2:2824.893$ degrees of freedom:99 $p=0.000$

Supplementary Table 9. Number of Children (by Mother's Education Type) (%)

	Illiterate	Literate	Completed primary school	Completed middle school	High school graduate	Two-year associate degree	University graduate	Masters or a doctorate	Total
One child	4.4	2.7	11.0	15.6	31.7	31.5	47.4	47.9	16.5
2 Children	9.3	13.8	34.7	43.7	46.4	52.8	39.9	52.1	34.3
3 Children	11.4	19.3	30.4	27.6	16.6	13.5	9.7	0.0	23.3
4 Children	13.0	24.7	13.1	9.4	4.1	1.1	2.5	0.0	10.7
5 Children	13.4	13.2	4.9	2.7	0.6	1.2	0.5	0.0	5.0
6 Children	12.1	12.0	2.6	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.2
7 Children	12.9	4.8	1.4	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.5
8 Children	8.0	3.8	0.9	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.6
9 Children	6.0	1.9	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.2
10+ Children	9.6	3.8	0.3	0.5	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	5.63	4.56	2.91	2.46	1.98	1.88	1.69	1.52	3.02

$\chi^2:3129.25$ degrees of freedom:63 $p=0.000$

Supplementary Table 10. Number of Children (by Father's Education) (%)

	Illiterate	Literate	Completed primary school	Completed middle school	High school graduate	Two-year associate degree	University graduate	Masters or a doctorate	Total
One child	4.3	2.1	9.7	10.6	23.9	32.2	34.9	27.2	16.6
2 Children	14.1	9.3	28.1	39.3	42.0	43.1	40.8	36.0	34.2
3 Children	6.2	11.4	27.6	26.1	21.8	14.1	16.0	26.8	23.4
4 Children	5.7	9.3	14.0	12.6	7.8	7.2	6.2	3.1	10.7
5 Children	8.6	16.2	7.0	3.6	2.5	2.8	1.6	3.0	4.9
6 Children	13.0	10.0	4.4	4.2	1.0	0.6	0.4	0.0	3.3
7 Children	11.2	25.0	3.3	1.2	0.7	0.0	0.0	1.9	2.6
8 Children	16.8	6.5	2.0	0.7	0.2	0.0	0.1	0.0	1.6
9 Children	9.1	2.5	1.9	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.2
10+ Children	11.0	7.7	1.9	1.2	0.1	0.0	0.0	2.0	1.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	6.13	5.83	3.43	2.94	2.31	2.07	2.01	2.40	3.01

$\chi^2:1707.66$ degrees of freedom:63 $p=0.000$

Supplementary Table 11. Social Security Coverage Through a Parent (by Region) (%)

	Istanbul	Western Marmara	Aegean	Eastern Marmara	Western Anatolia	Mediterranean	Central Anatolia	Western Black Sea	Eastern Black Sea	Northeastern Anatolia	Mid-eastern Anatolia	Southeastern Anatolia	Total
No social security	2.3	0.8	3.7	6.4	3.8	5.7	6.6	4.9	3.4	3.6	7.1	8.4	5.0
SSK	57.4	63.7	64.8	58.2	48.7	46.1	57.3	60.6	61.0	37.1	29.9	40.3	51.6
Retirement Fund	13.4	12.6	10.9	10.5	17.1	11.9	14.3	12.4	7.6	11.5	10.8	7.5	11.9
Bağ-Kur	18.5	17.4	15.0	20.5	19.6	20.8	18.5	14.0	14.5	8.6	16.8	14.6	17.3
Private insurance	2.9	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.6
Green card	0.2	0.2	3.9	3.6	6.5	11.6	2.3	4.7	10.4	39.2	33.8	28.0	10.9
I do not know	4.7	4.5	1.6	0.7	3.7	3.5	0.6	3.0	3.1	0.0	1.4	0.9	2.5
Foreign insurance	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
No response	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2=1294.161$ degrees of freedom:66 $p=0.000$

Supplementary Table 12. Reasons for Migration (by Family Type) (%)

	Nuclear family	Traditional extended family	Single parent household	Broken family	Total
Economic reasons	56.2	55.6	59.7	58.7	56.3
Marriage	15.7	16.1	17.4	8.8	15.5
Appointment	13.5	4.4	3.0	6.2	12.4
Education	6.2	6.9	5.8	4.3	6.2
Forced migration	5.9	7.8	7.4	10.7	6.2
Other	2.2	7.4	4.9	11.3	2.8
No response	0.4	1.8	1.9	0.0	0.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2:69.38$ degrees of freedom:20 $p=0.000$

n: 2667

Supplementary Table 13. Reasons for Migration (by Points of Origin) (%)

	Province center	District center	Township/village	No response	Total
Economic reasons	56.4	57.8	54.7	34.3	56.3
Marriage	14.5	13.7	19.9	7.7	15.5
Appointment	15.6	14.5	4.0	0.0	12.4
Education	4.2	6.9	9.8	3.6	6.2
Forced migration	5.2	5.5	8.9	2.8	6.2
Other	3.6	1.6	2.7	0.0	2.8
No response	0.4	0.1	0.0	51.6	0.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2:101.66$ degrees of freedom:15 $p=0.000$

n:2667

Supplementary Table 14. The Adolescent Having a Private Room (by Settlement Type) (%)

	Urban	Rural	Total
Yes	59.4	42.7	54.4
No	40.4	57.2	45.3
No response	0.3	0.1	0.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2:260.872$ degrees of freedom:1 $p=0.000$

Supplementary Table 15. The Adolescent Having a Private Room (by Number of Rooms in Residence) (%)

Do have your own room at home?	Yes	No	No response	Total
1 Room	0.0	100.0	0.0	100.0
2 Rooms	17.8	82.2	0.0	100.0
3 Rooms	46.3	53.5	0.2	100.0
4 Rooms	61.8	38.0	0.2	100.0
5 Rooms	73.0	27.0	0.0	100.0
6 Rooms or more	76.6	23.4	0.0	100.0
No response	54.4	36.7	8.9	100.0
Total	54.4	45.3	0.2	100.0

$\chi^2:445.25$ degrees of freedom:7 $p=0.000$

Supplementary Table 16. Homeownership (by Migration Status) (%)

	Yes	No	Total
We own it	58.6	72.5	66.9
Rented	36.3	22.6	28.2
Public/company housing	1.7	0.4	0.9
Owned by a relative	3.2	4.2	3.8
Other	0.1	0.0	0.1
No response	0.1	0.2	0.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2:224.17$ degrees of freedom:4 $p=0.000$

Supplementary Table 17. Distribution (by Sex, Settlement Type, and Region) (%)

	Female	Male	Total
Urban	48.7	51.3	100.0
Rural	49.0	51.0	100.0
$\chi^2:6.089$ degrees of freedom:1 $p=0.014$			
Istanbul	48.6	51.4	100.0
Western Marmara	48.4	51.6	100.0
Aegean	48.4	51.6	100.0
Eastern Marmara	48.9	51.1	100.0
Western Anatolia	48.6	51.4	100.0
Mediterranean	48.8	51.2	100.0
Central Anatolia	49.0	51.0	100.0
Western Black Sea	50.2	49.8	100.0
Eastern Black Sea	49.1	50.9	100.0
Northeastern Anatolia	48.4	51.6	100.0
Mideastern Anatolia	48.6	51.4	100.0
Southeastern Anatolia	48.7	51.3	100.0
Total	48.8	51.2	100.0

$\chi^2:39.927$ degrees of freedom:11 $p=0.000$

Supplementary Table 18. Level of Education (by Settlement Type) (%)

	Urban	Rural	Total
Illiterate	0.1	0.3	0.2
Literate	0.0	0.2	0.1
Dropped out of primary education	1.0	3.0	1.6
Enrolled in primary education	33.6	35.5	34.1
Completed primary education	2.8	5.9	3.7
Dropped out of high school	2.0	3.2	2.4
Enrolled in high school	50.7	43.3	48.6
High school graduate	4.1	5.9	4.7
Dropped out of open education	0.0	0.1	0.0
Enrolled in open education	1.6	1.5	1.5
Enrolled in university	4.0	1.1	3.1
Enrolled in a vocational education center	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2:129.743$ degrees of freedom:11 $p=0.000$

Supplementary Table 19. Type of Common Public Education Institution (by Sex) (%)

	Female	Male	Total
Open education high school	76.6	78.3	77.6
Vocational technical open education school	6.7	12.0	9.9
Vocational education center	13.4	1.7	6.4
Public education center	3.3	6.7	5.3
Science and arts center	0.0	1.4	0.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2: 2.627$ degrees of freedom: 4 $p=0.622$

n: 103

Supplementary Table 20. Females' Main Reason For Discontinuing Education (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
Economic reasons	0.0	0.0	0.0	13.4	38.0	23.9
Could not succeed in university entrance exams	63.3	100.0	34.6	20.0	9.7	16.8
Family's resistance because of customs and traditions	0.0	0.0	4.5	6.0	11.0	8.2
There are no schools here	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.3	1.6
Health problems	0.0	0.0	7.8	6.7	4.0	5.4
Unwilling to attend school	36.7	0.0	45.5	53.2	31.0	41.9
Unsuccessful in school	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.3
Problems with the teacher/principal	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.2
My mother/father is ill	0.0	0.0	7.7	0.0	2.6	1.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2: 57.443$ degrees of freedom: 32 $p=0.004$

n: 547

Supplementary Table 21. Main Reason For Discontinuing Education (by Settlement Type) (%)

	Urban	Rural	Total
Unwilling to attend school	41.5	33.9	37.8
Could not succeed in university entrance exams	22.6	22.2	22.4
Economic reasons	20.7	24.0	22.3
Family's resistance because of customs and traditions	4.5	4.5	4.5
Health problems	3.1	4.4	3.7
Unsuccessful in school	1.5	1.9	1.7
My mother/father is ill	0.5	2.3	1.4
There are no schools here	0.0	2.1	1.0
Other	1.8	1.5	1.7
No response	3.9	3.3	3.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2: 22.25$ degrees of freedom: 13 $p=0.052$

n: 547

Supplementary Table 22. Main Reason for Discontinuing Education (by Family Type) (%)

	Nuclear family	Traditional extended family	Single parent household	Broken family	Total
Unwilling to attend school	36.9	43.9	30.4	51.4	37.8
Could not succeed in university entrance exams	24.9	15.3	4.2	0.0	22.4
Economic reasons	20.8	26.0	51.2	14.5	22.3
Family's resistance because of customs and traditions	4.8	5.2	0.0	0.0	4.5
Health problems	4.3	1.5	0.0	0.0	3.7
Unsuccessful in school	1.2	0.0	10.9	8.0	1.7
My mother/father is ill	1.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.4
There are no schools here	0.8	3.7	0.0	0.0	1.0
Other	1.0	3.1	0.0	16.0	1.7
No response	3.6	1.4	3.2	10.1	3.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2:107.695$ degrees of freedom :39 $p=0.000$

n: 547

Supplementary Table 23. Main Reason for Discontinuing Education (Level of Education) (%)

	Illiterate	Literate	Dropped out of primary education	Completed primary education	Dropped out of high school	High school graduate	Total
Unwilling to attend school			42.7	39.8	66.3	12.0	37.8
Could not succeed in university entrance exams	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.9	75.5	22.4
Economic reasons	13.2	22.6	38.2	34.6	14.5	7.5	22.3
Family's resistance because of customs and traditions	14.5	73.6	6.2	5.1	3.4	1.4	4.5
Health problems	41.8	3.8	7.6	3.8	1.3	0.8	3.7
Unsuccessful in school	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.8	6.0	0.0	1.7
My mother/father is ill	0.0	0.0	3.2	2.6	0.7	0.0	1.4
There are no schools here	4.7	0.0	2.2	2.0	0.0	0.0	1.0
I do not have an ID card	14.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3
Other	4.7	0.0	0.0	1.7	1.4	0.8	1.4
No response	7.0	0.0	0.0	9.7	3.6	2.0	3.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2:662.78$ degrees of freedom:78 $p=0.000$

n: 547

Supplementary Table 24. Main Reason for Discontinuing Education (by Region)

	Istanbul	Western Marmara	Aegean	Eastern Marmara	Western Anatolia	Mediterranean	Central Anatolia	Western Black Sea	Eastern Black Sea	Northeastern Anatolia	Mideastern Anatolia	Southeastern Anatolia	Total
Unwilling to attend school	34.4	62.0	60.2	32.4	42.3	42.2	83.3	27.7	19.0	29.9	36.5	33.7	37.8
Could not succeed in university entrance exams	15.3	12.7	18.7	18.6	49.2	17.6	0.0	56.1	26.9	0.0	18.5	17.5	22.4
Economic reasons	27.0	25.3	9.2	15.9	2.7	34.2	0.0	0.0	15.9	62.1	30.6	24.7	22.3
Family's resistance because of customs and traditions	10.9	0.0	4.1	3.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.4	0.0	0.0	2.3	9.5	4.5
Health problems	0.0	0.0	2.4	10.4	1.8	1.9	0.0	1.8	17.8	0.0	5.0	4.1	3.7
Unsuccessful in school	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.5	0.0	1.3	0.0	3.1	14.4	0.0	0.0	3.8	1.7
My mother/father is ill	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.8	0.0	0.0	2.4	0.0	0.0	4.5	2.2	1.4
There are no schools here	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	8.1	0.0	1.6	1.0
Other	0.0	0.0	0.7	4.4	2.1	1.1	0.0	0.0	5.9	0.0	0.0	2.9	1.7
No response	12.5	0.0	4.8	12.9	0.0	1.6	16.7	2.7	0.0	0.0	2.5	0.0	3.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2:207.914$ degrees of freedom:66 $p=0.000$

n: 547

Supplementary Table 25. Females' Perceived Success in School (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
Not at all successful	1.2	0.0	0.7	0.7	0.9	0.7
Not successful	1.9	2.3	2.3	3.6	1.8	2.8
Somewhat successful	7.4	17.8	26.5	30.1	31.9	26.6
Successful	65.9	59.3	56.6	52.4	51.9	55.1
Very successful	22.5	19.1	12.5	12.2	12.9	13.7
No response	1.1	1.5	1.4	0.9	0.6	1.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	4.08	3.97	3.79	3.73	3.75	3.79

$\chi^2=93.39$ degrees of freedom:16 $p=0.000$

n: 2917

Supplementary Table 26. Males' Perceived Success in School (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
Not at all successful	0.0	0.4	0.7	0.7	3.4	1.0
Not successful	1.1	2.7	3.7	4.3	5.8	4.0
Somewhat successful	24.8	23.4	33.2	40.6	41.3	36.1
Successful	54.6	62.6	49.3	46.6	40.0	48.6
Very successful	19.5	10.3	11.3	6.5	8.8	9.2
No response	0.0	0.5	1.9	1.3	0.7	1.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	3.93	3.80	3.68	3.54	3.45	3.62

$\chi^2=106.984$ degrees of freedom:16 $p=0.000$

n: 2928

Supplementary Table 27. Perceived Success in School (by Region) (%)

	Istanbul	Western Marmara	Aegean	Eastern Marmara	Western Anatolia	Mediterranean	Central Anatolia	Western Black Sea	Eastern Black Sea	Northeastern Anatolia	Mideastern Anatolia	Southeastern Anatolia	Total
Not at all successful	1.2	0.5	0.6	0.3	1.2	1.2	1.9	0.0	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.8	0.8
Not successful	5.1	0.8	5.7	1.7	3.0	3.3	3.9	1.6	3.2	0.9	2.5	3.5	3.3
Somewhat successful	27.9	24.7	33.5	36.4	26.4	33.6	29.7	34.3	39.5	23.8	31.2	37.1	31.6
Successful	52.1	61.0	50.4	51.4	59.0	49.5	53.6	53.4	42.1	36.5	50.3	49.6	51.8
Very successful	12.0	9.9	9.9	10.1	9.3	11.5	10.0	8.1	8.7	38.8	14.7	7.7	11.2
No response	1.7	3.1	0.0	0.0	1.1	1.0	1.0	2.6	5.7	0.0	1.3	1.3	1.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	3.70	3.82	3.63	3.69	3.73	3.68	3.66	3.70	3.58	4.13	3.78	3.61	3.70

$\chi^2=259.606$ degrees of freedom:33 $p=0.000$

n: 6200

Supplementary Table 28. Perceived Success in School (by Self-Esteem) (%)

	Low	Normal	High	Total
Not at all successful	5.4	0.5	0.1	0.7
Not successful	9.3	3.2	1.4	3.3
Somewhat successful	38.5	32.7	20.6	31.6
Successful	37.8	52.7	54.8	52.0
Very successful	7.0	9.6	22.4	11.0
No response	2.0	1.4	0.7	1.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	3.32	3.69	3.99	3.70

$\chi^2:231.677$ degrees of freedom:8 $p=0.000$

n: 5717

Supplementary Table 29. Perceived Success in School (by BMI) (%)

	Weak	Normal	Fat	Obese	Total
Not at all successful	.8	.8	1.1	4.7	.9
Not successful	2.6	3.5	4.3	5.9	3.3
Somewhat successful	30.4	31.7	32.1	37.5	31.4
Successful	53.2	52.7	54.8	38.3	52.8
Very successful	13.0	11.3	7.7	13.7	11.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

n: 4931

Supplementary Table 30. Level of Satisfaction with School (by Region) (Mean)

	Istanbul	Western Marmara	Aegean	Eastern Marmara	Western Anatolia	Mediterranean	Central Anatolia	Western Black Sea	Eastern Black Sea	Northeastern Anatolia	Mideastern Anatolia	Southeastern Anatolia
Your school's building and outer appearance	3.43	3.38	3.76	3.97	3.67	3.60	3.75	3.63	3.76	3.89	3.51	3.43
Your school's garden	3.45	3.38	3.73	3.85	3.70	3.63	3.77	3.57	3.68	3.80	3.49	3.41
Your school's laboratories	3.13	3.19	3.48	3.56	3.45	3.34	3.61	3.40	3.61	3.90	3.35	3.29
The sufficiency of education tools and materials at your school	3.11	3.25	3.48	3.59	3.41	3.37	3.57	3.45	3.62	3.84	3.35	3.22
The number of students in your class	3.32	3.47	3.56	3.68	3.44	3.63	3.74	3.51	3.80	3.79	3.53	3.20
Sporting and social activities at your school	3.21	3.23	3.58	3.73	3.31	3.37	3.67	3.41	3.52	3.87	3.32	3.13
Bathrooms and toilets in your school	2.94	3.18	3.06	3.44	3.19	2.76	3.44	2.96	3.29	3.75	2.98	2.68

Those who have not responded to this question and those in open education institutions are not included here.

Supplementary Table 31. Most Recent Topic Discussed with the Guidance Teacher (Family Type) (%)

	Nuclear family	Traditional extended family	Single parent household	Broken family	Total
Classes	61.8	55.3	43.5	49.7	60.2
Friends	13.3	12.4	16.1	5.7	13.0
Family issues	6.1	8.8	21.8	21.9	7.5
High school or university entrance exams	7.6	4.5	10.4	7.7	7.4
Girl/boyfriend	3.4	6.7	0.0	4.1	3.6
Teachers/administrators	1.8	2.2	0.0	3.1	1.8
Psychology, health, self confidence	1.3	3.1	2.1	0.0	1.4
Disciplinary punishment at school	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.7
Smoking, drinking, etc.	0.6	0.9	0.0	1.9	0.7
Attendance problems	0.7	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.6
Other	1.6	1.9	3.8	2.6	1.7
No response	1.0	4.0	2.3	3.2	1.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2:106.023$ degrees of freedom:69 $p=0.003$

n: 1530

Supplementary Table 32. Level of Satisfaction with most Recent Consultation with Guidance Teacher (by Sex) (%)

	Female	Male	Total
Not at all satisfied	1.9	2.8	2.3
Not satisfied	6.1	6.9	6.5
Somewhat satisfied	10.0	15.4	12.7
Satisfied	59.5	55.6	57.6
Very satisfied	21.3	18.1	19.7
No response	1.2	1.2	1.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	3.93	3.80	3.87

$\chi^2:10.447$ degrees of freedom:4 $p=0.033$

n:1530

Supplementary Table 33. Level of Satisfaction with most Recent Consultation with Guidance Teacher (by Age Group) (%)

	12-15	16-18	Total
Not at all satisfied	1.3	3.9	2.3
Not satisfied	5.7	7.7	6.5
Somewhat satisfied	9.8	17.2	12.7
Satisfied	61.0	52.1	57.6
Very satisfied	20.5	18.5	19.7
No response	1.6	0.5	1.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	3.95	3.74	3.87

$\chi^2:30.031$ degrees of freedom:4 $p=0.000$

n:1530

Supplementary Table 34. Level of Satisfaction with most Recent Consultation with Guidance Teacher (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
Not at all satisfied	4.8	.7	2.6	2.1	2.9	2.3
Not satisfied	2.6	10.2	7.5	5.8	4.4	6.3
Somewhat satisfied	22.2	20.3	12.6	10.3	13.1	12.8
Satisfied	53.1	54.1	56.8	57.4	60.3	57.1
Very satisfied	17.4	12.7	19.0	23.6	17.5	20.2
No response	0.0	2.1	1.6	.8	1.9	1.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	3.76	3.69	3.84	3.95	3.87	3.88

$\chi^2:27.217$ degrees of freedom:16 $p=0.039$

n:1438

Supplementary Table 35. Average Weekly Allowance (by Sex) (%)

	Female	Male	Total
None	7.8	8.1	7.9
5 TL or less	16.2	15.9	16.1
6 - 10 TL	18.2	16.3	17.2
11 - 20 TL	20.7	18.6	19.6
21 - 30 TL	13.3	15.7	14.6
31 - 40 TL	6.3	6.5	6.4
41 - 50 TL	8.6	9.8	9.2
51 TL or more	8.0	8.4	8.2
No definite amount	0.5	0.3	0.4
No response	0.3	0.4	0.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	25.94	27.11	26.54

$\chi^2:14.086$ degrees of freedom:7 $p=0.050$

Supplementary Table 36. Average Weekly Allowance (by Age Group) (%)

	12-15	16-18	Total
None	8.4	7.2	7.9
5 TL or less	20.7	8.3	16.1
6 - 10 TL	19.5	13.4	17.2
11 - 20 TL	19.9	19.1	19.6
21 - 30 TL	12.7	17.7	14.6
31 - 40 TL	5.7	7.7	6.4
41 - 50 TL	7.0	12.8	9.2
51 TL or more	5.5	12.7	8.2
No definite amount	0.3	0.5	0.4
No response	0.3	0.5	0.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	21.86	34.25	26.54

$\chi^2:484.491$ degrees of freedom:7 $p=0.000$

Supplementary Table 37. Average Weekly Allowance (by Settlement Type) (%)

	Urban	Rural	Total
None	6.0	13.1	7.9
5 TL or less	13.2	23.8	16.1
6 - 10 TL	16.8	18.3	17.2
11 - 20 TL	19.9	18.8	19.6
21 - 30 TL	15.7	11.5	14.6
31 - 40 TL	7.5	3.5	6.4
41 - 50 TL	10.7	5.2	9.2
51 TL or more	9.4	5.1	8.2
No definite amount	0.5	0.2	0.4
No response	0.4	0.4	0.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	28.89	19.79	26.54

$\chi^2:408.021$ degrees of freedom:7 $p=0.000$

Supplementary Table 38. Average Weekly Allowance (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
None	2.3	3.2	3.9	8.7	20.1	7.7
5 TL or less	2.1	3.1	8.4	20.0	39.1	16.1
6 - 10 TL	2.8	7.0	15.3	21.1	22.4	17.1
11 - 20 TL	9.6	14.7	22.6	22.2	10.1	19.5
21 - 30 TL	13.6	15.4	19.0	14.0	5.4	14.6
31 - 40 TL	9.6	13.1	9.7	4.2	0.7	6.6
41 - 50 TL	25.5	17.7	11.9	5.7	0.8	9.3
51 TL or more	33.3	25.5	8.3	3.5	0.5	8.4
No definite amount	0.2	0.3	0.6	0.2	0.3	0.4
No response	1.1	0.1	0.3	0.2	0.6	0.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	57.78	46.17	29.39	19.66	10.12	26.70

$\chi^2:1767.806$ degrees of freedom:28 $p=0.000$

Supplementary Table 39. Type of Work Done by the Adolescent (by Settlement Type) (%)

	Urban	Rural	Total
I work at the family business (Family worker)	12.9	20.3	15.6
I work at a manufacturing firm (Industrial worker)	26.3	11.1	20.8
I work at the barber shop, tailor, etc. (Worker in the service sector)	41.9	20.0	34
I work on the farm, in the gardens, etc. (Farm worker)	4.5	41.2	17.7
I work in the garment industry, textiles, etc. (Worker in textiles)	7.9	2.1	5.8
Construction worker	2.7	2.8	2.7
Interning	1.7	0.0	1.1
Other	1.6	2.4	1.9
No response	0.6	0.0	0.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2:32.792$ degrees of freedom:7 $p=0.000$

n: 225

Supplementary Table 40. Type of Work Done by the Adolescent (by Family Type) (%)

	Nuclear family	Traditional extended family	Single parent household	Broken family	Total
I work at the family business (Family worker)	16.8	21.1	0.0	0.0	15.6
I work at a manufacturing firm (Industrial worker)	20.9	14.1	40.6	20.6	20.8
I work at the barber shop, tailor, etc. (Worker in the service sector)	34.0	20.6	49.2	50.6	34.0
I work on the farm, in the gardens, etc. (Farm worker)	16.5	34.2	10.1	4.8	17.7
I work in the garment industry, textiles, etc. (Worker in textiles)	4.9	4.8	0.0	22.9	5.8
Construction worker	2.7	5.2	0.0	0.0	2.7
Interning	1.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.1
Other	2.4	0.0	0.0	1.0	1.9
No response	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2:21.637$ degrees of freedom:21 $p=0.249$

n: 225

Supplementary Table 41. Type of Work Done by the Adolescent (by Region) (%)

	Istanbul	Western Marmara	Aegean	Eastern Marmara	Western Anatolia	Mediterranean	Central Anatolia	Western Black Sea	Eastern Black Sea	Northeastern Anatolia	Mideastern Anatolia	Southeastern Anatolia	Total
I work at the family business (Family worker)	30.2	4,8	2,1	15,8	18,1	8,8	34,2	16,6	34,4	4,5	29,0	13,1	15,6
I work at a manufacturing firm (Industrial worker)	24.4	0,0	14,4	15,0	17,3	37,5	26,3	0,0	0,0	20,2	22,4	30,3	20,8
I work at the barber shop, tailor, etc. (Worker in the service sector)	45.4	77,0	54,3	13,2	47,3	34,5	12,9	40,4	24,9	36,2	20,8	23,9	34,0
I work on the farm, in the gardens, etc. (Farm worker)	0.0	6,9	3,5	42,4	0,0	14,6	0,0	43,0	40,7	25,6	10,7	24,3	17,7
I work in the garment industry, textiles, etc. (Worker in textiles)	0.0	0,0	15,3	13,6	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	8,1	0,0	6,0	5,8
Construction worker	0.0	3,8	6,1	0,0	0,0	4,7	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	17,1	0,0	2,7
Interning	0.0	0,0	3,7	0,0	17,3	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	1,1
Other	0.0	0,0	0,5	0,0	0,0	0,0	26,5	0,0	0,0	5,4	0,0	2,4	1,9
No response	0.0	7,4	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,4
Total	100.0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

$\chi^2:137.830$ degrees of freedom:77 $p=0.000$

Supplementary Table 42. Work History (Working Adolescents) (by Sex) (%)

	Female	Male	Total
Less than 1 month	8,4	6,3	6,7
1-6 months	20,9	22,2	21,9
7-12 months	0,0	3,6	2,8
13-24 months	25,0	23,2	23,5
25-36 months	29,9	19,7	21,9
More than three years	15,9	24	22,3
No response	0,0	1,0	0,8
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0
Mean	1,54	1,91	1,83

$\chi^2:3,076$ degrees of freedom:6 $p=0,799$

n: 225

Supplementary Table 43. Work History (Working Adolescents) (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
Less than 1 month	0.0	3.7	5.2	4.8	12.9	6.4
1-6 months	0.0	11.1	31.5	24.1	12.1	22.2
7-12 months	37.7	0.0	4.0	2.9	1.7	3.0
13-24 months	62.3	13.3	32.9	21.5	23.0	24.0
25-36 months	0.0	45.7	15.7	20.3	24.8	21.4
More than three years	0.0	26.2	10.8	26.4	25.5	23.0
No response	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total	0.84	2.19	1.23	2.04	1.84	1.84

$\chi^2:33.470$ degrees of freedom:20 $p=0.030$

n: 215

Supplementary Table 44. Work History (Working Adolescents) (by Settlement Type) (%)

	Urban	Rural	Total
Less than 1 month	7.1	6.0	6.7
1-6 months	22.3	21.1	21.9
7-12 months	4.4		2.8
13-24 months	27.2	17.1	23.5
25-36 months	20.8	23.9	21.9
More than three years	18.2	29.6	22.3
No response	0.0	2.2	0.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	1.57	2.29	1.83

$\chi^2:9.065$ degrees of freedom:6 $p=0.170$

n: 225

Supplementary Table 45. Work History (Working Adolescents) (by Family Type) (%)

	Nuclear family	Traditional extended family	Single parent household	Broken family	Total
Less than 1 month	7.1	0.0	0.0	31.1	6.7
1-6 months	23.3	17.0	5.4	34.9	21.9
7-12 months	2.7	6.2	0.0	0.0	2.8
13-24 months	25.6	11.1	31	11.2	23.5
25-36 months	16.9	40.3	56.5	6.9	21.9
More than three years	23.4	25.3	7.1	16.0	22.3
No response	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	1.83	2.04	2.00	0.90	1.83

$\chi^2:18.668$ degrees of freedom:18 $p=0.413$

Supplementary Table 46. Work History (Working Adolescents) (by Region) (%)

	Istanbul	Western Marmara	Aegean	Eastern Marmara	Western Anatolia	Mediterranean	Central Anatolia	Western Black Sea	Eastern Black Sea	Northeastern Anatolia	Mideastern Anatolia	Southeastern Anatolia	Total
Less than 1 month	0.0	9.3	4.9	7.7	0.0	13.0	33.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	22.5	0.0	6.7
1-6 months	20.9	28.4	25.6	8.8	51.5	20.4	22.6	27.9	24.9	26.4	12.1	26.8	21.9
7-12 months	13.3	0.0	6.2	0.0	0.0	3.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.8
13-24 months	29.1	33.3	15.5	17.5	31.2	20.8	15.3	57.0	0.0	16.8	26.6	28.9	23.5
25-36 months	33.3	8.3	17.0	27.1	0.0	13.4	0.0	15.1	65.1	47.3	19.7	17.7	21.9
More than three years	3.4	20.7	30.8	38.9	17.3	29.1	29.1	0.0	9.9	9.5	8.3	26.6	22.3
No response	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	10.7	0.0	0.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	1.31	1.53	1.72	2.97	1.16	1.78	1.46	1.12	1.82	1.69	1.12	1.99	1.83

$\chi^2:490.035$ degrees of freedom:462 $p=0.177$

Supplementary Table 47. Number of Working Days per Week (Working Adolescents) (by Settlement Type) (%)

	Urban	Rural	Total
1	0.0	2.6	0.9
2	8.2	7.1	7.8
3	6.7	2.7	5.3
4	3.2	5.3	4.0
5	14.3	10.7	13.0
6	54.6	24.6	43.8
7	12.0	46.9	24.5
No response	1.1		0.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	5.38	5.76	5.52

$\chi^2:19.360$ degrees of freedom:18 $p=0.004$

n: 225

Supplementary Table 48. Working Hours per Day (Working Adolescents) (by Settlement Type) (%)

	Urban	Rural	Total
1-4 hours	5.5	4.3	5.1
5-7 hours	17.4	19.9	18.3
8 hours	25.3	36.7	29.4
9-10 hours	23.6	21.4	22.8
11-14 hours	23.1	15.7	20.4
No response	5.2	2.0	4.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	8.72	8.33	8.57

$\chi^2: 2.270$ degrees of freedom: 4 $p=0.686$

n: 225

Supplementary Table 49. Working Hours per Day (Working Adolescents) (by Region) (%)

	Istanbul	Western Marmara	Aegean	Eastern Marmara	Western Anatolia	Mediterranean	Central Anatolia	Western Black Sea	Eastern Black Sea	Northeastern Anatolia	Mideastern Anatolia	Southeastern Anatolia	Total
1-4 hours	11.0	8.3	6.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	21.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	12.9	3.6	5.1
5-7 hours	33.7	31.5	18.1	11.7	37.9	9.3	0.0	15.1	0.0	39.3	6.6	13.2	18.3
8 hours	12.4	29.9	33.9	54.6	14.5	44.6	19.8	17.2	75.1	9.9	17.6	21.3	29.4
9-10 hours	29.4	17.4	17.3	18.5	34.6	23.3	18.0	29.8	0.0	27.7	36.5	18.5	22.8
11-14 hours	5.4	3.7	24.4	7.7	13.1	19.0	40.3	23.2	24.9	23.1	26.3	40.6	20.4
No response	8.1	9.3	0.0	7.5	0.0	3.7	0.0	14.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.9	4.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	7.46	7.48	8.55	8.32	8.46	8.96	8.67	9.61	9.00	8.80	8.79	9.37	8.57

$\chi^2:63.580$ degrees of freedom:44 $p=0.028$

Supplementary Table 50. Security Coverage of Working Adolescents (by Settlement Type) (%)

	Urban	Rural	Total
Yes	40.1	11.0	29.6
No	59.9	89.0	70.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2:12.065$ degrees of freedom:18 $p=0.000$

n: 225

Supplementary Table 51. Monthly Income of Working Adolescents (by Settlement Type) (%)

	Urban	Rural	Total
I don't get paid	0.7	0.8	0.8
50-200 TL	6.8	6.5	6.7
201-300 TL	8.7	7.7	8.3
301-400 TL	6.1	7.5	6.6
401-500 TL	15.9	10.2	13.8
501-1000 TL	54.4	40.1	49.2
1000-2000 TL	4.5	7.8	5.7
No response	2.9	19.5	8.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	632.3	686.2	649.4

$\chi^2:14.644$ degrees of freedom:18 $p=0.023$

n: 225

Supplementary Table 52. Monthly Income of Working Adolescents (by Region) (%)

	Istanbul	Western Marmara	Aegean	Eastern Marmara	Western Anatolia	Mediterranean	Central Anatolia	Western Black Sea	Eastern Black Sea	Northeastern Anatolia	Mideastern Anatolia	Southeastern Anatolia	Total
I don't get paid	0.0	0.0	5.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.8
50-200 TL	7.7	4.8	9.9	0.0	13.1	5.9	0.0	31.4	0.0	0.0	19.3	4.7	6.7
201-300 TL	8.3	3.5	4.2	2.1	17.3	21.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	7.7	18.5	8.3
301-400 TL	10.8	7.0	12.8	1.8	19.7	8.0	0.0	13.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.4	6.6
401-500 TL	19.3	7.2	11.3	11.2	0.0	12.9	18.0	38.3	0.0	41.0	11.4	4.4	13.8
501-1000 TL	42.8	60.9	50.4	66.9	49.9	34.7	54.1	17.2	59.3	41.1	36.7	53.6	49.2
1000-2000 TL	11.1	3.8	5.5	0.0	0.0	9.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	15.0	13.1	2.4	5.7
No response	0.0	12.8	0.0	18.0	0.0	7.9	27.8	0.0	40.7	2.8	11.7	10.1	8.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	652.0	715.5	600.3	774.4	548.0	572.7	686.3	422.2	745.0	746.2	677.4	597.4	649.4

$\chi^2:54.502$ degrees of freedom:66 $p=0.843$

n: 225

Supplementary Table 53. How the Adolescent Spends His/Her Earnings (by Settlement Type) (%)

	Urban	Rural	Total
Mostly for myself	30.5	22.0	27.5
For myself and my family equally	36.5	42.2	38.5
Mostly for my family	30.4	35.0	32.0
No response	2.6	0.8	1.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2:4.270$ degrees of freedom:18 $p=0.118$

n: 225

Supplementary Table 54. How the Adolescent Spends His/Her Earnings (by Region) (%)

	Istanbul	Western Marmara	Aegean	Eastern Marmara	Western Anatolia	Mediterranean	Central Anatolia	Western Black Sea	Eastern Black Sea	Northeastern Anatolia	Mideastern Anatolia	Southeastern Anatolia	Total
Mostly for myself	37.3	53.2	39.2	12.8	50.9	12.6	34.2	14.7	34.4	25.2	20.6	25.7	27.5
For myself and my family equally	33.5	28.1	17.7	73.5	49.1	59.3	49.4	33.8	24.9	27.6	16.4	25.8	38.5
Mostly for my family	29.2	18.7	37.3	13.7	0.0	28.2	0.0	51.4	40.7	47.3	56.5	48.5	32.0
No response	0.0	0.0	5.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	16.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.6	0.0	1.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2:42.905$ degrees of freedom:22 $p=0.005$

n: 225

Supplementary Table 55. whether or Not the Adolescent Has Savings (by Settlement Type) (%)

	Urban	Rural	Total
Yes	39.5	22.2	33.3
No	57.5	77.0	64.5
No response	3.0	0.8	2.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2:1.877$ degrees of freedom:18 $p=0.171$

n: 225

Supplementary Table 56. Adolescent's Level of Happiness with Working (by Age Group) (%)

	12-15	16-18	Total
Not happy at all	8.5	6.7	7.0
Not happy	12.8	8.7	9.4
Somewhat happy	24.8	34.0	32.4
Happy	44.0	41.8	42.2
Very happy	9.9	8.5	8.8
No response	0.0	0.3	0.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	3.34	3.37	3.36

$\chi^2:2.532$ degrees of freedom:18 $p=0.639$

n: 225

Supplementary Table 57. Adolescent's Level of Happiness with Working (by Settlement Type) (%)

	Urban	Rural	Total
Not happy at all	5.9	9.1	7.0
Not happy	10.3	8.0	9.4
Somewhat happy	26.4	43.0	32.4
Happy	48.3	31.2	42.2
Very happy	8.8	8.7	8.8
No response	0.4		0.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	3.44	3.23	3.36

$\chi^2:4.109$ degrees of freedom:18 $p=0.391$

n: 225

Supplementary Table 58. Adolescent's Level of Happiness with Working (by Region) (%)

	Istanbul	Western Marmara	Aegean	Eastern Marmara	Western Anatolia	Mediterranean	Central Anatolia	Western Black Sea	Eastern Black Sea	Northeastern Anatolia	Midwestern Anatolia	Southeastern Anatolia	Total
Not happy at all	13.8	3.8	0.0	14.4	0.0	3.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	11.5	9.1	7.0
Not happy	9.9	3.7	3.8	0.0	17.3	21.2	7.3	15.1	0.0	8.3	17.8	13.4	9.4
Somewhat happy	24.1	37.3	40.3	45.2	19.7	31.2	16.4	53.6	34.4	42.8	28.5	18.0	32.4
Happy	46.8	42.9	36.5	36.7	45.7	39.6	66.2	31.4	40.7	35.4	28.0	55.2	42.2
Very happy	5.5	7.4	19.4	3.7	17.3	4.2	10.2	0.0	24.9	13.5	14.3	4.2	8.8
No response	0.0	4.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	3.20	3.49	3.71	3.15	3.63	3.19	3.79	3.16	3.91	3.54	3.16	3.32	3.36

$\chi^2:39.244$ degrees of freedom:44 $p=0.675$

Supplementary Table 59. Adolescent's Level of Satisfaction with Work They Do (by Age Group) (%)

	12-15	16-18	Total
Not at all satisfied	10.2	7.7	8.1
Not satisfied	1.8	6.2	5.5
Somewhat satisfied	29.0	27.1	27.4
Satisfied	48.1	45.2	45.7
Very satisfied	10.8	13.5	13.0
No response		0.3	0.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	3.47	3.51	3.50

$\chi^2: 2.476$ degrees of freedom: 18 $p=0.649$

n: 225

Supplementary Table 60. Adolescent's Level of Satisfaction with Work They Do (by SettlementType) (%)

	Urban	Rural	Total
Not at all satisfied	5.3	13.1	8.1
Not satisfied	5.7	5.1	5.5
Somewhat satisfied	27.6	27.2	27.4
Satisfied	48.8	40.3	45.7
Very satisfied	12.3	14.3	13.0
No response	0.4	0.0	0.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	3.57	3.37	3.50

$\chi^2: 3.926$ degrees of freedom: 18 $p=0.416$

n: 225

Supplementary Table 61. Adolescent's Level of Satisfaction with Work Environment (by Sex) (%)

	Female	Male	Total
Not at all satisfied	7.4	6.9	7.0
Not satisfied	1.7	5.4	4.6
Somewhat satisfied	30.4	20.4	22.6
Satisfied	38.4	47.5	45.6
Very satisfied	17.7	19.4	19.1
No response	4.4	0.3	1.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	3.60	3.67	3.66

$\chi^2: 2.956$ degrees of freedom: 18 $p=0.565$

n: 225

Supplementary Table 62. Adolescent's Level of Satisfaction with Work Environment (by Age Group) (%)

	12-15	16-18	Total
Not at all satisfied	11.2	6.1	7.0
Not satisfied	5.8	4.4	4.6
Somewhat satisfied	17.8	23.6	22.6
Satisfied	44.3	45.8	45.6
Very satisfied	21.0	18.6	19.1
No response	0.0	1.4	1.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	3.58	3.67	3.66

$\chi^2: 3.177$ degrees of freedom: 18 $p=0.529$

Supplementary Table 63. Adolescent's Level of Satisfaction with Work Environment (by Settlement Type) (%)

	Urban	Rural	Total
Not at all satisfied	8.4	4.5	7.0
Not satisfied	3.4	6.8	4.6
Somewhat satisfied	20.3	26.6	22.6
Satisfied	48.5	40.2	45.6
Very satisfied	17.5	21.9	19.1
No response	1.8	0.0	1.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	3.64	3.68	3.66

$\chi^2:3083$ degrees of freedom:18 $p=0.544$

n: 225

Supplementary Table 64. Adolescent's Level of Satisfaction with Treatment by Workmates (by Sex) (%)

	Female	Male	Total
Not at all satisfied	1.4	3.9	3.4
Not satisfied	1.7	3.4	3.0
Somewhat satisfied	13.7	17.2	16.4
Satisfied	59.7	56.9	57.5
Very satisfied	18.8	16.7	17.1
No response	4.6	1.9	2.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	3.97	3.81	3.84

$\chi^2:1.372$ degrees of freedom:18 $p=0.849$

n: 225

Supplementary Table 65. Adolescent's Level of Satisfaction with Treatment by Workmates (by Age Group) (%)

	12-15	16-18	Total
Not at all satisfied	5.7	2.9	3.4
Not satisfied	10.1	1.5	3.0
Somewhat satisfied	13.4	17.1	16.4
Satisfied	55.3	58.0	57.5
Very satisfied	15.5	17.5	17.1
No response	0.0	3.0	2.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	3.65	3.88	3.84

$\chi^2:11.934$ degrees of freedom:18 $p=0.018$

n: 225

Supplementary Table 66. Adolescent's Level of Satisfaction with Treatment by Workmates (by Settlement Type) (%)

	Urban	Rural	Total
Not at all satisfied	4.4	1.4	3.4
Not satisfied	3.4	2.4	3.0
Somewhat satisfied	15.8	17.5	16.4
Satisfied	56.8	58.8	57.5
Very satisfied	17.1	17.3	17.1
No response	2.4	2.6	2.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	3.81	3.90	3.84

$\chi^2:0.841$ degrees of freedom:18 $p=0.933$

n: 225

Supplementary Table 67. Adolescent's Level of Satisfaction with Treatment by Workmates (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
Not at all satisfied	0.0	0.0	7.8	2.7	2.9	3.6
Not satisfied	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.8	5.8	3.2
Somewhat satisfied	0.0	13.4	22.8	9.6	20.8	14.6
Satisfied	100.0	53.8	61.9	57.2	60.0	58.9
Very satisfied	0.0	25.8	5.2	26.3	6.1	17.8
No response	0.0	7.0	2.3	0.5	4.4	1.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	4.00	4.13	3.58	4.01	3.63	3.86

$\chi^2:23.302$ degrees of freedom:18 $p=0.106$

n: 210

Supplementary Table 68. Adolescent's Level of Satisfaction with Treatment by Boss, Foreman or Manager (by Sex) (%)

	Female	Male	Total
Not at all satisfied	4.4	4.8	4.7
Not satisfied	1.7	8.3	6.8
Somewhat satisfied	17.1	22.3	21.2
Satisfied	44.2	40.9	41.6
Very satisfied	28.8	22.8	24.1
No response	3.8	1.0	1.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	3.95	3.69	3.75

$\chi^2:2.6074$ degrees of freedom:18 $p=0.626$

n: 225

Supplementary Table 69. Adolescent's Level of Satisfaction with Treatment by Boss, Foreman or Manager (by Age Group) (%)

	12-15	16-18	Total
Not at all satisfied	5.7	4.5	4.7
Not satisfied	12.2	5.7	6.8
Somewhat satisfied	18.2	21.8	21.2
Satisfied	45.7	40.7	41.6
Very satisfied	18.3	25.3	24.1
No response	0.0	1.9	1.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	3.59	3.78	3.75

$\chi^2:2.253$ degrees of freedom:18 $p=0.689$

n: 225

Supplementary Table 70. Adolescent's Level of Satisfaction with Treatment by Boss, Foreman or Manager (by Settlement Type) (%)

	Urban	Rural	Total
Not at all satisfied	6.7	1.2	4.7
Not satisfied	7.0	6.6	6.8
Somewhat satisfied	22.8	18.4	21.2
Satisfied	40.7	43.2	41.6
Very satisfied	21.4	28.8	24.1
No response	1.4	1.9	1.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	3.64	3.94	3.75

$\chi^2:8.228$ degrees of freedom:18 $p=0.084$

n: 225

Supplementary Table 71. Adolescent's Level of Satisfaction with Treatment by Boss, Foreman or Manager (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
Not at all satisfied	0.0	7.6	6.7	5.0	2.9	5.0
Not satisfied	0.0	0.0	11.9	4.2	10.2	6.7
Somewhat satisfied	0.0	0.0	18.5	23.3	19.0	20.1
Satisfied	62.3	61.9	49.8	35.3	49.1	42.5
Very satisfied	37.7	30.5	13.1	31.7	15.4	24.7
No response	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	3.5	1.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	4.38	4.08	3.51	3.85	3.66	3.76

$\chi^2:15.639$ degrees of freedom:18 $p=0.478$

n: 212

Supplementary Table 72. Frequency of Being Subject to Violence at the Workplace (by Settlement Type) (%)

	Urban	Rural	Total
No, never	71.1	81.9	75.0
Rarely	18.3	12.6	16.2
Sometimes	6.9	4.4	6.0
Often	1.8	0.4	1.3
No response	2.0	0.8	1.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	1.38	1.23	1.32

$\chi^2:3.419$ degrees of freedom:18 $p=0.331$

n: 225

Supplementary Table 73. Frequency of Being Subject to Verbal Violence at the Workplace (by Sector) (%)

	Service sector	Industry	Farming	Family worker	Textile	Construction	Total
No, never	76.7	68.8	87.8	61.5	75.1	64.3	75.0
Rarely	15.4	17.8	12.2	24.9	18.1	6.8	16.2
Sometimes	5.6	6.3	0.0	0.0	6.8	29.0	6.0
Often	1.3	4.0	0.0	10.3	0.0	0.0	1.3
No response	1.1	3.2	0.0	3.3	0.0	0.0	1.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	1.31	1.44	1.12	1.47	1.32	1.65	1.32

$\chi^2:23.852$ degrees of freedom:18 $p=0.160$

Supplementary Table 74. Frequency of Being Subject to Verbal Violence at the Workplace (by Region) (%)

	Istanbul	Western Marmara	Aegean	Eastern Marmara	Western Anatolia	Mediterranean	Central Anatolia	Western Black Sea	Eastern Black Sea	Northeastern Anatolia	Mideastern Anatolia	Southeastern Anatolia	Total
No, never	49.8	72.6	69.0	84.0	62.2	76.2	63.7	100.0	100.0	63.2	91.3	87.4	75.0
Rarely	29.9	22.5	9.4	12.1	37.8	12.2	36.3	0.0	0.0	36.8	8.7	4.1	16.2
Sometimes	11.6	0.0	18.4	0.0	0.0	11.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.2	6.0
Often	8.8	0.0	1.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.3
No response	0.0	4.8	2.1	3.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.4	1.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	1.79	1.24	1.50	1.13	1.38	1.35	1.36	1.00	1.00	1.37	1.09	1.17	1.32

$\chi^2: 45.737$ degrees of freedom: $33 p=0.069$

n: 225

Supplementary Table 75. Frequency of Being Subject to Verbal Violence at the Workplace (by Self-Esteem) (%)

	Low	Normal	High	Total
No, never	54.6	80.8	85.2	78.6
Rarely	24.7	12.9	13.1	14.1
Sometimes	13.3	6.1	0.8	6.4
Often	7.4	0.1	0.9	0.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2: 9.304$ degrees of freedom: $6 p=0.157$

n: 211

Supplementary Table 76. Source of Verbal Violence at the Workplace (by Sector) (%)

	Service sector	Industry	Farming	Family worker	Textile	Construction	Total
Owner	45.0	34.2	86.0	47.1	0.0	0.0	42.1
Chief/director	13.6	23.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	10.2
Foreman/assistant foreman	34.7	52.3	0.0	8.4	100.0	51.2	34.2
Workmates	0.0	13.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.2
No response	18.9	23.4	14.0	44.5	0.0	48.8	25.7
Total	112.3	146.5	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	115.3

Multiple response

n: 60

Supplementary Table 77. Frequency of Being Subject to Physical Violence at the Workplace (by Sex) (%)

	Female	Male	Total
No, never	95.5	95.4	95.4
Rarely	0.0	2.1	1.6
Sometimes	0.0	1.7	1.3
Often	1.4	0.6	0.8
No response	3.0	0.3	0.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	1.04	10.7	1.07

$\chi^2: 3.028$ degrees of freedom: $18 p=0.387$

n: 225

Supplementary Table 78. Frequency of Being Subject to Physical Violence at the Workplace (by Age Groups) (%)

	12-15	16-18	Total
No, never	92.5	96.0	95.4
Rarely	1.8	1.6	1.6
Sometimes	5.6	0.4	1.3
Often	0.0	1.0	0.8
No response	0.0	1.1	0.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	1.13	1.05	1.07

$\chi^2:2.338$ degrees of freedom:18 $p=0.505$

n: 225

Supplementary Table 79. Frequency of Being Subject to Physical Violence at the Workplace (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
No, never	62.3	100.0	96.2	96.7	93.5	95.8
Rarely	37.7	0.0	3.8	1.2	0.0	1.7
Sometimes	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.7	4.9	1.4
Often	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.9	1.6	0.8
No response	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	1.38	1.00	1.04	1.05	1.15	1.07

$\chi^2:28.794$ degrees of freedom:18 $p=0.004$

n: 214

Supplementary Table 80. Frequency of Being Subject to Physical Violence at the Workplace (by Settlement Type) (%)

	Urban	Rural	Total
No, never	93.8	98,3	95,4
Rarely	2.5	0,4	1,6
Sometimes	1.8	0,0	1,3
Often	0.5	1,3	0,8
No response	1.4	0,0	0,9
Total	100.0	0,0	100,0
Mean	1.08	1,05	1,07

$\chi^2:4.080$ degrees of freedom:18 $p=0.253$

n: 225

Supplementary Table 81. Frequency of Being Subject to Physical Violence at the Workplace (by Sector) (%)

	Service sector	Industry	Farming	Family worker	Textile	Construction	Total
No, never	96.6	92.5	98.3	91.0	100.0	93.2	95.4
Rarely	2.5	0.0	0.0	4.8	0.0	0.0	1.6
Sometimes	0.9	4.0	1.7	0.0	0.0	6.8	1.3
Often	0.0	0.4	0.0	2.6	0.0	0.0	0.8
No response	0.0	3.2	0.0	1.5	0.0	0.0	0.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	1.04	1.09	1.05	1.13	1.00	1.14	1.07

$\chi^2:19.801$ degrees of freedom:18 $p=0.344$

n: 225

Supplementary Table 82. Distribution of Adolescent's Friends (by Settlement Type) (%)

	Urban	Rural	Total
I have no friends	1.5	1.5	1.5
Most of my friends are girls	14.8	14.0	14.6
Most of my friends are boys	11.5	12.5	11.8
All of my friends are girls	6.3	15.9	9.2
All of my friends are boys	5.2	12.2	7.3
I have an equal number of friends from both sexes	60.5	43.8	55.6
No response	0.1	0.1	0.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2=152.195$ degrees of freedom:4 $p=0.000$

Supplementary Table 83. Distribution of Adolescent's Friends (by Family Type) (%)

	Nuclear family	Traditional extended family	Single parent household	Broken family	Total
I have no friends	1.5	1.4	0.5	3.4	1.5
Most of my friends are girls	14.6	16.8	11.4	12.5	14.6
Most of my friends are boys	11.7	14.1	9.0	11.2	11.8
All of my friends are girls	8.8	12.2	17.7	3.5	9.2
All of my friends are boys	6.8	11.6	8.1	10.0	7.3
I have an equal number of friends from both sexes	56.6	43.9	53.4	59.4	55.6
No response	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2=52.648$ degrees of freedom:12 $p=0.000$

Supplementary Table 84. Distribution of Adolescent's Friends (by Region) (%)

	Istanbul	Western Marmara	Aegean	Eastern Marmara	Western Anatolia	Mediterranean	Central Anatolia	Western Black Sea	Eastern Black Sea	Northeastern Anatolia	Mideastern Anatolia	Southeastern Anatolia	Total
I have no friends	2.9	0.9	0.5	0.0	1.3	1.0	1.1	1.9	1.8	3.4	1.2	1.8	1.5
Most of my friends are girls	16.9	6.4	8.4	8.9	10.4	17.2	21.1	20.0	13.3	32.4	18.7	13.4	14.6
Most of my friends are boys	11.4	8.4	7.5	7.0	8.1	10.6	15.3	15.0	11.6	28.0	15.5	15.1	11.8
All of my friends are girls	2.3	1.8	11.2	3.2	16.6	8.1	10.2	3.1	4.6	7.5	11.2	18.8	9.2
All of my friends are boys	3.7	1.5	6.3	1.8	17.1	5.8	5.0	2.5	8.3	6.3	8.8	11.7	7.3
I have an equal number of friends from both sexes	62.6	81.0	65.9	78.9	46.4	57.2	47.4	57.1	60.4	22.4	44.2	39.1	55.6
No response	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2=794.478$ degrees of freedom:44 $p=0.000$

Supplementary Table 85. Topics Usually Talked With Friends (by Family Type) (%)

	Nuclear family	Traditional extended family	Single parent household	Broken family	Nuclear family
School	59.6	55.3	50.9	53.5	58.9
Current events	30.8	31.9	35.7	32.9	31.1
Girl/boyfriend	29.5	21.4	29.3	32.9	29.0
Clothes	26.2	21.3	20.9	28.2	25.8
Football	24.4	22.0	22.2	21.7	24.1
Sports	20.2	23.2	16.6	19.4	20.3
Music	18.6	13.8	15.9	21.3	18.2
The future	18.4	14.5	12.6	25.1	18.1
Family issues	17.3	20.5	17.8	18.9	17.6
High school/university entrance exams	17.7	13.3	14.5	17.7	17.3
TV shows	15.6	10.2	11.1	18.7	15.1
Work life	8.4	5.9	12.9	9.4	8.3
Economic issues	7.2	4.6	7.2	4.8	7.0
Celebrities	7.1	4.2	6.5	7.6	6.9
Information Technology	6.3	5.6	3.0	13.0	6.4
Sexual issues	5.5	2.9	2.6	3.8	5.2
Other	0.7	0.6	0.0	1.5	0.7
No response	0.5	0.6	1.4	0.0	0.5
Total	314.0	271.9	280.9	330.3	310.6

*Multiple response***Supplementary Table 86. Topics Usually Talked With Friends (by Settlement Type) (%)**

	Urban	Rural	Total
School	58.5	59.9	58.9
Current events	32.6	27.4	31.1
Girl/boyfriend	32.9	19.6	29.0
Clothes	26.4	24.3	25.8
Football	25.3	21.1	24.1
Sports	21.3	17.9	20.3
Music	19.4	15.4	18.2
The future	17.9	18.7	18.1
Family issues	17.7	17.4	17.6
High school/university entrance exams	18.4	14.5	17.3
TV shows	16.0	13.1	15.1
Work life	8.1	8.8	8.3
Economic issues	6.9	7.2	7.0
Celebrities	7.7	5.1	6.9
Information Technology	8.1	2.4	6.4
Sexual issues	6.0	3.3	5.2
Other	0.7	0.8	0.7
No response	0.6	0.3	0.5
Total	324.5	277.4	310.6

Multiple response

Supplementary Table 87. Adolescent's Relations with Family Members (by Settlement Type) (Mean)

	Urban	Rural	Total
Mother	4.41	4.51	4.44
Father	4.27	4.37	4.30
Older sister	4.17	4.37	4.24
Older brother	4.07	4.30	4.16
Younger sister	4.07	4.20	4.12
Younger brother	4.03	4.21	4.09

Supplementary Table 88. Adolescent's Relations with Family Members (by Region) (Mean)

	Mother	Father	Older sister	Older brother	Younger sister	Younger brother
Istanbul	4.16	4.01	3.94	3.68	3.80	3.81
Western Marmara	4.48	4.37	4.56	4.16	4.45	4.10
Aegean	4.49	4.40	4.40	4.15	4.32	4.15
Eastern Marmara	4.55	4.24	3.96	3.95	3.85	3.82
Western Anatolia	4.42	4.31	4.11	4.14	3.96	3.97
Mediterranean	4.55	4.42	4.28	4.13	4.17	4.03
Central Anatolia	4.31	4.17	4.10	3.88	4.12	4.16
Western Black Sea	4.42	4.35	4.13	4.18	4.28	4.26
Eastern Black Sea	4.64	4.53	4.56	4.28	4.19	4.34
Northeastern Anatolia	4.74	4.47	4.44	4.50	4.19	4.36
Mideastern Anatolia	4.49	4.40	4.41	4.38	4.18	4.23
Southeastern Anatolia	4.49	4.43	4.37	4.31	4.21	4.16
General	4.44	4.30	4.24	4.16	4.12	4.09

Supplementary Table 89. Family Member that the Adolescent Argues/Has Disputes with Most Frequently (by Age Group) (%)

	12-15	16-18	Total
My mother	9.5	12.0	10.6
My father	4.5	9.6	6.7
My older brother	8.0	7.3	7.7
My older sister	7.8	5.3	6.8
My younger sister	9.0	7.1	8.2
My younger brother	10.3	10.3	10.3
Other	0.7	0.3	0.6
I do not argue/have disputes with anyone	50.0	48.0	49.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2:137.803$ degrees of freedom:5 $p=0.000$

Supplementary Table 90. Family Member that the Adolescent Argues/Has Disputes with Most Frequently (by Settlement Type) (%)

	Urban	Rural	Total
My mother	12.6	5.6	10.6
My father	7.5	4.6	6.7
My older brother	7.8	7.5	7.7
My older sister	7.5	5.0	6.8
My younger sister	8.8	6.9	8.2
My younger brother	9.7	11.9	10.3
Other	0.6	0.5	0.6
I do not argue/have disputes with anyone	45.5	58.0	49.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2:45.006$ degrees of freedom:5 $p=0.000$

Supplementary Table 91. Family Member that the Adolescent Argues/Has Disputes with Most Frequently (by Family Type) (%)

	Nuclear family	Traditional extended family	Single parent household	Broken family	Total
My mother	10.7	7.6	12.6	13.8	10.6
My father	7.0	5.9	0.2	3.1	6.7
My older brother	7.6	8.2	9.2	8.5	7.7
My older sister	6.8	7.3	7.3	4.7	6.8
My younger sister	8.2	9.6	4.6	7.7	8.2
My younger brother	10.0	13.3	12.1	9.5	10.3
Other	0.2	3.6	3.1	2.5	0.6
I do not argue/have disputes with anyone	49.5	44.5	51.0	50.2	49.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2:39.601$ degrees of freedom:15 $p=0.001$

Supplementary Table 92. Family Member that the Adolescent Argues/Has Disputes with Most Frequently (by Region) (%)

	Istanbul	Western Marmara	Aegean	Eastern Marmara	Western Anatolia	Mediterranean	Central Anatolia	Western Black Sea	Eastern Black Sea	Northeastern Anatolia	Mideastern Anatolia	Southeastern Anatolia	Total
My mother	16.2	8.7	8.4	9.7	9.4	17.6	8.9	9.5	7.9	7.9	8.9	6.2	10.6
My father	12.2	5.6	6.3	4.8	6.3	6.4	9.2	6.4	3.8	2.1	6.8	3.6	6.7
My older brother	6.9	3.6	5.6	9.8	7.4	6.6	13.3	3.9	10.8	4.5	10.0	9.0	7.7
My older sister	5.3	1.9	4.5	5.8	8.1	6.9	8.1	3.9	12.0	3.2	11.2	8.8	6.8
My younger sister	4.3	1.7	6.8	6.9	10.4	11.2	6.6	5.9	8.3	3.9	11.9	13.2	8.2
My younger brother	4.7	2.5	10.0	8.6	11.4	13.0	9.1	7.5	13.2	4.4	13.7	18.6	10.3
Other	0.3	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.8	0.8	0.0	0.6	0.4	1.7	0.1	1.0	0.6
I do not argue/have disputes with anyone	50.0	76.1	57.5	54.4	46.2	37.6	44.8	62.4	43.6	72.2	37.5	39.6	49.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2=379.968$ degrees of freedom:55 $p=0.000$

Supplementary Table 93. Reasons for Arguments or Disputes (by Settlement Type) (%)

	Urban	Rural	Total
Watching TV	32.2	39.5	34.0
Spending time on the computer	28.3	14.3	24.9
Studying for school	23.7	23.0	23.5
Helping out with household chores	17.0	16.0	16.8
Clothes	13.7	15.5	14.2
Going out	14.7	10.6	13.7
Friend choices	11.1	6.9	10.1
Economic issues	8.7	9.7	9.0
Coming home late	7.9	6.1	7.4
Talking on the phone	6.4	4.5	5.9
Other	7.5	7.2	7.4
No response	0.5	0.2	0.4
Total	171.8	153.4	167.3

Multiple response
n: 3524

Supplementary Table 94. Reasons for Arguments or Disputes (by Family type) (%)

	Nuclear family	Traditional extended family	Single parent household	Broken family	Toplam
Watching TV	33.4	39.3	40.6	32.1	34,0
Spending time on the computer	25.7	20.8	13.1	22.7	24,9
Studying for school	23.8	21.3	16.8	27.5	23,5
Helping out with household chores	16.5	18.7	23.2	15.7	16,8
Clothes	14.3	12.3	14.7	16.6	14,2
Going out	13.3	16.2	21.2	11.7	13,7
Friend choices	10.2	6.5	17.4	12.1	10,1
Economic issues	9.0	7.4	14.1	9.7	9,0
Coming home late	7.3	7.7	10.5	9.0	7,4
Talking on the phone	7.4	7.5	5.0	10.0	7,4
Other	6.0	3.7	5.8	9.9	5,9
No response	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0	0,4
Total	167.1	161.9	182.6	176.9	167,3

Multiple response
n: 3524

Supplementary Table 95. Most Supportive Family Member (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
My mother	68.1	62.1	60.5	61.2	61.8	61.5
My father	16.7	19.1	13.0	14.6	15.3	14.8
My friend	5.0	9.2	8.4	7.1	4.6	7.2
My older sister	4.2	3.8	6.5	6.1	6.6	6.0
My older brother	1.1	1.7	4.6	4.0	5.6	4.0
My girl/boyfriend	0.2	1.4	1.7	0.8	0.3	1.0
Other	3.1	1.4	2.6	3.4	3.7	3.0
Nobody	1.6	1.4	2.4	2.5	2.1	2.3
No response	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.2	0.0	0.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2=142.272$ degrees of freedom:96 $p=0.002$

Supplementary Table 96. Most Supportive Family Member (by FamilyType) (%)

	Nuclear family	Traditional extended family	Single parent household	Broken family	Total
My mother	62.7	52.6	61.5	62.5	61.9
My father	14.5	20.1	6.6	10.8	14.6
My friend	7.1	6.8	5.9	5.3	7.0
My older sister	5.9	5.7	10.8	7.0	6.0
My older brother	3.9	4.2	3.1	1.9	3.8
My girl/boyfriend	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.3	1.0
Other	2.4	7.2	6.2	6.9	3.0
Nobody	2.2	2.3	3.1	3.1	2.3
No response	0.2	0.1	1.9	1.3	0.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2=539.585$ degrees of freedom:100 $p=0.000$

Supplementary Table 97. Most Frequent Free Time Companion (by Settlement Type) (%)

	Urban	Rural	Total
My mother	29.1	32.2	30.0
My friend(s) from school	30.1	23.3	28.1
My friend(s) from the neighborhood	15.6	19.7	16.8
My boy/girlfriend	5.6	6.1	5.7
My older sister	4.6	4.2	4.5
My father	4.2	3.0	3.8
My younger sister	3.1	3.7	3.3
My younger brother	2.2	2.9	2.4
My older brother	1.8	2.4	2.0
Other	3.6	2.4	3.2
No response	0.3	0.2	0.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2=101.666$ degrees of freedom: 28 $p=0.000$

Supplementary Table 98. Family's Expectations of the Adolescent (%) (by Age Group) (%)

	12-15	16-18	Total
To succeed in school	88.6	74.7	82.8
To keep my room clean and tidy	18.1	15.3	16.9
To do/help out with household chores	12.1	16.4	13.9
They have no expectations of me	5.8	8.7	7.0
To care for my younger sibling(s)	7.3	5.9	6.7
Grocery shopping or helping out	4.3	6.8	5.4
To work and make money	2.3	8.6	4.9
Cooking or helping out with cooking	2.9	7.6	4.9
To tutor my younger sibling(s)	5.0	4.5	4.8
Other	0.3	0.4	0.3
No response	0.2	0.2	0.2
Total	146.9	148.9	147.7

Multiple response

Supplementary Table 99. Family's Expectations of Female Adolescents (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
To succeed in school	92.3	89.9	85.1	82.4	66.7	83.3
To keep my room clean and tidy	40.2	33.6	25.0	15.6	6.1	17
To do/help out with household chores	13.1	13.7	19.2	22.9	36.5	13.5
They have no expectations of me	5.7	6.0	6.2	6.5	6.6	6.9
To care for my younger sibling(s)	8.1	8.9	8.0	7.3	10.4	6.6
Grocery shopping or helping out	5.5	5.1	5.9	6.2	12.4	5.3
To work and make money	.7	1.3	1.6	2.0	3.4	4.9
Cooking or helping out with cooking	3.8	4.7	7.6	8.7	15.6	4.9
To tutor my younger sibling(s)	3.5	4.8	6.2	4.0	5.9	4.8
Other	.0	.0	.1	.3	.6	0.3
No response	.5	.3	.5	.1	.1	0.2
Total	173.5	168.4	165.2	156.0	164.3	147.7

Multiple response

n: 3157

Supplementary Table 100. Family's Expectations of Male Adolescents (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
To succeed in school	88.5	92.1	84.7	84.5	76.7	83.3
To keep my room clean and tidy	26.0	24.3	21.0	10.5	1.1	17
To do/help out with household chores	6.3	2.6	5.7	5.5	4.1	13.5
They have no expectations of me	5.3	5.9	6.3	8.1	8.9	6.9
To care for my younger sibling(s)	6.1	5.4	6.0	4.9	4.2	6.6
Grocery shopping or helping out	4.0	3.2	4.5	4.1	2.0	5.3
To work and make money	1.8	3.4	5.9	7.9	15.9	4.9
Cooking or helping out with cooking	1.5	.0	2.0	.9	.1	4.9
To tutor my younger sibling(s)	4.7	7.5	5.1	4.7	2.9	4.8
Other	.7	.5	.5	30.0	.4	0.3
No response	.0	.0	.1	.1	.0	0.2
Total	145.0	144.9	141.9	161.1	116.2	147.7

Multiple response

n: 3178

Supplementary Table 101. Family's Expectations of the Adolescents (by Family Type) (%)

	Nuclear family	Traditional extended family	Single parent household	Broken family
To succeed in school	83.5	79.2	71.9	80.1
To keep my room clean and tidy	17.8	9.5	12.4	13.4
To do/help out with household chores	13.4	18.4	16.7	14.2
They have no expectations of me	6.9	7.3	7.9	9.9
To care for my younger sibling(s)	6.7	7.8	5.4	5.2
Grocery shopping or helping out	5.2	4.3	11.2	7.0
To work and make money	4.4	7.9	12.9	7.4
Cooking or helping out with cooking	4.8	5.8	7.5	2.8
To tutor my younger sibling(s)	4.8	5.7	2.3	3.8
Other	0.3	0.2	1.0	0.0
No response	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.6
Total	147.9	146.1	149.2	144.5

Multiple response

Supplementary Table 102. Relations with the Mother (by Family Type) (Mean)

	Nuclear family	Traditional extended family	Single parent household	Broken family	Total
I feel that my mother loves me	4.48	4.47	4.45	4.58	4.49
My mother controls my actions. what I do	4.13	4.06	4.03	4.10	4.12
My mother thinks that I should be perfect and flawless in everything that I do	3.85	3.80	3.83	3.90	3.85
My mother attends to my problems	4.19	4.17	4.10	4.30	4.19
I share almost all of my problems with my mother	3.92	3.78	3.96	4.02	3.91
My mother sees me and accepts me as I am	4.19	4.21	4.24	4.24	4.20
I feel that my mother trusts me	4.33	4.32	4.28	4.44	4.33

Supplementary Table 103. Relations with the Father (by Family Type) (Mean)

	Nuclear family	Traditional extended family	Single parent household	Broken family	Total
I feel that my father loves me	4.34	4.27	4.00	3.75	4.33
My father controls my actions. what I do	3.92	3.78	3.88	3.31	3.90
My father thinks that I should be perfect and flawless in everything that I do	3.79	3.69	3.69	3.21	3.77
My father attends to my problems	3.85	3.87	3.77	3.36	3.84
I share almost all of my problems with my father	3.46	3.38	3.24	2.95	3.44
My father sees me and accepts me as I am	4.05	4.06	3.84	3.49	4.04
I feel that my father trusts me	4.19	4.18	4.09	3.61	4.18

Supplementary Table 104. Changes that Arrive with Adolescence (by Settlement Type) (%)

	Urban	Rural	Total
I began to have attendance problems at school/at work	26.4	21.3	24.9
became more interested in clothes, fashions and make-up	62.8	61.3	62.4
became more interested in the opposite sex	44.9	39.3	43.2
I began to dislike my physical appearance (height, weight, etc.)	34.0	31.4	33.2
I started to argue more with my family, my father and other older relatives	33.9	21.9	30.3
I became less successful at school/at work	29.5	26.2	28.5
I became harder to get along with, more aggressive and antagonistic	25.6	19.9	23.9
I became detached from my family and grew closer to my friends	23.7	23.2	23.6
I started to argue more and have more problems with my teachers	22.3	14.8	20.1
I became introverted and could not communicate with those around me	19.4	19.3	19.4

Percentage of those who answer "yes" to the statements

Supplementary Table 105. Coping with Changes that Arrive with Adolescence (by Settlement Type) (%)

	Urban	Rural	Total
Yes, I had problems	17.1	14.7	16.3
Partially	23.5	22.6	23.2
No, I did not have problems	53.4	57.9	54.7
I did not experience biological or physical changes	4.2	3.3	3.9
No response	1.9	1.6	1.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2=20.951$ degrees of freedom: $3 p=0,000$

Supplementary Table 106. Coping with Changes that Arrive with Adolescence (by Family Type) (%)

	Nuclear family	Traditional extended family	Single parent household	Broken family	Total
Yes, I had problems	16.1	18.3	21.9	14.9	16.3
Partially	23.4	23.8	19.9	18.1	23.2
No, I did not have problems	54.8	53.4	49.3	61.6	54.7
I did not experience biological or physical changes	3.9	3.2	6.6	4.3	3.9
No response	1.9	1.2	2.4	1.0	1.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2=15.545$ degrees of freedom: 12 $p=0.213$

Supplementary Table 107. Coping with Changes that Arrive with Adolescence (by BMI) (%)

	Underweight	Normal	Overweight	Obese	Total
Yes, I had problems	15.0	16.7	24.5	24.2	16.8
Partially	21.4	24.1	23.5	32.2	23.4
No, I did not have problems	56.2	54.7	47.5	39.7	54.5
I did not experience biological or physical changes	4.9	3.3	2.7	4.0	3.7
No response	2.6	1.2	1.7	0.0	1.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2=41.175$ degrees of freedom: 9 $p=0.000$

Supplementary Table 108. Body Mass Index (by Sex) (%)

	Female	Male	Total
Underweight	31.9	23.9	27.7
Normal	62.8	66.8	64.9
Overweight	4.6	8.3	6.5
Obese	0.8	1.0	0.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2=3,850$ degrees of freedom: 3 $p=0.278$

Supplementary Table 109. Body Mass Index (by Age Group) (%)

	12-15	16-18	Total
Underweight	35.2	18.3	27.7
Normal	58.4	72.9	64.9
Overweight	5.7	7.6	6.5
Obese	0.7	1.1	0.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2=202.350$ degrees of freedom: 3 $p=0.000$

Supplementary Table 110. Frequency of Domestic Violence (by Family Type) (%)

	Nuclear family	Traditional extended family	Single parent household	Broken family	Total
Never	54.5	52.7	49.8	54.6	54.2
Rarely	29	26.9	33.4	27.6	28.9
Sometimes	14.4	17.9	9.9	12.4	14.5
Often	1.5	1.9	5	3.6	1.7
Always	0.1	0.2	0.9	0.5	0.2
No response	0.5	0.4	1.1	1.3	0.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2=461.199$ degrees of freedom:22 $p=0.000$

Supplementary Table 111. Source of Verbal Violence at Home (by Settlement Type) (%)

	Urban	Rural	Total
My mother	39.1	37.3	38.6
My father	33.8	39.4	35.4
My sibling	37.3	35.3	36.7
Other	0.8	2.8	1.4
No response	11.0	4.9	9.2
Total	121.9	119.7	121.3

Multiple response
n:2941

Supplementary Table 112. Source of Physical Violence at Home (by Settlement Type) (%)

	Urban	Rural	Total
My mother	24.8	39.6	28.7
My father	38.1	35.6	37.4
My sibling	28.8	43.5	32.8
Other	1.5	1.9	1.6
No response	19.4	6.1	15.8
Total	112.6	126.7	116.30

n:557

Supplementary Table 113. Frequency of Being Subject to Verbal Violence at School (by Sex) (%)

	Female	Male	Total
No, never	95.4	87.5	91.4
Rarely	2.3	6.2	4.3
Sometimes	1.5	5.1	3.3
Often	0.3	0.7	0.5
Prefer not to answer	0.5	0.4	0.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	1.06	1.19	1.13

$\chi^2:125.869$ degrees of freedom:3 $p=0.000$

Supplementary Table 114. Frequency of Being Subject to Mockery, Humiliation, Exclusion at School (by Sex)

	Female	Male	Total
No, never	90.0	87.0	88.5
Rarely	4.6	6.3	5.5
Sometimes	3.7	4.8	4.3
Often	1.2	1.4	1.3
Prefer not to answer	0.5	0.5	0.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2=13.640$ degrees of freedom: 3 $p=0.003$

Supplementary Table 115. Frequency of Being Subject to Mockery, Humiliation, Exclusion at School (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
No, never	88.2	88.2	87.7	89.1	89.4	88.6
Rarely	8.7	7.4	6.9	4.4	3.1	5.5
Sometimes	1.8	3.1	4.1	4.7	5.0	4.2
Often	1.2	1.2	0.9	1.5	1.7	1.3
Prefer not to answer	0.0	0.2	0.4	0.3	0.7	0.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2=31.552$ degrees of freedom: 12 $p=0.002$

Supplementary Table 116. Source of Mockery, Humiliation, Exclusion at School (by Sex) (%)

	Female	Male	Total
The principal/administrators	7.7	5.2	6.2
My teacher(s)	11.2	20.7	16.7
My friend(s)	75.2	64.4	68.9
Other	2.0	1.9	2.0
No response	13.7	20.5	17.7
Total	109.7	112.7	111.5

Multiple response
n:666

Supplementary Table 117. Source of Mockery, Humiliation, Exclusion at School (by Age Group) (%)

	12- 15	16 - 18	Total
The principal/administrators	6.9	5.1	6.2
My teacher(s)	16.6	16.8	16.7
My friend(s)	76.3	56.9	68.9
Other	1.3	2.9	2.0
No response	12.7	25.8	17.7
Total	113.9	107.5	111.5

Multiple response
n:666

Supplementary Table 118. Source of Verbal Violence on the Street (%) (by Sex) (%)

	Female	Male	Total
People I do not know	29.9	28.0	28.6
My friend(s)	54.0	62.6	60.1
Other	1.4	0.7	0.9
No response	21.1	17.5	18.6
Total	106.4	108.8	108.1
<i>Multiple response</i>			
n:1290			

Supplementary Table 119. Source of Verbal Violence on the Street (%) (by Age Group) (%)

	12-15	16-18	Total
People I do not know	28.2	29.0	28.6
My friend(s)	63.9	55.4	60.1
Other	1.4	0.3	0.9
No response	16.6	20.9	18.6
Total	110.2	105.6	108.1
<i>Multiple response</i>			
n:1290			

Supplementary Table 120. Source of Verbal Violence on the Street (%) (by Settlement Type) (%)

	Urban	Rural	Total
People I do not know	29.8	25.1	28.6
My friend(s)	56.7	69.9	60.1
Other	0.7	1.8	0.9
No response	20.7	12.3	18.6
Total	107.9	109.1	108.1
<i>Multiple response</i>			
n:1290			

Supplementary Table 121. Target of Verbal Violence on the Part of the Adolescent (by Age Group) (%)

	12-15	16-18	Total
My mother	9.9	10.8	10.3
My father	4.9	6.1	5.4
My sibling	44.8	38.4	42.0
My schoolmate	38.4	30.6	34.9
My friends from the neighborhood	23.6	22.7	23.2
Someone I do not know	4.3	7.2	5.6
My teacher	2.3	3.0	1.3
Other	0.0	0.2	1.4
No response	8.4	12.4	10.2
Total	136.7	131.3	134.3
<i>Multiple response</i>			
n:2544			

Supplementary Table 122. Target of Verbal Violence on the Part of the Adolescent (by Region) (%)

	Istanbul	Western Marmara	Aegean	Eastern Marmara	Western Anatolia	Mediterranean	Central Anatolia	Western Black Sea	Eastern Black Sea	Northeastern Anatolia	Mideastern Anatolia	Southeastern Anatolia
My mother	17.8	4.7	12.4	10.6	9.4	18.5	4.2	3.8	1.2	0.0	9.2	3.4
My father	15.4	1.9	7.5	2.8	1.9	8.7	1.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.0	0.5
My sibling	16.9	14.8	54.4	78.7	41.6	49.7	13.6	13.2	22.0	1.7	47.9	63.7
My schoolmate	36.3	8.1	60.3	2.8	33.8	43.7	48.4	18.5	58.6	41.5	54.2	17.5
My friends from the neighborhood	20.5	5.8	52.0	6.3	14.3	23.0	13.8	6.8	20.7	60.4	26.4	21.3
Someone I do not know	8.5	0.9	7.4	0.0	3.5	1.4	14.9	12.6	4.8	0.8	3.4	7.5
My teacher	4.3	0.0	2.5	0.0	0.4	0.3	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.3	0.0
Other	1.2	0.0	2.7	0.0	1.3	1.2	1.0	2.4	.4	0.0	0.0	2.0
No response	19.2	63.8	0.6	0.9	13.8	0.6	6.0	50.3	8.5	4.0	2.7	4.7
Total	140.3	100.0	199.8	102.0	120.0	147.1	104.6	107.6	116.2	108.4	148.1	120.5

Multiple response

n:2467

Supplementary Table 123. Target of Verbal Violence on the Part of the Adolescent (by Self-Esteem) (%)

	Low	Normal	High	Total
My mother	23.9	9.5	6.9	10.2
My father	13.2	4.7	3.4	5.1
My sibling	22.7	44.5	37.9	42.1
My workmate	1.4	0.7	0.5	0.7
My schoolmate	25.5	32.8	46.1	33.9
My friends from the neighborhood	19.9	21.0	33.1	22.4
Someone I do not know	4.0	5.4	7.8	5.6
My teacher	3.4	0.9	2.4	1.3
Other	3.8	1.7	2.4	1.9
No response	26.8	9.6	5.2	10.3
Total	141.2	129.9	143.3	132.2

Multiple response

n:2358

Supplementary Table 124. Target of Physical Violence on the Part of the Adolescent (by Settlement Type) (%)

	Urban	Rural	Total
My mother	1.7	0.1	1.3
My father	1.9	0.5	1.5
My sibling	26.9	42.0	31.3
My schoolmate	30.5	29.8	30.3
My friends from the neighborhood	25.8	34.6	28.3
Someone I do not know	14.1	9.1	12.7
Other	1.5	0.7	1.3
No response	18.3	12.0	16.4
Total	120.8	128.7	123.1

Multiple response

n:830

Supplementary Table 125. Consuming Alcohol (by Settlement Type) (%)

	Urban	Rural	Total
I have never used it	89.0	96.3	91.1
I tried once	3.9	0.6	3.0
I used to use it but I quit	0.5	0.3	0.5
Sometimes	6.3	2.7	5.2
Every day	0.2	0.1	0.1
No response	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2=81.345$ degrees of freedom: 5 $p=0.000$

Supplementary Table 126. Desired Profession (by Age Group) (%)

	12-15	16-18	Total
Teacher	17.7	17.1	17.4
Doctor	21.6	11.4	17.4
Engineer	12.1	14.5	13.1
Policeman	11.8	8.9	10.6
Lawyer	6.9	7.7	7.2
Football player	3.8	3.1	3.5
Civil servant	2.3	4.6	3.3
Soldier	2.6	3.4	3.0
Merchant	1.2	3.4	2.1
Politician	1.0	2.0	1.4
Artist	0.8	1.3	1.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2:277.084$ degrees of freedom:13 $p=0.000$

Supplementary Table 127. Desired Profession (by Settlement Type) (%)

	Urban	Rural	Total
Teacher	14.6	24.1	17.4
Doctor	17.6	16.7	17.4
Engineer	15.4	7.6	13.1
Policeman	9.8	12.3	10.6
Lawyer	7.1	7.7	7.2
Football player	3.9	2.6	3.5
Civil servant	3.0	4.0	3.3
Soldier	3.3	2.1	3.0
Merchant	2.0	2.4	2.1
Politician	1.7	0.8	1.4
Artist	1.2	0.5	1.0

$\chi^2:140.956$ degrees of freedom:13 $p=0.000$

Supplementary Table 128. Hope of Practicing the Desired Profession (by Age Group) (%)

	12-15	16-18	Total
Yes	90.8	82.2	87.2
No	8.8	17.5	12.4
No response	0.4	0.3	0.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2:142.891$ degrees of freedom:1 $p=0.000$

Supplementary Table 129. Thoughts Regarding the Future of the Country (by Settlement Type) (%)

	Urban	Rural	Total
I think that our country will do greatly in the future	36.4	44.8	38.9
I do not think there will be a change in the state of our country in the future	29.7	24.1	28.0
I think that our country will do very badly in the future	21.4	14.9	19.5
Do not know / No response	12.5	16.1	13.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2=87.051$ degrees of freedom: $4p=0.000$

Supplementary Table 130. Expectations from Public Institutions (by Age Groups) (%)

	12-15	16-18	Total
The establishment of new sports and entertainment facilities	45.6	38.8	42.8
Increasing job opportunities	36.4	45.2	40.1
Social services for the poor	36.8	36.2	36.6
Environmental planning	23.9	27.3	25.3
The establishment of libraries	22.5	21.0	21.9
Youth camps and trips	19.3	21.6	20.3
Increase in cinemas, theaters and concerts	19.1	19.9	19.4
Resolving the problem of traffic	13.4	13.8	13.6
Increase in disabled-friendly environments for children and the youth	12.6	10.8	11.8
Increase in science museums and science parks	10.0	9.1	9.6
Other	1.0	1.0	1.0
Do not know	1.9	1.5	1.7
Total	242.6	246.2	244.1

Multiple response

Supplementary Table 131. Expectations from Public Institutions (by Region) (%)

	Istanbul	Western Marmara	Aegean	Eastern Marmara	Western Anatolia	Mediterranean	Central Anatolia	Western Black Sea	Eastern Black Sea	Northeastern Anatolia	Mideastern Anatolia	Southeastern Anatolia	Total
The establishment of new sports and entertainment facilities	41.1	45.5	32.3	33.2	40.1	39.4	33.1	42.3	52.8	69.9	47.4	55.0	42.8
Increasing job opportunities	26.6	36.0	18.9	48.1	16.9	20.5	22.0	19.7	17.4	18.9	40.8	18.0	25.3
Social services for the poor	26.9	26.0	18.8	14.9	28.5	24.3	22.6	20.7	16.8	13.7	25.3	16.8	21.9
Environmental planning	33.5	33.3	47.2	43.0	30.2	42.4	45.7	38.0	49.9	43.3	32.8	49.3	40.1
The establishment of libraries	34.1	22.9	36.0	39.1	29.6	38.3	39.1	30.0	27.2	33.0	32.3	53.4	36.6
Youth camps and trips	29.6	21.2	12.9	9.6	13.5	12.8	13.4	9.2	7.1	9.2	6.8	4.7	13.6
Increase in cinemas, theaters and concerts	22.1	18.4	21.0	16.7	24.1	16.1	27.2	20.2	27.9	31.1	9.7	11.9	19.4
Resolving the problem of traffic	22.0	22.6	30.1	15.9	23.0	15.6	20.4	15.4	32.5	30.8	15.0	14.4	20.3
Increase in disabled-friendly environments for children and the youth	11.7	7.8	16.2	3.0	14.8	10.0	9.8	6.2	10.0	8.3	7.9	6.2	9.6
Increase in science museums and science parks	11.9	15.5	10.1	4.3	5.8	11.0	14.8	15.6	26.7	37.8	8.8	12.6	11.8
Other	0.3	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.2	1.7	0.0	0.0	3.8	0.0	6.3	1.8	0.9
Do not know	1.5	0.7	0.3	0.7	0.8	3.1	0.4	2.5	1.1	0.0	7.8	2.0	1.7
Total	261.3	249.9	244.2	228.5	227.5	235.2	248.5	219.8	273.2	296.0	240.9	246.1	244.0

Multiple response

Supplementary Table 132. Adolescents' Activities (by Region) (Mean)

	Reading the newspaper	Listening to music	Going to the theater	Going to the cinema	Sports/ Exercising	Going To cafés	Going to an Internet café	Doing handcrafts
Istanbul	2.39	4.05	2.41	2.97	3.06	3.16	2.27	1.09
Western Marmara	2.12	3.80	1.90	2.65	2.86	2.99	2.46	1.04
Aegean	2.35	4.41	1.58	2.23	2.68	2.57	2.12	1.16
Eastern Marmara	1.40	3.75	1.46	2.32	1.64	2.53	1.79	1.03
Western Anatolia	1.93	4.11	1.58	2.13	3.00	2.27	1.88	1.08
Mediterranean	2.2	4.31	1.69	2.19	3.00	2.25	1.71	1.21
Central Anatolia	1.98	4.04	1.71	2.07	2.77	2.42	2.02	1.12
Western Black Sea	1.88	4.08	1.66	2.10	2.85	2.39	2.01	1.15
Eastern Black Sea	2.09	4.2	1.47	2.25	3.10	2.49	1.72	1.27
Northeastern Anatolia	1.67	4.44	1.36	1.45	3.09	1.71	1.87	1.03
Mideastern Anatolia	1.77	4.00	1.36	1.64	3.01	1.89	1.78	1.17
Southeastern Anatolia	1.84	3.90	1.30	1.58	2.62	1.61	1.59	1.09
Total	1.98	4.07	1.67	2.18	2.76	2.37	1.92	1.11

Supplementary Table 133. Reading the Newspaper (by Settlement Type) (%)

	Urban	Rural	Total
Never	40.1	62.4	46.7
Rarely	22.1	15.2	20.1
Sometimes	25.1	17.7	22.9
Often	9.5	3.3	7.6
Always	2.9	0.8	2.3
No response	0.4	0.5	0.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	2.13	1.64	1.98

x²:139.794 degrees of freedom:4 p=0.000

Supplementary Table 134. Listening to Music (by Settlement Type) (%)

	Urban	Rural	Total
Never	0.6	2.4	1.1
Rarely	5.8	5.0	5.5
Sometimes	15.9	22.6	17.8
Often	35.5	36.6	35.8
Always	41.2	33.1	38.8
No response	1.0	0.3	0.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	4.12	3.93	4.07

x²:21.891 degrees of freedom:4 p=0.000

Supplementary Table 135. Listening to Music (by Family Type) (%)

	Nuclear family	Traditional extended family	Single parent household	Broken family	Total
Never	1.1	1.6	1.2	0.5	1.1
Rarely	5.7	4.5	7.2	2.3	5.5
Sometimes	17.7	21.7	15.1	13.8	17.8
Often	35.8	36.1	40.5	31.7	35.8
Always	38.8	35.5	35.2	51.3	38.8
No response	0.9	0.6	0.9	0.4	0.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	4.06	4.00	4.02	4.32	4.06

$\chi^2:11.242$ degrees of freedom:12 $p=0.508$

Supplementary Table 136. Going to the Theater (by Settlement Type) (%)

	Urban	Rural	Total
Never	48.5	80.9	58.0
Rarely	26.6	12.2	22.4
Sometimes	16.7	4.1	13.0
Often	5.5	1.7	4.3
Always	1.5	0.3	1.2
No response	1.3	0.7	1.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	1.84	1.27	1.67

$\chi^2:498.739$ degrees of freedom:4 $p=0.000$

Supplementary Table 137. Going to the Theater (by Family Type) (%)

	Nuclear family	Traditional extended family	Single parent household	Broken family	Total
Never	56.8	69.6	70.0	55.1	58.0
Rarely	22.8	18.2	16.3	24.5	22.4
Sometimes	13.4	8.9	10.8	13.3	13.0
Often	4.6	1.3	2.0	4.8	4.3
Always	1.3	0.6	0.0	1.6	1.2
No response	1.1	1.4	0.9	0.7	1.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	1.69	1.43	1.44	1.72	1.67

$\chi^2:42.515$ degrees of freedom:12 $p=0.000$

Supplementary Table 138. Going to the Cinema (by Settlement Type) (%)

	Urban	Rural	Total
Never	24.8	66.7	37.1
Rarely	23.9	16.8	21.8
Sometimes	34.3	11.9	27.7
Often	12.8	3.6	10.1
Always	3.2	0.6	2.4
No response	1.1	0.5	0.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	2.45	1.54	2.18

$\chi^2:932.475$ degrees of freedom:4 $p=0.000$

Supplementary Table 139. Going to the Cinema (by Family Type) (%)

	Nuclear family	Traditional extended family	Single parent household	Broken family	Total
Never	35.4	54.2	54.9	28.6	37.1
Rarely	21.9	18.1	17.8	32.0	21.8
Sometimes	28.7	20.3	19.0	23.8	27.7
Often	10.6	5.2	4.6	11.5	10.1
Always	2.5	1.5	2.6	3.3	2.4
No response	0.9	0.7	1.1	0.7	0.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	2.22	1.81	1.81	2.28	2.18

$\chi^2:91.282$ degrees of freedom:12 $p=0.000$

Supplementary Table 140. Sports/Exercising (by Settlement Type) (%)

	Urban	Rural	Total
Never	20.9	38.4	26.1
Rarely	17.1	11.8	15.5
Sometimes	26.9	23.1	25.8
Often	20.0	18.2	19.5
Always	13.8	7.7	12.0
No response	1.2	0.8	1.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	2.89	2.45	2.76

$\chi^2:109.907$ degrees of freedom:4 $p=0.000$

Supplementary Table 141. Sports/Exercising (by Family Type) (%)

	Nuclear family	Traditional extended family	Single parent household	Broken family	Total
Never	25.9	26.3	31.8	26.7	26.1
Rarely	15.9	13.5	9.3	15.5	15.5
Sometimes	25.7	27.1	27.0	25.5	25.8
Often	19.6	19.8	18.6	16.7	19.5
Always	12.0	11.9	11.3	14.5	12.0
No response	1.1	1.3	1.9	1.1	1.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	2.76	2.77	2.68	2.77	2.76

$\chi^2:6.453$ degrees of freedom:12 $p=0.892$

Supplementary Table 142. Going to Cafés, Tea Gardens, etc. (by Settlement Type) (%)

	Urban	Rural	Total
Never	24.9	51.8	32.9
Rarely	20	19.7	19.9
Sometimes	30.5	18.1	26.8
Often	17.5	7.1	14.4
Always	5.6	2.6	4.7
No response	1.5	0.7	1.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	2.58	1.88	2.37

$\chi^2:429,835$ degrees of freedom:4 $p=0,000$

Supplementary Table 143. Going to Cafés, Tea Gardens, etc. (by Family Type) (%)

	Nuclear family	Traditional extended family	Single parent household	Broken family	Total
Never	31,8	43,4	42,6	29,9	32,9
Rarely	20,2	19,7	15	16,8	19,9
Sometimes	26,9	25,1	29,3	29,2	26,8
Often	15,1	0,9	9,3	14,2	14,4
Always	4,9	1,6	3,5	8,2	4,7
No response	1,3	1,3	0,4	1,6	1,3
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
Mean	2,40	2,04	2,16	2,53	2,37

$\chi^2:83.169$ degrees of freedom:12 $p=0.000$

Supplementary Table 144. Going to Internet Cafés or PlayStation Cafés (by Settlement Type) (%)

	Urban	Rural	Total
Never	48.7	62.2	52.6
Rarely	17.9	13.8	16.7
Sometimes	18.4	14.7	17.3
Often	9.9	6.5	8.9
Always	3.8	2.1	3.3
No response	1.4	0.7	1.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	2.01	1.72	1.92

$\chi^2:59.929$ degrees of freedom:4 $p=0.000$

Supplementary Table 145. Going to Internet Cafés or PlayStation Cafés (by Family Type) (%)

	Nuclear family	Traditional extended family	Single parent household	Broken family	Total
Never	51.9	59.9	53.5	54.7	52.6
Rarely	17.1	13.9	14.3	13.8	16.7
Sometimes	17.4	14.4	19.9	19.8	17.3
Often	9.1	6.9	9.7	5.9	8.9
Always	3.3	3.7	0.8	0.4	3.3
No response	1.2	1.1	1.8	1.7	1.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	1.94	1.79	1.88	1.89	1.92

$\chi^2:25.98$ degrees of freedom:12 $p=0.011$

Supplementary Table 146. Engaging in Handcrafts (by SES) (%)

	Upper	Upper-middle	Middle	Lower-middle	Lower	Total
Never	81.4	85.2	88.5	89.4	93.2	88.8
Rarely	18.6	14.8	11.5	10.6	6.8	11.2
Sometimes	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Often	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Always	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
No response	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	1.19	1.15	1.12	1.11	1.07	1.11

$\chi^2:36.526$ degrees of freedom:4 $p=0.000$

Supplementary Table 147. Engaging in Handcrafts (by Settlement Type) (%)

	Urban	Rural	Total
Never	87.4	92.5	88.9
Rarely	12.6	7.5	11.1
Sometimes	0.0	0.0	0.0
Often	0.0	0.0	0.0
Always	0.0	0.0	0.0
No response	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	1.13	1.07	1.11

$\chi^2:5.424$ degrees of freedom:1 $p=0.020$

Supplementary Table 148. Friendship on the Internet (%)

Yes	47.9
No	28.9
I do not use the Internet	23.1
No response	0.1
Total	100.0

Supplementary Table 149. Continuing Internet Friendship in Real Life (%)

Yes	28.9
No	68.1
I do not approve of it	2.5
No response	0.5
Total	100.0
n: 5154	

Supplementary Table 150. Most Visited Websites (by Settlement Type) (%)

	Urban	Rural	Total
Social networking sites (Facebook, Twitter)	76.9	75.1	76.5
Game sites	50.5	51.1	50.6
Music/Radio sites	30.5	22.6	28.7
Search sites	22.0	25.7	22.8
Educational sites	15.4	23.5	17.2
Sites to download books, music, films, programs, etc.	15.6	7.9	13.9
Sites to watch films or series	15.1	7.7	13.5
Forum sites (Sites to share information)	11.1	7.0	10.2
Newspaper/Magazine/News sites	11.3	6.1	10.1
Dictionary sites (Turkish, English, German dictionary sites)	7.2	5.7	6.9
Shopping sites	4.8	2.7	4.3
Erotic sites	3.3	2.0	3.0
Sites of formal institutions	2.7	0.9	2.3
Banking sites	0.7	0.9	0.7
Other	0.3	0.8	0.4
No response	1.0	1.0	1.0
Total	268.4	240.7	262.1
<i>Multiple response</i>			
n: 4945			

Supplementary Table 151. Most Visited Websites (by Family Type) (%)

	Nuclear family	Traditional extended family	Single parent household	Broken family	Total
Social networking sites (Facebook, Twitter)	76.5	74.7	76.8	82.7	76.5
Game sites	51.0	48.9	41.5	48.3	50.6
Music/Radio sites	29.1	22.7	30.0	31.9	28.7
Search sites	23.4	13.4	16.1	30.7	22.8
Educational sites	17.3	15.5	11.9	22.4	17.2
Sites to download books, music, films, programs, etc.	14.0	11.5	12.9	15.5	13.9
Sites to watch films or series	13.9	9.2	11.5	11.0	13.5
Forum sites (Sites to share information)	10.4	8.0	3.1	14.8	10.2
Newspaper/Magazine/News sites	10.5	6.9	9.3	4.7	10.1
Dictionary sites (Turkish, English, German dictionary sites)	7.2	4.3	3.0	5.6	6.9
Shopping sites	4.5	3.4	2.1	3.7	4.3
Erotic sites	3.1	2.2	0.4	4.7	3.0
Sites of formal institutions	2.4	1.5	2.2	1.2	2.3
Banking sites	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.7
Other	0.4	1.9	0.0	0.0	0.4
No response	0.9	2.0	3.2	0.0	1.0
Total	265.4	226.1	224.0	277.2	262.1

n: 4945

Supplementary Table 152. Most Frequently Read Newspaper Sections (by Age Group) (%)

	12-15	16-18	Total
Sports news	22.9	27.6	24.9
Tabloid news	18.7	22.3	20.2
Columns	11.3	18.6	14.4
Third page news	9.9	14.4	11.8
Economy news	4.1	6.1	4.9
Current events/headlines	1.0	1.6	1.3
Other	0.2	0.3	0.2
I do not read the newspaper	50.8	41.3	46.9
No response	0.3	0.1	0.2
Total	119.3	132.3	124.8

Multiple response

Supplementary Table 153. Most Frequently Read Newspaper Sections (by Settlement Type) (%)

	Urban	Rural	Total
Sports news	28.4	16.5	24.9
Tabloid news	23.3	12.9	20.2
Columns	16.4	9.6	14.4
Third page news	12.9	9.2	11.8
Economy news	5.6	3.2	4.9
Current events/headlines	1.5	0.6	1.3
Other	0.3	0.1	0.2
I do not read the newspaper	40.2	62.8	46.9
No response	0.2	0.0	0.2
Total	128.9	114.8	124.8

Multiple response

n:3685

Supplementary Table 154. Most Frequently Read Newspaper Sections (by Family Type) (%)

	Nuclear family	Traditional extended family	Single parent household	Broken family	Total
Columns	14.8	10.3	15.2	13.6	14.4
Tabloid news	20.5	14.9	23.3	24.0	20.2
Third page news	12.2	7.5	8.5	14.2	11.8
Economy news	5.2	2.2	4.0	4.0	4.9
Sports news	25.4	20.9	21.0	24.5	24.9
Current events/headlines	1.3	0.8	2.8	0.5	1.3
Other	0.2	0.3	1.2	0.5	0.2
I do not read the newspaper	45.8	59.0	49.0	44.0	46.9
No response	0.1	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.2
Total	125.5	116.7	125.0	125.2	124.8
<i>Multiple response</i>					
n:3685					

RESEARCH ON
ADOLESCENT PROFILE
IN TÜRKİYE
TEPA 2013

