

ETHNO-CULTURAL ANALYSIS OF ABORTION AND CONTRACEPTION: THE CASES OF TURKEY AND SELECTED CENTRAL ASIAN STATES

Alanur Çavlin BOZBEYOĞLU *
Banu Akadlı ERGÖÇMEN **

This study explores the importance of ethno-cultural variation in the process of fertility regulation by using data from Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS) from four selected countries. The purpose of the study is twofold: to establish the necessity of including cultural emphasis in demographic analyses and to analyze ethno-cultural variation through quantitative data. This study focuses on Turkey, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan due to their frequent practice and early legalization of abortion, in spite of their predominately Muslim and multi-ethnic populations. Kazakhstan DHS 1999; Kyrgyzstan DHS 1997; Uzbekistan DHS 2002; and Turkey DHS 2003 are used to generate separate variables within the categories of three different ethno-cultural groups, based on mother tongue, language used for communication, religion, and ethnicity. Analyses of ethno-cultural groups, by conventional indicators of abortion and contraceptive use show that DHS data can be of use for an ethno-cultural analysis.

INTRODUCTION

Studies demonstrate that ethnic and cultural variations have significant effects generally on demographic processes and particularly on fertility behavior (Agadjanian 1999; Agadjanian and Qian 1997; Avdeev 1994; Bondarskaya 1994; Centers for Disease Control and Prevention and ORC Macro 2003; Dudley 2006; Fricke 1997; Gore and Carlson 2010; Kertzer 1997; Koc et al. 2008; Remennick and Segal 2001; Storey et al. 1997; Uralanis 1970; and Yavuz 2006). However, conventional analysis of demographic behavior is usually limited to age, marital status, region, urban/rural, wealth, and education as explanatory variables, while the underlying cultural dimension is mostly overlooked. Although, the essential role that conventional variables play in understanding the demographic processes under study is undeniable, attempting to explain any given demographic behavior with merely micro determinants may cause an incomplete comprehension of the data. Thus, it is worth developing an explanatory framework to understand demographic behavior within its social and cultural context. Practices of abortion¹ and contraceptive use by women are among the demographic behaviors that need wider consideration to understand the variations across populations and to uncover their function in fertility regulation.

Most of the research in the field of demography collects quantitative data to estimate conventional indicators such as total fertility rate (TFR), infant mortality rate (IMR), total abortion rate (TAR), or contraceptive prevalence rate (CPR). Lack of interest in employing cultural information in demographic analyses has resulted in limited data sources in the field concerning cultural diversity. In the typical analysis of fertility behavior, culture is either obscured by its inclusion in the category of *other factors*, or designated by *error* in the demographic model (Kertzer 1997). Nonetheless, the gradual increase in studying demographic issues within a larger social theory should not be overlooked. This development has caused an increase in both qualitative studies and collection of data on social and cultural characteristics in quantitative demographic

* Alanur Çavlin Bozbeyoğlu Doç.Dr. Hacettepe Üniversitesi Nüfus Etütleri Enstitüsü, Ankara. E-posta: alanurcv@hacettepe.edu.tr

** Banu Akadlı Ergöçmen, Prof.Dr. Hacettepe Üniversitesi. Nüfus Etütleri Enstitüsü, E-posta: bergocme@hacettepe.edu.tr.

studies. However, despite the developments towards including sources of information, approaches, and techniques that are not traditionally associated with the field, the role of culture in exploring demographic behaviors is generally underestimated (Coast, 2003).

Quantitative demographic surveys play an important role in data gathering. The significance of demographic data is much wider in the context of developing countries due to lack of alternative data availability. Demographic surveys, with their national and regional representative sampling designs, turn out to be the principle source of data to estimate not only demographic indicators, but also to determine certain social and cultural phenomena.

The basic purpose of this article is to determine the necessity of taking culture into account when analyzing fertility regulation and the second is to present the possibility of using the Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) data – a quantitative demographic survey- for such an analysis. Firstly, the conceptual links between culture, ethnicity, and fertility regulation are outlined. After acknowledging the necessity for a cultural approach in demography, the next phase of the study is much more operational where a new composite variable is created by using DHS data. This variable is composed of mother tongue, language used for communication, religion and ethnicity in order to generate three different ethno-cultural groups for the countries under study.

A comparative study of Turkey and selected Central Asian countries, namely Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan², is proposed for this analysis. These countries were selected based on their prevalence in recent discussions about the replacement of abortion with contraception (Agadjanian 2002; Centers for Disease Control and Prevention and ORC Macro 2003; Marston and Cleland 2004; Senlet et al. 2001; and Westoff et al 1998). Moreover, these countries have an exceptionally high reliance on abortion compared to other primarily Muslim countries (United Nations 1998). A further criterion for this selection is the multi-ethnic and multi-cultural pattern of their populations. Turkey is historically a multi-ethnic country. Minorities are predominantly Muslim; of these Kurds and Arabs represent the largest minority groups. The non-Muslim population represents a very small percentage (0.2 percent) of the total population of Turkey (Icduygu et al. 2007). Central Asia also hosts many different ethnic groups with Russians being the largest minority group of that region. In all of the four countries under study, the multi-ethnic patterns of these countries' populations determine their cultural patterns.

The abortion and contraceptive policies of the countries in focus are quite liberal. In Turkey, contraception was legalized in 1965 and abortion was legalized in 1983. In Central Asia, induced abortion was first legalized in 1920, in accordance with other Soviet countries. After some restrictions during the 1936-55 periods, abortion on request was reinstated as legal in 1955 in all Soviet countries. Contraception was also legal, but the supply was very limited in the Soviet period (Barbieri et al. 1996; Bongaarts and Westoff 2000). The legal framework for fertility regulation in Central Asian countries did not change during the transformation. As a consequence of liberal abortion policies in Turkey and Central Asian countries, a great majority of abortions are performed in legal health institutions. Recent studies have indicated that in countries with conservative abortion policies, a significant number of unwanted or mistimed pregnancies end with unsafe abortions in non-authorized places (Edmeades et al. 2010; Erfani and Quillann 2008; Murray et al. 2006).

The DHS program is among the main sources of quantitative demographic data in developing countries in Africa, Asia, the Near East, Latin America, and the Caribbean. This study is among the first to attempt to use DHS data to formulate a variable to reflect ethno-cultural belonging. The goal of this study is not only limited to constructing a variable, but also to

estimating distributions of ethno-cultural groups and calculating conventional indicators, prevalence of abortion practice, and contraceptive use by ethno-cultural groups in the four studied countries. Thus, the statistical significance of ethno-cultural belonging corresponding to abortion practice and contraceptive use, plus the cross country validity of its significance in the cases of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkey, and Uzbekistan are tested.

STATE FORMATION, ETHNICITY, AND LANGUAGE IN THE STUDIED COUNTRIES

Turkey, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan share some common regional and historical characteristics which influence their contemporary ethno-cultural formation. These common characteristics include multi-ethnic/multi-religious/multi-cultural backgrounds, political transformation in the early 1920s, secular state formation, Islamic influence on culture, and economic liberalization in the early 1990s. The Central Asian states are particularly similar due to their shared geography and history. All three Central Asian countries are part of the oldest inhabited area of the world. An important historical trade route, the Silk Road, once passed through this region, therefore, a variety of cultures have influenced this region. Turkic/Mongolian, Persian, and Arabic influences were important for these countries' histories in the pre-Russian period. All three countries are Turkic in origin. The Arabic influence on the region in the 7th century brought Islam and, currently, the majority of the population is Sunni Muslim. However, the Persian influence has been a defining force in shaping language and culture. Russia's interest in the region was purely colonial and was based on its need for raw cotton for their growing textile industry in order to balance the economic power of the British Empire in the 19th century. In 1865, the Russian Empire established control over the region and the Governate General of Turkistan was founded. After the Bolshevik Revolution, Tashkent Soviet was established as the administrative centre of Turkistan. Borders in Central Asia did not exist before the National Delimitation Policy of 1924-1936, at which time the borders of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan were drawn according to this policy. These boundaries have been preserved, even after the formation of independent states following the collapse of the Soviet Union (Akcali 2003). Nation-state formation came late to the region. Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan were established as independent states in 1991, after the collapse of the Union. Although religion lost its importance in the public sphere during the Soviet period, Islamic rituals have dominated social and cultural life, especially in terms of marital and parental experiences. Thus, religion, with its powerful influence within the private sphere, is an important factor in any consideration of abortion and contraception and is therefore of particular concern for this study. After independence, states in Central Asia adopted a secular state formation. In addition to Islam, Turkic identity has played an important role as a supra-national identity in Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan (Naby 1994).

Mother tongue is an important representation and determiner of the ethnic groups in Central Asia and Turkey. During the Soviet period in Central Asia, although no language had been declared the official language, Russian had *de facto* superiority in political, economic, and scientific spheres, especially among the elite. Language was a prominent issue in the transition period of the Union. The law "On State Language" established Uzbek as the state language and made Russian the language of inter-ethnic communication in Uzbekistan in 1989-1990 (Schlyter 1998; Smith et al. 1998). The language law in Uzbekistan was revised in December 1995. Russian no longer had special significance as the language of inter-ethnic communication in Uzbekistan, according to the 1995 Law. Kazak and Kyrgyz are the state languages of these countries, while the status of Russian was upgraded in Kazakhstan to the official language. In Kyrgyzstan, Russian became the official language only in Russian-dominated areas in the same era.

Cultural formation and its ethnic roots in Turkey are considerably interrelated to the geography and the socio-political history of the country. Anatolia, also called Asia Minor, is one of the earliest places of human habitation. Similar to Central Asian territory, the land of Turkey is an important route of economic and cultural transition, serving as a bridge between the continents of Europe and Asia. During the Ottoman period, the Muslim elite were the governing power and inhabitants were from diverse ethnic and religious backgrounds. The long history of the Ottoman Empire ended with the First World War. The Republic of Turkey was established in 1923, following the Independence War, as a secular nation-state. In spite of this secular status, religious identity remains important in Turkish social and cultural life. The practice of Islam is a unifying trait among Turks and Kurds, since both of them are predominantly Muslim. However, nation-state formation has been based on Turkish nationality, where all Muslim groups were melted into the same pot. Due to the predominance of Turkish as the official language of Turkey, the Kurdish language had existed solely in the private sphere (İçduygu et al. 1999; Smits and Hoşgör 2003). Since the 1980s, Kurdish identity has become more visible in political and public spheres and the Kurdish language has received priority in the identity building process of Kurds in Turkey. Mother tongue retention and representation of different ethnic languages in private and public life are encouraged, mostly by Kurds. Using Kurdish, especially for politics and education, had symbolic meaning in the long running Kurdish-Turkish conflict. The National Programme for the European Union's Accession Criteria forced the Turkish government to establish several official modifications, which eased some of the restrictions on the use of Kurdish in the public sphere (Yavuz and Ozcan 2006).

The multi-ethnic backgrounds of the studied countries can be seen in their contemporary population figures. Kazakhstan is the largest state among Central Asian countries. It has a relatively low population; of 15.9 million (Population Reference Bureau 2009a), composed of 56 percent Kazak, 28 percent Russian, and 3 percent Ukrainian (US Department of State 2009a). The highest proportion of the Russian minority lives in Kazakhstan. During the Soviet period, Russians were the majority in Kazakhstan. The total population of Kyrgyzstan is 5.3 million (Population Reference Bureau 2009b) and is composed of 69 percent Kyrgyz, 9 percent Russian and 14 percent Uzbek (US Department of State 2009b). Uzbekistan is the most crowded country in Central Asia. Furthermore, a large number of Uzbek minorities live in other Central Asian countries. The total population of the country is 27.6 million (Population Reference Bureau 2009c) and is composed of 80 percent Uzbek, 6 percent Russian, 5 percent Tajik, 3 percent Kazak, and 2.5 percent Karakalpak (US Department of State 2009c). The estimated population of Turkey is 74.8 million (Population Reference Bureau 2009d) and is composed of 82.6 percent Turk, 14.5 percent Kurd, and 2 percent Arab (Koc, et al. 2008).

DATA AND METHODOLOGY

The preceding figures demonstrate the multi-ethnic population composition of the selected countries and serve as a helpful baseline for the frame of the study. However, we need representative data to create taxonomy for ethno-cultural differences and evaluate its effect on fertility regulation practices. The Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) data, with its national and regional representative features, is the primary source of the demographic analysis in all four focus countries. Turkey has a rather long history of demographic surveys. Following the first national demographic survey in 1963, as a country deficient in a well-established registration system, data from quinquennial national sample surveys have become the primary source of demographic and social analyses. The last four demographic surveys in 1993, 1998, 2003, and 2008 were conducted within the DHS program (Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies 2009).

The census and registration systems in the studied Central Asian counties disappeared with the collapse of the Soviet Union. Therefore, since independence, there has been a paucity of survey data for Central Asian countries. The first DHS was carried out in Kazakhstan in 1995 and has been disseminated throughout the region since the mid-90s. From that point, the following studies have been undertaken: Uzbekistan DHS 1996; Kyrgyzstan DHS 1997; Kazakhstan DHS 1999; and Uzbekistan HES³ 2002. For contemporary national and international demographic studies, primarily DHS results are employed for the region.

Demographic and Health Surveys⁴ are nationally representative household surveys with large sample sizes, typically between 5,000 and 30,000 households. Following a household questionnaire, a nationally representative sampling of women ages 15-49 are interviewed. The sample design of DHS is based on a weighted, multiple stage and stratified cluster sampling approach. The data provided enables analysis on both national and regional levels.

Sample surveys conducted under the DHS program provide not only reliable, but also comparable data for any cross-country and cross-cultural demographic analyses. Those surveys also include background information of respondents, which make study of ethno-cultural dimensions of demographic processes possible. Kazakhstan DHS 1999; Kyrgyzstan DHS 1997; Uzbekistan HES 2002; and Turkey DHS 2003 are the primary data sources for this work.

CONCEPTUALIZATION OF CULTURE

Based on multi-ethnic and multi-cultural structure of the studied countries, the necessity of taking culture into consideration for demographic studies is obvious. But conceptualization of culture in relation to reproductive behavior is a relatively new prospect and it has particular difficulties. There have been, however, fruitful attempts for considering culture in order to explain demographic behavior. The concept of wealth flow by Caldwell (1976), the add-culture-mix approach by Handwerker (1986), the culture for people-culture by people approach of Hammel (1990), and the concept of secularization by Lesthaeghe (1991). In particular, Greenhalgh (1988) focuses on the multidimensional and dynamic nature of culture and rejects the inclusion of culture on the list of variables. Hammel (1990) also detailed the relationship between culture and demography in his famous article "A Theory of Culture for Demography". His study focuses on several key points: the different demographic behaviors of linguistic groups who exist under identical economic conditions, stable demographic behavior in a region regardless of changing economic conditions, as well as varying demographic behavior of particular groups in the face of common demographic measures. He argues that none of these situations can be understood without taking cultural context into account. Fricke (1994) underlines the necessity of rethinking the position of demography within a broader social theory, while he addresses cultural theories as the potential solution to the epistemological crisis of demography. Later, Kertzer (1997) criticizes the underestimation of the role of culture in demographic analysis. He defines culture as part of a shared background and underlining framework of individual characteristics. He also states that, for comprehending meaning and motivation, cultural patterns present a necessary context. Similarly, Bernardi and Hutter (2007) embrace the theory and the methodology of anthropology in the field of demography in order to provide a better understanding of demographic phenomena. Bernardi highlights culture, gender, and political economy as the main theoretical concepts in anthropological demography. Although the significance of cultural context in the explanation of demographic behavior is acknowledged by some demographers, there is no one fixed way to conceptualize culture in demography. The conceptualization of culture is framed by two margins; culture as determiner of social action and culture as shaped by individuals. Hammel (1990) calls this taxonomy *culture for the people versus culture by the people*.

All of these conceptualizations acknowledge the role of shared background in the foundation of culture, based on common language, ethnicity, religion, or region. Several studies admit that shared ethnicity and religion are associated with primary cultural variations within a country. Labelling any of those common groups (language, ethnicity, religion, or region) as “culture” is an easy but crude conceptualization of culture (Hammel 1990). Moreover, this type of conceptualization describes culture as a constant status. Therefore, this conceptualization is not appropriate when reflecting the dynamism of cultural context. In this study, people with shared backgrounds are not only subjects of the common culture, but they are also *agents* of the common culture. According to this understanding, people are born into a cultural setting and their behavioral formations develop in this milieu. But cultural setting is not stable, nor are the people passive followers. In fact, culture is shared in a dynamic context which is differentiated by its members. In another words, in Hammel’s terminology, this study conceptualizes culture as *culture by people*. Dynamism is observed not only within a cultural context, but also between different cultures. Cultural transition is the consequence of dynamic relations between cultures. Therefore, cultural context varies not only by the experiences of its members, but also in relation to different cultures. According to this understanding, there is no stable taxonomy for culture. Before addressing the variable of ethno-cultural belonging, it is critical to mention that none of the taxonomies for culture are totally adequate. It is difficult to disagree with the conclusion of Agadjanian and Qian (1997) that “*none of the classifications represent all the nuances of the ethno-cultural kaleidoscope [of a country].*”

Culture is the explanatory context of this work, as conceptualized by Hammel (1990) for the study of demographic behavior. Ethno-cultural belonging, as a significant reflector of cultural identity, is taken into account when explaining differentiation in the meaning of, and motivation towards, abortion practice and contraceptive use.

In accordance with the previous discussion about the relationship between ethnicity and culture, this study considers cultural diversity as being dominated by ethnicity. The proposed taxonomy to estimate cultural identity is derived from this relationship and is referred to as *ethno-cultural groups*. It aims to reflect both historical/traditional and functional/dynamic characteristics of cultural identity within the ethno-cultural grouping. For the final composite variable, mother tongue, ethnicity, and religion are employed to approximate historical/traditional characteristics, while language of communication is employed to approximate functional/dynamic characteristics of cultural identity. This grouping is a refinement compared to ethnic distribution and it conceives of ethnicity as a cultural separator represented by mother tongue and strengthened by religion. Moreover, ethno-cultural groups reflect the dynamism of culture through the inclusion of the language of communication. A shift from mother tongue to another language for communication is a presumed powerful indicator of cultural transformation (Stevens 1985).

Current manifestations of cultural formation in the focus countries are not independent from their political, social, and economic contexts. It should be stated that cultural indication of ethnicity varies according to country of residence. Therefore, to be Russian in Russia will result in different demographic behavior than to be so in a Central Asian country. Similarly, religious affiliation, even for the same religion, has different appearances in demographic behavior within the contexts of different countries (Dillon 1996; Erfani and McQuillan 2008; Gürsoy 1996). Therefore, proposed ethno-cultural groups are specific for each studied country’s circumstances. For these reasons, before proposing these groups for the selected countries, it is worth summarizing the features of each population with particular emphasis on their effects on cultural formation.

Basic available characteristics and practices which present cultural diversities within a country are used in the cultural taxonomy of this study. Fundamental cultural variations within a country correspond with ethnicity and religion. Although regional variations might roughly mirror cultural differentiation if visualized on a map, rather than a causal relationship, this correspondence between regional and cultural variation can be plausibly explained as a consequence of the historical heterogeneity of the settlements of ethnic groups (For example, historically Kurds mostly live in Eastern Turkey, Basques live in Northeastern Spain, a French population lives in Quebec, and Russians in Central Asian countries live in urban areas). This study aims to create a cultural taxonomy while avoiding any reduction in the concept of culture to either a single variable, or a crude list of variables. It also aims to reflect the dynamic structure of culture in the proposed taxonomy. At this point, the ethno-cultural grouping by Agadjanian and Qian (1997) for Kazakhstan provides a helpful foundation for the taxonomy of this project. In that study, groups were formed according to mother tongue and language of interview. Three groups were constructed: Kazaks interviewed in Kazak, Kazaks interviewed in Russian, and Europeans interviewed in Russian. The article provided guidance for this project's proposed taxonomy for ethno-cultural.

PROPOSED TAXONOMY FOR ETHNO-CULTURAL GROUPS

In this study, three different ethno-groups are formed for the focus countries based on mother tongue, language used for communication, religion, and ethnicity. These groups are broken down into three categories for each country. For Kazakhstan, the groups are (1) *Kazaks*, (2) *Russian speaking Kazaks*, and (3) *Russians*. For Kyrgyzstan, these groups are (1) *Kyrgyz*, (2) *Russian speaking Kyrgyz*, and (3) *Russians*. For Turkey, these groups are (1) *Turks*, (2) *Turkish speaking Kurds*, and (3) *Kurds*. Finally for Uzbekistan, these groups are (1) *Uzbeks*, (2) *Russian speaking Uzbeks*, and (3) *Russians*. For the purpose of this study, we consider that, in each case, the first of the three categories is comprised of people whose mother tongue corresponds to the founding group of that nation-state (e.g. the Kazak language in Kazakhstan, the Kyrgyz language in Kyrgyzstan, and so on) and/or who define their ethnicity as being of the majority ethnic group (e.g. Kazaks in Kazakhstan, Turks in Turkey, and so on). They also speak their mother tongue in their daily life (the Kyrgyz language in Kyrgyzstan, the Uzbek language in Uzbekistan, and so on) and are either followers of the dominant religion (i.e., Islam) or are not religious. The second category can be called a transitional group. In the cases of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan, this group is comprised of those who belong to the country's dominant group (e.g. Kazaks in Kazakhstan, the Kyrgyz in Kyrgyzstan, and so on) in terms of mother tongue and/or ethnicity, but speak Russian in their daily life (i.e., the minority language). In the case of Turkey, this transitional group (i.e., Turkish speaking Kurds) speaks Turkish in their daily life, although their mother tongue is Kurdish. The final category consists of people who identify themselves as an ethnic minority, have a minority language as a mother tongue plus speak a minority language. Religious affiliation is also checked for Central Asian countries' data. In Turkey, this category includes Kurds who speak Kurdish in their daily life and in Central Asia this category includes Russians who speak Russian in their daily life and who religiously affiliated "other than Islam" (Table 3).

RESULTS

All four countries have heterogeneous populations in terms of language and ethnicity. Mother tongue is the shared available proxy for ethnicity for the studied countries. This study focuses on the two most common languages for each country, since the size of other language groups is not statistically sufficient for further analysis based on a sample survey. Table 1 presents the distributions of women by their mother tongue. The first is the titular language of each country,

which is also most common for the studied countries other than Kazakhstan, and the second is Russian for Central Asian countries and Kurdish for Turkey.

Different variables are used for constructing ethno-cultural groups in accordance with ethnic and cultural characteristics and data limitation of each country. Table 2 represents these variables by country. All four surveys include detailed variables about mother tongue and the language of communication. TDHS-2003 has the most detailed information about mother tongue. In addition to the respondent's and her husband's mother tongue, data were also collected on her and her husband's parents' mother tongue.

In the case of Turkey, respondent's and her husband's mother tongues are cross-checked with her and his parents' mother tongues. These analyses represent a high correspondence between an individual and his/her mother tongues. Based on the results of the cross check, a woman's and her husband's mother tongues are used in the formation of ethno-cultural group.

Religion and ethnicity are significant proxies of ethno-cultural belonging. Data on ethnicity and religion are available in surveys, except TDHS-2003. In the cases of Central Asian countries, religion is necessary to determine different ethno-cultural groups. Titular populations of all four countries are predominantly Muslim, while Russians are predominantly Orthodox. Notably, religion is not a determinant for ethnic difference between Turks and Kurds in Turkey since both groups are predominantly Muslim. Data collected on religion in TDHS-1998 proves that almost all of Turkish and Kurdish speaking groups are Muslim (95 percent and 97 percent respectively).

In regard to the functional tie between language and culture, two questions are employed to construct ethno-cultural groups; *language of interview and language used between spouses (spoken language at home)*. The former is available for all countries, but the latter is available only for TDHS-2003 and KRDHS-1997. The aim of employing a variable for functional tie is to reflect the language preference for daily use of the respondent. Apparently, *language of interview* does not only represent respondents' choice for daily language but best possible language of communication between respondents and interviewer. If there is no common language for both, interviews are conducted with the help of a translator. Therefore, *language used between spouses*, which is a stronger source for determining the most influential and preferred language, is employed for constructing ethno-cultural groups for TDHS-2003 and KRDHS-1997.

Regarding traditional/historical and functional/influential ties of language, this study employs three ethno-cultural categories for each country. The first category represents people of titular languages, Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Turkish, and Uzbek. The second group represents people of the second most common languages, (Russian for Central Asian countries and Kurdish for Turkey), and the third group represents Turkish speaking Kurds and Russian speaking Kazakhs, Kyrgyz, and Uzbeks. The details of each category are displayed in Table 3 and the percent distributions of those three categories for each country are given in Table 4. The language of institutionalization was Turkish in Turkey and Russian in Central Asia. Other languages were prohibited (Kurdish) or excluded (Kazak, Kyrgyz, and Uzbek) from the public sphere. Accordingly, results demonstrate that mother tongue shifts have different patterns in Turkey and Central Asian countries. In the case of Turkey, one third of the minority ethnic group tend to use the majority's language in their daily life, while in the cases of Central Asian countries, a varying percent of titular majority population tend to use the minority's language, Russian, in their everyday life. The quantitative significance of this preference is clear for Kazakhstan, since almost half of the ethnic Kazaks speak Russian in the private sphere.

The proposed taxonomy clearly demonstrates that the conventional ethnic/language groups are heterogeneous in terms of daily language use. In this study, the critical point is to assess the corresponding effects of ethno-cultural variation in demographic behaviors, particularly for abortion practice and contraceptive use. The basic indicators of abortion practice (i.e., percent ever aborted, abortion per 100 pregnancies, and total abortion rate) are displayed in Table 5 and demonstrate the significance of ethno-cultural variations. Based on these three indicators, both in the cumulative and cross-sectional analyses, Russians in Central Asia are much more likely to end their unintended pregnancies with abortion than are the titular group. The transitional groups (Russian speaking titular groups), are more likely to terminate unintended pregnancies by abortion than titular language speakers and are less likely than Russians. Ethno-cultural variation is also reflected in abortion practice in Turkey, but in the opposite direction. Based on the above mentioned cumulative and cross-sectional indicators, Turks have a higher tendency than do Kurds to abort unintended pregnancies. Contrastingly, figures for Turkish speaking Kurds fall between both those groups.

The percent of ever-married women who never used a contraceptive and the percentages of married women at the time of the survey who used any contraception, or modern contraception, are presented in Table 6. The trend in contraceptive use is very similar to the trend in abortion practices (other than in Uzbekistan). In the other three countries, contraceptive use for Turks and Russians is much higher than for other groups; Turkish speaking Kurds and Russian speaking Kazakhs and Kyrgyz, whereas the transitional group, Russian speaking Uzbeks, have the highest level of contraception in Uzbekistan.

CONCLUSION

Ethno-cultural groups are formed based on historical/traditional ties symbolized by mother tongue, ethnicity, and religion and functional/dynamic ties are indicated by language of communication. This taxonomy goes further than ethnic categorization since ethnicity is used as a cultural separator, which is represented by mother tongue and is powered by religion. Furthermore, ethno-cultural groups are not stable, but they are characterized by dynamic features. In this article, a shift from a mother tongue to another language for communication is used as an indicator of cultural transformation. Other studies confirm that fertility behavior of different ethnic groups in a country become homogenized with increasing assimilation/integration (Dudley et al. 2006). This transformation process in the studied countries, either assimilation or integration, has resulted in a differentiation in the demographic processes, particularly in the mechanism of fertility regulation.

The significant contribution of this article is the proposed taxonomy of ethno-cultural groups, especially for demographers who want to take culture into account in their analyses. Considering mother tongue, language used for communication, religion and ethnicity, three different groups are formed for each of the studied countries. The groups are (1) *Kazaks*, (2) *Russian speaking Kazaks*, and (3) *Russians* for Kazakhstan; (1) *Kyrgyz*, (2) *Russian speaking Kyrgyz*, and (3) *Russians* for Kyrgyzstan; (1) *Turks*, (2) *Turkish speaking Kurds*, and (3) *Kurds* for Turkey; and finally (1) *Uzbeks*, (2) *Russian speaking Uzbeks*, and (3) *Russians* for Uzbekistan. It is already known that Kurds and Turks in Turkey and Kazaks/Kyrgyz/Uzbeks and Russians in Central Asia are actors of different fertility regulation regimes (Anichkin and Vishnevsky 1994; Coale 1994; Hosgor and Smiths 2002; Koc et al.; and Westoff 1998). However, findings of this work reveal that abortion practice and contraceptive use vary significantly within ethnic groups by ethno-cultural status. The transitional groups, Turkish speaking Kurds and Russian speaking Kazaks/Kyrgyz/Uzbeks, act between two polarized level of abortion practice and contraceptive use.

Neither today, nor in the pre-modern ages, has reproductive behavior been simply determined by only individuals/couples, but also by traditions, norms, values, class structure, and legal frames. In spite of the fact that legal structure does not reveal variation within the boundaries of a country, cultural structure shows significant variations within political borders that influences fertility behavior. Therefore, the role of contraceptives and abortion in fertility regulation should be discussed in relation to cultural diversity.

As a final note, insufficient attention to cultural variations in demographic analyses is not specific only to studies done in Turkey and Central Asian states, but to most of the demographic studies on a global level. Although inclusion of cultural dynamics into the demographic analysis has its own difficulties and limitations, this article demonstrates that it is possible to bring culture to the centre of analysis while working with quantitative data. Researchers and authors should be aware of the limitations of DHS data for ethno-cultural analysis, without magnifying these limitations of the data.

Notes

¹ In this study, the term abortion refers to induced abortion.

² Turkmenistan and Tajikistan also share several historical, geographical, political, and demographical commonalities with the four mentioned Central Asian Republics. Tajikistan, however, is not included in this study due to lack of demographic data and Turkmenistan could not be included in this study due to restrictions of the Turkmenistan Demographic and Health Survey data.

³ Uzbekistan Health Examination Survey is also under the assistance of the DHS program.

⁴ The Demographic and Health Surveys program was initially established at The Institute for Resource Development, Inc. (IRD), a subsidiary of the Westinghouse Electric Company. Three phases of DHS are as follows: DHS I in 1984-1989, DHS II in 1988-1993, and DHS III after 1992. Since 1997, DHS has changed its name to DHS+ to reflect a new mandate under the MEASURE program. MEASURE DHS+ incorporates traditional DHS features with expanded content on maternal and child health. As of September 2010, the DHS+ program has provided technical assistance for 225 surveys in Africa, Asia, the Near East, Latin America, and the Caribbean (Measure DHS 2010).

REFERENCES

- Agadjanian, Victor. 1999. "Post-Soviet demographic paradoxes: Ethnic differences in marriage and fertility in Kazakhstan." **Sociological Forum** 14 (3): 425-446.
- Akcali, Pinar. 2003. "Nation-state building in Central Asia: A lost case?" **Perspectives on Global Development & Technology**. 2 (3/4): 409-429.
- Agadjanian, Victor. 2002. "Is 'abortion culture' fading in the former Soviet Union? Views about abortion and contraception in Kazakhstan." **Studies in Family Planning** 33 (3): 237-248.
- Agadjanian, Victor and Qian, Zhenchao. 1997. "Ethnocultural identity and induced abortion in Kazakhstan." **Studies in Family Planning** 28 (4), 317-329.
- Anichkin, Alexandr and Anatoli Vishnevsky. 1994. "Three types of fertility behavior in the USSR." In **Demographic Trends and Patterns in the Soviet Union before 1991**. Eds. Wolfgang Lutz, Sergei Scherbov, and A. Volkov. Laxenburg International Institute for Applied Systems Research. Pp. 41-57.
- Avdeev, Alexandr. 1994. "Contraception and abortions: Trends and prospects for the 1990s." In **Demographic Trends and Patterns in the Soviet Union before 1991**. Eds. Wolfgang Lutz, Sergei Scherbov, and A. Volkov. Laxenburg International Institute for Applied Systems Research. Pp. 131-146.
- Barbieri, Magali, Alain Blum, Elena Dolkigh, and Amon Ergashev. 1996. "Nuptiality, fertility, use of contraception, and family policies in Uzbekistan." **Population Studies** 50(1): 69-88.
- Bernardi, Laura and Inge Hutter. 2007. "An anthropological demography of Europe." **Demographic Research** 17: 541-566.
- Bondarskaya, Galina. 1994. "Ethnic-territorial differences in marital fertility: A 1985 Survey." In **Demographic Trends and Patterns in the Soviet Union before 1991**. Eds. Wolfgang Lutz, Sergei Scherbov, and A. Volkov. Laxenburg International Institute for Applied Systems Research. Pp. 131-146.
- Bongaarts, John and Charles F. Westoff. 2000. "The potential role of contraception in reducing abortion." **Studies in Family Planning** 31(3): 193-202.
- Caldwell John C. 1976. "Toward a restatement of demographic transition theory." **Population and Development Review** 2(3-4), 321-366.
- Centers for Disease Control and Prevention and ORC Macro. 2003. **Reproductive, Maternal and Child Health in Eastern Europe and Eurasia: A Comparative Report**. Atlanta, GA (USA) and Calverton, MD (USA).
- Coale, Ansley J. 1994. "Nuptiality and fertility in USSR republics and neighboring populations." In **Demographic Trends and Patterns in the Soviet Union before 1991**. Eds. Wolfgang Lutz, Sergei Scherbov, and A. Volkov. Laxenburg International Institute for Applied Systems Research. Pp. 3-19.

Coast, Ernestina. 2003. "An evaluation of demographer's use of ethnographies." **Population Studies** 57 (3):337-346.

Dillon, Michele. 1996. "Cultural differences in the abortion discourse of the Catholic Church: evidence from four countries." **Sociology of Religion** 57(1), 25-36.

Duben, Alan and Cem Behar. 1998. *Istanbul Households: Marriage, Family and Fertility 1880-1940*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Edmeades, Jeffrey, Susan M. Lee-Rife, and Anju Malhotra. 2010. "Women and reproductive control: the nexus between abortion and contraceptive use in Madhya Pradesh, India." **Studies in Family Planning** 41(2): 75-88.

Erfani, Amir and Kevin McQuillan. 2008. "Rates of induced abortion in Iran: the roles of contraceptive use and religiosity." **Studies in Family Planning** 39 (2): 111-122.

Fricke, Thomas. 1997, "Culture theory and demographic process: toward a thicker demography." In David I. Kertzer and Thomas Fricke. Eds. **Anthropological Demography: Toward a New Synthesis**. The University of Chicago Press. Pp. 248-277.

Gürsoy, Akile. 1996. "Abortion in Turkey: a matter of state, family or individual decision" **Social Science and Medicine** 42(4), pp. 531-542.

Gore, DeAnna and L. Elwood Carlson. 2010. "Ethnicity, education, and the non-proportional hazard of first marriage in Turkey." **Population Studies** 64 (2): 179-191.

Greenhalgh, S. 1988. "Fertility as mobility: Sinic transitions." **Population and Development Review** 14(4): 629-674.

Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies. 2009. **Turkey Demographic and Health Survey, 2008**. Ankara: Hacettepe University Hospitals Printing House. <http://www.hips.hacettepe.edu.tr/eng/tdhs08/TDHS-2008_Main_Report.pdf>. Accessed 15 September 2010.

Hammel, Eugene A. 1990. "A theory of culture for demography." **Population and Development Review** 16(3), 445-485.

Handwerker, Penn W. 1986. **Culture and Reproduction: An Anthropological Critique of Demographic Transition Theory**. Westview Press: Boulder, Colorado/London.

Hoşgör, Ayşe G. and Jeroen Smits. 2002 "Intermarriage between Turks and Kurds in contemporary Turkey." **European Sociological Review** 18(4): 417-432.

İçduygu, Ahmet, David Romano, and Ibrahim Sirkeci. 1999. "The ethnic question in an environment of insecurity: the Kurds in Turkey." **Ethnic and Racial Studies** 22: 991-1010.

İçduygu, Ahmet, Sule Toktas, and Ali B. Soner. 2007. "The politics of population in a nation-building process: emigration of non-Muslims from Turkey." **Ethnic and Racial Studies** 31(2): 358-389.

Kertzer, David I. 1997. "The proper role of culture in demographic transition." In **The Continuing Demographic Transition**. Eds. Gavin W. Jones, R. M. Douglas, John C. Caldwell and R. M. D'Souza. Oxford: Clarendon Press. pp. 1-35.

King, Randall H., Steven C. Myers, and Dennis M. Byrne. 2002. "The Demand for Abortion by Unmarried Teenagers: Economic Factors, Age, Ethnicity and Religiosity Matter." **American Journal of Economics and Sociology** 51(2): 223-235.

Koc, Ismet, Attila Hancioglu, and Alanur Cavlin Bozbeyoğlu. 2008. "Demographic Differentials and Demographic Integration of Turkish and Kurdish Populations in Turkey." **Population Research and Policy Review** 27(3): 447-457.

Lesthaeghe, Ron. 1991. **The second demographic transition in Western Countries: an interpretation**. Interuniversity program in Demography (IPD) - Working Paper.

Marston Cicely, and John Cleland. 2004. "Relationships between contraceptive use and abortion rates." In *The Effects of Contraception on Obstetric Outcomes*, Geneva: World Health Organization.

Measure DHS. 2010. **Surveys and Methodology** Home. <<http://www.measuredhs.com/aboutsurveys/>>. Accessed 14 Sep 2010.

Mita, Rezina. and Ruth Simmons. 1995. "Diffusion of the culture of contraception: program effects on young women in rural Bangladesh." **Studies in Family Planning** 26(1): 1-13.

Murray, Nancy, William Winfrey, Minki Chatterji, Scott Moreland, Leanne Dougherty, and Friday Okonofua. 2006. "Factors Related to Induced Abortion among Young Women in Edo State, Nigeria." **Studies in Family Planning** 37(4): 251-268.

Mutlu, Servet. 1996. "Ethnic question in Turkey: a demographic study." **International Journal of Middle East Studies** 28: 517-541.

Naby, Eden. 1994. "The Emerging Central Asia: Ethnic and Religious Factions." In **Central Asia and the Caucasus after the Soviet Union: Domestic and International Dynamics**. Ed. Mohiaddin Mesbahi. Miami: University Press of Florida.

Population Reference Bureau. 2009a. **Data by geography Kazakhstan**. <http://www.prb.org/Datafinder/Geography/Summary.aspx?region=142®ion_type=2> Accessed 21 Dec 2009.

Population Reference Bureau. 2009b. **Data by geography Krgyzstan**. <http://www.prb.org/Datafinder/Geography/Summary.aspx?region=143®ion_type=2> Accessed 21 Dec 2009.

Population Reference Bureau. 2009c. **Data by geography Uzbekistan**. <http://www.prb.org/Datafinder/Geography/Summary.aspx?region=150®ion_type=2> Accessed 21 Dec 2009.

Population Reference Bureau. 2009d. **Data by geography Turkey.** <http://www.prb.org/Datafinder/Geography/Summary.aspx?region=132®ion_type=2> Accessed 21 Dec 2009.

Remennick, Larissa I. and Rosie Segal. 2001. "Socio-cultural context and women's experiences of abortion: Israeli women and Russian immigrants compared." **Culture, Health & Sexuality** 3(1): 49-66.

Schlyter, Birgit N. 1998. "Language policies and language movement in Central Asia." **Regions Central Asia, IIAS Newsletter Online** No: 17. <<http://www.iias.nl/iiasn/17/regions/17CAXA01.html>> Accessed 15 Sep 2010.

Senlet, Pinar., Sian L. Curtis, Jill Mathis, and Han Raggars. 2001. "The role of changes in contraceptive use in the decline of induced abortion in Turkey." **Studies in Family Planning** 32(1): 41-52.

Smith, Graham, Vivien Law, Andrew Wilson, Annette Bohr, and Edward Allworth 1998 **Nation-Building in the Post-Soviet Borderlands: The Politics of National Identities**, Cambridge: Cambridge UP. 197-225.

Smits, Jeroen ve Ayse Gunduz Hoşgör. 2003. "Linguistic capital: Language as a socio-economic resource among Kurdish and Arabic women." **Ethnic and Racial Studies** 26: 829-853.

Stevens, Gillian. 1985. "Nativity, intermarriage, and mother-tongue shift." **American Sociological Review** 50(1): 74-83.

Storey, J. Douglas, Alisher Ilkhamov, and Brit Saksvig. 1997. **Perception of Family Planning and Reproductive Health Issues: Focus Group Discussion in Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan.** Field Report No. 10 Baltimore: Center for Communication Programs, Johns Hopkins School of Public Health.

United Nation. 1998. **National Population Policies.** New York: Department of Economic and Social Affairs Population Division.

Urlanis, Boris Z. 1970. "USSR: Views on population/family planning." **Studies in Family Planning.** 1(49): 1-16.

US Department of State. 2009a. **Background note: Kazakhstan.** <<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/5487.htm>> Accessed 21 Dec 2009.

US Department of State. 2009b. **Background note: Kyrgyzstan.** <<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/5755.htm>> Accessed 21 Dec 2009.

US Department of State. 2009c. **Background note: Uzbekistan.** <<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/2924.htm>> Accessed 21 Dec 2009.

Westoff, Charles F. 2000. **The Substitution of Contraception for Abortion in Kazakhstan in the 1990s.** DHS Analytical Studies No.1 Calverton, Maryland: ORC Macro.

Westoff, Charles F., Almaz T. Sharmanov, Jeremiah M. Sullivan, and Trevor Croft. 1998. **Replacement of Abortion by Contraception in Three Central Asian Republics**. Calverton, MD: The Policy Project and Macro International.

Yavuz, Sutay. 2006. "Completing the fertility transition: Third birth developments by language groups in Turkey." **Demographic Research**. 15: 435-460.

Yavuz, Hakan M. and Ozcan Nihat Ali 2006, "The Kurdish question and Turkey's Justice and Development Party." **Middle East Policy** 13(1): 102-119.

Table 1. Percent distribution of ever-married women by mother tongue, KDHS-1999, KRDHS-1997, TDHS-2003, and UHES-2002

Kazakhstan		Kyrgyzstan		Turkey		Uzbekistan	
Kazak	34.5	Kyrgyz	75.4	Turkish	82.9	Uzbek	87.1
Russian	63.2	Russian	24.6	Kurdish	14.0	Russian	3.5
Other	2.1	Other		Other	1.3	Other	9.4
Total	4800	Total	3848	Total	8075	Total	5463

Table 2. Basic components used for formation of ethno-cultural group by countries and surveys

Variables referring historical/traditional tie	Variables referring functional tie
Kazakhstan (KDHS-1999) Mother tongue Ethnicity Religion	Kazakhstan (KDHS-1999) Language of interview
Kyrgyzstan (KRDHS-1997) Mother tongue Ethnicity Religion	Kyrgyzstan (KRDHS-1997) Spoken language at home
Turkey (TDHS-2003) Mother tongue Husband's mother tongue Mother tongue of women's parents* Mother tongue of husband's parents*	Turkey (TDHS-2003) Language used between spouses
Uzbekistan (UHES-2002) Mother tongue Ethnicity Religion	Uzbekistan (UHES-2002) Language of interview

* Mother tongue of women's parents and husband's parents were reduced from the set of variables explaining historical/traditional tie as the consequence of high correspondence between individual and her/his mother tongue.

Table 3. Criteria for formation of ethno-cultural group by countries and surveys

Groups/categories	Content
Kazakhstan (KDHS-1999)	
Kazaks	Mother tongue is Kazak language and/or ethnicity is Kazak, language of interview is Kazak language, and religion is Islam or not religious.
Russian speaking Kazaks	Mother tongue is Kazak language and/or ethnicity is Kazak and language of interview is Russian.
Russians	Mother tongue and/or ethnicity is Russian language of interview is Russian language, and religion is other than Islam.
Kyrgyzstan (KRDHS-1997)	
Kyrgyz	Mother tongue is Kyrgyz or Kyrgyz and Russian and/or ethnicity is Kyrgyz, spoken language at home is Kyrgyz, and religion is Islam or not religious.
Russian speaking Kyrgyz	Mother tongue is Kyrgyz and/or ethnicity is Kyrgyz and spoken language at home is Russian or more Russian than Kyrgyz language.
Russian	Mother tongue is Russian and/or ethnicity is Russian, spoken language at home is Russian or more Russian than Kyrgyz language, and religion is other than Islam.
Turkey (TDHS-2003)	
Turks	Mother tongue of both wife and husband is Turkish, and language used between spouses is Turkish.
Turkish speaking Kurds	Mother tongue of both wife and husband is Kurdish, or mother tongue of one of them is Turkish and mother tongue of the other is Kurdish spouses is Turkish.
Kurds	Mother tongue is Kurdish; language used between spouses is Kurdish.
Uzbekistan (UHES-2002)	
Uzbeks	Mother tongue is Uzbek language and/or ethnicity is Uzbek, language of interview is Uzbek language, and religion is Islam or not religious.
Russian speaking Uzbeks	Mother tongue is Uzbek language and/or ethnicity is Uzbek and language of interview is Russian.
Russian	Mother tongue and/or ethnicity is Russian language of interview is Russian language, and religion is other than Islam.

Table 4. Percent distribution of ever-married women by ethno-cultural group, KDHS-1999, KRDHS-1997, TDHS-2003, and UHES-2002

Kazakhstan		Kyrgyzstan		Turkey		Uzbekistan	
Groups	%	Groups	%	Groups	%	Groups	%
Kazak	29.5	Kyrgyz	72.5	Turkish	82.3	Uzbek	78.0
Russian	39.2	Russian	12.7	Kurdish	9.8	Russian	2.4
Russian speaking Kazaks	24.8	Russian speaking Kyrgyz	3.7	Turkish speaking Kurds	5.5	Russian speaking Uzbeks	7.6
Other	6.5	Other	11.1	Other	2.4	Other	11.9
Total	4800	Total	3848	Total	8075	Total	5463

Table 5. Basic indicators of abortion practice by ethno-cultural group, KDHS-1999, KRDHS-1997, TDHS-2003, and UHES-2002

	Percent ever aborted	Abortion per 100 pregnancies	TAR	Number of ever-married women	Number of pregnancies
Kazakhstan	51.6	35.9	1.442	3585	1544
Kazaks	30.1	17.7	0.809	1026	506
Russian speaking Kazaks	47.4	32.2	1.356	817	390
Russians	68.7	52.6	1.974	1497	541
Kyrgyzstan	38.4	27.2	1.553	3022	1861
Kyrgyz	31.3	20.7	1.251	2211	1413
Russian speaking Kyrgyz	46.2	39.5	*	98	64
Russian	65.6	58.6	*	405	172
Turkey	23.9	11.8	0.385	8074	3109
Turks	26.2	14.1	0.396	6646	2199
Turkish speaking Kurds	20.6	13.5	0.387	446	266
Kurds	9.5	4.0	0.233	787	551
Uzbekistan	28.8	20.2	0.953	4043	2061
Uzbeks	27.7	20.1	1,016	3157	1683
Russian speaking Uzbeks	25.2	24.9	0,960	302	132
Russian	55.5	*	*	111	30

*Number of pregnancies is not enough for calculation. TAR= Observed total abortion rate (the average number of abortion per women at the end of her reproductive years), calculated from abortion that occurred in the three-year period preceding the survey.

Table 6. Basic indicators of contraceptive use by ethno-cultural group, KDHS-1999, KRDHS-1997, TDHS-2003, and UHES-2002

	At the time of survey				Number of women married at the time of survey
	Percent of never used	Percent of contraceptive use	Percent of modern contraceptive use	Number of ever-married women	
Kazakhstan	13.0	66.1	52.8	3585	3018
Kazaks	20.7	61.3	52.6	1026	916
Russian speaking				817	707
Kazaks	11.7	66.9	55.0		
Russians	8.5	70.0	52.2	1497	1190
Kyrgyzstan	19.2	59.5	48.9	3021	2675
Kyrgyz	21.3	56.8	46.9	2211	1988
Russian speaking Kyrgyz	23.7	57.2	49.2	98	77
Russian	8.0	71.2	58.3	405	347
Turkey	10.4	71.0	52.8	8075	7672
Turks	7.7	74.3	52.6	6648	6300
Turkish speaking Kurds	14.6	63.5	55.0	446	419
Kurds	30.7	48.7	52.2	787	762
Uzbekistan	16.9	67.7	60.0	4042	3720
Uzbeks	16.6	68.1	63.6	3157	2958
Russian speaking Uzbeks	17.4	70.8	65.3	302	273
Russian	15.9	57.3	46.7	111	86

ÖZET**KÜRTAJ VE GEBELİĞİ ÖNLEYİCİ YÖNTEM KULLANIMININ ETNO-KÜLTÜREL
ANALİZİ:
TÜRKİYE VE SEÇİLMİŞ ORTA ASYA ÜLKELERİ ÖRNEKLERİ**

Bu çalışma seçilmiş dört ülkenin Nüfus ve Sağlık Araştırmalarını (NSA) kullanarak, doğurganlık kontrolü sürecinde etno-kültürel farklılığın önemini araştırmaktadır. Çalışmanın amacı iki parçadan oluşmaktadır: demografik analize kültür vurgusunu dahil etmenin önemini göstermek ve niceliksel veri ile etno-kültürel farklılık analizi yapmak. Çalışma Türkiye, Kazakistan, Kırgızistan ve Özbekistan'a odaklanmıştır. Bu ülkelerin seçilmesinde çoğunluğu müslüman olan nüfuslarına rağmen kürtajın yaygın olarak kullanılmasını ve erken dönemde yasallaşmış olmasının ayrıca seçilen ülkelerin farklı etnik grupları barındırması öne çıkan nedenlerdir. Kazakistan NSA 1999; Kırgızistan NSA 1997; Özbekistan NSA 2002; ve Türkiye NSA 2003 kullanılarak anadile, günlük yaşamda kullanılan dile, dine ve etnisiteye dayalı her dört ülke için bağımsız üç farklı etno-kültürel kategoriden oluşan birer değişken oluşturulmuştur. Kürtaj ve gebeliği önleyici yöntem kullanımına ilişkin göstergelerin etno-kültürel gruplara göre yapılan analizleri, Nüfus ve Sağlık Araştırması verisinin etno-kültürel analiz için kullanılabilir olduğunu göstermektedir.