

## **Child Brides and Its Importance in Terms of Social Roles in Turkish Society: The Case of Bitlis<sup>1</sup>**

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**Abstract:** Social structure and culture mainly shape the understanding of the identity and social roles in the community. Social roles can be considered as part of the individual's behaviours and responsibilities. Individuals learn the social codes, roles, and other things which are the main issue to be part of the community in the family. Changing the notion of the family has impacts on the changing the understanding of the social roles because family is the primary social institution which affects other social institutions. Child brides are the social problem for the many countries around the world. According to the United Nations, individuals who are not 18 years old are children. Concluded from this statement that individuals who get married before the age of 18 are considered as early marriage. All data has been collected from the interviews which have done in the Bitlis city centre. The total number of the interviewee is 13, and all interviews have been done with researcher himself.

**Key Words:** Child Brides, Gender Roles, Turkish Society, Early Marriages.

### **INTRODUCTION**

The family is the social institution which is most affected by the socialisation process in today's postmodern societies. The changes that took place in the social life first have an impact on the family. With the emergence of modernisation, the institution of family has lost its traditional meaning, and there are the different types of family in contemporary societies. The meaning and formulation of marriage are subject to historical change because of a complex interplay of economic, political, cultural, and religious factors. The traditional idea of family is a married heterosexual couple and their biological children, in reality, but there are a variety of forms, meanings, and definitions of marriage and family that are recognised today; cohabitation, boyfriend and girlfriend, civil marriage, religious marriage, and same-sex marriage. There are also different kind of relationships that may be considered as "family" in other societies (Al-Hakami and McLaughlin, 2016). The understanding of marriage is changing due to the socio-economic reasons. The members of the families also have different social roles such as worker, citizen, friends and so on instead of being husband, wife, and someone's son or daughter.

The first place that the members of the community learn the necessary information to continue

community life is again the institution of the family. Furthermore, social roles and cultural identities are given to individuals within the family. In this context, family institution is one of the most significant institutions that keep society alive and increase the solidarity between the members. The continuity and functionality of the family institution become a necessity to be functional for other institutions, such as education, religion, politics. As a social institution, the family is the part of all other social institutions. New members learn the social codes for other institutions in the family.

In today's societies, many variables change the family institution and transform it. The newly emerged cohabitation and social roles are redefined according to the social changes and socialisation processes. In this context, the family institution is changed by early marriages because spouses who have to be parents in an age when the understanding of motherhood/paternity does not develop and they cannot understand the functions of the family institution. Child marriages, which is also called early marriages, are defined as a marriage made without being ready for the child's physical, psychological responsibilities and having children under the age of 18.

Child brides have to be debated in this context first and foremost. Due to the issue of child brides, the institution of family and social roles become more complicated in contemporary societies. Legally underage girls are married at an early age due to

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many different reasons, and as a result of these marriages, they are to become a mother at an early age. At a time, when they need mother's love and support, they become a mother and face maternity responsibilities at an early age. It is difficult to understand the meaning of family and social role of motherhood at an early age for child brides.

In this essay, it is going to be discussed the child brides in Turkish society within the context of gender roles, and in order to understand the relationship between child bride and gender roles, it will be used data which is collected from interviews with child brides who live in Bitlis.

## **1. SOCIAL IDENTITY AND SOCIAL ROLES**

Men or women are the primary social, sexual identity which people have firstborn. This is a biological identity that most species have because of the genetic accident. Women or men are two terms that express the formation of gender difference uses both in the biological sense of the individual and in the role system that the community gives to the individual. Social role system in society is considered the part of culture because these social roles could be different compared with other societies. Children are born into the particular culture and social structure in societies. Whole societies have specific gender roles as part of their culture. All individuals learnt their cultural dimensions through the socialisation process. The socialisation process is also the process that individuals become a member of society through the process. The biological aspect that is significant in these terms and the social dimension that is based on the biological structure is very different from each other.

Despite that biologically, all individual is born as a female or a male. And except the medical operations, people do not change this given property the throughout their entire lives. As far as the social aspect of individual's sex is concerned, it is not a given feature, but it has some meanings that each gender can understand what they need to do and behave in social life. When the babies are born, they become the object of this construction process. Following birth, individuals immediately become a member of the behaviours of the gender, which takes place on the axis of our biological gender. For example, the mother and father, who are expected to take care of their children, take the first step in constructing behaviours, attitudes, roles, cultural values and

social codes which they need to learn to get by in the society. After birth, the social world determined for the child becomes more and more evident; dressing, games, toys, form and dosage of compassion in behaviours towards the child. Moreover, they need to learn which behaviours are appropriate or inappropriate for the child. People first need to behave and take the social roles according to their; moreover, individuals have other social roles such as a teacher, manager, writer, politicians and so on. However, the other social roles could be sort time or limited term, but gender roles never end.

## **2. CHILD BRIDE**

The notion of child bride combines two words and these two words individually never combine which are child and bride. However, this wrong notion is the part of our lives today in many countries. There are so many nongovernment organisations that are fighting against the child bride across the world such as United Nations, European Unions, and so on. According to Article 1 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child states that "all children up to the age of eighteen is considered as a child, except in the case of a minor at an earlier age, according to the law applicable to the child." According to this definition, childhood continues until the age of eighteen except for some special occasions. Indeed, it is possible for individuals to be able to make decisions on their own that they can think about to assume responsibilities, to have abstract and analytical thinking, but only by reaching a certain degree of physical, physiological, and mental. This corresponds to the age of 18 in terms of the physiological development of the individual, the individuals under the age of 18 are considered as "children", and the marriages under 18 are defined as "early marriage" for all children. The main starting point of this definition is related to whether or not adolescents (Ozcebe and Bicer, 2013: 86- 87). In this research, the main topic is the child bride who is focusing on the girls' marriage under 18.

Marriage is the ceremony which is the foundation of new family that is why it is essential for many societies. Besides it is also a way of establishing a family, it is to extend the family (Iyanuolu, 2008). It is not only two people's marriage; it means that two families have a tie either and this tie makes the family bigger. Furthermore, marriage is the way changing the social roles in societies because being husband and wife is the way of becoming father

and mother as well. All these terms are the different social roles, and there are various social role expectations both mother and father. The act of marriage is a significant development in an individual's life as it indicates emergence into adulthood (Rembe and others, 2011). After getting married, the spouses step into the adult life, and they need to behave like an adult. The essential point in this stage is that both bride and groom need to be ready and have to decide to become an adult.

Discussing the child brides in many cases, they do not make the decision to get married. Moreover, it can be understood from the statement that child brides are neither ready to become an adult nor mother. Child brides are legally not 18 years old, and this means that they are not capable of making decisions considered their biological qualification and so on. Although these drawbacks, child brides are the reality of our societies today. To sum up, child marriage is a practice in which the parents of a child arrange a marriage with another child or an adult. The early marriage is a violation of human rights whether it happens to a girl or a boy, but it represents perhaps the most prevalent form of sexual abuse and exploitation of girls (Malawi Human Rights Commission, 2005; UNICEF, 2007). Among other risks, child brides who have a baby at a young age face a higher likelihood of difficulties such as obstructed or prolonged labour as well as changed body and so on. As a result of biological issues, they have a higher hazard of maternal mortality (Nove et al. 2014). Early child marriage might also reduce voice and agency for women and raise risks of intimate spouse violence (Klugman et al. 2014). According to Wodon (2016: 592), "child brides lead more women to have children in their early ages and have more children over their lifetime than if they had married later." To the extent, that child marriage has significant negative effects on domestic violence and mental health for women in their childhood life and adulthood life (Raj, Saggurti, Balaiah, and Silverman, 2009). If child brides experience the risk of violence at home, they feel more isolated from the society, and this can affect maternal depression, which also impacts child brides' children. The stress which child brides are experienced can have harmful effects on the learning process, social behaviour, and health care following in their life. Some studies show that when children are experienced domestic violence in their family life, they favour on average to have worse health at birth, and this increased mortality rates among child brides (Aizer, 2011).

## **2.1. Child Bride in Turkey**

Child brides are not the only problem in Turkey, but also it is a social problem in many countries. It would be correct to think that women's feelings and thoughts are suppressed for child marriage and that marriage decision made for instead of them. There are some specific understandings in some societies based on cultural and religious values, and the concept of men's social roles in societies (Kara, 2015). The level of education of the parents, the socio-economic environment, and the cultural values can also encourage early marriages. Regarding the impact of the socio-economic environment is that families who are landowners promote early marriages for economic reasons (Malhotra, 1997: 438). Choe and others (2005: 151) link early marriages with the value judgments of the countryside. People who live in rural areas are most likely to see the family member as workers.

According to the Turkish Civil Law, the Turkish Criminal Law, and the Child Protection Law, it is possible to find different definitions for the notion of child bride (Aktepe and Atay, 2017). There are different sorts of marriages, we can see in Turkish society; such as bride exchange, betrothed in the cradle, bride price marriage, blood money marriage, co-wife marriage and consanguineous marriage, might cause to get married in the early age (School, Heideger, and Belsky, 1994). To the contrary, religious marriage ceremony increases the occurrence of early marriages in many countries which is mainly rural areas (UN, 2000). When we look at the number in Turkey, the rate of people who do not have a legal marriage is 7.7%, and the rate of religious marriage is 7.4% in 2006 (Clark and Bruce, 2006). These numbers are most likely doubled today.

The studies and reports point out that the reasons for the child brides can be varied for each society. The issue of child marriage in Turkey, it has been put to the fore the following reasons in particular: "Education level, income rate, cultural values, religious commitment and values, environments and regions which determine the people's life" (Ozcebe and Bicer, 2013). The main obstacle for the determination of the actual number of early marriages is the unregistered marriages (Boran et al., 2013). Furthermore, the method for the collection of data is the other issue to determine the child brides number. In Turkey, early marriages usually take place in the form of religious marriages, which do not involve official marriage

ceremonies. Religious marriage happens before the age of 18, but they get legal marriage after child bride over 18 years old. In this case, they are never seen as early marriage, and it makes difficult to estimate how many child brides are in Turkey. It is the only way to determine these child brides if they have a birth in a hospital. Otherwise, they do not have a birth certificate for their children which means it is difficult to be aware of the child brides.

The most significant problem is usually encountered in marriages that are forced marriages. Apart from voluntary marriage, this situation tries to maintain their ties as the spouses in marriage relations have to be with each other (Ozguven, 2001: 284). Early marriages are mainly in the form of compulsory marriages forced by their parents (Kara, 2015).

Table 1: Women First Marriage Age in 2014.

First Marriage Age	Number	Percentage
12 years or less	1	0,1
13-15	148	16,9
16-17	283	32,3
18 or older	445	50,7
Total	877	100

Sources: The Turkey Statistical Institute, 2014.

According to the Turkey Statistical Institute (2014), the percentage of 16-17-year-old married girls is 6.7, and a total number of the marriages is 40428 in 2012 in Turkey. Turkey Demographic Health Survey 2013 (Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies, 2014) data; 41% of 25-49-year-old women show that they are married before the age of 20, 22% before the age of 18, and 4% before the 15th birthday. According to the results of sexual health and birth health studies in young people, 20.3% of marriages in the first half of 2011 in Turkey belong to 16-19 age group. In this study, it is also reported that 7.9% of births in 2010 are below 19 years old and 0.4% of these mothers are under the age of 15 (Ozcebe et al., 2007).

According to the family structure survey, the percentage of marriages under 18 years old in 2011 was 9.3% for female, and 0.2% for male (Uslu, 2011).

The table chart in blow shows that the top ten cities in Turkey have the highest marriage rate.

When we look the table chart that Bitlis has the fifth highest child marriage rate in Turkey. The cities in which close to Bitlis such as Van, Siirt, Mus have the high percentage of a child bride as well. The social, economic and cultural reasons which are common in these cities may have an impact on the child bride rate.

Table 2: Child Brides' Rates

The Cities	Rate
1. Kars	15,2
2. Agri	15,1
3. Mus	14,4
4. Nigde	13,7
5. Bitlis	12,7
6. Kahramanmaras	12,5
7. Aksaray	12,1
8. Gaziantep	11,8
9. Yozgat	11,5
10. Siirt	11,5
11. Van	11,4

Sources: The Turkey Statistical Institute, 2014

### 3. METHODOLOGY

The nature of this study required a qualitative research method, and for this reason, a semi-structured interview is chosen to collect all data. One of the main reason for selecting the qualitative method for this study is that being a victim of child bride needs to understand the personal feelings and each participant might have unique experiences. According to Denzin and Lincoln (2011: 3), "qualitative research [as] a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. Qualitative research consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible."

The main reason for using the semi-structured interview is that facilitates a conversational atmosphere. This method gives a chance to the interviewee to feel free to talk at length without being interrupted or guided by a certain agenda (Longhurst, 2003).

Qualitative research properly seeks answers to questions by examining various social settings and the individuals who inhabit these settings (Berg and Lune, 2011). Semi-structured interviews allowed the researcher to collect a range of information on the understanding of the main theme for research. The characteristics of semi-structured interviews are essential; (1) the interviewer and interviewee engage in a formal interview, (2) the interviewer develops and uses an interview guide. There is a list of questions and topics that need to be covered during the interview, and it is usually in a particular order. The researcher can prepare questions ahead of time, and this makes it easier to conduct the interview, (3) a semi-structured interview allows people to answer on their terms, views, values, and experiences (Cohen and Crabtree et al. 2006). While collecting the data process, the interviews were carried out face-to-face. The essential point for doing a face-to-face interview is that the researcher can explain complex questions to the interviewee, and the interviewer can control the

context (Seale, 2012). There is a chance that interview might go out of control, and it is possible to deviate the interview purpose. In order to keep the interviewee focused on the main themes, the interviewer might need to take control of the interview.

One of another crucial reason for the doing a semi-structured interview is that the researcher needs to ask open-ended questions. Open-ended questions allow the interviewees to answer without presented or implied choices (Lichtman, 2014). The researcher prepares an interview guide before the interview. Those questions are prepared before the interview, but also the researcher asks some more questions, depending on the interviewee's responses, and their experiences and memories. In this study, complete interviews were conducted between 55 and 65 minutes. The length of interview was rather long to understand the whole research. The main point is to make extended interview is that the main topic, which is a child bride, is a sophisticated term and need to deep understanding to collect reliable data.

All in all, the study has been done with 13 participants. The research universe consists of women living in the centre of Bitlis, who are a child bride. In this context, using the snowball sampling model, 13 female participants who had experience of child bride experience, both subject and object of this subject, were interviewed in Bitlis centre. This social problem was analysed in different ways by classifying the collected data. Finally, some suggestions have been made to resolve this social problem.

#### 3.1. Data

First of all, the researcher asked the questions about demographic information such as date of birth, place of birth, education, parents' education background, job, marital status, and so on. The table chart in below shows that the all demographic information about the participants.

Table 3: Demographic Information of interviews

Participant Number	Age	Marital Status	Age difference with husband	Age when she got married	First child	How many children	How many sisters and brothers
1	38	M	15	14	17	4	9

2	44	M	15	12	13	10	10
3	60	Religious	30	14	15	6	10
4	70	M	3	13	14	5	6
5	50	M	2	14	14	6	7
6	24	M	10	15	20	2	7
7	60	Religious	10	16	17	12	5
8	48	M	10	16	17	5	12
9	70	M	12	15	17	10	8
10	26	M	9	16	18	3	4
11	46	M	10	17	18	4	10
12	52	Religious	12	16	17	7	10
13	28	M	7	17	18	3	8

It can be concluded from the table chart that a total number of interviewees is 13. The age ranges of participants from 24 to 70. Bitlis is the hometown of all of the participants. Three of them have only religious married. They are not married officially which their marital status is single on their identity card. They do not have a legal right to have their husband benefits such as social security, retirement benefits, and healthcare and so on. The youngest child bride got married when she was 12 years old. Also, the most youthful child bride had become the youngest mother when she had her child in 13 years old. And the most significant age difference between husband and child bride is 30 years. The last of all, interview number 7 had the most children, she is the mother of twelve children. These interviewers who had the experience of child bride did not graduate from high school or university level. Undoubtedly, this shows the importance of education in this regard.

### 3.2. Results and Findings

Face to face interviews was conducted with 13 participants according to the age, education and marital status of the selected child brides. The data collected in these interviews were analysed by the thematic content analysis method. The concept of family, social role and education were defined as the main theme of the study by the thematic content analysis method.

According to the results obtained from the collected data, marriages made at an early age, which the most critical part is child brides in this

marriage, have to set up a family and keep this family in an age when they need a family. They are under a responsibility to be able to meet the needs of the child and his partner while the mother is a child herself and cannot even meet her own needs. While they cannot also answer what the concept of the family means, they have to deal with the responsibilities that they cannot afford to build up and become like mothers. The "spouse" social roles that child brides are not biologically, physically, and emotionally ready is to cause trauma to child brides at an early age. This leads to a failure to fulfil the basic functions of the family institution and, at the very least, to a complexity in the perception of social roles. Regarding this situation, the interview number 1 explains that:

*"I was married at age 16. I was forced to marry; I was a child when I got married. After one year, I had my baby; then, I became a mother. I was coming to my mother every weekend for the first three years of my marriage. I cried a lot every time.*

Another participant interview number 2 tells us that the perception of family and marriage does not occur:

*"I did not know what marriage is when I was married. I did not know what the family was like. I got married, and my husband's parents put us in a room. The first day, I was sleeping, then I realised that I was in a different place when I woke up and I was so scared that my mother would beat me because she could not find me at home. Then I took my shoes, and I walked to the door to go back to my home. My husband told me that "Where are*

*you going?" I said, "I am going home?" He said "I spoke to your mother, she wanted to you stay here. She knew the situation." I was just a child then I realised that he fooled me that day."*

Early marriages have a significant impact on the understanding of social roles. Mainly, girls who marry in childhood are not even able to take responsibility for their own lives but have to take the responsibility of their children and their spouses. Child brides become a mother and spouse when they need the mother-father figure in their life. This causes to lack of solidarity and becomes meaningless the understanding of family. Furthermore, it has caused the parenting role to fail to understand what it is. In order to understand how child brides, understand the family, the interview number 1 made statements about family and marriage as follows:

*"I was both a mother and a father, and I had to be both at the age of 16. I tried to do everything for my children. I was alone whole my life. I was doing house works at home; I was taking care of my children as well. The notion of the family does not mean anything because I married at an early age. I am 38 years old, but I am still telling my mother that I am going to go back to my home one day."*

Interview number 4 explains how the institution of family is destroyed by her early marriage and how her understanding of family has been changed due to the early marriage:

*"What the early marriage is that you do not know your children's' birthday, you do not know how to look after your children; you do not know how to raise them. You do not know even yourself. I started to understand what the marriage is after I had my fifth or sixth child."*

Another aspect of early marriages is polygamy. The perception of social role in polygamy families can change completely. For example, life with the co-wife and the children's understanding of mother cause the social roles in the family to become complicated. The interview number 3, who married at the age of 15, describes this situation as follows:

*"When I got married, my husband was 30 years older than me. I saw him first time during our religious marriage, I have never seen him before ... I did not have an official marriage ... When my husband's relatives came to take me, I thought I would come back to my house. My husband's first wife does not have a baby that is why my husband*

*got married me. Due to I have not got an official marriage record, all my children are seen as children of my concubine, and this is what has made me the most distressed throughout my life. Co-wife had forced my children to call me as an elder sister. My children called her as a mother. Even today, my elder daughter called me a sister."*

All of the participants interviewed within the scope of the survey oppose to early marriage. They teach their children do not live the same negative experiences. This situation increased the level of solidarity inside the family. Also, child brides show more interest in their children. The interview number 11 on this issue made the following explanation:

*"I will never let my daughter get married before the age of 18. The reason for early marriage is ignorance. I would have been more courageous if I went to school. I resisted more not to get married."*

In some cases, child bride experiences cause to change all positive perceptions about marriage. The marriage does not mean anything other than negative memories. The interview number 5, which was forced to marry at the age of 14, and she is the mother of seven states that:

*"I tell all the girls that never get married at a young age. Marriage is not a good thing. When I hear about marriage come to mind, all the bad memories I have ever had."*

Early marriage can cause physiological problems that can negatively affect child brides throughout their lives. Reports from the United Nations on early marriage or child brides reveal that women, who are married under 18, have a high rate of domestic violence exposure. Violence also has a wide range of dimensions such as physical, sexual, emotional, social, economic, and so on. The interview number 2 who got married at the age of 12 and the mother of ten explains this situation as follows:

*"My life is tough now; I get psychological help to overcome my problems. I thought that I would commit suicide many times, but I could not do it because I thought about my children. I cannot leave them alone."*

Another participant, Interview number 1, states the difficulties she is experiencing now:

*"I have always been alone because my husband is not at home. I have constantly been subjected to physical and verbal violence from the day I got*

*married. Furthermore, there were insult and hunger all the time. He is sick now. I am taking care of him, but he is still trying to throw me out of the house. He never treats me as a people; he treats me like an animal all his life."*

Violence which child brides experienced might come not only from their husband but also from other family members in some cases. For example, child brides might have been experienced violence by a father in law, mother in law or co-wife. The interview number 3 states what she lived as follows:

*"Co-wife was very bad at me, constantly violent, my husband was married to me because co-wife did not have a child, and when my husband was not home, my concubine sometimes used violence against me. Moreover, she manipulated my husband to beat me or use some verbal violence to me. I never say anything about physical violence to anybody. I had my first child after one year when I got married. My child was the only reason to say nothing about the violence because I wanted to stay with my child. I did not want to be far from her."*

In some cases, the violence which child brides are experienced can also be a dimension of previous family life before getting married. Some of the child brides' mothers are also experienced the same violence. Some of them were being raised seeing their mother's experienced the violence. This makes them think the violence is normal human behaviour. About this situation, interview number 7 explains that:

*"My mom had lived what I have lived when I get married. My father used physical and verbal violence against my mother. That is why I never feel to be part of the family before I got married. Sometimes, I would like to have a place or people to share my problems but there is no such place, and there are no such people in my life."*

Another participant points out the violence that she experienced after she got married:

*"I was forced to marry at the age of 12. My uncle got married to my husband's sister without her parent's permission. Exchange of their daughter, my parents forced me to get married to my husband. If I did not get married, they would kill my uncle. My husband parents were so angry about their daughter that is why they reflected all anger to me. I had my first birth when I was 13 years old."*

*I was a child myself, but I suddenly became a mother."*

In poorly financed families, girls are forced to marry at an early age due to the socio-economic and cultural structure of the region in which they live. The fact that women are seen as honorary objects in particular cases. The parents worry about them that their children may make some bad chooses. This causes that parents want their children to get married at a young age. The interview number 4, who is married at the age of 13, explains as follows:

*"At the age of 13, my mother and my uncle forced me to marry, and nobody asked me anything ... My father died when I was three years old. My mother was raising my sisters and me as a single parent. They were afraid of us to be a bad girl that are why. They wanted me to get married at a young age. I did not say anything about my marriage decision. I can only accept the situation."*

#### 4. CONCLUSION

It starts with the family that is the smallest form of social cohesion or community of social roles conveyed through generations of cultures through social interaction processes. The family institution is also the place where the members who come to the world during the gathering and learn all the information about the community and the community. In this context, the smallest changes in the family institution affect all other institutions that keep the society alive, and in some cases may cause the society/community to collapse. Whatever their social origins, the fact that women and men are married through marriage means that they are partners, an essential social role in their own lives and that they undertake social roles of husband and wife.

Child brides profoundly affecting not only the institution of the family as a basic social structure in many parts of the world and Turkey is not a social problem that transforms him. The family institution is laid with the foundation of marriage. The most basic task of married individuals is to teach their new members (children) their values, norms and culture. This primary function of the family institution is vital for the functioning and continuity of the other institutions of the society. The family institution is the smallest component of society with the most straightforward definition, and the place where the new members joining the community are part of the community. The family



institution first begins with two individuals becoming married and husband and wife, and the child or children participate the family in the process, and the family is completed. Whether the first members, i.e., their spouses, are ready for family awareness and family building depends on how the family will be in the ongoing process and whether they can fulfil their primary functions.

In the scope of the research, the effects of child brides (early marriages) and family institutions were discussed. The data obtained from the interviews were analysed using the thematic content analysis method, and the primary themes were determined. The data collected from the themes are listed, and the results are obtained depending on the demographic characteristics. According to the study, the distribution of Turkey's provincial child bride is the fifth most provinces until the overall data collected in Bitlis makes sense to be made more significant regarding feasibility. Mus province, which neighbours Turkey closer to its geographical position is a ranking of three and Van them.

As a result of the collected data and analysis, the child brides who had to take the role of femininity or motherhood in social life in social life were affected by this situation in many different ways. The emotional and psychological destruction that first lived was influential throughout their lives. Some participants stated that there is no sense of life for themselves and that they think that they should not commit suicide without a participant child. This negative effect of early marriages is not limited to the child brides themselves. This negative effect within the smallest component of the society is also influential on both the partner and the children. These individuals who are married in childhood are still mothers in childhood. In this case, too, they cannot fulfil the role of motherhood towards their children (Anik and Barlin, 2017). The violence which occurs inside the family is the social dimension of violence has recently begun to focus more on biological, psychological or socio-economic factors (Gunes, 2016).

As it can be seen from the data gathered within the scope of the research, the vast majority of child brides who get married at an early age are experienced to domestic violence. Domestic violence can emerge in different forms. In some cases, violence might also come from other family members. It is emotional violence that lives in one of the most critical dimensions of domestic

violence. Child brides who have a religious married do not have a legal marriage, so there is no bond between them, and they may have to be distanced even from their children.

Educational institution emerges as the most fundamental solution to the problem of children brides. All of the participants interpret this situation entirely as ignorance or lack of education. The educational problem underlying a large part of the social issues, especially in early marriages and children's brides, Education should not only be limited to children, but also parents' education should be given importance. Particularly in the regions where families with low-income groups such as Bitlis live in the areas where the NGOs and Religious staff direct their parents, it will be instrumental in decreasing the number of child brides. Some participants, especially those who pointed to such directions, said that some of the children in the ending circles survived marriage.

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