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**Quantitative Research Based Upon the Identical
Development of the People with Turkish Origins who
Live in Germany (Example of Berlin)**

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Abstract. Immigration movement from Turkey, which began with Labor Migration Agreement which was signed in the year of 1961 between Turkey and Federal Republic of Germany and still continued today, is accompanied by many important factors which shape and change both countries' nation in the international area. This study brings forward important features of family identity within the development processes of the Turkish origin people who have lived in Germany for more than half century.¹This study, which summarizes the data of field research conducted in Berlin, presents the identical development direction with comparisons among the age groups. The most important finding which depends on the research data is the fact that Turkish culture, values, norms and Islam religion are important factors on identical developments of the third generation youths who live in Berlin while religion factor has decreasing importance and common culture of Turkish and German and values have increasing importance for the first and second generations.



Keywords. Turkish identity, Turkish people in Germany, immigration identity, family identity, Turkish people in Berlin.

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1. Introduction

Identity" concept has no universally accepted meaning and gets different meanings based on the concept in which it is used. Identity, which indicates roles and status about politics, religion, family, professional and social, includes all the distinguished characteristics which makes someone remarkable (Güvenç, 2008, 3), and with its most basic descriptions, it is answer or answers that people, groups, nation or communities give for the questions of "who are you, who are you stemming from?" (Köseoğlu, 1995, 43).

According to psychoanalyst Erik Erikson, identity, which is in continuous improvement, is a result of mutual communication and interaction of individual's internal and external worlds. Here, the point is synthesis and adaption of individual's identity and identity and ideals of the group in which the individual belongs to. It is a consequence of desire to behave consciously and at the same time the desire of getting accepted as a part of the group in which the individual belongs to (Erikson, 1973, 124). This feature of the identity caused its conceptual description to include moral qualities additionally to only observable material properties, too. In this concept, according to Bostanci, identity is the sum of the qualities which depict our living philosophy like our collective sense of belonging

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that we attend, our desires, our dreams, and the ways of presenting ourselves (Bostancı, 2003, 6-7).

Two approaches, which are named as subjective and objective, are importance on the subject of how the identity occurs:

According to subjective approach, identity is a real self (essence) which has been consistent and subject to a little change during the life. This perspective is criticised as not an accurate approach about identity building due to the fact that it ignores the external environment and improvements as paying attention to especially organisms' internal structures (Aşkın & Muhittin, 2007, 214).

According to objective approach, identity is completeness, consistency and continuity which is created by the mutual interaction and communication with external environment addition to organisms' internal Dynamics (Marshall, 2000, 9-12). All the communities' have their identity repertuar through their own cultural and social values and eddicates the memebers according to acceptance of this objective identity. Individuals internalize this objective identity by subjectifying while the individuals of the community develop. Therefore, a subjective identity is being built addition to social (objective) identity. However, subjective identity is effective only when objective identity exists. It is hardly ever to say that subjective identity can be built, developed and survived without objective identity (Kuşat, 2003, 48).

In this study, it is accepted that identity is created through socio-cultural environment as not only individual but also social thought system. Personality's development process continues during the individual's entire life as parallel to social life. From this perspective, it could be claimed that there is an area in which behavior patterns are created and social factors have been continuously processed in the essence of the personality. The perception of ego is ocured through observation and reflection. Individual sees himself with others' eyes and percieves his personality through their reaction, attitudes and behaviour, so that a certain identity is created by the individual as interpreting all these factors. Furthermore, we can think the role or identity as "[deliberate] meanings which a person instal to the ego as an object in a social occasion or social role" (Türkkan, 2011, 13). The identity which is consisted of social indicators (religion, nation, family, social class, profession, education... etc.) is subject to differences due to the fact that these indicators are different from person to person (Sözen, 1999, 112).

An identity development is happened through individual's percieve and evaluates not only himself but also his environment. In other words, identity of a person is emerged through his way of percieving himself (Identification: Who am I?), him to percieve the way of others see him (Identifying: How others see me?) and him to evaluate both of this continuously. Social network, material environment and conditions, values consist the milestones of the identity in the process which continue during the life (Petzold, 1993, 530).

Klaus Hoffmann brings out the importance of concordance and conflict of the material and spiritual elements and the humanitorean environment in which social relations are created in the identity development. The factors which consist the humanitorean environment like family, relatives, friends, and acquaintances have desicive effects on the changes' and developments' speed and intensity. Individual has an active role with the concious and independant behaviours which he does in both environments in this development process (Hoffmann, 1990, 21-25).

The family description which is made by Önal Sayın (1990) focuses on the desicive degree of the family on identity building and development:

“Family is a social unit which sustains the human specycontinuet through biological relations, and have biological, psychological,

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economical, communal, legal aspects which transfers the material and non material wealth which is created in the society from generation to next generation till the day in which specified rules are agreed for mutual relations and the first socialization process had been launched” (Saym, 1990, 2)

Turkish family structure, which lives in Germany, had changed in important degree since the beginning between Turkey and Federal Republic of Germany. The most basic indicator of this is that the Turkish origin families consist of not only a man but also a man with his wife and children unlike the first years of the immigration movements.

Overall population of Turkish origin people within the county is about 3.5 million (Berlin and Brandenburg Statistic Institution, Zesus; 2010). Half of these people (1 575 717) also have German citizenship based in the records in 2012. The increased young population (There are 1.87 children per woman) and immigration that continue every year give the signals of these population will go on increasing much more. This increasing population offers not only commercial, economic, politic and humankind developments in international arena but also brings social developments and changes for both countries one by one and as a unity, too.

These multi directed developments and changes have directly and indirectly effects on immigrant families from life styles to education status, from working lives to cultural and religious perceptives. These factors have important effects on not only personal and family structure and concepts but also family identity development and changes. This effect can come true directly or indirectly stemming from Turkey and Germany (Uzun, 1993, 56).

Culture has two directed effect on family identity development for Turkish origin immigrant nation: Immigrants make effort for adapting the culture which belongs to majority to which the immigrant are trying to enter and they want to preserve their origin culture that are brought together and to sustain the family identity in which their origin culture does exist (Czock, 1988, 77). The main question of this study is to indicate to which point the immigrant nations’ identity development goes from those two edges.

The purpose of this study indicates the identity development of Turkish origin population which survives in Federal Germany Republic through the perspective of culture, religious/ societal values, the roles and freedom of women, sexual education and freedom in a family.

With the findings at hand, an answer is given to the question of whether the Turkish origin people in Germany see themselves as a part of German nation after 50 year-immigration history. From this perspective, the study has qualifications to direct the adaptation studies for the on-going studies of Turkish origin population and potential studies in the field.

In the literature, there are many studies about Turkish origin people’s adaptation problems to Germany, unemployment problems (Sezer & Dağlar, 2009; Kezer, 2012, Yakut & Reich, 1986), education levels (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1991; Toprak, 2004; Gölbol, 2007), adaptation to the country (Martin, 1991; Schwarz 2009; Yurdakul, 2010) through religious and social developments perceptives (Karasan, 1980; Schultz, 2001; Sachman, 2001; Rechlin, 2006; Weiher, 2009). However, there is not any study about identity development of this population which is conducted in the area of social psychology. This study has importance due to serve filling this gap.

2. Research Methods and Methodology

Fully structured multiple-choice questionnaire technique from survey researching methods was utilized in order to achieve the most accurate and representative information about Turkish origin population including four generations who has different material and nonmaterial life styles. The questions in the research are directly related to the family living.

In coverage of the research, 224 Turkish origin people are selected with simple random method. This sample is a sample type in which all the items in the universe has the same and equal chance to be selected according to Karasar (Karasar, 2006, 113).

In the universe, each item type's entering into the sample group is solidly based on the chance in this type of sampling. Generally, written anonymous questionnaire method was utilized because the survey questions are about the respondents' personal private lives and it is aimed to compare the answers with the multiple choice structured-survey questions.

In taking sampling approach for this research, findings were gathered instantly and the sampling were divided into age groups which are considered as indicating different development and growth phases. Therefore, it is assumed that continuity of development is sustained through the gathered result as if they are taken from the same group (Karasar, 2013, 80). Survey respondents are divided into 4 different age groups as 15-25, 26-35, 36-45 ve 46-70²

Survey form is consisted of 28 closed ended questions which are focusing on the family living and they are stemmed from these 5 emphasis points:³

- General Information (Age, Gender, Marital Status, Family Form)
- Origin, and majority culture, religious and societal values and sources (honor, self-respect and respect...etc.)
- The effects of religion over children education, marriage with someone who believes another religion, selection of marriage type (religious/ legal)
- Equality between women and men, women contribution to working life, right to take higher education and freedom of dress
- Sexual Freedom before marriage, children's sex education, observable behaviours of the parents which may affect the children's sexuality

The sample group is consisted of 224 people who describe themselves as Turkish and have lived in Berlin for at least 5 years⁴. In the sample, 55% of them are women and 43% of them are men. Respondants' 60% living in small, 30% living in big and 8% living in a family with one parent (only mother or father)⁵. Furthermore, respondents' 72% describe as faithful, 14% as atheist and 13% as religious. Of those who describe themselves as religious and faithful, 64% accept Sunnism, 14% Alevism and 2% Shi'ism sects. Those who do not regard themselves in any sects are the rate of 21%.

The most important findings of the research can be summarized under four main title: Culture and Societal Values, The Role of Islam Religion, Women Right and Freedom, Sexual Education and Freedom.

3. Culture and Societal Values

The research results of the effects of culture and societal values over identity development could be listed as follows:⁶

- a) Majority of young population regard themselves as having Turkish culture and old population regard themselves as having Turkish-German common culture or only in German culture: 64% of the respondents within 15-25 age group feel themselves belong to Turkish culture, 33% of them (the smallest rate comparing to all age groups⁷) feel themselves belong to Turkish-German common culture and 3%

of them regard themselves only to German culture. On the other hand, the smallest rate of accepting the Turkish culture with 44%, accepting the Turkish-German common culture with 49% and the biggest rate of accepting only the German culture with 7% is taking place in the oldest age group which is 46-70 age group.⁸

Generally speaking, 59% of the sample group accept Turkish culture and 38% of them accept Turkish-German common culture as their own culture. The rest rate, 3% perceive themselves in only German culture.

b) The tendency over citizenship culture is emerged when taking the base of individuals' citizenship: 70% of the people who has Turkish citizenship feel themselves within Turkish culture, 58% of the people who has German citizenship feel themselves within German culture and 72% of the people who has dual citizenship feel themselves within Turkish-German common culture. This finding put forward the relationship between individuals' citizenship and in which culture they are perceiving themselves.⁹

c) Honor is the most important value according to young group (15-25 age group):¹⁰ When the age groups are compared, the majority of 15-25 age group (44%) and 46-70 age group (29%) received honor as the most important value. Respect¹¹ is the second most important value in both age groups with %18, % 24 rates and in the other age group, the majority of 26-35 age group (28%) and 36-45 age group (32%) respect is the most important value.

Two out of three of the sample group accepts that honor, self-respect and respect are the values that have effects to unify the family and 68% of them have the discipline that people should behave according to those values.¹²

d) Young population believes that men must be responsible of preserve the family honor:¹³ However in generally, the majority of the sample group (65%) claim that all the members of the family must have equal responsibilities to preserve the family honor.¹⁴ Moreover, when compared the age groups, the rates of respondents who make men hold duties¹⁵ to preserve the family honor in 15-25 age group is 21% and this rate is biggest among the other age groups.¹⁶ Furthermore, in the oldest age group (46-60) those who give this responsibility to men is 10% and to women is 2%.¹⁷

Young people see Islam Religion as societal (honor, self-respect, respect) values sources:¹⁸ When analyzing the sample group as a whole, majority of the respondents accept that each of three factors (Culture, Religion, Tradition) is equally source of societal values (43%). Those who see Islam religion as sources of the values like honor, self-respect, respect is occurring the biggest rate with 23% in 15-25 age group and the oldest age group (46-70) has the smallest rate with 7%.

4. The Role of Islam Religion

The effects of Islam Religion over family identity can be summarized as follows:¹⁹

a) Comparison to first and second generation, Islam religion has more dominant effect for young population: Generally, majority of the respondents are described as faithful in all the age groups with 72%. While making a comparison among the age groups, it is gaining attention that in young age group (15-25) respondents describe themselves as religious with the highest rate (23%).

b) This rate is nearly double comparison to the age groups of 26-35 and 36-45 (12%), and nearly 5 times more with 5% if we compare with the age group of 46-70. Those who describe themselves as atheist is 3% in 15-25 age group, 12% in 26-35 age group, 18% in 36-45 age group and 20% in 46-70. As age groups are getting older, this rate is also increasing parallelly. (This rate is nearly 7 times more comparing to the youngest age group.)²⁰

c) Older population support marriage with a person who believes in a different religion.²¹: The rate of people who support their children to marry with a person who believe in a different religion (other than Islam) is the highest level with 71% in the oldest age group and the smallest rate with 41% is found at in the youngest age group (15-25).

When reviewing the sample group respondents as a whole, 53% of the respondents say that it is normal for their children to marry with a person who is from another religion and 26% of them say taht they will not accept this situation and 21% of them is indecisive.

d) Young population desire to educate their children as a good Muslim:²² They constitute the majority of the group which have desire to educate their children as a good Muslim in all the age groups. This rate reflects 54% of the entire sample group. The important findings are emerged in the youngest (15-25) and the oldest (46-60) age groups. As follows: Among the all age groups, with 69% (the biggest rate) of the young populaton in the 15-25 age groups take duties of giving religion education to their children which they desire them to be a good Muslim people while the oldest age group (46-60) this rate reflects the smallest one (41%).

Another important point is the rate of the people who claim that they will give their children freedom on religion selection is the biggest one with 41% in the oldest age group which is 46-60 and the smallest value with 15% in the youngest age group which is 15-25.²³

e) The illegal mariages are not received as important:²⁴ Those who believe that religious marriage is a must with the legal marriage are consisting of the majority in the youngest age group with the rate of 85%. This rate is almost the doubled value of those who carry the same believed in the oldest age group with 41%. Additionally, the majority of the oldest populations (51%) prefer only legal marriage while in the youngest age group give us the smallest value compared to all the age groups with 13%. Here another important finding is that 3% of the sample group prefer only religion marriage. These rates create the result that only religion marriage²⁵ is not accepted among all the age groups.

5. Women Right and Freedom

One of the most important factors in identity development within family structure is valuing women, as well. Within this framework, the studies related to women and men equality, women's role in family and their freedom can be summarized as follows:

a) Women and men should be equal in all aspects:²⁶ This is also supported by the majority of sampling group with 94%. In the oldest age group (46-60) this rate is the highest value (98%) comparing all the aother age groups and in the youngest age group (15-25) this rate holds the smallest value with 72% so that this rate difference is explained through age groups' own differences.²⁷

b) There is no one paterfamilias, father and mother are mutually head of families:²⁸ Generally, 72% of sampling group is accepting mutual head of family concept. When comparing the age groups, 46-70 age group is about the highest rate with 78%. As ages are decreasing (76% in 36-45 age group and 67% in 26-35 age group), the rate is also decreasing. Therefore, in the youngest age group this rate is the smallest value with 64%. As the opposite way, 23% of the youngest age group (the highest value as comparing with the other age groups) thinks that only father should be head of family.²⁹ Those who support the idea that only father can be head of family is found as the smallest vale with 10% in the oldest age group (46-70).

c) Women's academic career should be supported:³⁰ The majority of sampling group agrees on this concept (%94). When the rates are compared among the age groups, the results can be found as follows; 95% in 15-25 age group, 91% in 26-35 age group, 96% in 36-45 age group and 93% in 46-70 age group.

d) Women's apparel is their own privacy, so that ideas of others about this subject do not have any kind of importance.³¹ The majority of sampling group with 57% supports this idea. When we compare among the age groups, the rate of those who think that women's environment's ideas on her apparel has a decisive importance is 22% as the highest value in the youngest age group (15-25) and this rate is smallest with 6% in the oldest age group.

6. Sexual Education and Freedom

The study results about having sex before marriage, children's sexual education and role model of mother and father in a family in the concept of identity development depending on sexuality can be listed as follows:

a) Older age groups have more freedom ideas about women's right of having sex before marriage by comparing the younger age groups: The rate³² of those who agree women's freedom to have sex before marriage is 51% in the oldest age group (46-70) and this rate reflect the smallest value with 15% in the youngest age group (15-25).

b) Older age groups have more freedom ideas about men's right of having sex before marriage by comparing the younger age groups: 31% of the youngest age group (15-25) give freedom to men to have sex before marriage, on the other hand this rate reflects the smallest value among the other age groups. However, nearly three out of four (73%) in the oldest age group (46-70) give the related rights to men. This rate reflects the highest value among the other age groups.³³

c) Parents are responsible of sexual education of children: 85% of the youngest age group (15-25), 91% of the 26-35 age group, 93% of the 36-5 age group and 93% of the 46-70 age group declare that parents responsibility over children sexual education based upon the asked survey question.

d) As opposed to older age groups, younger age groups evaluate the romantic and sexuality evocating behaviours when spending time with children as inappropriate:³⁴ the rate of those who think that those behaviours of mother and family as normal reflect the highest (63%) in the oldest age group (46-70) and the smallest value (46%) in the youngest age group (15-25).

7. Conclusion

This study results that Turkish origin people who live in Berlin do not have a homogenous structure and they build identity development in different directions. Although the majority of the younger age groups were born and raised in Germany, they depend highly on Turkish culture, societal values and Islam religion's effect on the family identity development.³⁵ The opposite cases are observed in the first and second generations. The first and the second generations give lower importance to origin culture and values (honor, self-respect and respect) and Turkish culture when they adopt highly German and Turkish common culture and values.

This result creates a new discussion question: What is the reason of young population as different than the first and second generations give importance to origin culture and values rather than the culture and values of the community in which they were born and raised? The hypothesis about this question's answer requires new researches with relational screening model as continue to this study. Some factors like discrimination and exclusion (Bruhns, 2006, 17), victimization

(Rothermund, 2009, 12), the right in which they live, sense of belonging, prejudice over Islam religion in a country in which they live, searching for a new identity can be investigated as the higher values which can affect the results.

Herein this study, this study can give comparison opportunity to other studies which would be conducted within other states and can be a guide for other studies which would be conducted in Berlin for following up the developments.³⁶

Endnotes

¹The detailed information about the subject could be found on the doctoral thesis which is named as “Turkish Families’ Identical Developments in Berlin in the 50th year of the Immigration” which is completed within the supervisory of Prof. Dr. Peter Heine from Berlin Humboldt University. Özdemir, Leyla: Die Identitätsentwicklung der türkischen Familien in Berlin. Im 50. Einwanderungsjahr, 2013, Hamburg.

²46-60 and 61-70 age groups are combined into 46-70 age group in this study due to the fact that the respondents of these age group are relatively small with parallel to general population, so that reflecting truly study research area is aimed.

³The questionnaire form which is utilized during the research, is attached at the end of this study.

⁴Berlin is selected for this field research because it is a city which Turkish population is the highest level among the other cities in Germany. When the rates of foreign people over cities is taken into account, Berlin has the feature of having the most level foreign people with 457 806 foreign people living in Berlin (the rate of foreign people to total population is 14%). In Berlin that has 177 000 Turkish origin people, 40% of them entered to German citizenship. Berlin&Brandenburg Statistic Institution Report (AI5-hj1/10): Meldebericht registrierte Einwohner im Land Berlin am 30. June 2010, Berlin&Brandenburg Statistic Institution Publishing.

⁵While 2% of the sample group did not give information about gender, 4% did not give information about citizenship and 2% of them did not give information about family type.

⁶Survey question: Do the values like honor, self-respect and respect contribute the unity of the family institution, what do you think? a) Yes, It contributes b) No c) I do not know.

⁷This ratio has emerged as 40% in 26-35 age group and 35% in 36-45 age group.

⁸Those who believe themselves in only German culture as compared to other age groups, the smallest rates are found in 36-45 age group with 1% and in 26-35 age group with 2%.

⁹This result has brought another question as whether citizenship causes the cultural tendency or a specified cultural tendency affect the citizenship selection. The answer for this question requires new researches which enable the causality relationship as the continue of this subject.

¹⁰Survey question: Which values below is the most important? Please indicate only one option: a) Honor b) Self-Respect c) Respect d) Another Value (...)

¹¹The respect, which is mentioned in this question, indicates some traditional behaviour types like kissing the hands of older people or not smoking next to them.

¹²These rates are distributed to other age groups as: 85% in 15-25 age group, 64% in 26-35 age group, 66% in 36-45 age group and 63% in 46-70 age group.

¹³Survey question: Who is responsible of preserving the family honor, What do you think? a) Men b) Women c) Both in a family d) I do not accept the “Family Honor” concept.

¹⁴20% of the sample group responded as they do not accept the family honor concept, 8% of them responded as men is responsible and 5% of them responded as women is responsible.

¹⁵8% of respondents in 15-25 age group see women as responsible and 59% of them see all the members in a family responsible of the family honor. And 10% of them do not accept the concept, on the other hand they adopt the individual honor instead of family.

¹⁶This rate is 7% in 26-35 age group, 4% in 36-45 age group and 10% in 46-70 age group.

¹⁷73% of this age group see all the members in a family responsible of family honor preserving and 15% of them do not accept the family honor concept. (Opposing the

- family honor means all the individuals are responsible of their own behavior and honor, so that their own behaviour and attitudes do not affect other's honor negatively.
- ¹⁸ Survey question: Which can be the sources of these values from the above options? a) Islam b) Traditions c) Culture d) All of the above
- ¹⁹ Survey question: How do you evaluate your religion believes? a) Religious b) Faithful c) Atheist
- ²⁰ The rate of those who described themselves as atheist is 12% in 26-35 age group and 18% in 36-45 age group.
- ²¹ Survey question: Which of the cultures do you believe that have dominant effects on your family values and norms? a) Turkish b) German c) Turkish-German common culture
- ²² Survey question: Which of the below methods do you implement for your child's religion education? a) I try to raise my child as a good Muslim. b) I send him/ her to mosque in order him/ her to get a good religion education. c) I give him/ her freedom on religion education, I do not prefer affecting him/her.
- ²³ This rate is 36% in 26-35 age group while 34% in 36-45 age group.
- ²⁴ Survey question: With which of the marriage type did you marry or prefer marrying? a) Religion marriage b) Legal marriage c) Both of them.
- ²⁵ Religion marriage is accepted as a civil contract in Islam as opposed to it is implemented as a ritual in Christianity. However, marriage is a concept which is used in Koran describing as a unity between Allah and his servants (P. Heine ve I.Heine, 1993, s. 38).
- ²⁶ Survey question: Do you think whether women and men should be equal in all aspects in the society? a) Yes, they should be totally equal b) No, they cannot be totally equal.
- ²⁷ This rate is 93% in 26-35 age group and 88% in 36-45 age group.
- ²⁸ Survey question: Who should be the head of family? a) Men b) Women c) The one who has the authority c) Mutually men and women
- ²⁹ One of the most important points is that, the rate of those who think that only women should be the head of family has the highest value with 8% in the youngest group. This rate is 3% in 26-35 age group, 1% in 36-45 age group and 2% in 46-70 age group.
- ³⁰ Survey question: What do you think about women's higher education rights? a) They do not need higher education because their husbands will make their livings. b) Women should be supported on the higher education..
- ³¹ Survey Question: Should women pay attention to ideas of others about her apparels? a) Others' ideas are important so that women should wear as paying attention to their ideas. b) Others' ideas' importance are subject to change based on the women's living environment whether she lives in urban or rural area. c) Apparel is one's privacy so others' ideas do not have any importance.
- ³² This rate is 40% in 26-35 age group and 39% in 36-45 age group.
- ³³ This rate is 67% in 26-35 age group and 54% in 36-45 age group.
- ³⁴ Survey Question: Do you accept that the sexual behaviors like mother and father kissing each other while having time with their children as appropriate or not? a) Not appropriate b) Appropriate
- ³⁵ Young population is having identity development through different directions as compared to the first and the second generations (and especially comparing with the oldest age group) because due to the fact that the 64% of the youngest age group (15-25) feel themselves as belonging to Turkish culture, 23% of them describe themselves as religious people, 44% of them pay attention to honor as the most important value, 21% of them see men as the family honor protector (and the main responsible member in a family), 23% of them grant Islam as communal values' main sources (as honor, self-respect and respect), 54% of them want to raise their children as a good Muslim, 69% of them do not consent men can have sex before marriage, 23% of them do not accept to marry with a person who believes another religion, 49% of them do not accept as a good behavior that mother and father can get intimate relations with their children.
- ³⁶ The mostly recurrent and the most obvious difference is emerged between the youngest (15-25) and the oldest (46-60) population while analyzing the survey results. Moreover the other age groups reflect scale and inconsistent values that do not present a certain direction. Therefore the youngest age group (15-25) and the oldest age group (26-45) is compared throughout the study.

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