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Traditionality, Modernity, and Household Composition: Parent-Child Coresidence in Contemporary Turkey

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Abstract

We investigate the patterns and correlates of currently married adult children's coresidence with their parents in Turkey, using data from the 1993 Turkish Demographic and Health Survey. We are particularly interested in "traditional" patterns of coresidence—that is, coresidence with one or both of the husband's parents—and the effects of variables measuring traditionality at the individual and contextual levels on coresidence with any parent, and with the husband's parents. The results indicate that coresidence among currently married children is not the norm. However, the odds of coresidence with the husband's parents, given that a couple coresides with any parent, are very high. In addition, we find substantial effects of traditionality measures on coresidence especially with the husband's parents. Continued economic development, and the social changes that accompany it, can be expected to reduce the prevalence of parent-child coresidence in Turkey.

1. Introduction

While the family is universally regarded as a primary social institution, its role as a social support unit remains more important in developing countries than in developed Western nations, due to several factors including differences in cultural values (Logan, Bian, and Bian 1998). Hajnal's (1982) classic work provides a discussion of the importance of such differences in household formation systems by "comparing modes of behavior that result in the formation of households of various kinds" (p. 449). In this context, structural changes (e.g., urbanization, changing mix of agricultural and industrial employment) and changes in individual characteristics (e.g., increased levels of education particularly for women) that underlie the modernization process, and the economic development that accompanies this process, have been considered important in altering value systems. The extent to which these changes have affected the family, and household formation and organization, has been of particular interest. Chevan and Korson (1975), for instance, emphasize the trend of "family modernization," a process in which changes in values, norms, and attitudes lead to changes in family structure. Therefore, the study of various household compositions has become important in the context of modernization theory as applied to the family (Goode 1963). Our study, which considers contemporary Turkey, falls into this broad research tradition.

Turkey represents an unusual situation, a country located in the European continent yet presently in the midst of its process of modernization and economic development. The changes associated with its social and economic development have been substantial during the last several decades. These changes make Turkey a "rich demographic laboratory" (Toros 1985, p. 97). Furthermore, reflecting its historical development, Turkey's social and cultural structure comprises dissimilar elements among population subgroups, ranging from very modern to very traditional

(Hancıoğlu 1994). This heterogeneous socio-cultural setting provides an opportunity to examine the effect of the forces of traditionality and modernity on various demographic phenomena. Our emphasis is on these interactions within the context of household composition in contemporary Turkey.

Specifically, we analyze the coresidence of currently married couples with either the husband's or the wife's parents. Past research in other settings indicates that the marital status of adult children is a distinguishing factor in determining patterns of coresidence (Ward, Logan, and Spitze 1992; Glick and Lin 1986), suggesting that different sets of attributes underlie the coresidence of currently married and currently unmarried adult children with their parents. Furthermore, only among married couples does there exist the potential for "competition" between the wife's and the husband's parents for intergenerational contact with a given child.

We focus on two specific issues raised by modernization theory. First, we examine levels and patterns of coresidence. The few previous studies that directly or indirectly investigate parent-child coresidence in Turkey suggest that certain coresidence patterns are a reflection of traditionality. Second, we investigate the correlates of parental coresidence among currently married couples, emphasizing various indicators of traditionality.

2.   Background

Strikingly similar downward trends in the coresidence of older parents and their adult children have been found among most industrialized countries during the postwar era (Schoeni 1998; Kramarow 1995; Michael, Fuchs, and Scott 1980), although in some instances a recent slowdown or reversal of those trends has been found (Macunovich et al. 1995). These trends have been attributed to rising levels of economic well-being (Michael, Fuchs, and Scott 1980) and to

demographic change (Wolf 1995). Further possible explanations include improvements in health, changing policies (Wils and Wolf 1992) and changing values and norms (Witte and Lahmann 1988).

Patterns and changes over time in household organization among developing nations have also received considerable attention, especially for East and Southeast Asia (Logan, Bian, and Bian 1998; DaVanzo and Chan 1994; Lee, Parish, and Willis 1994; Hermalin, Ofstedal, and Lee 1992; Casterline et al. 1991; Martin and Tsuya 1991; Martin 1989; Kinsella 1990). Findings from these studies indicate that, despite the signs of declining coresidence (Martin 1990), a substantial majority of older parents coreside with their children, mostly with sons (more specifically, with a married son or the eldest son) because of cultural norms.[1]

Research on Turkey has, however, been quite limited. A pioneering study dealing with parent-child coresidence in Turkey was based on a family typology. Analyzing a nationwide sample of Turkish households surveyed in 1968, Timur (1972) identified four household types based on kinship composition and household headship: nuclear-family household, dissolved-family household, patriarchally extended-family household, and transient extended-family household. In a patriarchally extended-family household, married couples and their children live with the husband's parents, while in a transient extended-family household the parent[s] occupy a married child's household. Timur (1972) also showed that nuclear families constituted the majority, approximately 60 percent. The proportion of the two types of extended families, which can be regarded as a proxy for the prevalence of coresidence, constituted less than 35 percent of Turkish households.

Hancıoğlu (1985a), using Timur's typology, found similar proportions of nuclear and extended household compositions in his analysis of households in the 1978 Turkish Fertility Survey. Nuclear families constituted approximately 58 percent of Turkish households whereas the two

extended family types totaled less than 29 percent. Hancıoğlu (1985b) also presented evidence

supporting a family life cycle explanation of traditional coresidence patterns. According to this, a

newlywed couple would live with the husband's parents, then form their own household later in their

family life cycle, and finally live with the husband's parents again. Thus, the second generation's

family cycle would begin with a patriarchally extended form. This would be followed by the nuclear

family type, and in the later years of the cycle, it would take on the transient extended family form

when parents become elderly (Özbay, 1984).[2] The coresidence that occurs late in the adult child's

life is interpreted as a manifestation of the value of having children when one is elderly; i.e., of the

"old-age security" motive for childbearing (Okore 1986; Kağıtçıbaşı 1982).

Aytaç (1995) presented the first multivariate analysis of coresidence in Turkey, focusing on

the living arrangements of currently married male householders, and considering coresidence with

an elderly family member without distinguishing whether these elderly members are parents, parents-

in-law, aunts, uncles, or any other relative. Results from this study suggest that living in

metropolitan or other urban areas, region of residence, and the respondent's education are strong

predictors of coresidence with an elderly family member. Aytaç argues that these findings reflect

the importance of traditionality in determining coresidence. In the model of reasons for coresiding

with elderly, coresidence due to "tradition" and due to "elderly need" are regarded as distinct

outcomes. Yet based on Hancıoğlu's (1985b) family life cycle explanation, both outcomes can be

considered as reflections of traditional coresidence patterns. This is also true to the extent that the

economic development and modernization change the role of family in caring for older family

members, placing an increasing emphasis on the formal services. In fact, Aytaç's (1995) results

include evidence that supports this argument. For instance, variables that could be regarded as

measures of traditionality (e.g., living in areas other than metropolitan and urban settings, sex

segregation—that is, the practice of men and women sitting in different rooms when they have guests, and so on) have significant effects in the same direction for both "traditional" coresidence and coresidence due to older family members' needs.

Our study extends the past literature in several ways. First, our unit of analysis is the married couple, and we are able to take into account the characteristics of wives in addition to male householders. Furthermore, we are able to distinguish parents and parents-in-law as potential coresidents with currently married children, thereby clearly focusing on a particular form of intergenerational familial living arrangements. We also do not impose any restrictions on the ages of parents or parents-in-law, and are consequently able to provide a broad representation of parental coresidence patterns. The latter point is also important since we adopt the family life cycle approach when evaluating the relative prevalence of coresidence at different stages of the cycle.

Our multivariate analyses of parent-child coresidence among married couples takes two forms. The first, and more conventional, form employs a binary representation of coresidence, in which couples coresiding with one or more of either the husband's or the wife's parents are distinguished from those observed to not coreside. However, we are also able to distinguish couples coresiding with the husband's parents from those coresiding with the wife's parents, and do so using a trichotomous variable. The latter distinction is important, since the norms associated with traditionality in Turkey dictate that a married couple should live with the husband's parents. Only a few past studies have recognized the tradeoffs facing married couples concerning intergenerational relationships with the husband's, versus the wife's, parents. Kojima (1992) studied Japanese married couples' coresidence with the husband's mother versus the wife's mother, and found evidence that several factors—particularly the birth order of each spouse, home ownership, and the wife's employment status—have different effects on the two coresidence decisions. Soldo, Wolf, and

Henretta (forthcoming) adopt a similar approach using recent United States data. In their sample, among which coresidence with older parents is very rare, there is no evidence of differential effects of covariates on coresidence with the husband's, in contrast to the wife's, older mother. Both studies mentioned above consider only the coresidence of married couples with widowed or divorced mothers. We do not restrict our analysis to those with unmarried mothers; rather, we consider all possible combinations of parental survivorship.

While variation in coresidence patterns appear to reflect both the parents' and the children's circumstances (Wolf and Soldo 1988; Kotlikoff and Morris 1990), most studies, including our own, are limited by the fact that survey respondents are members of either the parental or the offspring generation, and provide more details about themselves than their children or parents, as appropriate. Finally, although changes over time in parent-child coresidence are of great interest, our study is based on cross-sectional data and is, therefore, unable to shed direct light on past or prospective trends in household patterns in Turkey. However, there is a great deal of cross-sectional variation in Turkey, at both individual and contextual level, with respect to indicators of traditionality and modernity. These variations serve as the basis for our speculations about the future path of parent-child coresidence as the process of modernization and development continues.

3. Data and Methods

Data Source

The data for our analyses are obtained from the most recent nationwide demographic survey, the 1993 Turkish Demographic and Health Survey (TDHS), conducted by the Hacettepe Institute of Population Studies. The TDHS, a part of the international Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS) project sponsored by the United States Agency for International Development, is a representative

national survey designed to collect information by interviewing ever-married women on issues that cover a wide range of demographic and socioeconomic characteristics. The questionnaires used in the TDHS provide information on basic demographic characteristics of households, including the age, sex, educational status, and marital status of each individual in the household, as well as extensive data provided by the primary respondent on the couple's background, values, attitudes and beliefs (Ulusoy, Aliaga, and Hancıoğlu 1994; Hancıoğlu 1994).

A total of 10,631 dwelling units were selected for the TDHS, of which 8,900 contained households that were accessible for interview. The response rate among accessible households was 97 percent (n=8,619). Among interviewed households, there was a total of 6,862 women who were eligible for the individual questionnaire—that is, ever-married and between ages 15 and 49—of whom 6,519 were interviewed. For our analyses, we select only married female respondents with complete interview information who, along with their husbands, are permanent household residents. We limit our attention to married couples for whom at least one parent is alive, since parent-child coresidence is otherwise impossible. The resulting sample for our analyses includes 5,522 couples.

Methods

As noted before, we present two alternative models of parent-child coresidence. In the first, coresidence is a binary variable, coded 1 if the couple lives with any parent, whether the husband's, or the wife's, or both. For this dependent variable we use conventional logistic regression analysis. Our second model distinguishes among coresidence with the husband's parents, or with the wife's parents, or with no parents. In principle, there is a fourth category, for the cases in which one or more of the husband's and one or more of the wife's parents simultaneously coreside with the married couple. However, our sample includes only nine of the latter household types, a number too

few to permit separate analysis. Consequently, we discard these few cases from the sample, leaving three categories of this dependent variable.

Our trinomial model of parent-child coresidence uses multinomial logistic regression. In this model, the probability of coresiding with no parents is

$$\frac{1}{1 + D_h\, e^{\beta_h X} + D_w\, e^{\beta_w X}},$$

while the probabilities of living with the husband's parent[s] (h) or the wife's parent[s] (w) is

$$\frac{D_j\, e^{\beta_j X}}{1 + D_h\, e^{\beta_h X} + D_w\, e^{\beta_w X}},$$

where $j = h$ or w, and $D_j = 1$ if one or more of the respective parents are alive, or 0 otherwise. Note that this model accommodates several patterns of parental survivorship. If both spouses have living parents ($D_h = 1$ and $D_w = 1$) the model assumes a trinomial logit form. However, if neither of the husband's parents are alive, while one or more of the wife's parents are alive ($D_h = 0$ and $D_h = 1$), or vice-versa, the model collapses to binary logit.

Independent Variables

The definitions and mean values of all explanatory variables describing couples at risk for coresidence with parents are presented in Table 1. These variables are used in our multivariate analyses to estimate both the likelihood of coresidence with at least one of parents or parents-in-law, and the likelihood of coresidence with either the husband's or the wife's parents.

We include in our models several individual-level variables that reflect the degree of traditionality. These measures are the wife's educational attainment, the couple's marital union characteristics, the couple's ethnicity, and a traditionality index that we develop based on the wife's attitudes toward husband-wife relations. Our use of these variables rests on an assumption that each

reflects attitudes or norms established by the time marriage takes place; accordingly, these variables can be treated as predetermined with respect to current household composition.

Five dummy variables are used to represent the level of *wife's education*.[3] Education has been shown to be a crucial component of the process of modernization with a considerable role in changing the cultural value systems. Therefore, the propensity to coreside is expected to have an inverse relationship with education.

Several marital union characteristics of couples in Turkey have been associated with traditionality, and have been studied in this framework due to their impact on various demographic and social processes. For instance, the arrangement of a couple's marriage by parents, the payment of what is called "bridesmoney"[4] in the formation of marital unions, and consanguinity between spouses have been considered traditional practices (Hancıoğlu and Akadlı-Ergöçmen 1992; Tunçbilek and Ulusoy 1989; Ulusoy and Tunçbilek 1987). In addition, Fox (1975) and Hancıoğlu (1985a and 1985b) suggest that arranged marriage has been used as a mechanism to promote family unity, and to protect property and patriarchal authority within extended families. Thus, *arrangement of marriage* is also important in determining the subsequent marital and household behavior. The included categories in our multivariate models are "arrangement by family" and "other". The "other" category includes mostly those couples whose marriage was based on elopement (or, according to the TDHS documentation, "abduction"). The latter can be regarded as an arrangement by spouses themselves. However, the practice of eloping is itself an indication of traditionality in Turkey, and therefore we include it as a separate category. Couples whose marriage involved *bridesmoney* are distinguished from those who got married without such a payment by another dummy variable. The effect of *consanguinity* on coresidence is measured in our models with two variables, one of which

indicates marriage between first-degree consanguines, the other indicating second-degree or remoter consanguineous marriages.

Three categories of *ethnicity*, which is a sensitive issue in Turkey, are represented in our analysis. We distinguish Kurdish and mixed-ethnicity (or other than Turkish or Kurdish) couples from Turkish couples.[5] Mostly due to the fact that Kurdish couples live primarily in the east, often regarded as the least developed region, Kurdish ethnic background has been associated with traditionality. Thus, ethnic background of couples is used to account for a dimension of traditionality associated with specific social patterns of particular ethnic origins.

Our *traditionality index* uses wives' responses to two TDHS questions concerning husband-wife relations. Respondents are asked whether they "agree," "disagree," or "have no idea" about the statements "A man can beat up his wife in case of disobedience" and "A woman should not argue with her husband if she does not share the same views with him." Our index is created by coding "disagree" as zero, and all other responses as one. The recoded responses are added, creating an index ranging from zero (least traditional) to two (most traditional).

In addition to individual-level measures of traditionality, we use two contextual traditionality measures, *region of residence* and *settlement type*. The five-category regional distinction (west, south, central, north, and east, ordered from the most developed to the least) has been a powerful device for understanding the demographic, cultural, and socioeconomic variations among different parts of the country (Hancıoğlu 1994). These variations in terms of cultural, social, and economic variables among different regions are also valid for the rural-urban distinction, which is represented in our analysis by our settlement type variable.[6] Cultural and historical differences that trace back to the Ottoman Empire times appear still to be significant in isolated, rural areas due mainly to the fact that the process of modernization and development has had the greatest impact in the west and

the big cities, but a much lesser influence in the east and the smaller cities, towns, and villages (Ünalan 1993). This has led to a society that is characterized by both traditionality and modernity (Özbay 1990).

As we show in Table 2, there are substantial differences in the mean values of our individual indicators of traditionality and modernity by region and ruralness in contemporary Turkey. For every measure we decisively reject the null hypothesis of equal mean values across regions. For all but two of the measures, the urban-rural differences are also highly significant. In our multivariate analyses, we control for region of residence and rural (versus urban) setting, in addition to the individual- and couple-level indicators of traditionality. We do so because individual behavior may be influenced by prevailing contextual patterns, holding constant individual factors associated with household patterns. Symmetrically, there is substantial heterogeneity of individual characteristics, and we wish to examine whether observed differences by these contextual measures remain after controlling for individual characteristics. Furthermore, our set of individual-level variables might not adequately represent traditionality at the individual and couple level, and therefore the contextual variables can be interpreted as proxies for any omitted measures of the concept.

Other variables that we control for in our models are the wife's age, the survivorship patterns of the husband's parents, and the presence of children under age six. *Wife's age* is coded in single years, and enters our models as a proxy for the younger generation's family life cycle.[7] Based on previous evidence (Hancıoğlu 1985b), the relationship between coresidence and wife's age is expected to be non-linear, and thus, wife's age appears in quadratic form in our models.

While we do not have detailed information on the characteristics of parents, we do have information on their survivorship status. We control for *husbands' parental survivorship* using four variables that indicate whether the husband's mother, or father, or both parents remain alive.[8] Since

the traditional pattern of coresidence dictates that a married couple should coreside with one or both of the husband's parents, the likelihood of coresidence is expected to be lowest if neither of his parents are alive. Finally, a dummy variable indicating whether a couple has one or more children less than six years of age is used to control for the competing demands on the couple.[9]

4.   Results

Levels and Patterns of Coresidence

We find that approximately 26 percent of currently married couples coreside with at least one parent or parent-in-law. Aytaç (1995), on the other hand, reports that 22 percent of her sample of currently married male householders in 1988 have an elderly family member present in the household. The difference between the two findings can be attributed mostly to these sample restrictions in the latter study, and to the difference in the time period of each study. Nevertheless, findings from both studies are in accord with earlier findings that the predominant type of family in Turkey has been the nuclear family, while the proportion of extended families has been low (Ünalan 1988; Hancıoğlu 1985a; Timur 1972). They also indicate that, in comparison to other developing countries, especially in the eastern and southeastern Asia, the prevalence of parent-adult married child coresidence is much lower in Turkey.

The patterns of coresidence among couples who coreside with a parent are presented in Table 3. The most common patterns are coresidence with both of husband's parents (54 percent) and coresidence with his mother only (35 percent). An overwhelming majority of couples (95 percent) coreside with one or both of husband's parents. The fact that parent-adult child coresidence occurs mainly with the husband's parents supports the earlier depictions of the traditional pattern of coresidence (Hancıoğlu 1985b; Özbay 1984). However, the relative magnitude of coresidence with

both of, versus only one of, the husband's parents is expected to vary across the younger generation's family life cycle due to demographic forces: given that the likelihood of having both parents alive is high early in the cycle, coresidence is most likely to occur with both of the husband's parents at that time. Later in the couple's life cycle, however, parental mortality raises the relative chances of coresiding with only one of the husband's parents, most likely his mother given both the mortality differentials between men and women and the age differences between spouses.

In order to examine this issue, we analyze how patterns of coresidence change with age. Here we classify coresidence patterns into four groups that conceptually differentiate the two components of the traditional coresidence pattern (i.e., coresidence with either both or only one of the husband's parents) from other patterns. The four groups are non-coresidence, coresidence with both of the husband's parents, coresidence with the husband's mother or father only, and coresidence with either or both of the wife's parents. Figure 1 shows the percentage distribution across the first three of these coresidence categories by the wife's age; the fourth category is not shown as it remains lower than 2 percent throughout the couple's life cycle. While the percentage of couples not coresiding with any parent increases dramatically with the wife's age, coresidence with one or both of the husband's parents declines almost monotonically. As expected, coresidence with the husband's mother or father only becomes more prevalent than coresidence with both of his parents after the 25 to 29 age group due to parental mortality.[10]

Coresidence with Any Parent

Column (1) of Table 4 reports logistic regression coefficients for a model whose dependent variable indicates coresidence with any living parent. Coefficients with positive signs indicate increased odds of coresidence, while negative signs indicate reduced odds of coresidence. The wife's education has the expected negative relationship with coresidence: the likelihood of

coresidence with parents is significantly smaller for couples in which the wife has a high school, college, or higher degree than if she has a lower educational attainment.

The results for marital union characteristics indicate that only the arrangement of marriage by family (rather than spouses themselves), and the payment of bridesmoney before marriage have significant effects. Since both are traditional practices, the fact that these variables have positive effects on coresidence confirms the anticipated role of traditionality in parent-child coresidence. The same relationship is not observed, however, between coresidence and consanguinity, another traditional practice in the formation of marriage. The fact that the proportion of first- and second-degree consanguineous marriages is higher among couples whose marriage was arranged by family or involved bridesmoney (Tunçbilek and Ulusoy 1989), and that the proportion of consanguineous marriages decreases as we move from relatively more developed regions to less developed ones, and from urban to rural areas (see Table 2) suggest that the effect on coresidence of consanguinity in marriage might be captured by variations in these other variables in the model.

The difference between the odds of coresidence of the Turkish and Kurdish couples is not statistically significant. Thus, the argument that being from the Kurdish ethnic origin is associated with traditionality, and thus increases the chances of coresidence, is not supported by our findings. Even though Kurdish ethnicity does not have a direct effect on coresidence, holding constant the other covariates, the effect of ethnicity is arguably filtered through living in the eastern region since almost a half of Kurdish couples in our sample live in this region (see Table 2). On the other hand, the inter-ethnic couples and couples from other (mainly Arab) ethnic origins are more likely to coreside than Turks. As anticipated, a higher score on our traditionality index indicates a higher likelihood of coresidence, suggesting that couples in which the wife has rather traditional views on husband-wife relationships are more likely to coreside with parents.

Couples living in the southern region are less likely to coreside in comparison to those living in the western region, while couples who live in the north are the most likely to coreside with parents. Despite the fact that the variation in the likelihood of coresidence by region does not follow the ordering of regions by their development level, couples in the two least developed regions (i.e., east and north) are the most likely to coreside whereas those in the two most developed regions (i.e., west and south) are the least likely to do so. These regional variations in coresidence are in line with earlier findings that the lowest and highest proportions of nuclear families have consistently been found in the northern and southern region, respectively (State Planning Organization 1989). Given that living in a rural area significantly increases the likelihood of coresidence, and that the majority of couples living in the northern region are in a rural settlement, the finding that couples in the northern region are the most likely to coreside with parents becomes more understandable.

The logistic regression coefficients for the wife's age (in quadratic form) are both significant. According to our model, the likelihood of coresidence has a non-linear relationship with the wife's age, declining at a decreasing rate throughout the age range represented in our sample.

The strongest predictor of coresidence with one or more parents is the survivorship patterns of the husband's parents. If both of the husband's parent are dead, in particular, the likelihood of coresidence is greatly reduced, controlling for other regressors in the model. This is not surprising given that couples mainly coreside with the husband's parents. The effect on coresidence of having no children under age six is positive, but significant only at $p<0.10$ level. This finding, thus, does not offer very strong support for the idea that competing demands on couples decrease resource flows to parents.

Coresidence with Husband's or Wife's Parents

Since the traditional pattern of coresidence is one in which couples coreside with one or both of the husband's parents, differentiating the effects of explanatory variables on coresidence with the husband's parents, and with the wife's parents, is theoretically important. Using a multinomial logistic regression model, we are able to examine these effects on coresidence with the husband's parents and on coresidence with the wife's parents. The results of our multinomial model appear in columns (2) through (4) of Table 4. This analysis enables us to observe whether or not the individual-level and contextual traditionality measures have differential effects on these categories of coresidence.

The coefficient sizes and significance levels in the multinomial model of coresidence with one or both of the husband's parents [column (2)] are strikingly similar to those in the binomial model [column (1)]. Thus, the estimates in the binomial model appear to be driven mainly by coresidence with the husband's parents. The effects of individual-level and contextual measures of traditionality, as well as other explanatory variables, are similar to those in the binomial model.

The coefficients representing the effects of explanatory variables on coresidence with one or both of the wife's parents [column (3)], on the other hand, differ substantially from those in the binomial model. The traditionality hypothesis is largely unsupported in this pattern of coresidence, because none of individual-level traditionality measures has any effect on the relative likelihood of coresidence with the wife's parents. To the contrary, the likelihood of coresidence with the wife's parents is smaller for couples in which the wife has no formal educational attainment than if she has a high school degree. Similarly, couples with a higher score on the traditionality index are less likely to coreside with the wife's parents (p<0.10). The effects of contextual measures of traditionality are

not entirely in the expected direction: living in a rural area is positively associated with this type of coresidence, while region of residence is not.

For each covariate, we test the null hypothesis of equal effects on the likelihood of coresidence with the husband's, and the wife's, parents [column (4)]. This enables us to verify the differential effects of traditionality measures on the likelihood of the two distinct patterns of coresidence in the model. Only 6 out of 21 of the tests lead us to reject the null hypothesis of equal effects, which is surprising in view of the fact that few of the coefficients for living with the wife's parents are statistically significant, while most of the coefficients for living with the husband's parents are. Nevertheless, a global likelihood-ratio test of the equality of both coefficient vectors is decisively rejected (p<0.0001).

5.   Discussion

In this study, we investigate the patterns and correlates of currently married adult children's coresidence with parents. We are particularly interested in examining the magnitude of "traditional" coresidence (i.e., coresidence with both or one of the husband's parents), and the role that individual-level and contextual measures of traditionality play in predicting coresidence with the husband's or the wife's parents.

In agreement with previous findings on household composition and formation, we find that coresidence of currently married adult children with their parents is not the norm in contemporary Turkey; only slightly more than a quarter of married couples in our sample coreside with their parents. However, given a married couple's coresidence with parents, the likelihood that this couple lives with the husband's parents is extremely high (approximately 95 percent). This suggests that coresidence in Turkey mostly reflects the traditional pattern. Depending on the stage of the couple's

family life cycle, coresidence with both, or only one, of the husband's parents becomes more prevalent among coresident couples. Results from our multivariate analyses indicate that measures associated with traditionality at the individual and contextual levels are important predictors of coresidence especially with the husband's parents. Because an overwhelming majority of coresident couples live with one or both of the husband's parents, results from our binary model of coresidence with any parent are strikingly similar to those from our multinomial model of coresidence with both or only one of the husband's parents.

In conclusion, we argue that the patterns as well as determinants of coresidence with parents, especially with the husband's parents, reflect the traces and importance of traditionality. The largest potential for decline in coresidence with parents exists with respect to coresidence with the husband's parent[s]. Our results suggest that the likely extent of this decline will depend heavily on changes in individual attributes and behavior as well as broader structural changes. Specifically, we find that factors such as increased educational attainment, adoption of modern practices regarding marriage, modern perception of intrafamilial roles and relationships at the individual-level will lead to declines in traditional coresidence. For instance, in comparison to couples in which the wife has a high school or higher degree, those in which she has a lower educational attainment are approximately 4 times more likely to coreside with any parent, and 3.5 times more likely to coreside with the husband's parents. Similarly, the odds of parent-adult child coresidence is anticipated to decline with urbanization and the narrowing of regional disparities in the levels of development and modernity. Our result suggest that the odds of coresidence with any parent, or with the husband's parents, are respectively 3.7 and 3.8 times smaller if the couple lives in an urban setting. Living in the northern or eastern region (versus in west) doubles the likelihood of coresidence with any parent, and leads to a 40 to 50 percent increase in the odds of coresidence with the husband's parents.

There is great potential for improvement in Turkish women's (and, for that matter, men's) education: only 11 percent of literate women had a high school or higher educational attainment in 1990 (State Planning Organization, 1994). The corresponding percentage for men is 15.5. However, notable progress in educational attainment has been made, especially in the last few decades. For instance, among women aged 20 to 24, the proportion of graduates of at least high school rose from 6.4 percent in 1970 to 18.9 percent in 1990 (State Institute of Statistics 1995). The same trend is also observed for men, an increase from 12.5 percent to 28.2 percent during the same time period.

The rate of growth of urbanization in Turkish society reached a peak during the 1950s, but the process of urbanization still continues. Less than 19 percent of the Turkish population lived in urban settings in 1950. This proportion doubled in less than 25 years, reaching 56.3 percent in 1990 (State Institute of Statistics 1995). In addition, closing the socioeconomic gaps between the less and more developed regions has been a policy priority in the Turkish government's agenda. Various measures, including greater emphasis on education issues and promotion of economic development, have been taken to assure the success of this policy (State Planning Organization 1993).

Thus, as the forces of modernity gain pace and express themselves as increasing educational attainment, higher proportions of people living in urban areas, and narrowing down of regional disparities, the likelihood of coresidence especially with the husband's parents can be expected to decrease. This phenomenon is also implied by the arguments regarding the first and second demographic transitions (Van DeKaa 1987). These transitions are associated mainly with industrialization and urbanization, and changing values toward individualism and self-fulfillment, respectively. Therefore, coresidence as a form of living arrangement which involves a loss of privacy can be expected to decline in societies where these proposed structural changes take place and where individuals accordingly adopt modes of behavior emphasizing education as a vehicle for

achieving self-fulfillment. In this line of thinking, Martin (1989) points out that such changes in individual-level attributes as increased education lead to a greater preference for privacy over a multigenerational living arrangement.

Nevertheless, our inferences regarding the possible future path of traditional coresidence in Turkey should be interpreted with caution. We do not suggest that the likely decline in parent-child coresidence would cause a decline in the role of the family or a substantial change in intrafamilial relationships between parents and adult children. Be it in urban areas of large cities or the most developed regions, most families, including non-coresident households, are characterized by very close relationships not only with parents, but also among siblings and other secondary relatives (Ünalan 1988). These relationships have been interpreted as being so strong that even families that are structurally classified nuclear act as functionally extended families (Abadan-Unat 1986). Therefore, couples in Turkey might exchange coresidence with having "intimacy at a distance" (Rosenmayr and Köckeis 1963) by living nearby, a trend already observed to have begun (Aytaç 1995).

Endnotes

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1.   One exception to this general trend is Thailand where majority of older parents prefer to live with their daughters (Knodel, Chavoyan, and Siriboon 1992).

2.   This approach assumes that the younger generation's family life cycle is uninterrupted. Given that the incidence of divorce is very low (e.g., the proportion of women who were divorced or separated was less than 2 percent even in 1993 (Ünalan and Hancıoğlu 1994)), this is not an unreasonable assumption.

3.   Despite the fact that our unit of analysis is "couple", we include only the wife's education in our models. This is due mainly to the high correlation between the husband's and wife's educational attainment (58.5 percent, $p<0.001$). We prefer to include the wife's educational attainment since the models with dummies for wife's education predict coresidence slightly better than models with the husband's educational attainment dummies.

4.   Bridesmoney is an amount paid by the bridegroom or his family to the groom's family. It may be in the form of money or in kind, the latter being a more common practice (Hancıoğlu and Akadlı-Ergöçmen 1992).

5.   Inter-ethnic marriages are relatively rare in Turkey: we find that 97 percent of Turkish women, 92 percent of Kurdish women, and 80 percent of women of other ethnic origins (such as Arab) are married to men from their own ethnic background, and therefore we represent couples' ethnicity. Turkish or Kurdish ethnic background indicate that both spouses are of Turkish or Kurdish ethnic background, respectively.

6.   The TDHS uses the administrative status of a settlement as well as the size of its population in differentiating urban and rural areas. All settlements that are either a province or a sub-province, regardless of their population size, and all other settlements with a population of over 10,000 are included in the urban category (Ulusoy, Aliaga, and Hancıoğlu 1994).

7.   As in the case of the wife's education, our models include only the wife's age. There are two reasons for not including both the husband's and the wife's age. First, age is used as a proxy for the couple's family life cycle, and thus, it is not conceptually necessary to include both in the same model. Second, multicollinearity, leading to inefficiencies in estimation, might result if both ages are included in a model since the husband's and wife's ages are highly correlated (85.7 percent, $p<0.001$). This high correlation is due to the pattern of marriages in Turkey: that is, men tend to marry women who are younger. In our sample, we find that husbands are 4.4 years older than their wives.

8.   We include in our models the survivorship patterns of only the husband's parents based on our finding that an overwhelming majority of coresidence (over 95 percent) occurs with one or both of husbands' parents. We further investigated the effect of not including the survivorship patterns of both spouse's parents. We developed two models, one with both sets of survivorship patterns, and the other with only the survivorship pattern of husbands' parents. We found that the survivorship patterns for wives' parents in the former model were not statistically significant individually or as a group, suggesting that the two models were not statistically different. Thus, we prefer to use the more parsimonious model.

9.   The wife's employment status might be considered to be another measure representing the competing demands on the couple. However, this measure is potentially endogenous since we use cross-sectional data.

10.   We replicated the same analysis using the husband's age, and obtained essentially the same results. The cross-over of coresidence with both and only one of the husband's parents occurs one age group later, which is approximately the mean difference between husbands' and wives' ages in our sample.

Table 1.   Names, Definitions, and Means of Variables

Name	Definition	Mean	Standard Deviation
Individual-Level Measures of Traditionality			
Wife's Education	Omitted category: College degree or post-college		
No Graduation	1 if no or less than primary school education	0.329	0.470
Primary School	1 if less than secondary and more than primary school degree	0.527	0.499
Secondary School	1 if less than high and more than secondary school degree	0.046	0.210
High School	1 if less than college and more than high school degree	0.075	0.263
Arrangement of Marriage	Omitted category: By spouses themselves		
By Family	1 if marriage arranged by family	0.680	0.467
Other	1 if other arrangement type	0.063	0.242
Bridesmoney	Omitted category: Not involved		
Involved	1 if bridesmoney involved in marriage	0.270	0.444
Consanguinity	Omitted category: None		
1st Degree	1 if spouses are first cousins	0.149	0.357
2nd Degree	1 if second or remoter degree consanguinity	0.079	0.270
Couple's Ethnicity	Omitted category: Turkish		
Kurdish	1 if both spouses Kurdish	0.095	0.294
Mix	1 if inter-ethnic couple or from other ethnic origins	0.054	0.226
Traditionality Index	Scored from 0 to 2 (see text)	1.060	0.846
Contextual Measures of Traditionality			
Region of Residence	Omitted category: West		
South	1 if couple in southern region	0.198	0.399
Central	1 if couple in central region	0.225	0.418
North	1 if couple in northern region	0.144	0.351
East	1 if couple in eastern region	0.138	0.345
Settlement Type	Omitted category: Urban		
Rural	1 if couple in rural area (see endnote 6 in text)	0.348	0.477
Other Variables			
Wife's Age	Single years from aged 15 to 49 (in quadratic form)	31.91	8.127
Husband's Parental Survivorship	Omitted category: Both parents alive		
Mother Alive Only	1 if husband's mother alive and father dead	0.270	0.444
Father Alive Only	1 if husband's father alive and mother dead	0.083	0.276
Both Parents Dead	1 if husband's mother and father dead	0.154	0.361
Children Under Age Six	Omitted category: One or more		
None	1 if no child under age in household	0.513	0.500

N=5,522
Source: Computed by authors.

Table 2.   Variations in the Mean Value of Traditionality Indicators across Regions and Settlement Types[a]

Indicators	West	South	Center	North	East	χ^2 for Equality of Means (df=4)	Rural	Urban	χ^2 for Equality of Means (df=1)
Wife's Education									
No Graduation	0.21	0.33	0.28	0.37	0.61	711.49	0.45	0.27	347.77
	0.60	0.53	0.58	0.50	0.30	246.50	0.52	0.53	0.08[b]
Primary School	0.07	0.04	0.03	0.04	0.03	760.12	0.02	0.06	2007.39
Secondary School	0.09	0.07	0.07	0.07	0.04	256.92	0.01	0.11	4393.87
High School									
Arrangement of Marriage									
Family	0.58	0.74	0.72	0.63	0.80	79.47	0.72	0.66	9.05
	0.09	0.06	0.04	0.08	0.04	622.38	0.09	0.05	496.39
Other									
Bridesmoney in Marriage									
Involved	0.14	0.24	0.27	0.30	0.56	1145.00	0.37	0.21	397.46
Consanguinity									
1st Degree	0.08	0.17	0.16	0.12	0.27	889.04	0.17	0.14	53.88
2nd Degree	0.06	0.11	0.09	0.09	0.06	291.93	0.09	0.08	12.77
Couple's Ethnicity									
Kurdish	0.03	0.06	0.04	0.00	0.48	1091.26[c]	0.10	0.09	13.96
	0.05	0.07	0.02	0.05	0.09	1018.47	0.05	0.05	0.93[b]
Mix									
Traditionality Index									
0 ≤ Score ≤ 2	0.88	1.03	1.15	1.21	1.17	31.58[d]	1.42	0.87	321.59
Settlement Type									
Rural	0.23	0.32	0.37	0.58	0.36	487.54	–NA–	–NA–	–NA–

[a]All differences in the mean values of traditionality indicatros across regions, and between rural and urban settlements are significant (p<0.05) unless otherwise indicated.

[b]Differences are not significant.

[c]The degrees of freedom for Kurdish couple category is 3 due to the fact that there is no Kurdish couple living in the Northern region.

[d]Since the traditionality index is treated as a continuous variable, the statistic reported for this variable is an F-score (p<0.01).

NA: Not Applicable.

Source: Computed by authors.

Table 3. Patterns of Coresidence among Coresiding Couples

Coresidence	Number	Percentage
With Husband's Parents Only		
Father and Mother	768	53.7
Mother Only	496	34.7
Father Only	97	6.8
With Wife's Parents Only		
Father and Mother	12	0.8
Mother Only	40	2.8
Father Only	8	0.6
With Both Husband's and Wife's Parents		
Wife's Mother, Husband's Mother and Father	3	0.2
Wife's Mother and Husband's Father	2	0.1
Wife's Mother and Husband's Mother	2	0.1
Wife's Father and Husband's Mother	1	0.1
All Parents and Parents-in-law	1	0.1
Total	1,430	100

Source: Computed by authors.

Table 4.   Binary and Multinomial Logistic Models of Coresidence between Couples and Parents [a]

	Binary Model of Coresidence with:	Multinomial Model of Coresidence with:		χ² Statistic for
	Any Parent (1)	Husband's Parents (β_h) (2)	Wife's Parents (β_w) (3)	$H_0: \beta_h = \beta_w$ (4)
Intercept	3.692 (26.418)	3.865 (27.559)	-3.598 (2.333)	(9.366)
Wife's Age				
Age	-0.381 (116.117)	-0.386 (109.318)	-0.023 (0.028)	(6.366)
Age-square	0.005 (66.144)	0.005 (59.025)	0.001 (0.112)	(3.286)
Wife's Education				
No Graduation	1.322 (7.564)	1.227 (6.431)	-1.259 (5.444)	(11.950)
Primary School	1.423 (9.044)	1.295 (7.405)	-0.705 (3.010)	(10.365)
Secondary School	1.366 (7.553)	1.194 (5.661)	-0.116 (0.045)	(3.185)
High School	0.795 (2.607)	0.422 (0.712)	b	–NA–
Region of Residence				
South	-0.457 (15.744)	-0.474 (15.734)	-0.308 (0.705)	(0.191)
Central	0.274 (7.033)	0.310 (8.424)	-0.384 (1.026)	(3.179)
North	0.679 (35.384)	0.736 (38.854)	-0.156 (0.134)	(4.185)
East	0.334 (5.941)	0.387 (7.459)	-0.408 (0.539)	(1.964)
Settlement Type				
Rural	1.309 (274.925)	1.341 (272.949)	0.718 (5.295)	(3.834)
Husband's Parental Survivorship				
Mother Alive Only	0.508 (38.027)	0.555 (42.972)	-0.133 (0.151)	(3.914)
Father Alive Only	-0.220 (2.571)	-0.201 (2.025)	-0.581 (0.881)	(0.365)
Both Parents Dead	-2.889 (112.531)	c	-0.019 (0.002)	–NA–
Children Under Age 6				
None	0.142 (2.969)	0.128 (2.292)	0.345 (1.158)	(0.439)
Arrangement of				
By Family	0.198 (4.835)	0.225 (5.834)	0.001 (0.000)	(0.476)
Other	0.042 (0.065)	0.020 (0.013)	0.446 (0.683)	(0.588)
Bridesmoney in Marriage				
Involved	0.180 (4.017)	0.167 (3.257)	0.588 (2.929)	(1.435)
Consanguinity				
1st Degree	0.130 (1.736)	0.102 (1.015)	0.576 (2.431)	(1.578)
2nd Degree	-0.224 (2.661)	-0.229 (2.631)	0.056 (0.011)	(0.272)
Couple's Ethnicity				
Kurdish	-0.212 (1.935)	-0.238 (2.300)	-0.613 (0.570)	(0.208)
Mix	0.363 (5.319)	0.351 (4.621)	0.664 (1.849)	(0.385)
Traditionality Index	0.112 (5.292)	0.144 (8.244)	-0.377 (3.816)	(6.998)

[a] χ^2 statistics for individual parameters in columns (1), (2), and (3), and for the equality tests in column (4) are shown in parantheses. $\chi^2 > 2.71$ (3.84) (6.63) indicates significance with p-value<0.10 (0.05) (0.01).
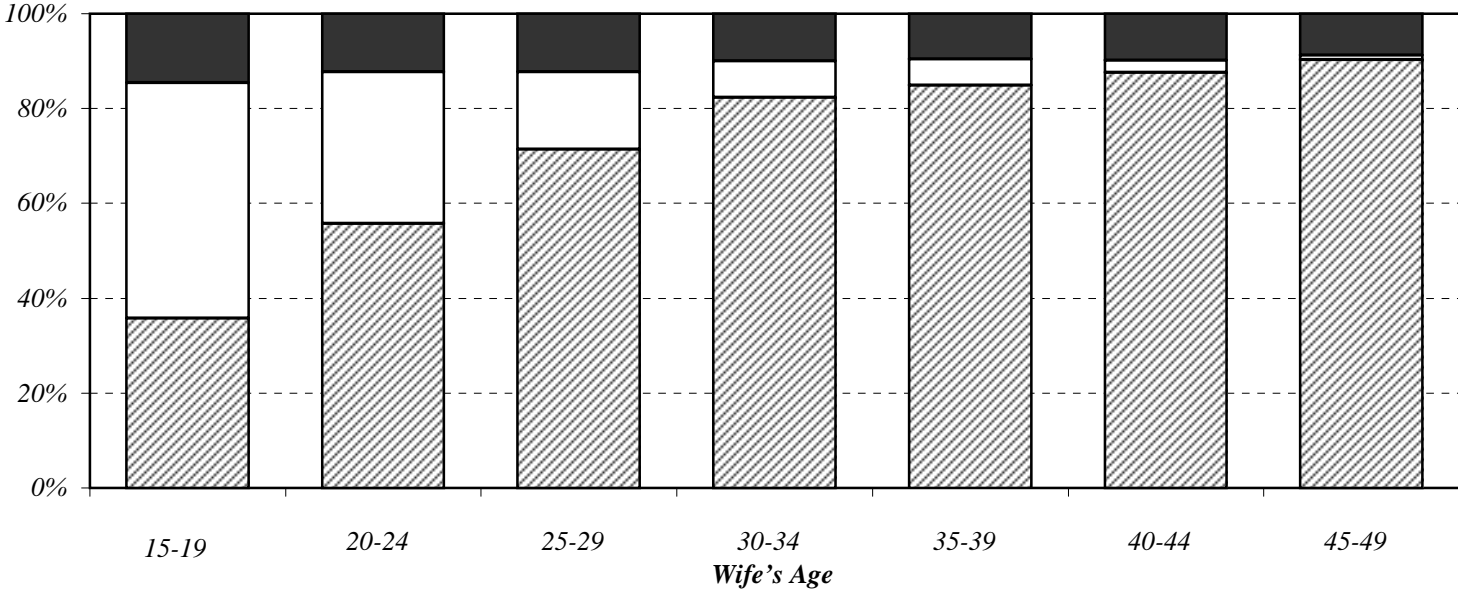
[b] Constrained to equal zero because no cases occupy the reference category.

[c] Constrained to equal zero because selection for the model is conditional upon having at least one of husband's parents alive.

NA: Not Applicable.

Source: Computed by authors.

Figure 1. Percentage Distributions of Coresidence by Wife's Age

Wife's Age: 15-19, 20-24, 25-29, 30-34, 35-39, 40-44, 45-49

☒ Non-coresidence ☐ Coresidence with both of husband's parents ■ Coresidence with one of husband's parents

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