

Co-residence and Geographic Dispersion of Adult Children and Their Mothers in Germany: Variation in Ethnicity, Gender, and Marital Status

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Abstract

This study examines how the residential dispersion of adult children and their mothers varies between German and Turkish families living in Germany, and how this variation relates to the gender and marital status of adult children. The study hypothesizes that compared to adult children of German nationals, those of Turkish immigrants will exhibit virilocal tendencies because they are influenced by traditional Turkish cultural institutions. The results based on data from 247 Turkish and 200 German adult children, consisting of those who were 20 years old or older at the time of data collection, support this hypothesis. In contrast to the sons and daughters of German national, those of Turkish immigrants are most likely to reside with their mothers when they are single, and married sons are significantly more likely than married daughters to remain living close to their mothers.

(Keywords: Family, Adult Children, Residence, Turkish Immigrants, Germans)

Although there have been many studies on Turkish immigrants in Germany (i.e., Doornik 1995; Karakasoglu 1996; Kolinsky 1996; Koray 1999; Münz and Ohliger 1998; Onder 1996; Tan and Waldhoff 1996; White 1995, 1997), none have focused closely on residential behavior. This study contributes to recent cross-cultural research that is providing a more comprehensive perspective of family residential behavior. Specifically, it examines the ethnic differences between German nationals¹ and Turkish immigrants living in Germany.

Turks represent the greatest number of minorities in Germany with nearly 2.5 million in residence (Worbs 2003). Many Turkish immigrants began arriving in Germany in the early 1960s after the German government established a labor recruitment contract with Turkey to help meet the demands of its domestic labor shortage (see Bade and Weiner 1997; Münz and Weiner 1997; Schuck and Münz 1998; for details of Turkish migration to Germany). At that time, most Turkish people who came

to Germany were seeking employment opportunities more attractive than those available in their own country. Although most Turks might have initially planned to return to their country after a short stay, many continued to reside in Germany. Subsequently, their families began to immigrate to Germany by the early 1970s. With the economic recession following the first oil crisis in 1973, Turkish labor migration practically came to a standstill. However, many Turks have continued to enter Germany primarily to reunite with family members who had arrived prior to 1973 or as newlywed spouses of Turkish residents in Germany.

It is timely to examine how family residential patterns of first-generation Turkish immigrants and their adult children may differ from those of German nationals. A dramatic increase in international migration today has created communities of people with varying ethnicities. While immigrants and their descendants may be acculturated, they are also likely to maintain a sense of ethnic identity with values and norms that differ from those of the dominant culture. Furthermore, ethnicity is sometimes broadly associated with socio-economic status. Accordingly, ethnic minority family structure may be distinct from the normative pattern characteristic of the host society.

According to the predictions of modernization theory (Cowgill 1986), when a capitalistic mode of production prevails in a society, advances in technology are often rapid, and a Western ideology also tends to encourage independence and individualism; one result is that adult children are likely to live in separate nuclear households from their parents. To acquire gainful occupation in a competitive market and get a quality education, they may even choose to live far from their natal homes. Therefore, on one hand, both Turkish and German adults in a socio-economically modernized German social setting may predominantly reside in nuclear households. On the other hand, however, whether, when, and where young adults establish homes independent of their parents may vary according to ethnicity. Variation may be particularly marked for ethnic Turks who are children of first-genera-

tion immigrants with a strong Turkish cultural identity and a minimal level of assimilation into German society.

The following discussion is divided into seven sections. The first section summarizes previous studies relevant to the study. The next one describes the socio-economic characteristics and cultural behavior typical of Turks in Germany, and sets forth the study hypothesis. The third and fourth sections outline how the sample was selected and how the study variables were measured and coded. The fifth section reviews the results, which are then evaluated and interpreted in the sixth section. Finally, the discussion closes by highlighting the important implications of this study and proposing some directions for future research. Of particular interest is the possible cross-cultural emergence of uxori-local tendencies, which may in the case of some cultures run contrary to tradition.

Previous Research

Substantial research has been done on the residential behavior of adult children in modernized countries, especially during the past two decades (i.e., Aquilino 1991; Brody et al. 1995; Glick, Bean and Van Hook 1997; Goldscheider and Goldscheider 1994; Lin and Rogerson 1995; Murphy and Wang 1998; Shelton and Grundy 2000; Silbereisen, Meschke and Schwarz 1996; Whittington and Peters 1996). These efforts have not only examined how such behavior can be understood from both micro (family) and macro (socio-political) perspectives, but they have also revealed how gender, siblingship, marital and socio-economic status, and childhood/adolescent experiences, relate to whether adult children reside with their parents or live independently. As White (1994) implies, however, relatively few studies have approached this issue from an ethnically comparative perspective (i.e., Hogan, Hao and Parish 1990; Kanjanapan 1989; Kerckhoff and Macrae 1992; Kierman 1991).

Several impressive exceptions include studies that have examined the differences in family residential behavior among ethnic groups in the U.S. For example, one study by Aquilino (1990) demonstrated that Mexican-American parents were more likely to have at least one adult child (19 years old or older) living with them than African or Euro-American parents. This ethnic difference was attributed to a higher proportion of unmarried Mexican-American adult children who still lived with their parents. Also, Goldscheider and DaVanzo (1989) showed that African-Americans were less likely than Euro-Americans to leave home at marriage. This finding is consistent with other studies suggesting that inter-ethnic differences of adult children living with their parents are much greater for married children than their unmarried counterparts (Beck and Beck 1989; Tienda and Angel 1982; Trent and Harlan 1990). Such differences are attributed to a variety of rea-

sons including socio-economic factors, adult child conjugal status (married or unmarried), and cultural preference.

A study by Yi et al. (1994) compared the average ages at which adult children left home in China, Japan, South Korea, United States, France, and Sweden; they found that the average age of natal-home departure was higher for both males and females in East Asian countries (China, Japan, and South Korea) than in Western countries (United States, France, and Sweden). This pattern indicated that compared to Western countries, adult children in East Asian countries are more likely to continue living with their parents, and those who eventually do leave generally depart at a later age. Yi et al. (1994) suggested that this difference related to distinct cultural ideologies. Compared to Asian cultures, Western norms emphasize a material independence between children and their parents, so that children tend leave the home when they marry, or even before they marry if they go to college or have a job. In contrast, Asian cultures promote more inter-dependency between adult children and their parents. Parental child support is more likely to continue even when children become adults, and children are also expected to provide aging parents with financial and service-oriented support in return. This Asian orientation generally lowers the prevalence of child departure from the home at marriage.

Concentrating on Europe, Glaser and Tomassini (2000) compared the proximity of aging mothers (aged 60–74) and their adult children (aged 25–39) in Britain and Italy. Residential proximity was classified accordingly to three categories: “coreside,” “close (up to 10 miles),” and “far (more than 10 miles).” They found that the intergenerational proximity was closer in Italy than in Britain, and the residential proximity of Italian adult children to their mothers was more likely to be associated with characteristics such as gender, education, and work status. Although gender was not a significant predicting factor relating to residential proximity in Britain, in Italy, men were more likely than women to live with their mothers. Also, unemployed adult children in Italy were most likely to coreside with their mothers. Interestingly, more highly educated Italian adult children were likely to coreside with their mothers than their less educated peers, but with respect to those classified as only “close” or “far,” those with less education were more likely to live within 10 miles (“close”) of their mothers. Glaser and Tomassini (2000) suggested that one possible explanation for such differences was a stronger Italian cultural emphasis on mutual family aid between younger and older generations.

Study Background and Hypothesis

This study addresses the issue of how the family residential patterns of recent immigrants differ from those of

the dominant ethnic group in a highly modernized host society. The strength of this study is that it specifically compares the residential behavior of the adult children of German nationals and Turkish first-generation immigrants living in Germany. It examines how child marital status and gender may influence whether children coreside with their mothers. It also quantifies how far children in neolocal arrangements live from the residences of their mothers.

First-generation Turkish immigrants are now middle or old aged, and most of them have adult children. While they live in Germany, they embrace a strong Turkish identity and are relatively unaffected by German cultural norms. Most of them were enculturated in Turkey, where they were born and spent at least part of their childhoods before moving to Germany.² Even after migrating to Germany, they and their families usually make yearly trips back to Turkey to visit relatives. Also in Germany, their social networks largely consist of Turkish people. One study has shown that 78 percent of first-generation immigrants in 1991 only had Turkish friends (Kürsat-Ahlers 1996).

These characteristics of Turkish immigrants are consistent with observations the author made while conducting research in a Northwest German town between 2002 and 2003. One Turkish informant told her that many Turkish immigrants generally appreciate some aspects of German society, such as health care and the welfare system, but they neither feel that they are part of the society nor do they identify with German culture. Interviews with middle and old age Turkish informants revealed that many of them spend extended amounts of time in Turkey on occasion. Also, while visiting their houses, the author noticed that such individuals retain many Turkish household items and prefer watching Turkish TV stations. Their understanding of spoken and written German was limited; family conversation was predominantly carried out in Turkish.

Compared to first-generation immigrants, second-generation Turks "appear to have developed emotional and cultural ties" to both Turkey and Germany (Kürsat-Ahlers 1996:116). One study has shown that 36 percent of young Turks aged 16 to 25 had frequent contact with Germans, 30 percent had occasional contact, and 34 percent had no contact (Berliner Jugendliche 1992). This study also revealed that 75 and 60 percent of them watched German television and read German newspapers, respectively; in contrast, 54 and 51 percent of them watched Turkish television and read Turkish newspapers available in Germany, respectively (Berliner Jugendliche 1992). Although younger Turks may be more familiar with German culture, they are generally less educated and have a lower occupational status than their German counterparts (Worbs 2003). The Turkish informant mentioned in the previous paragraph also told the author that many Turkish children in Ger-

many speak only Turkish at home and have limited exposure to German prior to entering the school system. As such, they are somewhat disadvantaged and have difficulty maintaining a high level of educational motivation.

Furthermore, the general level of Turkish assimilation into German society is still low, something reflected by their overall socio-economic status. Turkish immigrants have lower average household incomes than most Germans (Kürsat-Ahlers 1996). This condition reflects their occupational status. In 1994, three percent of Germans had unskilled jobs compared to 19 percent for Turks, and more than 60 percent of Germans were either self-employed or white-collar workers compared to 20 percent for Turks (Seifert 1998). Similarly, more recent figures indicate that only 2.2 percent of Germans aged 16 to 25 years hold unskilled jobs compared to 15.8 percent for second generation Turks (Worbs 2003).

Considering the characteristics of Turkish people in Germany, their family residential patterns should be expected to differ from those of ethnic Germans. It is likely that a strong maintenance of Turkish cultural identity and minimal assimilation into German society on the part of first generation Turks has influenced a more traditional Turkish residential pattern among their adult children. It is possible, therefore, that Turkish immigrant families exhibit a strong tendency for virilocal post-marital residence. Accordingly, a woman is expected to leave her natal family home at marriage and become a member of her husband's family, which usually involves living with her husband's parents (Lievens 1999).

On one hand, Turkey has become more modern in a western sense over the past few decades, and traditional virilocal residence has been on the decline especially in urban areas. Moreover, compared to Turks in Turkey, recent Turkish immigrants in Germany have been more exposed to western ideals; indeed, modern western customs are now a part of their children's lives. Turkish immigrant families may not, therefore, adhere strictly to traditional virilocal cultural norms. On the other hand, this institution may still be a prevalent component of immigrant Turkish family values in Germany. The influence of this institution may be particularly strong because the majority of first-generation Turkish immigrants in Germany came from rural areas where traditional virilocality was the predominant residential pattern (Ilcan 1994; Kürsat-Ahlers 1996). Compared to adult children of German nationals, therefore, this study hypothesizes that Turkish married children will tend to exhibit virilocal residential tendencies.

In testing this hypothesis, the author has quantified the non-coresidential behavior of adult children according to the linear distance separating their residences from those of their mothers. This focus is more precise than many

previous comparative studies that have simply dichotomized residential behavior as either coresidential or not (i.e., Aquilino 1990; Juang, Silbereisen and Wiesner 1999). Despite well developed modern means of communication, distance still largely influences the intensity of familial interaction, and the feasibility of providing or receiving various forms of support is constrained by distance (Silverstein and Litwak 1993). When an individual establishes an independent household near their natal home, they have a greater potential for access to natal family resources. Consequently, the individual may have a similar level of family interaction and support than he/she had while residing in the natal home. One's level of accessibility to this type of support may decline the further they live from the natal household. Therefore, examining the prevalence of adult child coresidence and the amount of distance separating independent households will yield more inclusive and insightful information on family residential behavior.

Data

This study uses data from first-hand interviews with 82 Turkish and 106 German women living in Germany between 2002 and 2003. These women were recruited through public advertisements and personal networks. Acknowledging the limitations of a small sample recruited with these strategies, the study still provides significant, insightful information on the topic at hand. Most women were interviewed in their homes; some were interviewed in public places such as schools or parks. At the time fieldwork was conducted, all study respondents were 40 years old or older, and none were childless. The average age of the German women was 59.50 (st.dev.= 12.05; from 41 to 88); the average age for Turkish women was 51.34 (st.dev.= 6.09; from 41 to 70). The average number of children was 2.52 (st.dev.= 1.17; from 1 to 6) for the German women, and 3.70 (st.dev.= 1.35; from 2 to 7) for the Turkish women.

During interviews conducted in the native language of each study respondent, information about family demographic characteristics and geographic dispersion was collected. Family demographic information included the number of children an interviewee had, and the age, gender, and marital status of her children. Family geographic dispersion included information on where each of the interviewee's children were born, where they lived at the time of the interview, and how far these households were from her residence.

Adult children were defined as those 20 years old or older, so information on children younger than 20 years was not incorporated into the study. This criterion was used because most individuals in Germany complete their civil or military service by the age of 20. Also, the few cases of children who were divorced or widowed (eleven

divorced respondents in the Turkish sample, and thirteen divorced and three widowed respondents in the German sample) were eliminated from the analyses. In other words, this study dealt only with adult children who were single (never married) or married. Consequently, the analysis is based on 247 Turkish and 200 German adult children. These children's characteristics are shown in Table 1.

Measurement

Dependent Variable: Distance

During the interviews, each study respondent was asked how far she resided in kilometers from her children. Cases where a woman was living with one of her children were coded 0. For cases where a woman and her child were living separately, she was asked to provide the linear distance between their homes.³ Although responses were usually given in kilometers, some women were unable to provide such information. In these cases, the author calculated the distance according to map information. Also, there were a few responses of overly exaggerated distance. For example, one woman suggested that she was living 10,000 km from her adult child residing in the U.S. Consequently, these distances were corrected according to map information. Details of the distance variable are shown in Table 1.

In terms of analyses, this study included adult children (either Turkish or German) living not only in Germany but also in other countries, such as Turkey, the U.S., Korea, France, Italy, Belgium, or the Netherlands.⁴ International migration in the world today is common, and individuals sometimes live in separate countries from their parents because of educational, occupational, or other opportunities. Hence, this study considers the factors motivating the residence of adult children outside Germany to be similar to those motivating residence elsewhere in Germany. Also, the cases of Turkish parents in Germany who have adult children living in Turkey are largely considered to be a result of family decisions. On the one hand, according to the German family reunion law, children 16 years of age or older are not automatically allowed to join their families in Germany. Therefore, the behavior of some Turkish adult children in Turkey may be based on this age limitation, not personal or family choice. On the other hand, in such cases, the parents in Germany could have chosen to return to Turkey to live with or be close to them. The objective of this study is to examine the geographic dispersion of adult children and whether those of Turkish descent exhibit virilocal tendencies by way of identifying those most likely to live with or close to their mothers. Therefore, the inclusion of adult children living in Turkey is meaningful because it is pertinent to defining the factors underlying normative residential patterns.

Table 1: Characteristics of Adult Children

	Total N=447		German N=200		Turkish N=247	
Age	Mean	31.10	Mean	34.70	Mean	28.19
	St. Dev.	8.50	St. Dev.	9.73	St. Dev.	5.97
	Range	20–64	Range	20–64	Range	20–45
Gender	Male	234 (52.3%)	Male	106 (53.0%)	Male	128 (51.8%)
	Female	213 (47.7%)	Female	94 (47.0%)	Female	119 (48.2%)
Marital Status	Single	171 (38.3%)	Single	77 (38.5%)	Single	94 (38.1%)
	Married	276 (61.7%)	Married	123 (61.5%)	Married	153 (61.9%)
Brothers	Mean	1.3982	Mean	1.1200	Mean	1.6235
	St. Dev.	1.13359	St. Dev.	1.08697	St. Dev.	1.12254
	Range	0–5	Range	0–5	Range	0–5
	Missing	0	Missing	0	Missing	0
Sisters	Mean	1.3826	Mean	1.1300	Mean	1.5870
	St. Dev.	1.17292	St. Dev.	1.02389	St. Dev.	1.24593
	Range	0–6	Range	0–4	Range	0–6
	Missing	0	Missing	0	Missing	0
Education	Mean	11.09	Mean	12.44	Mean	9.98
	St. Dev.	2.78	St. Dev.	2.37	St. Dev.	2.60
	Range	0–16	Range	9–16	Range	0–16
	Missing	20	Missing	7	Missing	13
Mother's Education	Mean	6.82	Mean	10.87	Mean	3.50
	St. Dev.	4.56	St. Dev.	2.25	St. Dev.	3.04
	Range	0–16	Range	8–16	Range	0–11
	Missing	3	Missing	0	Missing	3
Distance	Mean	285.66	Mean	140.93	Mean	403.38
	St. Dev.	909.62	St. Dev.	496.78	St. Dev.	1127.65
	Range	0–8500	Range	0–6500	Range	0–8500
	Missing	10	Missing	4	Missing	6

**Independent Variables:
Ethnicity, Gender and Marital Status**

Each adult child interviewee was coded as either Turkish or German, and male or female. Child marital status was coded as either single or married. When an adult child was not formally married but living with a significant other, he or she was coded as married. Although some studies have revealed different residential behaviors according to whether children are formally married or cohabitating (i.e., Goldscheider and DaVanzo 1989; Juang, Silbereisen and Wiesner 1999), this distinction

was not incorporated because few Turkish adult children cohabited with non-conjugal partners. Details of the ethnicity, gender and marital status variables are shown in Table 1.

**Control Variables:
Number of Brothers, Number of Sisters, Educational Level and Mothers' Educational Level**

Table 1 displays the control variables. The respective numbers of an adult child's brothers and sisters were included among these variables because siblingship is likely to

influence one's opportunity for parental interaction. In general, individuals with many siblings are considered to be individuals with fewer opportunities to establish or maintain close relationships with their parents because they are subject to relatively high levels of inter-sibling competition for parental interaction (Mitchell 1994). Consequently, it is expected that individuals with many siblings are more likely to live separately from their parents and have residences that tend to be further from their natal homes.

Moreover, the gender composition of siblings may influence an individual's residential behavior. Despite comparatively easy access to advanced, professional services in modern societies, people continue to view their family members as a primary source of assistance, and familial expectations or preferences may vary according to gender. For example, studies in the U.S. suggest that daughters are more often expected to maintain closer physical contacts with aging parents to care for them (see Brody et al. 1995; Lin and Rogerson 1995). Also, because of the recent economic reforms in China, despite a traditional patrilineal/patrilocal emphasis, daughters in urban families are increasingly involved in the care of their aging parents (Zhan and Montgomery 2003). In such contexts, there may be a lower probability for individuals with few sisters to live far from their parents because the culturally prescribed resources for meeting such expectations are relatively scarce; consequently, individuals with few sisters may end up taking on the responsibility of living with or close to their aging parents.

Two other control variables are the educational levels of adult children and their mothers. These variables were used to measure socio-economic status. Low socio-economic status is expected to influence when a child leaves home, especially prior to marriage (DaVanzo and Goldscheider 1990; Goldscheider and Goldscheider 1987). It is possible that if parents have sufficient financial wherewithal to pay for advanced education (Mitchell, 1994), a child may remain at home longer to benefit from this provision. However, studies have shown that children who are highly educated often move out earlier (Aquilino 1990; Kerckhoff and Macrae 1992), and children of highly educated parents are overall more likely to establish independent households at some point in their lives (Aquilino 1991; Murphy and Wang 1998). Moreover, high socio-economic status is expected to be more associated with children who live far from their natal homes because they can take advantage of a wider range of educational and occupational opportunities. For this study, educational level was quantified according to how many years of school an individual had completed.

Results

Patterns of Geographic Dispersion

To evaluate the study hypothesis, we look first at graphs depicting the geographic dispersion exhibited by German and Turkish adult male and female children according to marital status. Geographic distance was coded into four categories. Children living with their mothers were coded "0," those living separately but within 10 km were coded ">0-10," those living between 10 to 100 km were coded ">10-100," and those living greater than 100 km were coded ">100." These categories are used because they generally coincide with a predictable duration of time necessary to travel each distance. A distance of 10 km corresponds to about 30 minutes by bicycle, bus or local train. These means of transportation are common in Germany. This distance, therefore, represents the range of "easy access." A distance of 100 km usually takes about an hour to an hour and a half to travel by private car or express train. Beyond 100 km, travel times vary according to increasingly more wide-ranging levels of accessibility influenced by actual distance and the idiosyncratic constraints of infrastructural connectivity.

Figure 1 depicts the cases of adult German male children. They appear most likely to live with their mothers when they are single. In contrast, when they marry, they are most likely to live separately from their mothers, but within 10 km. The percentage living within 10 km of their mothers, however, is not very different from the percentages of German sons living between 10 and 100 km, or those living further than 100 km. Figure 2 depicts the cases of adult German female children. Single German females are most likely to live further than 100 km, but when they marry, they tend to live within 10 km of their mothers, and relatively few of them live further than 10 km. This differs from adult German male children, who tend to be more geographically dispersed when they marry.

Figure 3 depicts the adult Turkish male children. The vast majority of single male children live with their mothers, but when they marry, they establish residences within 10 km of their mothers. Comparing this pattern to Figure 4 depicting adult Turkish female children, it is interesting that the single Turkish female children behave much like their single Turkish male counterparts, indicating that most single adult Turkish children live with their mothers. When they marry, however, the residential pattern of Turkish female children differs from their male counterparts. The percentages of married Turkish daughters living within 10 km, between 10 and 100 km, and further than 100 km are relatively similar. Overall, the Turkish sample indicates that compared to sons, daughters are likely to disperse more randomly when they marry.

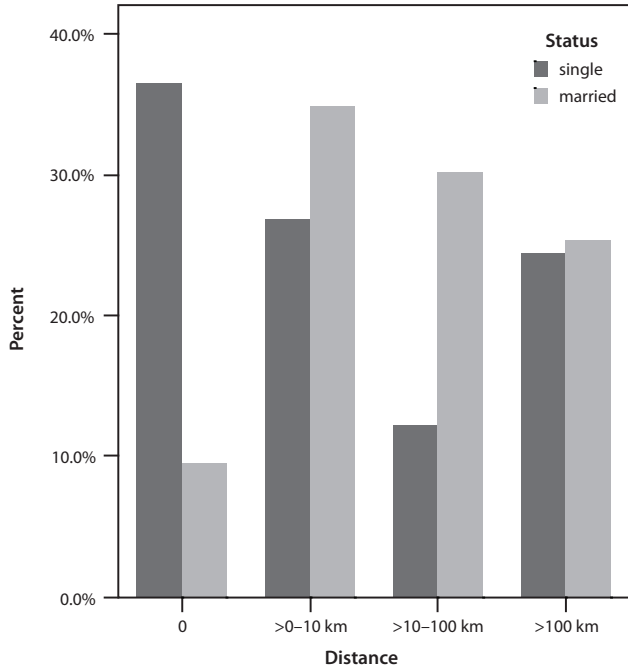


Figure 1: German Male Children

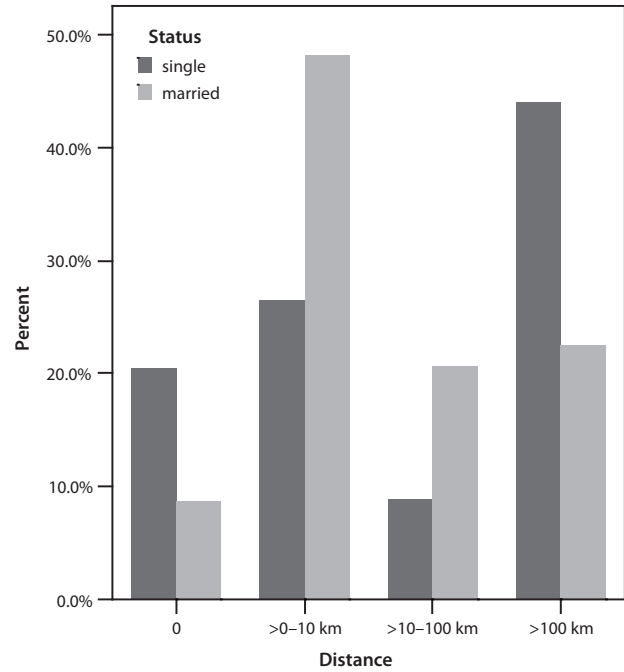


Figure 2: German Female Children

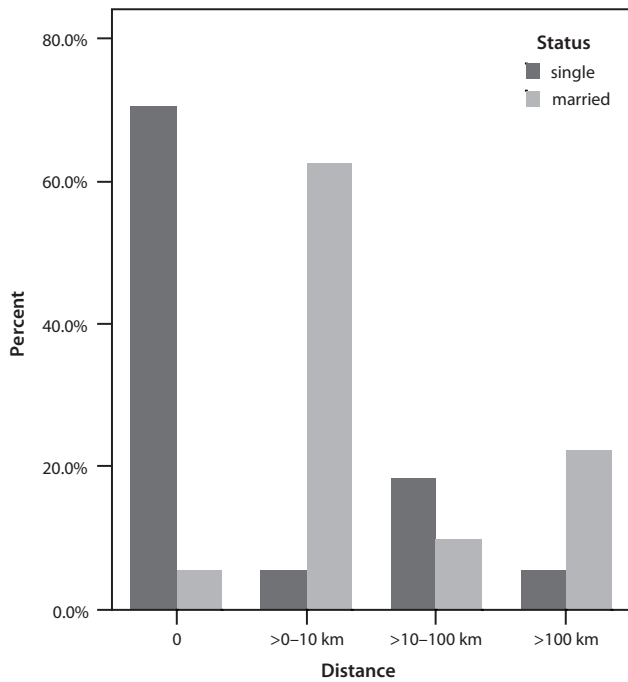


Figure 3: Turkish Male Children

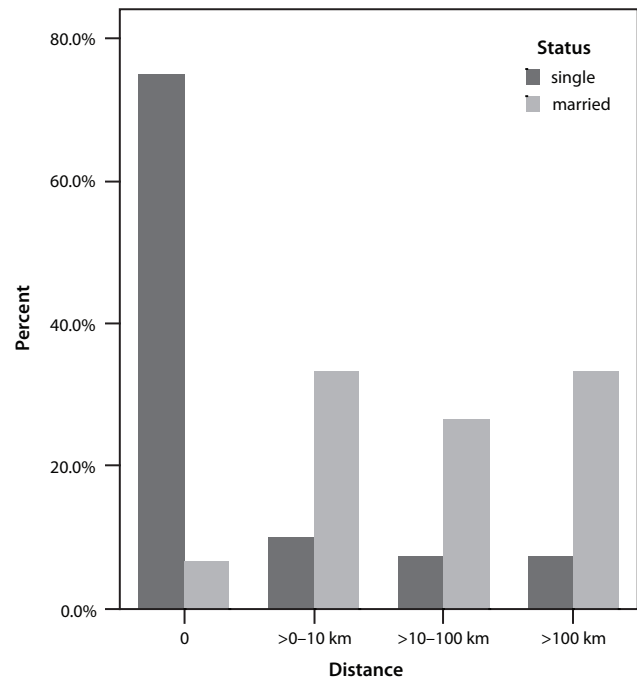


Figure 4: Turkish Female Children

Effects of Ethnicity, Gender, and Marital Status on Adult Children's Dispersion

The significance of whether the residential patterns in the graphs differ according to ethnicity, gender, and marital

status was examined with Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) in SPSS. Results are shown in Tables 2.1 and 2.2. The independent variables of ethnicity and child marital status, the interaction term between ethnicity and marital status, and the interaction between ethnicity, gender, and

Table 2.1: Descriptive Statistics for All Adult Children in Study
[Dependent Variable: Distance]

Ethnicity	Gender	Marital Status	Mean	Std. Dev.	N
German	Male	Single	64.92	113.47	39
		Married	131.93	247.74	62
		Total	106.06	208.34	101
	Female	Single	328.82	1106.94	34
		Married	93.51	177.78	57
		Total	181.43	694.30	91
	Total	Single	187.83	765.49	73
		Married	113.53	217.02	119
		Total	141.78	501.29	192
Turkish	Male	Single	125.00	569.50	49
		Married	475.09	1062.41	70
		Total	330.93	906.58	119
	Female	Single	32.61	94.03	38
		Married	737.47	1612.32	74
		Total	498.32	1350.90	112
	Total	Single	84.64	432.38	87
		Married	609.92	1374.41	144
		Total	412.09	1144.30	231
Total	Male	Single	98.37	430.66	88
		Married	313.91	807.87	132
		Total	227.69	689.40	220
	Female	Single	172.49	772.20	72
		Married	457.27	1255.42	131
		Total	356.26	1114.70	203
	Total	Single	131.72	605.55	160
		Married	385.32	1055.23	263
		Total	289.40	919.54	423

marital status relate significantly to the distance separating adult children and their mothers. The variable of ethnicity indicates that on average Turkish adult children live further from their mothers than German adult children. The variable of child marital status suggests that overall, regardless of ethnicity and gender, married children are more likely to live far from their mothers than single children. The interaction between ethnicity and marital status suggests that relative to Germans, Turks live closer to their mothers when they are single, and they live further when they are married. This is affected by the fact that both male and female Turkish adult children are most likely to reside in the household of their parents until marriage, only to establish their own households after marriage.

Also, the interaction between ethnicity, gender, and marital status indicates a varying effect on the geographic

distance separating adult children and their mothers. Regarding the German sample, single sons live geographically closer to their mothers than married sons, but married daughters live closer to their mothers than single daughters. In comparison, both Turkish sons and daughters live further from their mothers when they are married than they do when single. In addition, the results indicate that Turkish females live geographically closest to their mothers when they are single and geographically most distant when they marry. These results support the study hypothesis because they suggest that Turkish married sons are likely to live closer to their mothers than Turkish married daughters. This pattern is consistent with the behavioral tendencies associated with virilocal residence.

Table 2.2: Results for the Case of All Adult Children in Study
[Dependent Variable: Distance]

	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Corrected Model	36226235.445	11	3293294.131	4.222	.000
Intercept	2228409.754	1	2228409.754	2.857	.092
Brothers	856703.143	1	856703.143	1.098	.295
Sisters	2220702.640	1	2220702.640	2.847	.092
Education	2531742.793	1	2531742.793	3.246	.072
Mother's Education	2878394.344	1	2878394.344	3.690	.055
Ethnicity	4715066.470	1	4715066.470	6.045	.014
Gender	1181723.774	1	1181723.774	1.515	.219
Marital Status	3739673.349	1	3729673.349	4.794	.029
Eth*Gen	161476.064	1	161476.064	.207	.649
Eth*Mari	5074046.277	1	5074046.277	6.505	.011
Gen*Mari	23681.058	1	23681.058	.030	.862
Eth*Gen*Mari	3868335.140	1	3868335.140	4.959	.026
Error	320599787.4	411	780048.144		
Total	392252165.6	423			
Corrected Total	356826022.8	422			

Effects of Gender and Age on Married Children's Dispersion

Although these results have demonstrated how an adult child's marital status differentially affects the distance they live from their mothers, the results are unclear about which child according to gender lives closest when married. Therefore, additional ANOVA tests were conducted on separate samples of German and Turkish married children, respectively. Again, the dependent variable was the actual distance between an adult child and its mother. Independent variables were child gender and child age. Child age was also included to examine whether there would be any variation in the distance separating adult children from their mothers as they became older. This variable was divided into two categories: children aged 20 to 29 years, and children aged 30 years or older. The numbers of brothers and sisters, and the educational levels of children and their mothers were used once again as controlling variables.

The results for the German sample show no significant gender-based difference regarding the distance between mothers and their married sons and daughters, but child age is significant (see Tables 3.1 and 3.2). Although the sample of married German children in their 20s is small

(seven males and nine females), the analysis implies that compared to children in their 20s, those older than twenty-nine are more likely to live close to their mothers. Compared to the results reflected by the German sample, the Turkish sample indicates that married sons live significantly closer to their mothers than married daughters albeit the significance is borderline (see Tables 4.1 and 4.2). Again, this pattern is consistent with virilocal tendencies, and supports the hypothesis of this study. In addition, the results demonstrate with a strong level of significance that younger married Turks live closer to their mothers than older married Turks regardless of gender.

Discussion

This study has revealed differences between the family settlement patterns of German nationals and Turkish immigrants living in Germany. The German case showed that the effect of marital status on the distance separating adult children and their mothers varies according to child gender. While single sons are likely to live closer to their mothers than married sons, married daughters are likely to live closer their mothers than single daughters. The actual distance separating married children and their mothers, however, does not differ significantly according

Table 3.1: Descriptive Statistics of the Case of German Married Children
[Dependent Variable: Distance]

Gender	Age	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Male	20–29	194.0000	312.89828	7
	30 or more	124.0322	240.59740	55
	Total	131.9318	247.73516	62
Female	20–29	204.7222	304.83019	9
	30 or more	72.6565	137.95177	48
	Total	93.5089	177.78404	57
Total	20–29	200.0313	297.91008	16
	30 or more	100.0901	200.19595	103
	Total	113.5276	217.02103	119

Table 3.2: Results for the Case of German Married Children
[Dependent Variable: Distance]

	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Corrected Model	772156.556	7	110308.079	2.559	.018
Intercept	129995.183	1	129995.183	3.015	.085
Brothers	24186.956	1	24186.956	.561	.455
Sisters	2953.013	1	2953.013	.068	.794
Education	327455.825	1	327455.825	7.595	.007
Mother's Education	30053.101	1	30053.101	.697	.406
Gender	77.332	1	77.332	.002	.966
Age	176839.973	1	176839.973	4.102	.045
Gen*Age	3533.377	1	3533.377	.082	.775
Error	4785422.717	111	43111.916		
Total	7091311.673	119			
Corrected Total	5557579.273	118			

to child gender. In comparison, both Turkish male and female children are likely to live with their parents when single, and they are likely to establish their own household outside the parents' house at marriage. In such cases, sons are more likely than daughters to establish households near their mothers.

This ethnic variation is probably the result of differing cultural orientations. Relative to Germans, Turkish people are influenced by a traditional emphasis on virilocal post-marital residence. During the interviews, when Turkish study respondents were asked what they thought about the geographic distance separating them from their children, some of them said, "I wish my daughter lived close to me,

but she has to go wherever her husband goes, but my son can stay close here." This statement reflects the different expectations a woman has towards her sons and daughters; it indicates that Turkish sons establish their own households after they marry, but they are still expected to live close to their mothers.

During interviews, Turkish women seldom articulated dissatisfaction about the geographic distance separating them from their adult children.⁵ When they were asked to characterize their satisfaction with family members, some women said they were sad about frictions within the family, their children's employment status, or limited respect they receive from the younger generation. However, most

Table 4.1: Descriptive Statistics for the Case of Turkish Married Children
[Dependent Variable: Distance]

Gender	Age	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Male	20-29	16.5796	57.72948	27
	30 or more	762.9863	1277.59595	43
	Total	475.0866	1062.41105	70
Female	20-29	276.4950	769.43595	40
	30 or more	1279.7882	2119.02856	34
	Total	737.4676	1612.31633	74
Total	20-29	171.7530	606.34083	67
	30 or more	991.1845	1708.3593	77
	Total	609.9212	1374.40673	144

Table 4.2: Results for the Case of Turkish Married Children
[Dependent Variable: Distance]

	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Corrected Model	44059722.061	7	6294246.009	3.787	.001
Intercept	6702662.343	1	6702662.343	4.032	.047
Brothers	790309.515	1	790309.515	.475	.492
Sisters	4107266.668	1	4107266.668	2.471	.118
Education	3012733.759	1	3012733.759	1.812	.180
Mother's Education	2386082.185	1	2386082.185	1.435	.233
Gender	6525884.230	1	6525884.230	3.926	.050
Age	20693700.694	1	20693700.694	12.449	.001
Gen*Age	116459.015	1	116459.015	.070	.792
Error	226066401.4	136	1662252.952		
Total	323694689.6	144			
Corrected Total	270126123.5	143			

of them professed contentedness. The reason they did not complain about the geographic distance between them and their children may be partly because their sons tend to live close by (see Figure 3). Also, those women are likely to have a cultural predisposition for the traditional normative expectations of virilocality. As such, they tend not to complain although some of their daughters (and sons) may live far away.

In addition, a closer look at the data reveals that more than 50 percent of Turkish adult daughters live within 50 km of their mothers (not expressed in a table or graph form). That daughters are relatively close may be another factor contributing to the limited dissatisfaction expressed

by a woman about the geographic distance separating her and her children, especially daughters. What is particularly noteworthy here is that the virilocal tendency among Turkish immigrant families is not necessarily associated with a propensity for married daughters to live far from their parents. Moreover, although they know their daughters may live far way after marrying, they appear to prefer that their daughters live close by, if possible. This view is consistent with the borderline significance of the study results indicating that Turkish married sons live closer to their mothers than married daughters (see Table 4.2). Despite the influence of traditional virilocal norms, these results could imply a tendency for uxorilocality in which

married daughters are increasingly residing in households near their parents.⁶

Interestingly, marital status in relation to the geographic distance separating a mother from her children shows a different pattern for the German data (see Figures 1 and 2). While many single sons reside with their mothers, married sons are relatively scattered. In comparison, daughters are likely to live somewhat distant from their mothers when they are single, but they tend to live closer when married. This pattern is not evident among the adult children of Turkish immigrants. One Turkish informant told the author that it would be rare for a young single Turkish woman to live separately from her parents unless she was attending a school that was considerably distant from her natal home.

Compared to Turkish immigrants, the norms and values of German nationals exert less of an influence on where children live according to gender. This does not mean, however, that Germans are free from gender expectations. Ideologically, the geographic mobility of German daughters and sons is similarly unrestricted. Traditional gender-based expectations, however, still generally place an emphasis on the role of females as household managers, and therefore daughters tend to excel in this capacity (Ziegler and Schladt 1993). Consequently, adult daughters are more likely than adult sons to move some distance away from their natal home before marriage, while single sons are likely to remain with their mothers, who can assist them with their household needs.⁷ When sons marry or begin cohabiting with a partner on whom they can rely for these needs, they no longer need to live close to their mothers. Therefore, the geographic distance separating German mothers from their married male and female children does not differ significantly (see Table 3.2).

This study also examined the effects of age on the linear distance separating married children from their mothers. Results have shown that German children have a tendency to move closer to their mothers as they become older. They may do so because of the convenience and efficiency of familial assistance provisioning afforded by proximity. Many German couples begin having children in their 30s, hence, living close to their mothers or mothers-in-law may enhance the convenience of childcare provisioning. Also, in such cases, adult children can more effectively assist their aging parents with physically demanding tasks, not to mention alleviating the isolation often associated with old age.

The Turkish age effect is in direct contrast to the German pattern. Younger Turkish couples are likely to live closer to their mothers than older couples. There are a few possible explanations for this pattern. First, compared to older couples, young newly weds are in greater need of assistance than their German counterparts. If young

couples have limited resources when they marry, they are likely to reside with their parents until they achieve more comfortable financial footing. Some young couples may manage to establish independent households, but they will still live close to their parents to conveniently receive assistance. This pattern is typically consistent with virilocality because it appears that when young Turkish couples do not set up their own household at marriage, they are most likely to coreside with the husbands' parents. For example, one Turkish interviewee's oldest son and his wife lived in her home for about a year after they married; her second son and his wife did the same. At the time of the interview, her youngest son, who had been married for about two years, was still living in her house with his wife.

In addition, further quantitative analyses demonstrated that gender had a stronger effect on the distance separating mothers from married children in their 20s than it did for those over twenty-nine (these results are not presented in tabular form). For these analyses, Turkish married children were divided into two age categories, "20–29" and "30 or older," and ANOVA was then conducted on each category. The dependent variable was the residential distance separating those children from their mothers, and the independent variable was child gender. Moreover, the number of brothers and sisters they had, and the respective levels of education attained by them and their mothers were controlled. Although the significance is borderline ($p=.054$), the results for married children in their 20s indicate that sons live closer to their mothers than daughters. Married children over twenty-nine do not reflect a significant difference according to gender. One implication these results support is that the patterns associated with a tendency for virilocal post-marital residence are most apparent for adult children in need of assistance.

Young Turkish couples may also live relatively close to their mothers as a result of a cohort effect characterizing the children of first generation immigrants. This effect may relate to the fact that many older adult children of Turkish immigrants are likely to live in Turkey. The study sample included seventy-one married Turkish adult children in their 20s, and sixty-three of them (88.7 percent) were either born in Germany or came to Germany by the age of five. Among those seventy-one individuals, only three (4.2 percent) were living in Turkey at the time these data were collected. All three were female; two were born in Turkey and came to Germany at the age of one and three, respectively, while the other was born in Germany and then moved to Turkey.

In contrast, there were eighty-two married children older than 29 years; fifty-six of them (69.5 percent) immigrated to Germany after the age of five, and eight of them (9.7 percent) never left Turkey to live in Germany. At the time these data were collected, twenty-three (28.0 percent)

of the eighty-two married children older than 29 years were living in Turkey (including the eight children who never immigrated to Germany). These twenty-three individuals consist of eleven males and twelve females born in Turkey, only two of which came to Germany before the age of five. I suggest that children who have spent more time in Turkey are overall more likely to have had the opportunity to establish strong family relationships and attractive and more comfortable lives in Turkey. The Turkish age effect, therefore, may reflect the temporary affect of one's experience and familiarity with German and Turkish culture that varies according to the age of first generation immigrant children.

Conclusion

This study has demonstrated that both German and Turkish married children are most likely to have nuclear households, but there are significant ethnic differences between the characteristics of adult children who live separately from their mothers, and how far they live from their mothers. First of all, compared to German single children, Turkish single children are less likely to live in households separate from those of their mothers. This implies that relative to German children, who may leave home while they are still single, Turkish children tend to establish their own households at marriage. Also, in the case of married children, German daughters are more likely than German sons to reside within 10 km of their mothers; in contrast, Turkish sons are more likely than Turkish daughters to reside within this same distance (see Figures 1, 2, 3 and 4). Such ethnic variation is attributed to the different cultural, socio-economic, and historical backgrounds of both groups despite the fact that they share the same physical environment. These study results are largely compatible with findings from previous studies of family residential patterns with regard to differences between minority and majority "host" groups, the influence of traditional cultural norms, and the demands created by socio-economic conditions (i.e., Glaser and Tomassini 2000; Goldscheider and DaVanzo 1989; Yi et al. 1994).

The residential patterns of Turkish family members in Germany will probably change. Migration not only entails change in one's place of residence, but it also involves adjustments associated with the values and norms prevalent in a new social environment (Katz and Lowenstein 1999). Because of drastic international/intercultural migration, undoubtedly Turkish immigrants and their family members are still in the process of adjusting to the German social environment. One interesting possibility is an emergent tendency towards uxori-locality concurrent with a move away from the traditional virilocal norm as a result of modernization. If so, son-biased residence may

decline as daughter-bias residence increases; eventually the latter pattern could become more common, as it is among the German families examined in this study. Given that daughter-bias residence is becoming more common in some other parts of the world,⁸ future studies may substantiate a cross-cultural pattern of uxori-local tendency in modernizing and post-modernized societies.

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Endnotes

1 "German national" refers to a German citizen with German ethnicity. The German nationals in this study have Caucasian characteristics and come from historically German families; this category does not include naturalized foreigners.

2 See Nosaka and Chasiotis (in press) for the socio-cultural conditions in Turkey around the time those Turkish people were migrating to Germany.

3 It should be noted that the linear distance provided by the interviewees may not precisely correspond to actual geographic distance; it should, therefore, be understood as a representation of distance.

4 The fact that some Turkish adult children lived in Turkey undoubtedly influenced the calculation of Turkish distance.

5 Even though some of the Turkish interviewees had adult sons who were currently living far away, these women did not specifically complain about this situation in response to the question regarding their family life satisfaction. Similar to Turkish women, German women who participated in this study generally made no specific complaints about the geographic distance separating them from their children. Although some of those women said that they were lonely or had limited communication with their family members, they did not seem to connect such feelings with residential distance. Only a couple of women explicitly expressed feelings about the residential status of their children, saying, "The children should live nearer" or "It is sad that my son will be moving out soon."

6 In order to evaluate this possibility among Turkish immigrant families, additional ANOVAs were conducted on married sons and daughters, respectively (these results are not presented in tabular form). For each analysis, the dependent variable was the residential distance separating those adult children from their mothers, and the independent variable was child age categorized as either "20–29" and "30 or older." Moreover, the number of brothers and sisters they had, and the respective levels of education attained by them and their mothers were controlled. The results indicate that while both younger sons and daughters are likely to live closer to their mothers than their older counterparts, the significance for daughters ($p=.015$) is stronger than that for sons ($p=.046$). These results overall imply that young Turkish married children are beginning to reside closer to their mothers, and that this pattern is particularly apparent for daughters, which shows an increase in uxorilocal tendencies.

7 This interpretation is compatible with findings made by a previous study (Juang, Silbereisen and Wiesner 1999), which indicated that German females were likely to leave home earlier than German males.

8 A study by Ng, Phillips, and Lee (2002) indicates a shift from traditional patri/virilocal norms to neolocality in Hong Kong, which has been undergoing considerable modernization over the past three decades. It has found that parents are likely to prefer living with or close to their daughters, and many married daughters tend to live close to their natal home despite traditional patri/virilocal ideals. Also, Lievens (1999) discusses the potential shift towards uxorilocal tendencies among Turkish families in Belgium. He attributes such tendencies to the fact that many young Turks, particularly females, select marriage partners from Turkey to achieve more freedom and a position of relative power in their partnerships.

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