TRANSITIONS TO FATHERHOOD IN EAST GERMANY IN THE 1990S.

PSYCHOLOGICAL DETERMINANTS OF CHILDBEARING AND THE MEANING OF ENTERING INTO PARENTHOOD FOR YOUNG ADULTS FROM ROSTOCK: AN EVENT-HISTORY AND QUALITATIVE COMPOSITE INVESTIGATION WITHIN THE ROSTOCK LONGITUDINAL SURVEY.

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Women don't like to hear that kind of thing,
but they've really changed a lot in the last couple of years.
(Mr. B.)

Nichts ist drinnen, nichts ist draußen,
Denn was innen, Das ist außen.
(Goethe)

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 The Topic

The life course has become one of the major topics in the social sciences during the past few decades. In the life course paradigm, innumerable intellectual endeavors resonate and gravitate. Many researchers in the humanities seem to sense that there is scarcely a better topic that would encompass as many scientific questions, as much insight into the *moderna conditio humana*, and as many possibilities for relevant knowledge the creation, determination, and imponderables of the path people take through life. Demographers count the sub-populations that make up the stages and events of different cohorts. Psychologists seek to understand what people experience and act like as they proceed through life, what makes them competent and happy or, conversely, what brings them despair and disaster. Out of all the disciplines, researchers in sociology are arguably most aware of how strongly the life course paradigm reflects the mutual dependence of society and individuals, pointing to the fact that the life course cannot be fully explained from the societal nor the individual level alone. They have even provided some evidence recently that the life course itself can acquire the nature of a self-referentially evolving, autopoietic structure with its own self-determined structure, operations, and conditioned co-productions (Luhmann, 1994: 196ff.). Whatever theory best captures the essence of the issue, the life course paradigm is unquestioned as an excellent meeting place for multi-methodological and trans-disciplinary approaches to a profound understanding of an evolving society and of changing people (cf. Lamnek, 2002).

Besides the transition to parenthood as a particular event in the life courses of young adults in East Germany, along with its psychological correlates, the second major topic of this book deals with, if not a primary, then at least a secondary topic of the contemporary social sciences. "Social scientists have discovered fathers" would be an appropriate way to phrase it (LaRossa, 1997, Werneck, 1998, Fthenakis, 1999, Bledsoe et al., 2000). As applied to this research, we will have a clear focus on men, male identities, and the transition to fatherhood as it relates to the modern umbrella of *gender studies.* This topic is far more marginal in research than the life course, but there can be no doubt that it deserves more attention – *mainstream attention*, that is – than it now receives, by every researcher who deals with people.[1]

1 Along similar lines follows the much-disputed avant-garde policy of the European Union that was christened "Gender Mainstreaming" in 1997.

This book is not about theory, however. Although it was tempting at many stages of the examination to inquire more deeply into the questions of gender as an organizing principle of modern life course regimes[2], we can not give a full account of the epistemological, historical, and disciplinary rationale of the applied concepts. This would far exceed the scope of an empirical dissertation. Nevertheless, we want to introduce our research by unveiling some of the implicit assumptions which we took for granted throughout the course of our investigation. Herein, we want to expound some passages of the unwritten "engagement announcement" which sociology and psychology have been trying to draw up for some time now.

A last introductory remark: This book is written by a psychologist and, thus, acquires the typical "micro-micro" perspective of the discipline in question for which differential correlates determine the transition to fatherhood. Nevertheless, it is a book about society as well. At any stage of the investigation, we are well aware of the fact that, whatever the microscopic perspective of psychology reveals, we at the same time bear witness to the societal conditions in which these mechanisms unfold. Thus, this book is inevitably also about East German society in the 1990s.

1.2 The Life Course

Let us start with simple distinctions. The life course has been defined as the actual structure of states and events in which people's lives take place (Alheit, 1990: 8). In particular, sequences of status transitions (or biographical transitions) are constitutive of the life course, as they make up the "chain of real events", the latter probably being the briefest possible definition of the life course (given by Beck, 1995: 12). By contrast, a biography is the "individually narrated story of life which presents the life course, its historical and societal conditions and events as well as the inner psychic development of a person in their mutual interdependence" (Alheit, ibid.). By this comparison, it becomes evident that the life course is a sociological category that serves for the observation of people in the context of their life span and different life domains[3]. This life span is typically conceptualized as consisting of events, non-events, and intervals of time passing.

Also for the life course, however, we have to account for "sociology's inclination to the use of hyphens" (Hartfiel & Hillmann, 1972: 97), so that is may sound reasonable to observe the life course with respect to different domains. One may differentiate, thus, an occupation-life course, an education-life course, a partnership-life course, a residence-life course and so on.[4]

More centrally, however, it appears relevant to us to bear in mind that life courses themselves are structures (or, to speak in the terminology of Luhmann, self-referential events), which are products of the modernization of societies (Mayer, 1997). Extensive literature is available which convincingly shows that the period of the 1950s and 1960s can be considered (in Western societies) as the heydays of the "institutionalized life course" (Kohli, 1985). The underlying idea of this concept is that due to the rapid development of the institutions of modern societies (including the educational system, market economy, legal system, social security and retirement systems, medical system and many more) a well-defined structure of interdependent statuses and transitions evolved into an institution itself. Standard quotations such as "love and marriage, baby carriage", "first lovers, then fiancés, spouses in the end" (in German at least), "what you never learn as a child, you'll never learn as an adult", or "state welfare from the cradle to the grave" allude to this development. They give vivid examples of how the modernization of society required the definition

2 For such interest, see the seminal books by Foucault (1990) and Butler (1990).
3 By analogy, we can consider a biography as a category (set of schemas) by which people observe their life course in the same context (cf. instructive reflections by Hahn, 2000: 97ff.).
4 "Germanisms" in the use of the hyphen are intentional in order to highlight the gist of the quotation.

and self-definition of people as recipients or producers of certain material and non-material goods, as status holders or status aspirants, as entitled or not entitled to treatment or provision at different stages of the life course—including the respective transitions between those statuses. In the said decades, one can attribute relative stability and success to these definitions.[5]

However, for the last two decades of the 20th century, sociologists have diagnosed a more or less rapid breakdown of the institutionalized life course. Scholars claim that what had been a stable structure of statuses and events has been shaken, and formerly unknown degrees of freedom, precariousness, insecurity, or, in brief, de-institutionalization have emerged ("disorder in the life course", Rindfuss et al., 1987; cf. Keupp, 1994, Hitzler & Honer, 1994, Beck et al., 1996, Keupp & Höfer, 1997, Buchmann, 1989, Giddens, 1991, Habermas, 1985). This means that life courses have also been subjected to the Janus-faced development of what is known as the process of individualization: individuals are being set free from former constraints and bindings, but are also subject to experiencing a whole range of new insecurities and new constraints (Beck, 1995, Schulze, 1995, Barnett & Hyde, 2001, a summary discussion is provided by Schroer, 2000). In consequence, the life course, at least certain aspects of it, has evolved into a truly self-selective, self-referential, and autonomous structure. That is, to a greater extent the life course is determined by its own structure alone (like, for instance, education before occupation, social security payments before social security reception, a master's degree before a doctorate, etc.), and loses its determination of "external" causes like, for instance, age, gender, social class, religion, *the* state, *the* economy, etc. (Luhmann, 1994, for opposing views, see Hartmann, 2002).

New family regimes in the de-institutionalized life course?

In the cited context, much debate has been conducted on the transformation of the family and of family formation processes (cf. the discussion on the "polarization" of private lives, Schulze & Tyrell, 2002). More specifically for our topic, research on the transition to adulthood and on age norms of biographical transitions are particularly instructive. For the former topic, work by Arnett (1997, 2000, 2001) and Scheer & Palkovitz (1994) deals with what has been termed "emerging adulthood". They highlight the "diversity of transitional experiences for reaching adulthood" (Scheer & Palkovitz, ibid.: 137) and show that individuals' experiences, perceptions, and beliefs are more decisive determinants for a number of life course transitions than social norms or "culture" in general (ibid.). Arnett finds convincing evidence that US-Americans in their early twenties are in a very particular period of their lives which can neither be termed adolescence nor young adulthood but, instead, *emerging adulthood* (Arnett, 2000: 469). This stage of the life course bears characteristics of a long orientation period for young adults with relatively few norms, strong explorations in various life domains, and a comparatively large set of possibilities. With a more direct focus on the transition to parenthood, we can clearly follow Rindfuss' conclusion (1991: 509; our italics) that "[w]e need to pay attention to the interplay between roles and transitions. Additional understanding of the *social demography* of fertility will lead us increasingly into related areas of human behavior, and further into the complex causal net within which fertility operates".

We find a different, but much related, strain of research in studies that deal with changes of age norms and cultural deadlines for certain transitions in modern societies (Peterson, 1996, Settersten, 1996, Montepare & Clements, 2001). Here, results suggest that age norms clearly still exist for family transitions (actually, there are sometimes very narrow bands, like, for instance, for the optimal age of first motherhood, cf. Settersten, ibid.), but that their prescriptive and proscriptive power has been clearly weakened during the last three decades (Peterson, ibid.: 201f.). The socially accepted range as well as the variance of the respective limits for a specific transition are constantly

5 One only needs to recall the overwhelming percentage of people who used to finish their education between the ages of 19 and 25, enter (and stay in) the work force immediately after that, marry and to become parents a few years later, to own a house, and to retire around the age of 65.

increasing, and these deadlines turn rather into elastic guidelines for behavior. Generally, "the range of cultural age deadlines [is] greater for men's lives than for women's" (Settersten, ibid.: 185).

1.3 Methodological Individualism: The Need for a Micro-Foundation of the Life Course

What we raised above concerning the individualized (de-institutionalized) life course poses a simple but difficult question: do we *really* need a theory of individual actors for a scientific model of the life course? Isn't it sufficient to observe the distribution and transitions of persons on a numerical level at different stages of the life course and to draw our conclusions about social order from these observations?

Different views are held regarding an answer, and not seldom the claim against overestimating the relevance of individuals in sociological research is strongly made (Luhmann, 1984: 346ff. and 1997: 36ff., cf. the macro-analyses of fertility behavior by Dyson, 2001 and Sanderson, 2001). Indeed, it is a compelling idea to remain, somehow in the style of a "social bookkeeper", at a certain distance in our observations and to calculate shifting percentages and changing sequences for clusters of people instead of for individuals.[6]

But in general, the majority of scholars from various provenance call for an intensified study on the (micro) level of social actors. In fact, many authors foresee the fall of social sciences if social scientists fail to achieve credible explanations for individual behavior (Willekens, 1991). This train of thought has its roots in what is known as "methodological individualism".[7] Here, common ground is that a full and valid scientific explanation –also of people's course through life– requires giving answers to the questions of *causes*, *mechanisms*, and *consequences* by which it translates and takes shape in the *individual* case (Coleman, 1994: 13ff.). Inquiries following the agenda of methodological individualism seek to "explain social processes and events by being deduced from (a) principles governing the behavior of participating individuals and (b) descriptions of their situations" (Watkins, 1973: 149).

From what we said above, it is quite conceivable to regard the implementation of methodological individualism as a particular challenge for classical demography, as it can be regarded as the epitome of a social macro science. However, it would be entirely wrong to assume that demography is only pushed by external forces to expand the agenda toward the micro level of social actors. Prominent authors from inside the field have also articulated this need. Claims read, for instance, that demography should attempt to "move beyond elaborate description" (Hobcraft, 2000), to achieve "credible explanations for social behavior [...] by trying to achieve subjective understandings of how actors themselves experience the world" (Bledsoe et al., 2000: 4) and "to exceed ad-hoc explanations of statistical correlations" (Burch, 2003) by inclusion of research on the micro level. For some authors, this question even yields an appropriate measure of a mature versus an immature science of population (de Bruijn, 1999: 1).

Regardless of which preferences one holds in this discourse, the question of the micro level of individual actors is certainly the place where psychology comes into interplay with demography. As a potential outcome of such a "happy betrothal" of these epitomes of a macro and a micro discipline[8], we claim to better understand statuses, events, transitions, and the inner logic of the life

6 Presumably, this is the classical demographers' view (and dream).
7 This term was introduced by the German economist Schumpeter in 1908.
8 There are exceptions in each field, of course, which reveal the oversimplification (for a didactic purpose) of this comparison.

course when we also understand those individuals that live through it. To guide our research agenda, we propose an approach that we would like to call socio-psychological individualism.

1.4 Socio-Psychological Individualism: A Happy Betrothal of the Disciplines in Life Course Research?

We would like to define socio-psychological individualism as a methodology which aims to gain an optimal amount of information on psychological differentials of people at different stages of the societal structure in order to draw conclusions on societal principles.[9] By this definition we formulate an approach which reaches beyond the benchmark of methodological individualism by calling not only for *micro* data but also for the collection of *psychological micro* data which promotes an understanding of those mechanisms which *differentiate* between persons in their course through life. Furthermore, we do not mean to stop after the first step of uncovering "differential mechanisms" that trigger decisions, transitions, or persistence in the life course, but to use this information to trace findings back to the structure of society in which these psychological differences unfold and make their impact felt. Such socio-psychological individualism thereby pays heed to an instructive metaphor used by German scholar Walter Edelstein who contends that "without psychology, sociology suffers from defective vision, whereas psychology stays mute and blind without sociology" (Edelstein, 1999: 35; our translation; cf. Thomae, 2002).

What we mean by socio-psychological individualism, attains immediate evidence and plausibility if one takes into account that any potential characteristic (change) of the life course can *not only* be observed on a macro or a sociological micro level[10] but also on the psychological characteristics of single actors. Various authors have provided instructive hints that point in this direction. We find in the current literature evidence of the impact of different aspects of individual orientation capabilities in the face of rapidly growing biographical choice opportunities (Keupp, 1994). We find reports of people who develop a real "life of their own" (Beck, 1995), who are successful self-developers, self-actualizers, or self-finders with particular social skills (Keupp, ibid.). We also find literature on an increase of negative emotions such as loneliness, depression, and fear (Schulze, 1995), and learn about the individually perceived "new dependencies" that Beck (1995) talks about. There can be no doubt that it is worthwhile (for psychologists, but also for sociologists or demographers) to pay attention to the biographical choice processes that people perform (Sloan, 1996), to biographical desire and despair (Luhmann, 1984: 365f.), and to processes of individual development (Edelstein, 1999).

The most comprehensive reflections on the question of what a psychological contribution to research on societal change (in particular that of East Germany) can be, has been published by Trommsdorff (1994, 1996, 2000). Whilst her general line of reasoning follows the same train of thought on the interrelatedness of internal processes with external contexts, she identifies specific topics of theory and research in social and developmental psychology which she regards as being particularly well-suited to providing such a contribution. She regards first and foremost the *psychology of coping* (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984) and *ecopsychological models* of human action, in the terms of Bronfenbrenner (1981, 1995). According to Trommsdorf, in these fields of research, much relevant knowledge has been collected on the interrelatedness of abilities, motives, self-concepts, resources, identity, and other concepts. However it would be unjustified to expect unanimous consent on the best method of performing "transformation research". Thus,

9 This view was inspired by Hammel (1990).

10 This would mean, for instance, to observe socio-economic differentials in the life course, to count individual transitions in the employment career, or to regress second birth risks to the income distribution of a couple.

Trommsdorf correctly points out that these questions will be much more a challenge than routine for psychology (ibid.: 321).

Bearing these reflections in mind, we will attempt to draw on various psychological expertise in order to shed light on societal processes in our study. From the proposed standpoint of a socio-psychological individualism, where personal motives and chances, dilemmas and dispositions receive relevance for the course of life of individual actors, our investigation of transitions to parenthood in East Germany begins.

1.5 Betrothal II: Micro Foundation Means Gender Foundation

As our last introductory reflection, we would like to highlight an additional theoretical insight that we want to apply to our "socio-psychological individualism" agenda. We do not only want to consider *people*, but instead *men* and *women*. We take genences explicitly into consideration. This is due to the concise observation by feminists, but not only by them, that many domains of the social world are "gendered". This means that, for the most part, human lives have a different layout, logic, and meaning for men and for women—we must only think of instances like the employment market, the legislation of divorce, or parent-child ties to find this argument compelling.

The term "gender" in itself already constitutes an important benchmark in order to point toward the two-sided coin of a socio-psychological individualism. The specific value of the notion of "gender" lies in its inherent tension with the term "sex". Although most people attribute one of the two most prominent sexes to themselves[11], this is by no means "natural", but rather a characteristic of the society we live in (Townsend, 2002: 2).[12] This is what feminist scholars and others mean when they state that gender is the structure of society which makes people attribute certain characteristics to themselves in correspondence with the notions of male and female (Connell, 1990, Barnett & Hyde, 2001).

Such initial conjectures have, in the meanwhile, been extended by various fields of research. They have gained precision and succinctness, and they are the topic of innumerous instructive publications on the gender role identity (Athenstaedt, 1999, 2003), gender and development (Maccoby & Jacklin, 1987), gender and reproductive behavior (Kaufman, 2000), etc.. Even though we will not always be able to fulfil the high demands which this notion of "gender" imposes on social research throughout the whole book, it will serve as an important category for achieving differential views on our results.

1.6 The Transition to Fatherhood as an Event in the Life Course

Our investigation deals with the question of the determinants and the meaning of the transition to parenthood—or more precisely, according to what we said above, to *fatherhood* and *motherhood* with a main focus on fatherhood. On a factual dimension, parenthood is an excellent example of a life course event. It pertains to certain features which make research on its causes, characteristics,

11 Or, if not, it is attributed by force to them, as research on the (partly stirring) fate of inter-sexuals reveals.
12 Ethnographers provide rich evidence of cultures with more than two sexes (cf. Harris, 1989: 337).

and consequences both interesting, relevant, and challenging (Clausen, 1995). Let us try to characterize it as a life course event by illustrating ten points.

(1) In Western societies, the transition to parenthood is a clearly marked transition, which connects two well-defined distinct statuses from the life course (being childless and being a parent).

(2) If a transition to parenthood occurs, it is a unique event for the individual. One might bear a child several times, of course, but the transition from childless→parent has by definition been made with the first child. For births of higher order one speaks of transitions to different *parities* but not of the transition to parenthood.

(3) Factually, if the transition has occurred for an individual, it is irreversible. Even if a child may be taken away from a parent (by death, by loss of contact, et cetera), a parent will remain, for instance, a father whose child has died, a mother who lost contact with her child, and so on.[13]

(4) Sociologically speaking, the transition to parenthood is a culturally "rich transition". That is, we usually find a rich bundle of meanings, symbols, rites, ceremonies, traditions, and consequences attached to it in any given culture. It often assumes the status of an initiation into adulthood or, at least, into the group of parents.[14]

(5) Within and across populations, one can observe a strong variability of the numerical features of the transition to parenthood. Some instances are early parenthood vs. late parenthood in the personal biography (that is, considerable differences in parents' age at first birth), voluntary and involuntary childlessness (that is, a variable share of people who do not experience the transition at all), and, typically, differences between the sexes in these numbers.

(6) The transition to parenthood is usually constituted by and regularly poses problems to the societal sphere of intimate relationships. This statement refers to the exclusive position of families in modern societies. From a functionalist point of view, families serve the reproduction of intimacy (Fuchs, 1999, Luhmann, 1982: 183ff.) and guarantee the "full inclusion" of persons into social systems (Reis & Patrick, 1996: 535ff.).[15]

(7) We find a structural interdependence and coupling processes with the family system, in which the transition typically takes place, with almost any of the public spheres like, for instance, with the economic system (parental leave, child benefits, work-family-compatibility, et cetera), the law system (family law, custodial law, et cetera), politics (family policy, et cetera), and many other instances.

(8) Methodologically, the transition to parenthood can only be investigated by observational studies, as studies under experimental conditions are excluded.

(9) The transition to parenthood itself has an impact on the numerical level of population, as it constitutes the initial size of young cohorts within a population.

(10) Most importantly and to put it pointedly: the notion of a "transition to parenthood" is a methodological artifact. Empirically, we can only observe and have to differentiate

13 "Parenthood ... ends only with the death of the parent", say Anthony & Benedek (1970: 185).
14 Clausen (1995: 368ff.) makes a point of the fact that it is theoretically and empirically justified to term the transition to parenthood a true turning point in people's biography.
15 Other authors use anthropological arguments and say that families serve to meet the need for a personal foundation (Huinink, 1995a: 139). We cannot elaborate on this crucial theoretical questions of need, goals, or functions any further here. However, we take up this question in section 5.2.4 when we talk about desire for intimacy.

transitions to *motherhood* and transitions to *fatherhood*. That is, each of these nine persuasive "common sense" points needs to be put in concrete terms for respectively men and women. The relevance of a sex-differential approach to human development cannot be overstated (for a brief summarizing overview from a developmental psychological perspective, cf. Maccoby, 1995).

The aims to reconstruct and understand how these specifities show up in the concrete case of East Germany in the 1990s and how they take place for men in particular make up the rationale of our research.

Methodologically, our study consists of two distinct parts, both of which address the micro mechanisms of the transition to fatherhood, but with different methodologies. The first part assumes a differential-representative view. We explore how young men (in contrast to women) from East Germany differ in their propensity to become a parent relatively early or relatively late in their lives. Here, we apply an event-history approach using an advanced type of hazard regression which is now common in social research. We limit our analysis to the (first) transition to parenthood, that is, we cannot treat the question of second or higher birth parities.

The second part consists of a phenomenological-explorative approach. Here, we ask the question of how the development of a motivation to become a parent (or to postpone or to forego the option instead) turns out for young men. Which meaning do they attach to the potential event? In this step, we apply a problem-centered qualitative method. This is a well-founded technique in the interpretative sociological and psychological framework (Witzel, 2000).

1.7 Layout of the Book

The rest of the book is divided into four major parts. Part A serves as the exposition of the problem: which research questions do we address? From what do these questions arise? What is already known and where are the strong and the weak points of available explanations? Where does research have obvious or more concealed gaps? In brief, how do we see our own research as embedded in the literature and how do we set up our questions and hypotheses?

Part B presents our first approach. Here, we carry out a hazard regression of the individual transition to parenthood using psychological and other covariates. A genuinely demographic method gives us a new chance for statistical analyses of a stream of events that would not, in the same way, be feasible by the use of classical multivariate analysis only.

Part C presents our second approach. It contains the qualitative part of the study, in which we call upon men from our longitudinal survey to speak for themselves about their conceptions and desires for parenthood.

In Part D we formulate our answers. We summarize the central results from the two former parts and integrate them. We discuss our findings from various disciplinary perspectives in order to place our evidence into context.

Part A

The Transition to Fatherhood:

A Rare Event in East Germany after Unification

Chapter 2

The Demographic Situation of East Germany after Unification

The fall of the Berlin Wall on November 9, 1989, peaceful as it was, set off a process of massive upheaval affecting all fields of East German society. By the time of the Monetary Union on July 1, 1990 and of the political unification on October 3, 1990, the regulations of the Unification Treaty came into force. The immediate and radical effects of these unions exceeded the changes in other socialist countries in speed, irreversibility—and in their heteronomy and lack of alternatives. On the one hand, the material aspects of the "*Wende*" were much less difficult for the population of the GDR than for the people of its fraternal socialist countries. On the other hand, however, a feeling of devaluation and of being deprived decision-making rights was widespread among the East Germans at the beginning of the process (cf. Von Beyme, 1996, Trommsdorff & Kornadt, 2001: 380f.). Even today, more than 12 years after the unification, four out of five East Germans[16] still do not feel like "full citizens of the Federal Republic of Germany" (Der Spiegel, 29, 2002, S. 94).[17]

In addition, numerous events of particular interest to demographers – the number of births, deaths, migratory movements, marriages and divorces – faced glaring changes. The following section (2.1) introduces some of the basic demographic terms and provides a sketch of the most relevant demographic changes in East Germany after unification. The subsequent section (2.2) provides an in-depth look into East German fertility followed by a brief discussion of possible particularities and the question of representativeness of the province of Mecklenburg-West Pomerania and Rostock as a case study (2.3). Whenever possible these descriptions provide sex-specific numbers.

2.1 Demographic Data on East Germany

After the political unification of Germany, demographers observed marked changes in virtually all of the relevant demographic fields. To outline in a few words some of the developments observed after 1990, there was a drop in fertility; an increase in life expectancy; an increase in intra-German migration and non-German immigration; and a drop in marriage and divorce rates. We will refer to the changes in fertility in the following section, so we only give a description of the latter effects here (all subsequent numbers are from the Council of Europe, 2001).

On the most general level we can observe a rapid thinning-out of the population in East Germany after 1990. Whilst the total population of the GDR amounted to about 16,700,000 people in January 1989, it reached only about 15,200,000 in January 2000, this is a loss of about 9% (Figure 1). Part of this loss is due to migration, which had its peak in the years immediately surrounding unification and became significant again after 1997 (Figure 2).

16 In our text, we will refer to person who grow or grew up in the GDR or the area of the former GDR as East Germans, whilst their western counterparts are referred to as West Germans. We do so for reasons of brevity, and we will but here remind of the non-trivial character of the distinction and the necessary caution one has to apply with regard to quick associations (the German nicknames "Ossis" and "Wessis" have more or less turned into insults in the meanwhile).

17 Using sociological survey data, Koch (1998) reaches up to similarly strong diagnosis of East German feeling of difference for the mid-1990s.

Figure 1. Relative changes in population, East and West Germany 1980 to 2000 (Source: Statistisches Bundesamt).

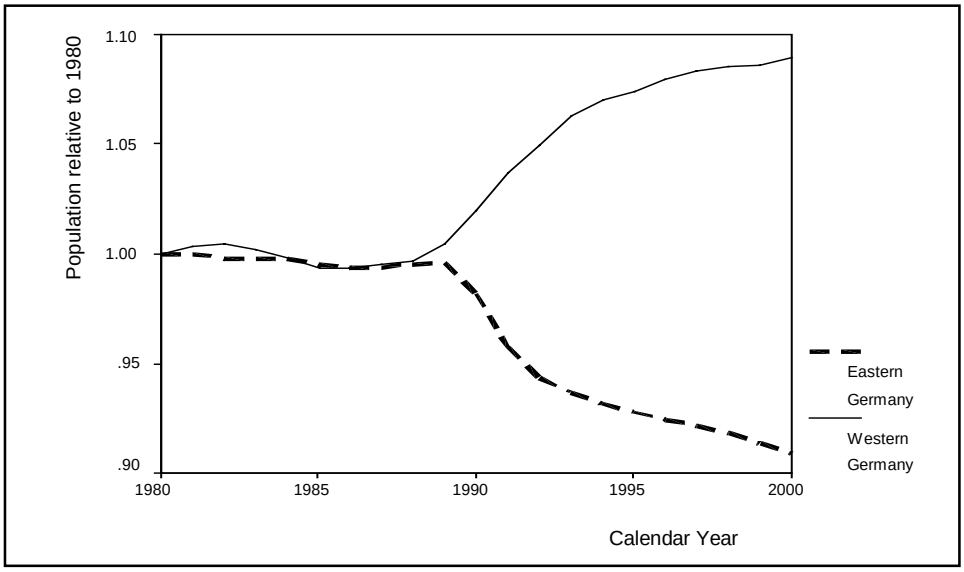
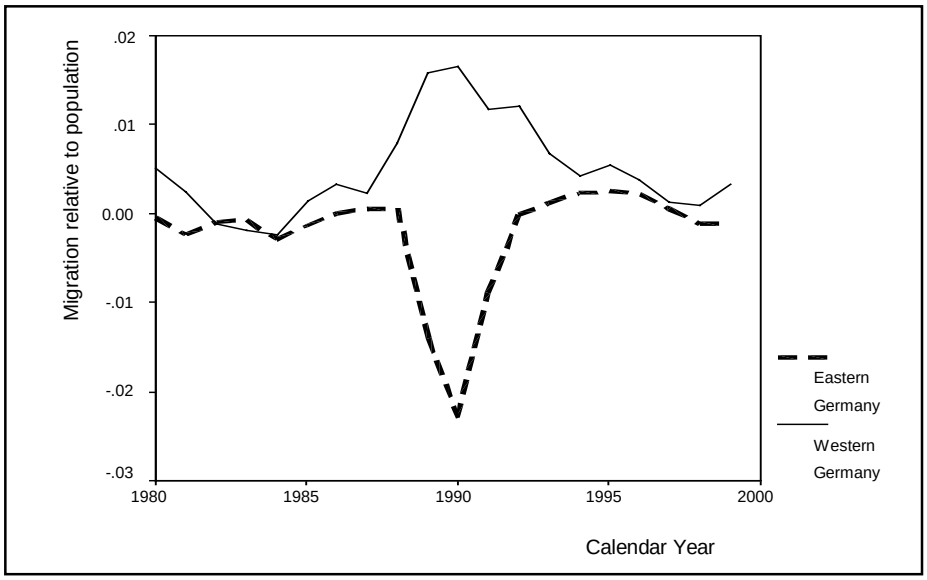


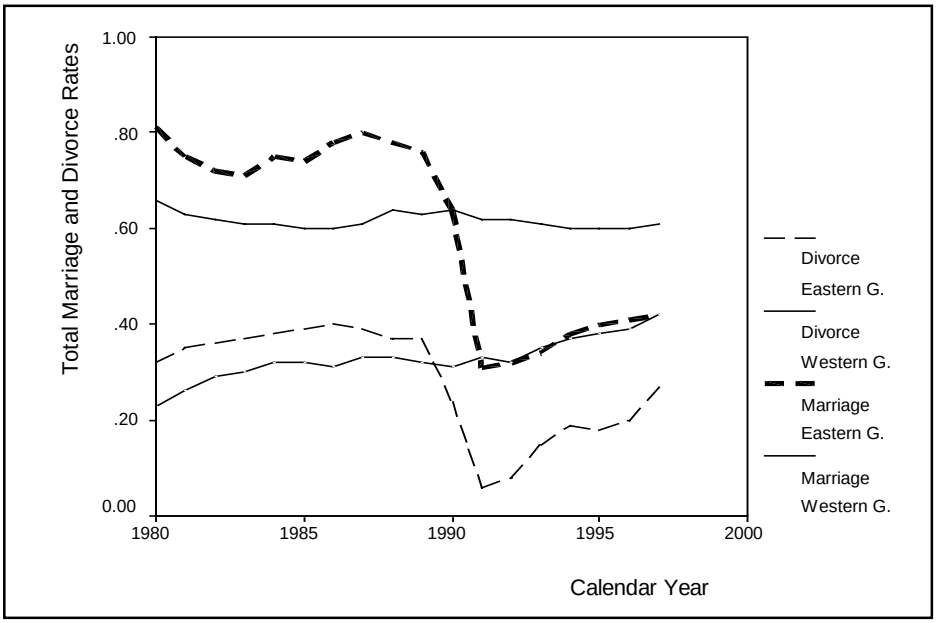
Figure 2. Population movements due to in-country migration. East and West Germany, 1980-2000 (Source: Statistisches Bundesamt).



The population loss in East Germany occurred *although* a considerable increase in life expectancy was observed from 69.2 for men in 1990 to 72.4 in 1997 (life expectancy at birth; for women, the figures are 76.2 and 79.5 respectively). Older people were also able to profit from unification in terms of an increase in life expectancy due to medical, economic, and social development (Vaupel et al., 2003).

In the family sector, the numbers of marriages and divorces were affected by the political process as well. The Total Female First Marriage Rate and the Total Divorce Rate both encountered substantial lows in the mid-1990s before starting to rise again in the late 1990s (Figure 3). Scholars argue that this shows that East Germans forwent any relevant long-term decisions in the uncertain times of social change ("freezing hypotheses", see Sackmann, 1999). However significant these other demographic changes were, the magnitude of changes in the fertility sector surpassed these.

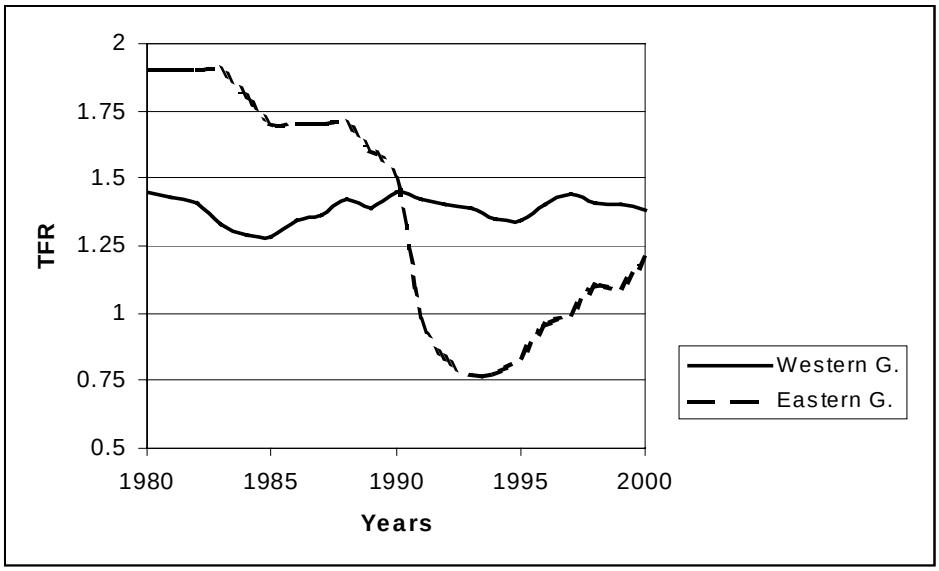
Figure 3. Marriage and divorce rates. East and West Germany 1980-2000 (Source: Council of Europe).



2.2 The East German "Fertility Crisis"

Immediately after unification, a massive and unprecedented drop in the East German fertility rate occurred. Whilst about 200,000 live births were registered in the GDR for the year 1988, the number decreased to only about 80,000 in each of the years 1993, 1994, and 1995. Figure 4 displays the drop as reflected in the values of the Total Fertility Rate, this is the average number of children a woman will have given birth to at the end of her fecund period, given that no changes in the age-specific fertility rates occur (or, very roughly speaking, it shows the average number of children born per woman).

Figure 4. Total Fertility Rate, East and West Germany, 1980-2000 (Source: Statistisches Bundesamt)**.**

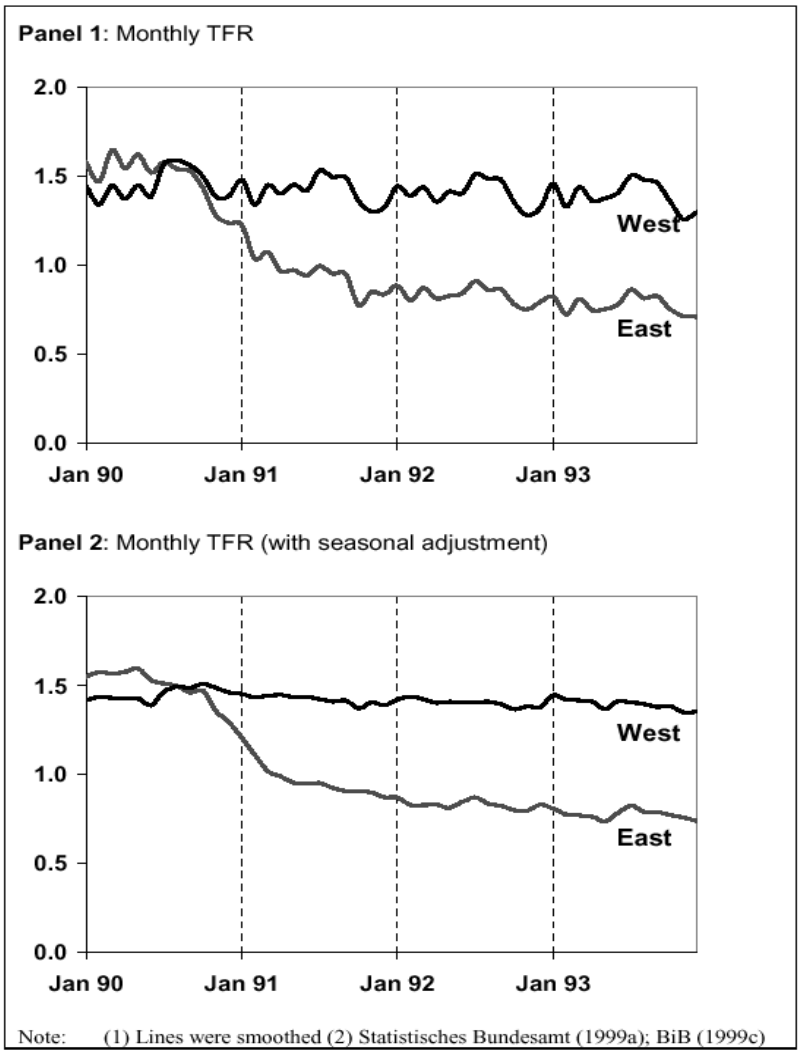


However, it has repeatedly and correctly been pointed out that this picture is not sufficient to describe the real events. A more detailed description of the occurrences will provide more to say about East German fertility changes following unification. As such, we will adopt a parity and cohort specific view as recommended in the recent literature on this issue (Dorbritz, 1998, Kreyenfeld, 2001). In her detailed scrutiny of East German fertility after unification, Kreyenfeld (ibid.) reveals interesting facts about differential aspects of the decline upon which we will largely draw here.

First, she points out that large parts of the change in the observed fertility decline is due to a rapid reproductive cessation that people in East Germany underwent during the heyday of the "peaceful revolution". The bulk of the drop in a monthly calculated TFR occurred between September 1990 and January 1991, that is "East German couples changed their fertility behavior between December 1989 and May 1990. It is worth pointing out that this is just after the fall of the Berlin Wall, but well *before* the Monetary Union or the legal and political Unification of the two German states" (Kreyenfeld, 2001: 100f.; italics in original; cf. also Dorbritz, 1998: 135f.). The East German fertility level further declined moderately until its first substantive recovery as late as at the end of 1995 (Figure 5).

Secondly, Kreyenfeld (ibid.) argues that while these figures are instructive, they do not give a full portrayal of the events in East Germany. For this, she addresses a cohort and parity-specific perspective on fertility. She starts off by differentiating three different generations of East German cohorts with regard to the degree of impact that the unification had on their reproductive lives. There is the Pre-Unification Generation (cohorts of 1960 and earlier), whose family formation was almost entirely completed before the Wall came down. Then, there is the Unification Generation, comprising the cohorts born between 1961 and 1970, whose members were partially affected by the unification because only some of them had already set up a family. And, thirdly, there is the Post-Unification Generation (cohorts of 1971 and later), whose reproductive lives take place almost entirely in the new social order of the unified country (Kreyenfeld, 2001: 104). For these latter two generations one can observe different changes in their reproductive behavior after unification.

Figure 5. Monthly Total Fertility Rate, East and West Germany 1990-1994 (Source: Kreyenfeld, 2001: 102; her Figure 11. Used by courtesy)



For the Unification Generation, "the changes in fertility behavior that occurred can clearly be depicted" (Kreyenfeld, ibid.: 105). One can observe a typical GDR-style early onset of childbearing in the life course, which radically diminishes after 1990 (see the Age Specific Fertility Rates (ASFR) in Panel 1 of Figure 6). About 2 years after unification, fertility of the 1968 cohort, for instance, had even reached levels below its West German counterpart. But, still, this generation, as an example from the Unification Cohorts of East Germany, remains in general more fertile than its West German counterpart, as one can see in the cumulative ASFR in Panel 3 of Figure 6. In sum, the post-unification reproductive behavior of the Unification Generation can be described as a *sharp contraction* of the originally "normal" GDR-like fertility.

For the cohorts of the Post-Unification the situation was different. The later the cohort is born, the more their fertility behavior resembles that of the West German cohorts. For the cohorts 1971 and 1972, the ASFRs had not reached such high levels as those of the Unification Generation in 1990, so that the drop of the ASFR did not appear as sharp as what we saw for the other generation above. Moreover, for the 1971 and 1972 eastern cohorts, fertility rates remained *constantly* above the levels of their West German counterparts (see Panel 7 of Figure 7). This is worth noticing, so we can describe the post-unification reproductive behavior of the Post-Unification Generation as

being *mildly impeded.* Finally, the differences in fertility behavior between the East and West seem to disappear from the cohort 1974 on (see Panel 8 and 9 of Figure 7).

Figure 6. Age Specific Fertility Rates, East and West Germany (Source: Kreyenfeld, ibid.: 106; her Figure 12. Used by courtesy)

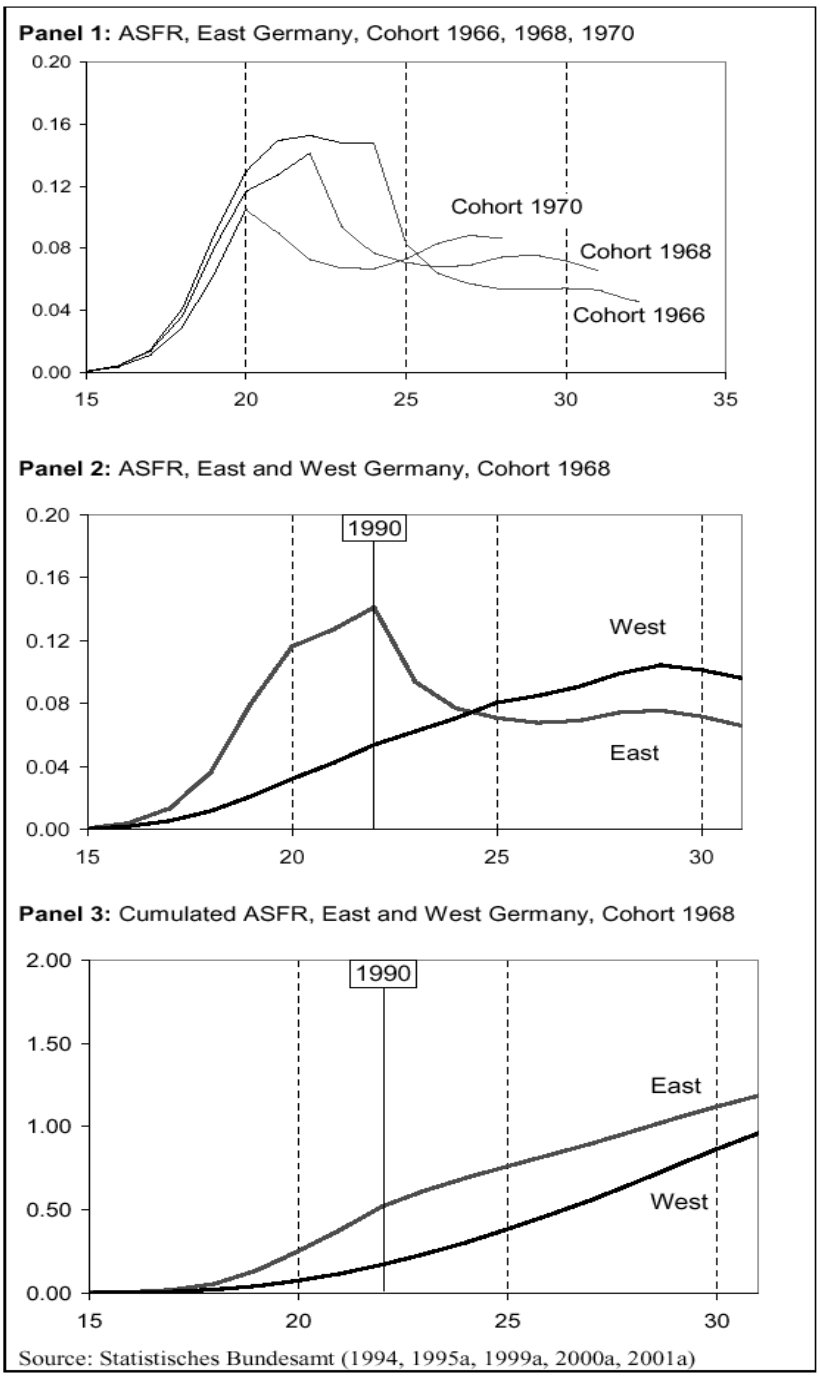
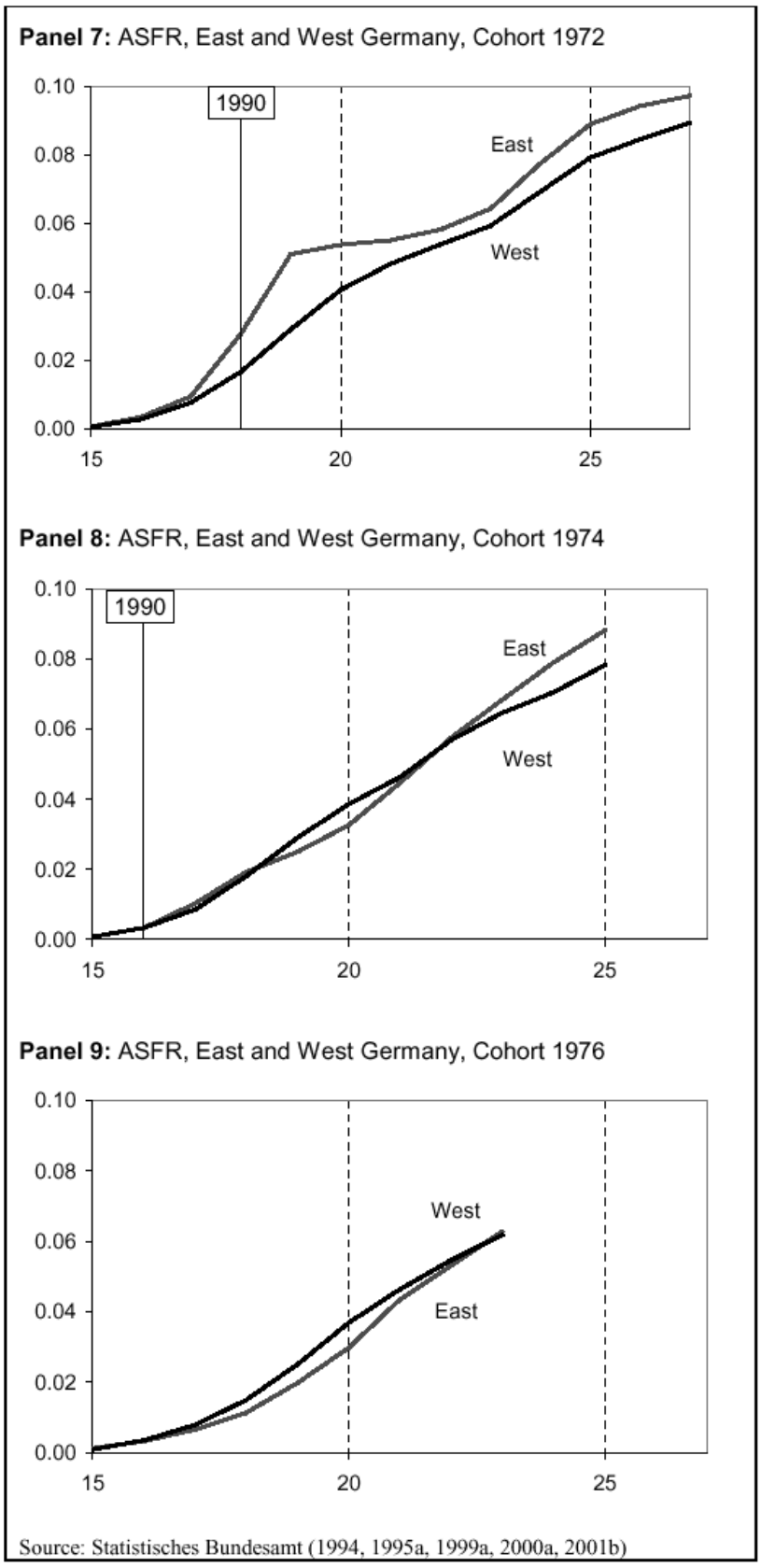


Figure 7. Cohort specific ASFR, East and West Germany (Source: Kreyenfeld, ibid.: 109; her Figure 13. Used by courtesy)



There is, however, still more to say about the post-unification fertility of East Germans. Furthermore, as Kreyenfeld points out, the conclusion of disappearing differences of the younger cohort may still be premature (Kreyenfeld, ibid.: 110). Therefore, Kreyenfeld portrays the parity-specific fertility of East German cohorts and reaches two main conclusions.

First, "against general expectations, East Germans are slightly younger at first birth after unification than their counterparts in the West" (Kreyenfeld, ibid.: 141). This means that young East German cohorts shifted their behavior greatly if compared to older East German cohorts; but they still do not show any "crisis-related" first birth patterns if compared to the same West German cohorts.

Secondly and in contrast to the above finding, there is something similar to a "crisis-fashion" in the transitions to second (and higher) order births. Kreyenfeld concludes that there are "huge differences" in these fertility patterns between East and West Germans (and we would have to continue, that there are even larger ones if young and old East German cohorts are compared). "East Germans are substantially less rapid having the second child", it even appears that "East Germans simply forgo second and higher parity births" (Kreyenfeld, 2001: 141f.).

It is sufficient for our brief documentation in this chapter to state that East Germans today still have first births earlier than West Germans and that they seem to avoid second births altogether (although they are faster with the first ones).

2.3 The Situation of Rostock and the Province of Mecklenburg-West Pomerania

Our present study took place in a German city – the city of Rostock in Mecklenburg-West Pomerania – which usually receives only limited observation in Germany owing to its marginal position. With a population of about 200,000 and being located at the northeastern border of Germany, it is distant from Germany's conurbations (although Hamburg and Berlin are both only a 2-hour drive away). The former economic engines of the Mecklenburg region, and especially of Rostock, were the shipyards, fish docks, and the international harbor. However, all of these plants reduced their capacities to almost nil after unification. Thus, the old characteristics of the region returned, being characterized by its mainly agricultural and tourist "Hanseatic" charm. The map in Figure 8 gives an impression of the location of the area and the city of Rostock.

In many respects, the same demographic events occurred in this part of East Germany after unification as in the other eastern provinces, so that Rostock and Mecklenburg-West Pomerania (in the following: MWP) differ only marginally from what was said in Chapter 1.1 regarding all the provinces of the GDR. The following paragraphs display some of the descriptive demographic statistics as they are available on a city or province basis.

Rostock and MWP also experienced the "population shock" of the post-unification period. For MWP it was, in a sense, even more extreme than for the whole former GDR. Between the highest and lowest population figures in more than 50 years, there were only 12 years (1,980,000 in 1989 and 1,770,000 in 2001; source: Statistisches Landesamt MWP).

With regard to fertility, one can also observe a more pronounced drop in MWP until the mid-1990s followed by a recovery to the traditionally slightly higher fertility rate of MWP compared with the rest of the GDR (see Figure 9). Already in socialist times, the three most northern districts of the GDR (which make up the province of MWP today) had a slightly increased fertility compared to the whole state (cf. Mehlan, 1974: 2218, Fig.3, Dinkel, 2000: 16).

Figure 8. The location of the province of Mecklenburg-West Pomerania and Rostock (Source: Statistisches Landesamt MWP).

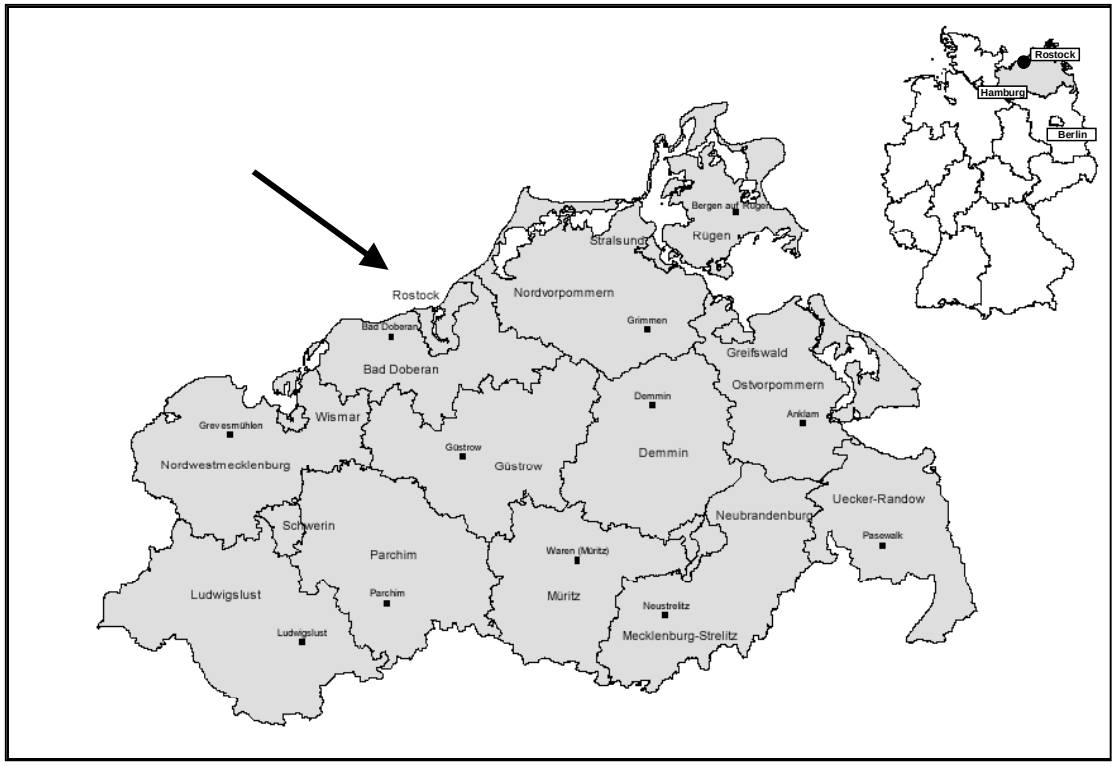
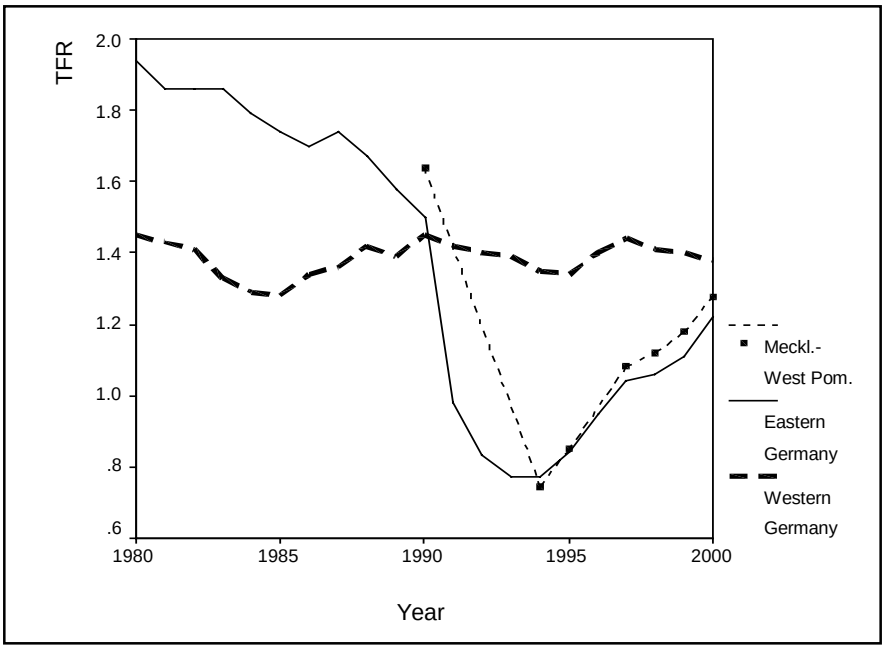


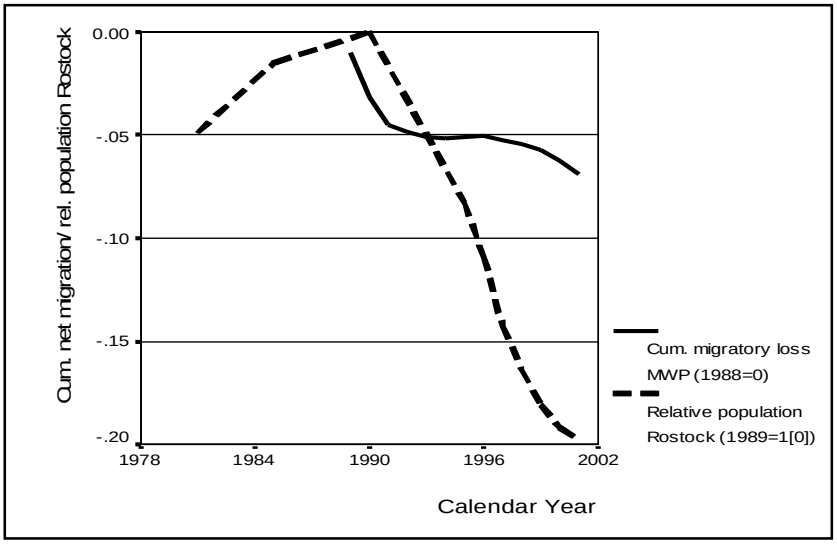
Figure 9. Total Fertility Rate of Mecklenburg-West Pomerania compared to East and West Germany, 1980-2000 (Source: Statistisches Landesamt and Council of Europe).



Another important demographic characteristic of MWP is the distribution of net migration after unification. Altogether the state lost a substantive number of inhabitants by emigration, a process which had its peak in the years around unification. In 1995 and 1996 there was even a short period of small immigration, followed again by emigration afterwards. The city of Rostock faced the same

fate as its province did. Again, between its year of highest population (1989: 248,000) and its preliminary low (2001: 199,000) there were only 12 years (i.e., Rostock has now its population of 1970 again, see Figure 10).[18] Selective emigration from MWP needs to be considered in virtually any kind of social research in this region.

Figure 10. Relative population losses of Mecklenburg-West Pomerania and Rostock, 1980-2001
(Source: Statistisches Landesamt).



Regarding the most important economic numbers, the situation of Rostock and MWP can be rated as slightly below average among the provinces of the former GDR. With a current unemployment rate of 18.7 percent (in 2002) Rostock is slightly "better off" than the province as a whole, which has 19.6 percent (compared to the total unemployment rate in the eastern provinces of 18.5 percent). Regarding its economic output and density of workplaces, MWP has a position which is comparable to the rest of the former GDR.

18 Considering that the surrounding district (Bad Doberan) gained about 25,000 inhabitants (contrary to the general trend) reveals that some parts of this loss are due to a process of suburbanization.

2.4 Summary

In conclusion, we can state that the numbers of transitions to fatherhood, and also to motherhood, have faced a historical low in East Germany in the 1990s—due to a number of reasons. Apart from the largely observable postponement of parenthood in the life course or from the full renunciation of giving birth to a second or third child, projections for the youngest fertile cohorts also show that the final share of childless persons may amount to a substantial 30% per cohort. Whilst research gives some consideration of the consequences of this development both for society and for individual people, albeit in a leisurely and gradual manner, our study understands itself as an important "jigsaw piece" (Lesthaeghe, 1998: 2), contributing to an overall understanding of this puzzle and its adherent causes.

Chapter 3

Scientific Explanations for the Changes in East German Fertility

When starting to review literature on the explanations of childbearing behavior one might easily not see the wood for the trees. The current state of the art is, to put it in the polemic words of James W. Vaupel, that "we have an *enormous* amount of scientific knowledge in fertility research, but only *very little* deep understanding of its causes and determinants".[19]

The key to understanding this dilemma may be to recognize that we have to deal with a large variety of disciplines contributing to fertility research. These disciplines, however, do not bring about a coherent theoretical framework upon which the scientific community can easily agree. Taking into account that demographers, economists, sociologists, psychologists, psychoanalysts, political and gender scientists, and family planners, to name only the most prominent fields, contribute to research on the causes and consequences of fertility behavior, it immediately becomes plausible that conceptual unanimity is hard to achieve. As German family sociologist Kurt Lüscher just recently summed it up, the question for an all-encompassing theory of generative behavior remains a "time-honored desideratum of population studies and the related social sciences" (Lüscher, 2001: 192, fn. 13; our translation).

In this chapter, we first provide a rough and, necessarily, incomplete description of the general status of fertility theory. Herein, we present contributions from various disciplines that add to the understanding of generative behavior.[20] Herein, we keep a certain focus on theories which either *directly* deal with parenthood in East Germany or which can be *easily transferred* to this particular situation. In a second step, we present research that has been conducted on the fertility decline more explicitly. Throughout the entire section, we question major theoretical concepts' power in explaining the differences between generative behavior of men and women.

As a last introductory remark, we would like to record the fact that we are naturally interested in explanations that address the question of *fertility differentials*. This term refers to the observable *differences* of whatever kind (timing, spacing, and quantum) in childbearing behavior in a given population. In our case, the population is the fecund[21] part of the population of East Germany in the 1990s. That is, we do not refer to the question of the *absolute levels* of fertility in East Germany, primarily. Our investigation aims at an understanding of factors which differentiate members of the given population regarding their experiences of the transition to parenthood.

19 Vaupel in a recent discussion with provocative aim.
20 We would like to define as generative behavior all behavior which promotes or impedes the conception, birth, or rearing of children (cf. von Rosenstiel et al., 1986: 40; our translation).
21 In demographic studies, the terms fecundity and fertility have the inverted meanings of those in biology. We mean by fecundity the physiological ability to have children, whereas fertility means the actual birth events within a population.

3.1 Directions of Theories on Fertility: Economic and Cultural Paradigms

Owing to its historical intellectual isolation (Caldwell, 1982: 297), demographic questions have traditionally received only marginal attention by other disciplines. Contributions to the fields of fertility, nuptiality, or longevity by scholars other than demographers have occurred in a notoriously scarce fashion—or, when they occurred, did not help much to give the answers demographers looked for.

Thus, the body of available literature on fertility theory can be characterized as diverse and scarcely systematic. Also due to this fact, some parts of the contemporary reasoning on fertility may seem to the outsider a little awkward and abridged. We cannot resolve this major deficit here. However, we can give a brief overview of the instances of such reasoning as they refer to fertility and are applicable to the situation in East Germany.

A thorough scrutiny of the scope of fertility theories has already been covered in the literature (Cromm, 1988, Burkart, 1994, Herter-Eschweiler, 1998, de Bruijn, 1999). According to these renderings of the state of the art, most of the available theories on fertility and fertility differentials gravitate to one of two opposing poles: economic explanations and sociological explanations (Lesthaeghe & Surkyn, 1988), so that de Bruijn is concise, however polemical, when he describes the current state of fertility theory in general as "Janus-faced with little vision" (de Bruijn, 1999: 38).

The former pole, from economics, describes fertility as the output of an individual decision process, which takes place before the background of (objective) costs and benefits. It assumes an economic man (*homo oeconomicus*) that intends to maximize his own utility by choosing among possible good choices. One's own children have been termed "long-term investments" or "consumer durables" in these approaches. Here, theories of *rational choice* and from the New Home Economics (Becker, 1988, Easterlin & Crimmings, 1985, Hotz et al., 1997) have found most frequent applications. Fertility changes like that in East Germany are thus viewed as a response of actors (decision-makers) to changing costs and benefits of the bearing and rearing of children. Here, the available literature focuses in particular on the loss of income and career opportunities that young women (sic!) expect and experience when they decide whether to start a family (Brewster & Rindfuss, 2000). That is, only men are regarded as an integral part of the household in studies that use this concept.

Voices critical of the economic view on fertility, however, point out that the simple choice theories of individual utility use a far too simple, "home-made" psychology of actors in their models. "The simple utility theory lacks a notion of social identity, and a theory of action without a notion of social identity is of very limited use: It overly abstracts from the biographical context of the people. What we want and what is "useful" for us always depends on who we are, how we view ourselves, and 'where we belong' (Hollis)" (Burkart, 1994: 63; our translation)[22].

Taking this criticism up, the second of the "Janus poles" views fertility as an output of actions which are taken by social actors because they are a part of social milieus which provide them with norms, values, and identity – in brief, with behavioral expectations – as they proceed through life (*homo sociologicus*). Fertility changes like those of East Germany, thus, are regarded as a response to changing (ideational) orientations of a society (Cleland & Wilson, 1987, Lesthaeghe, 1995). The most prominent among the culturalist paradigms is the Theory of the Second Demographic Transition in Europe (van de Kaa, 1987). This theory conjectures that, beginning from the 1960s,

22 A good example of such a 'home-made' psychological approach can be marveled at in Lindenberg (1984).

raising ideas (and articulations) of individual autonomy and individuals' rights to choose have determined a number of changes in patterns of the Western life course. In particular, the increase of divorce rates up until a high plateau, the emergence and normalization of non-marital unions and one-adult households, and the *low (and late) new fertility regimes* have been interpreted in the same light of modernization, secularization, and individualization. In this regard, the Theory of the Second Demographic Transition can be considered as the demographic version of the Theory of Individualization (Beck, 1986; this linkage has been recently examined in more detail by Hall, 2002). In this context, the societal change of East Germany has been termed "belated (or resuming) modernization" (cf. Geißler, 2000; our translation). Lastly, it is worthwhile to note that on the most general level this theory diagnoses a trend toward an increase in the number of life course transitions, but also toward a loosening of formerly strict patterns, and toward an increased complexity (Lesthaeghe, 1995: 18; also cf. our Chapter 1.2).

Although both theoretical paradigms have most frequently been applied to the explanations of *absolute levels* of fertility, the transfer to *fertility differentials* is obvious and easy. The economic theories would seek differences in the financial, educational, and vocational characteristics of people in order to explain their different childbearing behaviors. The culturalist theories would search for differences in the lifestyles that people share like, for instance, their religiosity, or their value orientations such as self-actualization, materialism, or individualism (Inglehart, 1999). It is conceivable that both theories do not exclude a correlation between these processes, though.

3.2 Other Influential Paradigms of Fertility Differentials

3.2.1 Differential fertility in the life course

Apart from the "grand theories" of rational choice and ideational change, there are a number of other "middle range" theories on fertility differentials. Firstly, an important extension of the classical economic view on fertility is promoted by studies which start from the assumption that opportunity costs and (women's) educational statuses have a *differential* impact at different stages in the life course. Studies which follow this "life course approach" do not concentrate on the immediate relation between education and family size but instead focus on the analysis of the *timing* of births for different parities and its link to *current employment* situations of the parents (Blossfeld & Rohwer, 2002, Huinink & Wagner, 1998, Kreyenfeld, 2001, Liefbroer & Corijn, 1999, Mayer & Huinink, 1990). In these studies, the continuous increase of age at (first) motherhood and fatherhood during the recent decades (also, but not only, in the former GDR) as well as changes in women's and men's career patterns and their impact on fertility are the typical questions of interest.

The life course perspective on fertility and, in particular, on first births, contributes to research with findings (i) on the general incompatibility of first births with enrollment in education (Hoem, 1986, Rindfuss et al., 1988, Corijn, 2001), (ii) on the loss of career opportunities for women by an interruption of work for parenthood at different stages of the life course (Waldfogel, 1998), and (iii) on the impact of men's and women's unstable employment situations on the decision to bear children.

We can draw some relevant conclusions from these studies. First, they give strong evidence of a basic incompatibility of child rearing and enrollment in education because of time and money constraints that students or trainees typically have to face. Some studies even contend that people in the educational system are "practically not at risk of childbirth" in many Western societies at all (Kreyenfeld, 2001: 65). Secondly, we find evidence that some highly educated women avoid parenthood altogether because motherhood would cause them to suffer from an incompensatable

interruption of their work careers. A simple proportionality of female educational attainment and postponement of parenthood is, however, questionable. Thirdly, we learn that unstable labor situations (like, for instance, unemployment or job creation schemes) can be expected to have a postponement effect for forming a family. We take note, however, of the fact that this view has received substantial challenge by the "uncertainty hypotheses" of Friedman et al. (1994) which hypothesizes that women can also compensate for unfavorable employment conditions by the "safe haven" of motherhood.

At core, these sociological studies from a life course perspective continue to cling to the (bounded) rational (and female) decision-maker as *the* relevant social actor for generative behavior, so that it seems justified to view the life course paradigm as a sophistication of the standard economic approach. We argue that while this sophistication is well intentioned and necessary, it is still insufficient. In particular, it fails when questions of men's involvement in fertility decisions, of the causal mechanisms of these decsions, or of the negotiation process between partners, come into play. The only evidence on men which is given by some studies is that there is "a *positive* correlation between men's employment and fertility and a *negative* correlation between women's employment and fertility" in some Western societies (Kreyenfeld, 2001: 53; italics in original).

3.2.2 Cultural and social scripts

Secondly, the framework of the Theory of the Second Demographic Transition could be, but has rarely explicitly been, easily stimulated by studies that focus on the change of cultural scripts and social characters. These studies are hardly systematic, but we do want to at least mention some of their concepts and results so as to make them available to our study.

In general, it is unquestioned that every mother or father holds a subjective view of herself or himself as a parent. This subjective view is what Gauda terms "parental identity" (Gauda, 1997: 428). There can be no doubt that people share complex ideational systems on a matter like parenthood. Theories on the nature of these complex views, that is, on what they consist of, on how they evolve, and on how they impact one's life, are abundant in psychology and related disciplines. We find, for instance, the theory of gender roles (West & Zimmerman, 1998), the theory of cognitive scripting (Simon & Gagnon, 1987), the theory of self-schemata (Markus, 1977) and theories of self-concept dynamics (like, for instance, social comparison, self-presentation, self-monitoring, etc., cf. Asendorpf, 1999: 196f.). Whatever their particularities are, there is unanimity on the fact that these mental representations are constitutive elements of people's actions and perceptions, and that they depend on a given social context. Ultimately, people derive their (parental) identity, in large part, from ascription that their social environments exert on them.

Exemplary studies on the ascription of parental identities in East Germany have been published by Merkel (1994) and Gerhard (1994). They find that women in the GDR, although they enjoyed equal rights with men in many crucial spheres of public life (labor force, law, etc.), were still expected to take over the bulk of the behavioral, emotional, and motivational tasks within the "family business". The culturally effective script of motherhood consisted in a notion of "Super-Women and Our-Good-Mummies" from the 1970s on (Merkel, 1994: 371) and it implied that the organization of family life, the engagement and care for children and family, the duties of education and of nurturing children continued to be achieved mainly by women (Gerhard, 1994: 395; cf. Dölling, 2000: 22). By public campaigns, by attitudes that were spread by official state representatives, and by "informal" social norms, women learnt to take responsibility for what was termed the "ideal socialist family". (Merkel focuses on pre-unification GDR, and thus does not provide information on the change of these cultural scripts after the political upheaval).

An investigation by Burkart on the transition to parenthood proceeds much along similar lines. Based on quantitative and qualitative data from the U.S. and West Germany, he concludes that, ultimately, the transition to parenthood is determined by "complex biographical constellations, in

which the ambivalence of a latent familistic attitude, biographical inevitabilities, socio-cultural convictions of the 'matter of course', and milieu-related constraints coincide" (Burkart, 1994: 318; our translation). As a crucial finding of his study, Burkart points out that the *meaning* of and the social norms concerning parenthood differ greatly between social milieus and that, what is called "the decision for parenthood" can assume different characteristics according to social class membership—including a style of "non-decisions" (ibid.: 176ff., 283ff.).

Whilst Burkart's analysis is not consistent in its sensitivity for gender questions, the notion that such conceptions, self-concepts, and identities depend heavily on the sex of a person is taken up and developed for the field of generative behavior in recent studies by Marsiglio (1998) and Fichtner (1999). In his study on the meaning of contraceptive practice for men, Fichtner links types of "masculinities" (Connell) to social milieus and lifestyles in terms of Schulze (1995) and Bourdieu (1982). He regards masculinities as historically and socially contingent gender role identities which are, primarily, shaped by social milieus, lifestyles, or a certain habitus. They impact on partnership orientations and on attitudes toward family, marriage, and parenthood (Fichtner, ibid.: 67, 101f.). His focus on contraceptive practice, however, leads to the (unfortunate) exclusion of the questions of men's desire for children and parenthood as well as of questions of family formation and fertility, that is, these topics assume only three pages out of 346 in his book (ibid.: 128ff.).

By contrast, this is the crucial focus of Marsiglio's research. His inquiry into "gender, sex, and reproduction", as the title of Chapter 3 suggests, (Marsiglio, 1998: 49ff) starts off with the statement that "men and women think about and experience aspects of their sexual and reproductive lives quite differently, and it is borne out by both recent scientific evidence and common everyday experience" (ibid.). From his point of view, these differences of thinking and experience are strongly shaped by gender role norms (ibid.: 56) which translate into sexual self-concepts (ibid. 58). These self-concepts may even contain something he likes to call procreative consciousness (ibid.: 37). For his empirical data from the U.S., Marsiglio contends that

> "men generally have some idea of whether they want to have children eventually, whether they want more children than they already have, or whether they desire to have a child at this particular point in their life. The extent to which men have consciously and rationally formed opinions about these issues is likely to vary depending upon their age, previous fertility experiences, and their current relationship status." (ibid.: 106f.)

It would be like sending owls to Athens, to add the impact of social milieu to the latter enumeration. In sum, Marsiglio's study gives an eloquent *description* of the different pathways of men as procreative beings but refrains from giving us an instructive insight into the *determinants* and *mechanisms* of this realm. He remains on an explorative and descriptive level.

3.2.3 Psychological approaches to the explanation of fertility differentials

As a third and rare type of contribution, we find theory building on fertility differentials also from a (social) psychological perspective. Even though these contributions are small in number, we consider this field to be the natural place to provide the long missing "integrative perspective" on fertility theories (cf. Nolte, 1994).

The historical predecessor of this strain of theory is given in the Theory of the Value of Children (Hoffmann & Hoffmann, 1973, Bulatao, 1981). Rooted in its original version from the early 1970s, this theory was built (i) to address the challenges of a thorough documentation of motivations for children, (ii) to organize these motivations in meaningful conceptual schemes, and (iii) to study their interaction with other variables. For this purpose, the originators of the theory developed their basic concept of "value" which they regard as being located between sociology and psychology: "Values are anchored in psychological needs, tied to the social structure, and subject to cultural variation" (Hoffman & Hoffman, ibid.)

However, whereas their elaboration of nine (!) different possible values of children is exhaustive, their theoretical concept remains unknowable on the claimed, but hardly conducted exploration of the interrelation of values with alternatives, costs, barriers, facilitators, and group, sex, and parity specificity. Additionally, the concept was most frequently applied to investigate inter-country rather than intra-country fertility differences. Although originally conceptualized as a social psychological theory, it was most often applied in sociological comparative studies, and has hardly been pursued since the early 1980s (exceptions are Nauck & Kohlmann, 1999, and Nickel & Quaiser-Pohl, 2001). Several authors point out that this may be due to the fact that "the research has provided relatively few generalizations about how background variables influence the perceptions of satisfactions and costs of children in order to affect fertility preferences and behavior" (de Bruijn, 1999: 61).

However, we also find contributions to an understanding and explanation of fertility by *mainstream* scholars of developmental, social, or clinical psychology. Although psychologists usually tend to give priority to research on the individual *consequences of parenthood*, one finds sporadic exceptions in such studies that also deal with people's *desire for children* or, even, with psychological determinants of fertility behavior (where the desire for children is only one of the possible determinants). For the former topic we want to mention the reviews by Gloger-Tippelt et al. (1993) and Kühler (1989) as well as a qualitative study by Schlottner (1998), whereas the monographs of von Rosenstiel et al. (1986) and Grant (1992) serve as examples of the latter group which deals with psychological determinants.

3.2.3.1 Desire for children by men and women

In 1989 and 1993 two reviews were published in German which compiled the available psychological knowledge on the forms and determinants of people's *desire for children* (Gloger-Tippelt *et al.*, 1993, Kühler, 1989). The exhaustive review by Gloger-Tippelt *et al.* is based on the assertion that the desire for children as a psychological topic, albeit practically and theoretically extremely relevant, has met a fate of long neglect for decades. But recently it has celebrated a revival in more recent studies on the determination of generative behavior (ibid.: 111ff.). In their treatise on studies of different provenance, they find that it is justified only for the case of *women* to present something like the state of the art of research concerning the determinants of a desire for children. For those determinants, Gloger-Tippelt *et al.* refer to findings on the relevance of value orientations in the women's family of origin, the number of siblings, religiosity, formal education and vocational training, and subjective career as well as family orientations (ibid.: 106f.).

In a closer psychological view on the actual interplay of these factors, the authors make out a complex picture which requires a further differentiation of women's desire for children into three types. Firstly, there are impersonal, social-normative (or "biological") drives to bear children. Secondly, there are conscious, intentional, and planned decisions for or against children. And thirdly, one has to take into account individual ambivalence, conflicts, and subconscious motives concerning reproduction. Gloger-Tippelt and colleagues concluded their study with the diagnosis of a strong need for more theoretical and empirical research on this topic. One of the major questions they formulate refers in particular to the unknown characteristics of *men's* desire for children as opposed to that of women's.

Kühler (1989) takes the same line when he introduces his monograph with the statement that he considers his own work to be a direct response to the overrepresentation of scientific concern with *women's desire for children.* He contends that considerable knowledge is gathered on the characteristics and determinants of a desire for *motherhood*, however, a substantial dearth becomes obvious as soon as we ask for men and their aspirations to *fatherhood*. He shows that "for the time being, no real empirical study on a larger scale has been published" on men's desire for children (ibid., 14; our translation). Thus, he can base his "hazardous attempt" (ibid., 1), to review the current literature on this topic on nothing but dispersed side findings, interpretations, footnotes, or

anecdotal reports of scholars from medical, psychoanalytical, ethnographic or feminist backgrounds.

Still, he presents a number of interesting conclusions and hypotheses which he derives from his review. He finds evidence that the “psychology of the 'yes' to have a child” is apparently more difficult than the “psychology of the 'no'”. For men, however, it appears to be easier to be in favor of having one’s own child than it is for women. Men typically tend to stress the positive consequences of parenthood more strongly than women because they anticipate to a lesser extent the burdens or conflicts with other life domains that would arise from child-rearing. Necessarily, Kühler's review, in the end, raises more questions and hypotheses than it is able to answer.

A recent qualitative approach to understanding the development of a *desire for children* for men (as opposed to women's) was undertaken by Iniga Schlottner (1998, 2002). Her approach is qualitative-typological in its core notwithstanding a small section that applies psychological questionnaires. Schlottner explores different factors associated with the genesis of a desire for children by men, its causes, men’s conceptions of children, fatherhood, and child-rearing, as well as factors that foster or impede, respectively, the actual transition to fatherhood. We summarize some of her most relevant typologies and factors for our research questions in Appendix 2. Schlottner interviewed only men from West Germany but, in general, her monograph is the most thorough inquiry into forms of men's desire for children that we find in the German literature and it paves the path for further examinations on multiple levels and from multiple methods.

Along similar lines follows another approach, namely Jacobs' inquiry into men's desire for children in the Netherlands (Jacobs, 1995). He contends that one has to differentiate between motivational (“why?”, that is, motives of *change*) and decisional (“when?”, that is, questions of *timing*) aspects of men's aspired transition to fatherhood and predicts fundamentally different mechanisms for both aspects. More centrally, however, he highlights the relations between a *latent* and *manifest* desire. Jacobs finds that a latent desire for children by men is necessarily *always* determined by past experiences. A manifest desire, by contrast, is determined for men by a latent desire *and/or* present experiences. For Jacobs, latent desires are chiefly tied to internalized norms and values which may lead to a (vague) feeling of incongruity for childless men as they age. By contrast, manifest desires always require current considerations concerning the “parenthood issue” (reasoning, reflecting) and lead to the formation of an intention to parenthood and active behavior to attain it. However, Jacobs concludes from his findings that “the link between a manifest wish for children and conceptions on fatherhood is diffuse. It could be that this is a result, or an indicator, of the relative confusion of (expectant) fathers of today's Western world” (ibid.: 80).

3.2.3.2 Psychological factors of generative behavior

The publications by von Rosenstiel (1986) and Grant (1992) entail quantitative models of actual generative behavior of men and women. Both studies search for psychological factors as a part of the complex web of factors which trigger the transition to parenthood. We will characterize their approaches as first steps into a possible “psychology of population processes”.

The studies by von Rosenstiel and colleagues (1986) clearly originate from the growing concerns of the 1970s in West Germany about the decline of fertility. As a result of these concerns, many scholars developed a strong interest in arriving at a better understanding, explanation, and prediction of this unparalleled development (which were later then summarized as one element of the Second Demographic Transition, see above). Von Rosenstiel *et al.* characterize their approach as a necessary enlargement of traditional demographic accounts on fertility. They write:

> “Although psychologists may be inclined to trace individual destinies, to describe and explain hopes and disappointments of single actors, they would not do any population psychology in that case. It is not the individual case for its own sake that is our matter of interest, but instead the individual case as an example of processes that drive population movements on an aggregate level. Such a view may require a new orientation for many psychologists, but it is possible within the traditional self-understanding of psychology, and it can crucially enrich population studies.” (ibid.: 161; our translation)

Von Rosenstiel and colleagues view their approach as true pioneering work[23]. They attribute the necessity of this psychological work on demographic behavior to the modernization and individualization of Western societies.

> "As a crucial perspective we push forward a specific type of 'individualization' [in Western societies]. [...] The space to be oneself in generative behavior is so large that generative decision can not be predicted only from sociological variables. It is not normative pressure or bare necessities that lead to a reduction in the number of children, but instead personal motivation and desire." (ibid.: 39, 106: our translation)

In order to develop this train of thought, they focus on the measurement (i) of people's basic human values, (ii) of, what they call, the perceived "extrinsic value" (or instrumentality) of children, (iii) of the perceived "intrinsic value" of children, and (iv) of levels of agreement that people have with their partner on the question of having children. They find interesting sex-differentials for the relevance of these factors. For men, their leisure time interests and orientations and the perceived agreement of their partner to children are decisive variables—and not exactly the desire for emotional care in old age, the desire for material wealth, and the perceived advice of physicians, as they find for women.

In sum, their model can explain up to 74 percent of the variance of people's actual desire for children (ibid.: 156) by multiple regression including only the nine most relevant variables as predictors. When expanding their regression to the logistic prediction of the actual occurrence of a birth for a couple within one year, their model amounts to a prediction of 47 percent of the variance.[24]

The conclusion the authors draw from the results of their theoretical investigation and empirical "short-term" longitudinal study reads as follows:

> "The personal desire for children proved to be a useful indicator of the realized number of children, which, however, is still better explained by intra-psychic variables." [...] "We recommend for future studies on generative behavior to conceptualize 'desire for children' as a latent variable for which the expressed desire serves only as an indicator. [...] We then can understand the 'latent desire for children' as an intermediate variable which links familistic value orientations, by which it is constituted, to generative behavior." (ibid.: 158, and Nerdinger et al., 1984: 479: our translation)[25]

The dissertation by Grant (1992) adds additional evidence to these findings. Although her study suffers from major methodological weaknesses (like, for instance, its cross-sectional approach, the focus on pregnant couples, and a questionable conclusion on causal relationships), Grant shows that psychological motives, orientations, and values do provide some explanation of differentials in generative behavior, even if they are weighted against "objective" socio-demographic characteristics. She assumes in the core of her concept that people differ in their *generative potential* (ibid.: 229) which is determined by *fertility-promoting* and *fertility-hampering* conscious and subconscious factors (ibid.: 226f., 303f.).

3.3 Specific Explanations for the Changes in Fertility Behavior in Eastern Germany after Unification

We begin our more intense exploration of the East German case by recording that explanatory *micro-level analyses* of fertility patterns after unification have been scarce and unsystematic (Kreyenfeld, 2001: 144). Whilst initial research mainly revolved around the slightly agitated

23 Although it was not appreciated as such by the scientific community as one of the co-authors recently confessed (Nerdinger in a personal conversation).
24 Of course, these results are still crude from a demographic or methodological standpoint.
25 Most frequently, however, the expressed intention is regarded as a proximate variable of childbearing (cf. Liefbroer, 1999, Noack & Oestby, 2000).

questions of "crisis, shock, or adaptation", the excitement has now (in the year 13 afterward) turned into "normal science" again.[26] Demographers find that in most cases East German fertility is no longer the conundrum it was in the first post-unification years. Instead, most observed rates move toward an adaptation to Western patterns whilst few still remain substantially different (like, for instance, the transition rates to second births and the high share of out-of-wedlock births).

However, the astonishment about the 1990s' fertility slump has never been resolved in terms of a satisfying explanation for the unparalleled and unprecedented reduction in fertility.[27] What can be said as an intermediate summary of the debate on East Germany's fertility is that probably (i) the drop in monetary incentives and (ii) biographical uncertainties have lead to a stark postponement of births to later ages and, partly, to a renunciation of childbearing. The economic and, in particular, the employment situation of East Germany is considered to have the greatest impact on changing fertility behavior of women—and sometimes of men, too. Our understanding of the culture of reproduction within the post-unification times remains poor, however. Looking at the question in more detail, we want to provide a few details from influential work that has been published on the fertility decline of East Germany. How do scholars address the explanation of this phenomenon? The first important research finding is, as already mentioned above (Chapter 3.2.1), that it is indispensable to combine a cohort with a period perspective on fertility. Many authors have argued that it is insufficient to ponder over TFR-by-calendar year charts in order to discuss explanations of the fertility decline. That is, if we want to talk about East German fertility in the 1990s we have to specify the reference group we talk about more precisely. Do we talk, for instance, about the case of childless men and women of the 1970s cohorts that arguably just started their reproductive considerations by the time the Wall came down, or, instead, about mothers and fathers from the late 1950s cohorts who ruminated over bearing another child after already having given birth to one or two? These two simple instances clearly mark the insufficiency of a sole TFR-approach.

Let us start with a review from 1994 on the *early studies* that were published on the demographic events in East Germany (Richter, 1994). These early studies assumed the status of elaborate speculations due to a lack of appropriate data and methods. Richter concludes that in particular, the subjective mechanisms by which the changes of the *Wende* translated into generative behavior have not been sufficiently addressed. She writes:

> "As a rule, the present studies lack in their consideration of individual motives that may determine generative behavior, and of the impact of the partnerships on the desire for children. Furthermore, they only crudely link the level of societal events (during GDR-times as well as after the unification) to the inherent action orientations and changing values of the individual." (ibid.: 86; our translation)

Specifically, Richter points toward the need to address the changes in female gender roles since the times of the former GDR. She explains that having children ranked extremely high in the basic values of women in the GDR, and one would need to explain (by a before and after comparison) in favor of which "new" motives, attitudes, or values a shift occurred (for a parallel argument, see Dölling, 2000). Although this recommendation was only partially addressed by research, there are some relevant findings that we would like to recall for our own study.

From the sociological field, we only find two authors that tackle the question of determinants of generative behavior by using sophisticated event-history models and a wealth of covariates. The study by Klein *et al.* (1996) substantiates the conjecture that there is no simple relation between the

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26 Hradil stated already in 1996 that the transformation in East Germany was entering into a new phase: "it is about to become more orderly, strategic, systematic, and interrelated" than it was (Hradil, 1996: 299; our translation).

27 Also this fact can be interpreted as an example for the „little vision" (de Bruijn) of demographic theory. Any kind of ideas that fertility researchers have their well prepared and confirmed tool kit of "fertility factors" ready in their drawer desk, which they just need to open in case of a "surprising" fertility change, then fetch the factors, apply them, and will attain a proper explanation and prediction of what is going on, has to be called a fabulous tale. Dorbritz (1998: 151; our translation) writes for the case of East Germany: "Population studies are again confronted by the fact that they haven't been able to note a forthcoming change of processes of family formation to the whole extent."

general unemployment rate and women's personal experience of unemployment. This means that the assumption of a simplistic "uncertainty" view on East German fertility in the 1990s (from an *absolute* as well as from a *differential* perspective) would be overly hasty. Rather, the final educational attainment has a clearly decreasing effect.

This (conventional) finding is accentuated for the sexes in a study by Kreyenfeld (2001). She finds that "[w]hilst women's employment (or educational attainment) is negatively correlated with the transition to the first child, the impact of men's employment is reversed. Women who [live] with a partner who earns higher wages, occupies a higher labor market status and does not experience unemployment, opt more rapidly for parenthood" (ibid.: 206). These findings hold for both parts of Germany (ibid.: 207).

However, some authors correctly point out that from these studies, "to a large extent, the question remains unresolved of *how* the structural shift of fertility *processes* occurred after unification" (Sackmann, 1999: 191; our translation and italics). Do we have any empirical evidence on micro (psychological) processes that would help us to translate the macro changes into micro behavior?

In a more recent publication from a sociological (or better yet, a micro-economic) perspective, Lechner (2001) attempts to shift the focus of interest toward subjective scales and measures. He applies data from the German Socio-Economic Panel (GSOEP) and includes scales of worries, personal expectations, and a partner's expectations into his analysis. He finds that "age, birth history, expectations, and worries can explain almost all differences in birth rates between East and West Germany" (ibid.: 72). However, the author himself has to admit several methodological weaknesses of his model (ibid.), and consequently has received harsh critique for over-simplifying the complex situation of a post-socialist country (Sobotka, 2002).

The family "psychology" of post-unification East Germany

We now want to ask what we learn from *psychological* studies on East Germany in the 1990s. Indeed, there is some evidence in the literature, although it is not rich. An early study by Heckhausen (1994) does not find general differences between the respective *family orientations* of West and East German adults from Berlin in the early 1990s.[28] However, Heckhausen can show that East Germans share significantly more *short-term life goals* and a *greater urgency* in their immediate life goals than West Germans. Additionally, East Germans display a greater extent of *primary psychological control* (that is, a greater persistency in their attempts for goal attainment) than the more flexible and "adaptive" West Germans (*secondary control*). These findings, Heckhausen concludes, uncover a perceived situation of economic threat, struggle for adaptation, and psychological urgency and distress, which East Germans had to struggle with shortly after unification. This situation, however, can be expected to impede any plans of childbearing and childrearing (cf. Zapf, 1994). These scholars give no report on sex-differentials, though.

A recently reported study by Reitzle & Silbereisen (2000) resumes the question of value changes in East Germany in a study using data from two cross-sectional studies conducted in 1991 and 1996. They compare the levels of individualistic, collectivist, and what they call maturity values of three cohorts of young adults. They find a higher prevalence of collectivist values in the East and a higher prevalence of individualistic values in the West. However, they also portray a strong reduction in the (numerically small) differences over a span of 5 years. From all we know about values, whether one has to assume an impact of the formerly higher collectivist values on childbearing intentions remains an open question.

28 This result is contradicted by Reitzle (1999) who shows that the value of family as a place for personal devotion and child-rearing is clearly more strongly represented in the East than in the West.

With a more direct focus on men's and women's desire for children in the changing social context of East Germany, the Leipzig research group around Elmar Brähler and Yve Stöbel-Richter provide some unique evidence concerning psycho-social correlates of this issue. In a representative cross-sectional poll of 16- to 45-year old subjects from both parts of Germany in 1996 and 1999 (Stöbel-Richter & Brähler, 2000), they apply their original "Leipzig Questionnaire on Motives of a Desire for Children" (Leipziger Fragebogen zu Kinderwunschmotiven, LKM) and the "Leipzig Questionnaire for Attitudes Toward the Desire for Children" (Leipziger Fragebogen zu Einstellungen zum Kinderwunsch, LEK). These questionnaires contain respectively 24 and 16 standardized questions on various dimensions of personal motives and attitudes that are linked to parenthood and family formation. The authors also add several other questionnaires which collect information on the respondents' parents, on their current partnerships, and some other issues, to their survey.

On a descriptive basis they show that there are still significant differences between East and West Germany which partly even increase between 1996 and 1999. In East Germany the desire for children is more strongly explained by a desire for emotional closeness and intimacy (at both time points). West Germans outweigh their East German counterparts (i) by a stronger relevance of their fears of personal limitations and problems (both time points), (ii) by their hope for a higher social status and identity by parenthood (both time points), and (iii) by the negative perception of their current economic situation (only 1999; Stöbel-Richter et al., 2001).

Concerning the reported level of the general desire for children, Stöbel-Richter and colleagues (ibid.) find a significantly reduced desire in East Germany compared to in the west. Another interesting side finding is given by the different levels of family planning in the two parts of Germany. Respondents who have already experienced a birth report retrospectively that one- third (West) and almost 50 percent (East) of the pregnancies were unplanned. This holds for both time points of 1996 and 1999.

In another study on the same data, Schuhmacher and colleagues (2002) infer from a basic correlative analysis that subjects' experiences in their families of origin contribute surprisingly little to an explanation of the intensity and characteristics of the subjects' desire for children. However, they find a weak correlation of positive experiences with their own parents and a desire for intimacy by family formation. Similarly, negative experiences with their own parents correlate with a desire for social status and identity formation by parenthood. The authors have to conclude, however, that although they consider a relatively large number of socio-demographic and psychological covariates, they cannot explain more than 20 percent of the single motives for children. Furthermore, the authors unfortunately do not report sex differences for these findings.

In a recently presented analysis, Stöbel-Richter and colleagues (2003) elaborate, however, that men differ substantially from women in the intensity of their desire for children as well as regarding the impact of other persons on it. Men apparently reflect more strongly negative consequences of parenthood such as personal limitations and financial cost.

In summary, we can record the following descriptive evidence from the Leipzig research group on personal motives and general attitudes concerning parenthood and family formation (cited from Stöbel-Richter & Brähler, 2000):

(1) East Germans differ from West Germans regarding their desire for children by (i) a stronger relevance of social stereotypes[29], (ii) stronger complaints of social disadvantages[30],

29 A sample item of this scale reads "Having a child is the true meaning of life".
30 A sample item of this scale reads "There are not enough child care facilities available".

(iii) a desire for emotional stabilization by children[31], (iv) a lower fear of personal limitations from children[32], and a (v) lower relevance of social status improvement by parenthood.[33]

(2) Women differ from men regarding their desire for children by (i) a stronger relevance of social stereotypes, (ii) a stronger desire for emotional stabilization, and (iii) a lower fear of personal limitations by parenthood.

(3) Young adults differ from older adults regarding their desire for children by (i) a lower relevance of social stereotypes, (ii) a lower desire for emotional stabilization, and (iii) a stronger fear of personal limitations and (iv) material disadvantages[34].

Lastly, we want to present other descriptive findings from the German Family and Fertility Survey (FFS, Pohl, 1995) which collected representative data of men and women between the ages of 15 and 49 from both parts of Germany in 1992. Results show that the average age of first fatherhood rests at around 30 in West Germany, and 25 in East Germany. Two-thirds of West as well as East German men, from the below-25 age group, say that either they or their partner use contraceptives, though they mainly seem to rely on their female partner's contraceptive practice. The study also finds a slight inner-country difference in the ideal family size reported by men: West Germans tend toward a 2-3 children family size, whereas East Germans prefer the 1-2 children family size. The total expected number of children per family, however, is 1.8 in both parts of Germany (all numbers from Pohl, 2000: 265ff.).

Furthermore, Pohl (ibid.) highlights another finding which is particularly interesting for our study; namely the high percentage of uncertainty about one's future intended fertility. About 30% of men between ages 20 and 40 replied to the question "how many children do you ultimately want" by marking the "don't know" option. The reasons for this result, which differs only slightly among East and West German men, still remain unclear.

3.4 Summary and Conclusion

The tension between economic and sociological explanations of fertility behavior has, to some extent, been fruitful for instigating the discussion about the determinants of differentials in the transition to parenthood. It is obvious, however, that we are far from meeting the "time-honored desideratum" (Lüscher) of population studies for a unified theory on fertility and fertility differentials. Ultimately, we still cannot say anything definite on the proper kind of relevant micro data which we need in order to improve the status of fertility theory, although we find various indications and recommendations in the presented literature. At the present state of the art, it appears to us to be a relevant and necessary step to examine *psychological micro data* to find out whether they are suitable for improving theory and empirical evidence on childbearing behavior.

What we can, furthermore, draw from the literature is the conclusion that understanding the transition to parenthood, especially in a challenging societal context, is not as simple as the general theories of economic or sociological provenance claim. Moreover, we can ascertain that the power of psychological models and data of sex-differential fertility motives and intention-formation as well as decision-making has not been exploited in a sufficient way, so far. Lastly, although often invoked, still more efforts need to be made in order to move toward a full scientific attainment of

31 A sample item of this scale reads "A child gives me the feeling of having a real home".
32 A sample item of this scale reads: "If I have a child, I cannot maintain my friendships in the same way anymore".
33 A sample item of this scale reads: "A child is necessary for me to be recognized as an adult".
34 A sample item of this scale reads: "A child takes time, I have to sacrifice many things that I like for it".

the model of BMMRSDM, as de Bruijn quotes the proposal by social theorist Lindenberg (1990). We need to make clear how Biological, Mentally endowed, Motivated, Rational, Social, & Developing Man and Woman determine their own childbearing decisions.

From our perspective, a serious historical cause of the present unsatisfactory situation is inherent in the traditional marginality of the topic. Research on childbearing as an individual transition in the life course is peculiarly located at the intersection of various disciplines, thus, at the margins of each one. That the idea of interdisciplinarity has remained more of a promise than a reality can be clearly exemplified by the failure of the attempt to establish a "psychology of the population". Although large efforts have been made in the early 1980s in West Germany, both involved disciplines remained ignorant of the other approach. By consequence, we find in the literature only "scatteredness", a great diversion, and a baffling character regarding psychological accounts of generative behavior.

In sum, for the concrete case of East Germany, the "aura of mystery" which surrounds the fertility events in East Germany in the 1990s has not been fully resolved. In particular, scientific explanations of men's behavior in this context are not satisfactory. For the time being we conclude that we need to prepare ourselves to "know all the tricks" and to use considerable methodological sophistication in order to face this impressively complex subject.

Chapter 4

A Critique of the Present Research and an Alternative Paradigm by De Bruijn

4.1 Critique of Present Explanations for Fertility Changes in East Germany

Our study aims to address the general shortcomings of the present approaches to the fertility decline in East Germany. We characterize them by (i) their conceptual disregard of psychological theories on intention-formation, motivation, and decision-making, (ii) their lack of an *empirical* portrayal of the individual features accounting for the observed fertility differentials (as most studies remain purely *descriptive*), and finally, by (iii) their lack of developing a realistic understanding of the micro-mechanisms by which societal contexts (and upheavals) translate into individual frames of reference. In the majority of these studies sex differentials are ignored and moreover, there is a dearth of research on the generative behavior of men in particular (Coleman, 2000, Greene & Biddlecom, 2000, von der Lippe & Fuhrer, 2004). We also argue that the most recent and sophisticated analyses do not wipe away the "aura of mystery" which surrounds the East German case. We will now elaborate on these critiques in more detail after a brief section on definitions.

4.1.1 Conceptual clarifications: Intentions, desires, and choices regarding parenthood

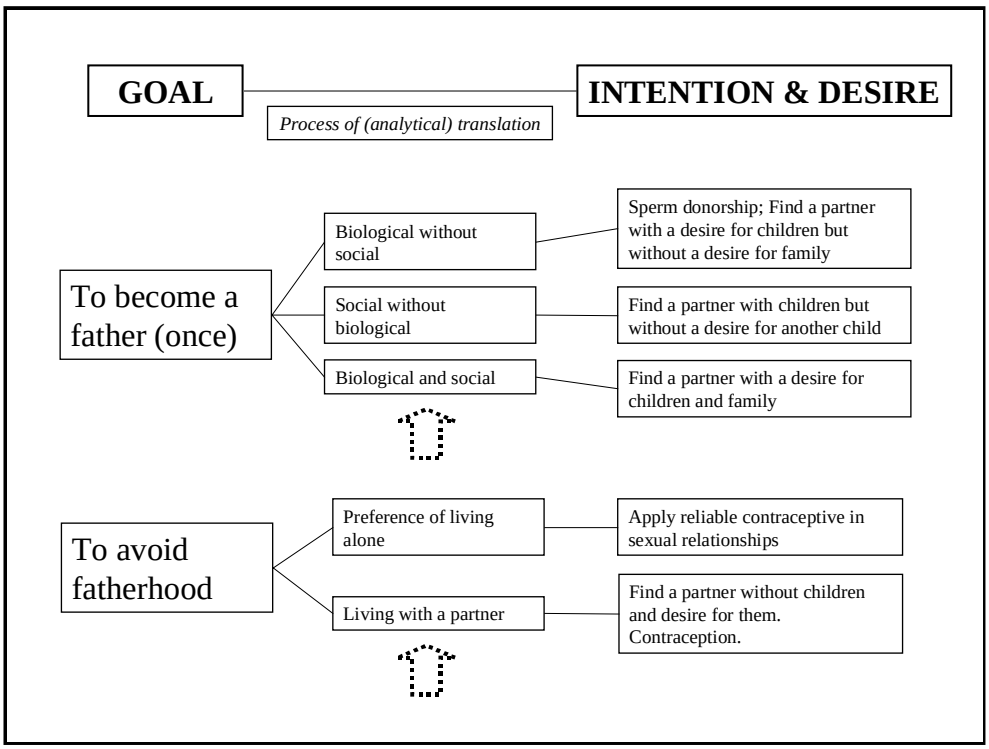
The following sections will make extensive use of the terms "desire for children", "intention formation for parenthood", "choices" and other related concepts. We deem it necessary to first give some clarifications and definitions of these terms in order to define what it is we are talking about (and to avoid the style of sociological *belles-lettres* often found in such research contexts).

In many publications, the terms "desire for children" and "intention for family formation", "family motivation", or "aspiration to fatherhood" are used as synonyms. Each of these terms describes an individual's cognitive or emotional expression of a positive evaluation of being a parent in the future. This evaluation may be strong, direct, and salient, in which case we would term it a strong desire for children, a strong intention for family-formation, or a strong aspiration to parenthood, respectively. The expression may instead be milder and less immediate. In such a case, we would speak of a weak desire, intention, or aspiration. If there is no expression of this nature at all, we do not diagnose a desire, or even a "latent" desire.

The only visible distinction between desire and intention is that the former relates more to the narrow emotional part and the latter more to the narrow cognitive and conative part of a *goal*. Personal goals can be defined as "a unique category of knowledge characterized by its own generic meaning" (Kruglanski, 1996: 599). "Goals can be conceived of as future-oriented representations of what individuals are striving for in their current life situations and what they try to attain or avoid in various life domains" (Brunstein et al., 1999: 171). It is clear that they contain cognitive, affective, and action elements in their definition. Thus, the distinction between goal and desire, intention, and aspiration can only be analytical (that is, as a distinction between the broader concept and its parts).

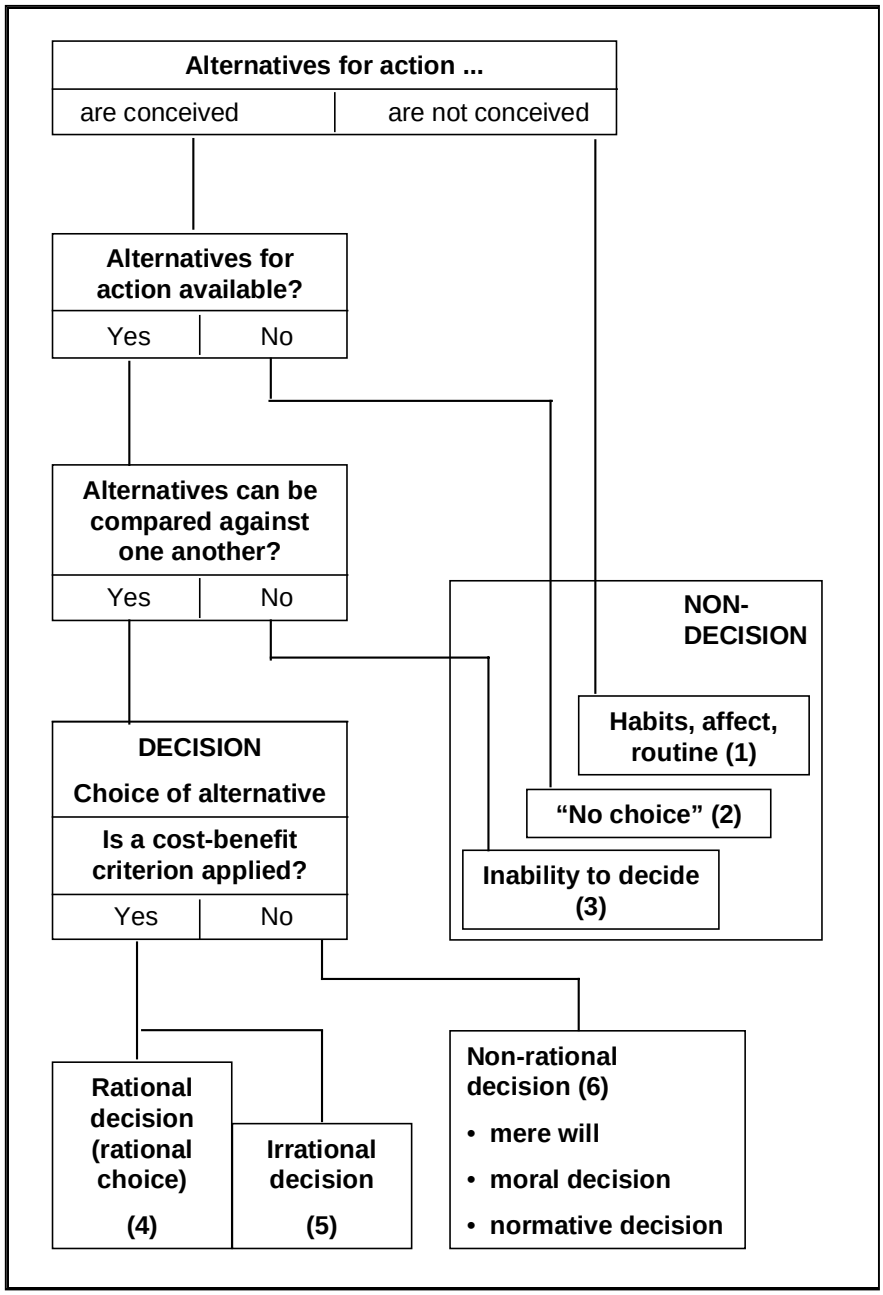
From our perspective, a *goal* is the broader concept, and encompasses much more than the stricter terms of desire etc.. However, every *goal* typically translates into single desires and intentions. For the case of the transition to parenthood, the following chart illustrates possible translations of goals into intentions and desires (Figure 11). It is quite conceivable that the possible sub-goals and intentions or desires with regard to parenthood may theoretically be quite diverse. We will talk in this dissertation about the goals and desires connected with the "standard option" of biological and social fatherhood, which is marked by additional dashed block arrows in the chart.

Figure 11. Analytical differentiation of goals, desires, and intentions for children (Our graph; explanation in the text).



What role does the notion of choice or decision play in this context? Burkart elaborates that the most basic definition of a decision is to term it as a "choice between options" (Burkart, 1994: 77). However, from a sociological perspective we have to make clear that these options need to be regarded as options of action, that is as projects (Schütz, cited by Burkart, ibid.: 77f.). People react to action problems (what shall I do? what's next?) by making a decision given that different options are available. These reflections lead Burkart to the instructive flow chart, which illustrates the necessary and sufficient conditions for a decision. He shows that out of six "styles" of a biographic transition (numbers 1-6 in the chart), only three (numbers 4-6) can be termed decisions, and only one of them (4) "rational" (see Figure 12).

Figure 12. Necessary and sufficient conditions of a decision for parenthood (Source: Burkart, 1994: 84; our translation).



We keep these important definitions in mind when we explain the psychological process of "deciding" for childbearing. Whenever we are tempted to use the conclusions of a "decision for parenthood" or an "intention to fatherhood" prematurely, we can fall back on the given distinctions. We want to record, for the time being, that we have to take different *types* (or styles) of goals and decisions into account which may also entail biographic "inevitabilities", normative constraints, etc.. Moreover, we know about the large number of unplanned (or "undecided") pregnancies.

However, we do not entirely reject even the strict notion of parenthood *decisions* also for these cases. We know from the literature that to terminate an unplanned pregnancy by an induced abortion is *not* banned – legally or morally – in East Germany, so that even if a pregnancy was not intended or decided for in the strict sense, at least the final birth of a child can be regarded as an outcome of a decision process, namely of the *choice not to abort* the pregnancy.

4.1.2 Three major lines of critique

As mentioned above, we subject the presented explanations for childbearing behavior in East Germany in the 1990s to a critique and provide alternatives along three major lines: the questions of fertility differentials, the question of the macro-micro translation, and the questions of sex differentials within the former two questions.

For the former two topics, we claim that psychology, as a "microscopic" discipline, has still not been sufficiently exploited. We do not know how people who aspire to parenthood at different ages differ in terms of psychological traits and characteristics. We also do not know which characteristics of the social context are actively perceived by individuals and bear relevance in a personal decision (or non-decision) process. In particular, we do not attain any insights into whether these mechanisms are fundamentally identical for the sexes—or not.

From the literature, we can conclude so far that the decisions people make with regard to childbearing and family formation are closely connected to features of the actual and perceived societal opportunity structure, to social norms and values (mediated by mass media and institutional arrangements), and the inner prods and pressures of individuals. These decisions, furthermore, reflect a specific *logic*, i.e., a motivational and decision-related set of interdependencies and exclusions throughout their lives. Subjective perception, intrapsychical processing, and realization, however, are certainly dependent on an individual's personality and accumulated life experiences (Lewis, 1999).

Research on how psychological variables may affect family formation, however, is clearly underrepresented in the literature. From recent work we take up recommendations given by Barber and colleagues (2000) and Schneewind (1996, 1998). Barber et al. (ibid.: 31) state that "[our] research suggests that social scientists interested in explaining family formation behavior would benefit from an increased emphasis on social psychological explanations of behavior", whilst Schneewind (1996: 7) quotes the frequently given judgment that the "explanatory power of social-structural variables [for generative behavior] is shrinking" and, thus, concludes that "the fact that the motivational capacities for or against parenthood are, to a large extent, related to aspects of people's personality and relationships implies that we need to devote more attention to these factors" (Schneewind, 1998: 114; our translation; cf. Goossens, 2001: 28f., Cromm, 1988).[35]

In order to link our *psychological investigation* to demographic theorizing, we refer to a recent social demographic paradigm (de Bruijn, 1999) which attempts to bring out the interplay of macro and micro factors in fertility processes (Giele & Elder, 1998). Herein, social-psychological models are a crucial link (Nolte, 1994).

4.2 An Innovative Alternative: The Foundation of Demographic Theory by de Bruijn and Its Application in Our Study

Fortunately, many of the mentioned critiques on the present explanation of demographic behavior have been taken up by a recent monograph published by Dutch demographer Bart de Bruijn. In his thesis termed "The foundation of demographic theory" (de Bruijn, 1999) he addresses the lacking

35 Interestingly, in the same publication Schneewind (1998: 116) also finds that "young fathers make a larger contribution to the family formation process than we usually expect." Similar findings are presented by Tölke (1995) and Tölke & Diewald (2003).

micro foundation of fertility theory[36] and develops a contribution to that time-honored desideratum of demography (cf. introduction of Chapter 3). We briefly introduce the basic notions of his paradigm before we discuss his suggestions and implicit hypotheses from a psychological perspective.

De Bruijn's foundation of a fertility theory starts from the viewpoint that "the accomplishments of demography in terms of descriptive abilities and statistical and mathematical achievements, are not met by an equally sophisticated theoretical fundament" (ibid.: 3). His work addresses this situation by suggesting an interpretative framework that integrates concepts from various disciplines to the study of behavioral processes, which drive reproductive behavior. We can characterize his original work in two main points.

(1) The theoretical approach adopts a micro-perspective, which deals with the explanation of individual behavior unfolding in an embedded social context.

(2) The central concepts of the paradigm, as they are relevant for our research question, consist in well-defined operationalizations of the *context* and *time* perspective as well as the determinants of *choice* processes, as they impact on childbearing behavior.

We will discuss the major trajectories as given by de Bruijn in what follows and explain in detail how we use them to structure our research questions, to guide our methodological decisions, and to formulate hypotheses that we put to a test.

Let us start with the first point, the micro-perspective. Also from the view of a psychologist, the most rewarding general feature of his approach is to distinguish *macro* from *micro factors*. However, the understanding of psychologists of this distinction goes further than what is usually included in sociological or demographic models. It is instead more common to speak of *external* (extrinsic) and *internal* (intrinsic) factors. Drawing on theories of individual perception and shaping of the world (see Ryan et al., 1996) we want to define any factor which is not represented within the individual cognitive system, i.e. *unless* it is perceived and to some extent internalized, as an *external* one. Instances of such external factors are the position in the labor or marriage market, legal or marital status, sex, income, cultural norms and values (for instance age-specific ones or factors connected with different marital statuses). We define as internal any factor which is part of the individual cognitive (thinking, knowing), emotional (wanting, fearing), or conative (habits, abilities) subsystems.

This distinction is fundamental because it allows us to explain why specific changes in people's external contexts lead to a behavioral change, namely by changing their inner frame of reference (Ryan, 1996: 11). Thus, traditional individual-level variables, like sex or income, are considered external to individuals as long as the way in which they affect the individual psyche is not explained (for example in the form of gender-role identity or perceived opportunity structure or satisfaction, respectively).

De Bruijn's paradigm describes individual action and choice processes as a dynamic interplay of *external* and *internal* factors. For the external side, that is the *context* of reproductive behavior, de Bruijn suggests the analysis of the historical course of social institutions, both of the formal (health system, educational system, and legislation, for instance) and of the informal type (religion, family and kinship systems, local communities, and gender roles, for instance). These are regarded first and foremost as structuring, meaning-giving, and behavior-guiding for the individual subject.

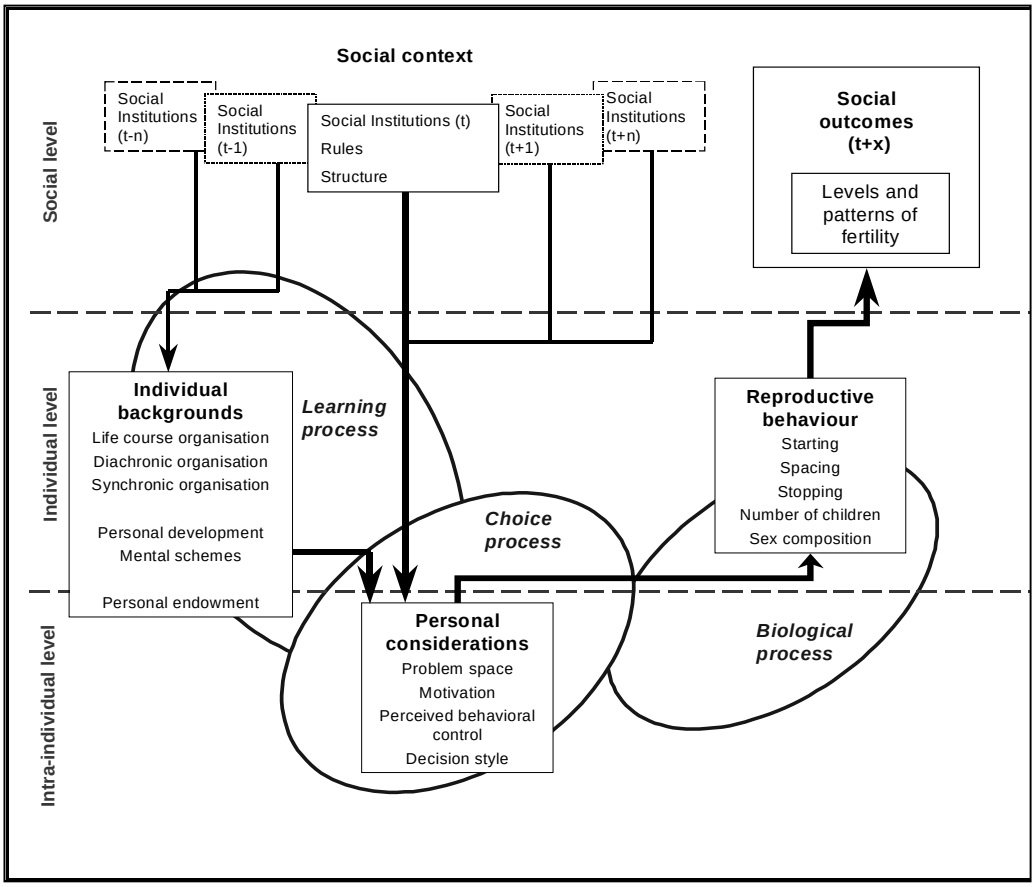
This paradigm is particularly suited for our investigation because its psychological part is elaborate. This part is consistent with relevant findings of social-psychological research to which de

36 The term "demographic theory" is, as he admits, a certain overstatement.

Bruijn refers (Bandura, 1986, Ajzen, 1991). Furthermore, it is highly compatible with the recent psychological concept of social actors, which indicates that individual behavior can only be understood adequately if three different individual subsystems are taken into account: the affective subsystem, the cognitive subsystem, and the conative subsystem (Schwarz & Bohner, 1996, Brunstein et al., 1999).

De Bruijn contends, entirely in accordance with our consideration of external and internal determinants of behavior, that external information influences people's demographic behavior as it translates into the internal factors on which they act (de Bruijn, 1999: 85)[37]. He applies theories of decision-making and includes theoretical concepts organized under the terms *problem space*, *motivation structure*, *styles of decision-making*, and *perceived control*. He concludes that internal factors "can be conceptualized as pertaining to these proximate determinants in addition to fertility behavior itself" (ibid.: 119). This framework assumes learning and choice processes, embedded into time-dependent social institutions, as the driving engines of demographic behavior (see Figure 13). In what follows, we examine his definitions in more detail and confront them with psychological literature. From this procedure, we derive our research questions and first hypotheses.

Figure 13. Abridged draft of de Bruijn's original framework (ibid.: 175).



37 In his terminology, these are contextual information and personal considerations.

4.2.1 De Bruijn's concept of social structure

As it is conceivable from Figure 13, de Bruijn's fertility paradigm starts off with the causal chain of examination at the macro level of social structure. Although this is arguably the most trivial assumption (that individual behavior has "something to do" with the society one lives in), its empirical operationalization and definition belongs, perhaps, to the most challenging steps (for a parallel social psychological opinion, cf. Flick, 1995: 7, Keupp, 1994: 9). De Bruijn decides to apply a cognitive-institutional paradigm on social structure for his demographic theory. What does he mean by this and what are the advantages of this paradigm?

He assumes that institutions are formal *or* informal bodies of society that consist of "more or less coherent sets of *rules* which provide individuals not only with *guidance for behavior* in recurrent situations, but also with *meanings* to interpret the world and their own position in it" (ibid.: 182; italics in original). That is, whatever we regard as relevant in the societal context "must be expressed in terms that bear relevance to the individual agents" (ibid.: 181). De Bruijn's model suggests searching the formal and informal structure of a given society for *rules* that people apply when they make up their mind about a certain issue. These *rules* are objective in the sense that they are considered to trigger fertility behavior without being affected substantially by processes on the individual level. They are subjective in the sense that they are, theoretically, cognizable and perceived by the actor. "In deciding about marriage, fertility or contraceptive use, people are guided by information about available and acceptable options, about the role and influence of others in such choices and personal control, or about the consequences of following certain behavioral routes" (ibid.: 182). Next, we examine this notion in more detail for the "social institutions" that we consider relevant in our study.

Let us start with the most basic features of people, the only two features that are universally used to ascribe status (ibid.: 149), namely age and sex. De Bruijn makes clear that these features are not determinants of behavior themselves, but that they just serve as a "shorthand term for the underlying formative process" (ibid.: 150). That is, they are shorthand terms of informal social institutions. Instances for such "institutions" could be the notions of (and rules for) "teenagers", "young women", "adult men" or similar, which are different from society to society. Whatever a society provides as behavior-guiding rules and meanings for such notions, we have to specify them explicitly for the society we talk about. In the case of East Germany, we can expect a different meaning of age when it comes to childbearing than for West Germany as exemplified in the much younger ages of the transition to parenthood. Keeping in mind, however, that the age at first birth was greatly postponed after unification, we can suppose that the social "rule" of early childbirth has been weakened.

Another instance, is the interaction of age with sex. We can assume that different societal rules exist for men and women at different stages of their life course. Whilst for women the notion of a "biological clock" is typically strong (that is, the knowledge that there are clear limits for childbearing at a certain age), we can expect this guideline to be weaker for men.

In general, we find in the literature the notion that during early adult years individuals live a "demographically dense" period within the context of social norms on the order or the timing of events (Rindfuss, 1991). For instance, Rindfuss et al. (1988) take as a central point of their analysis a normative imperative to become a parent, and they explicitly connect this to religious norms. For the case of East Germany, we can, however, expect to find *different norms* with a *different, non-religious* origin.

Another standard variable in this context is people's educational attainment. We include this "institution" into our analysis because we assume that individuals share different meaning-systems in life according to their educational degrees (Schulze, 1995). Highly educated people typically can be expected to attach a higher importance to their career, but also to self-development and self-actualization. "Education must pay off" (both in a material and a non-material respect) is a

frequently heard rule in this context. These rules, however, can also be a consequence of parental socialization, thus, we have to take the educational status of parents into account.

4.2.2 De Bruijn's concept of learning processes

For our adopted theoretical model, the analysis of people's learning process requires the integration of variables which address the individual background that is "inherent in individuals themselves" (ibid.: 185). Here, de Bruijn differentiates the analysis of *personal endowment* from the analysis of the *organization of the life course*.

The notion of *personal endowment* refers to characteristics of people's personality and other traits which are considered endogenous to the life course because of their relatively early formation (that is, in the impressionable or formative years) and relative stability throughout life. From a psychological perspective, personal endowment can be defined as the set of all individual dispositions of behavior or perception. De Bruijn is concise when he refers to the literature and states that current findings on the impact of personality on childbearing are certainly not very encouraging. However, in recent years, Warren Miller especially has published important reflections and new results to the spurious body of literature. His work (Miller, 1992, 1994, 1995) shows convincingly that psychological factors, more specifically personality traits, explain an important proportion of childbearing motivation.

However, since Miller's publications, research on the impact of psychological factors has not been continued in a systematic way.[38] What we can say for the time being, however, is that to our knowledge, the application of large standard personality tests in fertility research is still missing. We intend to fill this gap in our analysis.

Whilst de Bruijn bears in mind mainly the notion of personality for his concept of personal endowment, we will also add individuals' early learning experiences in their family of origin as well as cognitive endowment (and performance) to our analysis. For instance, we will include people's intelligence in our model as an overall measure of cognitive and problem-solving skills. Concerning the relevance of people's cognitive skills, that is their intelligence, we know about the large correlation of intelligence with formal education (Asendorpf, 1999: 145) but to our knowledge, both aspects of cognitive development have never been weighted against each other in fertility research so far.

De Bruijn receives overwhelming support in the literature for his notion of diachronic and synchronic *organization of the life course*. In order to study fertility transitions adequately we have to trace different careers people follow in different life domains (Buchmann, 1989, Goldscheider, 1995, Blossfeld, 1995 cited by Corijn, 2001). Here, de Bruijn refers to the sequential and the simultaneous order of events and statuses. We will include time-varying information (that is, exact information on the timing of events) on people's development in the educational system, their leaving of the parental home, and their union formation. From the literature reviewed earlier, we infer that being enrolled in the educational system and childbearing is mutually exclusive in Western countries (see Chapter 3.2.1). For the latter domain, there is also evidence that we will hardly observe any transitions to parenthood when people have not entered a steady union (Pohl, 1995). For the process of leaving parental home, we can refer to the fact that having set up one's own household is typically regarded as one of the indicators of a transition to adulthood and

38 There is some faint evidence on the relevance of "personality traits" such as planful competence, shyness, and temper tantrums on the transition to adulthood derived from the Berkeley Guidance Study (cited by Goossens, 2001). We will come back to some findings when deriving our hypotheses in Chapter 5.2.

independence which may be a condition for parenthood (Graber & Dubas, 1996, Goldscheider, 1997, Aassve et al., 2001, Billari et al., 2001).

4.2.3 De Bruijn's concept of choice processes

De Bruijn devotes extensive deliberation and theoretical scrutiny to his elaboration of the concept of fertility choices. As his theoretical model shows, choice processes are centrally located in his framework. Herein, the impact of social institutions and personal background materializes. Denoting that the conventional choice theories of economy (preferences), sociology (roles), or psychology (expectancy-value) bear an inherent tendency for over-simplification, he designs his model of *choice by personal considerations* in a deliberately broad way. He writes:

> "[My] approach retains the basic elements of choice –such as options and expectations– but it adds subtleties of bounded, procedural and expressive rationality, ignorance and reduced perception, limited information processing, routine and institutionalized decision-making, and other heuristic processes that widen the concept of choice into a process of general significance to behavior formation, instead of being confined to explicit decision making behavior in the narrow sense." (ibid.: 187f.)

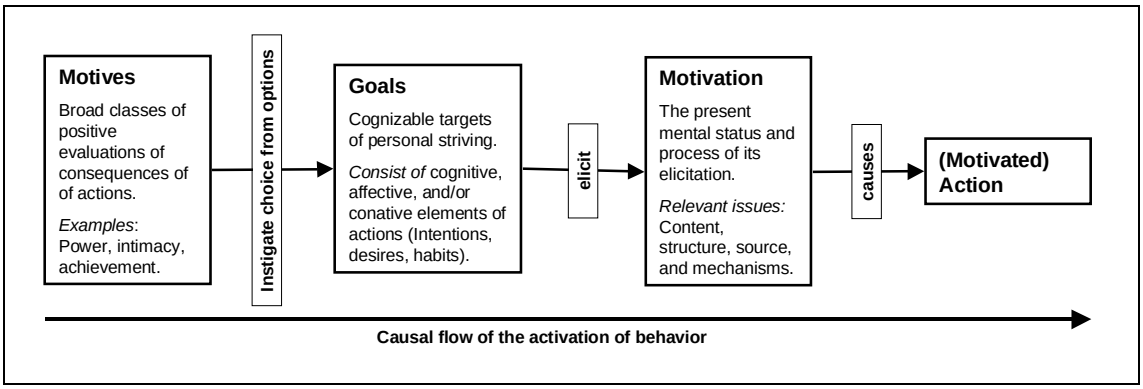
De Bruijn captures personal considerations, which make up for this process, by an elaboration of the concepts of *problem space, motivation, personal control,* and *styles of decision making*.

He conceives of a person's *problem space* as the subjectively constructed and salient part of an individual's complete set of behavioral options and goals (ibid.: 189). In this definition, de Bruijn places explicit – as for the field of demography, unusual – emphasis on *subjectivity*. Options and goals within a specific life domain are not objectively given, although they have clear links with social structure (social institutions) and the individual background, as the theoretical model explains. However, they only take shape during a person's process of perception, selection, and consideration. Although it is basically possible that these processes are undertaken "rationally" by well-informed actors, his model of problem space also refers to situations that are "characterized by complete ignorance of behavioral options, [...] where people do not have exactly circumscribed goals, [...] and where people rely on routines or standard rules for behavior and seemingly their only motivation is the 'normalcy' of such standards" (ibid. 187).

Although we can draft de Bruijn's definitions only with these few keywords, it is quite conceivable that he spans a wide field of possible behavior by this notion of "problem space". He admits that "the concept of choice may be robbed of its authentic meaning" by doing this. However, he claims that his definition is a response to the much-heard judgment that it would be essentially wrong to consider only rational planning behavior in a theory on fertility (ibid.). Ultimately, the advantage of a wide definition is that it allows for a "valid and valuable analytical approach" in order to understand and detect the given "task environment" of an individual's specific life domain.

Furthermore, a clearer link to a psychological theory of life goals is given by the second element of his proposed analysis of choice, namely *motivation* (cf. Liefbroer, 1998). Whereas options and goals refer more directly to the *content* of *motivation*, de Bruijn reserves this additional place in his model for the elaboration on the *structure, sources*, and *mechanisms* of motivation. This is a tricky jumble of concepts, however, and, perhaps without suspecting it, de Bruijn relates to a vivid research field of social psychology with these concepts (Gollwitzer, 1999). We try to display the logical sequence of these concepts and their brief definitions in Figure 14.

Figure 14. Logical sequence of motivation-related concepts that are applied by de Bruijn and their brief definitions (Our graph).



As we can see, *motives* are generally conceptualized as more comprehensive categories which refer to the final outcomes of actions (Pittman, 1998). Instances of such motives are "power", "intimacy", or "achievement". Thus, parenthood as a personal goal would coincide with the motive of a reproduction of intimacy from the viewpoint of the psychology of motivation (Reis & Patrick, 1996: 535f., for a parallel sociological argument see also Huinink, 1995a: 139, and Luhmann, 1982: 183ff.).

Concerning the process of motivation-formation, de Bruijn correctly points toward the relevance of differentiating questions of (i) the content of motivation (what we call *motives* here), (ii) the structure of motivation (which refers to the inner structure of different *goals* that coincide or conflict), and (iii) the sources and mechanisms of motivation (which refers to characteristics of the inner functioning of the motivation process).

Here, social psychological research provides the relevant information. This research topic of goals and the motivation of behavior has witnessed a considerable revival in social psychology in the last decades (Gollwitzer & Moskovitz, 1996: 361).[39] As Dunning (1999: 3) puts it: "I suggest, that what is most assuredly cognitive (schematic) is very much influenced by forces that are most assuredly motivational." In particular social psychological research on the formation of goal content serves us by including recent insights on this often-neglected field (cf. Gollwitzer & Bargh, 1996, Brunstein et al., 1999). In an influential paper from 1996, Ryan and colleagues review relevant findings and conclude that "cultural and interpersonal contexts influence *what* goals people emphasize and stress within their hierarchy of goals, and which ones are less salient or accentuated." (Ryan et al., 1996: 20f.) They find, for instance, that people who grow up or live in an atmosphere characterized by high control and low warmth are inhibited in their development of more autonomous and self-regulatory goals (ibid.).

These insights guide us to the relevance of not only asking people *directly* what they aspire to and disdain, but also to consider how they are provided with personal and social resources and what kind of social relations they experience. With the latter we pay heed to recent research that shows that the perceived levels of social support and of available resources influence virtually all kinds of social behavior (Stroebe & Stroebe, 1996). We will come back to this issue in the construction of our variables in Chapter 5.2.

39 To the outsider, this statement may seem a little odd—because how can social psychology have "re-discovered" personal goals just recently?! The reason has to do with a long-standing schism from which social psychology suffered in its development. For decades, progress in the field was hampered by a battle between the advocates of cognition as the crucial concept of social psychology, and those who favored motivation as the answer to everything. It took until as late as the 1980s before authors launched attempts to put a halt to this debate and to investigate the linkage between cognition and motivation. Since then, each concept is seen as a property, facet, or factor of the other (cf. the preface of Gollwitzer & Bargh, 1996. This volume, in general, provides rich insight into the current status and directions of the contemporary research in this field).

The last two elements of de Bruijn's operationalization of the choice process are much easier to disentangle and to account for by psychological measures. He correctly points toward the relevance of people's *perceived action control*. This is, indeed, a fixed component of many psychological theories of actions (Rotter, 1966, Bandura, 1986, 2000). The underlying idea is that people need to be convinced that they are capable "to organize and execute the courses of action required to produce given levels of attainment" and to "produce desired effects by their actions" (Bandura, 2000: 18). De Bruijn states that "the perspective of (perceived) control over behavior is particularly relevant with respect to fertility behavior. [...] Due to the physiological and probabilistic nature of the processes involved in fertility, volitional control over reproduction is far from complete" (de Bruijn, 1999: 191f.). Thus, one needs to regard, in particular, people's perception of control over instrumental behavior (like, for instance, contraception, or agreement on reproduction with a partner). From the literature, we know that the subjective *locus of control* (internal or external control convictions) is strongly tied to personality traits (Becker, 1989), but that a person also holds salient opinions on one's own agency. We can, furthermore, expect that, there is at least some interaction of personal life goals (such as family-formation) with the perception of action control (Brunstein, 2001).

The last element of the theoretical paradigm of choice comprises people's decision-styles. De Bruijn takes into consideration that people differ in how far they apply different strategies in their decision-making. He distinguished whether they use a well-informed utility maximization strategy, whether they follow personal heuristics, or whether they just apply normative and routine behavior. De Bruijn has to confess, however, that the theory underlying this notion is rather heterogeneous and the true causes and reasons why people differ in the way they perform in decision-making are hardly understood. Whilst he suggests the –rather analytical– *staging model* of Janis and Mann (1977) for this analysis, we will reinterpret this part of a choice process by examining *coping styles*, instead.

The psychological concept of *coping styles* is close to what de Bruijn describes as *styles of decision-making*, if one relates them to strenuous or difficult situations. Coping is defined as individuals' flexible and problem-focused behavior when dealing with stress and demand. We can hypothesize that family-formation includes characteristics of such a nature, so it appears worthwhile to ask how people's typical behavior impacts on their actual transitions. We will display this approach in more detail in section 5.2—together with the application and operationalization of the other parts of de Bruijn's paradigm.

4.3 The Need for a Qualitative Investigation into Men's Conceptions, Desires, and Plans with regard to Parenthood

We consider the proposed analytical framework as well suited for guiding a study on a psychological longitudinal database. As we indicated, we use the model in order to select relevant information from a pool of variables .Scholars also acknowledge the need for more qualitative research to provide an intensified inquiry into people's family-related behavior (Bynner & Silbereisen, 2000, Bledsoe et al., 2000, Cherlin & Griffith, 1998, Kruger & Baldus 1999, Griffin & Phoenix 1998, Gloger-Tippelt et al., 1993). Bynner & Silbereisen (ibid.: 13) for example, write that "[w]e also need to use qualitative enquiry (social biographical methods) to help disentangle the complexity and different cultural origins and meanings of life course processes in different places, and the effects of social change upon them". Bledsoe and colleagues (ibid.: 4) agree with this view when they state that "[s]ubjective views can be an indispensable source of explanation and insight". Our research, thus, takes up these threads. It follows the recommendation by Cherlin & Griffith (1998) *to combine quantitative and qualitative approaches in research on male motives,*

perceptions, and decision-making with regard to parenthood. We begin from Strauss and Goldberg's (1999: 244) finding that

> "how men view themselves before and after the birth of their first child is relevant for understanding their motivation for role change, their own psychological well-being, and their involvement with their infant."

We continue this statement by the directly deducible conjecture that such self-views, which men hold *before* the transition, are also determinants of their aspiration to fatherhood itself (cf. Marsiglio et al., 2000).

4.3.1 Aims, purpose, and strategy

In order to inquire into the actual individual choice processes (personal considerations) also from another methodological stance, we enlarge our investigation by an additional qualitative study. Ultimately, our guiding notion is that of *triangulation* of quantitative and qualitative results (Jakob, 2001, Kelle & Erzberger, 1999, Sivesind, 1999, Kelle, 2001). We deem that a qualitative in-depth study is particularly suited to gain a deeper insight into *how* actual individuals view, express, and judge their current situation, intentions, and desires. We, thus, conduct an in-depth qualitative investigation with *men* from the same longitudinal study in order to gain additional insight from another methodological viewpoint. The preference for men results from the diagnosis of an empirical disregard of men in studies on family formation, which is shown by the literature (Federal Interagency Forum, 1998).

The use of qualitative approaches for demographic research questions has been both recommended and demonstrated by various scholars (Greenhalgh, 1995). King & Garrett (1995) conclude that "when other demographers produce qualitative studies demographers tend to cite them". Given that the relevance of qualitative research in social research in unquestioned, we want to denote a much more interesting issue, namely the question of integration of qualitative with quantitative results. We want to devote some time to the elaboration of this issue.

Generally speaking, the use of qualitative or quantitative research methods has long been a question of "*either/or"*. Recently, however, the trend of research is moving toward an approach of "*as well as"*. How does such a combination lead to successful new insights into the social realities of fertility behavior?

Qualitative investigations aim at revealing conceptions and perceptions which people have and which they use in order to structure their life course and to make decisions. A qualitative approach yields rich, detailed, valid data that preserves the participants' own perspectives (Steckler et al., 1992) and it is helpful in exploring relatively new or uncharted research topics. We regard this as a particularly valuable approach in such fields of social behavior where modernization and individualization increase the probability for new social practices and individual decisions and choices, like in family-related behavior. The complexity of human phenomena requires complex research designs and the application of multiple methodologies to achieve a proper understanding or analysis (Sandelowski 2000). Both methodological approaches have weaknesses which, at least partially, can be compensated for by the strengths of the other (Steckler et al., 1992).

While an increasing number of researchers have recently turned to mixed-method studies, the question of *how* to do this effectively is far from being resolved, and needs to be tailored to the particulars of the given study. Considering the possibilities of linking qualitative with quantitative data, Erzberger proposes three different options: strategies of *congruency*, *complementarity*, and *divergence* (Erzberger, 1998: 123). We briefly describe these different options as well as the intention that we pursue in our empirical study.

A *strategy of congruency* aims at increasing the validity of a large quantitative survey by a qualitative study, or vice versa. Each single methodology (quantitative and qualitative) is regarded

as having its own strengths and weaknesses, so a combination might help to compensate for the respective weaknesses. A comparison of the results of both types of surveys would provide a validity measure for the whole investigation, namely the level of correspondence. Applying this strategy in our case would mean that we use similar target questions and concepts for the qualitative and for the quantitative portions of the study. That would lead to a so-called *methodological triangulation approach*. Denzin (1978: 304), for instance, writes that methodological triangulation involves a "process of playing each method off against the other so as to maximize the validity of field efforts".

A *strategy of complementarity* would rather challenge the idea of "reciprocal validation" and would instead tend to acknowledge the general incompatibility of results of qualitative and quantitative approaches. Thus, the linkage of qualitative and quantitative results in a complementary way would rather aim at a richer and more multi-faceted overall picture of the topic of interest. Bryman (1998: 142), for instance, suggests that quantitative research "can establish regularities in social life while qualitative evidence can allow the processes which link the variables identified to be revealed".

A *strategy of divergence* would strive or allow for a general contrast of the two methodologies, i.e. looking not just for two sides of the same coin but rather for two different coins. A qualitative investigation might, for instance, search for the experiences of minorities, migrants, or other focus groups that would not sufficiently be represented by survey data. Rossman and Wilson (1985: 633) suggest that "searching for areas of divergent findings may set up the dissonance, doubt, and ambiguity often associated with significant creative intellectual insight. [...] Rather than seeking confirmatory evidence, this design searches for the provocative".

In our focus on conceptions of fatherhood, intention-formation, and decision-making of *men* we pursue a *complementary strategy*. We also follow a sex-differential approach in our quantitative study and aim at providing in-depth insights on psychological mechanisms of the transition to parenthood. Thus, we design the overall set-up of our study in such a way that allows us to weigh the former finding in the light of the latter ones—and vice versa. We allow for fundamental differences on a common topical ground.

4.3.2 Theoretical rationale

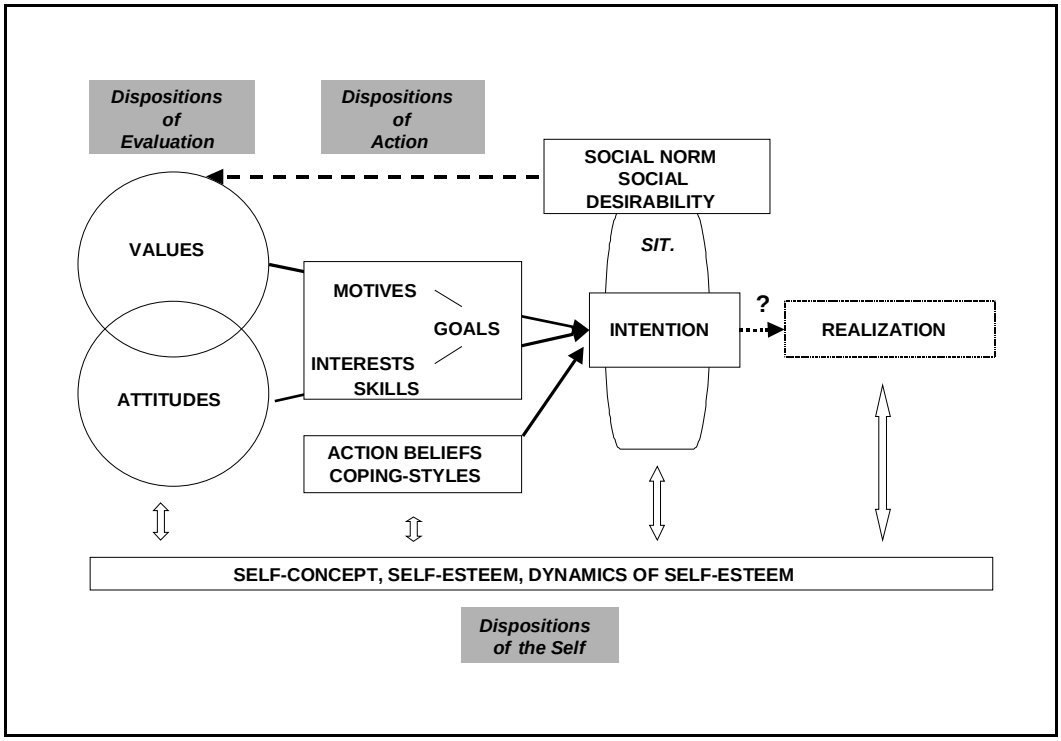
It would be essentially wrong, however, to give the impression that we intend to approach the qualitative part of our study as if it were an entirely "naive" exploration without any prior knowledge or hypotheses.[40] Rather, we start off with an inherent wealth of social psychological theories on intention-formation and we clearly aim for results that are compatible with (or, at least, interpretable by) some kind of social psychological theory building. Without having any particular theory in mind, we can still refer to general findings of social or personality psychology.[41]

Generally, the current state of the art of psychological theory on intention-formation focuses on the theory and measurement of *dispositions of evaluation*, *dispositions of action*, and *dispositions of the self* (see Asendorpf, 1999, Bilsky & Schwartz, 1994). We can assume that people differ with regard to different dispositions from each other. These dispositions pertain to the way they see the world (attitudes and values), their actions (motives, interests, goals, and action beliefs), and the way they see themselves (self-concept, self-esteem). We know that most of these concepts can be regarded as, fairly stable (at least in the medium-term) and action-relevant characteristics which

40 This is, by contrast, an expressed ideal of some qualitative authors (Glaser, 1992, cf. the discussion by Meinefeld, 1996).
41 For an overview on the quoted "wealth" of social psychological theories, see Herkner, 1991 or Witte, 1994.

impact people's intentions. Figure 15 displays the proposed links of these concepts and their impact on actions within a given social situation.

Figure 15. Psychological personality model of intention formation. Chart derived from descriptions by Asendorpf (1999).[42]



4.4 Research Questions

The first group of questions (4.4.1) refers to the unknown status of psychological variables in a model of fertility differentials. The second group (4.4.2) mainly addresses the open questions of men's conceptions, expectations, and desires with respect to family formation. The last group of questions (4.4.3) deals with the methodological challenge of integrating our findings from the two former parts.

4.4.1 First group of questions: Psychological variables and fertility differentials

In Part B of our study, we will put to test the power of psychological variables as explanatory covariates in a model of first birth differentials. Our guiding questions are:

42 The difference of this paradigm underpinning the qualitative study to the one by de Bruijn for the quantitative study is, of course, given by the target. Whilst our qualitative paradigm aims at an exploration of intentions/desires, the model by de Bruijn suggests determinants of behavior—where intention is only one potential element. Thus, the qualitative paradigm bears a far more narrow focus. Moreover, we will apply it as suggested by van den Hoonaard (1997) in terms of sensitizing concepts (explanation in the text).

How much do psychological variables contribute to a statistical model of the transition to first births in East Germany in the 1990s? What power do psychological covariates have if we compare them to social structural covariates? Which psychological variables of individual background and personal considerations are particularly valuable, in general, and for the explanation of sex-differences, in particular? What can we conclude about the adequacy of de Bruijn's model for fertility differentials? What conclusions can we, furthermore, draw on the ambiguous literature on the impact of personality traits on fertility (de Bruijn, 1999: 186, Miller, 1992, Miller & Pasta, 1994)?

4.4.2 Second group of questions: Conceptions of "fatherhood" by childless men

In Part C of our study, we inquire into the perspectives of men from East Germany on the questions of having children and family formation. We ask:

How do East German men view and shape their (potential) transition to fatherhood? What personal expectations, evaluations, and experiences lead to a formation of an intention to have children? Which, by contrast, lead to the intention to postpone or forgo family formation? What personal goals and interests do men from East Germany pursue when they strive for (or forgo) parenthood? Which aspects of the self and male identity contribute to their desire for children? Do attitudes and values bear relevance for its explanation? What indications for a social psychological theory of the involved processes do we find?

4.4.3 Third group of questions: Linkage of quantitative and qualitative results

In Part D, we will reflect on the previous findings with an eye toward synthesis. We address the following questions:

How can we integrate the findings of both empirical parts in a comprehensive and complementary way? What can we conclude about the process of family formation in East Germany in the 1990s? What do quantitative results tell us about qualitative findings—and vice versa? What do we learn about the interrelation of societal change and individual agency? What are the demographic, sociological, and psychological conclusions from our study? Which further questions do our analyses instigate?

Part B

The Quantitative Study

Chapter 5

A Hazard Regression of the Transitions to Parenthood in Rostock 1988-2003 with Psychological Covariates

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This part gives numerical answers to our research questions from Chapter 4.1. We describe the childbearing histories of 241 young adults from Rostock from 1988 to 2003, we then spell out a hazard regression model to capture the impacts of various sources on the observed transition rates to parenthood according to our theoretical paradigm from Chapter 3, and we provide numerical estimations of the influence of psychological and other measures by statistical models. In each of these steps, we apply separate models for the sexes if possible.

The first section of this chapter (5.1) outlines the basic descriptive characteristics of our study sample. The second section (5.2) introduces the methodological approach we undertook in the numerical analysis, the variables we used and our hypotheses. The third and fourth section (5.3 and 5.4) present our results, which we summarize and discuss in the concluding fifth section (5.5).

5.1 Sample: The Rostock Longitudinal Study in its Fourth Decade

The data for our empirical investigation stem from an extensive medical-psychological longitudinal survey conducted by the Institute for Medical Psychology of the University of Rostock. This so-called Rostock Longitudinal Study (ROLS, Meyer-Probst & Teichmann, 1984) was commenced in 1970 with the purpose of investigating the life-long impact of biological, social, and psychological risk factors on human development. The initial sample consisted of 1,000 newborn children and their mothers. This sample was examined in 1970/1971 (age=0) and then reduced to a core sample of 300 children who attended the *Kinderkrippe* (Kindergarten for the very young) in 1972 at age 2. Follow-up studies took place at ages 6 (N=279), 10 (N=268), 14 (N=247), 20 (N=199), and 25 years (N=212), and individuals were also followed up when they left Rostock. Despite sample attrition the data remain representative for this cohort (Reis, 1997).

From the standpoint of the general course of the study, the German unification can be regarded as a particularly lucky event because a great amount of data was already collected before this “quasi-experiment” (Bronfenbrenner, 1981) of rapid social change. The subjects of the sample were entering adulthood at the same time as they had to cope with the challenges of a quickly changing labor market and educational system. In general, the first years after German unification can be described as an “orientation period” (Zapf, 1994). Some of our respondents opted for renewed vocational training; others took the chance to migrate to places throughout Germany and Europe (Reis et al., 1996). The second fortunate event, in particular for our research question, was that the study's main focus of interest had shifted over the years. By expanding its initial measures by more and more sociological and psychological items, it now also provides a rich selection of interesting

data for research on life course transitions. Table 1 depicts the previous waves of the (full) survey[43] with its basic features.

This table also includes information on the additional telephone survey which we carried out ourselves mainly in 2002. In more than 200 telephone calls, we undertook a regular update of the addresses of the participating families and, on this occasion, inquired for the full childbearing histories of our subjects. As informants served either the participants themselves, or their parents.

Table 1. The Rostock Longitudinal Study, 1970-2003

	1st wave	2nd wave	3rd wave	4th wave	5th wave	6th wave	7th wave	Phone Interviews
Year	1970/71	1972/73	1976/77	1980/81	1984/85	1990/91	1995/96	2002/03
Mean age	0	2	6	10	14	20	25	32
N (sample)	1000	294	279	268	247	199	212	206
% of the 1972 sample	—	100	95	91	84	68	72	70
number of single variables collected	483	529	493	509	580	329	1200	—

Before we present our variables and the methodological approach in more detail, we discuss the question of representativity of our telephone interview sample. For this, we will follow the attrition calculus as carried out by Reis (1997).

Representativity?

Whilst the initial sampling strategy of the first wave consists of a representative selection of the birth cohort 1970/1971 from the city of Rostock (Meyer-Probst & Teichmann, 1984), Reis (1997) concludes that the subsequent study attrition did not systematically deteriorate the quality of the sample. For the early years from 1972 to 1984, Reis finds that "the development of the study sample follows the trend of the [whole] GDR" (ibid.: 51; our translation) as exemplified by increasing salaries, increasing female labor-force participation, etc. The only noteworthy change that he observes is given in the "normalization" of the sample, that is, the most "extreme" cases tend to drop out of the sample. This holds, in particular, for families that experience extreme adversities or families with an extremely low income—but also the extremely high incomes tend to leave the study. This phenomenon is a well-known characteristic of longitudinal studies (Winefeld & Winefeld, 1990; cited by Reis, ibid.: 54).

For the later years between the fifth and sixth wave, which comprise the period of the most relevant attrition down to an all-time low of 199 participants, Reis substantiates the "normalization" finding of the early years. For variables such as experienced adversities, income, intelligence, or personality measures, Reis finds a significant reduction of variance in the sample which is mainly due to the drop-out of the highly burdened cases.

In sum, we have to conclude that the ROLS data suffers from a decreasing potency to study questions of deviance, psychiatric diseases, or cases of severe family adversities, but it is still a high-quality representative sample for studies of "normal" questions such as we consider

43 Reis conducted a qualitative in-depth study in 1998/1999 with about 50 participants of the study. Here, no standardized measures were taken, though.

childbearing to be. Table 2 summarizes the basic socio-demographic features of our subjects. We can conclude that by the age of 25 the "typical" participant of ROLS has finished education, is employed full-time, lives together with a partner, and is childless.

For the analysis of our research questions from Chapter 4.4.1, we select a set of psychological and other measures from the *fifth*, *sixth*, and *seventh waves* of the study in order to explain the differentials of their fertility history during the subsequent years. We recorded these fertility histories mainly in 2002 by telephone interviews. Table 3 shows that altogether 111 first and 30 second births occurred by then, most for women.

Table 2. Sample characteristics and measures from the 5th, 6th, and 7th wave

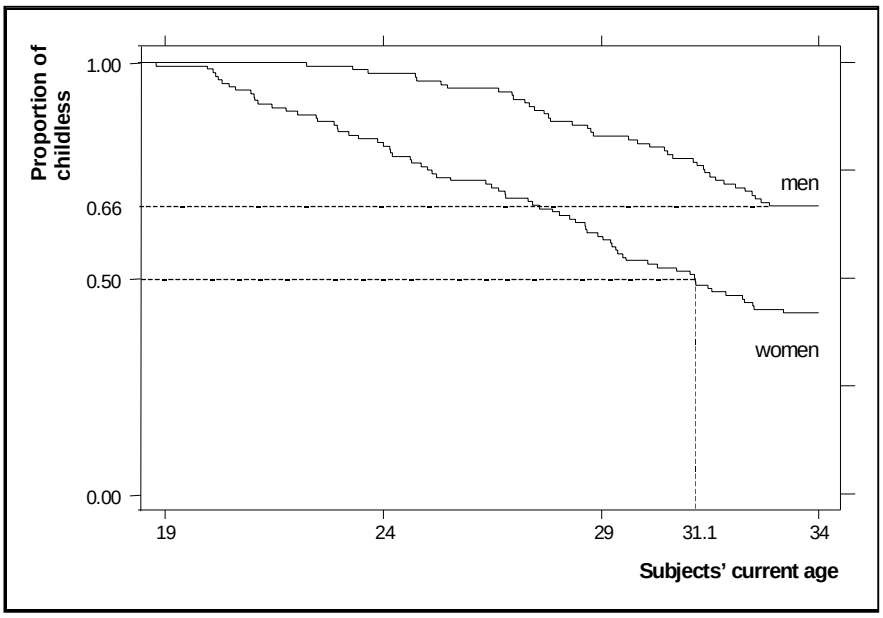
Variable	1984/85	1990/91	1995/96
Age (exact mean in years)	ca. 14	20.08	ca. 25
Sex			
Male	120 (48.6%)	96 (48.2%)	99 (46.7%)
Female	127 (51.4%)	103 (51.8%)	113 (53.3 %)
Performance at school			
good school performance	58.3 %	—	—
average school performance	28.3 %	—	—
weak school performance	13.3 %	—	—
Educational attainment (years)			
not finished school (7)	—	4 %	—
semi-skilled worker (8)	—	1.5 %	—
skilled worker 8th grade (8)	—	4 %	5.2
skilled worker 10th grade (10)	—	57.8 %	70.8 %
technical college (12)	—	12.6 %	—
"occupation with Abitur" (12)	—	6 %	—
"Abitur" (high-school) (12)	—	11.1 %	24.0 %
Occupation			
employed	—	60.8 %	57.5 %
self-employed	—	—	2.8 %
military/community service	—	9.3 %	5.7 %
at school/college	100%	10.8 %	17.5 %
unemployed	—	5.7 %	4.2 %
others/non classified	—	2.1 %	5.7 %
Living arrangement			
With parent(s)	99.6 %	77,4 %	14.2 %
Alone, own household	0 %	9,7 %	23.1 %
With partner, own household	0 %	12.9 %	54.3 %
Others	.4 %	—	8.5 %
Has a steady relationship			
Yes	33.2 %	59.3 %	75.8 %
No	66.8 %	40.7 %	24.2 %
Has a child			
Yes	0 %	4.5 %	16 %
No	100%	95.5 %	84 %

Table 3. Distribution of birth events in the sample[44]

	1984/85 – 1995/96 age approx. 14 – 25	**1995/96 – 2002/03** age approx. 25 – 32	**Total spell**
men			
1st births	6	33	39
2nd births	3	4	7
women			
1st births	28	44	72
2nd births	13	10	23
total			
1st births	34	77	111
2nd births	16	14	30

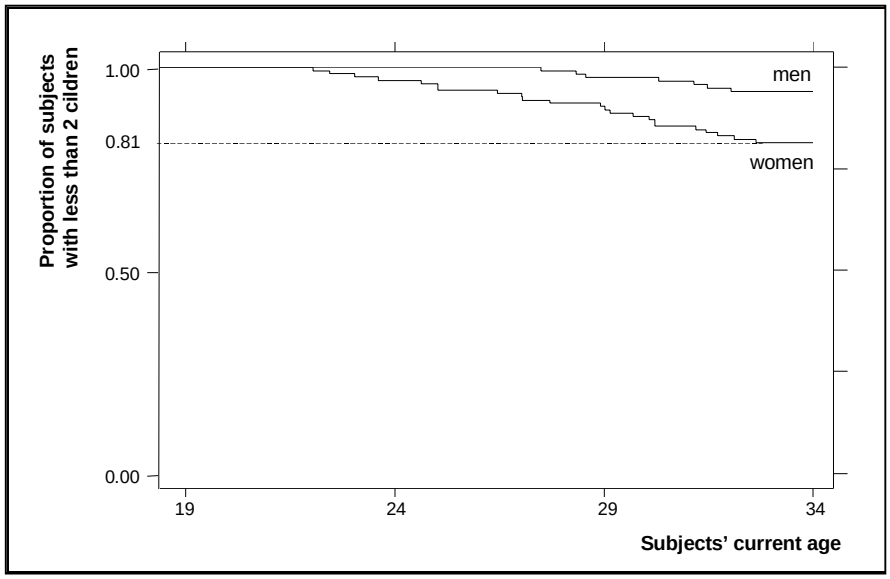
In order to have a more detailed look at the occurrence of these events over time, we calculate Kaplan-Meier survival functions from the data. In Figure 16 and Figure 17 (respectively for first and second births) the X-axes display people's current age and the Y-axis the proportion of people who have not yet experienced the event at that age. We find that at an age of, approximately, 31 years 50 percent of the women in our sample have had a first birth, that is, this age is the median of first births in our female sub-sample. Men do not reach the median even by the end of our observation at the age of 33. For second births, the proportion of people who have experienced a second birth remains at extremely low levels (we applied the same scale to mark the difference), the values stay above 80 percent for women without a second child and above 90 percent for men during the entire spell.

Figure 16. Kaplan-Meier survival estimates for first births by sex



44 We found only three (!) births of higher (third) order and excluded them from this table.

Figure 17. Kaplan-Meier survival estimates for second births by sex



These empirical observations surely require some additional reflections because they apparently give a certain overestimation of the median age at first birth. In recent analyses, Kreyenfeld (2001: 131) and Huinink & Kreyenfeld (forthcoming: 15) estimate the median age at first birth for East German women of the cohorts 1970 and 1971 with a value of respectively 26 and "at least 27 years"[45]. Here, the estimates we derive from our data clearly diverge by more than three years. This might have two simple reasons. First, our survey, to some extent, undersamples the early childbearers because of the fact that a marriage is more often experienced by women in connection with childbirth compared to those who stay childless. In this case, many women change their last names in which case they are less easy to find again by the longitudinal researcher. Secondly, very early childbearers of the 1970/71 cohorts (teenage parents, that is those who became parents before unification) can be expected to belong to the particularly low stratum of the GDR society and they are more probable to drop out due to the normalization of the sample (see our reflections on representativeness above).

In addition, psychological longitudinal surveys may have to face problems which one does not find in large scale "official" (register) data sets. For instance, it is always more probable that some subjects conceal a child from the researcher (like, for instance, one that was born in a former unhappy union or that was given up for adoption) than "inventing" one. This is what has been called the "bias of underreporting". By consequence, we have to take into consideration that the ROLS sample bears a tendency towards being more representative for late childbearing than for particularly early and teenage childbearing. This tendency is clearly visible but not overly strong though and, in particular, does not hinder us to search for psychological determinants of fertility differentials.

In any case, the displayed transitions to first birth form the empirical rationale of our investigation. Our aim is to model the event history of the transition to first birth by psychological and other covariates.

45 A simple graphical extrapolation of the survival curve on the transition to first birth presented by Huinink & Kreyenfeld (forthcoming: 16) yields an estimate of about 28 years. Note that small differences in the year of birth (i.e., even one year) can elicit a surprisingly large shift in demographic measures for the case of East Germany.

5.2 Methods and Measures: Hazard Regression, Covariates, and Hypotheses

5.2.1 Description of a hazard regression

A hazard regression models the risk of childbirth for our subjects over time. A risk (hazard) is defined as the individual probability of experiencing an event *under the condition* that it has not been experienced before. For the case of transitions to first birth we, first, have to define a population at risk, namely childless men and women older than 14 who are not censored from observation. Then two different ways of leaving this population are allowed, namely by first birth or by censoring. An event-history method is particularly useful for our research questions and data because it accounts for the time dependency of a process, and it can easily deal with censored data (Mayer & Tuma, 1987, Mayer & Huinink, 1990, Yamaguchi & Jin, 1999, Blossfeld & Rohwer, 2002). A transition rate model is mathematically represented by

$$\ln \mu_i(t) = y(t) + \sum_k \beta_k x_{ik} + \sum_l \lambda_l z_{il}(t) \qquad (1)$$

where $\mu_i(t)$ is the hazard of occurrence of the event (childbirth) at time t for the ith subject, $y(t)$ captures the baseline hazard, x_k is the kth time constant covariate and z_i is the ith time varying covariate with β and λ as the respective regression parameters.

The specific variant that we choose for our analysis allows us to deal with multilevel data and unobserved heterogeneity in our sample, as well (Blossfeld & Hammerle, 1992). The statistical model requires a differentiation of the applied measures into time-to-event (duration) variables, time-fixed, and time-varying covariates. Moreover, our model assumes a piecewise linear baseline for the hazard, which has been termed a "linear spline" approach. We now describe the applied measures and how we construct them according to our theoretical model.

As we said above (5.1), we use data from a *long-term* longitudinal survey. Thus, constructing comparable measures for the time-varying covariates provides a particular challenge to our data set, given that the same exact variables and categories are not available from every wave. For cases in which we had to re-construct comparable measures by an additional procedure, this is indicated in the following section.

5.2.2 Social structural covariates

Our theoretical model suggests (cf. Chapter 4.2) that certain characteristics of subjects' social environment have an influence on their considerations. The paradigm gives an important condition for these arguable factors: it conceptualizes measures of social status to guide individual behavior and give meaning to people's actions, as exemplified in more detail in Chapter 4.3.

Age and Sex

The first variable of this cluster is the person's age, which is included as a time-varying covariate. Although this seems to be a quite straightforward story, one has to note a certain impediment of our study which we are not able to resolve throughout the analysis. Due to the fact that our *longitudinal* sample comes from a single *cohort*, age is collinear with the passing calendar time. This means, actually, that we use the ticking of the individual age clock as our baseline, always keeping in mind that an age of 20 is identical with a calendar year of 1990 or 1991, an age of 25 with a calendar year of 1995 or 1996, etc. This inherent problem, namely to disentangle age from time effects is a major limitation of our subsequent analysis.

Our second variable consists of an individuals' sex, included as a time-constant covariate. We can expect sex to have a major impact on childbearing differentials in our study. Although it is theoretically possible to bear a child from 14 to around 45 for women, and from 14 to senescence for men, we can hypothesize that there is a clear structural effect in terms of social encouragement for women to bear children comparatively earlier in their life course than men. Usually, the effect is so strong that it is advisable to calculate different models for men and women.

Educational Background

Two additional measures approximate peoples' social and educational background. First, we add the current educational attainment in years of completed education into our set of time-varying variables. That is, this covariate typically starts with a value of 8 at subjects' age 14 and increases by a value of 1 with each additional year of completed education. Secondly, the occupational position of the parents of the subjects is included as a time-constant variable which was taken at subjects' age 14. This measure is derived from an ordinal rating that assigned a value of 1 to a position of an unskilled worker and a value of 6 to top managerial positions requiring an academic education. We add up the values of both parents, so the final variable reaches a maximum of 12. In case of missing values, we assume an average value.

Table 4. Distribution of educational attainment in our sample.

Educational attainment (yrs.)	Frequency	Percent
7	3	1.24
8	15	6.22
10	166	68.88
12	46	19.09
15	5	2.07
17	6	2.49
Total	241	100

For our subjects' final attainment of education, we find a roughly two-thirds prevalence of a 10^{th} grade education (typically combined with vocational training) in our sample, as Table 4 illustrates. For the parental occupational position, we find a slightly skewed distribution with a median of 6 and a mean of 7.3 (see Table 5).

In the literature, it is well documented that people with (a background of) high education differ substantially in the timing of their childbearing behavior from people with (a background of) low education (Huinink, 1995b, cf. Chapter 3.2.1). The reason is typically seen in the fact that a longer enrollment in education is incompatible with childbearing. Thus, those who invest more time and effort in education and career will put childbearing last, until they are well settled in the working sphere. Moreover, a high educational background may speak for a stronger career-orientation of people, so that they will not belong to early childbearers. We can expect that the higher one's own education or parental occupation is, the more strongly are people's childbearing intensities reduced at younger ages.

Table 5. Distribution of parents' occupational position in our sample.

Level of parental occupation (1=low, 12=high)	Frequency	Percent
3	3	1.24
4	10	4.15
5	29	12.03
6	39	16.18
7	32	13.28
8	19	7.88
9	27	11.20
10	34	14.11
11	6	2.49
12	1	0.41
missing	41	17.01
Total	241	100

5.2.3 Covariates of subjects' individual background

Furthermore, the theoretical model suggests that certain characteristics of subjects' individual backgrounds also have an impact on their considerations (see Chapter 4.2.2). Whilst de Bruijn (1999) bears in mind chiefly the notion of *personality* for this term, we add individuals' early learning experiences in their family of origin as well as cognitive endowment (and performance) to our analysis, too. We also include intelligence in the analysis as an overall measure of cognitive and problem-solving skills.

Life course events

Firstly, we want to address what we termed "organization of the life course" (see Chapter 4.2.2) by including information on the time of leaving the parental home, of entering into a union, and of finishing education. We include each of these events as a time-varying indicator variable (has/has not) and display persons' ages at these events in Table 6. We see that the peaks are at about 20 for leaving home, 17 for finishing education, and bimodal with peaks at 19 and 24 for entering a union in our sample.

Because we include the information on life course events as binary indicators we can also account for cases of a late resumption of education or of unions splitting and re-forming. Only leaving home was a unidirectional process in our sample. From the literature (cf. Chapter 4.2.2) and the characteristics of our sample, we can hypothesize a strong impact of union formation on the risk of first birth. Although there are various possibilities for men and women to become a parent outside of a steady union (like sperm-donorship or a lone-mother model, for instance), the conventional way is to aspire to parenthood within a steady relationship. For the age of leaving home we would not expect any particular impact of the event on first birth risks. It seems to be a universal experience for young Rostockers to leave at a relatively young age, so that we would refrain from giving a clear hypothesis in either direction. For leaving education a positive impact of early ages should show in our results. We can expect that people with a prolonged educational career tend to postpone childbearing.

For this information on life course events one has to bear in mind that records were taken for the last time at the age of 25. When a person left home, split up or entered into a relationship, or started a new education *after* age 25, these events are *not* found in the records. In spite of these limitations, the rich and complete retrospective and prospective[46] information appears still sufficiently meaningful to us, because the majority of subjects (i) had left parental home, (ii) had entered into a steady and, chiefly, long-standing relationship, and (iii) had finished their educational program by age 25. For the coding of our variables, this means that we proceed as follows:

- for the process of leaving home we code the time-varying indicator variable as "0" if the person has not left home, as "1" if the person has left home, and as "2" if we did not know (missing).
- for people's union formation, we code the variable as "0" if the person did not have a union, as "1" if the person had a union, and as "2" if we did not know (missing).

for people's educational attainment, we take the number of already finished school years as a variable. For missing values, we proceed as above.

Table 6. Distribution of the age at different life course events in our sample

	Left parental home		**Entered into a steady union**		**Left education**	
Age	*Frequency*	*Percent*	*Frequency*	*Percent*	*Frequency*	*Percent*
14	3	1.24	--	--	--	--
15	--	--	6	2.49	15	6.22
16	7	2.90	1	0.41	--	--
17	7	2.90	10	4.15	154	63.90
18	15	6.22	8	3.32	--	--
19	29	12.03	25	10.37	13	5.39
20	44	18.26	19	7.88	--	--
21	37	15.35	19	7.88	--	--
22	19	7.88	21	8.71	3	1.24
23	22	9.13	23	9.54	--	--
24	2	0.83	26	10.79	4	1.66
25	--	--	3	1.24	24	9.96
26	--	--	--	--	24	9.96
27	--	--	--	--	1	0.41
missing	56	23.24	80	33.20	3	1.24
Total	241	100	241	100	241	100

Characteristics of the family of origin

As a second cluster of variables, various time-constant variables contribute to the description of subjects' childhood experiences in their families of origin. We have information on how many siblings the subjects grew up with (an average of 1.16 siblings) and which position they assumed in the sequence of siblings (oldest, second oldest and so on). According to the literature, we expect people who grew up in a large family to reproduce this pattern and, thus, to start earlier with their own childbearing (Burkart, 1994). Moreover, we consider whether our subjects grew up in an intact family or whether they experienced the death or the move-out of a parent (binary indicator,

46 We considered prospective information for the expected end of education, too (i.e. information like, for instance, "I study in the sixth semester and will finish after the 10th").

22% of our subjects had such an experience). It has been shown that the experience of a loss of a parent (by whichever event) has long term impacts on a person's life course, especially for enrollment in education (Hillmert, 2002). For the family domain, we hypothesize that people tend to compensate for an incomplete family experience by setting up a family for themselves early (Burkart, ibid.). However, one could also expect the opposite effect, namely that their own family formation is impeded by a substantial lack of a role model, for instance.

Endowment: Intelligence and school performance

Psychologically speaking, information on the individual background needs to take into account individual differences of personal dispositions, talents, and endowment. Thus, we add to our covariates information on subjects' cognitive abilities (i.e. intelligence) and on their dispositional traits of actions (i.e. personality).

Intelligence was measured in the fifth and the sixth waves of the ROLS by two standard psychological instruments (HAWIE, see Tewes, 1991, and MWT, see Lehrl, 1991) which results in a single value, namely the intelligence quotient (I.Q.). Our covariate consists of values the HAWIK-measure, which was recorded at age 14 and constitute the values between ages 14 and 20, and the MWT-measure, which was recorded at age 20 and constitutes the values from ages 20 to 32. In case of missing values, we replace them by the respective mean value of the sample (i.e. a value of about 100). Assuming the heuristic definition of Asendorpf (1999: 145) that intelligence "is the capability of higher education", we hypothesize that highly intelligent people do make more use of their education and, thus, postpone or refrain from childbearing at first.

Moreover, we assess how subjects performed in relevant exams and take the marks of their last final school exams as a time-varying covariate. Thus, we obtain their final marks in 8^{th} grade and in 10^{th} grade, respectively, as covariates. Due to the indicated correlation with intelligence, our hypothesis is along the same lines.

Personality

Personality traits were measured in all of the waves with standard instruments (the 121-item Littmann Personality Questionnaire, PFB, see Littmann, 1985, and the 120-item Trier Personality Inventory, TPI, see Becker, 1989). Here, we achieved comparable personality scales by re-coding the PFB into scales similar to those in the TPI. Table 7 describes the meaning of the five applied personality scales.

Although we do not find many hints in the literature about the impact of personality on childbearing, we can formulate some hypotheses by following the pioneer study by Warren Miller (1992). Miller finds that "childbearing motivation is built upon and merges from a substrate of individual traits that govern the human tendency to form attachments and perform care-taking" (ibid.: 280). His results suggest that, in particular, a trait of "nurturance" (giving sympathy and comfort; assisting others whenever possible) and of "affiliation" (enjoying being with friends and people in general; maintaining associations with people) are positively related to childbearing motivation (the first is equally strong for men and women, the latter being somewhat stronger for men than for women). By contrast, a trait of "autonomy" (trying to break away from constraints; enjoying being unattached and free) has a negative correlation with childbearing motivation, whilst for "achievement" (aspiring to accomplish difficult tasks; responding positively to competition) there is a zero-correlation (no sex-differences for both traits).[47]

47 Miller applied the 16-item personality scales from Jackson (1984).

Table 7. Personality factors and their signification

Factor no.	Factor name	Signification
1	Capacity for Love	Positive evaluation of oneself and others. Subjects with high scores are loving and agreeable, mentally sound, have a high self-esteem and usually positive appraisal of others
2	Mental Health	Subjects with high scores are more optimistic with regard to their future, more satisfied with their lives and less anxious in general. They report less depressive or psychotic symptoms.
3	Physical Health	Subjects with high scores report less health-related problems, have the feeling that they are physically and mentally strong enough to cope with demands, and have a higher self-esteem. They are less neuroticistic.
4	Self-Actualization	Subjects with high scores are more extraverted, autonomous, and risk-taking, they are performance-oriented and strive for personal control.
5	Action Control	Subjects with high scores report a more internal locus of control, they think and reason more about decisions, and are less spontaneous and more reflective.

For the scales we applied, “Capacity for Love” is very close to what Miller calls nurturance and affiliation. Thus, we derive the hypothesis of a positive impact on the transition to parenthood. “Self-Actualization” in our case is close to Miller's autonomy-scale and, thus, we can expect a negative impact. Consequently, we hypothesize a zero-correlation for “Action Control” which is not far from Miller's achievement-scale. Finally –and this follows rather from common sense that from Miller's results– it appears quite conceivable that we should expect people with a stronger personal resilience and health to be more attractive for and capable of entering parenthood in the turbulent times we observe. That is, “Mental Health”, and “Physical Health” can be expected to impact positively on the transition to parenthood.

5.2.4 Covariates of subjects' personal considerations

As theoretically demanded, it would be inadequate to include only –in a somewhat psychoanalytical fashion– information on individual background and endowment into an analysis of childbearing events. As we outlined in Chapter 4.2.3, also current considerations of individuals, namely their conscious conceptions of problems and chances, their judgments and perceptions need to be included. For this purpose, we refer to a variety of different variables on the "personal problem space" of our subjects.

Many of these measures were available only for subjects ages 20 and 25 and most of them only make sense when measured after that age.[48] In what follows we explain how we construct the scales and guarantee correspondence between them over time.

General optimism

We start our portrayal of people's subjective perceptions with a simple score that comprises their overall optimism in life. Subjects were asked how far they refer to their own life with optimism and replied on a four-step Likert scale (ranging from "very much" to "not at all"). This measure was taken identically at ages 20 and 25, and, thus, is time-varying. From the literature it is known that personal optimism is clearly positively correlated with life-satisfaction and negatively with depression (Schweizer et al., 2001). Since we do expect that unhappy or disappointed people

48 The meaning of these variables will be very different for a 14-year-old pupil compared with a 20- or 25-year-old adult.

refrain from founding a family in turbulent times of social upheaval, we hypothesize that it requires optimism for East Germans to establish their own families in the 1990s.

Desire for and fear of losing intimate relations

In our study, individuals' unforced choice answers to questions in an interview setting about *the most important desires for and fears from life* serve as indicators of the personal problem space in terms of goals to attain and goals to avoid, respectively. From these answers we constructed an overall *desire for intimacy* in the life course by adding up single goals. We code people's single answers into a sum score which indicates an overall desire for intimate relationships, for affiliation, and for a family. Answers which contain expressions like "I want a family of my own", "a long-term relationship", or "family harmony" score on the sum variable with one point each. Non-scoring answers are for example "I want material wealth", "a good job", "health", or "success". These measures were available from responses at ages 20 and 25. The resulting variable ranged from 0 to 3 at maximum for the sixth wave and the seventh wave.

We use the same coding design for the parallel question for the "most important fears in life". Answers that we sum up on this item describe an overall fear of losing intimate relationships and affiliation. Scoring answers are, for example, "I fear staying alone/ having no mate", "loss of family harmony" and "loss of meaning". This variable, likewise, ranges from 0 to 3. For the first period in which we did not have these answers of our subjects, we assumed the average value for everybody.

The reason for this seemingly complicated coding procedure is given by the research finding that the expressed desire for children is only one component of a larger ("latent") variable and needs to be regarded in a more complex context (cf. Chapter 3.2.3.2). In this context, we argued in Chapter 4.2.3 that family formation falls into the category of reproduction of intimacy from the viewpoint of the psychology of motivation. We, thus, went for this broader conceptualization which constructs the named "intimacy variables" by family-related answers.

As a hypothesis that we can derive from an article by Miller & Pasta (1994), we expect people who express a high desire for intimacy or a high fear of losing it to have an earlier start of childbearing because high values in these variables should correspond with a high aspiration to achieve these goals. "Desires lead to intentions" was the respective finding by Miller & Pasta (ibid.) concerning this question.

Coping styles

Furthermore, we attain a measurement of people's cognitive and conative patterns in demanding and decision-requiring situations, i.e. the so-called coping styles. As we expounded in Chapter 4.2.3, we assume a high closeness to what de Bruijn termed "decision-styles". These coping styles are measured by a 114-item standard inventory of coping styles in the sixth wave (SVT, see Janke et al., 1997). Using factor analysis, we derive an inventory of five different coping styles. These five coping styles and their signification are described in more detail in Table 8. For these coping styles it was particularly difficult to find comparable measures in other waves of the study. For methodological accuracy, we have to assume for periods at which we do not have variables of our subjects, the average value of zero for everybody. Thus, coping styles can only be predictive in our study between ages 20 and 25 (1990 to 1996).

In the literature, we do not find explicit evidence on the connection of coping styles and the transition to parenthood (de Bruijn, 1999: 106ff.). Thus, in order to derive our hypotheses, we need to assume that parenthood, now and then, has been a partly stressful and burdensome endeavor—and in particular so in East Germany in the early 1990s with its high level of social tension and stress. We hypothesize that people with a high value in the controlling coping style (that is, those who address difficulties in a straightforward way) are more prone to realizing parenthood earlier

than those who bear styles characterized by more avoidance (like withdrawal, rationalization, alternative-seeking, or drug abuse)

Table 8. Factors of personal coping styles as derived from stress inventory SVF

Factor no.	Factor name	Signification
1	Withdrawal	Coping by escape. Subjects with high scores tend to withdraw themselves from social contact and to flee from the stressful demand. They also self-accuse and give up more frequently.
2	Control	Coping by control. Subjects with high scores perform a direct, tackling and straightforward strategy to obtain control over and to react self-responsibly toward a stressful demand.
3	Rationalization	Coping by rationalization. Subjects with high scores react to stress and demand by persuading themselves that such a situation is unimportant, not really demanding, or not addressing them at all.
4	Alternatives	Coping by alternatives. Subjects with high scores prefer strategies of evasion and diversion when being confronted with stress and demands. They prefer turning toward easier alternatives instead.
5	Drug Abuse	Coping by self-administration of drugs. Subjects with high scores react aggressively and self-aggressively and take medical or non-medical drugs.

Personal resources

On an entirely different area, there is also evidence that the level of perceived social support and of resources influences many different types of social behavior (Stroebe & Stroebe, 1996: 611f.). Thus, we include in the analysis five measures of perceived resources (a to e). From the sixth wave we have personal self-ratings on how much our subjects feel supported and backed by their own knowledge and skills (a), by their family (b), by their partner (c), and by their friends (d) when thinking about their current life and future. For the seventh wave, we replace them by the respective ratings of social support and personal competence. Since the individual scales range from 1 (low level of perceived support) to 6 (high level of perceived support), the integrated sum score (e) occupies a range from 4 to 24. High scores indicate an overall high level of perceived individual resources. We attained values for each of the three waves so that it was included as a time-varying covariate.

Hypotheses that we can derive for these variables are ambiguous with respect to the literature. On the one hand, we can expect that people with high interpersonal resources are also better "equipped" to master the transition to parenthood earlier. In particular, there is evidence that the quality of the intimate relationship is *the* decisive resource for men concerning the transition to fatherhood (Roeder, 1994, Fthenakis & Engfer, 1998). On the other hand, Könnecke and colleagues (2001) find that, in particular, men with poor resources express an especially *strong desire* for parenthood, thus, they may urge their female partners more strongly to realize a parenthood. In consequence, we can expect that some resources will increase the risk of first birth (partnership for men), whereas others may decrease it even (again, for men only).

Quality of social relations

A measurement of the quality of social relations describes, like with resources above, some aspect of the quality of people's interactions with others, but it is not exclusively limited to the question of help and support for present and future development. It also captures non-instrumental, but rather emotional-affective aspects of social life. For instance, how much do subjects share contact with others, and how much are they able to exchange views and experience reciprocity in interactions.

Again, friends and family were assumed to be important social others. For subjects' quality of social relations to friends and family we avail ourselves of various measures at ages 20 and 25. For age 20, we refer to subjects' sum score in Reis' Questionnaire of Social Relations (*Fragebogen Sozialer Beziehungen*, FSB, see Reis, 1995) which measures, amongst other things, people's perception of the quality of relations they experience with their friends and their families. For age 25, we include ratings on the functional level of these relations. Finally, we also construct one composite sum scale which adds up the former two variables.

The literature on the impact of the quality of social relations on fertility choices is particularly poor. Recently, in the discussion about social capital, one can find some reflections toward their implementation in family and fertility research (Philipov, 2002). Still, hypotheses are difficult to obtain so that we cannot give a straightforward prediction. It appears to us that people with good relations to their families and friends can be expected to set up their own families earlier.

To sum up all of the aforementioned variables, Table 9 provides brief summary statistics on the obtained covariates unless they were already given in a previous section.

Table 9. Description of variables used in the event-history-analysis

Variable	*Mean*	*Std. Dev.*	*Min*	*Max*
Time fixed covariates				
Sex	1.51	0.50	1	2
Total number of siblings	2.16	0.89	1	8
Number of younger siblings	0.35	0.52	0	3
Number of older siblings	0.68	0.93	0	7
Indicator for parental loss	0.23	0.41	0	1
Occupational status of parents	7.33	1.86	3	12
Time varying covariates				
Current age	22.34	5.01	14	32.66
Current calendar year	1993.07	5.00	1984.29	2003.19
Current educ. attainm. (years)	9.64	2.78	0	17
I.Q.	100.84	10.21	64	143
School performance	2.09	0.60	1	4
Personality trait 1	0.00	0.95	-3.28	3.07
Personality trait 2	-0.01	0.95	-3.39	2.90
Personality trait 3	0.00	0.81	-4.43	2.81
Personality trait 4	0.01	0.87	-3.31	2.51
Personality trait 5	-0.01	0.87	-2.76	3.00
General optimism	3.08	0.57	1	4
Resources 1 (Self)	4.54	0.31	2	5
Resources 2 (Family)	4.56	0.75	1	6
Resources 3 (Partner)	4.06	1.17	1	6
Resources 4 (Friends)	4.48	0.67	1	6
Resources 5 (Sum score)	4.41	0.39	2.64	5.64
Social relations 1 (Family)	0.02	0.98	-4.83	2.23
Social relations 2 (Friends)	0.00	1.00	-5.04	2.14
Social relations 3 (Sum score)	0.02	0.99	-4.21	2.57
Coping style 1	0.00	0.73	-2.81	2.56
Coping style 2	0.01	0.73	-2.79	2.93
Coping style 3	0.00	0.73	-2.66	3.25
Coping style 4	-0.02	0.73	-3.30	2.52
Coping style 5	0.03	0.71	-3.47	2.39
Wish for intimacy	0.34	0.60	0	3
Fear of losing intimacy	0.22	0.49	0	3

5.3 Results

We calculate results in several consecutive steps, which follow the outline of our variables as described in the previous Chapter 5.2. In a first step (5.3.1), we describe the observed transitions to first birth by analyzing the impact of age, sex, and educational variables. In section 5.3.2 we include individual background measures and in section 5.3.3 variables of personal considerations are taken into account. Sub-chapter 5.4 then develops a final model from variables which have proved to be significant in the prior steps. We interpret our findings and discuss them in Sub-chapter 5.5.

In general, the applied event history approach allows for a variety of different results. We will display linear graphs which represent the change of the risk of first birth over time (age). We will also calculate relative risks of different groups of our sample. A relative-risk procedure fixes the risk of a certain sub-population (like, for instance, people with low education) to a value of exactly 1.0. It then estimates how far the risks of the other sub-groups (like, for instance, the people with an average or high education) differ from the value of the reference group. Results of that procedure can be displayed as a table or as a bar chart, for instance. And, thirdly, an important measure to compare the quality of fit of different models is the log-likelihood ratio test (LLRT). This test weighs the fit of hierarchical ("nested") models against each other concerning their relative improvement of the estimation. It has been shown that this test is a robust and reliable instrument also for relatively small sample sizes (Li et al., 1996: 191).

The reader will find each of these measures throughout the results section. In general, we want to stress that the verbal descriptions in section 5.3 assume a brief format in order to give space for the display of the large scope of results. We intend to give all discussions and interpretations in the concluding integrated Chapter 5.5. We acknowledge that the intensive elaboration of many different models may appear overly complicated and confusing to the reader. However, we follow a coherent thread in our approach. Since so little is known about the impact of certain psychological variables on first birth risks, we first look for patterns in simple models with single explanatory variables. Only in a second step, we assume broad range models in which many different variables are weighted against each other and against other sets of variables. The findings and trends we detect herein allow us in a third and final step to formulate integrative models that consist only of variables that have proved their usefulness already in one of the prior steps. We argue that these complications are necessary and sufficient for an adequate event-history approach to the explanation of the observed transitions to parenthood.

As a last introductory remark to our display of results we would like to mention that we report most of our findings in a threefold manner. We report on (i) results for the entire sample of men and women taken together, (ii) results only for men, and (iii) results for women. Although our study has a clear focus on men, we consider this procedure (which may appear tedious to the fast reader) to be instructive because we can show how covariates that seem irrelevant (relevant) "in general" gain relevance (irrelevance) as soon as one splits the sample into sub-groups. By this procedure, our results for men gain strength because we can show how they contrast with results of women and of "people" in general.

5.3.1 The impact of social structural variables on first birth intensities

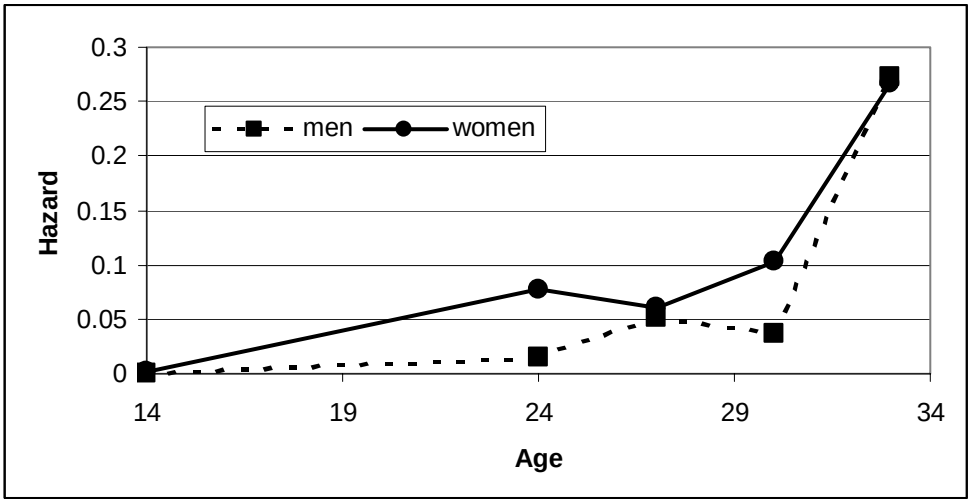
5.3.1.1 Age and sex

To begin our empirical analyses, we examine how subjects' risk of first birth changes over time, that is, in our case, over age (for reflections on this issue, see Chapter 4.2.1). We find that the risk starts on a very low level at the beginning of our observations at subjects' age 14, and then

constantly increases until age 24. After that the curve flattens out before it reaches a secondary increase after age 27. Our simple model, furthermore, indicates a strong difference for the sexes. A relative risk estimate (see the introductory remarks to Chapter 5.3) amounts to a 2.57 times higher risk of first birth for women as opposed to that of men (p<.001). Thus, we calculate separate models for the sexes.

As Figure 18 illustrates, for men, the risk of first birth stays constantly below the values of women. That is, their first birth intensities start on a far lower level but almost "catch up" with the female values around age 27 before they undergo a small decline by the age of 31.

Figure 18. First birth intensities by age for men and women



It is also possible to express these findings on the age dependence of first birth intensities in another format, namely as relative risks of different age groups. We calculate a model which includes separate coefficients for different age groups and sexes—instead of the duration splines we applied above. We can show that amongst the women the risks of a first birth is constantly above that for men. Whilst the men of our sample reach their highest value after age 26 (39% higher risk than before 26), the risk of women is highest in the age group between 20 and 26 (72% above the younger age group and 110% above the older one; see Table 10). In this table as well as in all subsequent ones, we use the standard asterisks of * for p<.1, ** for p<.05, and *** for p<.01 (unless indicated otherwise).

Table 10. Relative risks of first birth for women and men in different age groups

	age 14-19			**age 20-26**			**age 27-32**		
	coeff.	*s.e.*	*sign.*	*coeff.*	*s.e.*	*sign.*	*coeff.*	*s.e.*	*sign.*
Men	0.72	0.46		0.72 (†)	0.46		1	ref.	
Women	2.32	2.85		**3.83**	**2.10**	***	**1.82**	**0.53**	**

(†) = Note that the younger age groups for men were combined owing to the small number of events

5.3.1.2 Education

We then include the educational variables into the model, namely subjects' current education attainment and the occupational status of their parents. As a result, the general fit of the model increases significantly (LLRT: p<.001), and we obtain significantly positive coefficients for low education and low parental education (see Table 11 These variables impact as accelerators of early first childbirth.

This result is, in particular, caused by a strong impact of women's education. Lower educated women of our sample have a ten times higher risk of first birth during the time spell than women with average education.[49] Similarly, a low occupational status of their parents has the same accelerating effect for childbirth—but without the same strong coefficients. For men, none of these results reach significance at all. Moreover, the entire model is not significantly affected by the educational variables, at all—which is surprising and will be discussed at later stages of the analysis (see Table 11).

Table 11. Relative risk of first birth, impact of educational variables, controlling for sex and age

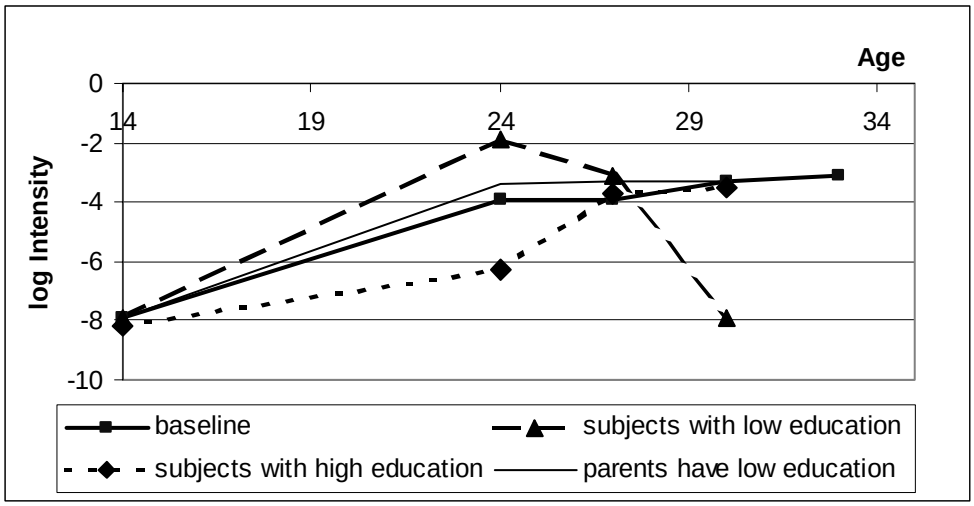
	Total sample			**Men**			**Women**		
	coeff.	*s.e.*	sign.	*coeff.*	*s.e.*	*sign.*	*coeff.*	*s.e.*	*sign.*
Model improvement by educational variables									
p (LLRT)	.001		***	0.223			0.000		***
Individuals' current education									
low	3.57	1.75	***	2.74	2.52		10.42	8.23	***
average	1	ref.		1	ref.		1	ref.	
high	0.88	0.25		1.87	1.16		0.56	0.22	*
Parents' occupational status									
low	2.02	0.51	***	1.99	1.11		1.72	0.65	*
average	1	ref.		1	ref.		1	ref.	
high	1.16	0.34		1.29	0.83		1.02	0.39	

We need to ask whether these effects are independent of time and age. Are these coefficients true over all ages? In order to tackle these questions we calculate *interactions with time* for the significant coefficients of respectively own and parental educational attainment and occupation. Figure 19 depicts the time-dependency of low and high education and of low parental occupation for the entire sample. We do not display the graphs for the age group between 30 and 33 and for the sex individually because, due to too few events, the estimate results were overly extreme. We can state, however, that the displayed graph is clearly dominated by the sub-sample of women.

This picture portrays very well how persons with low education experience a relatively steep increase of their risk of first birth until their mid-twenties (in our sample it peaks at age 24), whilst the highly educated people have a reduced risk at their younger ages and then "catch up" by the age 27. The result for a low parental occupational status is slightly, but not significantly, elevated over the whole spell. Interestingly, every sub-group regardless of their education reach exactly the same risk of first birth at an age of 27, however some on a decreasing slope (the early starters) and others on an increasing slope (the late starters).

49 We want to stress here that these high coefficients are in part due to the fact that we do not yet control for other variables.

Figure 19. Age dependence of the impact of educational factors, results for full sample



5.3.2 The impact of individual background and endowment on first birth intensities

Our exploration of the impact of individual background variables is divided into three parts. First, we discuss the impact of features of the organization of the life course, secondly, the impact of early life experiences, and, thirdly, variables of personal endowment.

5.3.2.1 The impact of leaving the parental home, entering into a partnership, and leaving education

To include information on these three demographic events –albeit still controlling for the formerly included structural variables– leads to a highly significant increase of the fit of the model (LLRT: $p<.001$). However, this estimate is strongly dominated by the exuberant risk of having entered a union (the estimates suggest a 24 times higher risk of people in unions). We conclude that first births of *single* parents are practically excluded in our sample, that is, we do not have enough variation of occurrences of first births over this factor to make it feasible to include it as an intermediate explanatory variable into our model. Thus we remove this essentially meaningless variable from future analyses and will not be able to distinguish effects of our psycho-social covariates on childbearing that work through an increased propensity to live in a union from those that work more directly as an increased propensity to become a parent while living in a union.

For the effect of being still enrolled in education we find a significant reduction by about a third for the relative risk of women (see Table 12). Also here, first births of men who are still enrolled in the educational system are basically not observed and we have to repeat the aforesaid on the exclusion of this covariate for the model of men.[50] Having left the parental home impacts more clearly for men and increases their risk by a factor of three (ibid.).

50 There was not enough information available for men and, thus, no estimates were calculable.

Table 12. Relative risks of first births. Impact of having left home and of enrollment in education, controlling for socio-economic variables[51]

	Total sample			Men			Women		
	coeff.	*s.e.*	*sign.*	*coeff.*	*s.e.*	*sign.*	*coeff.*	*s.e.*	*sign.*
Model improvement by life course variables									
p (LLRT)	0.009		***	(.004)		(**)	0.130		
Having left parental home									
no	1	ref.		1	ref.		1	ref.	
yes	1.85	0.65	**	2.99	1.76	**	1.14	0.56	
Having left education									
no	1	ref.		1	ref.		1	ref.	
yes	2.98	2.38	*	n.a.	n.a.		3.12	2.87	*

n.a.=non applicable (due to too few cases)

However, there is another way to address the problem of the excessive risk estimates we attain for some of these life course events. Instead of applying a relative risk procedure, we can also add an extra term to our model which allows for a time-dependent excess risk of first birth *after* having entered a union (or after respectively having left education and home). In this approach, one more term is extended to the hazard model as described in Formula 1. Our model then reads

$$\ln \mu_i(t) = \gamma(t) + \sum_j z_j(w_{ij} + t) + \sum_k \beta_k x_{ik} + \sum_l \lambda_l z_{il}(t) \qquad (2)$$

with the $z_j(w_{ij} + t)$ denoting the spline representation of the additional effect of a time-varying variable (like, for instance, leaving home or entering a union change from 0 to 1) which is a continuous function of t with origin w_{ij}.[52]

The following figures (Figure 20 for men and women, Figure 21 for men, and Figure 22 for women) show how the *additional risk* of first birth increases for a person after he or she experienced the transition—under the condition it happened (or, we recorded it). The origin of the x-axis describes the exact moment when the transition occurred.

From Figure 20 it is conceivable that all three transitions matter as they increase the risk of first birth during the subsequent years. Apparently, entering a union contributes most strongly to the propensity of parenthood, being followed by leaving home and the end of education. The latter event, moreover, obviously does not have an immediate impact on the risk of first birth (contrary to the former ones) but unfolds only after two years, arguably after the person has settled down in his or her new employment position.

The differences between the sexes provide further insights. For men, the organization of the life course matters more strongly than for women with respect to the transition to fatherhood. The excess risk for those having experienced one of the events rises strongly and immediately after the transition (the only exception being leaving home, Figure 21). By contrast, the start of a union is the only event with such strong results for women. Having left education apparently unfolds its (moderate) impact only after two years, whilst the findings for leaving home remain indistinct (see Figure 22).

However, as already mentioned, we will not include the information on having entered a union into future model because (i) we do not want this covariate to dominate our estimation process, (ii) we

51 Not each sex-differential value was calculable here.

52 This procedure has been termed the method of "overlapping or kick-in splines", cf. Lillard & Panis (2003: 180ff.).

do not find sufficient variation between the birth events concerning the people's union status, and (iii) we do not follow people's relationship history after age 25 anymore. Thus, we have to stay with these basic findings and leave more elaborate questions on this topic to data from waves of the ROLS that are still to come.

Figure 20. Excess risk of first birth over time after having experienced a life course transition. Data for men and women.

Figure 21. Excess risk of first birth over time after having experienced a life course transition. Data for men.

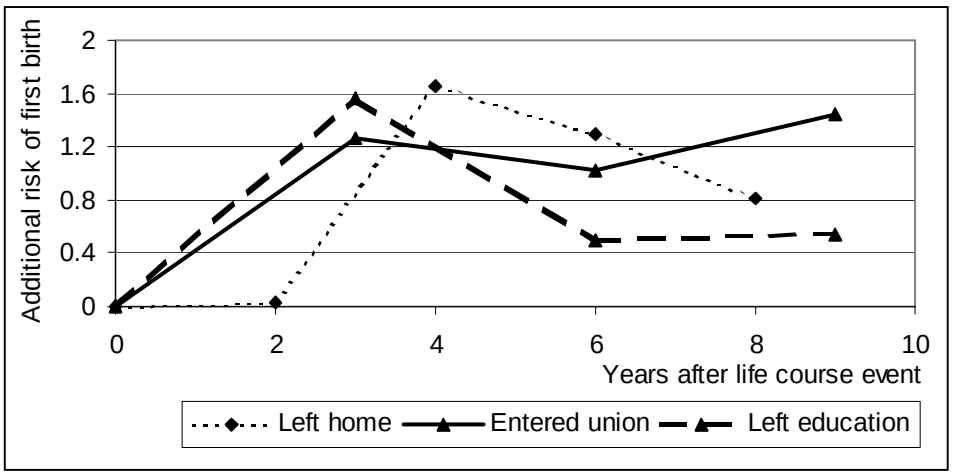
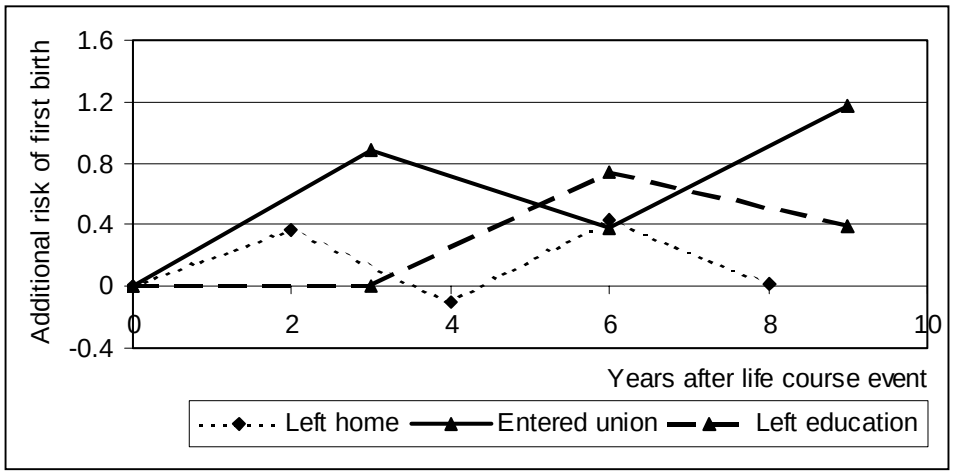


Figure 22. Excess risk of first birth over time after having experienced a life course transition. Data for women.



5.3.2.2 Variables of early life course experiences: Family size and loss of a parent

In our analysis, four variables describe people's early life experiences, i.e. the psychosocial conditions in which they grew up. We know how many siblings the families of origin of our subjects consisted of, how many older and younger siblings they had and whether the subject grew up in a "complete" family or had to face the loss of a parent (mainly the father by divorce, but also of mothers. Furthermore, death cases were also counted; see Chapter 5.2.3).

To additionally include these measures (that is, again, still controlling for the formerly included structural variables) into the model does not increase the general fit (LLRT: p>.80). Moreover, none of the single measures reached any significant level as the following Table 13 illustrates. However, there is apparently a difference between men and women in these results. In the model for women, the additional variables increase the fit of the model (significance on the 20% level, see below) and two single coefficients gain significance at the .05-level. The experience of growing up with many siblings has an increasing effect on the first birth risk of women, whereas it slightly decreases the risk of men. For the experience of a large number of older siblings, we find the reverse effect. Women with such an experience (that is, those who are colloquially termed the "spoilt baby of the family") have a reduced risk, whilst men even have a slightly increased risk (Table 13).

Table 13. Relative risks of first births. Impact of early life experiences, controlling for socio-economic variables.

	Total sample			Men			Women		
	coeff	*s.e.*	*sig.*	*coeff*	*s.e.*	*sig.*	*coeff*	*s.e.*	*sig.*
Model improve-ment by back-ground variables									
p (LLRT)	0.812			0.871			0.195		
Number of siblings[53]									
few	1	ref.		1	ref.		1	ref.	
many	1.01	0.40		0.65	0.56		2.07	1.06	*
Younger siblings									
few	1	ref.		1	ref.		1	ref.	
many	1.16	0.31		1.06	0.57		1.06	0.35	
Older siblings									
few	1	ref.		1	ref.		1	ref.	
many	0.88	0.24		1.45	0.87		0.56	0.20	*
Loss of a parent									
no	1	ref.		1	ref.		1	ref.	
yes	0.92	0.24		0.75	0.60		0.68	0.27	

5.3.2.3 Digression: Unobserved heterogeneity

Before we proceed any further in our investigations, this is the right moment in the analysis to halt in order to add a side-reflection to the picture. A keen reader may have noticed that, so far, we have not displayed any results of variables that would appear in any way *extraordinary* for a demographic or sociological analysis. Rather, we have used such structural and event-history data that are typical for any social survey. Before we now include more unusual, i.e. psychological variables, we can apply a mathematical procedure to assess whether that is worthwhile. We can apply a test to examine whether our results are affected by any selectivity in our sample (Aalen, 1988, Blossfeld & Hammerle, 1992). We extend our analysis by a feature called *unobserved heterogeneity* by adding a normally distributed random effect U (with a zero mean and some variance σ^2) to Formula 1 for the transition risk in section 5.2. The hazard formula then reads:

$$\ln \mu_i(t) = y(t) + \sum_k \beta_k x_{ik} + \sum_l \lambda_l z_{il}(t) + U_i \quad . \tag{3}$$

The application of this procedure leads to unambiguous results. As Table 14 shows, we find strong evidence that there is unobserved heterogeneity in our sample which affects the results.

53 For this table, we included, mutually exclusively, either the total number of siblings or the number of older and younger siblings into the model in order to avoid overlapping covariates.

Table 14. Relative risks of first birth. Comparison of the model with standard socio-demographic measures with and without heterogeneity

	Without heterogeneity		With heterogeneity	
	coeff.	*s.e. sign.*	*coeff.*	*s.e. sign.*
Model improvement by heterogeneity measure				
p (LLRT)	—		0.026	**
Sex				
male	1	ref.	1	ref.
female	2.86	0.69 ***	6.02	3.55 ***
Current educational attainment				
low	3.85	2.27 ***	8.61	8.70 ***
average	1	ref.	1	ref.
high	0.96	0.27	0.79	0.40
Parents' occupational position				
low	1.86	0.50 ***	2.15	1.01 **
average	1	ref.	1	ref.
high	1.09	0.32	1.03	0.53
Left home				
No	1	ref.	1	ref.
Yes	1.9	0.68 **	2.42	1.21 **
Left education				
no	1	ref.	1	ref.
yes	3.14	2.51 *	4.68	4.68 **
Siblings				
few	1	ref.	1	ref.
many	1.19	0.45	1.44	0.94
Younger siblings				
few	1	ref.	1	ref.
many	1.05	0.28	0.87	0.38
Older siblings				
few	1	ref.	1	ref.
many	0.81	0.23	0.61	0.28
Loss of a parent				
no	1	ref.	1	ref.
yes	0.85	0.25	0.75	0.36
Heterogeneity measure				
sigma	--		1.46	0.45 ***

The results reveal that, first, there is further heterogeneity to address in our sample but, second, that there is no strong distortion of the results happening by selection processes. All socio-demographic effects remain, on average, at their former levels of significance. Some of them even get numerically strengthened by controlling for selectivity. We argue that this procedure allows us to bring out the true structural effects without a distortion by selection effect. That also means that variables which do not show significance here can be excluded from further analyses on firmer grounds. In what follows, we will try to open the "black box" of individual characteristics and to reveal the variables accounting for that selectivity.

5.3.2.4 Endowment I: Variables of cognitive endowment and performance

Here, two aspects which refer to people's cognitive endowment are taken into account, namely their cognitive endowment (intelligence) and their actual results in an output-oriented field (their marks at school as defined in Chapter 5.2.2).

Because we know about the high correlation of intelligence with education, we include in a first model intelligence and performance *without* controlling for education and sex. Results show (Table 15) that intelligence had the expected effect. Similar to the results of formal education, we furthermore find that a low intelligence brings forward first birth risks more strongly for men than for women. Interestingly, having been a good pupil seems to, as a trend, lower the risk of men whereas it is the reverse for women.

When we control for education (and sex) in a second model (see Table 17), we find that the endowment measures do not outweigh the impact of formal education when the latter is included. The LLRT measure no longer shows any significant model improvement.

Table 15. Relative risk of first birth. Sex-differential impact of intelligence and school performance, controlling for age

	Total Sample			**Men**			**Women**		
	coeff.	*s.e.*	*sign*	*coeff.*	*s.e.*	*sign.*	*coeff.*	*s.e.*	*sign.*
Model improvement by variables									
p (LLRT)	0.033		*	0.231			0.203		
Intelligence									
low	1.70	0.41	**	2.10	0.99	*	1.26	0.38	
average	1	ref.		1	ref.		1	ref.	
high	0.73	0.24		0.89	0.52		0.73	0.33	
School performance									
low	1.10	0.30		1.67	0.87		0.69	0.24	
average	1	ref.		1	ref.		1	ref.	
high	0.85	0.22		0.85	0.40		1.10	0.35	

Table 16. Relative risks of first birth. Impact of intelligence and school marks (baseline and sex coefficient omitted)

	Model with control for age			Model with control for age, sex, and education		
	coeff.	*s.e.*	*sign.*	*coeff.*	*s.e.*	*sign.*
Model improvement by endowment variables						
LLRT - value	0.037		**	0.516		
Current educational attainment						
low	—			3.36	1.68	***
average	—			1	ref	
high	—			0.97	0.30	
Parents' occupational status						
low	—			1.99	0.52	***
average	—			1	ref.	
high	—			1.19	0.35	
Intelligence						
low	1.70	0.41	**	1.22	0.32	
average	1	ref.		1	ref.	
high	0.73	0.24		0.91	0.30	
School performance						
low	1.10	0.30		0.83	0.22	
average	1	ref.		1	ref.	
high	0.85	0.22		0.88	0.24	

5.3.2.5 Endowment II: General dispositions of personality

We avail ourselves of five personality scales from each of the longitudinal waves (cf. Chapter 5.2.3). Table 18 displays the results for each factor where we allow for differential impact in the following five intervals into which we divided our subjects according to the standard deviation (SD) of each measure:

[min .. – SD], [-SD .. – ½ SD], [– ½ SD .. ½ SD], [½ SD .. SD], and [SD .. max].

In our model the respective lowest interval [min .. – SD] serves as our reference interval for which a risk of 1.0 is assumed.

First, the inclusion of these measures into our model increases its fit (LLRT: $p<.10$; controlling for age and intelligence). Moreover, we obtain four single significant coefficients for the model of the total sample (Table 18).

Table 17. Relative risks of first birth. Results for the 5 personality scales, controlling for age and intelligence

	Total sample			Men			Women		
	coeff.	*s.e.*	*sign.*	*coeff.*	*s.e.*	*sign.*	*coeff.*	*s.e.*	*sign.*
Model improvement by variables									
p (LLRT)	0.073		*	0.427			0.153		
Trait 1: Capacity for Love									
very low	1	ref.		1	ref.		1	ref.	
low	1.17	0.53		1.94	2.39		0.72	0.48	
average	1.39	0.54		1.86	2.08		0.95	0.47	
high	1.79	0.81		2.12	2.73		1.17	0.71	
very high	1.71	0.75		1.74	2.30		1.94	1.13	
Trait 2: Mental Health									
very low	1	ref.		1	ref.		1	ref.	
low	1.04	0.54		1	n.a.		0.84	0.62	
average	0.96	0.34		1.14	0.78		0.92	0.40	
high	0.51	0.26	*	0.7	0.76		0.47	0.36	
very high	0.83	0.40		1.45	1.71		0.76	0.46	
Trait 3: Physical Health									
very low	1	ref.		1	ref.		1	ref.	
low	1.14	0.49		1.18	1.77		0.59	0.41	
average	0.81	0.29		1.17	1.11		0.5	0.28	
high	1.7	0.70		1.36	2.09		1.12	0.67	
very high	1.06	0.45		1.23	1.73		0.74	0.53	
Trait 4: Self-Actualization									
very low	1	ref.		1	ref.		1	ref.	
low	0.52	0.24	*	1.72	1.74		0.24	0.20	**
average	0.64	0.22		0.61	0.56		0.69	0.32	
high	0.57	0.27		1.18	1.91		0.39	0.26	*
very high	0.7	0.27		1.75	1.82		0.52	0.30	
Trait 5: Action Control									
very low	1	ref.		1	ref.		1	ref.	
low	0.21	0.18	**	1	n.a.		0.38	0.32	
average	0.62	0.19	*	0.43	0.27	*	1.06	0.50	
high	0.84	0.38		0.49	0.76		1.28	0.83	
very high	0.8	0.27		0.93	0.68		0.88	0.45	

n.a.=non applicable (due to too few cases)

Capacity for Love

Although no single coefficient reaches significance at the 10% level, we can substantiate a linear trend for the relative risks according to the different degrees of "Capacity for Love". The higher a person evaluates himself or herself and others, the higher is the risk of a first birth. Looking at sex-differentials it seems that this finding is *stronger* for men than for women. That is, for men the prerequisite of a positive evaluating personality is much more relevant than for women.

Mental Health

We find a more incoherent picture with regard to people's general feelings of mental well-being, optimism, and satisfaction with life (i.e., little depression or psychosis, see Chapter 5.2.3). Most of the levels of this trait do not yield any significant contribution to the risk of childbirth, that is, they

do not differ significantly from the reference category. The only significant result is that a slightly increased level of mental health seems to lower the first birth risk—in particular for women. Still higher values remain insignificant contributors, again. Here, to compare results for men and women does not provide more information given the insignificance of the results.

Physical Health

The most striking picture without any significant effect we find for the measure of physical health, i.e. being free from pains and complaints, and not being neurotic (see Chapter 5.2.3). The only evidence we can draw is that there may be a slight right-skewed U-shape in the data (in particular for women) but nothing can be really substantiated. We will follow-up in later analyses on this question.

Self-Actualization

Looking at the general picture for the values of women's general traits regarding self-actualization, we find that women with low values have a significantly higher risk of first childbirth than others. The results of values that are higher than "very low" are reduced with two of them reaching statistical significance. Results for men, however, look different. It seems that self-actualizers as well as non-self-actualizers have increased risks. The coefficients, however, do not reach significance.

Action Control

For the last of the five personality traits, people's internal locus of action control, it appears that for men, having an about average level of this trait decreases the risk of childbirth whilst for women this holds for a slightly lower level. Apart from this single finding no more trends are significant.

With regard to personality traits, the given picture is not very satisfactory up to now. For some variables there seem to be clear linear trends (like for “Capacity for Love”), for others the assumption of a U-shaped relative risk seems to hold (like for “Action Control”), and other pictures remain unclear. Moreover, the results seem to be different for the sexes. One reason for this unsatisfactory finding may be that personality is strongly interrelated with other variables so that there is still too much noise in the model which we have not yet controlled for. Another reason may be that the pattern of impacts of personality on childbirth is in itself complex so that we need a model with many control variables in order to uncover the true pattern. We will address these questions in our following weighting procedure.

5.3.2.6 Weighting individual background against socio-structural variables

According to our theoretical model we need to weight the impact of variables of the individual background against socio-structural measures. For this aim, we add all variables of endowment and features of the life course *additionally* to the socio-structural model from Chapter 5.3.1.

For this procedure, we only select variables that have provided significant results in any part of the analysis so far. That is, we exclude the variables "physical health", "school performance", "loss of parent", and "younger siblings" from the estimation. In addition, we address the potential problem of overspecification of our model by limiting the gradation of our personality measures to three instead of five levels.[54] Results indicate that there is an improvement of fit when we add the

54 An overspecification (that is, too many variables for too few cases) would lead to inflated coefficients, which would not gain statistical significance.

individual background to the model. This improvement is statistically significant for men—but not so for women (Table 18)

Furthermore, we can show that some results from the group of background measures remain significant *although* we now control for sex, age, and educational background. Table 18 also reveals, however, that there are considerable differences between the sexes for the variables. We will highlight the most relevant findings and refer them also to the former "uncontrolled" models.

Firstly, no relevant change is visible in the coefficients of the structural and life course variables. Women clearly show the accelerating effect of a low education, whilst men are similar with regard to the effect of background but show here a significantly elevated risk when having a higher education. That is, if we control for individual background variables, a new structural effect for men shows up. Secondly, having left home is more important for men than for women. Having left education is certainly a prerequisite for childbirth for both sexes. Moreover, we can confirm the finding of the positive impact on first birth risks that a high number of siblings has for women (but for men, this is even reversed). Similarly, there is a sex-differential effect of having many older siblings (negative impact for women and a positive one for men).

On the psychological side, we can confirm that a low intelligence acts only for men as an accelerator (for women there is no significant effect), although the high coefficient does not receive statistical significance. On the level of personality, we repeat the finding of a certain proportionality of “Capacity for Love” with childbirth risk of men and for women. The sex differential impact of mental health can be displayed more clearly now. Here we find a reducing impact for women and an accelerating impact for men (both which were not significant). For the impact of the level of “Self-Actualization” on childbirth, we find a negative peak for men in average values and a positive peak for women in average values. And, finally, whereas there are no results of action control, it seems that men have an elevated risk at low levels (though results are not significant).

In general, we can note for this step of the analysis, that (i) information on the individual background of subjects contributes to the statistical model (more so for men than for women), and (ii) that we confirm and cut out a number of sex-differential effects when we combine these variables with information on social structural variables. We will discuss these findings in Chapter 5.5.

Table 18. Results of background measures whilst controlling for social structure

	Total Sample			Men			Women		
	coeff.	*s.e.*	*sign.*	*coeff.*	*s.e.*	*sign.*	*coeff.*	*s.e.*	*sign.*
Model improvement by background variables									
p (LLRT)	0.233			0.037		**	0.424		
Sex									
male									
female	2.69	0.67	***						
Education									
low	3.17	1.90	**	1.32	1.87		10.12	8.10	***
average	1	ref.		1	ref.		1	ref.	
high	1.01	0.31		2.86	2.43	*	0.64	0.29	
Parental occupation									
low	2.05	0.55	***	1.79	1.24		1.93	0.73	**
average	1	ref.		1	ref.		1	ref.	
high	1.28	0.38		1.13	0.94		1.08	0.46	
Left parental home									
no	1	ref.		1	ref.		1	ref.	
yes	1.76	0.69	*	2.72	2.12	*	1.08	0.54	
Left education									
no	1	ref.		1	ref.		1	ref.	
yes	2.83	2.41	*	n.a.	n.a.		3.12	3.15	
Number of siblings									
low	1	ref.		1	ref.		1	ref.	
high	1.27	0.42		0.69	0.53		2	0.96	*
Number of older siblings									
low	1	ref.		1	ref.		1	ref.	
high	0.82	0.22		1.65	1.01		0.63	0.22	
Intelligence									
low	1.22	0.33		2.17	1.52		1.11	0.41	
average	1	ref.		1	ref.		1	ref.	
high	0.95	0.34		0.69	0.48		1.11	0.59	
Capacity for Love									
low	1	ref.		1	ref.		1	ref.	
average	1.18	0.33		1.27	0.83		1.04	0.40	
high	1.52	0.46		1.24	0.89		1.45	0.57	
Mental Health									
low	1	ref.		1	ref.		1	ref.	
average	0.88	0.26		1.7	1.17		0.81	0.31	
high	0.65	0.24		1.42	1.29		0.57	0.27	
Self-actualization									
low	1	ref.		1	ref.		1	ref.	
average	0.91	0.25		0.49	0.32		1.34	0.54	
high	0.9	0.26		1.15	0.74		1.03	0.42	
Action Control									
low	1	ref.		1	ref.		1	ref.	
average	0.98	0.30		0.39	0.27	*	1.19	0.54	
high	1.22	0.35		0.69	0.54		1.16	0.52	

n.a.=non applicable (due to too few cases)

5.3.3 The impact of personal considerations on first birth intensities

So far, we have only added psychological variables which include information on people's individual background into our analyses. In this chapter, we proceed to what is, in a way, the most central cluster of *personal considerations*. This group can be divided into four sub-groups as we derived them theoretically in chapters 4.2.3 and 5.2.4.

1) Personal wishes, fears, and general optimism

2) Personal style of dealing and coping with stressful and demanding situations.

3) Subjective perception of personal resources.

4) Subjective perception of the quality of social relations.

Most of these variables were only measured at ages 20 and 25, and, as mentioned above (Chapter 5.2.4) most of them only make sense when measured again after that age. Thus, we exclude teenage risks of childbirth from this sub-chapter.

Similar to the last chapters, we display separate results for each of these sub-groups of variables before we give an integrative view of a weighted hazard model. Again, this results section has a rather brief format. All interpretations and discussions will be provided in Chapter 5.5.

5.3.3.1 The impact of personal wishes, fears, and general optimism

Let us start with some "simple" variables that give us a first glimpse of personal considerations. We make use of the single variables "wish for intimacy" and "fear of losing intimacy" and a variable which captures subjects' answers to the broad question of personal "optimism" in life (as defined in Chapter 5.2.4). Including these variables into the model yields a significant increase of fit (LLRT: p<.08). The results for the entire sample as well as for men and women are displayed in Table 19.

Table 19. Relative risk of first birth. Impact of variables for wishes, fears, and optimism, controlling for age.

	Total sample			Men			Women		
	coeff.	*s.e.*	*sig.*	*coeff.*	*s.e.*	*sig.*	*coeff.*	*s.e.*	*sig.*
Model improvement by variables									
p (LLRT)	0.078		*	0.196			0.166		
Desire for intimacy									
low	1	ref.		1	ref.		1	ref.	
high	0.82	0.21		0.68	0.38		0.78	0.26	
Fear of losing intimacy									
low	1	ref.		1	ref.		1	ref.	
high	1.52	0.43	*	1.62	0.83		1.39	0.53	
Personal optimism									
low	1	ref.		1	ref.		1	ref.	
average	1.95	0.72	**	2.22	1.67		1.59	0.72	
high	1.45	0.61		2.87	2.32	*	0.79	0.45	

The results, somewhat surprisingly, show that there is apparently no significant difference between people who aspire for intimate relationships to a high degree or to a low degree with regard to their

transition intensities to first births. The same holds true for people who fear losing intimacy either strongly or weakly. However, there is a trend that shows a slightly negative impact of high desires of intimacy and a slightly positive impact of high fear of losing intimacy.

These results repeat a rather surprising finding which was found also in previous analyses (von der Lippe et al., 2002, von der Lippe & Andersson, forthcoming). A desire for intimate relationships does not increase the risk of first birth. In fact, there is even a (non-significant) negative coefficient—for the whole sample and for both sexes.

Results of the fear variable are in the expected direction and even reach statistical significance: a high fear of losing intimacy increases the risk of first birth. The results for the optimism variable turn out to be particularly strong. Higher levels of personal optimism increase the risk of first birth. Here, the results for men are clearly stronger than for women, which means that for men higher values have a stronger effect, while the relative risks of women have their peak at an average level of optimism.

5.3.3.2 The impact of personal styles of coping with stressful and demanding situations

Including measures of the personal style of dealing with stress and demands (coping styles) did not increase the general fit of the model (LLRT: $p < .50$), and none of the single coefficients reaches significance. Although this finding is not too encouraging at first glance, we would like to present more details in the following table in order to discuss some tendencies that are observable (Table 20).

The first striking finding out of the detailed documentation is that coping styles have a stronger explanatory power *for men* than for women. In the model for men, two coefficients reach significance (for women, only one does) and the LLRT test value for the model improvement by the inclusion of these variables goes down to $p<.30$ (for women: $p<.55$). Secondly, the observed trends in the results appear (independent of their statistical significance) quite clear and instructive. The coping style "withdrawal" shows a clear decreasing trend: habitual *escapers* have a reduced risk of a transition to parenthood than people who prefer to deal with difficulties. This is particularly true (and also statistically significant) for men. For women, by contrast, an increased risk of childbirth seems to have something to do with an "escape".

For men, the coping style "control" does not show any tendency. For women, a controlling coping style seems to be connected to an increased risk of childbirth. For the next coping style ("rationalization"), we find a similar pattern: while it is irrelevant for men's transition-risks, women who are strong "rationalizers" do have a significantly higher risk.

The habitual *easy-alternative seekers* have a lower risk of first birth—which is true both for women and for men. For men, the effect even reaches significance. The last coping style ("drug use") shows some trends of proportionality (the more habitual drug-related coping, the higher the risk of childbirth), but it does not reach significance or form a clear picture.

Table 20. Relative risk of first birth. Impact of coping-styles, controlling for age.

	Total Sample			Men			Women		
	coeff.	s.e.	sig.	coeff.	s.e.	sig.	coeff.	s.e.	sig.
Model improvement by coping-styles									
p (LLRT)	0.488			0.280			0.547		
Coping by withdrawal									
low	1	ref.		1	ref.		1	ref.	
average	0.99	0.36		0.49	0.31		1.75	0.95	
high	0.71	0.32		0.17	0.28	*	1.58	0.93	
Coping by control									
low	1	ref.		1	ref.		1	ref.	
average	1.31	0.46		1.24	0.83		1.21	0.79	
high	1.62	0.71		0.94	0.92		1.48	1.05	
Coping by rationalization									
low	1	ref.		1	ref.		1	ref.	
average	1	0.33		0.9	0.53		1.28	0.56	
high	1.58	0.60		0.91	0.74		2.02	1.07	*
Coping by alternatives									
low	1	ref.		1	ref.		1	ref.	
average	0.75	0.26		0.38	0.28	*	0.94	0.39	
high	0.74	0.34		0.66	0.57		0.56	0.39	
Coping by drug-use									
low	1	ref.		1	ref.		1	ref.	
average	1.55	0.51		1.71	1.20		1.24	0.58	
high	1.45	0.59		1.83	1.45		0.85	0.50	

5.3.3.3 The impact of the subjective perception of personal resources

Including five scales on perceived individual resources increased the fit of the model substantially (LLRT: p<.01). As above, personal resources also seem to be more important for men (LLRT: p<.05) than for women (LLRT: p<.30). The results are shown in more detail in Table 21.

The general pattern is that the perception of resources for future development counts. However, not everything counts equally and, in particular, not everything counts for men and women in a similar way. It gives the impression that, in general, to have a perception of high available resources counts more for men than for women. Here, the perception of a good partnership is the outstanding resource for men. Whilst the respective results for women show only a slight trend in the same direction, men who report good resources in a partnership have a significantly higher transition risk to first birth.

Whilst two of the resource measures did not show any clear results and shall not be discussed here (family and peers), the results for self-centered resources offer two interesting trends. For men, the effect of higher resources appears to be proportional to a higher transition risk, but for women the trend is opposite (and not significant). And, finally, the results of the sum score show that the availability of good resources seems to be a general important factor for the transition to first birth for men and women (these results are significant for women).

Table 21. Relative risks of first birth. Impact of personal resources, controlling for age

	Total sample			Men			Women		
	coeff.	*s.e.*	*sign.*	*coeff.*	*s.e.*	*sign.*	*coeff.*	*s.e.*	*sign.*
Model improvement by personal resources									
p (LLRT)	0.007		**	0.035		**	0.288		
Resources self									
low	1	ref.		1	ref.		1	ref.	
average	1.03	0.66		1.02	3.94		0.68	0.62	
high	0.81	0.54		2.32	7.59		0.65	0.50	
Resources family									
low	1	ref.		1	ref.		1	ref.	
average	0.85	0.48		1.35	1.71		1.47	1.50	
high	0.82	0.26		1.19	1.06		0.73	0.29	
Resources partner									
low	1	ref.		1	ref.		1	ref.	
average & high	1.84	0.61	**	3.58	3.37	*	1.49	0.63	
Resources peers									
low	1	ref.		1	ref.		1	ref.	
average & high	0.72	0.19		0.98	0.60		0.79	0.30	
Sum Score									
low	1	ref.		1	ref.		1	ref.	
average	1.68	0.67		1.37	1.22		1.7	0.95	*
high	1.55	0.90		1.11	1.53		1.34	1.11	

5.3.3.4 The impact of the subjective perception of the quality of social relations

Finally, three scales on perceived quality of social relations were included in the model. This procedure did not yield a significantly better fit (LLRT: $p<.25$), however we found some interesting trends in the results. Table 22 displays the results for the three scales in more detail.

In general, our findings give the impression that the quality of social relations tends to be more important for women than for men (LLRT: $p<.15$ for women; $p<.85$ for men). However, within the patterns of the single variables one does not find any major differences. Both the personal family- and peer-relations do not exert influence in either direction. The only results we can draw from our coefficients is that the generally *good* quality of social relations slightly (significantly for the total sample) decreases the risk of childbirth.

One can see that the effects of the quality of social relations considerably differ between the two different fields: family of origin and friends. The trends indicate that for subjects with good social relations to their family of origin, the following risk of an own childbirth is increased, whereas it is (even significantly) decreased for those with especially good social relations to their friends and peers. This effect is even clearer for men than for women: a young man with good contact to friends would obviously not fear giving it up for a family.

Table 22. Relative risks of first birth. Impact of the quality of social relations, controlling for age

	Total sample			Men			Women		
	coeff.	*s.e.*	*sign.*	*coeff.*	*s.e.*	*sign.*	*coeff.*	*s.e.*	*sign.*
Model improvement by social relations variables									
p (LLRT)	0.215			0.828			0.124		
Quality of relations to family of origin									
low	1	ref.		1	ref.		1	ref.	
average & high	1.37	0.44		1.32	1.29		1.06	0.42	
Quality of relations to peers and friends									
low	1	ref.		1	ref.		1	ref.	
average & high	1.14	0.35		1.30	0.75		1.02	0.41	
Sum score									
low	1	ref.		1	ref.		1	ref.	
average & high	0.52	0.22	*	0.56	0.67		0.53	0.28	

5.3.3.5 All variables of personal considerations in one model

Before we proceed to an integration of the findings of this chapter with those from the previous chapters, we have to address the question of possible interdependencies among the variables of this cluster. We cannot rule out the possibility, so far, that, for instance, the results of optimism is only determined by resources etc. For this scrutiny, we include the variables from 5.3.3.1 through 5.3.3.4 together in one model and assess their relative relevance for our model fit (Table 23).

First, it is obvious that the cluster of variables, also *en bloc*, remain statistically relevant for a contribution of the modeling of first birth risks. For the whole model the LLRT shows significance at the 10% level. And, secondly, this effect seems to be more pronounced for men (LLRT: $p<.15$) than for women (LLRT: $p<.45$). Furthermore, most trends that we observed for the variables, when they were included separately into the analysis, remain stable. However, we find only two effects that keep statistical significance above the mere trend level: the positive (accelerating) effect of a high fear of losing intimacy, and a high level of perceived partnership resources.

Still, many other variables show trends similar to those that were discussed above. A high personal optimism seems to impact more strongly on first birth risks of men than for women. A desire for intimacy seems to reduce slightly the risk of men—but not for women. Also the positive effect of an elevated fear of losing intimacy is stronger for men than for women. The effect of a withdrawing coping style appears contrary for women and for men: whilst withdrawing from difficulties decreases the risk of men, it slightly increases it for women.

The results of the controlling coping style does not show any overall trend effect, but to have a rationalizing coping style seems to increase the risk of women whilst it lowers it for men. To be somebody who tends to search for easy alternatives in life reduces the risk of both sexes. The results for coping by drug abuse, again, are inconsistently distributed.

To find strong resources in one's self accelerates early childbirth for men—and inhibits it for women. Whilst the availability of family resources does not give any overall trend, the resource "partnership" is a strongly significant facilitator for men—and a slight facilitator for women. Having good peer resources, on the other hand, seems to accelerate risks for men and to delay risks for women. Somewhat conversely, men who are high resource-holders in sum have a reduced risk while high resource-holding women have a slightly elevated risk of childbirth.

Whilst the measure of the emotional quality of social relations shows a poor picture, the sum score of social relations, however, seems to reduce the risk of first birth for both sexes.

Table 23. Relative risks of first birth. Impact of variables of personal considerations

	Total Sample			**Men**			**Women**		
	coeff.	*s.e.*	*sign.*	*coeff.*	*s.e.*	*sign.*	*coeff.*	*s.e.*	*sign.*
Model improvement by all variables on personal considerations									
p (LLRT)	0.062		*	0.130			0.421		
Personal optimism									
low	1	ref.		1	ref.		1	ref.	
average	1.49	0.72		2.18	3.25		1.09	0.70	
high	1	0.54		2.02	3.19		0.51	0.41	
Desire for intimacy									
low	1	ref.		1	ref.		1	ref.	
average & high	0.8	0.24		0.47	0.40		1.08	0.44	
Fear of losing intimacy									
low	1	ref.		1	ref.		1	ref.	
average & high	1.62	0.55	*	2.18	1.81		1.71	1.03	
Coping by withdrawal									
low	1	ref.		1	ref.		1	ref.	
average	0.92	0.40		0.49	0.60		1.57	1.10	
high	0.73	0.39		0.2	0.55		1.34	1.17	
Coping by control									
low	1	ref.		1	ref.		1	ref.	
average	1.13	0.47		0.82	1.14		1.06	0.87	
high	1.35	0.70		0.42	0.74		1.24	1.08	
Coping by rationalization									
low	1	ref.		1	ref.		1	ref.	
average	0.88	0.32		0.69	0.87		0.95	0.52	
high	1.29	0.53		0.5	0.68		1.72	1.08	
Coping by alternatives									
low	1	ref.		1	ref.		1	ref.	
average	0.83	0.31		0.31	0.38		0.99	0.57	
high	0.8	0.39		0.57	0.90		0.55	0.45	
Coping by drug-use									
low	1	ref.		1	ref.		1	ref.	
average	1.45	0.54		2.01	2.35		1.08	0.59	
high	1.28	0.60		1.95	3.26		0.88	0.68	
Resource self									
low	1	ref.		1	ref.		1	ref.	
average	1.05	0.80		0.93	8.74		1.04	1.34	
high	0.7	0.57		1.99	18.55		0.63	0.63	
Resource family									
low	1	ref.		1	ref.		1	ref.	
average	0.87	0.64		1.04	2.62		0.97	1.27	
high	1.1	0.44		1.47	2.43		1.09	0.62	
Resource partner									
low	1	ref.		1	ref.		1	ref.	
average & high	1.74	0.66	*	4.47	7.38		1.47	0.71	

<cont.>

<cont.>						
Resource peers						
low	1	ref.	1	ref.	1	ref.
average & high	0.76	0.27	1.45	2.12	0.84	0.48
Resource sum						
low	1	ref.	1	ref.	1	ref.
average	1.34	0.64	0.86	1.28	1.94	1.42
high	1.6	1.09	0.65	1.61	1.96	1.98
Social relations family						
low	1	ref.	1	ref.	1	ref.
average & high	0.94	0.45	0.79	1.77	0.78	0.57
Social relations peers						
low	1	ref.	1	ref.	1	ref.
average & high	1.06	0.47	0.9	1.26	1.25	0.76
Social relations sum						
low	1	ref.	1	ref.	1	ref.
average & high	0.69	0.37	0.83	2.42	0.62	0.45

5.3.3.6 Weighting personal considerations against socio-structural variables

Similarly to Chapter 5.3.2.6, we argue that our theoretical model demands a consideration of the interdependence of variables of personal considerations with those of social structure. For this purpose, we add the relevant ones to the social structural model.

Again, we address the danger of overspecification (see Chapter 5.3.3.6) by limiting our variables to those that have proven significant results in any part of the analysis so far. For this reason, we exclude the coping style "drug-use", the resource measure "family", and the measures of family-related social relations from the analysis.

The remaining variables give clear proof of the relevance of personal considerations for the differentials in fertility risks. Their inclusion into the model improved it significantly (LLRT: $p<0.05$), slightly better for men (LLRT: $p=0.11$) than for women (LLRT: $p=0.15$). Particularly interesting is that many of the aforementioned trends receive confirmation or even significance here. Similar to the weighting process for individual background variables (cf. 5.3.2.6) we find a clarification of the educational background. Whilst for women low values in both of the variables increase the risk of childbirth, while for men a higher education even elevates the risk.

Furthermore, we replicate the sex-differential effect for personal optimism, the slight decrease of risk of desire and increase of risk of fear (both stronger for men), as well as other sex-differential effects for coping styles, resources, and relations. For the coping styles withdrawal, control, and rationalization we can confirm the sex-differential effects of the earlier analyses, and for the style alternatives the sex-indifferent one. With regard to resources, we can confirm the sex-differential effect of self-centered resources as well as the stronger effect of partnership-resources on men's risks. For peer-related resources and the sum score we again find sex-differential effects. The effect of resources also receives confirmation when controlling for the structural variables (all see Table 24). The problem of overspecification of the model becomes obvious in the high standard errors, in particular in the men's model. We address this and other issues in the following integrating Chapter 5.4.

Table 24. Relative risk of first birth. Impact of personal considerations weighting against social-structural variables

	Total sample			Men			Women		
	coeff.	*s.e.*	*sign.*	*coeff.*	*s.e.*	*sign.*	*coeff.*	*s.e.*	*sign.*
Model improvement by personal consideration variables									
p (LLRT)	0.026		*	0.105			0.153		
Sex									
male	1	ref.							
female	3.26	0.85	***						
Current education									
low	3.68	2.17	***	0.95	2.62		5.23	5.07	**
average	1	ref.		1	ref.		1	ref.	
high	0.72	0.25		1.74	1.46		0.46	0.29	*
Parents' occupational status									
low	1.98	0.57	***	1.14	0.98		1.78	0.68	*
average	1	ref.		1	ref.		1	ref.	
high	1.09	0.34		0.9	0.66		0.9	0.39	
Personal optimism									
low	1	ref.		1	ref.		1	ref.	
average	1.34	0.63		1.99	2.77		1.35	0.89	
high	0.98	0.52		2.06	3.61		0.69	0.57	
Desire for intimacy									
low	1	ref.		1	ref.		1	ref.	
average & high	0.74	0.22		0.45	0.42		0.85	0.36	
Fear of losing intimacy									
low	1	ref.		1	ref.		1	ref.	
average & high	1.73	0.59	*	2.25	1.96		1.96	1.29	
Coping by withdrawal									
low	1	ref.		1	ref.		1	ref.	
average	1.06	0.43		0.38	0.40		1.73	1.30	
high	0.59	0.30		0.22	0.48		1.05	0.87	
Coping by control									
low	1	ref.		1	ref.		1	ref.	
average	1.03	0.48		0.99	1.10		0.94	0.89	
high	1.24	0.69		0.58	0.92		1.32	1.35	
Coping by rationalization									
low	1	ref.		1	ref.		1	ref.	
average	0.9	0.34		0.75	1.07		0.91	0.54	
high	1.15	0.47		0.42	0.68		1.33	0.90	
Coping by alternatives									
low	1	ref.		1	ref.		1	ref.	
average	0.74	0.28		0.43	0.55		0.79	0.48	
high	0.63	0.30		0.72	1.04		0.45	0.38	
Resources self									
low	1	ref.		1	ref.		1	ref.	
average	0.84	0.61		0.96	9.65		0.93	1.18	
high	0.79	0.61		2.11	18.12		0.72	0.67	
Resources partner									
low	1	ref.		1	ref.		1	ref.	
high	1.71	0.60	*	3.78	5.82	*	1.41	0.65	

<cont.>

<cont.>

Resources peers						
low	1	ref.	1	ref.	1	ref.
high	1.01	0.36	1.34	1.53	0.94	0.53
Resources sum						
low	1	ref.	1	ref.	1	ref.
average	1.34	0.59	0.96	1.22	1.8	1.15
high	1.46	0.83	0.77	1.63	2.06	1.71
Social relations peers						
low	1	ref.	1	ref.	1	ref.
average & high	1.26	0.47	1.07	1.57	1.32	0.73 *
Social relations, sum						
low	1	ref.	1	ref.	1	ref.
average & high	0.56	0.20 *	0.61	0.82	0.46	0.23 *

5.4 Integration: Developing an All-Inclusive Model

The preceding chapters have provided a large variety of results and we have subjected most of them to a weighting process against different sets of covariates. We now intend to conclude our results section and sum up our findings. In order to do this, we take up the significant results from each of the three clusters of variables (social-structural, individual background, and personal considerations), develop an empirically integrated model, and display the final estimates for our statistical test.

For doing this, we need to recall our theoretical arguments from Chapter 4.2. We argued that personal considerations are dependent on personal background as well as on social institutions, but personal background variables themselves also depend on social institutions. Therefore, in chapters 5.3.2.6 and 5.3.3.6, we examined the impact, respectively, of individual background and personal considerations on first birth risks when we controlled for social structural variables. We now use these as a starting point for our integration. We select those psychological covariates which have shown some relevance in these chapters in order to develop an integrated model. We necessarily have to limit our selection of variables as much as possible in order to prevent overspecification (that is, insignificant estimates). Our methodological approach consists in (i) making extensive use of the LLRT procedure for nested models and in (ii) in-depth reflections on the level of single p-values that we attain for the coefficient estimates.

Thus, we necessarily have to weight various sources of information against each other: LLRT-values, statistical significance levels, non-significant trends as well as differences between models with different control variables. Before we commence in giving a detailed view of our results, it is necessary to provide some reflections on the general interdependence and relative importance of these approaches.

5.4.1 Some reflections on the weighting procedure

What a test for statistical significance of an effect consists of is common knowledge and shall not be discussed here. However, what requires some consideration is the conjecture that it would not be adequate, and particularly not in our case, to administer only strict statistical significance as a criteria to our results (that is, to only discuss results that are significant at the 5% level or better). We know that these p-values depend strongly on the size of the sample. For our line of

argumentation we follow the judgment on this issue by J.W. Vaupel and J.M. Hoem, who summarize their view on a long and, ultimately, non-resolvable discussion on the relevance of statistical test-values in their editorial statement of the journal *Demographic Research*[55]. They argue that,

> "It may be more important for an understanding of demographic behavior or other phenomena studied to know whether the inclusion of a categorical covariate in its entirety contributes significantly to an improvement of the model than to know the significance indicators of each of its levels. Such issues are often checked by means of a test, for instance a likelihood-ratio test. (...) Authors should be aware of the possibility of accepting statistical significance at higher *p*-values for small data sets than for large data sets. In particular, there is nothing sacred about a *p*-value limit of 0.05. This journal accepts the fact that much higher *p*-values indicate statistical significance in very small data sets, while for the enormous sets typical of register data for populations with millions of members, much smaller *p*-values than 0.05 may be needed to indicate important features in the data.[56]"

We adopt this view and address a high relevance to LLRT-values throughout the chapter. We report on exact p-values from now on and use one asterisk in brackets (*) to highlight p-values up to 0.2. More important, however, it is to observe how p-values, which may initially have been low, change when we include more variables into the model.

We want to make a final general comment on our numerical estimates. First, one may question their reliability due to the low number of cases involved in the analysis. There is some truth in such an assertion, and we ourselves apply great cautiousness with regard to the absolute values of estimates that we achieve. However, and this is one of the purposes of the many rounds of modeling, we hold more information on single variables than just a relative risk estimate. We observe whether estimates and their statistical significance change with the inclusion of other covariates, whether trends are stable or shaky, and whether the LLRT values reach significance or not. From all this, the following detailed discussions differentiate between various levels, or qualities, of influence.

First, there are variables for which their impact on childbirth risk as well as the approximate level of relative risk can be considered as reliable. For them, we attain at different stages of the analysis corresponding estimates regardless of covariates. We name these variables "Category A" covariates. Second, we find covariates that are only slightly more "shaky". Their coefficients attain different values in different models and they sometimes also lose significance. However, coefficients never reverse nor attain spurious values and also a LLR-test never negates their relevance. Thus, from these variables, which we name "Category B" covariates, we can draw safe *qualitative* conclusions about the *direction* of their impact, however we refrain from concluding on the numerical level of their impact. Thirdly, we observe covariates which most often assume the status of a trend. A trend means that we *either* attain statistically insignificant estimates of relative risks which point into one clear direction, *or* that we attain even *very weak* statistical effects which point into different directions for the sexes. For them we draw mainly *careful conclusions* on their gender-related relevance and we form hypotheses on their impact which would need to be tested in larger studies. We name these "Category C" covariates. And, finally, covariates which inconsistently show a trend or do not show any interpretable result at all, will be referred to as "Category D" covariates.

It is important, however, to state that of course we can not rule out *once and forever* that even Category D covariates may have a significant impact on childbearing in general or that larger scale studies would yield different significance estimates. However, what we can do for our results is to reject in a reliable and statistically valid way the null-hypothesis of *no impact* for a certain

55 Available at http://www.demographic-research.org.

56 Rothman (1998) wrote: "Many data analysts appear to remain oblivious to the qualitative nature of significance testing. Although calculations based on mountains of valuable quantitative information may go into it, statistical significance is itself only a dichotomous indicator. As it has only two values, 'significant' or 'not significant', it cannot convey much useful information. Even worse, those two values often signal just the wrong interpretation. These misleading signals occur when a trivial effect is found to be 'significant', as often happens in large studies, or when a strong relation is found 'nonsignificant', as often happens in small studies."

variable. That is, if a covariate attains statistical significance *even* in a model with many control variables in our small-scale sample, we can safely *reject* the assumption of its *irrelevance* for childbearing risks in East Germany in the 1990s. In sub-chapter 5.5.2 we will resume the notion of different categories of results for the covariates. Table 25 summarizes the different qualities we attach to our results.

Table 25. Different qualities of results for the variables throughout the weighting process

Category	*Signification*	*Strategy of interpretation*
Category A	relevant, numerically reliable	the interpretation of numerical estimates is possible.
Category B	relevant, numerically unreliable	the interpretation of the quality of the impact is possible, however not the quantity.
Category C	only trends	results can be interpreted as indications of a trend.
Category D	no findings	no conclusion on any impact possible

5.4.2 Weighting the results: Three models of determinants of fertility differentials

In what follows, we will develop, step-by-step, three different empirically derived statistical models that include different sets of variables which lead us toward final interpretation of our findings.

Model I

Model I is the strictest of our models in which we only allow for variables that have already led to a statistically significant result in the former weighing process of 5.3.2.6 and 5.3.3.6. Thus, we add to the relevant socio-structural variables of age, sex, and education information on *leaving home, enrollment in education, number of siblings,* and the *internal action control* from the individual background. From the personal considerations, we add *fear of losing intimacy, perceived partnership resources,* and the *peer* and the *sum value of the perceived quality of social relations*.

Model II

Model II adds six more variables to model I. Here we select variables which have shown a clear and statistically significant result in some steps of the analyses. These are the variables of the *number of older siblings, mental health (trait), self-actualization (trait), personal optimism, coping by rationalization*, and the *sum score of perceived resources*.

Model III

Model III is the richest and, arguably, most overspecified model. Here, we again add six more variables to the former model II which have shown at least some (non-significant) trends at some part of the analysis. These are the variables of *parental occupation, capacity for love (trait), desire for intimacy, coping by withdrawal, coping by alternatives,* and *perceived resources of the self*. We have to note that model III now contains an entirety of 20 single variables with different categorical gradations (plus, the age-baseline). The results of our estimations are presented in the voluminous tables of Appendix 3 (results of the three models for the total sample), Appendix 4 (results of the three models for the sample of men), and Appendix 5 (results of the three models for the sample of women). We now come to the integration and discussion of our findings.

5.5 Integration and Discussion on the Impact of Psychological and Non-Psychological Variables on the Transition to First Parenthood

5.5.1 Integration of results I: General relevance of variable clusters

Although the theoretical model of de Bruijn (Chapter 4.2) gives a certain primacy to variables of social structure, we find strong evidence also for the relevance of psychological factors as determinants of the risks of first birth in East Germany in the 1990s. Controlling for structural variables such as age, sex, subjects' education, and their parents' occupational status, the inclusion both of individual background variables *and* of personal considerations increases significantly the fit of our event-history model.

We find evidence that personal considerations are more explicative for fertility differentials than people's individual backgrounds. Various weighting steps support this view. For instance, in the final model I of this chapter, the model improvement by personal considerations ($LLRT_{Considerations}$: p=0.001) outweighs the improvement of the model by the inclusion of background variables ($LLRT_{Background}$: p=0.038). We conclude that fertility choices are much more a matter of personal deliberation than structuralists would claim. *De gustibus est disputandum!*[57]

These general findings hold both for men and women. However, we deem that it is indeed indispensable to differentiate our models for the sexes because many variables reveal different, sometimes even converse, patterns for the sexes. In general, the impact of psychological variables on fertility differentials appears to be *stronger* for men than for women. Education and educational background are numerically much more decisive for women's onset of childbearing than they are for men. Moreover, the improvement of our statistical model by the two clusters of psychological variables is numerically clearly higher for men than for women. These findings are repeated throughout many stages of the calculus and weighting process. Table 26 displays the most relevant sex-differentials of LLRT-values for different weighting procedures in order to underpin our evidence.

When looking at these LLRT-values more closely, women's transitions to motherhood seem to be, to some extent, more *prescribed* by subjects' educational background, by their families of origin, and by their (stable) personality traits than it is the case for men. The transition to fatherhood, by contrast and as tendency, proves to be determined by men's actual considerations, by their perceptions of resources, and by their ways of dealing with demanding situations—rather than by any other "underlying" factors.

What we are beginning to think about at this point concerning questions of agency and determination will be spelled out in more detail in the following chapters. We discuss the findings for our variables individually in the subsequent Chapter 5.5.2. After that, in Chapter 5.5.3, we answer the question of psychological and non-psychological determinants of respectively the transition to motherhood and fatherhood. Ultimately, we will also resume extensive deliberations on "motivational and selection" determinants of the transition to fatherhood in Chapter 7.3 at the end of this thesis.

57 For an opposite view, cf. Stigler & Becker (1977).

Table 26. LLRT-values for men and women in different weighting procedures

Model improvement by including...	LLRT-value for men	LLRT-value for women
... educational variables to the age baseline	.223	**.000*** **
... features of the family of origin to socioeconomic variables	.871	.196
...life course organization to the age baseline	**.004*** **	.130
... personality traits to the age baseline	.427	.153
... individual background to social structure (best model)	**.032** **	.119
... coping-styles to the age baseline	.280	.547
... personal resources to the age baseline	**.035** **	.288
... personal considerations to social structure (intermediate model)	.130	.421
... personal considerations to individual background and social structure (best model)	**.005*** **	**.040** **

5.5.2 Integration of results II: Detailed findings for single variables

Our chosen strategy, namely to develop more complex models from simple ones, yields a number of different insights. Most centrally perhaps, it illustrates that a *sharp limitation* of an event-history model only to relevant variables can lead to a number of clear results with high relative risks and high significance levels. We find such examples in the coefficients for the LLRT-values, for the level of personal fears of a loss of intimacy, of perceived resources in the partnership, and of the sum score of social relations. However, we also find evidence that an overly limiting approach excludes other insights from the analysis. If we consider, for instance, the number of siblings or action control, we find that results get clearer the more inclusive our models are. In the restricted Model I these coefficients are, obviously, blurred by controlling for *too few variables*. That is, potential collinearities among variables can also decrease the sharpness of our estimates. We argue that our statistical procedure of allowing for different levels of resolution in the models is crucial for the estimation process in case of a wealth of covariates and relatively few events. It yields a compromise between an overly strong limitation and a potentially spurious situation where everything is included. The truth lies probably somewhere between Model II and III.

5.5.2.1 The impact of social-institutional variables on first birth risks

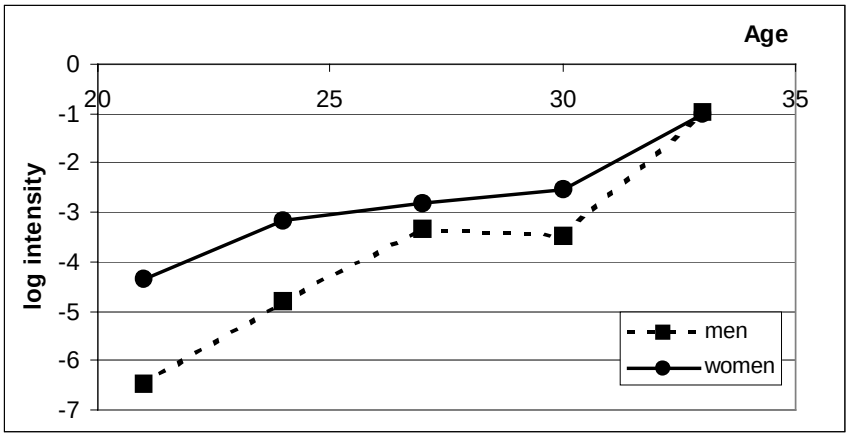
In our integrated model, we include age, sex, education, and parents' social status as indicators of social institutions. All of them prove relevant for the explanation of differential first birth intensities in East Germany during the 1990s (LLRT: $p<0.01$). After controlling for a large number of individual level variables, we come to the following concluding findings.

Age and sex

The age-dependency of men's and women's transition to parenthood is substantially different, also in the final model when we control for other relevant variables. Figure 23 graphs the basic time (age) baseline of the process, and it obviously does not differ much from what we found at the beginning of the analysis in Figure 18. Men's risks assume very low levels in the early 20s but have a continuous and strong increase until age 27. Then the curve flattens out before it rises again after age 30. Women's risks start off from a comparatively high level in their early 20s already and then rise steadily between ages 24 and 30. After that, our results find a similar increase of risk like for men. In sum, our estimates confirm the approximately 2.7 times high risk of women when

compared to men to bear a child in the 1990s. Accounting for the strong effect of sex we are confirmed in our strategy of calculating different models for men and women as, indeed, they are very different. Age and sex certainly assume the quality of what we called Category A covariates above (5.4.1).

Figure 23. Time (age) dependency of risk of first births for men and for women. Numerical levels are comparable (Explanation in the text).[58]



Ultimately, these findings point out that we are dealing with true social-normative factors when we talk about age and sex. Their impact on the transition to parenthood is direct and not mediated (by, for instance, personality development or changing personal considerations). As expected, we do find a steady increase of risk over age and we do find persistent difference for the sexes which point toward the existence of prescriptive and sex-different age norms in the observation period.

Education and occupational background

For the level of educational attainment, our initial findings confirm the hypothesized relation of low education with high childbirth risk at young ages for women. For men, the initial results are vague (cf. Chapter 5.3.1.2). By contrast, the same results for women are clear throughout the different steps of the analysis. In the end, however, the initial finding for men shifts increasingly toward the inverse relation when we consecutively include more variables (that is, a high education leads to a high risk). In particular, to include variables of individual background leads to a clear result of a positive impact of high education on men's first birth risk. We conclude that education has the quality of a "strong" Category A covariate for women and of a relevant (Category B) covariate for men, with an inverse impact for the sexes.

This means, that education is more confounded with relevant characteristics of the personal background for men than for women. When we control for them, we can confirm the findings of current life course approaches that education (and, following from that, employment opportunities, income, and, arguably, status) behaves differently for the sexes with respect to family formation. We quoted in Chapter 3.2.1 the finding by Kreyenfeld about the inverse effect of employment for the sexes and we tend to confirm those by our results. Also from our findings, we have to reject a simple and sex-uniform hypothesis as expounded in Chapter 5.2.2.

58 The estimates are taken from the adjusted model I where we made models for men and women numerically comparable by dropping the educational enrollment variable also for women. That is, the estimates are controlled for the most relevant other variables.

This finding is replicated by trends and results regarding the occupational background of subjects' parents, which we used as an approximation for the status background of the subjects. Here, we find a *stable* impact in the expected direction for *women.* In some estimates the numerical value of the estimation amounted to a doubled risk when women grow up in a low occupational surrounding. Again, men's risks are not affected in a similar way. We find an initial trend in the same direction but it never reaches significance or outweighs other trends in the data. The most clear-cut documentation of this finding is given in Model III in which a low parental occupation retains a relative risk of above 2 for women, even though we control for any other relevant variable. The model for men does not even show a trend for the variable, at all. Thus, we classify parental occupation as a highly relevant Category A covariate for women and as a variable with low relevance (Category C) for men.

What do these findings teach us about the family formation of young adults in East Germany in the 1990s? Venturing a first summary view of our results on first birth intensities, we can state that social structural variables appear to have gained relevance for the understanding of women's fertility differentials in East Germany in the 1990s, but not so for men. Women from a lower social "class" (that is, those with a low education or a low occupational status of their parents) have a clearly increased childbirth risk compared to others. This is particularly interesting because there is convincing evidence that the impact of educational differences on childbearing behavior has only emerged after the fall of socialism in many countries of transition (Koytcheva, 2003 and many others). That is, because educational differences in socialist times were very low, they resumed having relevance just after 1990. Our findings show that educated women (but also daughters of educated parents) are the moving force of this development. Their postponement or renunciation of early childbearing can be seen as one crucial element of the 1990s fertility slump in East Germany. For men, a higher education appears to be, comparatively, unrelated to their transition to fatherhood.[59]

5.5.2.2 The impact of individual background on first birth risks

The second cluster of variables which impact on generative behavior according to our theoretical model, comprises life course events (such as leaving home and enrollment in education) as well as intelligence, school performance, and personality traits. These variables define the individual background of our subjects. To select the most relevant ones from this pool of variables contributes substantially to a better understanding of fertility differentials. The respective LLRT-values are more clearly significant for men than for women.

Organization of the life course

Regarding the impact of life course events on first birth risks, our statistical analysis first has to resolve some tautological variables. We have to exclude the indicator variables for "having entered a union" from all of our models as well as the indicator for "having left education" for the model of men (that is, we drop those covariates). Overflowing estimates show that these are prerequisites of first birth for the respective groups in our relatively small sample are too universal. We can not attain any numerical estimates for these covariates in the named cases because the models hardly converge to any reasonable values.[60]

59 We want to point to the fact that our results truly pertain to the effect of the level of educational attainment because we control for enrollment in education and age, for instance. In other words, also after finishing education, highly educated women have a reduced risk of childbirth relative to lowly educated ones.

60 See our reflection in Chapter 5.3.2.1 on this issue. In some trial runs with models that include information on these events as an additional risk over time ("kick-in spline", cf. that chapter), we found that essentially the estimates for one of the other covariates is affected, namely the positive effect of the perceived quality of the partnership loses significance (not shown here). This shows that the reported quality of the partnership and its duration are clearly correlated. (These reflections appeared at the end of the project and thus cannot be continued in more detail for the time being.)

From the remaining events, we find that having left the parental home is an important pre-condition for childbirth *for men* but not so much for women. Starting from initial estimates until the final modeling, we attain relative risks of 3.0 for men, but only insignificant risks for women. That is, men of our sample essentially do not bear a child when still living with their parents, whilst for women this question is rather irrelevant. However, having left education is a strong precondition of childbirth also for women. Here, they also attain high estimates, between 3 and 4, for their relative risks of childbirth. We conclude, that features of the organization of the life course yield significant fertility differentials between and within the sex groups in the 1990s. Herein, entering a union and leaving education can be rated as highly relevant Category A covariates for both sexes, whilst leaving the parental home reaches Category A for men, but is irrelevant (Category D) for women.

This confirms our hypothesis of a universal union-related character of childbearing and of a fundamental incompatibility of participating in education and childbearing. We neither find intentional lone-parents nor young student-parents as relevant cases in East Germany in the 1990s for this cohort. For leaving home, however, our sex-differential finding is quite unexpected. We can conclude that the sequence of having one's "own household first and then a family" is more imperative for men than for women. Keeping in mind which features are typically connected with leaving home (namely independence, self-sufficiency, maturity, cf. Graber & Dubas, 1996), we may state that a certain degree of adulthood is an important precondition for a transition to fatherhood but not for a transition to motherhood. These findings gain even more persuasiveness because we control for many other variables that may be linked to leaving home (age, personality, education, resources, et cetera).

The family of origin

Interesting and unexpected findings also emerge from our consideration of features regarding our subjects' family of origin. These characteristics primarily affect *women's* risks in an unexpected way. Whilst neither the number of younger siblings nor the experience of a loss of a parent impact systematically on the first birth risks of both sexes (that is, we cannot confirm any hypotheses of personal "impediment" or "tendency for overcompensation" by the latter experience), the fact of growing up with many siblings increases the risk of women, whilst the experience of many *older* siblings slightly decreases it. For men, we observe trends in the opposite direction for these variables (that is, a decreasing effect of many siblings and an increasing effect for older siblings). In sum, the number of younger siblings and the experience of a loss of a parent by divorce or death are irrelevant Category D covariates for men and women. However, the number of *older* siblings and the *overall* number of siblings are Category A covariates for women and trend covariates (Category C) for men.

The idea of differential effects of features of the family of origin for the family formation process of men and women has not yet been discussed in the literature. We can only speculate about possible explanations here. Maybe, women tend to repeat the conditions in which they grew up, whilst men rather tend to dissociate themselves from those experiences and aspire for alternatives to their families of origin (we could call this an interpretation of "stronger origin ties" of women than of men). However, the age position among their brothers and sisters differentiates this picture. Perhaps, women who are what has been named the "spoilt baby of the family" tend to hesitate to set up their own families whilst men who are the youngest siblings do speed up their development because they feel rather pulled by the development of older siblings toward taking over (family) responsibilities earlier in life, whilst women rather disfavor the adoption of motherliness.

Ultimately, these ideas lead up to the question of sex-differential biographical pathways in the development of family-related behavior. Men apparently tend to profit for their own family formation by the early experience of (potential) role-models without being overly exposed to familism in their childhood, whilst for women this is clearly reversed. However, we have to leave these questions of differential mechanisms in the sequence of siblings to future research and our qualitative study.

Intelligence and school performance

Whilst we initially find interesting results for intelligence and school performance[61], these findings disappear when we control for other variables like, for instance, education. Only the increase of men's risk by a low intelligence seems to remain constant. Thus, we rate intelligence as a Category B covariate for men and as a Category D covariate for women, whilst school performance is a Category D covariate for both sexes.

This finding accentuates our hypotheses in an interesting way. Because we expected intelligence to be largely correlated with education, the fact that the estimates pale into insignificance is not surprising. More surprising is that for men a result remains for intelligence *even though* we control for education. We conclude that –independent of formal education– men with rather low cognitive skills are still more apt to transition to parenthood. This may be because they tend not to pursue any future educational and career objectives at the same point in time. Perhaps, we can even conclude from this finding that the relevance of future thought (Oettingen, 1997) in terms of a weighing of "possible selves during the transition to parenthood" (Strauss & Goldberg, 1999) is, in a way, more relevant for men in their life course than for women. For men with high cognitive abilities, such processes may have a postponing effect on family formation.

Personality

Another novelty of our approach is given in the systematic inclusion of sophisticated psychological personality scales into the analysis. Here, initial results suggested that these scales contain essential information for fertility differentials of women—but not for men. However, after weighting them against other (socio-structural) measures this picture shifted so that the final model contains an almost equal amount of statistically significant effects both for men and for women. Interestingly, the overall picture that these endowment variables ultimately give is one of the relevance of *normalcy* of people in the statistical sense. Whereas we hardly find linear proportionality trends in the data (relations such as "the more...the higher" are only given for a dispositional capacity for love) we often find significant differences in childbirth risk of the average level of a trait when compared to more extreme values.[62]

For women, there are two clearly significant findings. Those women with an average or high level of mental health have a decreased risk of childbirth. Similarly, women with an average degree of self-actualization have an increased level of risk. In the reduced model with only a few variables, we find the same for the average level of action control. However, the effect disappears when we allow for other variables, too. For men we find a consistent *reduction* of first birth risks of two average levels of covariates, namely for an average level of self-actualization (inverse of the results for women) and for an average level of action control (parallel to the results for women). In a parallel way, both sexes share a trend toward a linear proportionality of capacity for love with childbirth risks.

We conclude that the dispositional capacity for love assumes the level of a trend (Category C) covariate for both sexes[63], whilst physical health appears to be irrelevant (Category D) for men and women. Mental health is only a Category D covariate for men but not for women (Category B). The degree of self-actualization is the most important value (Category A for men and B for women) whilst action control is more relevant for men (Category A) than for women (Category D).

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61 For intelligence, a sex-indifferent impact of low values on higher risks initially shows up. For school-performance, the inverse effect of school-performance for the sexes appears: Men have a trend to anti-proportionality and women to proportionality.

62 This finding, however, is by no means unconventional for fertility research. Murray & Lagger (2001), for instance, show by a historical study that average weight men reproduced more than others. They interpret “normalcy” in this respect as an indicator of health, which is also a feasible explanation for personality “normalcy”.

63 Ultimately, we interpret this as proof that bearing children has something to do with giving and experiencing love—however only as a trend.

The picture we can draw from these findings is that the transition to parenthood is, as we hypothesized, determined by people's ability to love in terms of positive evaluations of themselves and others. Together with the weak findings of physical health, we can conclude that bearing children is, nowadays, surely more related to love than to bodily fitness.[64]

Apart from this, we uncover a surprisingly differential picture for men and for women. For women, there is the already indicated "normalcy effect". It appears to be a major impediment for a transition to motherhood to be either mentally burdened (low *mental health*) or to be either a highly expressive self-actualizer (that is, independent, self-reliant) or a strongly non-expressive personality (that is, what is termed a "colorless" or "nondescript" kind of person). By contrast, normalcy in these traits increases the childbearing risk for women. We could pointedly remark that motherhood not only *is* (still) a normalcy in women's life course, but it also *requires* normalcy to experience it. On the fringes of this normalcy, motherhood is obviously not aspired to or not achieved.

By contrast, for men the picture is almost reversed. With regard to self-actualization, we find that in particular the non-expressive and non self-actualizers progress to fatherhood relatively early whilst the others (especially the "normally" autonomous personalities) clearly refrain from entering the family haven early. Thus, men, who are "normally" active, striving and competitive, clearly forgo this option, whilst for women this trait even increases their proneness to becoming a mother. We can interpret this finding as an indication of the effect of gender norms. Whilst for a "normal" woman, that is, an expressive, active (and attractive?) woman it is perfectly fine to aspire to motherhood relatively early, also in difficult times. On the other hand, the "normal" (or attractive?) man typically does not tie himself down to parenthood too early in his life course, in particular when facing the challenges of a rapidly changing society.

Moreover, our latter conjecture is entirely backed by the findings for people's level of internal action control (locus of control). Men who "normally" take control for their doings in life, have a decreased risk of childbirth because they arguably decide against early parenthood—or just take care of proper contraception in their sexual activities. These findings reveal that the gender divide in the family field (presumably reflected and maintained by gender roles concerning parenthood) also may be paralleled by differentials in personal requirements for childbearing. Since personality traits are conceptualized as relatively stable “endogenous” personal characteristics with a high component of genetic determination, these findings are deeply connected with the question of motivation and/or selection of individual behavior.

5.5.2.3 The impact of personal considerations on first birth risks

The third cluster of variables, which impact on generative behavior according to our theoretical model, comprises personal considerations. These are personal wishes, fears, and optimism, coping styles, personal resources, and the perceived quality of social relations. To select the most relevant measures from this pool of variables contributes substantially to a better understanding of fertility differentials (LLRT-values are more highly significant for men than for women).

Personal wishes, fears, and optimism

For the group of variables describing personal considerations, the statistically most relevant finding is the positive impact of the fear of losing intimacy on first birth risks both for men and for women. For men, this impact of a negative evaluation of a dearth of intimate relations receives sometimes even high (but numerically inconsistent) values, that is for them fear is a Category B variable in our analysis. For women, the models yield constant estimates of a coefficient around 1.4 for the high-fear group (making it a Category A variable). Concerning their personal desires from life, we find

64 This statement will arguably only be doubted by radical old-style sociobiologists. This species is, fortunately, almost extinct today.

an unexpected result in the reduced risk of men who have a high desire for intimacy (results are statistically relevant, we rate them as Category B). For women there is no such finding (Category D).

Taken together, these findings represent perceptive evidence of the difficult character that the transition to parenthood can assume on the level of individual considerations. A mere desire for children or intimate family bonds may not be sufficient to explain the subsequent transition. We can even see that men who are particularly affected by the desire for "close ties" are rather repelled from the actual realization of their own families. Perhaps young men with these specific goals are receptive and sensitive to the centrifugal forces of the ongoing societal transformation, and they, instead, act cautiously and consciously with regard to this subjectively important life domain. Perhaps they are the persons who wait and postpone the realization of their childbearing intentions. However, there may also be a different interpretation: Men who express a strong desire for children and family may be the ones who perceive the strongest exclusion from a potential realization (that is, they may be singles and without a partner). However, the correlation of this desire with resources, well-being, and partnership status is only weak and does not support this possible interpretation very strongly. We postpone this question, however, and resume it in our qualitative chapter when we integrate our findings.

By contrast, the results for the fear variable turn out to be clear and strongly confirmatory of our hypothesis. We actually have to conclude that “fear of losing intimacy” belongs to the strongest subjective factors for family formation. This finding is particularly interesting because it puts two different research topics and results into a nutshell. First, we know from the literature that people typically have great difficulties answering the question “why children?” (von Rosenstiel et al., 1986). Any notion that people aspire to parenthood if they have an expressed desire for children is incorrect—as we see it can even be the inverse. And secondly, it appears to hold true that “our fears are our strongest engines” (Freud). At least with respect to the transition to parenthood the engine of fertility is powered by that fuel to a non-negligible extent. People (men *and* women) who are particularly afraid of losing family harmony, of loneliness, in sum, of a loss intimate relations, clearly opt for parenthood. This topic has been touched on by previous research. However, it is mostly covered by work that shows the aspects of “emotional stabilization” (Stöbel-Richter & Brähler, 2000) and fear of loneliness in old age (von Rosenstiel et al., 1986). For this issue, it will be particularly instructive to compare our findings with the qualitative results (see Chapter 7).

Concerning the level of personal optimism, we find another counter-intuitive correlation. First, there is a clear and expected proportionality with childbirth risks of men (Category B). That is, we can confirm the hypothesis that a large amount of optimism is required in order to start a family in East Germany in the 1990s. However, there is a trend-wise slightly less consistent picture for women. High values of optimism appear to reduce their risk, whereas there is a trend of a risk-increasing effect for average levels (Category C). This can be interpreted again as an example of a "normalcy" effect for women. Much like the findings for self-actualization, we see that strongly optimistic women refrain from the parenthood option in the 1990s. Maybe, they opt for a career or other alternatives of explorative (that is non home-based) behavior. By contrast, normal levels of optimism are clearly consistent with motherhood in these times.

Coping styles

With regard to coping styles, we find another bunch of interesting and challenging results. Men who have strong values in reacting with withdrawal toward problems have a clearly and strongly reduced risk of first-time fatherhood (up to factor 4; Category A). By contrast, results for women do not reach any significance at all (Category D). However, women show strong reductions of risk when they have high values in the coping style "alternatives" (Category B) whereas results for men do not turn out significantly here (Category D). For the style of rationalization of problems, high values impact positively for women (Category A) whilst findings for men remain blurry (Category

D). The scales of coping by drug use and coping by control did not reach any significant results at all (Category D for both sexes).

The interpretation of these findings provides additional interesting insights into the differential mechanisms of the transition to parenthood for the sexes. Perhaps, we can ascertain as the principal finding concerning coping styles that apparently very different decision-styles are required for men and for women in order to opt for parenthood in the early 1990s.[65] Here, our initial hypotheses need to be refused owing to their failure to discriminate for the sexes.

The most characteristic behavioral trait for men who become early fathers (contrasted to that of non-fathers) is not to run away from difficulties and not to give up. Men who tend to pity themselves or to hide away from problems, that is. those who *withdraw* from burdens, are not the ones who progress to fatherhood in the early 1990s in East Germany. Given the societal situation at this time and the tasks involved with parenthood, this clearly confirms our hypothesis.

However, and this is a striking result, for women this picture is surprisingly different. Whilst the question of withdrawal is irrelevant, the specific behavior style which consists in more evasive actions tips the scale—in an unexpected way. Both women who tend to play down the extent of demands and those who react to stress by diversion and by taking more quickly rewarding alternatives have an increased risk of childbirth. In order to provide a reasonable interpretation, we have to go back to other findings in the literature.

Recently, scholars have found that –contrary to what was known before– there is a trend that women who suffer from a *particularly* difficult and challenging economic situation (like, for instance, unemployment or poverty) have an increased risk of childbirth (Friedman et al., 1994). The interpretation given in the literature reads that motherhood may *reduce* biographical uncertainty by providing a clear sense of purpose, identity, and source of social status and support in life for socially deprived women. Our results could mirror exactly the psychological mechanisms to this hypothesis. What would women have to do in order to perform the behavior which the uncertainty hypothesis predicts? They would have to be willing to choose the next (best) alternative in difficult times (coping style "alternatives") and they would need to play down or be immune to the extent of real difficulties they face (coping style "rationalization"). Both results show up and, interestingly enough, only for women. Of course, other interpretations would be possible from our results, too, but the similarity of our psychological results with the uncertainty hypothesis is obvious and compelling. Also here, the integration with qualitative findings will help shed light on these surprising results.

Personal resources

Regarding this group of covariates, we again find clear sex-differential results. Concerning the perceived resources of having skills and knowledge, self-reliant men have a trend toward an increased risk of first birth, whilst for women the trend is exactly reversed (both Category C findings). The impact of strong resources based in the current partnership is a consistent and strong finding for men (Category A) and only a trend for women (Category C). The sum score of all single values points out a clear finding, namely women with an average of available resources have a higher transition risk than others (Category B). For men, the trend is parallel (Category C). The perception of resources in the family of origin and the resources in peers do not contribute in any way (Category D).

How can we understand these findings? First, they suggest that a *sound level* of available resources is indispensable for a transition to parenthood in East Germany in the 1990s. A high sum score of

65 We have to remember here, that our measures of coping styles are only predictive for the time 1990 to 1996, that is, for subjects' aged 19 to 26.

resources favors the transition both for men and for women. Also here, we find a slight indication that an average level of resources is more supportive to a transition than an overly high level (which may lead to the pursuit of other careers). This "normalcy" finding is again more pronounced for women than for men. However, the single sources of these resources are different for the sexes. The lion's share for men is provided by the partnership. Exceeding the blunt question of "to have or not to have" a girlfriend (we control for this), the perceived wealth of resources provided by the relationship makes the difference for them.

For the self-centered sources of resources, we find effects that, in a way, resemble some interpretations we have given before. Men are more prone to fatherhood if they are self-reliant (cf., in particular, optimism, non-withdrawing coping). We can interpret this as an "attractiveness of resource-holders" finding. For women it is reversed, though. Highly self-reliant women do not start a family in their 20s in East Germany. It appears conceivable to us (somewhat similar to the uncertainty hypothesis and interpretations provided above) that independent and self-confident women do not focus on childbearing at young ages in these times of social change. They may tend to adopt a more self-centered lifestyle and opt for career or other experiences.

Perceived quality of social relations

Extending the variables of resources by an assessment of the actual emotional *quality* of these ties, we find another effect. Women with a high quality of social relations to friends have an increased risk of first birth whilst for men there is a reduced risk (both Category B). The quality of the relations to the family of origin is unclear (Category D) for both sexes, but we find another bit of evidence in the sum score of both relations. Both men and women tend to have a reduced risk of childbirth when they report having qualitatively good relations with others (Category C for the former and Category B for the latter group).

These results give a valuable insight into the potential influence of social relations on childbearing decisions (cf. Bernardi 2001), and again this influence is different for the sexes. Whilst women who have close ties to friends in their 20s obviously feel encouraged (we can assume, by group influence) to start a family, men who are close to friends at the same time are rather discouraged from doing so. This finding could indicate that female circles of friends may be familistic when compared to cliques of men. In colloquial language we find some notions along these lines when comparing the different connotations of “hen-parties” versus “young (male) rowdies” for the sexes in everyday language.

Summary

After these discussions, which will be continued in a more methodical way, and including the qualitative findings in Chapter 7, we want to present an overview on the relevant covariates for men and women. For this purpose, we summarize the categorization of our results for the sexes in Table 27.

Table 27. Categorization of the statistical quality of our findings

Covariate	**Category A** (consistent significant numerical estimates for relative risks)	**Category B** (clear results, but not always significant or numerically consistent)	**Category C** (results appear mainly as consistent trends)	**Category D** (very weak or inconsistent findings, never significant)
Social structure				
Age	▽+ ◯+			
Education	◯-	▽+		
Parents' Occupation	◯-		▽-	
Individual Background				
Entered Union	(▽+ ◯+)			
Left Parental Home	▽+			◯
Left Education	(▽+) ◯+			
No. of Siblings	◯+		▽-	
No. of Younger Siblings				▽ ◯
No. of Older Siblings	◯-		▽+	
Loss of a Parent				▽ ◯
Intelligence		▽-		◯
School Performance				▽ ◯
Capacity for Love (trait)			▽+ ◯+	
Mental Health (trait)		◯-		▽
Physical Health (trait)				▽ ◯
Self Actualization	▽∨ ◯∧			
Action Control	▽∨			◯
Personal Considerations				
Desire for Intimacy		▽-		◯
Fear of Losing Intimacy	◯+	▽+		
Personal Optimism		▽+	◯-	
Coping by Withdrawal	▽-			◯
Coping by Control				▽ ◯
Coping by Rationalization	◯+			▽
Coping by Alternatives		◯+		▽
Coping by Drug-Abuse				▽ ◯
Resource Self			▽+ ◯-	
Resource Family				▽ ◯
Resource Partner	▽+		◯+	
Resource Peers				▽ ◯
Resource Sum Score		◯∧	▽∧	
Quality of Social Relations Family				▽ ◯
Quality of Social Relations Peers		▽-	◯+	
Quality of Social Relations Sum Score		◯-	▽-	

Legend: ▽ = quality of results for men; ◯ = quality of results for women; + = positive impact; - = negative impact; ∧ and ∨ = U-shaped results; ( ) = numerical estimates overflow

5.5.3 Conclusion: Determinants of the transition to fatherhood

Our stepwise event-history analysis of the transitions to parenthood, which our up to 32-year-old subjects from Rostock experienced in the 1990s, yields a large number of sex-specific results on psychological and non-psychological determinants of fertility differentials. On a general level, we can conclude that de Bruijn's model is very useful for guiding and structuring a multi-disciplinary and multi-covariate investigation on childbearing behavior, and that psychological covariates *do matter* as explanatory factors for the transition to parenthood in comprehensive models. Psychological variables of individual background (endowment, learning) as well as psychological characteristics of personal considerations (choice) contribute significantly to a better understanding of fertility differentials in the given context of East Germany after unification. We find evidence that it is justified to grant people's personal considerations even a central place in an integrative macro-micro model of fertility.

The differential models that we calculated respectively for the transition to *fatherhood* and the transition to *motherhood* reveal a number of communal factors for the sexes. However, more typically we find substantial differences in the single covariates and the structure of covariates for men and women. We now discuss our findings more directly from the viewpoint of peculiarities of the transition to fatherhood.

We learn that features of the organization of the life course are a crucial element of the explanation of men's transitions to parenthood. Having entered a union, having left the educational system, and having left the parental home are more decisive prerequisites for the transition to parenthood for men than for women. The experience of fatherhood *before* having passed the other transitions is almost excluded for men. This exclusion is far stronger than for women. These findings can serve as an explanation for why men experience their first parenthood typically about three years later than women. Our findings suggest that this form of “adult social maturity” is much more a prerequisite for parenthood among men than among women (note that these effects show up although we control for age, education, et cetera). To some extent, then, parenthood *requires* adulthood for men whilst it *brings on* adulthood for women.[66]

With regard to family of origin, we can not confirm the hypothesis that men who have an increased risk of childbirth in their 20s show a tendency to repeat the pattern of their family of origin. We rather find a trend indicating the reverse effect for men. However, concerning their childbearing, men appear to be advantaged by having many older siblings, as this might promote a man’s development toward taking responsibilities in their lives. This interpretation, however, cannot be entirely understood from our quantitative analysis alone.

From other background variables we learn that men who enter parenthood early in their life course are rather educated but typically are only moderate internal controllers of their development and moderate self-actualizers. They are more loving personalities than average, that is, they are more amiable and resilient than average but also less intrinsically motivated (we may name this the effect of “moderate and amiable middle class men”).

On the level of decision-styles and considerations they address difficult problems directly and do not hide away in self-pity or elusive self-doubt. Also, they do not yearn too much for intimacy—maybe because they experience it or do not focus so much on this issue. However, a loss of intimate relations would clearly bother them. They are endowed with good resources that are rooted in their own skills and in their partnership. Probably, they are also less group-focused than others (we may name this the effect of “pragmatic, self-reliant, and value-conscious men”).

66 This and all subsequent interpretations about sex-differences are, of course, indications of behavioral tendencies, and not categorical statements.

However, after this quantitative analysis, the attentive reader may have noticed that some of our findings are rather difficult to understand and interpret. They require common sense rather than theoretical expertise. For this standard problem of post-hoc explanations in social research (Luhmann, 1990: 370), we will subject our quantitative findings to another scrutiny. We will pass them over to the qualitative chapter in order to examine them also from a different angle, namely from the actual experiences of men. For this, we will resume our given interpretations on social structural, individual background, and personal consideration variables in Chapter 7 again when we subject them to qualitative scrutiny. Ultimately, we will also answer the questions of whether and how the sex-differential factors of the quantitative analysis are reflected in the conscious perception of men.

Part C

The Qualitative Study

Chapter 6

Motives and Chances for Fatherhood of 30-Year-Old Men in East Germany: Dimensions and Determinants of their Desire for Children.

In this chapter, we will expand the quantitative longitudinal investigation of the fifth chapter by another study. Here, we make use of the second relevant methodology, namely the qualitative paradigm, which allows for a systematic reconstruction of views and conceptions of individuals. In the first sub-chapter 6.1, we present our approach by the applied interview guideline. In section 6.2 we present the sub-sample of this investigation which we select from the Rostock Longitudinal Study (ROLS) as presented in Chapter 5. In the third part of the Chapter, 6.3, we give a detailed account of our analysis and the results before we put everything in a nutshell in the concluding sub-chapter 6.4.

6.1 Method: Problem-Centered Interviews on Conceptions of Fatherhood and Desire for Children

For some decades now, qualitative approaches have become well established as a valuable addition or alternative to quantitative methods in the humanities (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). Today, we find a large variety of approaches, techniques, and modes of interpretation in the literature. It even seems justified to diagnose a differentiation of the field into several different "schools" that have been identified on the common ground of the interpretative paradigm (like, for instance, "narrative methodology", objective hermeneutics", "oral history", or "grounded theory").

It cannot be the purpose of this chapter to provide a thorough overview of the entire field, and even not a general foundation of qualitative (vs. quantitative) methodology. This work has already been done by others (Vidich & Lyman, 2000). But still, some of these more general issues will be addressed bit by bit in what follows.

Starting from our research question in Chapter 4.2 we had to identify a qualitative methodology that would enable us to

(a) explore men's views on the meaning of (potential) fatherhood and to understand the relevance they give to parenthood in their life course, and

(b) deal with the expected problems of this venture by using a method which allows for a perceptive, empathic, and valid encounter of this sensitive topic.

We found the most appropriate method in what is known as the problem-centered interview (PCI) as it was elaborated by Andreas Witzel (1985, 2000). Witzel characterizes his approach as being strongly oriented toward the investigation of "societally relevant questions". The PCI technique aims at revealing people's internalized structures of relevance on a topic as well as the internal symbolization of experiences, expectations, and emotions. His approach demands that the researcher addresses the topic of interest in a cyclic process of an "elastic" inductive-deductive interplay of prior knowledge, hypothesizing, constant development of the interview guideline and interpretation. Within the interview one typically finds passages of great narrative openness as well

as focused questioning. It hereby resembles the well-known subject-centered approach as it was introduced to social science and psychotherapy by Carl Rogers (1944).

Witzel describes and elaborates on his approach by the terms of *problem-orientation*, *object-orientation*, and *process-orientation*. By the first term, he refers to the general aim and action theory of the problem-centered interview. The method assumes an individual actor who makes sense of the objective conditions in which he or she lives by means of cognition, learning, and interpretation. Thus, the societal context of education, occupation, labor-market, gender, class, or regional specifics may pose objective problems to the extent that they cannot be altered by individual actors (Witzel 2000: paragraph 4).

The second term (content-orientation of the PCI) encourages the researcher to extend the mere interview setting by any other technique that appears to be important at a specific moment of the study. Thus, initial group-discussions or non-standardized pre-tests (as we performed, see below in section "interview guideline") are encouraged as well as the linkage with quantitative questionnaire data. Here, the PCI shows a particular methodical openness and width which is not a matter of course for every qualitative method.

By the latter term process-orientation, the PCI elaborates on its interplay of deductive and inductive elements. The deductive elements of the method are given by the strong focus on pre-knowledge of the interviewer and on the extensive work that it recommends on the interview guideline and on the exploratory strategies. Witzel points out to make considerable efforts to reveal the interviewer's hypotheses and pre-interpretations.[67] In the inductive parts of the PCI, one finds the strong focus on the conversational flow of the interview. New, unexpected, contradictory, or redundant information within an interview is welcome and serves for a potential adjustment of the interview guideline and the researcher's hypotheses on the question. Throughout the whole interview setting, the respondent is considered to be the expert, the reporter, the decision-bearer of his situation and the interviewer is asked to follow him or her as closely as possible. This is why Mey calls the PCI a truly "discursive dialogic method" (Mey, 1999: 145).

From a more technical viewpoint, Witzel recommends the use of four different tools for an interview: a short questionnaire which contains questions on the most important social-demographic data of the subject and which is typically administered right before or after the interview; the tape-recording of the interview including a subsequent transcription; a detailed interview guideline that structures the interviewer's pre-knowledge and hypotheses on the topic; and the composition of a post-script right after the interview in which the interviewer takes notes on particularities or additional information of the respective interview as well as ad-hoc ideas and interpretations for an adjustment of the interview guideline or the later analysis.

A particular strength of Witzel's technique lies in the elaboration of communicative strategies and types of questions for the interviews. Witzel differentiates (his technical terms in italics) *strategies that generate story-telling* from *strategies that generate understanding*. For the first type he elaborates in more detail on the specifities and the application of *prepared introductory questions*, of *general explorations*, and *ad-hoc questions*. Whilst the first type of question is supposed to facilitate the story-telling, the second yields an isolated deepening of specific parts of the topic. The latter type shifts the interview toward issues that were neglected by the interviewee.

For the second cluster of *strategies that generate understanding* this approach exemplifies the following, so-called *specific exploration techniques* (as opposed to the *general* ones from the former paragraph): *strategies of mirroring* of the interviewee's responses encourage self-reflection and a validation of the communication; general *questions of understanding* aim at an elaboration of

67 Basically, these issues are worth mentioning because they differ from many other qualitative strategies (like, for instance, Glaser, 1992).

things that both the interviewer and the interviewee might take for granted without exposing them to each other; and, finally, *strategies of confrontation* deal with contradictions and inconsistencies and should yield (if applied cautiously) further details and reflections as a response. The following concluding quotation illustrated the fact that Witzel's approach is targeted at a demanding interview situation.

> "The assigning of single aspects of the stories to previous patterns of interpretation of meaning which the interviewer brought into the discussion (deduction) is supplemented by the search for new patterns of interpretation for which the preceding patterns do not offer an explanation of single phenomena expounded upon by the interviewee (induction). Concretely, the interviewer promotes narration through queries which generate story-telling and waits until individual statements fit into a pattern. Inversely, new patterns of understanding can develop with the different questioning techniques for generating understanding or former patterns can be corrected through later details or controlling by the interviewee. This complex conversation strategy (the usage of previous knowledge to develop questions, without obscuring the original view of the respondent) is a highly demanding task of the interviewer. The researcher would therefore do best to conduct the interviews him- or herself and not to hand over the task to an assistant or survey institute." (Witzel, 2000: paragraph 19)

In what follows, we will show how we prepared the interviews, which interview guideline we developed, and which preliminary thoughts we made regarding the content of *general* and *specific explorations.*

6.1.1 The interview guideline

We divided our guideline into 13 parts, each of them standing for a separate group of themes. We present these themes here in full detail (sections a. to m.) in order to give a full account of our interview setting. The parentheses we add to some of the themes allow us to present further details of our strategies, presuppositions, expectations, and experiences. The concrete order of these groups was deliberately flexible according to the responses of the interviewee (that is, we did not interrupt at any time to force respondents back into the "bureaucracy" of the guideline but used it rather to remind ourselves of the next theme to move on to). Furthermore, this guideline is nothing more than the basic framework of the interview. More details will then be given in the section "explorations".

(a) Introduction, general situation of respondents, and recent developments

"What is your profession? Are you currently employed? What happened in your job during the last years? What are your future career plans? How do you feel about your employment situation? Are you optimistic? Skeptical? Pessimistic?" *(Here, no in-depth probing took place)*

(b) Current partnership

"Do you currently have a girlfriend/wife?" (*If no: when did you have your last steady relationship? The consecutive questions are then adjusted to fit to the last relationship*) "How long have you been going steady with your partner? Do you cohabit?" (*If yes: since when?)* "Educational and professional career of partner? Is "having kids" currently a topic of conversation between you and your partner?" (*This introductory "opening of the field" is kept quite general. Few additional lines of exploration are used, so the interviewee is encouraged to talk according to his own style and taste. This was also the space to allow for "normal" and arguably prepared answers from the respondent*)

(c) Free fantasies of "becoming a parent" [68]

(This group of questions changes the style of probing from (b), abruptly toward a concrete situation and a concrete thought. Most interviewees reacted with amusement at the proposed image and were motivated to report frankly about their thoughts. At this bloc the techniques of exploration were administered explicitly) "Well, I guess my plan for the next question fits quite well into your case. I wanted to ask a what-would-be question: just imagine that tomorrow your partner would tell you that she is pregnant by you." *(For men without partners: reference to the last partner, see above)* "How would you react to this? What would come to your mind first?"

(d) Free fantasies of "being a parent"

(Exploratory strategies similar to part (c)) "Imagine that you are a father. How would your life be changed by this?" *(Extensive explorations)*

(e) General opinions, convictions, or experiences regarding parenthood and family formation

"After we have talked now about what fatherhood would mean for you, could you also tell me about the way you think about it in general. Which pre-conditions would you set before you aspire to or decide to refrain from parenthood?" *(Extensive explorations)* "Did you ever deal or have to deal with this question with your current or a former partner? What was the agreement or the disagreement on this question like?" *(If experience existed: extensive explorations)*

(f) Biographical development of the desire for children

"Now, the next question may require that you tell a longer story. If you look back at the course of your life, so far, there may have been periods when you thought more intensively about a child of your own or periods when this question did not play any role at all,—regardless of whether you had a partner or not. If you try to remember now the time you first thought about having children of your own, could you tell me when that was and how it continued from then on?" *(Here, the interviewer did only assisted in maintaining the course of the story but did not interrupt with explorations. After the obvious end of the biographical story explorations were applied)*

(g) Perception of the unification process ('Wende') and the post-unification time

"If you think more explicitly of the time of the *Wende* now: how did all this change your life, in particular, your family life. As you know, in the GDR people used to have children in their early twenties. That is, if the GDR still existed you would probably have your own children already, wouldn't you?" *(Pause. If the respondent does not start to tell his own view, the interviewer continued)* "So, why has this changed so much? In which respect has that changed your life plans? How does all this relate with your attitude toward having a family of your own?" (*Here, the personal biography is intentionally contrasted with the "grand history" of the Wende*).

(h) Current or anticipated partnership development

(This resumes the questioning about the partnership as long as they have not been addressed by the respondent before—and only as much as they apply) "Do you have any idea when the topic 'family formation' will become a really serious topic for you? Will it be you or rather your partner who will address it in a more straightforward way? Would you anticipate any conflict or rather

68 The term "free fantasies" was borrowed from Oettingen (1999). It has been shown that fantasies about one's future are crucial to understanding people's goal setting as well as anticipatory thoughts and emotions (Oettingen, ibid., 2001, Lowenstein et al., 2001, Mellers & McGraw, 2001, Schwarz & Bohner, 1996). For the case of the transition to parenthood, these results have been confirmed by Pancer et al. (2000) and Kühn (2001).

unanimous planning? How strictly do you currently practice contraception? Could an unintended pregnancy occur? What would you do in such case?"

(i) Self and other's perception of gender

"What does all this have to do with you being a male? Or, put differently, if I now asked your partner about what she desired from a man with whom she would like to have children and start a family, what would she answer me? Are there other persons with such explicit expectations of you?" *(Here, a circular question technique is used in order to encourage a shift in perspective which enables the respondent to relativize or amplify their own position).*

(j) Gender aspect II: perception of women's desires

(These questions apply if the interviewee expressed a desire for children. If not, questions were adjusted). "Did you experience periods in your life in which you were skeptical of whether you would ever realize your desire for children? How do you perceive desires of women in this question? Do women you know or have known aspire less to parenthood than they did in former times, in GDR-times, for instance? How did/ will you respond to a woman who excludes parenthood for herself entirely?" *(These questions were asked in a particularly flexible way in accordance with the respondent's answers to former questions. The aim of this section was to uncover something like the general perception (if it existed) on gender relations: how do men act towards women if it comes to the 'family business'. We wanted to explore also possible negative feelings or experienced dependencies).* "Is all this just your own opinion or do you know friends or relatives that share a similar view on this?" *(Accounts for hypothesis of men's 'isolation' in this question).*

(k) Practical and non-material support for fatherhood

"Is there another person that would become very relevant to you if you become a father? From whom would you expect practical and non-material support? Do you have a role model for 'being a father'? What kind of a father is/was your own father?"

(l) Childlessness

"Now a last 'what-would-be'-question: imagine you will not have any children in the future. How would it be for you to stay childless?" *(When the interviewee referred to questions of adoption or social fatherhood, the interviewer also addressed total childlessness).*

(m) Summing things up: the bottom line

"We now have talked about fatherhood and the desire for children form many different perspectives. When you now stop and think about all these things, could you give a summarizing picture, a summarizing description of your personal attitude toward becoming a father?" *(To finish the interview in this way proved to be crucial since it allowed the respondent to outline the gist of the story and to give a final weighing in on what he said.)*

6.1.2 General and specific explorations

The preparations of the exploratory questions followed much along the lines of the general semantic paradigm (see, for instance, Schulze, 1995; he also calls it 'social semiotics'). This is based on the notion that every socially relevant part of culture is structured by propositions which can be ordered around central cultural concepts. In our case, "fatherhood" or "parenthood" is such a cultural concept. Such linked propositions entail objects of perception and imagination to which a person addresses specific meanings (like, for instance, persons, actions, situations, and events, cf. Townsend, 2002). From theory (cf. Flick 1995b), from empirical literature, and from our own

results of a small pre-study that we conducted in fall 2000 with eight volunteers, we constructed a "semantic space" (Schulze, 1995: 94) which encompassed the linked propositions that we considered to be relevant for our questions. We summarized these notions into a chart that assisted us in the applications of specific and general explorations during the course of the interview. This chart is displayed in Appendix 6.

This paragraph basically concludes our exposition of the research method. We, however still refer to one additional side step that was undertaken, before we proceed to our sampling strategy: namely, the application of Visual Analogue Scales.

6.1.3 Visual Analogue Scales

As an additional methodical jigsaw piece, we included in our brief socio-demographic questionnaire (see above) six questions which our interviewees were asked to respond to on a scale known as the Visual Analogue Scale (VAS). We added these scales to our interview study in order to get hold of a (simple) numerical answer to some of the questions we asked in the interviews. The interesting point will be in our subsequent analysis to examine (i) in how far *numerical answers* contradict or support our qualitative interpretations and (ii) whether we can give some evidence on the general usefulness and adequacy of such simple measurements.

The questions we asked by means of these scales addressed the following topics: current level of the desire for a child; the perceived probability of becoming a father during two different periods of time; the perceived relevance of family planning; a judgment on the distribution of the decision power between the partners; and the relevance of the "children topic" in general.

What makes these VA scales different from usually applied "forced choice" Likert scales with, typically, three to seven fixed answer categories, is that they enable us to capture vague answer tendencies which are based on emotions. Unlike many other scales they do not provide fixed answer categories, but instead consist of a single continuous horizontal line of about 10 centimeters. Both endings of this line are marked by simple answers to the question (like yes/no; high/low, etc.) and the subject has to place his or her subjective rating as a mark at some place on this line. One can argue that this procedure is a valid measure of an impression or a perception because subjects do not have to ponder on verbal differences of categories (like, for instance, between a "low" and a "moderate" desire), but just gives his or her more "emotional" inclination to one or the other end of the line.[69]

However, the question of reliability and validity of VA scales for the general measurement of desires and attitudes has not been addressed conclusively thus far. This is why we use the possible convergence or divergence of VAS-results and interview interpretations rather as a supplementary evidence instead of putting it into the center of our analysis. In any case, these scales provide an additional opportunity to validate our own judgments and to generate quantitative data in order to display simple descriptive data between groups of participants. The applied questionnaire including the VA-scales is displayed in Appendix 7.

69 The VAS are frequently used in psycho-physiological research. Here, some prominent authors even cast doubt on the general applicability of categorical "forced choice" scales (for an overview Mackay, 1980). They argue that a Likert-scale, for instance, cuts a "continuous" phenomenon into artificial categories and, moreover, that the applied verbal markers fail to exactly describe differences in people's perceptions (Bond and Lader, 1974, McCormack et al., 1988).

6.2 Sample: 30-Year-Old Childless Men from the Rostock Longitudinal Study

We conducted 20 interviews (due to one technical problem only 19 were transcribed) with male participants of the Rostock Longitudinal Study (cf. Chapter 5.1). We had sent letters to about 80 men of the study, in which we asked for a personal interview on "family and children-issues" outside of the "normal" rhythm of the study. About 25 men responded which is a satisfactory response rate of 31 percent. For organizational reasons we had to limit our interviews to the named 20 subjects that we describe in more detail. To each of the interviewees, we paid an expense allowance of 25 Euro. The interviews lasted between 70 and 150 minutes each. All interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed by a professional secretary and are available in written format. Analysis was aided by a software package for qualitative social research (ATLAS/ti).

As already mentioned in Chapter 4, the sub-group of the childless men makes up our true target sample as we want to understand the formation of men's desire for children *independent of* prior experiences with the transition. This is also a clear recommendation given by Marsiglio and colleagues (2000: 133ff.) for an empirical portrayal of the process of "fathering visions" as they term it. The number of childless men in the sample comes to 14 individuals. Still, we deemed it relevant to talk also with fathers in order to get inspiration of and insight into the field for the construction of our final interview guideline. Moreover, we gained an impression of the extent to which fathers themselves view their current desire for another child as being influenced by their current experience with fatherhood. We will talk in more detail on this in the results section.

In the end, we included a selection of 12 out of 14 interviews with childless men into the in-depth analysis. One (highly interesting) interview was conducted with a respondent who had lived in his most recent relationship together with another man. He declined to raise a child together with another man for moral reasons. Another interview conducted with an artist from Rostock, who uncovered an "explosive" affair with a married woman, was only pencil-documented. We decided to exclude this interview from the analysis because it was not his own children that played any role in this story.

In summary we want to record that a haphazard sample of twelve interviews with childless men comprises the target sample of our study. Men who already fathered a child and, thus, would draw on different experiences, only serve as a contrast for our main findings. In what follows we will elaborate on the characteristics of our study in more detail.

6.2.1 Age, union status, education, residence

As it can be expected from a cohort longitudinal study, our group was homogenous in age with an average of 30.9 years. Seven interviewees said that they do not have a steady partnership at present whilst twelve said they do—including all of the participating fathers. Moreover, four respondents were married—again three out of them from the fathers group. All of the men who had a current partner also cohabited, that is we did not find a LAT-couple ("Living Apart Together"). Concerning the level of education and current occupation we found a clear predominance of the combination of full time employment with a skilled worker's degree, but there were also some unemployed people and those still in education. Thirteen men lived in Rostock, one in East Berlin, and five in West Germany. The basic descriptive data of our subjects is displayed in Table 28.

Table 28. Basic descriptive data of our interview sample

Variable	Mean / *of childless men*	Number *of fathers*
Interviewees	14	5
Age	30.86	30.94
Education		
Skilled worker	10	3
Business training	1	1
(Some) College	3	1
Current employment		
Full time employed	7	5
Self employed	2	0
In school	1	0
Unemployed	4	0
Relationship status		
Partner, married	1	3
Partner, cohabiting	6	2
No partner	7	0

6.2.2 Additional information on our sample taken from the survey

By means of the available longitudinal data of our subjects, we are capable of giving a more detailed insight into characteristics of our interview sample. For this purpose, we draw upon data from the last full wave of the longitudinal study at the subjects' age of 25 years (1995/1996) in order to compare our target sample (childless men) to the whole male portion of the study population. We want to examine whether there are signs of possible peculiarities of our interview respondents. We ask ourselves questions like, for instance: do we have particularly educated and intelligent interviewees in our group? Or are they exceptionally neurotic? Or especially depressive? Are they typical "outsiders", who potentially bear only poor resources? Or, do we happen to have a sample of men who are average in many respects when compared to the rest of the ROLS? For these comparisons, we apply measures of the general social background and resources as well as information on personality and self-concepts of our subjects[70]. In the next section, we display results of statistical comparisons of means between both groups (childless interviewees versus the entire male population of the ROLS)[71].

Social background and resources

Data from the last wave of the ROLS do not confirm any differences in the interview sample compared to the full sample of men regarding their time of leaving the parental home, their work status (Kleining-Moore index[72]) or their number of siblings, friends, and acquaintances. The functional level of the interviewees' social relations with peers and with their family of origin as well as their ability to cope with stress and daily hassles equals that of the other participants of the study. The only significant difference is that of the functional level in their partnership which is significantly below average. This indicates that our interviewees lived –more often than the average

70 Most of the scales that account for this comparison are used and thoroughly described in Chapter 5.2.

71 These results are mainly p-values of variance adjusted t-tests. In case of ordinal data format, we apply the Mann-Whitney U-test. For categorical data, we apply a Chi-Square test. The numerical results are given in **Appendix 8**.

72 This index, which is named after G. Kleining and H. Moore, ranks people according to a status and prestige value which is determined by their current occupation (that is, independent of real income or educational attainment). The index varies from 1 (high) to 5 (low) (cf. Herz & Wieken-Mayser, 1979: 79). In our sample we found values from 2 to 5 with an average value of 3.74.

participant of the study– as a single without a steady relationship six years ago. This even holds in spite of the fact that they did *not* attach a higher value to the work sphere than to a relationship, as data about their attitudes toward work in general reveal. Also, the answers to the questions whether they had ever had a partner were not negated significantly more frequently than average.

Personality, self-concept, and self-esteem

Our interviewees appear in the domain of intelligence as well as in most of their personality traits considerably equal to the rest of the study participants (in well-being, self-concept, and general feeling of competence). Despite this, they report a significantly reduced feeling of social and job success, a reduced action control, a lower capacity for love, and a lower optimism. This holds although they rate themselves as equally attractive, equally strongly socially supported, and equally satisfied with many life domains in general. Thus, the only evidence of a potential reason for the reduction in the first field (which is admittedly numerically small) which is given is the lower rate of perceived support by a partner. This is, again, a hint toward an involuntary bachelor life that the interviewees experienced disproportionately six years ago.

A side finding of interest is that the interviewees did not perceive their relationships to their own fathers significantly differently compared to the average perception of participants. This holds for the psychologically relevant fields of emotional closeness and support that they experience from their fathers. Also for peers instead of parents we do not find significant differences for our target group.

Summary

We can start from the finding that our interviewees are average participants of the ROLS with regard to intelligence, personality, self-concept, occupation, social status, and most qualities of the family of origin. They differ somewhat from the mean by a stronger feeling of social and job failure and in stronger negative experiences in the partnership domain. In the latter respects we can expect to find more strain or distress in our respondents. To sum up we can conclude that there is evidence for a slightly higher distress in the fields of partnerships and career for our childless interviewees.

6.3 Analysis and Results: Taking the Round Trip from General Observations to Specifics—and Back

For the retrieval and the presentation of results, both of which are processes that are traditionally hampered by the wealth of data in qualitative research, we have added some modifications to the proposals by Witzel. Witzel, who classified his own approach as belonging to the broad class of Grounded Theory approaches (Witzel, 2000: 3, Glaser & Strauss, 1967), gives in his recent publication some preference to a typological program—especially when there is a large number of cases. However, he also states that “there are various methods of analysis depending on the research interests and topics of reference” (Witzel, 2000: 20). In the end, we apply a quasi-cyclical movement from general observations to precision work in the concrete analysis before returning to abstraction, much like the proposed steps in one of Strauss' most recent works (Strauss & Corbin, 1998)

To outline what follows, we start with a classifying view on our interviews according to selected morphological differences in their stories (6.3.1). After that, we achieve a considerable intensification of the analysis by applying psychological concepts and by progressing along different coding stages (6.3.2). In the end, we bridge the gap to social psychological theories of life and action goals which allow us to integrate our findings on a general level (6.3.3).

6.3.1 General observations: A first exploration of the interviews

The first step of our analysis consists in the construction of single case descriptions for each of the interviews. These descriptions depict the "internal logic" of the single case and record it for the consecutive analyses. They form a fixed point from which we begin the detailed steps and to which we return in some cases in order to check the appropriateness and plausibility of new findings. These descriptions, as well as the list of criteria which we used for their construction, are given in Appendix 9. From there, we start off by proposing two heuristic typologies of our cases in order to develop the analysis.

6.3.1.1 Heuristic typology of the desire for children

As a first approximation to our interviews, we construct a typological morphology of men's reported desire for their own children. We understand the following picture as a heuristic phenomenology:

- We identify three interviews in which the respondents report a strong and unconditional desire for children combined with a high and internalized intention for fatherhood. These interviewees regard this goal as clearly embedded in their own biographies and in their personal development (we call this the *internal development typus*; Mr. A., D., and F.).

- We identify three interviews in which the respondents also report a strong and unconditional desire for children with a highly internalized intention for fatherhood. However, in this group the goal is not considered to be linked to their own biography or development but rather to the idea of social normalcy, obligation, and necessity (we call this the *internal norm typus*; Mr. B., G., and Q.).

- We identify three interviews in which the respondents clearly focus on narratives about their partnerships, namely on their current or former experiences in intimate relationships, on their feeling within the current or former partnerships, and on the desires of their partners. Should the occasion arise, children are accepted by these men but they are only attributed to and desired within a functioning and satisfying partnership context (we call this the *partnership typus*; Mr. C., L., and P.).

- We identify two interviews with men who are, as they say, very distant from the topic of having their "own children". They report that they have never given any thought to this topic. In their expectations they foresee that the topic will somehow simply arise—or not (we call this the *indifferent typus*; Mr. H. and I.).

- We identify one interview with a man who actively and consciously constructs his life without children and fatherhood. Although he expressly loves and enjoys children, he excludes this option from his own life (we call this the *non-familistic typus*; Mr. R.).

When we summarize these case descriptions, it appears justified to talk about a fully developed and real (in its consequences) desire for children in case of the first type (*internal development typus*). These men regard themselves as active builders of their life course and immediately locate their personal desire for children in this general perspective. A particular aspect of this type is the vehemently negative attitude toward remaining childless.

This vehemence is to some extent even surpassed by men from the *internal norm typus*. The idea of not having their own children at some point raises associations with being "pathological" (Mr. B.), remaining something like "bio-trash" (Mr. G.), or of mere "panic" (Mr. Q.). Nevertheless, these men do not perceive their desire for children as anything self-made, as a result of a personal choice that was made or acquired during the course of their life. Instead, their parents, the desire to just be "normal", or even "biology" are reported as "knocking at the door" of their life and pointing out this important transition which they have to take. There is comparatively high "pressure" audible

from time to time in these interviews, which is reacted to rather passively by these men. Thus, the two *internal* types are similar in ways yet strikingly different in others.

The picture that the *partnership typus* gives concerning his desire for children looks entirely different from the latter two types. Here, the quality and development of their intimate relationship is strongly reflected upon. Men of this type emphasize that a good relationship with their girlfriend or wife is the one essential thing for a good life—and this is independent of forming a family or not, as they say. A potential parenthood is always and only derived from a good and stable relationship. If there is no cautious desire for a child, these men mention at least an existing readiness to be happy about a child, to arrange things for a child, to cope with the situation. In case of doubt, however, they would always expect their girlfriends or wives to have the greater desire for a child than they would. Any urgency in this desire for children would be strange to this type, though, and even childlessness would be tolerated. In our opinion, it is not justified to talk about a desire for children in the full (that is, unconditional) sense, although the probability of experiencing this transition may even be the highest for men from this type, given the high aspiration of their partners. We will return to this question later in this chapter.

There are only a few things to say about children for members of the *indifferent typus*. They clearly deny the presence of any desire for children although they like to point out that they "do not have anything against children in general". Rather, they have never given any serious consideration to this question so far, as they say. They report neither pushing forward any development in this field nor placing an "obstacle to progress" in it. They are just "the guys who wait and see what life brings".

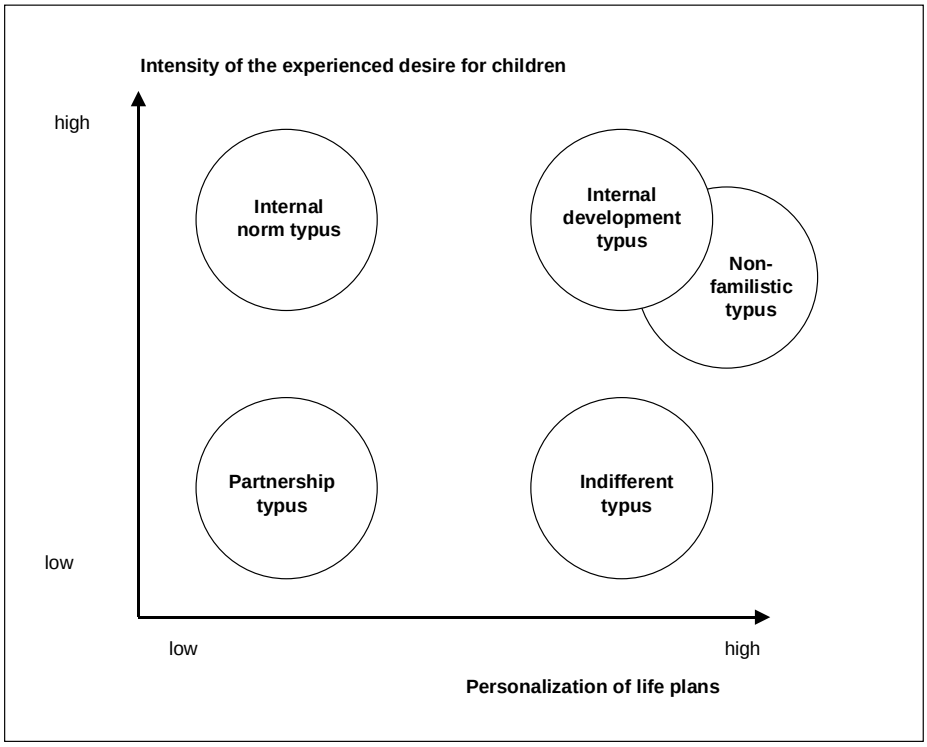
And, finally, the *non-familistic typus* has already given considerable thought to the question of having their own children. However, the decision was clearly made against this option. We find extensive reports about a strongly individualized lifestyle with priorities that are not conducive to family formation. For this type, remaining childless appears to be an accepted fact of life.

6.3.1.2 Heuristic dimensions underlying the typology

After this first phenotypic view on the interviews, we want to push forward the heuristic understanding of our interviews by asking what exactly makes up the difference between these types of desire for children. It appears feasible to us to order the five described types along two preliminary dimensions. For this purpose, we construct a first unipolar dimension "intensity of the experienced desire for children" ranging from "low" to "high", to capture how immediate, unconditional, and acute the desire is perceived by the interviewees. A second unipolar dimension entails a "personalization of life-plans", again ranging from "low" to "high", to describe to what extent the interviewee sees himself as an intentional actor in the family and other fields.

As Figure 24 shows, it is relatively easy to place the first four of our groups on different places of our (again heuristic and preliminary) two-dimensional chart. It appears that these two aspects represent very well the underlying criteria that guided us, by part, in the construction of typology. More interestingly, even, this procedure reveals to us that there are only small differences between the *internal development typus* and the *non-familistic typus*. This is comprehensible, though, considering that it is "simply" the direction of their desire (not the strength or personalization) that accounts for a difference.

Figure 24. Heuristic dimensions of the types of desire for children



6.3.1.3 The biographical development of the desire for children

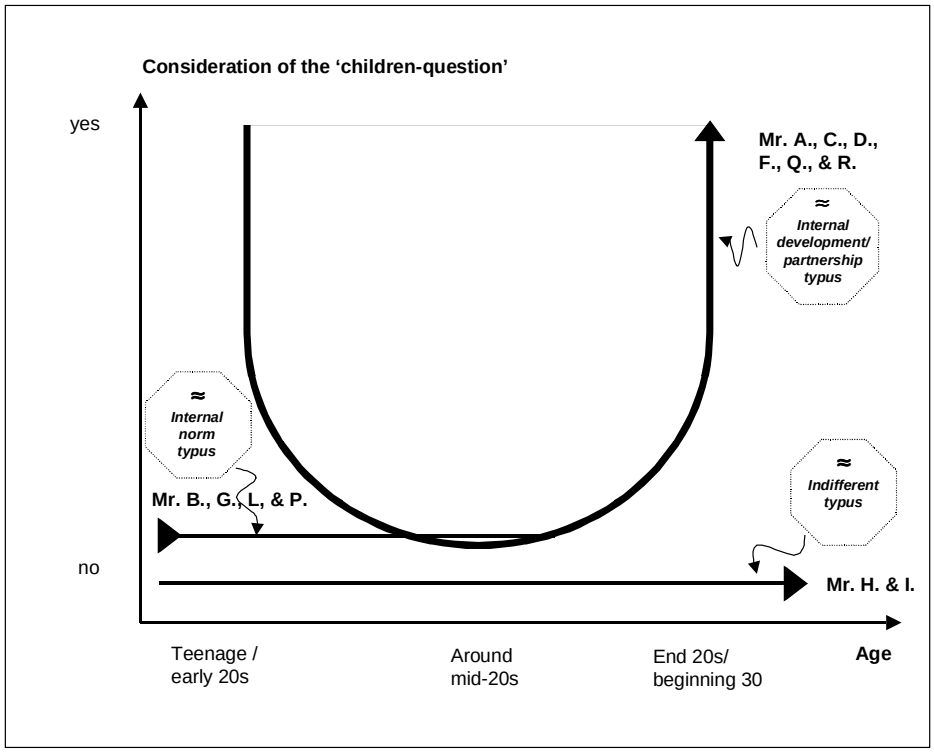
In a second general typology, we compare the way in which the interviewees talk about the "history" of the topic of having their own children in their life course, that is, about the genesis of that desire. We attain a "biography of dealing with the 'children-question'" which reveals three different periods in the life course.

Many of the respondents give accounts of early consideration of fatherhood, namely between the ages of 14 (!) and 23. This first period is determined by different causes: the birth of a niece, the unplanned pregnancy of a girlfriend, questions of contraceptive practice, or, even, a "wonderful love relationship" into which a child "just would have fit".

Following that stage, most of the men report about a period in which different topics came to the focus of attention, and a consideration of aspiring to parenthood did not cross their mind, at all. With some fluctuation, this period lasted at least a few years starting in the early 20s. After that, these considerations seem to "re-appear" again at the end of the 20s. We observe the full cycle for six of our twelve respondents of the target group (Mr. A., C., D., F., Q., and R.). Some variation is observable, however: in some cases, men only begin with such considerations at the end of their 20s and the first "early period" is missing (Mr. B., G., L., and P.). In two other cases, men report that there has never been a period in their life so far when they thought about parenthood (Mr. H. and I.).

Again, we display these findings regarding a "biography of dealing with the 'children-question'" in another heuristic chart (Figure 25). We also suggest a distribution of the types from above to the biographical sequences. This again serves as a first and preliminary orientation. We will come back to this at later stages of the study.

Figure 25. The "biography" of considering the 'children-question'



6.3.1.4 Results of the applied Visual Analogue Scales

In order to finalize our initial overview on the interviews, we now present the findings of the comparisons made by means of the Visual Analogue Scales (cf. Chapter 6.1.3). They serve, in particular, to give another general comparison of our childless target group with the group of fathers. Results are shown in Table 29.

Even this simplistic exploration reveals a couple of interesting insights. First of all, it is obvious that the childless subjects report a higher desire for children than the fathers ($p<.1$) [73], whilst they do not perceive a higher probability of a transition in the near future ($p>.1$), they envision a clearly higher one in the distant future ($p<.2$). In both groups, however, there is a surprising disregard for the necessity of planning children. For the fathers, this *laissez-faire* style regarding contraception is even more pronounced than for the childless ($p<.1$)[74].

The remaining two scales do not contribute much insight. Both groups perceive the "final say" of the decision-making for or against children as *equally distributed* between the partners ($p>.1$), whilst the relevance of the "children-topic" is rated as unanimously high ($p>.1$).

73 For an orientation, we report the p-values of a two-sided t-test without the assumption of homogeneity in variance.
74 At any rate, three out of five children were not planned!

Table 29. Results of the VAS for the two groups of childless men and fathers

VAS	Verbal markers of the scale [0 .. 8.9]	Mean of target group child-less men	Range of the answers [minimum .. maximum]	Mean of the group of fathers	Range of the answers [minimum .. maximum]
1) How strong is your desire for a(nother) child?	[not at all .. strongly]	4.92	[0 .. 8.90]	2.41	[0.25 .. 4.45]
2) How probable do you consider a(nother) fatherhood to be for you in the near future?	[not probable .. very probable]	2.89	[0 .. 8.55]	1.21	[0 .. 3.05]
3) How probable do you consider a(nother) fatherhood to be for you in the distant future?	[not probable .. very probable]	6.42	[0 .. 8.90]	3.99	[0 .. 8.90]
4) Would it also be fine if a child just happened to you? Or must you plan it in any case?	[also just happen .. always planning]	2.64	[0 .. 8.35]	.77	[0 .. 3.15]
5) Who, in the end, decides whether to have a child? You or your partner?	[I myself .. partner]	4.42	[0 .. 8.60]	3.99	[0 .. 6.60]
6) Which relevance in general does the topic "children" have in your life?	[low.. high]	6.47	[1.95 .. 8.90]	7.20	[5.30 .. 8.90]

In addition, we used the VAS-values in order to display qualitative differences between the heuristic types of desire for children. Also this final step of the initial exploration needs to be regarded as an introductory overview due to the explorative character of the typological heuristic and the VA scales. As a particular problem of the following table we want to remind the reader that the groups were gained in an interpretative step from the interviews whilst the VA scales comprise a semi-standardized approach. One cannot address any statistical but only explorative criteria to this procedure. Any convergence of findings may also occur by chance (Table 30).[75]

As can be expected, the first three types (the *internal development typus*, the *internal norm typus*, and the *partnership typus*) assume the highest values, whilst the remaining two have a clear decline (the *indifferent typus* and the *non-familistic typus*). It may seem unexpected from the descriptions of the heuristic type, though, that the ratings of the *partnership-typus* also have such a high level. However, these men are also the ones with the highest ratings for the probability of a realization of the transition in the near future. We can explain this finding by the observation that men from this group strongly share the idea of a joint desire for children *together* with the (potential[76]) partner. But still, they gave much higher ranks on the scale than their actual interviews made us expect. We summarize this finding by the metaphoric idea that men from the *partnership typus* may move along in the safe wake of their (potential) partner's family affairs. They may feel like steering toward a safe family haven with their partners (which is represented by the high ratings in the first

75 For this reason, we also refrain from testing for statistical significance.
76 One out of the three members even did not have a steady partner at the time of the interview.

two VA-scales) *without* necessarily being very verbal in or strongly propelled by the desire for their own children.

For the two *internal* types this picture does not hold in the same way. They report being more strongly driven by their desire in general, but foresee its realization in a more distant future, as exemplified in their high values in the third scale (although two out of six members of these groups lived in a steady partnership at the time of the interview). However, the scale of "distant realization" is generally marked rather high, also by the *partnership* and the *indifferent typus*. This means that a full exclusion of the option "children" is only characteristic of the *non-familistic typus.*

A final interesting side observation is that the *internal* types set the greatest stock on family planning. For the other types, this standard is even lower than the generally low level of substantive planning for the whole sample.

Table 30. Mean values of the VAS by heuristic group[77] (n.a.=non applicable (due to too few cases)

Typus	Desire for a(nother) child	Probability of a(nother) transition in near future	Probability of a(nother) transition in distant future	Relevance of planning children
Internal development typus				
M	6.67	2.32	8.19	3.05
N	3	3	3	3
SD	1.69	2.10	1.20	4.59
Internal norm typus				
M	5.02	3.20	7.55	4.70
N	3	3	3	3
SD	3.63	2.79	2.34	.43
Partnership typus				
M	6.33	5.89	5.92	2.47
N	3	3	3	3
SD	1.67	3.16	2.55	2.11
Indifferent typus				
M	2.48	.25	6.03	.40
N	2	2	2	2
SD	2.79	.35	2.23	.57
Non-familistic typus				
M	0	0	0	.25
N	1	1	1	1
SD	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.

6.3.1.5 Summary and discussion of the exploratory analysis

In order to give initial answers to the questions put forth in Chapter 4.2, we bring the findings of the case descriptions and the subsequent qualitative heuristics together as follows.

In the target sample of childless men, we find a largely positive attitude toward children, in general, and toward having one's own children, in particular. This corresponds to the well-known finding of a fundamental pro-family attitude among East German men (Dölling, 2000, cf. our Chapter 3.3). It appears that this desire for children may be heuristically differentiable on two orthogonal axes which capture its intensity and its personalization. From here, we can differentiate four (or five,

77 We dropped the last two scales "decision-making" and "relevance" for brevity. No instructive differences between the groups were observed here.

respectively) types: the *internal development typus*, the *internal norm typus*, the *partnership typus*, and the *indifferent typus*. The *non-familistic typus* is a close relative of the former type—only that the quality of his desire is inverted.

If we combine these types with the different biographic periods which the interviewees reported, we find indications of further connections. Apparently, it is characteristic of the *internal norm typus* that men "discover" the idea of having their own children at an older age. That is, they have typically not taken any considerations of the topic before their late-20s. For the partnership as well as for the internal development type, we can make more plausible the described U-shape of these considerations, that is, a clear "becoming latent again" of the early dealing with the family questions and the subsequent taking up of them. To express this finding in the terminology of Menno Jacobs (1995), we do find the *latent desire for children* in the mid-20s only for the internal development and the partnership types whilst not for the other types.[78] In sum, we can replicate the differentiation of men's desire for children as suggested by Jacobs.

Furthermore, we find a strong disapproval among our interviewees for family planning that is "too exact". At the same time, men from our study approve of their partners' contraceptive practice. We have to assume that the division of responsibility regarding this topic is rather traditional in our sample. Additionally, we find that men from our sample strongly reject induced abortion as a means of family planning. Bearing in mind the high rate of unplanned births in East Germany (cf. Chapter 3.3), this finding is not too surprising.

As a characteristic of our interviews, we find another general narrative line that is observable in many cases. Irrespective of the level of their own desire, the most commonly expressed attitude is that of "being-able-to-cope-with-fatherhood" in case children should come along, through planning or not. When asked how parenthood would change things for them, our respondents typically begin to enumerate negative consequences (loss of freedom, sleepless nights, reduction of their own activities, losing friends, etc.). These points are usually mentioned well before positive consequences such as joy, pride, love, etc.. However, our respondents immediately add that they consider themselves *capable* of tackling and coping with these consequences, that is, they offer a description of personal strength to the story. Here, the comparison to the stories of fathers is instructive. Fathers more often mention their joy with the child and other positive aspects (which serve as motivation for considering a second child) at a more prominent state of the interviews. In any case, this topic clearly becomes more important in the late 20s and early 30s.

In summary, in our study childless men typically report first about the expected negative consequences of a fatherhood in order to show that they can handle them. Thus, this adds evidence to the finding by von Rosenstiel et al. (1986) that it is easy to find reasons against having children but difficult to find those reasons for having children. However, the latter part is not replicated because men also do add many expected positive consequences to their stories.

Furthermore, we put forward the hypothesis, based on evidence, that there is a clear gender stereotype which men from our study replicate. When they think of men (themselves) and children they tend to think of "burdens", "strong shoulders", "coping with the consequences" whilst their ideas concerning (potential) mothers and children read differently: "love", "closeness", and "symbiotic relationships". This is what we can term a traditional gender role perspective.

78 We present these heuristic findings concerning the typological dimensions of the desire for children in our interviews notwithstanding the methodological problems of a heuristics approach and some contra-logical overlapping of the biographic periods for the internal norm typus and the partnership typus. Given very low levels of an own desire, it resulted sometimes extremely difficult to clarify exactly whether the desire is rather attributable to normative or to partner-related sources. For instance, one can find convincing arguments also for the reverse assignment of Mr. P. and Q. to the respective other group.

Therefore, it is impossible at this stage of the analysis to answer the question for the driving forces in men's differential desire and intention-formation concerning their own families. The general observations that have been presented require a further deepening of the analysis in order to find differentially effective factors which explain why some men have a particular desire for children and others do not. We have to ask which factors are systematically linked to the former and which to the latter. Also these questions point toward the necessity of a psychological in-depth investigation of the interviews, as was theoretically demanded in Chapter 4.4.2. In the following sub-chapter, we thus expand the descriptive, heuristic, and inductive view of our interviews by a psychological analysis in a theory-driven and deductive fashion.

6.3.2 Results of the psychological in-depth analysis

In this chapter we refine our analysis by means of a step-wise coding procedure in order to address our research questions from a theoretical and deductive angle. In this procedure, we more strongly follow the methodology of Grounded Theory which we introduced above (Chapter 6.1).

6.3.2.1 The coding procedure

The crucial empirical step of a Grounded Theory analysis consists of what is known as the *coding* of interviews. Coding is the term for the analytical procedure by which the available "raw" data of the interview is molded into categories. By addressing one or more questions regarding the text, the researcher breaks it up, guts it thoroughly, and compares it with regard to similarities and differences (Strauss & Corbin, 1998: 44). Strauss & Corbin name four characteristics of this procedure. Coding a text (i) is interpretative, (ii) is not a mechanical or automated algorithm but a flexible and creative process that always searches for alternative possibilities to the once-found "truth", (iii) contains as the only continuous technique the addressing of questions to the text, and (iv) consists of separable steps which most often penetrate each other so that they can only be analytically differentiated from each other (Strauss & Corbin, 1998: 40f.). In the methodology of Grounded Theory, the preceding course of the interpretation contains three steps: open, axial, and selective coding.

Open Coding

This is the opening stage of the work on a text. It takes data, in our case: the transcribed interview, confronts it with questions, breaks it up by this, relates names to the different passages of the text, and constructs preliminary categories. We will make clear in detail how we proceed.

Firstly, we select an observation of the text, a single sentence, or a whole passage, note it down for future use, and attach to it a first and preliminary name (like, for instance, "consequences of fatherhood" or "quality of desire", etc.). The names of these quotations derive from the questions we put to the text. In our case, the open coding is guided by relatively simple but straightforward questions: when does the interviewee refer directly to his desire for children? What are his conceptions of fatherhood or of becoming a father? What are the relevant domains of his life in general and for a family formation, in particular? That is, we record each quotation in which we detect some relevance for family formation decision-making.

Following the socio-psychological individualism paradigm as introduced above (Chapter 1.4), we choose to take subjects' answers as they give them. That is, we pursue neither a linguistic, nor a

psychoanalytical, nor a conversation analytical approach in our analysis.[79] Instead, we apply a sentence-to-sentence and paragraph-to-paragraph coding of our interviews which provides us a sufficiently ample and comparable analytical basis. From this we start off with our axial coding paradigm.

Axial Coding

In this step, we push forward the analysis toward the development of a theory. We examine the quotations of the interviews which we attained in the previous open coding step, by means of different "coding axes". Here, Strauss & Corbin (ibid.) recommend probing each single quotation with regard to its explicit or implicit *conditions*, *context*, *action* and *interaction strategies*, and *consequences*. That is, they formulate an analytical paradigm (also: coding paradigm) which brings these terms into a causal linear sequence. Figure 25 displays the original paradigm by Strauss & Corbin in a draft picture.

Figure 25. The axial coding paradigm as given by Strauss & Corbin (ibid.: 99)

It is conceivable that on this level of the coding process, the analysis gains a greater systematic and theoretical character. This adds to the evolving theory "density and precision" (ibid.).

Here, we replace the original idea of Strauss & Corbin by our psychological model of intention-formation as it was exemplified in Chapter 4.3.2. Our crucial argument for this is that our own paradigm allows us, much better than the broad and general framework of Strauss & Corbin does, to apply psychological concepts and theories to the analysis. We argued in Chapter 4.3 that it is essential for our research questions to draw on concepts of dispositions of evaluation, dispositions of action, and dispositions of the self in order to reconstruct individual intention-formation from a psychological perspective. Technically speaking, we perform an axial coding procedure using our paradigm as already expounded in Figure 15 (Chapter 4.3.2). That is, we push ahead our coding process by breaking down the retrieved *open codes* according to expressed attitudes, values, motives, interests, goals, action beliefs, self-concepts, and other self-related dynamics.

Following this model, we base our analysis on the following brief definitions:

- *Attitudes*. Attitudes are defined as dispositional evaluations of objects, either real or fictitious ones. For instance, people have attitudes toward political parties, but also toward children or "being a parent".
- *Values*. Values are defined as dispositional evaluations of broad classes of concepts. Some instances of values are "equality", "honesty", or "charity".
- *Motives*. Motives are defined as dispositional evaluations of consequences of actions. Some instances of motives are "intimacy" or "power".

79 It would be possible at this stage of the coding procedure to also code any (Freudian) slip of the respondent, any pause or rapidity in his answers including its exact length, every unexpected pronunciation of a word, or every para-verbal expression like sighing, coughing, or clearing of the throat.

- *Interests*. Interests are defined as dispositional evaluations of actions. Whether you enjoy playing chess rather than football, playing with toddlers rather than helping your son or daughter in math, are examples of interests.

- *Goals*. Goals emerge at the intersection of motives, interests and abilities. They are specific "personalized" motives, in which personal skills play a crucial role.

- *Action beliefs*. Action beliefs can be regarded as dispositional expectancy styles (e.g., optimistic vs. pessimistic styles), action orientations (e.g., static vs. action orientation), or styles of attribution (e.g., internal vs. external). In this context, coping-styles can be regarded as dispositions of actions that become effective in the face of danger, stress, or demand.

- *Self-concept, self-esteem*. The self-concept is defined as the range of beliefs, descriptions, and attributes that people have about themselves. Self-esteem is the dispositional evaluation of one's own self as it is represented by the respective self-concept.

In a first step, we therefore categorize all relevant quotations from our open coding by these concepts and summed up the findings. Appendix 10 displays results for each theoretical concept in terms of an overview table for each single interviewee. This step allows us to proceed to the final procedure of the Grounded Theory approach, namely the conclusive integration of the codes toward a theoretical crystallization of the central categories of a single case and, ultimately, toward the *core categories* of the whole interview sample.

Selective Coding

Generally, selective coding means to integrate the defined categories to the largest possible extent. This step is characterized by Strauss & Corbin as the "most difficult and confusing part of the analysis" (Strauss & Corbin, ibid.: 94). Strauss & Corbin (ibid.) divide this procedure into several manageable steps:

(1) Revelation of the central theme of a single interview;

(2) Connection of the additional categories with the central theme by means of the theoretical paradigm;

(3) Connection of the categories on the level of theoretical dimensions;

(4) Validation of the relationship;

(5) Filling-up of the categories.

For this task, we refer to the analytical results from Appendix 10 and extract the *central theme* of each of these cases (1). However, we now can formulate this *central theme* in terms of the theoretical categories of the axial coding. Furthermore, the theoretical categories already provide us with theoretical answers to the questions of the density of the categories (2) and of their inner relations (3). This follows directly from the specific application of the theoretical-deductive intermediate step. Thus, we need to focus rather on questions of validity (4) and on the question of "empty categories" (5) in order to guarantee an appropriate selective coding.

Thus, we proceed as follows. First, we validate for each case our coding axes, that is, we inspect to what extent we attain reasonable re-descriptions of the single cases by using the theoretical categories. In the same step, we purposefully search for such categories which do not seem to be relevant for a single case. We try to understand *why* they are absent, why they do not appear, and how their failure to materialize is related to the entire context of the case. The results of the sub-steps a, d, and e are given in detail in Appendix 12. Let us now proceed to the integration of the most crucial findings.

For this purpose, we construct a table in order to summarize the findings of the selective coding procedure. Table 31 lists those categories of the axial coding procedure which circumscribe the essential characteristics of a *single case* concerning the explanation of the intensity and quality of the desire for children and intention-formation. Characteristic categories are marked by a "1" whilst non-characteristic categories are marked by a "0".

Table 31. Overview on the central categories of the selective coding by case

	Attitudes	Values	Motives	Interests	Social Inter-actions	Self-concept	masculi-nity	action beliefs
Mr. A.	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	1
Mr. D.	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	1
Mr. F.	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0
Mr. Q.	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	1
Mr. B.	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
Mr. G.	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	1
Mr. C.	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Mr. L.	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	1
Mr. P.	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	1
Mr. H.	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
Mr. I.	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	0
Mr. R.	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1

Explanation: 1 = central category for the case // 0 = secondary category

This step makes it possible for us to search in a relatively straightforward way for relations between the central categories of our interviews. Namely, we identify (i) the non-parametric correlations between the categories, and (ii) a non-parametric factor analysis for the categories.[80] The results of these procedures are given in Appendix 12. Both qualitative "numerical" methods converge in the result of two *core constitutive dimensions* of men's desire for children and their conceptions of fatherhood. The first one comprises *a developmental perspective on the self*. It is chiefly constituted by motives, the conceptions of the self, and notions of male identity. The second dimension is characterized by *evaluations of social objects.* Here, we summarize attitudes, values, and interests. The other two categories –action beliefs and social interactions– do not fit exactly into either of these two clusters, and will thus be discussed separately at the end. Before we present these dimensions in more detail we have to point out that the two core dimensions are by no account mutually exclusive in the explanation of a *single case*. We find both dimensions at the same time in some of the interviews.

6.3.2.2 The core dimension I: Developmental perspective on the self

The first basic cluster of our axial categories adds together and simplifies a *developmental perspective on the self.* This finding explains that we can understand men's desire for children and their intentions to start a family fundamentally by a combination of motives, self-views, and ideas of male identity.[81] These categories promote the idea that the way men perceive themselves (their current self-concept and their potential future one), the way they evaluate anticipated consequences of fatherhood (motives), and their special views on masculinity and on their male identity (present or future) are a qualitative dimension for understanding their narratives on desires for a family and fatherhood. Serving as two exemplary cases, we describe the narratives of Mr. B. and Mr. P. in the light of this dimension (in the following passages, original comments in "quotation marks").

80 This approach was inspired by recent work of Kuiken & Miall (2001).
81 This non-trivial closeness of motives and identity was also found in another study by Kraus (1996: 93f.).

Both Mr. B. and Mr. P. relate the question of starting a family of their own directly to their *self-concepts*. Mr. B. currently sees himself at a "turning point in life" which represents a clear demand for change. He has always been an active "music-fan" with "loud music and making a racket" but now he has become more "quiet and an adult character". His pondering over a family of his own are only understandable in this context.

Here, *motives* play a crucial part in understanding his desire for children and a family. He expects that with a child he would "automatically become a more responsible character". He would "smoke less" and "turn down the music more often". He would achieve a more "complete role, a 100 percent self-actualization" in society. In a family, he would find a different "source of joy in life" and would enjoy living his life in a "full family" ("I am not unhappy today, but only living alone is not right for me").

In particular, he sees that for *men* a lot changes with a family. As a father, a man's way of life would take a different shape. Whereas women "have the naturally closer relation to a child", a man would acquire a more irreproachable lifestyle and would "take responsibility to make a living for his family". In summary, these three categories (self-concept, motive, and male identity) clearly coincide for Mr. B. His *developmental perspective on the self* points clearly toward becoming the father of a family.

For Mr. P. the story is different, but we find the same congruent picture of tallying self-concept, motives, and conceptions of masculinity. Mr. P. has an ambiguous self-concept which includes many negative views on himself. He describes himself as being "in a crisis" and "pensive", but also a "withdrawn" and "home-loving" character in general. He is "not the party-type of character, at all".

Consequently, his motives for starting a family revolve around gaining more affiliation and power in life. With his own family, he anticipates maintaining more friendships and acquaintances and to be less lonely than he is now. He also expects to regain more vitality and youthfulness with a child. He regards *men* in general as disadvantaged in the "whole family business". In his opinion, women are much better prepared for taking over a *motherhood identity*, whilst men –by socialization– are anyhow "the dependent idiots" with respect to family because "they were never told how to start and be the father of a family".

To sum it up we can describe Mr. P.'s *developmental perspective on the self* as consisting in a clear notion of growth. Fatherhood means to him to develop from an unsatisfactory and poor current situation (owing to the perceived disadvantages of being male and his ambiguous self-concept) toward a better future with positive experiences in a family and a higher self-esteem and manliness (through experience).

6.3.2.3 The core dimension II: Object-centered evaluation

The second basic cluster of our axial categories adds together and finally simplifies in *evaluation of social objects*. This finding suggests that we can also understand to a fundamental extent men's desire for children and their intentions to start a family by a combination of attitudes, values, and interests. These categories represent a wide range of different evaluations that are connected to family formation and parenthood. We find judgments of real or imagined objects, of persons, of actions, of universally valid concepts of values, and so forth. The entity of these evaluations constitutes the second qualitative dimension for understanding men's narratives on desires for a family and fatherhood. Here, the interview with Mr. F. serves as an example of the interplay of these evaluations (again, original text in "quotation marks").

Mr. F. holds a particularly positive view on "family as such". He likes the idea of living together with a partner and having children with her. He particularly appreciates having a "passionate love" and he rejects the idea of living in such a relationship without children. These ideas come close to

being a value for him (that is, he likes it for *himself*, but also thinks that it *should* be relevant for everybody else). He regards "family in itself" as a valuable sphere of society that fosters a certain "considerateness" and "thoughtfulness" among people. To develop a certain "paternal maturity" is an aspect of general value in this respect.

In particular, Mr. F. expects to enjoy the practical side of the aspired transition. He likes to "deal with children", "to show and explain things to them", "to go on holidays with an entire family" and so forth. He can name many single activities that he would enjoy. To sum up, Mr. F.'s desire for parenthood is understandable via the web of different *evaluations of social objects.* He reports liking family, children, dealing with children, living and traveling as a family and, thus, also aspires to the goal of realizing these relationships. This picture can be found in a similar way in the cases of Mr. A. and Mr. D.

6.3.2.4 The "outliers": Actions beliefs and social interactions

Action beliefs turned out to be an important part of the stories men had to tell. Ultimately, this conclusion is due to the richness of given descriptions, as well as to the centrality of these passages within the whole story. We portray narratives of neutrally or negatively experienced dissociation from the "kid topic", of "unimaginability" of children (although not having any objections toward them), of ambivalence, frustration, or depression about not being able to develop or realize any clear-cut attitudes toward their own "fatherhood-question". Moreover, we find passive beliefs of "wait and see", as well as strong beliefs in a continuous step-by-step development and planning toward the fulfillment of their own desire for children. Particularly, men in steady relationships who aspire to parenthood appear to be mentally involved in processes of imagination (that is, how it would be to be a father) and of anticipation (like, for instance, how their partner would tell them about a pregnancy), whereas the other groups did not show any clear pattern in their expectancy styles.

An action belief is, in general, a personality trait with a high degree of idiosyncrasy. It is less possible to relate their level and character from other social conceptions or other ideas. Action-beliefs are important, almost indispensable, in understanding the individual case, but they are not clearly linked to either of the two dimensions. This finding is supported by the outlying position of action beliefs in our factor plot of Appendix 12. We only find one clear-cut correlation with intentions. It seems that the closer and more realistic the individual implementation of intentions is, the more positive and realistic actions and expectations prevail. It is not possible, however, to substantiate any further links.

Also the relevance of social interactions is unquestionable *for the individual case,* but they do not relate in a systematic manner to the other groups. Although they seem to be more closely related to the core dimension of *evaluations of social objects*, perhaps another findings is more interesting (cf. Appendix 12). Looking at their position in the categorical factor analysis, we see that –rather than their closeness to categories of dimension II– their opposition to the categories of dimension I is striking. We can conclude that social interactions bear relevance for those men who *do not* pursue a developmental perspective on the self with a family formation. That is, men who enumerate many aspects of interactions with others on this topic typically refrain from presenting many reflections on self, motives, or masculinity with childbearing. Social interactions and self-centered elements of their personal "desire-for-children-and-fatherhood" story appear on opposing alignments in our results.

6.4 Summary and Discussion

We applied two consecutive steps in our analytical approach to the interviews. The first of these steps (Chapter 6.3.1) was a general description of our interviews, of the available qualities of conceptions of fatherhood, and of types of men's desire for children and its development. We find some characteristic similarities in the interviews like the high level of approval of having own children and shared conceptions on fatherhood and motherhood which we interpret as rather traditionally oriented. Our male respondents clearly link notions of closeness and intimacy with the child to *motherhood*, whilst, for them, *fatherhood* is connected chiefly with provision of support and standing the burdens of parenting. We, furthermore, presented different heuristic typologies to explore more deeply the dimensions and life course development of men's desires for children.

In our second step (Chapter 6.3.2), we asked a different question. We examined in how far there are psychological factors which allow us to understand the constitution of men's desire for children and their conceptions of fatherhood from a differential perspective. For this step, the in-depth coding process yields clear evidence for the relevance of the psychological paradigm that we have founded our analysis upon. By introducing theoretical concepts to the Grounded Theory coding procedure, we attain plausible and interpretable dimensions of the qualifying considerations that constitute men's desire for children and their conceptions on fatherhood. We find that mainly two different comprehensive factors constitute men's desire for children, namely a developmental perspective on their self and their evaluation of social objects. We find that either factor can be present independently of each other in a single case.

We now want to discuss these findings and ask ourselves what these findings teach us about an adequate psychological theory of intention formation and life goals. For the time being, we can only present some speculations which emerge from our qualitative results. As we already indicated in Chapter 4.3.2, we commenced our qualitative investigation in a clearly explorative style. We made use of basic concepts of social or personality psychology as “sensitizing concepts” but did not intend to confirm or reject a particular theory (this approach can be regarded as typical for studies with a qualitative caliber, cf. Denzin & Lincoln, 2001: 8). We pursued a strategy of interpretative openness and aimed at a discovery of an adequate “grounded” theory. We found the aforementioned constitutive dimensions of men’s desire for children and fatherhood, and this makes us come back to the question of a potential connection to established psychological theories of intention formation (goal-setting) and decision-making. Here, our results directly point toward two different psychological theories of this nature.

The *Theory of Symbolic Self-Completion* describes human motivation by assuming self-defining goals. According to this theory, people strive for the attainment of goals which serve for the construction of their identity. Therefore, they also strive for specific symbols (which can be words, behavior, or physical entities) that may signal one's self-defining attainment (Gollwitzer & Wicklund, 1985). It seems that for some men, 'becoming a father' symbolizes to a great extent their self-definition.

The differences we observed between men with intentions and men without intentions with regard to their motives and self-conceptions favor this explanation. Men who attach such high (symbolic) meaning to family formation are surely more prone than others to develop family formation intentions.

Here, we find an essential difference in content with the first category. Men of this group –and these are mainly men who live in steady relationships– provide us with a smaller range of motives and self-conceptions. The *Theory of Planned Behavior* (Ajzen, 1991) may be appropriate to best explain the observed narratives. In this theory, people’s intentions are seen as a combination of attitudes, values, and the perceived social network. *Intenders* in steady relationships gave many reports of their partner's desire (of which they approved), and issues of “social normalcy of such

behavior" (becoming parents), and of external opportunity structure (e.g. enough money to raise a child). Without stressing a great personal involvement in the "family decision business", they report that they would want—somehow—to become a parent. That is, they would agree with their partner's family plans.

Finally, this discussion also explains that if neither a drive for symbolic self-completion is given nor an acceptance of the partner's intention, then no man can develop an intention to start a family. We now can also explain why men from the single group with intentions for parenthood are so much more complex and detailed in their values and motives. The reason is that they strive for personal completion. Men in relationships, however, *do* find another accepted source of self-completion: Their female partner. A lot of motives like "not being lonely" or "more happiness and vitality in life" may have already been realized by entering into a partnership.

We can conclude that it will be a necessary and worthwhile approach to apply the two dimensions of *developmental perspective* and *evaluation* in the explanation of people's desire for parenthood routinely for every case. This finding is derived from the observation that men's desire and intention-formation with regard to parenthood can evolve along these fundamentally different paths. By this, we, to some extent, stick to the already quoted and unresolved debate of social psychology on the motivation of behavior (cf. Chapter 4.2.3). Ultimately, the question has not yet been answered whether every intention to perform a (demanding) behavior *necessarily* requires a self-reference for the subject or whether personal attitudes and subjective norms are sufficient (see Sorrentino, 1996, Ajzen, 1996). Also our study cannot resolve this fundamental schism here. We can confirm, however, that it is highly instructive and relevant not to play one dimension off against the other one, but to allow for an individual "proportion in the mixture" for a given case.[82] This also explains why it is necessary to suggest two different theories for understand the intention-formation of men.

A more interesting question at this stage of elaboration is, however, whether we can substantiate any of these findings by results from the previous event-history analysis or whether we do not find any indication of compatibility. This question will be answered in Chapter 7.

82 Perhaps, the perseverance, repeated occurrence, and theoretical irreconsiliation of this opposition can be interpreted as the psychological equivalent to the fundamental types of reference of meaning-processing (cognitive) systems, namely self- and other-reference (cf. Luhmann, 1984: 57ff., 539ff., 1987).

Part D

Integration of Results and Conclusions

Chapter 7

Integration of Quantitative and Qualitative Results

The guiding question of this final section is how to best make use of both types of available results in order to foster our understanding of the *causal mechanisms* which push ahead or impede the transition to fatherhood in the specific social context of East Germany in the 1990s (see our research questions in Chapter 4.4.3). From chapters 5 and 6, three different sources of findings can be integrated for that purpose.

(1) The numerical findings of the event-history analyses of differential risk factors of first birth for men and women (see Chapter 5).

(2) The general observations from our in-depth interviews with men on the contexts, qualities, and development of their desire for children (see Chapter 6.3.1).

(3) The detailed results on the determinants and dimensions of men's desire for children from our theoretical coding procedure (see Chapter 6.3.2).

For integrating these results, we examine the quantitative findings from a qualitative stance (Chapter 7.1)—and vice versa (Chapter 7.2). Herein we apply a complementary triangulation strategy which we adopted from the work of Erzberger and Kelle (Erzberger, 1998, Kelle & Erzberger, 1999, Kelle, 2001, cf. also Jakob, 2001). The underlying philosophy of this procedure has already been explained in detail in Chapter 4.3.

Before we launch the integrating triangulation process, we recall some details of the procedure as well as some fundamental results. Our general aim is *to inquire into the same subject from different methodological angles* (per the complementary strategy, see above). We want to understand the differential *causal mechanisms* which explain the transitions to fatherhood in the challenging societal context of East Germany in the 1990s. Therefore, we have to employ knowledge from the event-history analyses of first birth events as well as from the interviews with childless men on their desire for children and conceptions on fatherhood.

Thus, to complementarily integrate these studies means to attempt to "produce a picture of the investigated phenomenon which is more complete than that which a single method could have provided" (Kelle, 2001: paragraph 16). We can regard the particular strength of the event history models in the ability to provide "[an] efficient way of forging connections and gleaning underlying patterns, which might take an age to produce when relying solely on [qualitative] methods" (Bryman, 1988: 142, cited by Erzberger, 1999: 137). By contrast, the problem-centered qualitative results can "enrich the bare bones of statistical results" (Rossman & Wilson, 1985: 636, cited by Erzberger, ibid.) and are capable of rendering insights from the people's own awareness of life. In this sense, we can consider our results as two sides of the same coin (Erzberger, ibid.: 133), namely of the *causes* of men's transition to fatherhood in East Germany in the 1990s.

Practically speaking, we subject one part of the results to the scrutiny of the respective other part. This approach may, at first glance, appear as a strategy of mutual validation. Although it is close to this, mutual validation is only an inferior aspect of what we aim at. First and foremost, we pose the question of whether we can draw more firm conclusions on the causes of the transition to fatherhood in East Germany from the triangulation.

At this point we want to mention one particularity of this procedure. It appears more difficult to apply the quantitative results to the qualitative than the converse. This becomes plausible when we

recall that qualitative data results in the producing and processing of meaning. They are – metaphorically speaking– very compact (dense) descriptions which consist of a variety of different jigsaw puzzle pieces of people's *Lebenswelt* (Hitzler, 1999a, b). By contrast, quantitative scales are reductionistic constructs, which are derived from theories (or, at least, from hypotheses) aimed at capturing a narrow well-defined domain of life only. To put it in different words: qualitative data and findings always bear an inherent surplus of meaning, whilst quantitative data and findings are characterized by a constitutive lack of meaning (as they, for instance, reduce a complex matter to a number like .05). Their reduction of reality is only subsequently inflated with meaning through the process of theoretical interpretation and discussion (quasi-belatedly).

It is therefore easy to reflect upon quantitative findings by employing the (literally) "meaning-full" qualitative data, whereas the "bare numbers" make the reverse process a difficult task. Nevertheless, we still try to do this in sub-chapter 7.2 using caution in trusting the accuracy of the interpretation figurations.

7.1 A qualitative view on the quantitative results

The differential event-history models that we calculated for the determinants of the transition to *fatherhood* and the transition to *motherhood* yielded a number of common factors for the sexes. However, more typically we found substantial differences in the covariates and the covariate patterns for men and women (cf. Chapter 5.5). We now discuss our findings solely from the viewpoint of peculiarities of the transition to fatherhood and confront them with insights from the qualitative interviews. For this, we give examples from the "original soundtrack" of our interviews. Of course, such examples will not "prove" anything in the strict sense. However, they can instigate a deeper understanding of the numerical findings and, thus, put "flesh to the bare bones of statistics" (Erzberger) on a background of empirical facts. Last, but not least, they can also answer the question of whether the factors we found to impact on family formation are thought through at the individual level and, thus, can be regarded as causal to men's subjective goal setting and desire for parenthood.

Quantitative findings on age, sex, and education

In a first finding of our quantitative chapter, we concluded that age and sex are prescriptive social markers which carry along a clear normative impact on family formation processes. This interpretation is reflected also by our interviews. The idea of a "ticking biological clock for women" is quoted by virtually every respondent and also the advantages of "young fatherhood" are a frequently given ideal by our 30-year-old (childless) respondents. These observations explain why fertility is not equally distributed over the fecund life span of a person but why it typically peaks at a certain age. We display an example for these age perceptions from an interview with Mr. C.

> "At some time it is really … I mean, I'm too late already if we wanna face it from a biological perspective. Well, of course one could also have children a hundred years later but […] that's not good for the child anymore. […] I already told myself a long, long time ago that I should hurry up with childbearing so that the child does not suffer. Because when I grew up, my mother was 18, and that's really great if you have such a young mother." (Mr. C.)[83]

In Chapter 5 we also concluded that, in particular, educated women (but also daughters of educated parents) may be the driving force behind the postponement or renunciation of childbearing in the 1990s fertility slump of East Germany. For men, a higher education appeared to be unrelated to their transition to fatherhood (see Chapter 5.5). The interviews with men from the same sample

83 All consecutive original quotations are translated by the author.

reveal an interesting interpretation of this finding. They show that the impact of female education is less related to questions of compatibility of work and family in East Germany and instead reflected in the context of changing female behavioral patterns (roles) and perceptions of life (like, for instance, their desires from life and consumption aspirations).[84] We can expect that these changes start from the educated sections of society which can afford such aspirations. A statement from Mr. B serves as an example for these perceived shifts.

> "Somehow women have all changed in recent years. […] They don't like to hear that kind of thing, but they've got only money and going out and clothes on their mind, yes, I don't know, somehow this has really changed. My mother says the same: in former times men were rather slipshod in their head, but now women are like this […] Yes, and then the career and stuff like this […] They've got a thousand things in their mind but not a family. […] They are afraid, they are afraid of something. […] They all think very differently from how they thought in former times. They really want to step the pace right up, they wanna have their own lives […] they wanna enjoy life, they wanna speed it up. They just don't wanna burden themselves with that topic." (Mr. B.)

If we assume that for East Germany the self-centered lifestyle (as opposed to a family-centered one) which Mr. B. ascribes to "women of today" spreads from women with higher income and higher education to others, this statement would easily explain the strong result of education we found. Men with a high desire for children like Mr. B. point out that they have to seek women with "simpler" lifestyles if they want to start a family—and these are arguably women with a lower education.

But what about the male side? How can we explain that no similar findings –and even slightly reversed ones– emerge for men from the quantitative data? Our qualitative study, indeed, gives ambiguous accounts of men's perceptions regarding the interdependence of their education and family formation. We find that many men do not attach too much relevance to their formal *education* as far as family formation is concerned. They rather contend that any level of *occupation* is well-suited to starting a family. That is, the dependence of family-formation on *having left education* (and being able to hold a permanent employment position), which we find in the event-history models for men, is clearly reflected in the interviews. In this case, we can assume that women tend to seek partners with good occupational prospects (that is, with a high education) for family formation. Here, we also have to consider a mate selection process which is outside the scope of our data.

Quantitative findings on the organization of the life course and of the family of origin

In another section of our quantitative study, we concluded that for men the sequence of "having one's own household first and then a family" is more imperative than for women, and we linked it to adulthood and "social maturity". In fact, the linkage between leaving the parental home as a prerequisite to parenthood and adulthood is not considered by our subjects at all. Of course, questions of household arrangements and the corresponding dwelling situation are frequently linked to childbearing, as the quotation from the interview with Mr. D. shows.

> "Well, but this [family formation] also means changing our flat. This is why we have to think about it. For now, we have a two bedroom flat and that's too small for three people. This is why we want to move and then have the child. In this order it would be good." (Mr. D.)

Our subjects, however, are 30-years old and, thus, leaving the parental home is no longer a topic. We can conclude that this quantitative finding is more strongly related to the family formation of men in their early 20s, but not to 30-year-old interviewees.

How much do men reflect what we termed the influence of "experience in their family of origin" to their desire-for-children narratives? We argued in Chapter 5 that women seem to reproduce the number of siblings they have whilst men rather act in the reverse way. Moreover, men tended to be

84 Kreyenfeld (2001: 202; her italics) comes to the supportive conclusion that "East German women were, against a widespread belief, not subject to an incompatibility of childrearing and employment".

"pulled" in their family formation by having many older siblings. This finding, which was rated only as a trend covariate for men in the quantitative chapters, cannot be substantiated by our interviews. On the contrary, our interviewees remain silent and elaborate only little concerning their brotherly or sisterly relations, in general. We find instances of men who viewed having grown up with many (older) siblings positively and negatively, so that we refrain from giving any clear statement on this finding.

Quantitative findings on intelligence and personality

In a next step, we speculated about the impact of intelligence and the potentially fertility-reducing effect that anticipated future developments could have for men with a higher intelligence. In fact, our interviews provide supportive findings for this interpretation. A prototypical instance for this relation is Mr. H. who holds the highest I.Q. in our interview sample and gives eloquent descriptions of how his considerations of future developments limit his desire for commitments and a family.

> "I actually have an education which is very much sought out. [...] Well, the perspectives are really very good. And then, I mean the more you get around, the more you learn. [...] Otherwise you would keep only very narrow horizons. [...] I also thought already about working abroad, but my girlfriend is not so keen on that so far. [...] Hem, yes, kids are a topic in a sense that they are clearly out of the question at the moment. [...] Let's put it like this: I never really spent time thinking about it. It's not that easy. So many factors are playing into that decision: private things, social matters, my career, age, et cetera. [...] Maybe I still haven't confronted myself enough but, well, it has been quite turbulent in my working life in the recent past." (Mr. H.)

This quotation shows that a wide range of otherwise feasible options in the life course (going abroad, education) are linked, for Mr. H., to the absence of any personal intention toward family formation. And this perception can clearly be independent of a formally high education (Mr. H. holds a non-academic education) but linked to the mere cognition of (and ability to cognize) future possibilities of advancement.

In the field of personality, we found that moderate levels of self-actualization and action-control have a detrimental effect on taking the transition to fatherhood. That is, low as well as high values in these traits increase transition risks for men ("effect of normalcy"). For the case of action control, we supposed that this may have to do with questions of contraception and of "taking control for his life". In the case of self-actualization we find that normally expansive men postpone rather than realize an early transition. To illustrate these findings, we display examples from the interviews once again.

For the case of action control we provide examples from interviews with a high internal controller (Mr. A.), an average internal controller (Mr. L.), and two low controllers (Mr. F. and Mr. I.) in order to illustrate the differential impacts. Mr. F. and Mr. I. clearly highlight a potential speeding effect which low action control may have on relatively early fatherhood. For both, it is perfectly fine if things "just happen".

> "Well, I do not use contraceptives on principle because, well, how is that expression, I find it unromantic to interrupt in order to apply some special protection measures. [...] I also don't ask my sexual partners before if they take the pill or something else." (Mr. F.)

> "Well, I just don't care so much about it [having a child] at all. [...] I also wouldn't exert much influence on the decision, or whatever. If my girlfriend is of the opinion that it's okay for us, or that she wants it and can do it—well, then it will be okay." (Mr. I.)

By contrast, an average ("normal") level of action control conveys very different notions for the family formation process.[85] For the "average man" we find the (socially expected) notions of planning and considerations.

85 Only the average level yielded a statistically significant result, however there was also a slight drop in the risk for high values.

> "And then the point is that one still needs a couple of cents to raise a child. So, during study times [...] this wouldn't have been good. So, a little planning is better, in this case." (Mr. L.)

From our qualitative results, it would be plausible to assume at least, a delayed impact for high levels of action control. Perhaps, strong controllers even more clearly postpone (or plan carefully) their fatherhood, but then strive for it more decidedly. This would also explain the slightly ambiguous result for high action control which we attained in the quantitative section.

> "An important condition [for fatherhood] is [...] also that one plans it, not just spontaneous, not only mere chance, but that it happens in the right order. [...] That's what I would like to work on. [...] I think the question is much too relevant that one should leave it up to chance. [...] I would like to realize it and not leave it up to chance." (Mr. A.)

With respect to self-actualization, we can substantiate the notion of normalcy also by our interviews. As example for the range of different views serve statements by Mr. D. (low self-actualization) and Mr. I. (average self-actualization). In the interview with Mr. D. it is obvious that he regards fatherhood primarily as an (objectively given) task of responsible actions which he is ready and willing to fulfill. He does not oppose any other desires or subjective actualization motives to these descriptions, at all. However, this is the case for (more strongly self-actualizing) Mr. H.

> "Well, yes, I will definitely like it to be a real family because now it's just the two of us but then I will have responsibility for someone else, a small being, that will be a lot of joy and happiness. [...] Well, I am ready to take over this responsibility, including all the consequences that it implies. That's for me basically the decisive thing to say: okay, I want to become a father and I want family." (Mr. D.)

> "But, if I want to get ahead in the business field better without a child, to give an example, and that is very important to me, well, then I have to make a decision. Then, I would also say, well, [...] that's okay then, too. [to forgo parenthood] Well, that may sound stupid, but I think I keep all options open for myself. [...] It [family formation] is not a real goal for me, yet to put it like this, I could say that a relationship without marriage and children I can also imagine for myself very well. I don't have any problem with that." (Mr. H.)

To conclude these reflections on men's personality influence, we can state that the qualitative findings, to some extent, substantiate and sharpen the interpretations we gave to the quantitative findings. For men, low self-actualization and action control increases the risk of fatherhood in their third decade of life whilst being expansive and autonomy-seeking (self-actualizing) or conscious of getting hold of one's own life (action control) decreases the risk.

Quantitative findings on desire for intimacy, fear of losing it, and personal optimism

We found strong effects for the question of men's desires and fears in life. Their reported fear of losing intimacy clearly increased their risk of parenthood, whilst their desire for intimacy decreased it. The former finding is reflected by the qualitative results. A great part of men's desire for children is linked to the fear of staying alone—particularly in old age. For this, we find statements which are among the emotionally strongest which our respondents give, so that it is justified to use these instances as supporting evidence for the given interpretation of "fear as an engine of fertility". We give three instances of men, mostly from the "high fear group", to underpin this finding.

> "Don't know, I mean I'm not anti-social or so, and that's why I just cannot imagine [remaining without children]. [...] Sure, to die as a loner, that's not it! [...] Well, I just cannot image that anybody ever says quite plainly: 'I don't wanna have anything to do with it [having children]. I wanna die at age 60 and not care what came out of it all.' Well, that must be insane people or so, but no, I really think sometimes—as I get older I've started to rack my brain over it." (Mr. B.)

> "Yes, having a purpose in life, that's important to me. [...] Well, I guess if I reach 40 and still haven't managed to live with somebody and have a family, I don't know, I think I will then place an emergency ad somewhere [...] Yes, something like: 'hey mothers, here's somebody left on the shelf ' or so." (Mr. F.)

> "I somehow think that I just don't wanna hand the childbearing business over at all to the other guys. [...] Well, I would say that in this anonymous world it's a lucky event to find a woman with whom you even want to have a child. Sometimes I have real fears for that -- real strong fears. [...] I can explain all that only in very emotional terms." (Mr. Q.)

For the contrasting result of the reduction of childbearing risks by a desire for intimate relations we select two respondents from the high desire group to illustrate the two rivaling explanations. We argued in Chapter 5.5.2.3 that men with a high desire for intimacy either may be more prone to act cautiously and responsibly in this domain, which may even mean postponing childbearing in unstable times of social change, or they may express these wishes because they tend to be most in

need for close relationships. The following quotations give support for both views. Mr. A. is a person who clearly aspires to a family and close ties, but also points toward the responsibility of planning and postponing it until the times are favorable. In contrast, Mr. P. also desires for children, but points out that there are some rather "egoistic" reasons to do so, namely in order to be less lonely and isolated.

> "Yes, I really had a planning period with my former girlfriend [for having a child]. But at this time, it was really economically impossible. We had to face a tough time of one and a half years or so that we first needed to get through. Yes, economically and also from time constraints it was impossible. [...] Yes, fundamentally I really want a child, but it needs to be born in a reasonable environment. [...] Small steps, yeah, I try to build small steps to realize it once and not to leave it to mere chance." (Mr. A.)

> "Well, I have always been too involved with my job. I had to realize that I haven't got any hobbies anymore. There is nothing left. And when I start to think of what I can do, nothing comes mind anymore 'cause I never took care of my leisure time activities. [...] And with a child, I would really maintain more contacts then. [...] Well, having a child once is really important to me. [...] That's for me the difficulty, sitting alone here at home, that's really bullshit. [...] With a child, there would be more excitement, too. [...] But for me it's really difficult to meet somebody, I am not that outgoing of a person at all. [...] Sometimes I'm afraid to be just leftover on the shelf." (Mr. P)

In sum, we can say that a desire for children may be a somewhat useful predictor for the actual transition to fatherhood because (i) it needs to be related to the current biographical and societal context in which it is expressed, and (ii) it may be an expression of –or rather be linked to– a feeling of other unsatisfied social needs that seek fulfillment. On the contrary, the fear of a loss of intimate relations and the level of negative feelings toward the idea of remaining childless or alone is a clear-cut indicator for men's desire for children and family formation.

The findings for the sex-differential quantitative impact of personal optimism can be illustrated qualitatively only in part. The trend of a decreased risk for childbearing of highly optimistic women can be easily found in men's perceptions. We touched on this topic already in the perception of a change of female life orientation and also Mr. P. mentions that,

> "Women are just too self-confident today. In former times, let's say in my parents' times, it was definitely easier [to start a family]." (Mr. P.)

However, that a potential family formation would also require a high level of self-confidence and optimism from men, cannot be substantiated by our results. Some men suppose that optimism, confidence, and stamina will result from fatherhood rather than be required by it. Mr. B. puts this notion in these terms:

> "I think parenthood brings all that with it. [...] You just work toward it then. If you have this responsibility then, you'll be on your own and make sure that you get it going. [...] You have to keep hard at it. [...] Yeah, sure, if you want to put things straight then, it'll work out for sure. You only have to want it." (Mr. B.)

Of course, this raises the interesting question of whether it is the case that women choose partners who already have these traits or not. Again, this question of mate selection is beyond the scope of our data.

Quantitative findings on coping styles

Strong sex-differentials showed up when we examined coping styles for their quantitative relevance in explaining first birth risks. For men, however, only the coping style "withdrawal" showed a significant (disproportionate) relation with the risk for parenthood. Comparing this to the findings for women, we concluded that men with a tackling, problem-solving behavior style were favored in their transition to parenthood whilst women with an alternative-seeking and rather "elusive" coping style aspired to motherhood (cf. uncertainty hypothesis, Chapter 5.5.2.3). These differences are partially also reflected in the interviews. The statement of Mr. P., who is the strongest "withdrawer" in our sample and may face particular difficulties in this respect, reflects this difference in a strong way. He describes family formation for women as a particularly easy "way out" in difficult times—whilst men, according to his point of view—have to work much harder to become a parent.

> "Women can easily do it alone today [he means parenthood]. You get child benefits, then there is Grandma and Grandpa. Well, there's enough money and there are enough people to look after the child. [...] It also depends on the economic situation, I mean. The number of children is increasing again in East Germany, what's the reason for it? That has to do with unemployment. [...] You can then easily tide yourself over three more years as a woman 'cause the social welfare pays you the money then. And that's not too little money, as I was told. You get by very well with that. OK, you cannot be a strong smoker, but you get by. She [he talks about a friend] had even more money when she was on maternity leave than when she worked full-time in the supermarket. She took all the social welfare support, and then ... I really understand from that why the number of children is increasing again. But all that works only if you're not married! Yeah, that's all very tricky this story. And many people think like this. [...] Yeah, as a women it's like this. As a man, you're the stupid one, you can sit at home and watch TV. [...] Not everybody views it like this, but that's how it is. From the financial perspective, a single woman, maybe with a child –yes, that's important!– is really well off today, if there's still Grandma and Grandpa where you can hand the child off to." (Mr. P)

Mr. B. holds a similar view on this point by juxtaposing the option of "social loafing" for women to the demand to perform for men concerning the transition to parenthood.

> "Well, and the other women I know, those are mostly single mothers who say: 'well, that was unwanted or unplanned'—supposedly! Well, I hold a different view on that. [...] Yes, in two cases I am really sure that they absolutely wanted to become pregnant. The man was just not asked. OK, they didn't have a relationship or so, these were just some quick affairs, but now they have their child and the guy is Mr. Dollar now. A great scam is really lying in wait for you there 'cause, I mean, they don't tell you before: 'Listen, I don't take the pill and if you do it with me now, a child can come from this.' That's what they don't say. Later then they tell you that they are pregnant, you're the father, and then you can pay. And a relationship they don't want with you. As a guy you can then only stand and rack your brain: 'Gosh! Now you pay'. And you don't have anything from the child—she sits two years at home on social welfare and celebrates life." (Mr. B.)

Of course, we cannot assume that all births which we observed in our sample occurred due to these mechanisms, but the possibility for women to use childbearing as a certainty provision is clearly perceived by men. Interestingly, not one of our interviewees perceives this opportunity for himself, but instead men portrayed themselves rather as the efficient money providers (that is, "non-withdrawers"). This very specific attitude of men to women partially confirms insights by Fichtner from the early 1990s on peculiarities of East German gender relations. In a comparative qualitative study, he finds that when men express negative emotions against women in general or against their partners, they typically consist of aggressive feelings in the West and feelings of helplessness and subordination in the East. At least some nuances of this general finding appear in our interviews.

Quantitative findings on personal resources

For the perceived level of personal resources we found in Chapter 5.5.3.2 that the main effects for men are given by the impact of partnership and self-based resources. The relevance of not only having a partnership, but also having a *good* partnership for family formation is stressed in virtually every interview in our study. Two quotations will suffice for an illustration of this clear finding.

> "It's not just to have a child, to bring it into the world, it is rather about the relationship which determines all this. Yeah, this is the most important thing in this respect. [...] It's rather to have a family. Not the child alone, having a child is also still an incomplete thing. The right partner belongs to that, and to have a good relationship with her. [...] The most important pre-condition [for starting a family] is a good relationship. A harmonic, long-term one, or at least with the prospects of being a long-term one." (Mr. A.)

> "In any case! A good partnership, that's the Alpha and the Omega! [for starting a family] [...] Yes, the right one should be a super-mother, a top woman, eh? [...] I don't want some stupid ninny from some disco or whatever, only having rock and gear in her mind, eh? [...] She needs to have her feet firmly on the ground and not like 'today this, tomorrow that'. To mean 'yes' if she says 'yes' and things like this." (Mr. B.)

Concerning those personal resources which are based on subjects' own skills and personalities, we cannot add much additional insight. Instead, we have to assume an effect of mate selection and gender roles, on which we will discuss in Chapter 7.3 in more detail.

Quantitative findings on the quality of social relations

For the numerical effect of the quality of social relations we identified a differential impact for the sexes. We found that the effects of the quality of social relations differs considerably also between the two different fields: family of origin and friends. The trends indicate that for men the risk of childbirth is decreased if they have particularly good social relations with their friends and peers. A young man with good contact to friends would apparently not put it at risk for a family ("male

cliques"). For women, the finding was exactly the reverse. This first and vague interpretation we gave is actually supported by our qualitative findings. The two men with the highest value of "good social relations with peers" are Mr. B. and Mr. I. and, indeed, both of them explicitly mention that their interests in social life, parties, and going out with friends definitely impeded any consideration of family formation (Mr. B. likes to go to rock festivals with friends very often—and thinks of starting his own festival promotion company together with a friend; Mr. I. moved to the city of Hamburg to enjoy the club scene and to go out with friends).

> "No, never, we [he and his girlfriend] have never ever, not even for five minutes, talked about having children. It just never came up as a topic. Well, our life was also exciting enough without that." (Mr. B.)

> "Living in the countryside is not really cool, is it. I mean, here in Hamburg you have some clubs and some life out on the streets, that's really very pleasant. [...] Yeah, we're quite outgoing, still discovering the city. [...] No, a child for sure not within the next five years." (Mr. I.)

We concluded earlier that some of men's motives for family formation are given by the desire to overcome loneliness and social isolation. To reverse the argument, we can say that men with good social relations in general do not share these motives and, thus, are not at high risk to become parents in their twenties. That also explains why the sum score for the quality of social relations also has a decreasing effect on men's transition risks.

In the following section, we apply the same strategy of juxtaposing quantitative and qualitative findings from the other direction.

7.2 A quantitative view on the qualitative results

In our qualitative study we showed that it is possible to derive men's desire for children from two central dimensions (apart from two outlier dimensions). In the first one, the desire for children is derived from ideas which the interviewee has of himself, from his self-concept and the expected personal consequences of fatherhood. We termed this an inward-type formation of an intention for fatherhood (literally, introvert) and named it "developmental perspective on the self". In the second dimension, the orientation regarding social objects of perception or imagination, things the respondents like or dislike, social values which they adopt or disapprove of, or wishes of their partners which they give their support to are the crucial elements of men's own desire for children. We termed this an outward-oriented intention formation (literally, extrovert) and named it "evaluation of social objects".

We now want to ask whether we find any reflection of these dimensions in the quantitative data. As we indicated in the introductory section of this chapter, this question faces particular difficulties and needs to be addressed with caution and delicacy.

Qualitative findings on the Developmental Perspective on the Self

We characterized men's developmental perspective on the self as the combined appearance of self-conceptions, ideas on male identity, and motives in men's reasoning about having their own children. These factors, which typically cohere if they appear in a given interview, demonstrate the relevance of men's sense of self and their future lives for the transition to parenthood (see Chapter 6.3.2.2). We employed the Theory of Symbolic Self-Completion in this context to achieve a deeper understanding of why and how men aspire to fatherhood (see Chapter 6.4).

In brief, this dimension tells us that we can understand, to a significant extent, men's desire for children by the views they hold about themselves, by the roles they perceive as a man in society, and by perceived future developments. The more clearly the goal of "fatherhood" is elaborated in these terms –and we showed how elaborate some childless men can be on this issue– the more prone they are to aspire to parenthood. In our quantitative results, we also find references to this

notion. Two interpretations which we gave on numerical findings provide evidence toward such "introvert" frames of reference.

First, we can support the qualitative result by our quantitative findings on personal optimism, self-centered resources, intelligence, and a non-withdrawing coping style. Here, we gave interpretations which point toward the relevance of male views on their performance, on their abilities and skills, and on their future possible selves. We concluded that men who regard themselves as skilled, self-reliant, and problem-solving (or prototypically "masculine"), experience a much higher risk of first birth than others. In addition to this, when we refer to the (quantitative) relevance that an average level of expansiveness (self-actualization) of men subjects had for the transition to parenthood, this contributes more proof.

From this triangulation perspective, the quantitative results sharpen our first qualitative dimension as they indicate that it is only a very *specific* developmental perspective on the self which impacts on the actual family formation *behavior* of men. Already in the qualitative part, we found that there are, apparently, very particular self-concepts (adult, mature, not childish, etc.) and very particular motives and identities that speak for the pros of a fatherhood—whilst others do not. We, thus, can say that the quantitative findings add more sophistication to this evidence.

Secondly, we found that one specific element of the anticipated self-concept shows up in many interviews, namely the very clear objections against *never* becoming a parent in the life course. This finding corresponds with the quantitative result of men's fear of losing intimacy as a trigger for fertility behavior. Both results put forth the idea that men's desire and behavior is, to some extent, determined by negative feelings toward the perceived alternative to family formation, namely to live without a family of one's own. Thus, the quantitative results lend support to the qualitative ones in this case, too.

Considering this coinciding evidence on men's developmental perspective on the self from two methodological stances, we can conclude that the qualitative dimension is *backed* and *refined* by the quantitative findings. Whilst the qualitative results give an answer to the question of why men aspire to parenthood (cf. our interpretations in Chapter 6.4), the quantitative ones answer the question of how much exactly these factors play a role when weighted against each other.

Qualitative findings on the Evaluation of Social Objects

We characterized the second dimension of men's narratives concerning family formation and desire for children by a specific type of evaluation of social objects. We summarized people's attitudes, values, and interests –which typically were linked to each other when they appeared– in this communal dimension (see Chapter 6.3.2.3). For this finding, we employed the Theory of Planned Behavior to instigate a deeper understanding of why these men aspire to fatherhood (see Chapter 6.4). In brief, we found that the positive attitudes toward "family as such", the positive evaluation of the partner's desires, and the interests in child-related activities are explicative in the indicated sense. In the quantitative findings, we can also retrieve two indications toward the relevance of such evaluations.

First, we can also show quantitatively that the positive evaluation of a man's personal partnership as a valuable source of support (or as a resource) indeed plays a crucial role for family formation. Moreover, this evaluation (which exceeds the mere question of "to have or not to have a partner") is clearly more relevant to men than support from any other potential source (family of origin, friends, etc.).

Secondly, our quantitative results provide another interesting subtlety to the second dimension. We found that men who report a particularly high evaluation of the quality of their relations with friends have a reduced risk of parenthood. When we assume that this life domain stands, in part, opposed to family and child-related issues, this interpretation replicates the qualitative finding that a positive attitude toward family and children is particularly required for a personal desire for

family. That is, we can indeed regard social interaction with friends, which is a part of what we termed an "outlier dimension" in Chapter 6.3.2.4, as documentation of men's peer orientations and can assume that it has a mainly delaying effect (for men) on family formation. Again, quantitative findings provide an interesting additional piece of information to the qualitative results.

Qualitative findings on the non-classified dimensions

Besides these main dimensions, our qualitative study came up with several other observations which we reported in Chapter 6.3.1. Although the quantitative results cannot provide information to each of the presented issues (like, for instance, the heuristic typology), it still adds an additional perspective. In this section, we would like to mention some of these cases.

A particularly interesting result emerges from the triangulation process when we relate numerical results to the general observations on *both* men's reserved attitudes toward family planning *and* their particular emphasis on the burdensome aspects of parenthood (see Chapter 6.3.1.5). Here, we find convincing support and reinforcement of these qualitative observations by the strong sex-differentials in the impact of coping styles and action control. Our finding is that a moderate ("normal") level of action control, indeed, lowers the risk for first birth in our sample (Chapter 5.5.2). This proves that this personality trait still makes a difference for the observed transition risks, however low the men's general level of approval and practice of family planning may be. We can conclude that less control-taking men have an increased risk for parenthood independent of the general societal level. This result is of clear quantitative provenance.

Moreover, another qualitative observation, namely that men typically put strong emphasis on the burdens of parenthood (and add that they hold sufficient stamina to bear it), finds a convincing reflection on the numerical relevance of the coping style "withdrawal" for men. Indeed, this coincidence provides the insight that it is extremely crucial and decisive for the transition to fatherhood of men to reflect the issue of parenthood-related burdens and to be personally gifted with the ability to bear them, that is, to address difficulties in a straightforward way, to tackle problems, to carry burdens and not to withdraw from them. We conclude that, to a considerable extent, both findings explain that (thinking about) becoming a father can entail (apart from the breadwinner question) the necessity of providing a reliable, stable, and supportive platform for the start of a family.

As a last triangulated finding, we can state that the quantitative results also contribute evidence to the qualitatively derived U-shape in the biographical development of consideration of the fatherhood topic by childless men (see Figure 25 in Chapter 6.3.1.3). Any assumption that the questions concerning having children follow a straight and linearly rising relevance in men's life can be proved false. Also the numerical results show that after starting literally from zero there is a first steep increase of the transition risks in the late second and early third decade of men's lives, then a flattening out in the mid to late twenties —before the risks and experiences gain strong relevance again. Here, the numerically derived Figure 23 (in Chapter 5.5.2.1) supports the qualitative finding. We can confirm that the early twenties represent the biographical minimum regarding men's desire for children and considerations of the topic (cf. Schlottner, 1998: 301). Moreover, we find evidence that for women the increase of the risk for first birth (and, we conclude from this, the considerations of motherhood) follow a more steady development as shown by the more continuous slope of their hazard curve.

7.3 Concluding discussion

In this concluding chapter, we want to bring together our analyses in terms of a socio-psychological explanation of motives and conditions for fatherhood in East Germany in the 1990s. In so doing, we

first and foremost portray 30-year-old men between their desire for children and chances for its realization against the background of the empirical evidence on the determinants of their childbearing history.

In summarizing and concluding our composite investigation on numerical (quantitative) and interpretative (qualitative) findings, we can first of all state that the integrative triangulation approach proved to be useful and effective, yet demanding in exploring some of the uncharted territory concerning men's family behavior (the diagnosis of a dearth in research on men is still valid, cf. Forste, 2002). Initially, we were especially skeptical of the possibility of questioning qualitative findings from the quantitative stance, but this step ultimately provided interesting insights. In the end, qualitative findings provide us with convincing answers to the questions of "why" men aspire to parenthood and quantitative findings refer to the questions of "how" (how much? how strongly?) specific factors contribute to the actual transition. Both questions are necessary and sufficient conditions in order to refer to what we called the causal "microscopic" mechanisms of the transition to fatherhood (cf. introduction to this chapter). Our study establishes that the transition to fatherhood can be explained as the outcome of an empirical interplay of cognitive, motivational, and selection processes which lead to the experience of this life course transition for men.[86]

Most centrally, our investigation reveals two different types of results: *cognized subjective reasons* for the aspiration to fatherhood, as well as *non-cognized "structural" factors*. The former we interpret as indication of the causal motivation for men to aspire to fatherhood as exemplified by self-views and evaluation of social objects. Here, we detect the effects of symbolic self-completion and planned behavior. For the latter type of factors, individual background and personal consideration impinge on a man's transition to fatherhood. Here, we describe factors that point to the selection of male partners for family formation by women.

However, before we treat details of our results, we want to direct the discussion toward a more general, or "meta", level of interpretation and reflection. We are encouraged by the fact that many of our findings receive strong communal evidence from both parts of our study to consider whether they are determined by generally working social forces in the relations of the sexes, namely societally effective gender norms. In our following reflections, we follow the insights by various scholars that "according to social role theory, the differences in the behavior of women and men that are observed in psychological studies of social behavior and personality originate in the contrasting distributions of men and women into social roles" (Eagly et al., 2000: 125).[87]

For our case of family formation, we can assume that such social roles instruct men and women about relevant questions of, for instance, what they can expect from and aspire to in life, what they have to expect from members of the other sex, what requirements a complex action such as starting a family involves, what different responsibilities and abilities the sexes hold for it, etc. "Gender roles are thus ubiquitous in their influence", say Eagly and colleagues (ibid.: 132). Moreover, they are in "considerable flux" in Western societies (ibid.: 159). What can this theoretical complication teach us?

We can draw from it the understanding that our psychological findings reflect the changing gender roles with regard to family issues in East Germany of the 1990s. We have quoted in earlier sections of this work that many scholars assume a breaking down of formerly valid gender roles in East

86 We want to point out that we use the term "selection" in a sociological and not in a psychological sense. Whilst in psychology selection may imply people's own choice of behavioral alternatives, we refer here rather to the selection of male partners with specific traits by female mates.

87 At this point, we refrain from embarking on the distinction of the concepts of "norms", "roles", "gender rules" and so forth. We use them identically to mean something like coherent behavioral scripts (for a current overview, cf. Eagly et al., 2000). We also have to leave the important distinctions of descriptive, prescriptive, and proscriptive scripts aside as we cannot judge on moral punishments, etc.

Germany after the end of the socialist regime (Richter, 1994, Merkel, 1994, Gerhard, 1994, Dölling, 2000). In particular, it is unquestioned that the socialist normalcy of "young parents" ceased to exist in the new societal context. Whereas the idea of "young parents" was a heavily supported and demanded ideal in the GDR, one does not find any comparable institution in West Germany that would encourage early childbearing. Moreover, the implicit "main responsibility" of women for large parts of the family and household domain (Merkel, ibid.) may have also been questioned by the new system. When such clear norms vanish in the processes of individualization and the modernization of society (cf. Chapter 1.2) we can expect that psychological differentials among people translate more directly into differentials of events and transitions in the life course. This, however, enables us to use a psychological study to gain a glimpse of evolving gender arrangements in the given society. We, thus, would like to conjecture that our results indeed take on the character of a snapshot of post-GDR gender norms on family formation and on conceptions of parenthood.

Interestingly, according to our results these norms appear to entail both *motivation* and *selection* aspects when viewed from the perspective of one gender group only (men). That is, men obviously perceive the norm of, for instance, an "adult father-like behavior" and guide their expectations, convictions, and ideas of parenthood by this "motivation". But those who bear the respective trait in their personality or behavior style are comparatively more prone to experience the transition, or "selection". Here, our results can explain why and how such gender roles can assume the nature of a central issue in men's life (Roeder, 1994).

When we accept this theoretical "complication", what can we show about possible gender norms regarding the transition to parenthood in East Germany in the 1990s? As a first point, we can confirm the notion of sex and age as *the* crucial social markers that provide an "ushering function" (Dölling) in the transition to parenthood. Quantitative results for the factors of first birth risks vary strongly between the sexes and some effects with a strong differential impact can unfold only at certain ages (like, for instance, the impact of leaving the parental home). Moreover, reflections on the "normal" linkage of age and family formation also play a role in the personal interviews with men. Thus, we conclude that age-specific gender norms (and their changes, cf. Dölling, 2000) do matter, the organization of the life course does matter; these are hardly new findings in this respect. However, these processes have not been sufficiently researched for the case of East Germany so far. Our findings cannot do more than demonstrate the relevance of these issues; a thorough treatise remains a task for future research.

However, we can draw stronger conclusions on other effects in the transition to fatherhood in view of East Germany's changing gender arrangements in the 1990s. Here, we want to interpret our psychological results as indication of (newly evolving) lifestyles and types of masculinity in the changing environment of East Germany. We chose these two summarizing umbrellas for our results because they entail both aspects of subjective choice and motivation (internalizations such as "my preferred lifestyle" or "my manliness") as well as of supra-individual, structural, and societal elements (like the objective range of lifestyles or gender relations of a society).[88]

Lifestyles

For the former, it appears to us that the transition to parenthood is determined by motivational and selection processes involved in the question of personal conduct of life. Here, a pattern prevails which proposes that men who have gained some "social maturity" in occupation or household questions in their twenties and who are not too expansive and autonomous hold an increased risk for parenthood. In terms of their social lifestyle, we conclude that men who are not too closely

88 We apply the terms 'lifestyles' and 'masculinities' in loose accordance to Schulze (1995) and Connell (1995), that is we use them freely without following each detail of their elaboration.

embedded in groups of friends and who are cognitively not too demanding and ambitious have a similarly increased risk. Apart from processes of women's selection of mates, which we related particularly to the "social maturity" question, when talking with men this particular pattern finds expression in typical evaluations or a typical developmental perspective. We find narratives connected with the desire for children and fatherhood that deal with the end of a personally expansive and experimental developmental period, with motives of intimacy attaining greater relevance (over fun and action) in their personal lives. Or we find narratives of hope for attaining maturity and acceptance of the burdensome role of the father as a worthwhile personal task for the future (in any case, more worthwhile than living childless). These statements typically also find expression in clear positive evaluations of "family as such", of "dealing with children", etc.

Taken together, these findings promote the notion of a relatively sharp contrast for men between being a father and not being a father in East Germany in the 1990s. This is particularly interesting because we can conclude from the literature that in socialist times there was *no* such strong difference (from the psychological perspective). Some of our men refer to family formation in the GDR with comments such as "well, one just had kids *by the way* in the GDR" or "that was not a big deal, you just had sex and then there was a child, that was okay". As we know from work by Merkel (1994) and others, these comments indeed capture the reality for men during socialist times. Thus, our results can be interpreted as a clear indication of a strong shift in this reality. Childbearing has transformed also for men to a truly individualized "life course project" (Keupp) with its own logic and consequences, that is with its own conditions for fitting into the life course. The fact that some men clearly express discomfort and irritation with this development (cf. Chapter 7.1) points toward the accuracy of our interpretation of a strong change in this field. This change of roles has not been sufficiently taken notice of in the literature so far.

Masculinities

However, there are some other findings which cannot be summarized under the umbrella of lifestyles. Here, it appears to us that we find indication of specific *personal* (and personality) *demands* which a transition makes on men. That is, particular personal characteristics of men favor the transition to fatherhood without being linked in some way to an "identity project", etc. We find that those men who are, in general, optimistic characters, who address and deal with demanding situations and stress of whatever kind in a direct and efficient way, who hold a good package of self and partnership-related resources, and who are receptive to developments of their intimate relations (fear of loss) are more eligible for the transition to parenthood. Interestingly, the least direct influence on actual family formation arises from a mere desire for children.

These findings, to some extent, add up to an overall picture in which a pronounced feeling of personal strength is indicative of an increased risk of childbirth. Also for this "umbrella" category we can assume that a clear change from the pre-unification situation has occurred. We argue that in socialist times the transition to parenthood took place (i) at such young ages and (ii) with such a narrow variance (Kreyenfeld, 2001: 91) that it is justified to characterize the socialist birth regime as one of universal early first birth[89] (Philipov & Opara, 2000, Koytcheva, 2003). However, some variance in childbearing behavior is surely required so that personal characteristics can come into effect. This has obviously happened for the case of East Germany in the 1990s so that the quoted differentials appeared. Again, we have to suppose a mixture of selection and motivation for these personal characteristics.

Another interesting side finding showed up in this context. Men who habitually take control of their actions in life hold a reduced risk of parenthood in East Germany in the 1990s. We relate this finding to the large field of research on male contraceptive behavior, which we only touch on briefly

89 In this context, universal can be read as "irrespective of individual differences".

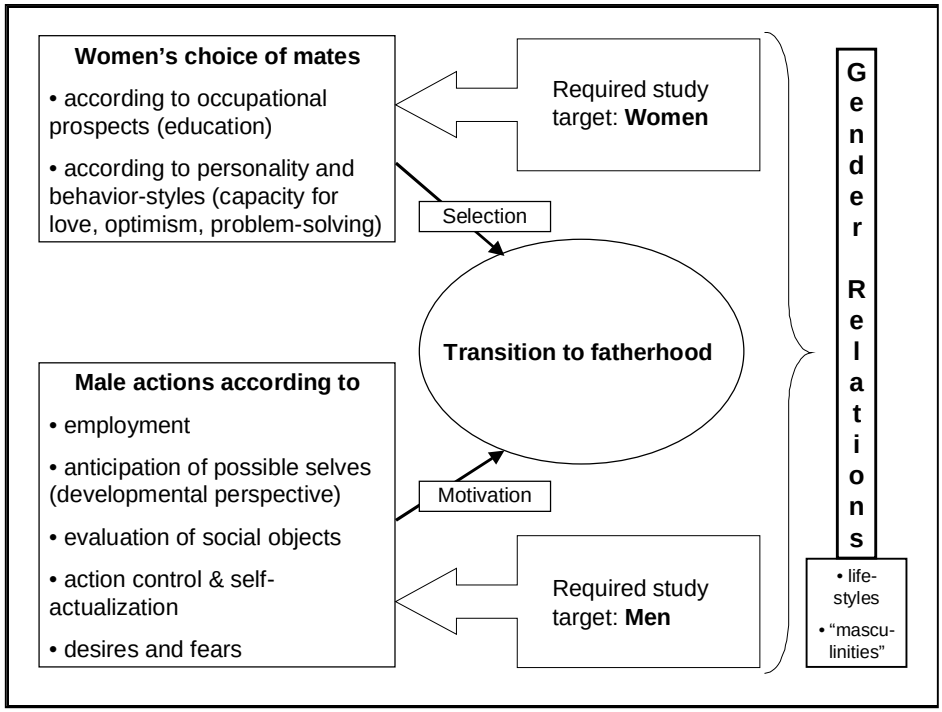
here, of course. A recent comprehensive study on this subject (cf. Fichtner, 1999: 313ff.) comes to the conclusion that there is no better research topic to highlight the setup of *gender relations* in a given society than *contraceptive practice*. The gist of our side finding on action control may, thus, lie in the idea that the "westernization" of post-GDR fertility behavior (that is postponement of first births, reduced individual risks, etc.) may have been promoted mainly by a particular group of people ("controllers") in the 1990s, recalling that contraceptive practice in East Germany can be regarded as comparatively poor in general and for men even more so.

To sum our reflections up, we argue that young adults have an increased risk of a transition to parenthood if the quality and content of their personal characteristics and considerations correspond to the demands and chances that parenthood entails in the specific societal situation. For the example of East Germany after unification, we can now state on safer empirical grounds that the situation of societal upheaval made differential impacts on men and women with respect to their family formation process. We understand our finding at the psychological level as correlates of societally evolving conceptions on motherhood and fatherhood which can be subsumed into questions of *lifestyles* and *masculinities* for men. The ultimate umbrella to which we refer is *gender relations*. We depict the general layout of our findings and some of their relevant details in Figure 26.

Daring to give a psychological conclusion on our study we can state that the proposed approach of a socio-psychological individualism (Chapter 1.4), which is clearly inspired by the idea of a "psychology of the population" (von Rosenstiel et al., 1986, cf. Chapter 3.2.3), deserves greater attention in the research. We show that psychology has a lot to contribute if it is included in research on the interplay of society and the individual.

In summary, our study has presented men's transition to fatherhood as a process of gender relations (motivation, selection) and personal goals (desires, intentions, and choice), which is underpinned by personal behavioral styles (learning and endowment) and currently adopted lifestyles. This is also true if it (parenthood) "just happens" without planning.

Figure 26. The transition to fatherhood between motivation and selection against the background of gender relations



7.4 Future research perspectives

During the course of the project it appeared increasingly important to identify the general scientific target of this type of fertility research: we would like to term it a *gender-specific theory of life course decision-making in individualized societies*. Bearing in mind that analysis of the life course has traditionally been a domain of sociology, this discipline, however still withholds from us a deeper understanding of conditions, processes, and consequences of individual choices. Our psychological findings, by contrast, will be enhanced when we relate them to research on the restructuring of conceptions on parenthood and gender relations in East Germany after unification, work which is still to be done. We would now like to indicate, in brief, four detailed perspectives on future "psycho-socio-demo" research on the transition to parenthood.

- The triangulation approach of qualitative and quantitative methods is a useful tool for explaining *and* understanding people's course through life. It defines and distinguishes mechanisms of personal motivation and of impersonal "factorizing" selection. Thus, future studies on childbearing in whatever context will surely benefit from including at least three parts: a quantitative section with separate models for the sexes and two qualitative parts, one for each sex.

- Our results are relative to the specific regional context of East Germany in the 1990s. Nothing would be more welcome than employing a *full comparative design* in order to juxtapose our findings to, for instance, the respective mechanisms in West Germany or in other transitional countries of Central and Eastern Europe.

- A major issue for future research remains the question of the couple as the target of fertility decisions. This is a wide open field and entails a large number of methodological and theoretical problems. Apart from some early conceptualizations by Hass (1974) and Beckman (1978, 1979) our theoretical models and empirical knowledge on this question are poor. It may be a rewarding attempt, from our perspective, to explain and portray how the personal lifestyles of the respective partners fit together to form something like a lifestyle and subsequently, a life course *of a couple*—in which fertility decisions will be a crucial element, but not detached from desires and conceptions in other life domains.

- In the field of personality traits and behavior styles, we find complex patterns of sex-differential impacts. The involved complexity gives an immediate explanation for why previous investigations of this issue have not provided clear results. We conclude that sophisticated concepts and measures of personality are essentially required to disentangle the complex patterns (U-shaped impacts et cetera) and the strong sex differences in the various traits. This recommendation may be particularly difficult to realize for demography. As Hammel (1990: 457) writes, demographers usually seek a sort of "can opener" for the individual, but find themselves in a warehouse of different questionnaires, concepts, and approaches. However, we believe that some of our results can be condensed to handy instruments that may acquire the character of can openers.

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Appendix

Appendix 1. Friedrich Hölderlin (1770-1843)

Lebenslauf

Größers wolltest auch du, aber die Liebe zwingt
All uns nieder, das Leid beuget gewaltiger,
Doch es kehret umsonst nicht
Unser Bogen, woher er kommt.

Aufwärts oder hinab! Herrschet in heilger Nacht,
Wo die stumme Natur werdende Tage sinnt,
Herrscht im schiefesten Orkus
Nicht ein Grades, ein Recht noch auch?

Dies erfuhr ich. Denn nie, sterblichen Meistern gleich,
Habt ihr Himmlichen, ihr Alleserhaltenden,
Daß ich wüßte, mit Vorsicht
Mich des ebenen Pfads geführt.

Alles prüfe der Mensch, sagen die Himmlischen,
Daß er, kräftig genährt, danken für Alles lern,
Und verstehe die Freiheit,
Aufzubrechen, wohin er will.

Appendix 2. Typologies and factors of men's desire for children as found by Schlottner (1998)

Typology of men's desire for children according to its biographical origin and appearance (Schlottner, 1998: 179ff.)

1. *Early desire for children*. Formation already in childhood or adolescence.
2. *Latent desire for children*. An attitude of "yes, sometime probably ..."
3. *Manifest desire for children*. A continuously developing desire, typically salient in the third or fourth life decade.
4. *Intermittant desire for children*. A frequently increasing and diminishing desire, depending on the situational context.

Typology of anwers of men to the question: "why children?" (Schlottner, 1998: 187ff.)

1. Motives concerning oneself
2. Motives concerning the partnership
3. Weighing of disadvantages of children
4. Weighing of concerns regarding the own person
5. Weighing of the expected conflicts of parenthood with the own career

Factor groups which determine the realization of men's desire for children (Schlottner, 1998: 283)

1. Factors regarding the relationship to the own father (strong/weak dominance, conflicts, et cetera)
2. Factors regarding the relationship to the own mother (ditto)
3. Factors regarding the relationship to the own siblings (rivaltry conflicts et cetera)
4. Sex-differential socialization (Differences between mother's and father's style of upbringing)
5. Sexual development (puberty, sexual and relationship behavior)

Appendix 3. Results of models I, II, and III for men and women together (see Chapter 5.4.2)

	Model I			Model II			Model III		
	coeff.	*p-value*	sign.	*coeff.*	*p-value*	sign.	*coeff.*	*p-value*	sign.
Baseline									
constant	-6.35	0.00	***	-6.59	0.00	***	-6.46	0.00	***
age24-	0.22	0.03	**	0.27	0.03	**	0.32	0.01	**
age2427	0.22	0.11	(*)	0.19	0.21		0.19	0.29	
age2730	0.01	0.94		0.04	0.76		0.06	0.70	
age30+	0.70	0.00	***	0.69	0.01	***	0.70	0.01	***
Sex									
male	1.00			1.00			1.00		
female	2.78	0.00	***	2.54	0.00	***	2.80	0.00	***
Education									
low	2.78	0.01	***	3.03	0.01	***	4.22	0.01	***
average	1.00			1.00			1.00		
high	0.80	0.35		0.78	0.36		0.82	0.53	
Parental occupation									
low							2.04	0.01	**
average									
high							1.31	0.33	
Model improvement by inclusion of individual background									
p (LLRT)	0.038		**	0.143		(*)	0.158		(*)
Left parental home									
no	1.00			1.00			1.00		
yes	1.65	0.11	(*)	1.84	0.07	*	1.72	0.13	(*)
Left education									
no	1.00			1.00			1.00		
yes	3.29	0.05	*	3.33	0.06	*	3.27	0.08	*
Number of siblings									
few	1.00			1.00			1.00		
many	1.01	0.97		1.25	0.49		1.25	0.51	
Number of older siblings									
few				1.00			1.00		
many				0.72	0.18	(*)	0.84	0.50	
Capacity for Love									
low							1.00		
average							1.06	0.84	
high							1.45	0.25	
Mental Health									
low				1.00			1.00		
average				0.67	0.15	(*)	0.66	0.21	
high				0.60	0.09	*	0.56	0.11	(*)
Self-actualization									
low				1.00			1.00		
average				0.81	0.41		0.96	0.88	
high				0.79	0.38		0.85	0.56	
Action Control									
low	1.00			1.00			1.00		
average	1.03	0.90		0.91	0.75		0.83	0.56	
hpsk5	1.19	0.48		1.13	0.67		1.17	0.59	

Model improvement by inclusion of personal considerations						
p (LLRT)	0.001	***	0.001	***	0.008	***
Personal optimism						
low			1.00		1.00	
average			1.48	0.27	1.34	0.48
high			1.10	0.81	1.01	0.98
Desire for intimacy						
low					1.00	
high					0.76	0.30
Fear of losing intimacy						
low	1.00		1.00		1.00	
high	1.36	0.19 (*)	1.31	0.28	1.48	0.20 (*)
Coping by withdrawal						
low					1.00	
average					1.08	0.83
high					0.61	0.25
Coping by rationalization						
low			1.00		1.00	
average			1.01	0.97	0.97	0.93
high			1.52	0.24	1.45	0.32
Coping by alternatives						
low					1.00	
average					0.79	0.49
high					0.65	0.28
Resources Self						
low					1.00	
average					0.68	0.52
high					0.63	0.47
Resources Partner						
low	1.00		1.00		1.00	
high	1.90	0.00 ***	1.62	0.08 *	1.47	0.24
Resources Sum Score						
low			1.00		1.00	
average			1.75	0.06 *	1.61	0.21
high			1.68	0.15 (*)	1.65	0.24
Quality of social relation with peers						
low	1.00		1.00		1.00	
hioh	1.04	0.87	1.04	0.88	1.21	0.53
Quality of social relations sum score						
low	1.00		1.00		1.00	
high	0.59	0.03 **	0.56	0.05 *	0.50	0.04 **

***=p<.01, **=p<.05, *=p<.1, (*)=p<.2

Appendix 4. Results of the models I, II, and III for men (see Chapter 5.4.2)

	Model I		Model II		Model III	
	coeff.	*p-value sign.*	*coeff.*	*p-value sign.*	*coeff.*	*p-value sign.*
Baseline						
constant	-6.47	0.00 ***	-6.73	0.00 ***	-5.91	0.06 *
age24-	0.55	0.22	0.55	0.28	0.60	0.46
age2427	0.49	0.08 *	0.51	0.12 (*)	0.72	0.30
age2730	-0.05	0.82	-0.02	0.94	-0.03	0.91
age30+	0.84	0.01 **	0.77	0.08 *	0.83	0.12 (*)
Education						
low	1.32	0.72	1.28	0.77	0.42	0.50
average	1.00		1.00		1.00	
high	1.67	0.32	1.73	0.36	1.47	0.62
Parental occupation						
low					0.89	0.87
average					1.00	
high					0.94	0.94
Model improvement by inclusion of individual background						
p (LLRT)	*0.032*	**	*0.059*	*	0.122	(*)
Left parental home						
no	1.00		1.00		1.00	
yes	2.06	0.17 (*)	3.01	0.07 *	4.09	0.13 (*)
Left education						
no						
yes	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Number of siblings						
few	1.00		1.00		1.00	
many	1.03	0.95	0.89	0.85	0.50	0.36
Number of older siblings						
few			1.00		1.00	
many			1.10	0.87	1.65	0.50
Capacity for Love						
low					1.00	
average					1.44	0.63
high					1.31	0.75
Mental Health						
low			1.00		1.00	
average			1.12	0.86	0.74	0.73
high			1.18	0.82	0.67	0.68
Self-actualization						
low			1.00		1.00	
average			0.44	0.15 (*)	0.45	0.29
high			0.67	0.46	0.52	0.34
Action Control						
low	1.00		1.00		1.00	
average	0.40	0.09 *	0.29	0.04 **	0.27	0.10 *
hpsk5	0.77	0.59	0.66	0.50	0.70	0.65

Model improvement by inclusion of personal considerations						
p (LLRT)	*0.005*	***	*0.056*	*	*0.026*	**
Personal optimism						
low			1.00		1.00	
average			1.84	0.45	3.27	0.34
high			1.37	0.72	2.15	0.57
Desire for intimacy						
low					1.00	
high					0.28	0.12 (*)
Fear of losing intimacy						
low	1.00		1.00		1.00	
high	1.17	0.74	1.10	0.87	2.12	0.34
Coping by withdrawal						
low					1.00	
average					0.37	0.33
high					0.24	0.26
Coping by rationalization						
low			1.00		1.00	
average			0.80	0.73	0.64	0.65
high			1.76	0.48	0.82	0.85
Coping by alternatives						
low					1.00	
average					0.97	0.98
high					2.15	0.48
Resources Self						
low					1.00	
average					0.72	0.92
high					1.14	0.96
Resources Partner						
low	1.00		1.00		1.00	
high	3.48	0.01 ***	2.80	0.20 **(*)**	2.94	0.34
Resources Sum Score						
low			1.00		1.00	
average			1.83	0.39	1.58	0.66
high			1.42	0.71	1.21	0.89
Quality of social relation with peers						
low	1.00		1.00		1.00	
hioh	0.65	0.37	0.52	0.29	0.55	0.49
Quality of social relations sum score						
low	1.00		1.00		1.00	
high	0.80	0.66	0.92	0.91	1.05	0.96

***=p<.01, **=p<.05, *=p<.1, (*)=p<.2

n.a.=non applicable (due to too few cases, variable was excluded from model)

Appendix 5. Results of the models I, II, and III for women (see Chapter 5.4.2)

	Model I			Model II			Model III		
	coeff.	*p-value*	sign.	*coeff.*	*p-value*	sign.	*coeff.*	*p-value*	*sign.*
Baseline									
constant	-5.49	0.00	***	-5.90	0.00	***	-5.90	0.00	***
age24-	0.33	0.01	**	0.39	0.01	**	0.42	0.02	**
age2427	0.10	0.58		0.12	0.57		0.17	0.48	
age2730	0.09	0.63		0.12	0.57		0.14	0.53	
age30+	0.52	0.18	(*)	0.46	0.30		0.52	0.22	
Education									
low	10.03	0.00	***	10.49	0.00	***	7.87	0.01	***
average	1.00			1.00			1.00		
high	0.51	0.06	*	0.54	0.12	(*)	0.65	0.40	
Parental occupation									
low							2.17	0.05	**
average							1.00		
high							1.17	0.69	
Model improvement by inclusion of individual background									
p (LLRT)	0.119		(*)	0.170		(*)	0.235		*
Left parental home									
no	1.00			1.00			1.00		
yes	1.23	0.62		1.29	0.60		1.18	0.75	
Left education									
no	1.00			1.00			1.00		
yes	4.16	0.04	**	4.03	0.07	*	3.42	0.15	
Number of siblings									
few	1.00			1.00			1.00		
many	1.12	0.75		1.61	0.29		1.97	0.16	(*)
Number of older siblings									
few									
many				0.66	0.16	(*)	0.79	0.53	
Capacity for Love									
low							1.00		
average							0.87	0.74	
high							1.38	0.48	
Mental Health									
low				1.00			1.00		
average				0.64	0.24		0.64	0.28	
high				0.63	0.27		0.64	0.40	
Self-actualization									
low				1.00			1.00		
average				1.28	0.50		1.79	0.16	(*)
high				0.95	0.89		1.08	0.87	
Action Control									
low	1.00			1.00			1.00		
average	1.45	0.26		1.16	0.71		0.95	0.91	
hpsk5	1.25	0.51		1.07	0.85		1.30	0.54	

Model improvement by inclusion of personal considerations						
p (LLRT)	0.040	**	0.046	**	0.103	(*)
Personal optimism						
low			1.00		1.00	
average			1.15	0.77	1.00	1.00
high			0.61	0.35	0.49	0.27
Desire for intimacy						
low					1.00	
high					0.91	0.79
Fear of losing intimacy						
low	1.00		1.00		1.00	
high	1.40	0.27	1.44	0.31	1.49	0.44
Coping by withdrawal						
low					1.00	
average					1.47	0.52
high					0.96	0.96
Coping by rationalization						
low			1.00		1.00	
average			1.01	0.97	1.08	0.89
high			1.65	0.32	1.86	0.28
Coping by alternatives						
low					1.00	
average					0.80	0.69
high					0.36	0.14 (*)
Resources Self						
low					1.00	
average					0.52	0.46
high					0.49	0.36
Resources Partner						
low	1.00		1.00		1.00	
high	1.65	0.05 *	1.45	0.32	1.23	0.67
Resources Sum Score						
low			1.00		1.00	
average			2.09	0.06 *	2.32	0.12 (*)
high			1.57	0.35	1.94	0.27
Quality of social relation with peers						
low	1.00		1.00		1.00	
hioh	1.11	0.77	1.14	0.71	1.33	0.48
Quality of social relations sum score						
low	1.00		1.00		1.00	
high	0.54	0.06 *	0.54	0.11 (*)	0.43	0.08 *

***=p<.01, **=p<.05, *=p<.1, (*)=p<.2

Appendix 6. The applied brief questionnaire. Socio-demographic data and Visual Analogue Scales

KURZFRAGEBOGEN

zum Interview mit _____

gehalten am _____ in/ m _____

Angaben zur Person

Geburtsdatum: _____

Familienstand: ledig verheiratet geschieden sonst: _____

Feste PartnerIn: ja nein

Eigene Kinder: nein ja – geboren am: _____

Sie wohnen zur Zeit? alleine WG mit Verwandten
mit Partner(in) und gemeinsamen Kindern
Kindern des Partners Ihren Kindern

Ausbildung(en) als: _____

Berufstätig z.Z. als: _____ arbeitslos
Erz.-urlaub seit:
sonst: _____

Allgemeine Einschätzungen (bitte plazieren Sie je ein Kreuz auf die Linien!)

Wie stark ist Ihr aktueller Wunsch nach einem (weiteren) eigenen Kind?

kein Wunsch ├──────────┼──────────┤ starker Wunsch

Wie realistisch erscheint Ihnen eine (weitere) Vaterschaft **in naher Zukunft**?

unrealistisch ├──────────┼──────────┤ realistisch

Wie realistisch ist eine (weitere) Vaterschaft für Sie **zu einem späteren Zeitpunkt**?

unrealistisch ├──────────┼──────────┤ realistisch

Wäre es für Sie auch okay, wenn ein Kind einfach "passiert", oder würden Sie immer planen?

auch passieren ├──────────┼──────────┤ nur planen

Wer ist letztendlich ausschlaggebend für eine Entscheidung für/gegen ein Kind?

man(n) selbst ├──────────┼──────────┤ Partnerin

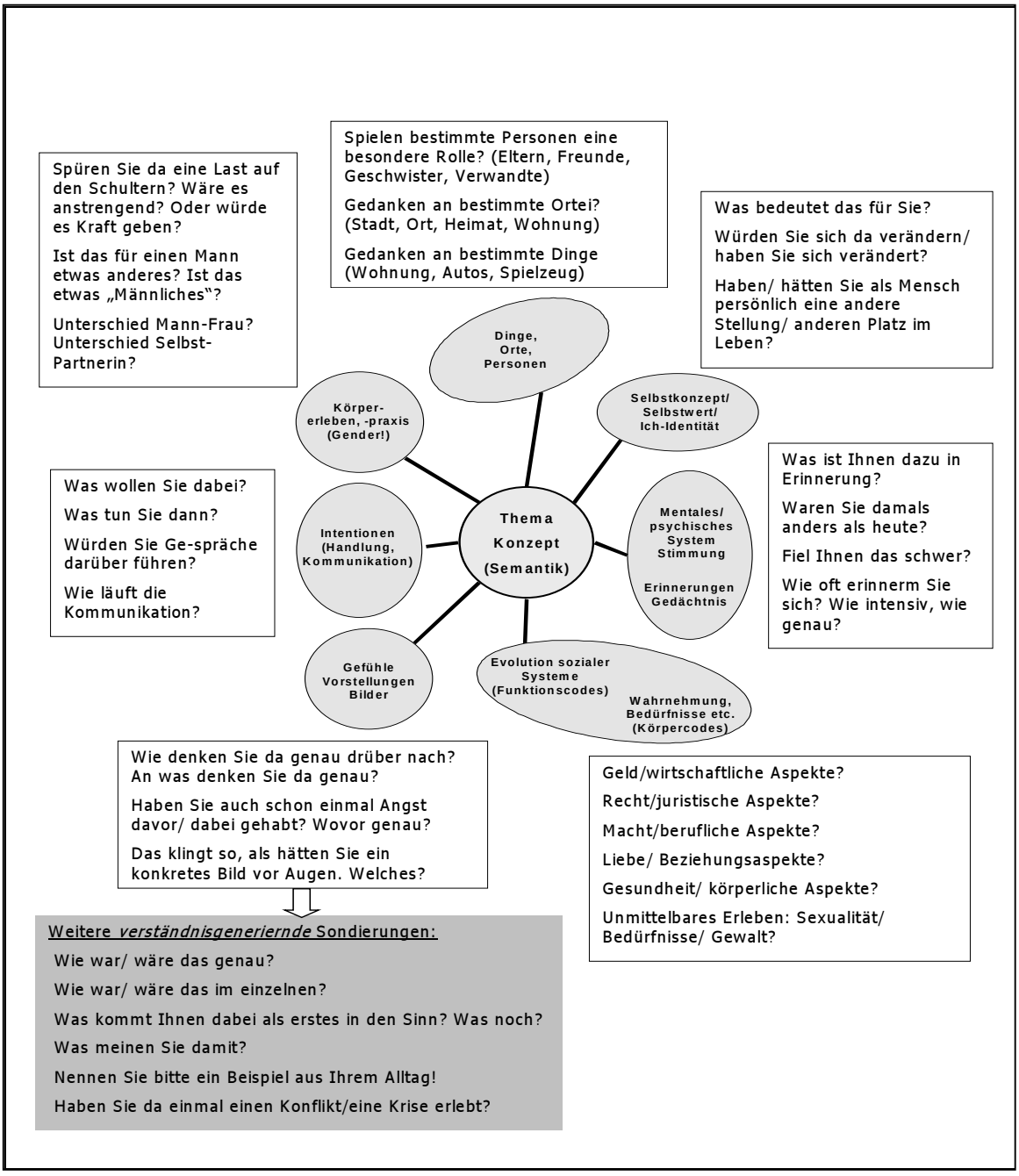
Welchen Stellenwert hat das Thema "Kinder" generell in Ihrem Leben?

gering ├──────────┼──────────┤ hoch

Feedback: Wie zutreffend hat das Interview Ihre persönliche Haltung zum Thema erfaßt?

unzutreffend ├──────────┼──────────┤ zutreffend

Appendix 7. Preparation of the *general* and *specific explorations* according to Witzel



Appendix 8. Numerical results of the comparisons of the interview partners with the male participants of the Rostock Longitudinal Study (ROLS)

Intelligence, personality, social context, self-concept

Independent Samples T-Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means	
		F	Sig.	t	Sig. (2-tailed)
IQ-Mittelwert	Equal variances assumed	2,209	,141	-1,481	,142
	Equal variances not assumed			-1,176	,266
Physic_health 95	Equal variances assumed	2,649	,107	-,174	,862
	Equal variances not assumed			-,145	,887
Self_Actualization 95	Equal variances assumed	,705	,403	1,237	,219
	Equal variances not assumed			1,318	,208
Mental_health 95	Equal variances assumed	,305	,582	,444	,658
	Equal variances not assumed			,500	,624
Capac_love 95	Equal variances assumed	,602	,440	1,609	,111
	Equal variances not assumed			2,009	,061
Action_Control 95	Equal variances assumed	,088	,767	1,756	,082
	Equal variances not assumed			1,721	,107
Wieviele Freunde o. Bekannte (Anzahl)	Equal variances assumed	5,343	,023	-1,865	,065
	Equal variances not assumed			-,981	,347
Wieviel wirklich enge Freunde (emotional)	Equal variances assumed	,577	,449	-,728	,469
	Equal variances not assumed			-1,292	,206
Geschwister	Equal variances assumed	,082	,775	-,145	,885
	Equal variances not assumed			-,141	,890
Selbstbild : Autonomie (Mittelwerte)	Equal variances assumed	,903	,344	-,729	,468
	Equal variances not assumed			-,805	,433
... : Selbstwirksamkeit	Equal variances assumed	3,519	,064	,006	,995
	Equal variances not assumed			,005	,996
...: persönliches Wachstum	Equal variances assumed	,306	,581	1,026	,307
	Equal variances not assumed			1,109	,285
...: Sinnfindung	Equal variances assumed	,317	,575	1,227	,223
	Equal variances not assumed			1,109	,287
...: Optimismus	Equal variances assumed	,816	,369	2,580	,011
	Equal variances not assumed			2,290	,039
...: Selbstakzeptanz	Equal variances assumed	,145	,704	1,797	,075
	Equal variances not assumed			1,612	,130
...: berufl. Zufriedenheit	Equal variances assumed	1,589	,211	-,396	,693
	Equal variances not assumed			-,342	,738
...: soziale Kompetenz	Equal variances assumed	3,424	,067	2,141	,035
	Equal variances not assumed			1,594	,136
...: sportliche Kompetenz	Equal variances assumed	,053	,818	2,475	,015
	Equal variances not assumed			2,506	,025

SC Attraktivität	Equal variances assumed	1,190	,278	,815	,417
	Equal variances not assumed			,733	,476
Factor 1: Soziales und persönliches Erfolgsgefühl	Equal variances assumed	1,711	,194	2,677	,009
	Equal variances not assumed			2,144	,052
Factor 2: Gefühl beruflicher Zufriedenheit	Equal variances assumed	,448	,505	-,326	,745
	Equal variances not assumed			-,281	,783
Factor 3: Persönliches Kompetenz- und Stärkegefühl	Equal variances assumed	,459	,500	1,010	,315
	Equal variances not assumed			,924	,372
Factor 4: Selbstgenügsamkeit	Equal variances assumed	,091	,764	-,288	,774
	Equal variances not assumed			-,261	,798
Alter bei Auszug (Jahre)	Equal variances assumed	,043	,836	,700	,485
	Equal variances not assumed			,976	,341

Resources and functional levels

Independent Sample Rank Statistics

	Summenvariable der Ressourcen	FN Partnerschaft	FN Funktion in der Familie	FN Kontakt zu Gleichaltrigen	Soziale Unterstützung Familie	Soziale Unterstützung Peers
Mann-Whitney U	272,000	336,000	526,000	454,000	461,000	438,500
Wilcoxon W	3275,000	414,000	604,000	4370,000	4377,000	4354,500
Z	-1,528	-2,102	-,024	-,936	-,753	-1,045
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	,126	,036	,981	,349	,451	,296

	soziale Unterstützung Partner	Bewältigungsstrategien (Stress)	Bewältigungsstrategien (Alltag)	kleining / Moore - cleaned	Wichtigkeit der Arbeit im Leben	Zufriedenheit mit Beziehung zu Eltern
Mann-Whitney U	316,500	415,500	416,000	243,000	497,000	504,500
Wilcoxon W	382,500	481,500	482,000	298,000	4152,000	4420,500
Z	-1,982	-,894	-1,028	-1,174	-,147	-,261
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	,047	,371	,304	,240	,883	,794

Item: Ever had a steady partnership

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	2,523	2	,283
Likelihood Ratio	3,480	2	,175
Linear-by-Linear Association	2,380	1	,123
N of Valid Cases	18		

Item: Father receptive for personal problems

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	3,925	2	,140
Likelihood Ratio	4,018	2	,134
Linear-by-Linear Association	,310	1	,578
N of Valid Cases	185		

Item: Fathers helps in daily tasks
Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	,887	2	,642
Likelihood Ratio	,886	2	,642
Linear-by-Linear Association	,259	1	,611
N of Valid Cases	184		

Appendix 9. Single case descriptions of the target group of childless men (information is abridged for privacy protection, names are pseudonyms)

Contents of the descriptions:

(1) Occupation, current and/or most recent partnership

(2) desire for children

(3) conceptions on fatherhood

(4) attitude toward childlessness

(5) characteristic further topics of the case, biographic accounts

---

Herr A.

Herr A. ist ein 30-jähriger Facharbeiter, der vor kurzem seine gesicherte Stellung gekündigt hat, um ein Studium zu beginnen. Von seiner letzten Freundin hat er sich vor kurzem nach mehrmonatiger Beziehung getrennt, u.a. auch weil diese "partout keine Kinder wollte".

Herr A. möchte auf jeden Fall einmal eigene Kinder ("auf jeden Fall mehr als eins"). Für ein eigenes Kind spreche für ihn, daß er auf Tradition achte und gerne seine (sudetische) Familientradition weitergeben möchte. Außerdem möchte er gerne, daß sein vor einigen Jahren gekauftes Haus in der Familie bleibt.

Bewußte Planung, eine gut funktionierende Partnerschaft sind für ihn unabdingbar für eine Vaterschaft. Unter Vatersein stelle er sich starke Veränderungen "des Bewußtsein, der Verantwortung, der Aufgaben, der Zeiteinteilung, der finanziellen Möglichkeiten, des Bekanntenkreis (positive!)" u.v.a.m. vor. Vater zu werden sei für ihn das primäre "95% Ziel im Leben". Zudem habe er bei seinen peers bereits sehr gute Erfahrungen mit Kindern gesammelt. Er nennt eine Vielzahl positiver Eigenschaften von Kindern und Konsequenzen von Vaterschaft.

Mit Kinderlosigkeit verbinde er eine große Enttäuschung im Alter, Mauligkeit, Eigenbrötlertum und weniger Lebendigkeit.

In seinem bisherigen Leben habe es für ihn lediglich einmal die konkretere Überlegung hinsichtlich eines Kindes gegeben. Damals sei er Anfang 20 und mit einer bereits zweifachen Mutter zusammen gewesen, die sich ein weiteres, gemeinsames Kind mit ihm vorstellen konnte. Damals sei es aber aus finanziellen und praktischen Gründen nicht möglich gewesen, obwohl er, aus der heutigen Sicht, auch hätte anders und ein wenig schlauer reagieren können; da habe es ihm an Reife gefehlt, die Beziehung weiter zu führen.

Herr B.

Herr B. ist ein 30jähriger selbständiger Handwerker, der sich vor einem Jahr von seiner 5 Jahre jüngeren Freundin getrennt hat, mit der er 7 Jahre lang zusammen war und einige Jahre zusammen gewohnt hat.

Herr B. möchte auf jeden Fall einmal eigene Kinder, obwohl er angibt, bislang nie richtig darüber nachgedacht zu haben. Auch mit seiner Freundin habe er "keine fünf Minuten nicht" über Kinder gesprochen. Das 30. Lebensjahr sei für ihn in dieser Hinsicht jedoch ein klarer Wendepunkt, seitdem denke er schon bisweilen intensiv über Familie nach. Vatersein bedeute für ihn u.a. ruhiger zu werden, Rücksicht zu nehmen, weniger zu rauchen, Musik leiser zu spielen, einige Freundschaften zu verlieren, andere zu gewinnen, einige Verluste (Musikfestivals) und stolz zu sein.

Besondere Bedeutung habe es für ihn, die richtige Frau zu finden: eine Top-Frau und Super-Mutter solle sie sein. Er bewundere ein befreundetes Paar, das seiner Meinung nach sehr liebe- und respektvoll mit einem gemeinsamen Kind zusammenlebe.

Mit Kinderlosigkeit verbinde er "Krankhaftigkeit und Asozialität". Zudem möchte er ungern einmal vereinsamt und verbittert als Kinderloser sterben.

Er beobachte jedoch starke Veränderungen im Rollenverhalten von Frauen, die für ihn heute weniger Interesse an Familie haben als in der DDR. Darüber sei er bisweilen stark frustriert.

Herr C.

Herr C. ist ein 30-jähriger angestellter Facharbeiter, der seit 4 Jahren mit seiner Freundin zusammen ist und seit einem halben Jahr mit ihr zusammenwohnt. Seine Freundin ist 2 Jahre jünger als er und absolviert z.Z. ein nebenberufliches Zusatzstudium.

Herr C. möchte gerne ein eigenes Kind haben und berichtet, daß er darüber mit seiner Freundin einvernehmliche Gespräche führe, in denen sie sich entschieden haben, bis zum Ende ihres Studiums zu warten.

Dreh- und Angelpunkt seines Kinderwunsches sei für ihn "die Beziehung". Diese sei für ihn in jedem Fall das wichtigste: ohne diese Voraussetzung würde er kein Kind wollen, ja, er würde sogar vom Kinderwunsch abrücken, wenn ein Kind die Beziehung verschlechtern würde. Er beobachte seine peers in dieser Hinsicht sehr genau. Abgesehen davon erscheint Herr C.s Kinderwunsch relativ bedingungslos. Mit Vatersein verbinde er die Notwendigkeit, vieles zu "bewältigen", ansonsten denke er an keine besonderen Veränderungen.

Er könne sich genauso gut ein Leben ohne Kinder vorstellen. Er teile überhaupt nicht die traditionelle Einstellung "Kind, Haus, Baum", man könne schließlich auch anders glücklich werden.

In seinem bisherigen Leben sei er schon einmal im Alter von 22/23 soweit gewesen, ein Kind mit seiner damaligen Freundin zu bekommen. Damals habe sich allerdings die Beziehung ausgelöst, so daß der Plan aufgegeben wurde. Dann habe eine Phase an Kurzbeziehungen eingesetzt, in der er überhaupt nicht mehr an Kinder gedacht habe. Seit einiger Zeit rede er ab und zu "locker" mit seiner jetzigen Freundin über das Thema, in diesen Gesprächen gehe es jedoch lediglich um den richtigen Zeitpunkt.

Herr D.

Herr D. ist ein 30jähriger angestellter Facharbeiter, der seit 3,5 Jahren mit einer zwei Jahre jüngeren Buchhändlerin zusammen ist und seit einem halben Jahr mit ihr zusammen wohnt.

Er wünsche sich Kinder ("Anzahl egal") und gehe davon aus, daß "sie sich anbahnen". Zunächst plane er allerdings mit seiner Freundin eine große Reise, danach erwartet er dann konkretere Überlegungen. Beide seien sich im Kinderwunsch einig.

Er mag Kinder generell gerne, habe bereits als Trainer mit Jugendsportmannschaften gearbeitet. Außerdem habe er viele Freunde, die bereits Kinder hätte, und er sei Pate für das Kind einer Freundin. Er möchte einmal auch selbst eine "richtige Familie" gründen.

Mit Vatersein verbinde er Veränderungen im "Lebensablauf", erhöhte Rücksichtnahme gegenüber der Freundin, weniger Gelegenheit zum Sporttreiben, einen Wohnungswechsel, und eben eine "richtige Familie" zu sein. Andere persönliche Veränderungen stelle er sich nicht vor.

Wichtig sei für ihn die persönliche Reife zur Elternschaft sowie die Reife der Beziehung als Voraussetzung für Kinder. Er möchte da nichts überstürzen, “nur um ein Kind zu haben”. Geld sei mit Sicherheit kein Kriterium für ihn. Kinderlosigkeit sei für ihn absolut nicht wünschenswert.

In seinem bisherigen Leben habe er sich bereits relativ stark damit beschäftigt, was es bedeute, Kinder zu haben. Zum ersten Mal, erinnere er sich, habe er mit 14 bei der Geburt seiner Nichte gedacht, daß es schön sei, Vater zu werden. Danach sei es bestimmt nie ganz aus dem Kopf gewesen, aber als er dann mit 25 gefragt wurde, eine Patenschaft für das Kind einer Freundin zu übernehmen, habe er lange darüber nachgedacht und sich gedacht, daß er selbst noch nicht bereit zu wäre, Vater zu werden. Mit seiner Freundin sei bei aller Bereitschaft auch das wichtige Thema gewesen: zu warten, bis man und die Beziehung bereit sei.

Herr F.

Herr F. ist ein 30jähriger angestellter Sozialarbeiter, der sich drei Wochen vor dem Interview von einer mehrmonatiger Beziehung (2 Jahre jüngere Sozialarbeiterin) getrennt hat.

Er habe einen starken Wunsch nach einer eigenen Familie und habe mit seiner Freundin vor der Trennung sogar beschlossen, eine Familie zu gründen, wenn sie es denn “schaffen zusammenzubleiben”.

Das sei sein größtes Problem: die richtige Frau zu finden. Große Teile seiner Reflexionen drehen sich daher auch um Gedanken zum Single-Dasein. Die richtige Frau und das Zusammenzuwohnen seien die beiden einzigen Voraussetzungen für ihn. Wenn er das “bis 40 nicht gepackt hat”, würde er “eine Not-Annonce aufsetzen"

Unter Vatersein stelle er sich zunächst einmal Verantwortung, eine permanentere Auseinandersetzung mit der Freundin über die Erziehung sowie Stolz, eine veränderte Zeiteinteilung und Veränderungen in der Liebesbeziehung u.v.a.m. vor. Dabei nennt er unter anderem auch identitätshafte Veränderungen: nämlich allgemein einen anderen Blick auf sich und die Welt zu bekommen. Zudem habe er schon einige gute Erfahrungen in der Hinsicht gesammelt.

Kinderlosigkeit sei für ihn negativ konnotiert - er möchte auch mit keiner Frau zusammensein, die Kinder ablehnt. Keine Kinder zu haben?, irgendwas müsse daran falsch sein, denke er manchmal.

In seinem bisherigen Leben seien Kinder, nach einer frühen Erfahrung als sozialer Vater für zwei Kinder einer Lebensgefährtin, eine ganze Weile gar kein Thema gewesen. Dann sei er aber zunehmend mit dem Thema berieselt worden und mehr und mehr Freunde seien Eltern geworden, so daß er sich mit dem Thema einmal auseinandersetzen mußte. Zudem sei er gleichzeitig ruhiger und stabiler geworden.

Herr G.

Herr G. ist ein arbeitsloser 30jähriger Facharbeiter und Kaufmann, der seit 10 Jahren mit seiner Freundin (gleichaltrig, feste Anstellung) zusammen ist und seit 6 Jahren zusammen wohnt.

Beide wollen Kinder haben, teilen aber auch die Absicht, damit zu warten, bis seine Job-Situation geklärt ist. Ein großer Teil der Diskussion drehe sich für ihn um Geld und um die Hoffnung auf einen festen und sicheren Arbeitsvertrag.

Außerdem drängen ihn “alle aus der Verwandtschaft” auf Kinder. Veränderungen durch eine Vaterschaft betreffen s.E. die erhöhte Rücksichtnahme, veränderte Lebensziele, aber auch das Älterwerden und die verstärkte Auseinandersetzungen mit der Freundin. Zudem müsse man auch hier an Geld denken.

Ein Leben ohne eigene Kinder könne er sich nicht verstellen, dann sei man schließlich nur “biologischer Abfall” und habe keinen Lebenssinn. Er nennt weiterhin einige markante biographische Ereignisse, die mit seinem Kinderwunsch zusammenhängen: ein tödlich verunglückter Freund (von dem sozusagen “nichts übrig” geblieben sei) und sein eigener ebenfalls tödlich verunglückter Vater, den er immer vermißt habe.

Zudem mag er Kinder, habe gute Erfahrungen gesammelt und werde auch von anderen als kinderlieb eingeschätzt.

In seinem bisherigen Leben habe er mit ca. 26 zum ersten Mal ernsthaft an Vaterwerden gedacht, seitdem aber aus Arbeitslosigkeit aufgeschoben.

Herr H.

Herr H. ist ein 30jähriger angestellter Drucker, der seit 3 Jahren mit seiner 7 Jahre jüngeren Freundin, einer z.Z. arbeitslosen Druckerin, zusammen ist und seit ca. 2 Jahren auch mit ihr wohnt.

Er habe keinen eigenen Kinderwunsch und unterhalte sich mit seiner Freundin bisweilen über Kinder, beide stimmen aber darin überein, daß sie zur Zeit keine möchten. Prinzipiell würde er sich jedoch der "Verantwortung" stellen, wenn ein Kind passieren sollte. Unter Vatersein stellt er sich die Übernahme von Verantwortung und Veränderungen profaner Alltagsdinge vor, ansonsten "möchte er nicht viel spekulieren".

Er sagt zusammenfassen von sich selbst, eine "neutrale" Einstellung zum Thema zu haben. Prinzipiell wäre Kinderlosigkeit für ihn auch voll in Ordnung.

In seinem bisherigen Leben habe es bislang keine Situation gegeben, in der er einmal über das Vaterwerden nachgedacht habe.

Herr I.

Her I. ist ein 30jähriger angestellten technischer Kaufmann, der seit 5 Jahren mit seiner 5 Jahre jüngeren Freundin (Uni-Abschluß, angestellt) zusammen ist und seit ca. 3 Jahren mit ihr zusammen wohnt.

Er habe keinen eigenen Kinderwunsch. Mit seiner Freundin sei er sich auch einig, daß sie jetzt noch keine Kinder wollen, "in den nächsten 5 Jahren nicht". Danach eventuell, doch ihm sei das aber "alles Banane", ob in 5 Jahren, in 10 Jahren, oder überhaupt nicht. Das müsse seine Freundin wissen, wann und ob das gut für sie beide sei. Seine Freundin sage immer, sie wünsche sich irgendwann einmal am liebsten Zwillinge. Von daher sei er sich "relativ sicher", daß er irgendwann mal Vater werde. Wenn es passieren sollte, würde er schon damit fertig werden.

Unter Vatersein stelle er sich viel Erklären, viel Reden, etwas Vorleben, eine gemeinsame Aufgabe mit der Partnerin vor. Prinzipiell wäre Kinderlosigkeit für ihn aber auch denkbar.

In seinem bisherigen Leben habe er bislang nie ernsthaft über eigene Kinder nachgedacht. Als er 20 war, sei einmal eine Frau von ihm schwanger gewesen, da hätte er aber gar nichts bei gedacht, sei apathisch gewesen; sie habe das Kind dann auch "glücklicherweise" verloren. Danach habe er nie wieder über Kinder nachgedacht.

Herr L.

Herr L. ist ein 31jähriger angestellter Techniker und Kaufmann, der z.Z. nebenberuflich ein Studium abschließt, seit über 10 Jahren mit seiner Frau (gleichaltrige Betriebswirtin) zusammen ist und seit fast 3 Jahren verheiratet ist.

Gemeinsam sei ein Kind geplant, und "wenn, dann jetzt und für den Fall, daß es nicht sein soll, bleibt es so wie es ist." Wichtige Überlegungen seien finanzieller und beruflicher Natur, die es jetzt günstig erscheinen lassen, weil "es passe ja nie richtig".

Für sie beide (ihn und seine Frau) stehe schon seit 4 bis 5 Jahren fest, daß sie irgendwann einmal Kinder haben wollten, auch wenn er mit Sicherheit nicht derjenige gewesen sei, der die konkretere Planung angeregt habe. Er stelle sich die erste Zeit mit Kindern sehr nervig vor, später im Alter von 3 oder 4 Jahren sei es sicherlich mehr Spaß mit Kindern.

Unter Vatersein stelle er sich zunächst einmal den Wegfall eines Gehaltes vor, eingeschränkte Nachtruhe, Versorgungspflichten , neue Arbeitsverteilungen, weniger Zeithaben für sich und den Partner und fürsorglicher zu werden, Ansonsten habe er keine besonderen Vorstellungen, hoffe aber, daß seine Frau da mehr Einblick habe.

Er wolle Kinder jetzt, damit er nicht zu alt werde. Er finde junge Eltern gut. Er gibt allerdings an, daß er das alles nicht so "hartnäckig" verfolge, s.E. nach könne er auch noch ein paar Jahre mit den Kindern warten, allerdings sehe er dann die biologische Uhr seiner Frau. In diesem Sinne müsse er zu "seinem Glück" gezwungen werde.

Ein Leben ganz ohne Kinder erscheine ihm irgendwie komisch. Später sagt er dann noch etwas klarer, daß er Kinderlosigkeit ablehne, weil das zu bequem sei und einfach dazugehöre.

In seinem bisherigen Leben sei die realistische Planung erst seit 2 bis 3 Jahren akut, wobei seit 4 oder 5 Jahren bei Ihnen allerdings feststehe, daß sie einmal Kinder haben wollten. Obwohl er, wenn es nach ihm ginge, noch gerne 5 Jahre hinausschieben würde, denke er doch an das Alter seiner Frau und würde daher für jetzt plädieren.

Herr P.

Herr P. ist ein 31jähriger arbeitsloser Facharbeiter. Er hat sich vor 7,5 Jahren von einer zweimonatigen Beziehung (Arbeitskollegin) getrennt und lebt seitdem allein. Er hält inzwischen freundschaftlichen Kontakt mit dieser Frau, die inzwischen alleinerziehende Mutter ist.

Er möchte gerne eine eigene Familie haben, aber wenn es nicht passe, dann passe es eben nicht, wie's kommt, so kommt's, sagt er. Voraussetzungen für eine Familiengründung sei es, das Finanzielle und eine verständnisvolle Partnerschaft in den Griff zu bekommen. Im Rückblick hätte er gerne auch Kinder mit der ehemaligen Freundin gehabt und "gebe den Gedanken immer noch nicht ganz auf".

Mit Vatersein verbinde er viel Aufregung, Tätigkeit, Verantwortung, Verläßlichkeit in der Familie und einen Wohnungswechsel. Ansonsten würde er sich hineinwerfen lassen. Arbeiten und Geld haben ist dann ein wichtiges Thema, denn beim realistischen Nachdenken über Kinder würde bei ihm die "große Rechnerei" anfangen. Hier sieht er starke Vorteile für Frauen, die mit Kindern gut "drei Jahre Arbeitslosigkeit" überbrücken kann.

Kinderlosigkeit würde er nicht gut finden, aber sich im Zweifelsfall mit arrangieren können.

In seinem bisherigen Leben habe er sich niemals richtig Gedanken über Kinder gemacht. Er in jüngster Zeit – auch bedingt durch die Arbeitslosigkeit – habe er damit angefangen, sich "Wunschträume" zu machen.

Herr Q.

Herr Q. ist ein 31jähriger Diplomand, der zur Zeit alleine lebt. Er hat seit mehr als einem Jahr eine lose Beziehung mit einer 6 Jahre älteren Frau, die bereits zwei Kinder hat, aber mit der er sich eine Familie vorstellen könnte.

Er möchte ein eigenes Kind haben, diesen Wunsch aber im Zweifelsfall von seiner Partnerin abhängig machen. Andererseits sei es aber auch eine Art Horrorvorstellung, ohne Kinder zu leben, und "das Feld den anderen zu überlassen", ohne sich nicht fortzupflanzen.

Unter Vatersein stelle er sich vor, "das weiterzugeben, was man als Kind bekommen hat", moralische Werte, Sicherheit, Geborgenheit, Freundschaft und Orientierung zu vermitteln, Engagement, Aktivität, Kinderliebe, Freude, Pflichten würden zunehmen.

In seinem bisherigen Leben habe er zunächst während der Wende Zukunftsängste und starke Bedenken gehabt, auch hinsichtlich einer Familiengründung. Dann habe er das Thema lange Zeit verdrängt, bis die Zeiten nun ein wenig ruhiger geworden seien, da seien Gedanken wieder aufgekommen. Panik bereite ihm nur der Gedanke, nicht die richtige Frau zu finden.

Herr R.

Herr R. ist ein 31jähriger arbeitssuchender Facharbeiter, der zur Zeit alleine lebt und kein Interesse an einer festen Beziehung hat. Frauen seien ihm zu besitzergreifend und wollten „immer alle Kinder", das sei ihm nichts.

Obwohl er sehr kinderlieb sei und viel Erfahrung mit Kindern gesammelt habe, wünsche er sich (zur Zeit) keine eigenen. Kinderlosigkeit sei prinzipiell auch OK für ihn. Auch hier spielt die s.E. besitzergreifende Familienfixierung von Frauen eine Rolle, er findet den Kinderwunsch von Frauen oft wenig durchdacht.

Vatersein würde für ihn die Übernahme der üblichen Aufgaben und Pflichten, die er aus eigener (Sozialvaterschafts-) Erfahrung heraus bereits kennt.

In seinem bisherigen Leben habe es im Alter um die 20 Jahre einmal eine feste Freundin gehabt, wenn damals etwas "passiert" wäre, hätte er wohl ein Kind freudig akzeptiert. Seitdem habe er sich zunehmend vom Familiengedanken fortentwickelt.

Appendix 10. Results of the axial coding for the individual interviewees

	Herr A.	**Herr B.**	**Herr C.**
Motto	Kinder als Lebensmotor	Es fehlt die Frau für den Kinderwunsch	Es ist allein wichtig, daß die Beziehung stimmt
Einstellungen (+/0/-)	Kinder und Familie (+); Harmonie in der Beziehung (+); Vaterschaft (+ / ist wichtiger als die berufliche Karriere); Kinderlosigkeit (-)	Abtreibung (-); Kind (+); Frauen (-); Kinderlosigkeit (-)	Belastung von Freundin und Beziehung (-); Kind und Familie (+); junge Eltern (+); Elternwerden während beruflicher Belastung (-); Kind als alleiniger Mittelpunkt (-); Einmischung in Erziehung (-); zu genaue Planung (-)
Werte	Planung, Nicht-Zufälligkeit von Familie	Selbstverantwortung; Sozialität	Entscheidungsfreiheit (Gewissen)
Motive	Transzendenz (Tradition, Erbe) Stärke (Gebrauchtwerden) Lebendigkeit (Kontakte, Fragen)	Vollständigkeit, Verwirklichung (100% Rolle in der Gesellschaft); Altersgesellschaft (nicht allein im Alter); Lebensfreude (Familie mit Kindern)	./.
Interessen	Kinderbetreuung, Erziehung, Spiel	Erziehung; Begleitung der Entwicklung	Kinder erziehen und heranreifen sehen
Ziele/Intention	**Vaterschaft als das primäres Ziel im Leben**	**Ein Kind will er unbedingt natürlich**	**Gedanklich so weit, Vater zu werden—würde das schon schön finden, aber nicht so unbedingt**
Selbstkonzept	Gewissenhaft, verantwortungsbewußt, wenig leichtsinnig; Midlife-crisis, angeknackster Selbstwert	Der 30. war Wendepunkt; muß jetzt gediegen werden; nicht krank oder asozial;	Er macht viele Wandlungen im Leben mit—Vatersein ist nicht so entscheidend
Männlichkeit	Männer haben weniger starke Bindung an Kinder als Frauen	Männlicher Lebenswandel ändert sich mit Kind; Frauen haben die intensivere Beziehung zu Kind	Er sei kein "Haus-Baum-Kind"-Mann
Soziale Interaktion	Negative und positive Vorbilder für Vaterschaft; Selbstbestimmung des Lebens	Vorbild in peers; wenig Gespräche	viele peers sind "Vorreiter"; genaue Beobachtung der peers; Eltern und einige der peers sind ein wenig Vorbild
Handlungs-überzeugungen	An Beziehung und Familie muß gearbeitet werden	Hinarbeiten auf Vaterrolle; mit Wille geht alles; Pessimismus im Partnerschaftsbereich	er kann sich auf ein Kind einrichten; gedankliche Vorbereitung

	Herr D.	Herr F.	Herr G.
Motto	Spaß an Kindern—aber man muß auch bereit sein	Das Familiäre an sich ist erstrebenswert	Ohne Kinder ist man nur biologischer Abfall
Einstellungen	Kinder und Familie (+); Einfluß von anderen auf Entscheidung (-); Kinder ohne festen Job (-); Kinderlosigkeit (-)	Kinder und Familie (+); Job um Kind was zu bieten (+); Leidenschaft in der Beziehung (+); Zusammenwohnen (+); Verhütung (-); junge Eltern (+); Kinderlosigkeit (-)	Kind ohne festen Job (-); Kinder und Familie (+); Kinder als absoluter Mittelpunkt (-)
Werte	Persönliche Reife (nicht vorschnell, nicht taktisch Elternwerden); Liebe zur Partnerin;	Fürsorglichkeit; elterliche Reife; das Familiäre an sich	Transzendenz (etwas von sich hinterlassen); Intakte Familie (Mutter-Vater-Kind)
Motive	Spaß und Freude (das Positive überwiegt); Altersgesellschaft (keine Einsamkeit)	Herausforderung (Fragen); Lebendigkeit (Power im Leben); Einbettung (allgemeine gesellschaftliche Einbindung)	./.
Interessen	Beschäftigung mit Kindern, Verfolgen der Entwicklung	Betreuung; Kindern Dinge zeigen; gemeinsame Urlaubsfahrten	Spaß am Umgang mit Kindern
Ziele/Intention	**Erst Urlaub, dann Wohnungswechsel, dann Kind**	**Vaterwerden als gute Idee und unbedingter Wunsch**	**Wir beide wollen Kinder haben**
Selbstkonzept	Ausreichend überzeugt, imstande, verantwortlich und reif, um Vater zu werden.	Reif, stabil, gesetzt; Komplettwandlung seit Jugend;	Gutmütig, läßt viel durchgehen
Männlichkeit	keine Veränderungen; Frauen habe stärkere Kinderbindung als Männer	Männer und Frauen sind gleich	./.
Soziale Interaktion	peers haben alle Kinder; negative Vorbilder bei peers;	Elternschaft ist häufiges Thema mit peers; peers sind Modell; peers ermuntern zur Vaterschaft;	Mutter macht Druck, aber Freundin macht nicht mit; peers haben Kinder; gibt viele Gespräche über diese; Vorbild ist Vater eines Freundes
Handlungs-überzeugungen	Vorbereitung und Akzeptanz von Kindern; Handlungsoptimismus bzgl. Vatersein	Pessimismus im Partnerschaftsbereich;	Handlungsoptimismus Vatersein

	Herr H.	Herr I.	Herr L.
Motto	Keine richtigen Gedanken gemacht—offen für alles,	Keine richtigen Gedanken gemacht—ein aktiver Aufschub des Themas	Man muß zu seinem Glück gestoßen werden; aber Kinder wollen schon geboren sein
Einstellungen	Kinder (+); Frauen, die nur auf Beruf setzen (-); Kind ohne gute Beziehung (-); geplante Kinder (-)	Kinder in zu kleiner Wohnung (-); Kinder ohne Heirat (-); als Greis Kinder haben (-); Verhütung (-); Kinder ohne festen Job (-); Planung (-); gesetztes Familienleben (-)	Kinder weiter hinausschieben (-); Kleinkinder (-); ältere Kinder (+); Kinder ohne festen Job (-); Alleinige Konzentration auf Kind (-); mehr als drei Kinder (-); alte Eltern (-); Kinderlosigkeit (-); zu genaue Planung (-)
Werte	Verantwortung (wer Kinder hat, ..., auch ggü der Freundin); Individualrecht (Entscheidung); Müßiggang (vs. "Überfrachtung")	Ablehnung Egoismus (Kinder als Lifestyle ohne kümmern); Spontaneität (nicht alles durchdenken); Egalität (kein traditionelles Familienbild)	Reproduktion (wenn jeder zu bequem wäre ...); Selbstverantwortung (da hilft einem keiner ...)
Motive	Filiation (ein Teil von ihm)	Altersgesellschaft (nicht allein sein)	Liebe des Kindes (Kind soll ihn prima finden)
Interessen	./.	Kindern was erklären und vorleben; kommunizieren	Spielen mit Kind; bei Aufgaben helfen
Ziele/Intention	**Kinder sind kein richtiges Ziel für ihn**	**Jetzt keine Kinder—ist ihm aber alles Banane**	**Geplant waren Kinder verstärkt ab Sommer, mindestens eins**
Selbstkonzept	Ist in ruhigerer Phase nach bewegtem Berufsleben; verantwortlich, realistisch, nicht-spekulativ; umtriebig, vielseitig interessiert; will sich nicht festlegen	Kasperkopf, ungesetzt; eigenständig bis überheblich; ist in die Stadt gezogen, um was zu erleben; Vaterschaft spielt keine Rolle; hat aber Ehrfurcht vor der Aufgabe	Man wird fürsorglicher durch ein Kind, weniger ich-bezogen; ist etwas träger und weniger hartnäckig als seine Frau: hat zuwenig Zeit für sich

Männlichkeit	./.	Er ist kein “Haus-Kind-Baum"-Mann	"Mann als Ernährer” ist Unsinn—Frauen können das manchmal viel besser; Frauen und Männer passen nicht zusammen
Soziale Interaktion	wenig Beschäftigung mit Thema; jüngere peers; wenig Einblick; Vater wäre ein großes Vorbild;	viele peers raten von Kindern ab; wenige peers haben eigene Kinder; negative Vorbilder peers;	Beobachtung von peers; Ermunterung und Ansteckung durch peers; negative Vorbilder und positive (ältere Väter)
Handlungs-überzeugungen	stellt sich Herausforderungen; es kommt, wie es kommt	Abwarten; Handlungsoptimismus und –erwartung als Vater; sich beherrschen als Vater; gewisse Ehrfurcht, was ihn als Vater erwartet	Planung, finanzielle Machbarkeit; Handlungsoptimismus als Vater bei geringer Mulmigkeit, was ihn erwartet; wird von seiner Frau zum Glück gestoßen

	Herr P.	**Herr Q.**	**Herr R.**
Motto	Würd's schon gerne sehen, aber wenn's nicht ist, ist's nicht	Man darf das Feld nicht den anderen überlassen	Andere sollen ihre Familien haben, ich werde aber bestimmt kein Vater
Einstellungen	Familie (+); “Flirtbeziehungen” (-); Verständnisvolle Beziehung (+); Zusammenleben (+); Gemeinsamkeit mit Partner (+); Kind ohne Geld (-); Lebendige Erziehung (+); Junge Eltern (+)	Kinder ohne festen Job und Wohnung (-); Kinderlosigkeit (-); sich nicht fortpflanzen (-)	Weiblicher Familienwunsch (-); Kinder (+); Kinder ohne festen Job (-); Kinderlosigkeit (+); Frauenzentrierte Familien (-)
Werte	Egalität (Mann-Frau-Lastengleichverteilung)	./.	Gewissenhaftigkeit (nicht überstürzt handeln); Einfühlungsvermögen (ggü. Kindern)
Motive	Geselligkeit (Kontakte pflegen, nicht einsam sein); Stärke (Jugend, Vitalität)	Persönliche Stärke (Engagierter werden); Liebe (kinderlieb werden); Aktivierung (Sport und Spiel); Durchsetzung und Selbstverwirklichung (anderen nicht das Feld überlassen); Vollständigkeit (Kinder schaffen das, was man selbst nicht schaffte)	Freiheit (keine Vorschriften, Zeit für sich)
Interessen	./.	Kindern Dinge weitergeben;	Betreuung von Kindern, spielen
Ziele/Intention	**Möchte gern Familie, aber wenn's sich ergibt, dann nicht**	**Wünscht sich Kinder von einer Frau**	**Keine Lust auf Beziehung und Familie**
Selbstkonzept	sehr arbeitsbezogen; zurückgezogen, häuslich, kein “Weggehtyp”, Familienmensch; grüblerisch, nicht oberflächlich; schwach	Zurückhaltend, schüchtern; narzißtisch; stärker werdend	Starke Veränderung in den letzten Jahren; überzeugter Junggeselle, freiheitsliebend; Kulturmensch
Männlichkeit	Männer sind die Dummen, Frauen können alleine ganz gut mit Kind leben; Männer werden nicht auf Familie vorbereitet, ins kalte Wasser gestoßen; Mutter ist in den ersten Jahren wichtiger; Kinder sind “Hauptentscheidung” der Frau	Vorsichtige Hilfewünsche ggü Frau	Männer werden von Frauen als Objekt zur Familiengründung mißbraucht; undurchdachter Familienwunsch der Frauen; Männerhaß von Frauen
Soziale Interaktion	wenig Kontakt mit peers oder Kindern; wenig Unterstützung von (alten) Eltern; kein Vorbild	peers haben Kinder und sich zurückgezogen, prinzipiell sind aber Gespräche möglich; keine Vorbilder	peers haben Kinder, er sammelt Erfahrung da; negative und positive Vorbilder peers;
Handlungs-überzeugungen	Handlungsoptimismus als Vater, den Konsequenzen stellen; hineingestoßen sein und werden; Frustration/Streß im Partnerschaftsbereich; Angst, zu spät zu kommen	Gefühl mangelnder Stärke, Handlungsambivalenz (ja und nein); Pessimismus im Partnerschaftsbereich (anonyme Welt)	Handlungsoptimismus als Vater; Kompetenz

Appendix 11. Results of the sequential selective coding process

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Content of the description

a) Revealing the central theme of a story, that is giving answers to the questions: What explains the personal desire for children? How does the person address the topic and how are the future plans implemented? (Central categories **bold**)

b) Filling-up of the categories, that is giving answer to the questions: What do we know about the marginal categories for this case? How can we understand the missing of a certain single category? Are there remaining questions to the case?

c) Internal and external validation of the interpretation, that is giving answers to the questions: Is the given description of the case conclusive, concise, and free from contradictions? Are there possible alternatives of interpretation? Does the given interpretation coincide with other findings on the case (like, for instance, the VAS-values or the initial single-case descriptions from Appendix 9)?

Herr A. (heuristisch: internaler Entwicklungstypus)

a) Herrn A.s Wunsch nach Kindern wird besonders durch reichhaltige positive **Einstellungen** zu Kindern, Vaterschaft und Familie, durch ein **Interesse** an der Beschäftigung mit Kindern sowie durch starke **Motive** bestimmt. Diese Motive decken sich in hohem Maße mit seinem **Selbstkonzept**: er sieht sich in einer midlife-crisis und bewertet (daher?) Stärke, Lebendigkeit, nicht zuletzt: Transzendenz, (all dies verbindet er mit einem eigenem Kind) als positive Konsequenzen einer Vaterschaft. Zudem betrachtet er sich selbst als gewissenhaften Menschen (**Selbstkonzept**), der an seinen Zielen (hart) arbeiten muß (**Handlungsüberzeugung**), für den dieses planerische, verantwortliche und nicht-zufällige Vorgehen aber auch einen allgemein einen **Wert** darstellt.

b) Beim Blick auf die vergleichsweise "leeren" Achsen, erweisen sich besonders **Werte, das männliche Selbstkonzept** und die **soziale Interaktion** als wenig ausgeprägt. Dies kann als Hinweis auf ein relativ isoliertes Selbstkonzept aufgefaßt werden. Außerdem findet sich hier die "männliche" Distanz zum Thema wieder, die für Herrn A. aber auch einen Entwicklungsmotor darstellt.

c) Die Erzählung von Herr A. zu Vaterschaftsvorstellungen und Kinderwunsch hat eine hohe interne Validität, die sich in einer hohen Schlüssigkeit und Widerspruchsfreiheit der Darstellung zeigt. Zieht man für eine externe Validierung die übrigen heuristischen Befunde aus 6.3.1 heran, deckt sich das dort gefundene Bild (internaler Entwicklungstyp mit dreiphasigem Lebenslauf der Beschäftigung mit Vaterschaft) mit dem hier gefundenen Bild, das Herrn A.s Kinderwunsch besonders vor dem Hintergrund der persönlichen Entwicklung kennzeichnet. In diesem Sinne erweist sich Herr A. als der Prototyp des internalen Entwicklungstypus mit dreiphasigem Verlauf.

Herr B. (heuristisch: internaler Normtypus)

a) Herrn B.s Wunsch nach Kindern wird besonders durch eine stark negative **Einstellung** zu Kinderlosigkeit und durch starke **Motive**, die sich besonders auf soziale Vollständigkeit beziehen, bestimmt. Damit einher geht die Vorstellung einer wichtigen Veränderung im **Selbstkonzept** mit dem 30. Lebensjahr, von generellen sozialen Erwartungen an **Männer** sowie ein starkes Vorbild für eine erfolgreiche Familiengründung in seinem **sozialen Umfeld**. **Handlungsüberzeugungen** und **Werte** weisen darauf hin, daß er sich selbst dazu verpflichtet sieht, auf eine Familie hinzuarbeiten.

b) Beim Blick auf die vergleichsweise "leeren" Achsen, erweisen sich besonders **Einstellungen** und **Interessen** als generell wenig ausgeprägt. Das wird als Hinweis auf eine bislang geringe praktische Beschäftigung mit dem Thema bzw. Kindern aufgefaßt und wiederum auf die Genese seines Kinderwunsches aus Vorstellungen von Normalität.

c) Hinsichtlich der internen Validität der erzählten Geschichte finden sich keine Einschränkungen bzgl. Schlüssigkeit und Widerspruchsfreiheit. Zieht man für die externe Validierung die übrigen Befunde aus 6.3.1 heran, zeigt besonders das Ausbleiben differenzierter Einstellungen und Interessen das Fehlen einer (praktischen) Entwicklungsgeschichte—trotz hoher Internalität. Beides findet sich ähnlich sowohl in der Kinderwunsch-Typologie als auch der biographischen Typologie von Kapitel 6.3.1 wieder. In diesem Sinne erweist sich Herr B. als der Prototyp des internalen Normtypus mit später Initiation.

Herr C. (heuristisch: Partnerschaftstypus)

a) Herrn C.s Wunsch nach Kindern wird besonders durch Vorbilder im **sozialen Umfeld** und seine **Handlungsüberzeugung** der erfolgreichen Bewältigung und gedanklichen Vorbereitung einer Vaterschaft bestimmt. Als **Einstellung** lehnt er zu alte Eltern ab.

b) Beim Blick auf die vergleichsweise "leeren" Achsen, tun sich relativ viele Lücken auf: im **Selbstkonzept** und den Vorstellungen von **Männlichkeit** weist Herr C. vielmehr auf die geringe Bedeutung einer möglichen Vaterschaft hin. Er bewertet Kinderlosigkeit nicht schlecht und für ihn ist die völlige Entscheidungsfreiheit auch hinsichtlich einer Familiengründung ein **Wert**. **Einstellungen** zu familienrelevanten Themen, **Motive** und **Interessen** werden in der Erzählung relativ schwach ausgeführt.

c) Hinsichtlich der internen Validität des aufgedeckten roten Fadens ist offensichtlich, daß die normativen Aspekte des Elternwerdens deutlicher hervortreten als Herrn C.s persönlicher Wunsch danach. Hier ist also zunächst zu fragen, ob der (geäußerte!) Wunsch adäquat dargestellt wurde. Zieht man die übrigen Befunde aus 6.3.1 heran, wird klar, daß sich dieser "dünne" Kinderwunsch durchaus validieren läßt. Die Lebenspartnerin und die Beziehung an sich steht so stark im Mittelpunkt, daß er ein "ja" und ein "nein" seiner Freundin beidermaßen akzeptieren und mittragen würde. Die dreiphasige Beschäftigung mit Kindern wird—laut seiner Erzählung—durch die gleichen Faktoren bestimmt: Auch in der frühen Phase wurde seine Bereitschaft zu einer Familiengründung durch die "gute Beziehung" mit seiner damaligen Freundin und seine Ablehnung zu alter Elternschaft ausgelöst. In diesem Sinne erweist sich Herr C. als der Prototyp des Partnerschaftstypus mit dreiphasigem Verlauf.

Herr D. (heuristisch: internaler Entwicklungstypus)

a) Herrn D.s Wunsch nach Kindern wird durch eine große Vielzahl von Faktoren bestimmt. Positive **Einstellungen** zu Kindern und Familie sowie eine negative **Einstellung** zu Kinderlosigkeit gehen einher mit reichhaltigen **Interessen** an der Beschäftigung mit Kindern, mit den **Motiven** Freude und Gemeinschaft, mit einem **Handlungsoptimismus** bzgl. einer Elternschaft und dem **Selbstkonzept** eines reifen und überlegten Familienmenschen. Persönliche Reife stellt für ihn sogar einen **Wert** dar.

b) Beim Blick auf die vergleichsweise "leeren" Achsen, erweisen sich lediglich Berichte des **sozialen Umfeldes** und seine Vorstellungen von **Männlichkeit** als relativ wenig ausgeprägt. Das kann als Hinweis auf eine geringe sozial-normative Vorstellung von Vaterschaft verstanden werden.

c) Hinsichtlich der internen Validität des aufgedeckten roten Fadens gibt es wenig Bedenken. da Herr D. eine schlüssige und widerspruchsfreie Geschichte erzählt. Zieht man die übrigen Befunde aus 6.3.1 heran, zeigt sich auch hier, daß Herr D. zurecht in die Heuristik des internalen Entwicklungstypus mit vollständiger Dreiphasenentwicklung eingestuft wurde.

Herr F. (heuristisch: internaler Entwicklungstypus)

a) Herrn F.s Wunsch nach Kindern wird durch Erzählungen aus beinahe allen Achsen des Kodierschemas gedeckt. Positive **Einstellungen** zu Kindern, Familie, junger Elternschaft, negative **Einstellungen** zu Kinderlosigkeit und Verhütung, weiterhin das Familiäre, Fürsorglichkeit und elterliche Reife als **Wert** an sich, detaillierte **Motive**, die sich besonders auf eine zukünftige familiäre Lebensgestaltung beziehen, explizite **Interessen** an der Beschäftigung mit Kindern, eine umfangreiche und positive **soziale Interaktion** mit Peers zum Thema Elternschaft sowie ein **Selbstkonzept,** das sich inzwischen zu Reife und Gesetztheit gewandelt hat.

b) Beim Blick auf die vergleichsweise "leeren" Achsen, erweist sich die Kodierung nach **Handlungsüberzeugungen** und **Männlichkeit** als wenig ergiebig.

c) Hinsichtlich der internen Validität des aufgedeckten roten Fadens ist festzustellen, daß alle vorgebrachten Einschätzungen in die gleiche Richtung weisen und sich gegenseitig stützen (z.B. Selbstkonzept, Wert und Ziel). Zieht man die übrigen Befunde aus 6.3.1 heran, zeigt sich daß die heuristische Einordnung als internalen Entwicklungstypus mit vollständiger Dreiphasenbildung unsere Interpretation stützt.

Herr G. (heuristisch: internaler Normtypus)

a) Herrn G.s Wunsch nach Kindern wird besonders durch **soziale Interaktionen** bestimmt. Es gibt viele Freunde mit Kindern, Gespräche über das Thema und ein starkes Vorbild in seinem Bekanntenkreis. Die positive Bewertung einer intakte Familie (Vater, Mutter, Kind) ist sowohl auf der **Motivebene** als auch auf der **Einstellungsebene** auffindbar. Positive **Handlungsüberzeugungen** im und **Interessen** am Umgang mit Kindern sind auffindbar.

b) Beim Blick auf die vergleichsweise "leeren" Achsen, erweisen sich besonders **Motive** und **(männliches) Selbstkonzept** als wenig ausgeführt. Die persönliche Entwicklung taucht also relativ selten auf.

c) Hinsichtlich der internen Validität des aufgedeckten roten Fadens bleibt festzuhalten, daß wir wenig Motive und Selbstkonzept-nahe Äußerungen finden. Das ist zunächst in Ordnung, widerspricht aber auf den ersten Blick der Typologie aus 6.3.1, in der wir Herrn G. in den internalen Normtypus einordneten. Wie paßt das zusammen? Zum einen orientiert und identifiziert sich Herr G. stark über soziale Normen, daher fehlen die klassischen Aussagen zum Selbstkonzept—die soziale Interaktion ist umso stärker besetzt. Zum anderen ist in den von ihm genannten Werten (Transzendenz, Familie) deutlich der Zusammenhang mit Motiven sichtbar; lediglich sein Erzählstil, der sehr prinzipieller Natur ist, führte dann zur Kodierung als Wert. Somit sind auch durchaus internale Quellen für seine Bewertungen sichtbar. Zusammen mit der diachronen Typologie, in der sich Herr G. als klassischer "Normtypus" mit spät einsetzender Beschäftigung mit Kindern zeigt, ergibt sich ein konsistentes Bild seiner Erzählung.

Herr H. (heuristisch: indifferenter Typus)

a) Herrn H.s Indifferenz hinsichtlich eigener Kinder ist besonders durch ein differenziertes **Selbstkonzept** und durch ebensolche **Werte** erklärlich; er sieht sich selbst als umtriebig, vielseitig interessiert, wenig festgelegt, dabei aber auch wenig spekulativ und eher realistisch. Prinzipiell (im Sinne eines Wertes) schätzt er Individualismus und individuelle Verantwortung sowie einen Lebensstil, der sich Zeit für individuelle Freiräume (z.B. Muße) nimmt. Sein **Einstellungsraum** ist relativ aufgefächert: er schätzt zwar Kinder allgemein, nennt aber auch negative Dinge zu einer Elternschaft.

b) Beim Blick auf die vergleichsweise "leeren" Achsen zeigen sich weitere Interpretationsmöglichkeiten. Besonders in der **sozialen Interaktion** gibt er an, daß er bislang kaum eine Beschäftigung mit dem Thema erlebt habe—weder mit Freunden noch Freundin. Trotzdem sieht er seinen Vater als ein großes Vorbild für eine Vaterfigur, obwohl er wenig zum Thema **Mannsein** angibt. Daß sich wenig **Motive** oder **Interessen** auffinden, erklärt konsistent, daß die Vorstellung einer eigenen Vaterschaft als Ziel oder Wunsch wenig konkret wird.

c) Hinsichtlich der internen Validität des aufgedeckten roten Fadens zeigt sich eine hohe Übereinstimmung der besetzten und unbesetzten Kategorien. Während die besetzten das Bild eines mit sich zufriedenen, freiheitsliebenden Realisten zeigen (der quasi über Kinder gar nicht erst "phantasieren" möchte), zeigen die unbesetzten Kategorien, daß entscheidende Vorstellungen zu den Konsequenzen und der Praxis einer Vaterschaft fehlen. Zieht man die übrigen Befunde aus 6.3.1 heran, zeigt sich, daß die heuristische Einordnung Herrn H. als indifferenten Typus das hier dargestellte Bild trifft: Herr H. ist weder gegen noch für eigene Kinder—sondern eben indifferent. Wem es egal ist, der hat auch keinen Kinderwunsch, läßt sich schlußfolgern.

Herr I. (heuristisch: indifferenter Typus)

a) Herrn I.s Bericht Indifferenz hinsichtlich eigener Kinder wird ebenfalls durch ein differenziertes **(männliches) Selbstkonzept** und durch ebensolche **Werte** erklärlich. Er sieht sich als einen verwöhnten und ungesetzten Kasperkopf, der (noch) etwas erleben möchte—in jedem Fall sei er kein "Haus-Baum-Kind"-Mann. Prinzipiell (im Sinne eines Wertes) schätzt er Egalität und Spontaneität und lehnt Kinder als reines Lifestyle-Projekt ab. Sein **Einstellungsraum** ist relativ aufgefächert: er schätzt zwar eine junge Elternschaft, nennt aber auch negative Bezüge zu einer Elternschaft.

b) Beim Blick auf die vergleichsweise "leeren" Achsen, zeigen sich weitere Interpretationsmöglichkeiten. Besonders in der **sozialen Interaktion** gibt er an, daß er durchaus negative Beobachtungen zum Thema Kinder mache: peers raten ab und die wenigen peers, die eigene Kinder haben, seien negative Vorbilder. Das führe bei ihm auch zu einer gewissen Ehrfurcht vor einer Elternschaft im Sinne einer **Handlungsüberzeugung**. Daß sich wenige weitere **Motive** oder **Interessen** auffinden, erklärt, warum die Vorstellung einer eigenen Vaterschaft als Ziel oder Wunsch wenig konkret ist.

c) Hinsichtlich der internen Validität des aufgedeckten roten Fadens zeigt sich eine hohe Übereinstimmung der besetzten und unbesetzten Kategorien. Während die besetzten das Bild eines quirligen, freiheitsliebenden Post-traditionalisten zeigen (dem Kinder ein wenig "Ehrfurcht" einflößen und dem von Kindern sogar abgeraten wird), zeigen die unbesetzten Kategorien, daß entscheidende Vorstellungen zu den Konsequenzen und der Praxis einer Vaterschaft fehlen. Das läßt sich bei Herrn I. auch biographisch validieren: eine einmal erlebte Schwangerschaft hat ihn—so berichtet er—auf eine seltsam-spaßige Art unberührt gelassen. Zieht man die übrigen Befunde aus 6.3.1 heran, zeigt sich, daß die heuristische Einordnung Herrn H. als indifferenten Typus das hier dargestellte Bild trifft: Herr H. ist zu Zeit eher "gegen" eigene Kinder, deutet aber auch eine vorsichtige Bereitschaft an, sich evtl. mit einer Vaterschaft zu arrangieren.

Herr L. (heuristisch: Partnerschaftstypus)

a) Herrn L.s Wunsch nach Kindern wird nur durch eine Lage von relativ widersprüchlichen Beschreibungen hindurch sichtbar. Zunächst einmal nennt er relativ viele **soziale Interaktionen**, die ihn zu einer Vaterschaft ermuntern. Besonders Peers und ältere Väter werden genannt. Auf der **Einstellungsebene** lehnt er zu alte Eltern ab, genauso wie Kinderlosigkeit und einen weiteren Aufschub der Familiengründung. Gleichzeitig **interessiert** ihn aber lediglich die Beschäftigung mit älteren Kindern. Daher sagt er wohl auch, daß er von seiner Frau eher zu Kindern gestoßen wird, da er etwas träge und entscheidungsunlustig sei (**Selbstkonzept**). Das sei etwas, von dem er hoffe, daß es sich mit Kindern ändere. Prinzipiell (**Werte**) findet er Reproduktion und das Ergreifen von Selbstverantwortung wichtig. Zunächst spielen aber Gedanken an die (finanzielle) Machbarkeit und eine gewissen Mulmigkeit (im Sinne von **Handlungsüberzeugungen**) eine Rolle.

b) Beim Blick auf die vergleichsweise "leeren" Achsen, erweisen sich besonders **Motive** , **Männlichkeit** und **Interessen** relativ wenig ausgeprägt. Hier deutet sich so ein wenig ein unbeantwortetes "Wozu eigentlich Kinder?" bei Herrn L. an. Letztlich kann er die Begründung seines Wunsches nur prinzipiell (siehe a)) oder über seine Frau (die Frau soll das machen!) aufrechterhalten.

c) Hinsichtlich der internen Validität des aufgedeckten roten Fadens bleibt zu fragen, ob sich das angedeutete Sammelsurium von Ideen und Vorstellungen zu einer schlüssigen und widerspruchsfreien Geschichte ordnen läßt. Hier ist es wohl nicht falsch, von einer etwas schwierigen und wenig geradlinigen Intentionsbildung zu sprechen. Daß Herr L. dennoch zur Äußerung eines eigenen Kinderwunsches findet, macht sich überwiegend an seiner Frau fest. Zieht man dazu die übrigen Befunde aus 6.3.1 heran, zeigt sich diese Partnerorientierung bereits in der gefundenen Kinderwunsch-Typisierung, Jedoch wird die von ihm genannte Distanz auch durch das relativ späte Einsetzen seiner Beschäftigung mit dem Thema sichtbar. Insgesamt mag es gerechtfertigt erscheinen, Herrn L. als einen "konflikthaft Partnerschaftsorientierten" zu bezeichnen, der aber auch aufzeigt, daß man eine Intention haben/angeben kann, ohne etwas als eigentliches "Ziel" zu formulieren.

Herr P. (heuristisch: Partnerschaftstypus)

a) Herrn P.s Wunsch nach Kindern wird durch verschiedene Erzählstränge verständlich. Zum einen beschreibt er sich als Familienmenschen, der zu Familie, Partnerschaft, Gemeinschaft und junger Elternschaft sehr positive **Einstellungen** hegt. Auch im **Selbstkonzept** sieht er sich als häuslich, familiär und als nicht oberflächlich veranlagt. Allerdings auch als depressiv und schwach. Hieraus werden die **Motive** Geselligkeit und Stärke (Vitalität) verständlich, die er für eine Vaterschaft angibt. Auch seine **Handlungsüberzeugungen**, in denen eine gewisse Skepsis hinsichtlich der Realisierung einer Vaterschaft aufscheint, sowie die Einschätzung, daß es notwendig sei, in die Vaterschaft "hineingestoßen" zu werden, liegen auf dieser Linie. Daß er Frauen generell einen privilegierten Zugang zur Elternschaft beimißt, weist auf ein relativ konfliktuöses Konzept von **Männlichkeit** hin.

b) Beim Blick auf die vergleichsweise "leeren" Achsen, erweisen sich besonders die **soziale Interaktion**, **Interessen** und **Werte** als dünn besetzt. Einmal wird dadurch eine gewisse Isolation sowie die geringe Vorstellungen von und Vorbilder zur praktischen Seite von Vaterschaft sichtbar. Im Sinne eines Wertes hofft er (mehr als er erlebt) auf grundlegende Geschlechter-Egalität. Das erklärt auch die Angst, in irgendeiner Weise mit seinen Familienwünschen zu spät zu kommen (ein Seitenaspekt in seinen Handlungsüberzeugungen).

c) Hinsichtlich der internen Validität des aufgedeckten roten Fadens bleibt zu fragen, in wie fern hier von einem (wenn auch zaghaften) Kinderwunsch gesprochen werden kann. Herr P. wünscht sich Familie, aber zuvörderst eine Partnerschaft, der zuliebe er auf ein eigenes Kind eben auch ggf. verzichten würde. In dieser Formulierung werden sowohl die auffindbaren Wunschanteile seiner Geschichte (siehe a)) als auch seine besondere Distanz zum Thema verständlich. Dies deckt sich in der externen Validierung wiederum mit den heuristisch-typologischen Befunden aus 6.3.1, die Herrn P. als Partnerschaftstypus mit spät einsetzender Beschäftigung charakterisierten. Daß seine Beschäftigung so spät einsetzt, wird dann durch die Tatsache erklärt, daß er in jüngeren Jahren nie eine funktionierende Beziehung aufbauen konnte. Auch hier ist zusammenfassend von einer "konflikthaften Partnerorientierung" zu sprechen.

Herr Q. (heuristisch: internaler Normtypus)

a) In starkem Maße charakteristisch für Herrn Q. Kinderwunsch erweist sich die Verschränkung von reichhaltigen **Motiven** und Aspekten des **Selbstkonzepts.** Herr Q. sieht sich als schüchtern, problematisch, narzißtisch und in persönlicher Entwicklung begriffen und hegt vielfältige Erwartungen an eine Vaterschaft: stärker und aktiver zu werden, liebevoller zu werden, sich selbst zu verwirklichen, vollständig zu werden. Damit ist es ihm sehr ernst, wie sich in stark negativen **Einstellungen** zur Kinderlosigkeit ("sich nicht fortpflanzen") und des prononcierten **Handlungspessimismus** hinsichtlich der Familiengründung sichtbar wird. Die vorsichtigen Hilfewünsche, der er als **Mann** gegenüber einer Partnerin hegt, belegen ein weiteres Mal die Bedeutung des Hilfethemas.

b) Beim Blick auf die vergleichsweise "leeren" Achsen, erweisen sich die **Einstellungen** als generell undifferenziert, ebenso **Werte, Interessen** und die **soziale Interaktion**. Das interpretieren wir als einen Hinweis auf ein tatsächlich stark isoliert-idiozentrische Konstitution des Kinderwunsches, der in wenig andere Zusammenhänge eingebettet scheint.

c) Hinsichtlich der internen Validität des aufgedeckten roten Fadens ist festzuhalten, daß sich die Motive für ein Kind und die Aspekte des Selbstkonzepts nahezu vollständig ineinander übersetzen lassen, so daß eine hohe Schlüssigkeit und Widerspruchsfreiheit zu attestieren ist. In der theoretisch vorangetriebenen axialen Kodierung wird Herrn Q.s Wunsch nach Kindern deutlich weniger als normativ (wie heuristisch in 6.3.1 gefunden), sondern vielmehr als Entwicklungstypus sichtbar.

Herr R. (heuristisch: nicht-familiärer Typus)

a) Herrn R.s Ablehnung von eigenen Kindern wird besonders durch ein differenziertes Netz verschiedener Aspekte erklärt. Obwohl er Kinder mag, hegt er durchaus eine positive **Einstellung** zur Kinderlosigkeit sowie negative zu Frauen und ihrem Familienwunsch. Er sieht sich selbst (**Selbstkonzept**) als freiheitsliebend und stark selbstentwickelnder Junggeselle, der bereits ausführliche Erfahrungen und Kompetenz im Umgang mit Kindern und in Familien gesammelt hat (**soziale Interaktion; Handlungsüberzeugung**), jedoch sein Freiheit schätzt (**Motiv**). Er äußert deutlich **Werte**, die für ihn in

einer guten Familie realisiert gehören (Gewissenhaftigkeit, Einfühlungsvermögen), und sieht unter anderem Frauen nicht in der Lage, diese zu realisieren (**Männlichkeit**).

b) Beim Blick auf die vergleichsweise "leeren" Achsen, fallen lediglich die gering ausgeführten **Motive** auf.

c) Hinsichtlich der internen Validität des aufgedeckten roten Fadens bleibt wenig zu fragen: Herr R. hat wenig **Motive** zur Familiengründung, die er auf anderen Ebenen durchaus differenziert argumentiert, aber aus schlüssigen und widerspruchsfreien Zusammenhängen heraus für sich ablehnt. Zieht man die übrigen Befunde aus 6.3.1 heran, zeigt sich auch hier die postulierte Nähe zum internalen Entwicklungstypus, der Unterschied ergibt sich lediglich aus dem umgekehrten Vorzeichen.

Appendix 12. Correlation and factor analysis of the findings of the axial coding. Selective reduction to two core categories.

Correlations

			E	W	M	I	SI	SK	MA	HU
Spearman's rho	E	Correlation Coefficient	1,000	,408	-,192	,488	-,192	,258	-,408	-,333
		Sig. (1-tailed)	,	,094	,275	,054	,275	,209	,094	,145
		N	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12
	W	Correlation Coefficient	,408	1,000	-,354	,239	,354	,158	-,250	-,408
		Sig. (1-tailed)	,094	,	,130	,227	,130	,312	,217	,094
		N	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12
	M	Correlation Coefficient	-,192	-,354	1,000	,169	-,333	,447	,354	,192
		Sig. (1-tailed)	,275	,130	,	,300	,145	,072	,130	,275
		N	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12
	I	Correlation Coefficient	,488	,239	,169	1,000	,169	-,076	-,598*	,098
		Sig. (1-tailed)	,054	,227	,300	,	,300	,408	,020	,381
		N	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12
	SI	Correlation Coefficient	-,192	,354	-,333	,169	1,000	-,447	-,354	,192
		Sig. (1-tailed)	,275	,130	,145	,300	,	,072	,130	,275
		N	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12
	SK	Correlation Coefficient	,258	,158	,447	-,076	-,447	1,000	,316	-,258
		Sig. (1-tailed)	,209	,312	,072	,408	,072	,	,158	,209
		N	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12
	MA	Correlation Coefficient	-,408	-,250	,354	-,598*	-,354	,316	1,000	,000
		Sig. (1-tailed)	,094	,217	,130	,020	,130	,158	,	,500
		N	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12
	HU	Correlation Coefficient	-,333	-,408	,192	,098	,192	-,258	,000	1,000
		Sig. (1-tailed)	,145	,094	,275	,381	,275	,209	,500	,
		N	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12

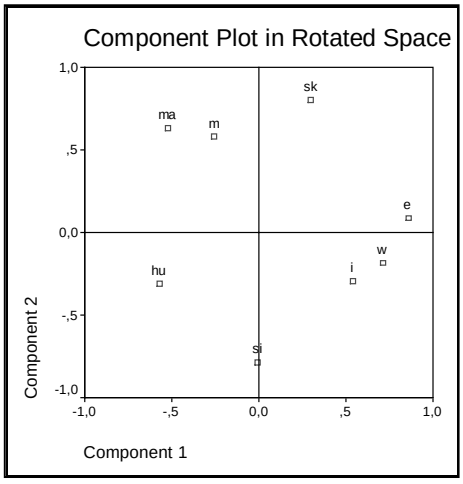
*. Correlation is significant at the .05 level (1-tailed).

Rotated Component Matrix[a]

	Component	
	1	2
E	,858	8,788E-02
W	,717	-,184
M	-,254	,582
I	,542	-,292
SI	-6,00E-03	-,788
SK	,297	,804
MA	-,522	,634
HU	-,570	-,312

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.
Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

a. Rotation converged in 3 iterations.



Erläuterung: E=Einstellungen, W=Werte, M=Motive, I=Interessen, SI=Soziale Interaktion, SK=Selbst-Konzept, MA=männliches Selbst, HÜ=Handlungsüberzeugungen.

Kurzzusammenfassung der Arbeit

„Der Übergang zur Vaterschaft in Ostdeutschland in den 1990ern. Psychologische Determinanten der Erstgeburt und die Bedeutung des Übergangs zur Elternschaft für junge Erwachsene aus Rostock. Eine ereignisanalytische und qualitative integrative Untersuchung innerhalb des Rostocker Längsschnitts"

Die vorliegende Arbeit nimmt ihren Ausgang von drei aktuellen Forschungsproblemen, denen sie sich mit einer transdisziplinären und methodisch integrativen Studie begegnet. Die erste Forschungsfrage ist die nach der Vereinbarkeit demographischer und psychologischer Erklärungsmodelle des generativen Handelns. Die in der Literatur vielfach vertretene Überzeugung, individuelle Unterschiede in psychischen Merkmalen trügen wenig bis gar nichts zur Erklärung der Reproduktion bei, unterzieht die Arbeit einer eingehenden Untersuchung. Das zweite Forschungsproblem ist in der Frage nach der Erklärung des extremen Geburtenrückgangs in Ostdeutschland nach der Vereinigung gegeben. Hierzu stellt die Arbeit bisherige Untersuchungen dieses Phänomens vor und fragt danach, ob ein psychologischer Ansatz zusätzlich zu den in der Literatur gegebenen ökonomischen (finanzielle Schwierigkeiten) und soziologischen (biographische Unsicherheiten) Modellen weitere Erklärungsmöglichkeiten bieten kann. Beim dritten Forschungsproblem schließlich geht es um die Frage nach Geschlechtsunterschieden in den Determinanten des Übergangs zur Elternschaft. Die Untersuchung bezieht Stellung zu der Frage, inwiefern sich Unterschiede zwischen Männern und Frauen nicht nur auf der Grundlage der biologischen Geschlechterdifferenz *(sex)* verstehen, sondern auch auf der Ebene des sozial konstruierten Geschlechts *(gender)* interpretieren lassen. Hier wird besonders auf die Frage nach der Konstruktion von Männlichkeit *(masculinities)* und Väterlichkeit in Ostdeutschland nach der Wende abgestellt.

Die Forschungsfragen sowie die Möglichkeiten ihrer wechselseitigen Verweisung (zum Beispiel: kann man von Geschlechtsunterschieden in Fertilitätsfaktoren auf die Geschlechterordnung schließen, und umgekehrt?) werden im ersten inhaltlichen Teil der Arbeit *(Part A)* ausgearbeitet. Der Autor rekurriert dabei unter anderem auf ein neueres sozialdemographisches Forschungsparadigma *(„foundation of demographic theory"* von Bart de Bruijn), in dem aufzeigt wird, wie eine psychologische Fundierung einer demografischen Fertilitätstheorie formuliert werden kann. De Bruijns Paradigma legt, so die Argumentation dieser Arbeit, überzeugend dar, dass eine „Mikrofundierung" der Fertilität dann gelingen kann, wenn man gesellschaftlichen Wandel als die Evolution von sinnstiftenden formellen und informellen Institutionen begreift, welche sowohl direkt als auch über die Gestaltung eines je individuellen Lebenshintergrundes vermittelt die subjektiven Überlegungen der handelnden Akteure bestimmen *(cognitive-institutional approach)*.

Auf der intrapsychischen Ebene des Akteurs lassen sich gemäß dieses Paradigmas besonders Unterschiede in hereditären Merkmalen von Personen (*personal endowment*), im wahrgenommenen Problemraum *(problem space)*, in der subjektiven Motivstruktur *(motivation)*, in der wahrgenommenen Verhaltenskontrolle *(perceived action control)* sowie den persönlichen Entscheidungsstilen *(decision styles)* als diskriminant für das beobachtete generative Handeln ausmachen.

Die empirische Untersuchung greift dieses Modell auf und führt drei verschiedene Untersuchungen zur Frage des Übergangs zur Elternschaft in Ostdeutschland nach der Wende durch. Dazu verwendet sie vorliegende Daten und eigene Erhebungen im Rahmen der Rostocker Längsschnittstudie. Diese Studie zeichnet seit 1970/71 die Entwicklung von 300 damals

neugeborenen Jungen und Mädchen aus Rostock auf und kann im Kern als eine repräsentativer Längsschnitt für die ostdeutschen Bevölkerung jener Kohorte aufgefasst werden.

Im Teil B führt der Autor eine ereignisanalytische Untersuchung *(event history analysis)* der in der Studie beobachtbaren Erstgeburten aus den Jahren 1988 bis 2002 durch. Die aufwändige, ursprünglich demografische Analysemethode eignet sich besonders für die vorliegenden Daten, da sie zum einen problemlos zensierten Beobachtungen *(censoring)* handhabt, zum anderen aber auch erlaubt, neben zeitkonstanten Faktoren (Geschlecht, Bildungsstand der Eltern, usw.) psychologische Merkmale als zeitveränderliche Faktoren in die mathematische Modellierung einzubeziehen. Für diese Modellierung wird auf vergleichbare Daten für jeden Studienteilnehmer aus drei Erhebungen aus den Jahren 1984/85, 1990/91 und 1995/96 zurückgegriffen und die jeweilige Fertilitätsgeschichte bis zum Alter von maximal 32 Jahren nachgezeichnet (prospektiver Längsschnittansatz).

Die Befunde dieses Teils zeigen über verschiedene Stufen der statistischen Wichtung einzelner Ergebnisse hinweg, dass psychologische Maße einen großen Anteil an der Erklärung der differentiellen Fertilität haben und dass der Einfluss dieser Maße auf den Übergang zur Elternschaft für Männer und Frauen höchst unterschiedlich ausfällt. Die Ergebnisse legen nahe, dass es für Frauen (deutlicher als für Männer) Charakteristika ihres soziostrukturellen und biografischen Hintergrunds (z.B. Bildungsstand, Bildungsniveau der Eltern, Größe der Herkunftsfamilie) sowie hereditäre Merkmale (Persönlichkeit) sind, welche die gefunden Unterschiede im Zeitpunkt ihrer Erstelternschaft bestimmen. Für Männer hingegen scheinen es eher die praktische Organisation ihres Lebenslaufs (z.B. Auszug von den Eltern, Ende der Ausbildung), problembezogene Verhaltensweisen (z.B. Coping-Stile), die Verfügbarkeit eigener Ressourcen (z.B. eigene Fähigkeiten, eine gute Partnerschaft) sowie Art und Inhalt ihrer persönlichen Überlegungen (z.B. Ängste, Optimismus) zu sein, die solche Unterschiede erklären. Wir interpretieren diese Befunde dahingehend, dass es verschiedene sozial geforderte und konstruierte Voraussetzungen für Männer und Frauen gibt, die für einen Übergang zur Elternschaft notwendig sind.

Der zweite Teil der empirischen Arbeit *(Part C)* vertieft diese Überlegungen zum Übergang zur Elternschaft auf seiten der Männer und stellt qualitative Interviews mit 20 kinderlosen Männern aus derselben Studie vor. Der Autor analysiert „Problemzentrierte Interviews“ *(A. Witzel*) zum Kinderwunsch und den Vorstellungen bzgl. einer eigenen Vaterschaft. In einem ersten Analyseschritt können sowohl Gemeinsamkeiten (in Form von geteilten Vorstellungen) als auch Unterschiede (in Form einer Typologie) im männlichen Kinderwunsch aufgezeigt werden. In einem zweiten Schritt, der an das *axiale Kodieren* sensu A. Strauss & J. Corbin angelehnt ist, gelingt eine analytische Vertiefung der vorliegenden Interviews, die auf ein persönlichkeitspsychologisch hergeleitetes Modell der Ziel- und Absichtsbildung zurückgreift. Hier werden die aus den Interviews erstellten Codes hinsichtlich verschiedener Achsen (z.B. Einstellungen, Werte, Motive, Selbstkonzept) differenziert, so dass die subjektive Ziel- und Absichtsbildung der Männer aus den psychologischen Kategorien heraus verstehbar wird. Schließlich (beim sogenannten *selektiven Kodieren*) zeigt die Analyse, dass der männliche Kinderwunsch aus zwei Kerndimensionen heraus erklärt werden kann.

Die erste Dimension wird als „Entwicklungsperspektive des Selbst“ bezeichnet. Hier wird deutlich, dass es die Selbst-bezüglichen Vorstellungen von Männern zu den Konsequenzen einer Elternschaft (Motive, antizipiertes Selbstkonzept), ihr aktuelles Selbstverständnis sowie ihre Vorstellungen zum angemessenen Mann-Sein in der Gesellschaft (Männlichkeitsvorstellungen) sind, die es zu betrachten gilt, wenn man erklären will, warum dieser oder jener eine Vaterschaft wünscht, aufschiebt oder ablehnt.

Die zweite Kerndimension, die sich unabhängig von der ersten in den Interviews finden lässt, wird als „Evaluation sozialer Objekte“ bezeichnet. Diese Dimension verdeutlicht, dass sich die Qualität des männlichen Kinderwunschs unabhängig von der persönlichen Entwicklungsperspektive auch durch bestimmte Einstellungen, Werte und Interessen erklären lässt. Männer, die bestimmte Dinge,

Personen, Tätigkeiten des sozialen Lebens mögen, d.h. mit positiven Bewertungen belegen, und andere ablehnen, weisen einen sich daraus ableitenden Kinderwunsch auf. In dieser Dimension stehen Fragen von Einstellungen zu Kindern, Partnerschaft und Familie, Werte im Sinne von verbindlichen Handlungsnormen in der Gesellschaft sowie Interessen an der Beschäftigung mit Kindern im Vordergrund.

Der Autor zieht aus diesem Befund den Schluss, dass eine valide psychologische Theorie des Kinderwunschs von Männern zwei Prozesse in Betracht ziehen muss, nämlich die affektiv-motivationale sowie die kognitiv-attitudinale Seite. An diesen Befund schließen sich generelle Überlegungen zur Vereinbarkeit von Theorien im Stil der *Theorie der Symbolischen Selbstergänzung* (Gollwitzer) und der *Theorie Geplanten Verhaltens* (Ajzen) für die psychologische Erklärung von Entscheidungen im Lebenslauf an.

Der letzte Teil der Arbeit *(Part D)* hat zwei Funktionen. Zum einen geht es in ihm um die Frage nach der Integration beider vorangegangener Teiluntersuchungen. Hier wird ein komplementäres Vorgehen der Triangulation (Methodenkombination) vorgeschlagen. Zum zweiten geht es um eine gezieltere Einordnung der Befunde in den gesellschaftlichen Kontext Ostdeutschlands nach der Wende.

Zur ersten Frage der Triangulation qualitativer und quantitativer Ergebnisse unterwirft die Arbeit jedes Einzelergebnis des einen Teils der Kommentierung durch den jeweils anderen. Dadurch kann gezeigt werden, dass man von einem spezifischen Muster von Übereinstimmungen und Widersprüchen zwischen beiden Teilen auszugehen hat. Letztendlich ausschlaggebend für die kausale Erklärung von differentieller Erstfertilität ist jedoch, so der Autor, der prinzipielle Unterschied zwischen persönlich wahrgenommenen Beweggründen für eine Vaterschaft und den nicht wahrgenommenen Faktoren, die zu einer Vaterschaft führen. Da die Erstelternschaft in unserer Studie in jedem Fall in einer heterosexuellen Paarbeziehung stattfand, wird der erste Mechanismus als *Motivation* zur Vaterschaft und der zweite als *Selektion* von männlichen Partnern durch die jeweiligen Partnerinnen verstanden. In dieser Zusammensicht ergänzen sich die beiden empirischen Stränge der Arbeit zu einem Gesamtbild der (sich verändernden) Geschlechterordnung in Ostdeutschland.

Die Arbeit argumentiert, dass sich das Abstraktum der „Geschlechterordnung“ konkret im Auftauchen neuer und Verschwinden alter Lebensstilformen (wie durch kultursoziologische Studien vielfach beschrieben) verorten lässt. Diese Lebensstile (im Sinne G. Schulzes) berühren jedoch immer auch an ganz zentraler Stelle Vorstellungen junger Menschen über die Bedeutung von Vaterschaft und Mutterschaft im eigenen Leben. Hier finden sich in unseren Ergebnissen aus Ostdeutschland aus den 1990ern nebeneinander Vorstellungen von „Normalität“ von Elternschaft im Lebenslauf, die Auflösung hergebrachter und staatssozialistisch geprägter Vorstellungen von Mütterlichkeit (aus Sicht von Männern) sowie die Zuweisung geschlechtsspezifischer neuer Aufgaben und Erwartungen an den eigenen Lebenslauf. In der Zusammenschau schlägt die vorliegende Arbeit vor, diese neuen Zuweisungen, nämlich von „sozialer Reife“, „lebenspraktischer Kompetenz“ sowie eigener Sinngebung von Vaterschaft als konstitutiv für die persönliche Entscheidung für eine Vaterschaft anzusehen.

Abstracts

Englisch

This book deals with three current research questions: a) on the compatibility between demographic and psychological explanations of reproductive behavior, b) on explaining extreme fertility decline in East Germany after reunification, and c) on sex differences in the determinants of the transition to parenthood.

In *Part A*, the research questions are subjected to conceptual precision. In doing this, the author presents, amongst other things, a recent socio-demographic research paradigm (the *foundations of demographic theory* by Bart de Bruijn), which shows in what way a micro foundation of fertility theory can be formulated. The empirical investigations in the book take their starting-points from this model and include different analyses with data from the Rostock Longitudinal Study.

In *Part B*, the author performs an event-history-analysis of observed birth events between 1988 and 2002. The results show that psychological covariates contribute largely to explaining differential fertility and that their effects are clearly sex-specific. The findings indicate that for women (more so than for men), characteristics of the socio-economic and biographic background (such as education – one's own and that of the parents – and the size of the family of origin) as well as personality traits determine observed differences in first birth timing. For men, by contrast, the practical organization of the life course (e.g., the timing of leaving the parental home and the end of their education), certain behavioral habits (e.g., coping-styles), the availability of personal resources (e.g., their own skills, a well-functioning partnership) as well as the style and content of personal considerations (e.g., fears, optimism) explain these differences in greater detail.

The second part of the empirical investigation (*Part C*) deepens the new insights into the determinants of male transition to parenthood. It presents a qualitative study with 20 male participants, using problem-centered interviews (*A. Witzel*) on the desire for children and conceptions of fatherhood. The analysis applies a conceptual model of goal and intention formation, which is derived from personality psychology. Results show that men's desire for children can be explained by two different core dimensions. The first is termed "developmental perspective of the self" and constitutes self-related perceptions on the consequences of parenthood (motives, anticipated self-concept), the current self-concept, and the conceptions of an adequate manhood in society (masculinity). The second dimension is termed "evaluation of social objects" and consists of personal attitudes to children, partnership, and family, of values in terms of binding societal norms, and of interests in activities with children. The author concludes from this that a valid psychological theory of the desire for children must consider two different processes, namely the affective-motivational and the cognitive-attitudinal.

The last part (*Part D*), firstly, presents an integration of the two former parts. Secondly, it places the results into the societal context of post-unified East Germany in order to gain deeper insights. The author shows that subjectively perceived motives for fatherhood as well as factors not perceived are crucial in the causal explanation of differential male fertility. The former mechanism is the *motivation* for fatherhood, the latter the *selection* of male partners by women. Both empirical parts of the book converge into the overall picture of a changing gender order in East Germany. The authors show that the abstract of "gender order" is expressed in the emergence of new and the decline of old family-related life-styles. The results present evidence that the notions of the "normalcy" of parenthood during the life course, of the disintegrating of traditional and socialistic ideals of motherliness (from the perspective of men), and of the attribution of gender-specific new tasks and expectations to one's own life exist side by side. In sum, the study suggests to view these new attributions (for instance, social maturity, life-practical competence, the individual

construction of the meaning of fatherhood) as a constitutive for entering into fatherhood in East Germany of the 1990s.

Deutsch

Die vorliegende Arbeit behandelt drei aktuelle Forschungsprobleme: die Frage nach der Vereinbarkeit demographischer und psychologischer Erklärungsmodelle des generativen Handelns; die Frage nach der Erklärung des extremen Geburtenrückgangs in Ostdeutschland nach der Vereinigung; sowie die Frage nach Geschlechtsunterschieden in den Determinanten des Übergangs zur Elternschaft.

Im ersten Teil der Arbeit *(Part A)* werden die Forschungsfragen präzisiert. Hier wird u.a. ein neueres sozialdemographisches Theoriemodell vorgestellt (*„foundation of demographic theory"* von B. de Bruijn), das aufzeigt, wie die psychologische Fundierung einer demografischen Fertilitätstheorie formuliert werden kann. Die folgenden empirischen Untersuchungen greifen dieses Modell auf und führen verschiedene Analysen des Übergangs zur Elternschaft mit Daten aus der Rostocker Längsschnittstudie durch.

Der erste empirische Teil der Arbeit (*Part B*) stellt eine Ereignisanalyse der in der Studie beobachteten Erstgeburten aus den Jahren 1988 bis 2002 vor. Die Ergebnisse zeigen, dass psychologische Maße einen großen Anteil an der Erklärung der differentiellen Fertilität haben und dass es deutliche Geschlechtsunterschiede für die einzelnen Variablen gibt. Die Resultate legen nahe, dass es für Frauen Merkmale ihres soziostrukturellen und biografischen Hintergrunds (z.B. Bildungsstand, auch jener der Eltern, Größe der Herkunftsfamilie) sowie hereditäre Merkmale (Persönlichkeit) sind, welche die gefunden Unterschiede im Zeitpunkt ihrer Erstelternschaft bestimmen. Für Männer hingegen scheinen es eher die praktische Organisation ihres Lebenslaufs (z.B. Ende der Ausbildung), problembezogene Verhaltensweisen (z.B. Coping-Stile), die Verfügbarkeit eigener Ressourcen (z.B. eigene Fähigkeiten, eine gute Partnerschaft) sowie Art und Inhalt ihrer persönlichen Überlegungen (z.B. Ängste, Optimismus) zu sein, die solche Unterschiede erklären.

Der zweite Teil der empirischen Arbeit *(Part C)* vertieft diese Befunde auf seiten der Männer und stellt „Problem-zentrierte Interviews" *(A. Witzel*) zum Kinderwunsch und den Vorstellungen von Vaterschaft mit 20 Männern aus der Studie vor. Die analytische Vertiefung gelingt hier mittels eines persönlichkeitspsychologisch hergeleiteten Modells zur Ziel- und Absichtsbildung. Die Analyse zeigt, dass der männliche Kinderwunsch aus zwei Kerndimensionen heraus erklärt werden kann. Die erste Dimension wird als „Entwicklungsperspektive des Selbst" bezeichnet, die sich aus Selbst-bezüglichen Vorstellungen zu den Konsequenzen einer Elternschaft (Motive, antizipiertes Selbstkonzept), dem aktuelles Selbstbild sowie Vorstellungen zum angemessenen Mann-Sein in der Gesellschaft (Männlichkeitsvorstellungen) zusammen setzt. Die zweite Kerndimension wird als „Evaluation sozialer Objekte" bezeichnet und konstituiert sich aus Einstellungen zu Kindern, Partnerschaft und Familie, Werten im Sinne von verbindlichen Handlungsnormen sowie aus dem Interesse an der Beschäftigung mit Kindern. Der Autor folgert aus diesem Befund, dass eine valide psychologische Theorie des Kinderwunschs zwei Prozesse in Betracht zu ziehen hat, nämlich einen affektiv-motivationalen sowie einen kognitiv-attitudinalen.

Der letzte Teil der Arbeit *(Part D)* hat zwei Funktionen. Zum einen geht es um die Frage nach der Integration beider vorangegangener Teiluntersuchungen. Zum zweiten geht es um eine gezieltere Einordnung der Befunde in den gesellschaftlichen Kontext Ostdeutschlands nach der Wende. Die Arbeit argumentiert, dass sowohl subjektiv wahrgenommenen Beweggründen für eine Vaterschaft als auch nicht wahrgenommenen Faktoren wesentlich für eine kausale Erklärung von differentieller Erstfertilität von Männern sind. Der erste Mechanismus wird als *Motivation* zur Vaterschaft verstanden, der zweite als *Selektion* von männlichen Partnern durch die jeweiligen Partnerinnen. Hier ergänzen sich die beiden empirischen Stränge der Arbeit zu einem Gesamtbild der (sich

verändernden) Geschlechterordnung in Ostdeutschland. Die Arbeit argumentiert, dass sich das Abstraktum der Geschlechterordnung konkret im Auftauchen neuer und Verschwinden alter Lebensstile aufzeigen lässt. Hier finden sich in unseren Ergebnissen aus Ostdeutschland aus den 1990ern nebeneinander Vorstellungen von „Normalität“ von Elternschaft im Lebenslauf, die Auflösung hergebrachter und staatssozialistisch geprägter Vorstellungen von Mütterlichkeit (aus Sicht von Männern) sowie die Zuweisung geschlechtsspezifischer neuer Aufgaben und Erwartungen an den eigenen Lebenslauf. In der Zusammenschau schlägt die vorliegende Arbeit vor, diese neuen Zuweisungen – zum Beispiel von sozialer Reife, lebenspraktischer Kompetenz oder eigener Sinngebung von Vaterschaft – als konstitutiv für das Eingehen einer Vaterschaft in Ostdeutschland in den 1990ern anzusehen.

Erklärung

Ich erkläre hiermit, daß ich die vorliegende Arbeit ohne unzulässige Hilfe Dritter und ohne die Benutzung anderer als der angegebenen Hilfsmittel angefertigt habe. Die aus fremden Quellen oder indirekt übernommenen Gedanken sind als solche kenntlich gemacht.

Die Arbeit wurde bisher weder im Inland noch im Ausland in gleicher oder ähnlicher Form einer anderen Prüfungsbehörde vorgelegt und ist auch noch nicht veröffentlicht.

Rostock, den 15.12.2003 *Holger von der Lippe*

Angaben zum Bildungsweg

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