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## Attitudes of East- vs. West German Men on Having Children

 - Results of the German Family and Fertility Survey -paper
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Fertility and the Male Life Cycle in the Era of Fertility Decline

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## INTRODUCTION

One of the few German fertility surveys including not only female but also male respondents is the recent German Family and Fertility Survey, conducted within the scope of the UN/ECE project of "Fertility and Family Surveys (FFS) in Countries of the ECE Region" (United Nations, 1992). In this survey the Federal Institute for Population Research ( BiB ) initiated in 1992 interviews of about 10,000 German men and women, aged 20 to 39 years (born between 1952 and 1972), in East- and West Germany (Pohl 1995a, 1995b). Based on these FFS data, male attitudes on having children are described and comparatively analysed in this paper. Only men born in East- or in West Germany were included in this comparative analysis.

Prior to Germany's unification (1990) this analysis - although unlikely- would have been a comparison between two countries across the East- West- divide. For demographic analytical purposes - even five years after Germany's unification - some historical facts linked to these former two separate political systems should be considered.

## BACKGROUND

For 41 years, from 1949 to October 1990 (date of the German unification), the current German territory had been divided into two countries: the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), including West Berlin and the German Democratic Republic (GDR), including East Berlin. These two countries were totally different in their political, economic and social systems. In addition, the atmosphere of the cold war between East and West had a strong influence on every-day life. Although the population in both German societies shared a common language they differed in many ways. Due to political pressure there was very little private contact or direct communication across the border between the inhabitants of the old FRG and of the former GDR. This was enhanced after August 1961 when the Berlin Wall was built by the GDR regime.

The situation changed following the break down of the Berlin Wall in November 1989 when two societies with different value systems started to merge. This event opened the road to political unity of these two "Germanies" and to the process of social and economical transformation. Connected with this still ongoing process, demographic indicators of marriage and reproductive behaviour changed remarkably in the Eastern part of the country. Referring to fertility a new phase of demographic division began.

Total Fertility Rates (TFR) for the former GDR and FRG were quite similar between the mid-1950s and the mid-1970s (see Figure 1). In both countries the TFR started to decline around mid-1960s; a trend frequently referred to as the "baby bust" following the "baby boom" of the 1960s' until early 1970's in both countries. Thereafter, the decline continued only in the old FRG: The TFR has since been fluctuating between 1.3 and 1.5 in this part of Germany.


In the former GDR, however, the "baby bust" reversed into a second upward trend in the mid-70s when pro-natalist measures were introduced by the East German government. Then, in the 1980s, the TFR of GDR started to decline again, now from a higher level (1.9 in 1980) almost approaching the TFR of FRG. In the year of German Unification (1990) the TFRs in both parts of Germany showed similar values of 1.5. However, two years after this, in 1992, the TFR for the Western part of the country was 1.4 and for the Eastern part only 0.8 .

The transition from a socialist to a free-market system in the process of Germany's unification necessitated especially for the population in the former GDR adaptation to new circumstances, every-day life changed remarkably. East German parents and women, in particular, who had been accustomed to be family- as well as job-oriented experienced substantial changes, including for example their first experience with becoming unemployed. Having children became comparable expensive as it used to be in West Germany, especially for families with only one breadwinner. Nevertheless, Monnier and de Guibert-Lantoine (1993, p. 256) stipulate that East German women [and men] having demonstrated on several occasions their aptitude to adapt to variations in their environment - e.g. in 1972, when abortion was liberalised, or in 1976 and 1984 when pro-natalist measures were introduced by the government - are only biding their time and prefer to have their desired child(ren) when the situation has improved. However, though there seems to be a cessation, latest (provisional) data do not yet indicate this expected reversal of the downward trend in East German fertility (the TFR 1994 for East Germany is 0.77 and 1.34 for West Germany, 1993, it was 0.78 versus 1.39 respectively). These changes of macrodemographic indicators after Germany's unification raises the question, what is behind this on the individual micro-demographic level, who in Germany still wants to have/ to father a (nother) child.

Though nowadays it is possible to father a child without physical contact, the normal way in Germany to become father is still to find a woman willing to bear his child. However, to become father does not necessarily also mean to be father. Due to the current law in Germany this depends mainly on the child's mother, and this more if the father is not married to her. So, if a father not only wants to pay for the living of his child but if he also wants to play his social role as father in his child's every-day-life, this is easier for him if his child is born in a marriage.

Looking at recent demographic data, indicators for marriage show - like those indicators for fertility - a downward trend in Germany: Not only fertility rates declined remarkably after unification, also did first marriage rates. Compared to the situation in 1990, when first marriage rates in East Germany, as they used to be since years, were still somewhat higher than in West Germany (for men up to age 30 and for women up to age 26), the East German rates decreased by more than 50 per cent for both genders within one year. Connected to this, the average age at first marriage increased, approaching the West German level.

For East German men first marriage age increased from 25,8 years in 1990 to 26,6 years in 1991 to 27,1 years in 1992, and to 27,6 years in 1993. For East German women the increase was from 23,7 years in 1990 to 24,5 years in 1991 to 25,1 years in 1992, and in 1993 the average age of East German women at first marriage reached with 25,5 years nearly the level it had been for East German men before unification.

West German's first marriage rates also decreased within this period. But, due to the remarkable changes in East German's rates, they were in 1993 higher than East German's for all relevant age groups, except for women aged 21 or 22 years and for men aged 22 to 24 years. As a result of this, the East-West-differences in average age at first marriage decreased in this period from 2,6 years to 1,7 years for men and from 2,2 years to 1,4 years for women. In total, the German first marriage age (1993) for men is with 29,2 years by 2,4 years higher than for women ( 26,8 years). Nearly unaffected by these changes this gender age difference is with 2,1 years in East Germany - as since years - somewhat smaller than in West Germany ( 2,4 years). So, coming back to the question of having children, these data on marriage also do not yet indicate a trend reversal.

## DATA AND METHODS

The following results presented in this paper are based on the recent German Family and Fertility Survey (FFS). The fieldwork for this survey was conducted by a commercial German Opinion Research Institute on behalf of the Federal Institute for Population Research ( BiB ), in the summer of 1992 . The questionnaire and the sample-design were prepared by the BiB . The questionnaire of this survey followed closely the recommended core-questionnaire of the UN/ECE-FFS-Project with some modifications, mainly as results of two pre-tests. Respondents were selected using a two step random-route sampling procedure.

In total 10,012 German men and women between the ages of 20 and 39 years at the time of interview (born between 1952 and 1972) were interviewed. In order to obtain a sample that allows for comparative analysis between East- and West German men and women, the sample was stratified into four subgroups: former FRG males ( $20 \%$ ), former FRG females ( $30 \%$ ), former GDR males ( $20 \%$ ) and former GDR females ( $30 \%$ ). A weighting procedure was applied to resolve the disproportionality between these four independent samples. Also, the surplus of males to females in this age group was taken into consideration.

Figure 2 presents the composition of (1) the original (unweighted) German FFS sample, which consists of aforementioned four independent, representative samples, (2) the weighted sample calculated from the original FFS sample and (3) the distribution of 20-39 year old Germans by region and gender of the 1991 microcensus. The German microcensus is annually conducted by the Federal Statistical Office and it is based on a $1 \%$ representative sample of the total population in Germany. As can be seen in this figure, the weighted FFS sample distribution approaches the microcensus distribution quite well. Because of the applied weighting procedure the results for respondents from the former GDR are weighted downwards to their realistic proportion of the German population; and vice versa, the results for those interviewed in the former FRG are weighted upwards.

Fig. 2: Structure of the FFS-BiB Survey-Sample by Region and Gender


Source: FFS-BiB 1992; Federal Statistical Office

The following results from the FFS-BiB Survey refer to the weighted sample structure in those tables that have the column "total Germany". Table 6 without this totalcolumn is based on the original sample size for West- and East-German men. The tables broken down by region and age group include only results that are based on 50 or more unweighted cases. Only results that are significant at the $1 \%$ level (alpha .01 , twosided) are called significant.

The tables were derived using the original FFS-BiB-SPSS-File or the German Standard Recode File (SRF), constructed from the original file by recoding and converting procedures following the UN/ECE-PAU standard (United Nations, 1993). The included tables based on the SRF are selected tables from the national Standard Country Report (SCR), construction of these tables followed also the PAU standard. If age values had to be computed as the difference between date of birth and date of event, for calculating median values (Table 4) the lower class limit is defined as "age value - 0.5 ".


#### Abstract

RESULTS Besides differences in reproductive behaviour, other relevant differences between East- and West German respondents in this FFS-survey were system dependent questions, such as religious attitudes, or indicators of socio-economic conditions, that are here not further discussed.

Based on these FFS data and following an inductive analytic approach in this paper are findings presented which deal with the following questions: Do East- and West-German men aged 20 to 39 years differ (1) in their marital status and household situation, (2) in their current number of children, in their timing or planning of fertility, and (3) do they differ in their reproductive perspectives, in their ultimately wanted number of children or in their attitudes on marriage and fatherhood?


## 1. MARITAL STATUS AND THE CURRENT HOUSEHOLD SITUATION

In the German FFS only individuals, married as well as unmarried, who resided in a private household were included in the sample. Table 1 displays results of the question with whom the respondents cohabited at the time of the interview. As can be seen in Table 1 (panel-g), the average household size is about three persons and increases by age after leaving the parental home. This average is slightly higher in East- than in West Germany.

In all age groups the share of never married persons is higher in West- than in East Germany, whereas the increase of the share of previously married starts at an earlier age among East- than among West Germans. Nevertheless, in all age groups there are more singles in West- than in East Germany. The predominant marital status in panel-a (with children and with partner) is being married and in panel-d (without children and without partner) the majority is still never married. As to be expected, in panel-b (without children, with partner), there is an age connected shift from the never married to the married status.

Results to the question of current marital status and whether or not the respondent lived together with partner and children are given in the first part of this table (panel a-d). The household situation of living together with both, children and partner (panel-a), increases by age in East- and in West Germany, and the reversed household situation, of living neither with children nor with a partner (panel-d), decreases by age in both parts of Germany. In all age groups the proportion of East Germans living with partner and children (panel-a) is higher and the proportion living without both (panel-d) is lower than the proportion of West Germans. The situation of living childless together with a partner (panel-b) resembles - except for the youngest age group - the household situation of living neither with children nor with a partner (panel-d). The household situation of single parent (panel-c, living with child(ren) but without a partner), is for men nearly unimportant. In case of divorce or separation children use to stay with their mother. In the second part of this table (panel e and f) the results referring to 1-person households (panel e) are of special interest. There are marked differences between East- and West German respondents with regard to the percentage of individuals living alone. Though there is no relevant difference between East- and West Germany in the youngest age group (age 20-24), the Western proportion exceeds the Eastern in all other age groups. Up to the age group 25-29 more West- than East German men seem to prefer to live with their family (parents panel-e).

## 2. FAMILY SIZE AND THE TIMING OF FERTILITY

As it could have been expected from the results presented in Table 1 and as it is well known from the German vital statistics, the proportion of childless respondents in all age groups is higher among men interviewed in West- than among East German respondents (Table 2). Although the dominant family type in Germany is the 1-to-2-child-family, in the former FRG the percentage of childless respondents is higher than the percentage of the respondents with three or more children in all age groups. Up to age 35 this holds also in comparison to fathers having two or more children. In contrast, this is only true for respondents of the younger age groups in the former GDR.

Corresponding with the results on the current number of children, East Germans were about five years younger by the time they fathered their first child than West Germans (Table 3 and Table 4 panel c). But, comparing age at first partnership, the age difference is less than three years (Table 4 panel b), and in both groups contraceptive use starts on average already between the age of 17 and 18 (Table 4 panel a). So it can be said, that the decision to become father takes longer for West- than for East Germans. This implies the use of family planning methods with a low exposure to the risk of conception.

Though questions on fecundity and on the use of contraceptive methods are still questions of sensitive nature, and conventionally these questions are more female than male oriented, about two third of the interviewed men answered that they have experience with contraception. More than half of those having ever used contraception did also in the last four weeks preceding the interview (see Figure 3 and Figure 4). In all age groups this percentage of current use is higher among respondents interviewed in the former GDR than in the former FRG.



Among the youngest age groups ( $20-24$ years) the proportion of respondent currently using contraception is even higher than the proportion of men cohabiting with a partner. A considerable share of young Germans - though not residing with a partner - uses contraception. Men, in particular West Germans, who are not cohabiting are not necessarily living without a partner. As indicated by another finding of this survey, living apart together (L.A.T.) on a voluntary basis is preferred more by West- than by East Germans.

In both parts of the country men seem to rely mainly on their partners use of effective methods. Oral contraceptives yield the highest prevalence rates in all age groups. Intrauterine devices (IUDs) are mentioned less by younger men, especially East Germans. The use of condoms is indicated by men in all age groups, in particular, by those who do not cohabit with a partner. Other methods, including heterogeneous methods such as injections, withdrawal or other natural methods are less popular, and injections or implants are still relatively rare methods in Germany. These methods are mentioned by less than one per cent. To summarize it can be said that the predominant contraceptive methods used in Germany are protective methods with extended long-term effect such as Pill or IUD rather than risk oriented, situational short-term protective methods such as condoms or foams. The consequence is that those desiring a pregnancy must make a conscious deliberate decision to discontinue contraception. Under these conditions unintended pregnancies are not very likely - and the chance to become father depends to a far extent on the decision of the woman.

Due to the East-West-differences in age of starting the family formation process, the proportion not using contraception because they expect to have a child, is higher among West- than East German respondents in the age group 30 to 34 years. Only in this age group, the rate of East German couples using the Pill exceeds the rate for West Germans. The possibility of not using contraception because of inability seems to be out of question for men, especially for East German men.

The relatively high share of West Germans fathering their first child late - if ever indicates that childlessness is no longer a negligible factor in the German-, especially the West-German-society. If the young generation in the new federal states (former GDR) will adjust their reproductive behaviour to the pattern of the population in the old federal states (former FRG) the lifestyle connected with childlessness might gain importance. The majority of respondents in this survey sample (born between 1952 and 1972) started their family life under quite different conditions in the two German societies; and only the younger East Germans, who in 1990 were about to start or who have yet not started their family formation process, are in the position to make their individual decisions under the changed circumstances after Germany's unification.

## 3. REPRODUCTIVE PERSPECTIVES

Based on the question of additionally wanted number of children, results of the reproductive perspectives are presented in Table 5. This basic question was split into three questions dependent on the current situation of the respondent: (1) childless respondents were asked whether they wanted a child, (2) respondents with children were asked whether they wanted another child, and (3) respondents whose partner were currently pregnant were asked whether they wanted another child in addition to the one they expected. The number of ultimately wanted children consists of the combination of those three questions and the answers to the current number of children. Although, the number of current children is different for the sample groups (as shown in Table 2, respondents in the former GDR have on average more than those in the former FRG) the expected total number of children is almost the same (about 1.8 children on average).

As to be seen in Figure 5, there are slight, but interesting differences between the four age groups. Young East German men expect to have fewer children - not only than East German fathers, who of course can not change their biography - but they also expect to have fewer than West German men of comparable age.


The percentage of respondents wanting a(nother) child as well as the average number of additionally wanted children decreases by age in all groups. Hence, independent of region, the highest proportion of respondents wanting a(nother) child is among the 20 to 24 aged, and the lowest among the 35 to 39 year old respondents.

Only about one third of all respondents wanted a(nother) child (about each one third: did not want a(nother) child or did not know/ did not answer this question). Among these respondents answers ranged mainly between one or two children ( 9 out of 10 answers). Therefore, the answer on additionally wanted number of children could be restricted to the three categories: "Yes", "No", and "D'ont know". Results to the question of additionally wanted number of children reveal that the number of additionally wanted children is slightly higher in West- than in East Germany (Table 5, panel-c to -f).

East German respondents are more oriented to the 1 -child-family while West Germans favour the 2- or 3- child- family. The number of respondents wanting four or more children, however, is nearly negligible - even in the group of respondents having already three children. Relevant differences between East- and West German respondents were found mainly in the three older age groups. East German fathers, seem to be quite sure about not wanting another child, whereas West Germans are somewhat more uncertain.

Among the 30 to 34 year old respondents with one child (panel d) the perspective to have a second or even a third child is higher in West- than in East Germany. Another relevant difference between childless respondents in West- and East Germany is, that East German respondents who are younger than 30 years favour a 1 - child- family, while West Germans indicate a preference to a 2 - child- family (panel c). This East-West difference with regard to respondents' preference to a 1 -child- or 2 - child- family may derive from an old prejudice against single children. This bias seems to exist more among young West Germans than among those respondents who grew up in the former GDR.

In addition to the question of the number of ultimately wanted children, the question on the ideal family size can be interpreted as another point of orientation for individual reproductive perspectives. In this German FFS the dominant answer to the question: "How many children do you think is the ideal number for a family to have in this country?" is the 2 - child- family. But, when the distribution of West- and East German respondents is compared, the already mentioned East-West-differences referring to the wanted number of children re-appear. Respondents from the former GDR are more oriented to the 1- to- 2- child- family while those from the former FRG show preference for the 2-to- 3 - child- family.

Besides the number of children already born, the gender of the first born children also might influence the decision whether or not another child is wanted. In a longitudinal survey with West German couples, conducted in the 70s (Jürgens and Pohl 1978), the oneof each-sex preference was found for both partners, but in case of having two children of the same gender number preferences dominated sex preferences. Women were more focused on the 2-child- family than men. Voss and Mayer (1987) also found evidence for this boy-preference. On the basis of their analysis of resident's registration data sets they came to the result, that the spacing between the first and second child is shorter if the first child is a girl, and that among three or more child families for the first two children the combination girl/girl is more frequently represented than could be expected statistically or according to random, while the combination girl/boy is comparably more rarely met. Like in other countries (see Williamson, 1983) German men also seem to be more likely than women to prefer boys, and the German saying The father of many daughters is the desire to have a son" seems for West German men up to the 80s to be valid. For East Germans results are unknown. Referring to the socialistic ideology, there should be no gender preference, but, referring to German tradition, no differences are expected between Eastand West German men.

To test whether this old saying is a wisdom from the past or whether it still holds for German men, from the FFS sample only those men were included in this analysis who lived at the time of interview in the same household together with their own children. The results, given in Table 6, show only for West German fathers of one child a slight tendency in the expected direction. They express a higher level of uncertainty about having a second child in case the first child is a girl. However, for East German fathers of one, as well as for those having two children, the results lead in the opposite direction. They show the highest percentage of not wanting another child if they have no son. Does this mean, that they have a girl preference, are they afraid to have another daughter - or is it just due to the changed situation in the social transition process?

As in the study of Voss and Mayer, the combination girl/girl for the first two children is, comparable to the other three possible combinations, among West German fathers ( $\mathrm{n}=90$ ) more frequently than among East German fathers $(\mathrm{n}=84)$. They show for the first, as well as for the second child sex-ratios of 100:115, whereas for West Germans the relation is 100:105 for the first, and 100:88 for the second child. Though the number of comparable fathers with three or more children in this survey is small, this result leads for West Germans in the expected direction, but for East Germans it is more confusing. Neither for West- nor for East Germans the result supports the girl-preference hypothesis. Anyway, it has to be taken carefully and further research is needed.

Based on the hypothesis that cultural change may induce demographic change the topics presented in Table 7 deal with attitudes on marriage (panel a), on the situation of single motherhood (panel b), on the emphasis to be placed on family life (panel c) and on parental responsibilities (panel d). Comparing the results on these topics between East- and West German respondents the cultural differences between the two former parts of Germany are quite obvious in panel-b and in panel-d. The results presented in the other two panels indicate normative changes more between the age groups than between the regional origin of the respondents.

The majority of both groups of respondents agreed to the statement "If a woman wants to have a child as a single parent, and she does not want to have a stable relationship with a man, she should be able to have the child" (panel b). But, due to the traditionally different acceptance of extra-marital motherhood in the two former German societies, this statement is agreed upon more by East- than by West German respondents in all four age cohorts. Referring to the view, that it is the parents' duty to do their best for the benefit of their children (panel d, I), East Germans adhere more to this statement than West Germans. They choose, if not statement II ("Parents have lives of their own and should not be asked to sacrifice their own well-being for the sake of their children") the neutral position of "neither view".

The two topics with relevant cohort differences, indicating cultural change over time, are the attitudes on marriage (panel a) and the question whether more emphasis should be placed on family life in the future (panel c). The majority of all age cohorts agreed to this statement, but the older agreed more than the younger. Here, regional differences are only relevant for the three older age-groups and not for the youngest. The question, whether these results indicate, that East Germans - to whom family life may have been the last resort to confidential privacy in the former GDR (Meyer, 1991) - are still more family oriented than West German respondents, or, whether these results are mainly due to the differences in the number of children already born, has to be further analyzed.

Referring to the statement "Marriage is an outdated institution" (panel a) again the youngest age cohort of the 20 to 24 year old respondents show a distinct response pattern. Although, the majority of the respondents still disagreed with this statement, even among the 20 to 24 year old respondents, this panel shows that, compared to the oldest age group in the sample, the attitude that marriage is considered outdated increased remarkably. These cohort differences can be observed for East- as well as for West German respondents. The point of particular interest is the difference between the young East- and West German men. The proportion of respondents in the age group 20 to 24 years who agree to this statement is higher in East- than in West Germany. This finding may suggest not only that the normative imperative to marry faded over time in both parts of Germany, but it also may indicate an important change in attitudes towards marriage among young East German men.

## CONCLUSIONS

The results of the German FFS on male attitudes on having children presented in this paper have highlighted some of the differences between the respondents interviewed in the two former parts of Germany, in 1992. Though much has to be analyzed further, the analysis - which some years ago would have been a cross-country comparison across the European East-West-divide - clearly shows the two different (old) patterns of marriage and fertility behaviour in East- and West Germany.

Due to the fact that East Germans used to start their family formation process earlier than West Germans they were younger when they married and when they had their first child. Also, the share of single and childless persons is higher among Western than Eastern men of comparable age. But, linked with the remarkable changes in the East German society (due to Germany's unification), the East German fertility expectations changed. As shown by the FFS results referring to the reproductive perspectives of the respondents, the total number of children expected (current number + additional wanted number) is nearly the same in both regions. The results have shown also, that the number of additionally wanted children is very limited. Mainly it is the group of young men who, independent of the question whether they were born in the former GDR or in the former FRG, wants to have a(nother) child. Respondents who had started their family formation process under different conditions of the former two different systems, however, seem to be quite sure about not wanting another child.

Albeit, the past fertility- and partnership-biographies of East- and West Germans can not be changed, they have implications for the future. The East-West contrast in the interval between successive generations will stay unchanged, as well as the differences in agespecific rates of never-married persons born in East- or in West Germany. But, the future may move into the same direction. As the German FFS results indicate, there are no relevant East- West-differences in the youngest age group, neither for practicing family planning, nor for living alone. Furthermore, referring to the attitudes on marriage, findings revealed a new trend for young East German men. They shared the opinion that marriage is an outdated institution even more than West Germans. So, keeping the results on contraceptive use and on value orientation in mind, it seems for East- as well as for West Germans quite uncertain when and if at all these young men will realize their reproductive perspectives. The previous East-West differences in life styles, as reflected in the macro demographic indicators will diminish and, with some time lag, the East German future might move to the West German presence - while the West German situation might stay nearly unchanged. The idea of the so-called "New Man/New Father" being child- and family-oriented, as it is discussed in the media, and as it might have been expected to be more represented among East German men, is not supported by these survey results.

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Table 1: Household situation and marital status of West- and East-German Men


Per cent of respondents currently living

| a. with children, with partner (subtotal) | 7 | 5 | 15 | 33 | 28 | 54 | 57 | 52 | 75 | 65 | 63 | 75 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| never married | 2 | 1 | 6 | 3 | 2 | 8 | 3 | 3 | 6 | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| married | 5 | 4 | 9 | 30 | 26 | 45 | 52 | 49 | 65 | 60 | 58 | 68 |
| previously married | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 3 |
| b. without children, with partner (subtotal) | 11 | 10 | 15 | 19 | 21 | 12 | 16 | 18 | 8 | 13 | 15 | 7 |
| never married | 8 | 7 | 11 | 11 | 12 | 6 | 5 | 6 | 1 | 3 | 4 | 1 |
| married | 3 | 2 | 4 | 8 | 9 | 5 | 10 | 11 | 5 | 9 | 10 | 5 |
| previously married | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 |
| c. with children, without partner (subtotal) | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 3 |
| never married | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| married | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| previously married | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| d. without children, without partner (subtotal) | 82 | 85 | 70 | 47 | 51 | 32 | 25 | 27 | 16 | 19 | 20 | 16 |
| never married | 82 | 84 | 69 | 44 | 47 | 27 | 21 | 23 | 11 | 11 | 13 | 7 |
| married | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 5 |
| previously married | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 4 |
| total <br> (base) | $\begin{array}{r} 100 \\ 1235 \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 100 \\ 1025 \end{array}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 100 \\ & 210 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 100 \\ 1396 \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 100 \\ 1141 \end{array}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 100 \\ & 254 \end{aligned}$ | 100 1259 | $\begin{array}{r} 100 \\ 1012 \end{array}$ | 100 247 | $\begin{array}{r} 100 \\ 1151 \end{array}$ | 100 903 | 100 248 |

Per cent of respondents currently living

| e. with parent(s) | 59 | 62 | 43 | 23 | 25 | 14 | 8 | 8 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 5 |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| f. alone | 19 | 19 | 22 | 21 | 22 | 14 | 14 | 15 | 8 | 12 | 14 | 7 |
| g. average household size | 2,9 | 2,9 | 2,7 | 2,7 | 2,7 | 2,9 | 3,0 | 2,9 | 3,4 | 3,4 | 3,3 | 3,6 |

## Table 2: Number of live-born children of West- and East-German Men

| Age group (at interview, in 1992) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 20-24 |  |  | 25-29 |  |  | 30-34 |  |  | 35-39 |  |  |
| Birth cohort <br> 1967/68-72 |  |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Birth cohort } \\ & \text { 1962/63-67 } \end{aligned}$ |  |  | Birth cohort 1957/58-62 |  |  | Birth cohort 1952/53-57 |  |  |
| Germany |  |  | Germany |  |  | Germany |  |  | Germany |  |  |
| Total | West | East | Total | West | East | Total | West | East | Total | West | East |


| cent of | numb | of liv | orn |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 0 | 92 | 94 | 83 | 65 | 70 | 43 | 38 | 42 | 19 | 27 | 31 | 13 |
| 1 | 6 | 5 | 14 | 19 | 15 | 36 | 28 | 27 | 30 | 22 | 21 | 26 |
| 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 14 | 13 | 19 | 27 | 24 | 43 | 36 | 33 | 47 |
| 3 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 12 | 12 | 12 |
| 4+ | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 2 |
| total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (base) | 1240 | 1032 | 209 | 1390 | 1134 | 256 | 1257 | 1010 | 248 | 1154 | 905 | 250 |

b. Average number
$\begin{array}{lllllllllllll}\text { of live-born childre } & 0,1 & 0,1 & 0,2 & 0,5 & 0,5 & 0,8 & 1,1 & 1,0 & 1,4 & 1,4 & 1,4 & 1,7\end{array}$

Table 3: The timing of fertility

|  | Age group (at interview, in 1992) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 20-24 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 35-39 |  |  |
|  |  |  |  | Birth cohort |  |  | Birth cohort |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | 1967/68-72 |  |  | 1962/63-67 |  |  | 1957/58-62 |  |  | 1952/53-57 |  |  |
|  | Germany |  |  | Germany |  |  | Germany |  |  | Germany |  |  |
|  | Total | West | East | Total | West | East | Total | West | East | Total | West | East |
| Cumulative per cent of men fathering their first child by age |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 15 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 16 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 17 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| 18 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 2 |
| 19 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 5 |
| 20 | 3 | 2 | 7 | 4 | 3 | 9 | 4 | 2 | 8 | 7 | 6 | 11 |
| 21 | 4 | 4 | 9 | 6 | 4 | 15 | 6 | 4 | 15 | 10 | 9 | 16 |
| 22 | 5 | 4 | 12 | 9 | 6 | 22 | 11 | 8 | 24 | 15 | 12 | 25 |
| 23 | 6 | 5 | 14 | 17 | 14 | 31 | 15 | 11 | 34 | 21 | 17 | 35 |
| 24 | 6 | 5 | 15 | 22 | 18 | 39 | 21 | 16 | 41 | 28 | 23 | 45 |
| 25 | - | - | - | 27 | 23 | 44 | 27 | 21 | 51 | 34 | 29 | 52 |
| 26 | - | - | - | 30 | 25 | 51 | 33 | 26 | 61 | 38 | 32 | 57 |
| 27 | - | - | - | 32 | 27 | 53 | 38 | 31 | 67 | 43 | 37 | 64 |
| 28 | - | - | - | 32 | 27 | 54 | 43 | 36 | 69 | 49 | 44 | 68 |
| 29 | - | - | - | 33 | 28 | 54 | 48 | 42 | 72 | 53 | 49 | 71 |
| 30 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 53 | 48 | 75 | 57 | 52 | 73 |
| 31 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 56 | 51 | 75 | 60 | 56 | 75 |
| 32 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 57 | 53 | 75 | 62 | 58 | 75 |
| 33 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 58 | 54 | 75 | 64 | 61 | 76 |
| 34 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 58 | 54 | 76 | 66 | 62 | 78 |
| 35 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | . | - | 66 | 63 | 79 |
| 36 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 67 | 64 | 79 |
| 37 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 68 | 65 | 80 |
| 38 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 68 | 65 | 80 |
| 39 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 68 | 65 | 80 |
| base $=100 \%$ | 1240 | 1032 | 209 | 1390 | 1134 | 256 | 1257 | 1010 | 248 | 1154 | 905 | 250 |

Table 4: Median age of West- and East-German Men at fatherhood related events

|  | Age group (at interview, in 1992) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 20-24 |  |  | 25-29 |  |  | 30-34 |  |  | 35-39 |  |  |
|  | Birth cohort |  |  | Birth cohort |  |  | Birth cohort |  |  | Birth cohort |  |  |
|  | 1967/68-72 |  |  | 1962/63-67 |  |  | 1957/58-62 |  |  | 1952/53-57 |  |  |
|  | Germany |  |  | Germany |  |  | Germany |  |  | Total | Germany |  |
|  | Total | West | East | Total | West | East | Total | West | East |  | West | East |
| Median age at |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| a. first contraceptive use | 17,2 | 17,1 | 17,2 | 17,5 | 17,4 | 17,9 | 17,7 | 17,7 | 17,8 | 17,9 | 17,9 | 18,0 |
| b. first partnership |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| (either marriage or cohabitation) | x | x | x | 25,5 | 26,4 | 23,7 | 24,3 | 24,7 | 23,5 | 23,5 | 23,8 | 23,1 |
| c. birth of first child | x | x | x | x | x | 26,4 | 29,9 | 31,3 | 25,4 | 28,8 | 29,9 | 25,2 |

Table 5: Wanted/ ultimately wanted number of children of West- and East-German Men

|  | Age group (at interview, in 1992) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 20-24 |  | 25-29 |  |  | 30-34 |  |  | 35-39 |  |
|  | Birth cohort |  | Birth | hort |  | Birth coh |  |  | Birth |  |
|  | 1967/68-72 |  | 1962/63 |  |  | 1957/58 |  |  | 1952/53 |  |
|  | Germany |  | Germ | any |  | Germ | any |  | Germ | many |
| Total | West East | Total | West | East | Total | West | East | Total | West | East |

a. Per cent of respondents by ultimately wanted number of children

| no children | 5 | 5 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 5 | 9 | 10 | 7 |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| one child | 18 | 16 | 29 | 14 | 12 | 23 | 14 | 12 | 22 | 17 | 16 | 20 |
| two children | 37 | 38 | 32 | 36 | 37 | 34 | 32 | 29 | 40 | 32 | 29 | 42 |
| three children | 4 | 4 | 5 | 8 | 8 | 6 | 12 | 13 | 8 | 13 | 14 | 13 |
| four or more children | 2 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 4 | 0 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 3 |
| don't know | 34 | 35 | 29 | 34 | 34 | 30 | 32 | 34 | 23 | 26 | 30 | 15 |
| base $=100 \%$ | 1210 | 1006 | 204 | 1318 | 1072 | 246 | 1194 | 951 | 243 | 1099 | 856 | 243 |


| no children | 5 | 6 | 5 | 9 | 8 | 16 | 23 | 22 | 28 | 36 | 35 | 50 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| one child | 18 | 16 | 32 | 13 | 11 | 28 | 13 | 13 | 19 | 9 | 9 | 12 |
| two children | 38 | 39 | 32 | 38 | 40 | 25 | 23 | 24 | 20 | 11 | 12 | 7 |
| three children | 4 | 4 | 3 | 5 | 6 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 0 |
| four or more children | 2 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| don't know | 33 | 34 | 28 | 33 | 33 | 31 | 39 | 40 | 29 | 40 | 41 | 31 |
| base $=100 \%$ | 1121 | 953 | 167 | 848 | 746 | 102 | 428 | 382 | 46 | 283 | 252 | 32 |
| d. Per cent of respondents having one child and wanting |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| one child | 19 | 1 | 23 | 32 | 32 | 31 | 34 | 27 | 61 | 64 | 60 | 73 |
| two children | 17 | 1 | 30 | 19 | 17 | 22 | -13 | 14 | 9 | 7 | 9 | 1 |
| three children | 17 | 1 | 16 | 14 | 15 | 11 | 18 | 22 | 4 | 3 | 4 | 1 |
| four or more children | 1 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| don't know | 46 | 1 | 32 | 34 | 33 | 36 | 34 | 36 | 26 | 26 | 26 | 23 |
| base $=100 \%$ | 64 | 1 | 28 | 237 | 146 | 91 | 329 | 257 | 72 | 247 | 184 | 62 |

e. Per cent of respondents having two children and wanting

| two children | 1 | 1 | 1 | 53 | 45 | 79 | 69 | 65 | 78 | 76 | 71 | 89 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| three children | 1 | 1 | 1 | 10 | 12 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 1 |
| four or more children | 1 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 5 | 1 | 4 | 5 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| don't know | 1 | 1 | 1 | 33 | 38 | 19 | 25 | 27 | 20 | 20 | 24 | 9 |
| base $=100 \%$ | 1 | 1 | 1 | 209 | 160 | 48 | 338 | 234 | 104 | 390 | 278 | 111 |

f. Per cent of respondents having three children and wanting

| three children | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 79 | 1 | 1 | 82 | 79 | 92 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| four or more children | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| don't know | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 18 | 1 | 1 | 18 | 21 | 6 |
| base $=100 \%$ | 1 | 1 | / | 1 | 1 | 1 | 83 | 1 | 1 | 147 | 115 | 32 |

Table 6: Attitudes on having another child of West- and East-German Men by gender of their children they were living with

Fathers of one child

|  | having |
| :---: | :---: |
| Total one boy one girl |  |

Fathers of two children

|  | having |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Total | two boys $\begin{array}{c}\text { one boy, two girls } \\ \text { one girl }\end{array}$ |

a. Per cent of West-German Men

| wanting another child | 30 | 32 | 27 | 11 | 8 | 13 | 8 |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| not wanting another child | 36 | 40 | 30 | 60 | 59 | 60 | 61 |
| uncertain/ don't know | 34 | 28 | 43 | 29 | 33 | 27 | 31 |
|  |  | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| total |  | 119 | 284 | 72 | 143 | 69 |  |

b. Per cent of East-German Men
wanting another child
not wanting another child uncertain/ don't know

|  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| total | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (base) | 394 | 219 | 175 |


| 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| 84 | 76 | 85 | 90 |
| 15 | 23 | 13 | 9 |
| 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| 442 | 108 | 229 | 105 |
|  |  |  |  |

Table 7: Values and beliefs on marriage and family of West- and East German Men

| Age group (at interview, in 1992) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 20-24 |  |  | 25-29 |  |  |  | 30-34 |  | 35-39 |  |  |
| Birth cohort |  |  | Birth cohort |  |  | Birth cohort |  |  | Birth cohort |  |  |
| 1967/68-72 |  |  | 1962/63-67 |  |  | 1957/58-62 |  |  | 1952/53-57 |  |  |
| Germany |  |  | Germany |  |  | Germany |  |  | Germany |  |  |
| Total | West | East | Total | West | East | Total | West | East | Total | West | East |

Per cent of respondents (dis)agreeing with the statement
a. "Marriage is an outdated institution"

| agree | 26 | 25 | 34 | 26 | 26 | 24 | 20 | 21 | 19 | 20 | 22 | 15 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| disagree | 57 | 59 | 51 | 62 | 62 | 64 | 70 | 70 | 70 | 71 | 70 | 76 |
| don't know | 17 | 17 | 15 | 12 | 12 | 13 | 10 | 9 | 11 | 9 | 9 | 9 |
| total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (base) | 1247 | 1036 | 211 | 1396 | 1141 | 255 | 1260 | 1010 | 250 | 1161 | 911 | 250 |

b. "If a woman wants to have a child as a single parent,
and she does not want to have a stable relationship with a man,
she should be able to have the child"

| agree | 80 | 78 | 88 | 82 | 80 | 89 | 84 | 82 | 90 | 78 | 75 | 89 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| disagree | 12 | 13 | 8 | 10 | 11 | 5 | 9 | 10 | 7 | 13 | 15 | 6 |
| don't know | 9 | 10 | 5 | 8 | 9 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 4 | 8 | 10 | 5 |
| total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (base) | 1248 | 1036 | 211 | 1397 | 1141 | 255 | 1260 | 1010 | 250 | 1160 | 910 | 250 |

c. "It would be a good thing if in the future more emphasis were put on family life"

| agree | 64 | 63 | 70 | 70 | 68 | 80 | 78 | 76 | 87 | 77 | 75 | 85 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| disagree | 14 | 14 | 12 | 12 | 13 | 9 | 11 | 12 | 6 | 10 | 11 | 5 |
| don't know | 23 | 23 | 18 | 17 | 19 | 11 | 12 | 12 | 8 | 13 | 14 | 10 |
| total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (base) | 1244 | 1033 | 211 | 1395 | 1140 | 255 | 1260 | 1010 | 250 | 1159 | 910 | 250 |

d. Per cent of respondents adhering to the view that

I: "It is the parent's duty to do their best for their children, even at the expense
$\begin{array}{llllllllllllllllllll}\text { of their own well-being." } & 30 & 27 & 45 & 35 & 33 & 28 & 55 & 34 & 27 & 61 & 37 & 33 & 52\end{array}$

II: "Parents have lives of their own and should not be asked to sacrifice their own well-being for the

| sake of their children." | 29 | 31 | 21 | 29 | 33 | 14 | 25 | 29 | 11 | 27 | 30 | 18 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| neither view | 30 | 32 | 24 | 31 | 33 | 22 | 33 | 36 | 21 | 30 | 32 | 24 |
| don't know | 11 | 11 | 11 | 7 | 6 | 9 | 8 | 8 | 7 | 6 | 5 | 7 |
| total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (base) | 1236 | 1029 | 208 | 1386 | 1132 | 255 | 1244 | 997 | 247 | 1145 | 898 | 248 |

