

**PARTNERSHIP CONFLICTS AND
DISSATISFACTION
AN INTERCULTURAL COMPARISON BETWEEN
WOMEN WITH TURKISH ORIGIN AND WOMEN
WITHOUT MIGRATION BACKGROUND IN
GERMANY**

**EŞLER ARASI ÇATIŞMA VE MEMNUNİYETSİZLİK
ALMANYA'DA TÜRK KÖKENLİ KADINLAR İLE
GÖÇ DENEYİMİ OLMAYAN KADINLARA DAİR
KÜLTÜRLERARASI BİR KARŞILAŞTIRMA**

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ABSTRACT

Partnership quality is a strong predictor of happiness, health and a successful family life. Within a migration context in particular, we can assume that there will be additional risks of complicated and dissatisfying situations. This paper focuses on Turkish migrants, the biggest migration group in Germany. It aims to identify those factors which result in the view regarding existing relationships either remaining constant or deteriorating over a time frame of three years. We use data from two waves of the Generation and Gender Survey (GGS). Two samples are used, namely women of Turkish origin and women without a migration background in Germany. The results show that an impression of equity in the sharing of household tasks could be a protective factor, for both groups. Conflicts are major risk factors, but more so for German than for Turkish women. Loneliness is a strong predictor of dissatisfaction and instability in Turkish, but not in German relationships.

KEYWORDS: couples, marital quality, conflicts, Turkish migrants in Germany

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ÖZET

Hayat arkadaşlığının kalitesi, mutluluk, sağlık ve başarılı bir aile yaşamı için güçlü bir göstergedir. Özellikle bir göç bağlamında, karmaşık ve tatmin edici olmayan durumlardan dolayı ek risklerin olacağını varsayabiliriz. Bu makale, Almanya'daki en büyük göçmen grubu olan Türk göçmenlere odaklanmaktadır. Amaç, mevcut ilişkilerin üç yıllık bir zaman diliminde sabit kalmasına veya bozulmasına yol açan faktörleri tanımlamaktır. Bunun için Generation and Gender Survey (GGS) verilerinin iki dalgasını değerlendirdik. Analizler için Almanyada'ki Türk kökenli kadınlar ve göçmen geçmişi olmayan Alman kadınlar olmak üzere iki veri örneği kullanılmıştır. Sonuçlar, ev işlerinin paylaşımındaki hakkaniyet algısının her iki grup için de koruyucu faktör olabileceğini göstermektedir. Geçimsizlik büyük bir risk faktörüdür, ama bu Türk kadınlardan daha çok Alman kadınlar için geçerlidir. Yalnızlık, Türkler arasındaki ilişkilerde memnuniyetsizlik ve istikrarsızlık için güçlü bir gösterge olmakla beraber, Almanlar arasındaki ilişkiler için bu geçerli değildir.

ANAHTAR KELİMELER: çiftler, evlilik kalitesi, çatışma, Almanya'da Türk göçmenler

INTRODUCTION

Germany is not only currently an important destination country for several reasons like asylum seeking especially after 2015 (OECD 2018). It also has a long tradition of labour migration. The years during and after the 'Wirtschaftswunder', the country's economic miracle following World War II, is in important period. Many migrants especially from Southern Europe, former Yugoslavia, Northern Africa and Turkey arrived in Germany to work (Oltmer, 2012). One of the most important sending countries was Turkey in that time of classical labour migration to Germany. Despite only planning to stay for a short period of time, the majority became permanent residents or German citizens. Today Turkish families are an established group in Germany. Compared to the quantitative significance of Turks in Germany, relatively little is known about their family formation process, e.g. in terms of partnerships and fertility decisions (Baykara-Krumme & Milewski, 2017); Valdés Cifuentes, Wagner, & Naderi, 2013; (Weiß & Wagner, 2010). In particular, there appear to be some research gaps in terms of the study of partnership, partnership satisfaction and conflicts, even though these are important aspects to understanding family formation processes for this group.

For this study, we decided to analyse the perspective of female respondents because we know the perception of satisfaction within the partnership and conflicts differs: women usually report more conflicts than men (Hassebrauck,

1995). We also know that, with regard to the issue of stability, the female perspective on relationship quality is significantly more reliable than the male perspective because women are usually the initiators of dissolution of marriage and divorce. Second, we decided to focus on reported conflicts as an assumed major driver of partnership dissatisfaction and divorce. Third, we wanted to see the change in the level of dissatisfaction, from good to bad or vice versa, as well as from bad to worse or whether dissatisfaction remained constant. This is why a longitudinal data source was required. The Generations and Gender Survey (GGS) is the only such available data source; not only does it include enough cases of Turkish women in Germany but it also has the relevant scales to measure conflicts and satisfaction.

The factors leading to dissatisfaction or unhappiness (Hill, 2004) and to the separation of a couple are relatively well known (overview: Arránz Becker, 2008). Less is known about the reasons that lead to a negative appraisal of existing partnerships over time in the context of migration (e.g. Weiß & Wagner, 2010). Women with Turkish migration background are interesting for research purposes because they are supposed to be significantly different to a majority of German women without migration background in terms of religion, cultural norms and even their social status (Jagodzinski & Dülmer, 2010; Haug, Müssig, & Sticks, 2009). Those differences have an impact on the choice of their living arrangement, which is marital as a rule, and on their attitudes towards relationship, which are more traditional (Diabaté, Beringer, & Ritz, 2016; Naderi, 2008). In consequence, this should also have an impact on their expectations regarding the stability of a relationship, which are different to those of women in Germany without a migration background.

Conflicts and emotional aspects (cohesion/solidarity, loneliness) are strong predictors of factors such as (marital) quality and stability, so disagreements within the partnership are emphasised in this article. The comparison between the two groups of women is interesting in the sense that normative-cultural reasons could lead to more stability in couples with Turkish roots. Furthermore, other factors are confronted with the question of how an existing partnership will be evaluated. The research questions are: When comparing women of two different origins, what factors impact their evaluation of a relationship? What factors lead women to adopt a consistently negative view of a relationship or a view which worsens over time and do cultural-specific aspects play a part? The observed time frame is about three years, which is a very good period for evaluating change and stability in conflict management and their impact on relationship quality and stability (Lavner, Karney, & Bradbury, 2014).

THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS AND HYPOTHESES

Why should partnership satisfaction be different among people with a Turkish migration background than among those without? Generally, two hypotheses were discussed, which we distinguish as follows: first, the hypothesis of cultural conflict (vulnerability-destabilisation-hypothesis) in the context of the migration process; and second, the hypothesis of solidarity (solidarity-stabilisation-hypothesis). The first hypothesis implies that migrants might experience cultural conflicts with the receiving society (Baykara-Krumme, 2007), which adversely affects the partnership satisfaction because of several vulnerabilities. A problem occurs outside the relationship and can be imported into the relationship as a conflict between the partners. In contrast, it may be assumed that solidarity created as a result of migration within the partnership (partnership commitment) and the family and social networks is stronger (Haug, 2010). As a result, the partnership and intra-ethnic networks are regarded as being a 'sanctuary' (Haug & Pointner, 2007; Nauck, 2004). In this sense, the potential of solidarity could serve as a means of social capital to compensate for difficulties and conflicts that occur within or outside the partnership (Baykara-Krumme, 2007), and may take the form of emotional, physical or organisational assistance provided by significant others.

Additionally, religiosity or certain values can have a supportive effect. White and Booth (1991) show a stabilising effect of so-called normative integration among close family or friends. Furthermore, the punishments for separation and divorce might be harsher in Turkish communities than in Germany since there would appear to be a norm underlining the indissolubility of marriage. This would probably affect the decision to stay in the marriage. Maybe in the context of cognitive dissonance, the negative evaluation of marriage is less socially accepted than it is in social groups without a migration background. Generally, it is possible that a cultural difference to dealing with and adapting to conflicts exists (Sadri & Rahmatian, 2003). Therefore, our basic assumption is that the reasons for the negative evaluation of the partnership situation differ between Turkish and German women.

Generally, in terms of the sociological research on partnership, conflicts and (marital) stability or dissolution, lots of factors were identified which can either stabilise or destabilise a partnership. There is strong evidence supporting the impact of conflicts on stability (e.g. Arránz Becker, Rüssmann, & Hill, 2005; Karney & Bradbury, 1995).

The fact of being an immigrant or having a migration background could pose a particular challenge for the partnership itself. There are a number of conditions that confirm this hypothesis and suggest a difference between German natives and Turkish immigrants. One such condition is that a large proportion of women with a Turkish migration background live in situations where income is lower and living conditions are precarious. Additionally, those

women often have a lower degree of education (Schröttle, 2008). Research from Jackson et al. (2015) shows that relationship problems occur especially within low-income couples, so Turkish couples may present a higher risk as regards instability. On the other hand, the relationship might be more stable because of this specific migration background. Most relationships of Turkish women are very likely to be with Turkish men. Only a minority (5.2%) of women of Turkish origin have a partner without a migration background in Germany (Naderi, 2015). Moreover, the socialisation of women of Turkish origin with regard to their position as a female is more traditional and there is a higher likelihood that they will adopt traditional roles within the relationship compared to women without a migration background. We assume that these differences are reflected in labour market participation, degree of institutionalization of the partnership (marriage, cohabitation), values and social capital. It therefore follows that conflicts based on issues of equity are less common for Turkish migrant couples.

Risk Factors (Predictors of Destabilisation)

There is a link between economic difficulties and the quality and stability of a partnership, the so-called spillover effect (Rogers & May, 2003; Conger et al., 1990). There is strong evidence of a link between work (precarious contracts, underpayment, and unemployment) and family life, brought about by stress that affects communication between partners and increases destructive patterns of behaviour (Arranz Becker, 2004). Compared to the native German population, people of Turkish origin in Germany are more economically deprived. The labour participation rate (especially among Turkish women) is lower, as is their income. It is therefore likely that Turkish couples will have more economic struggles and face greater pressure, resulting in more conflicts and stress in their relationships. We therefore suppose that a negative economic situation increases the risk of adopting a more critical attitude towards the development of the relationship (hypothesis 1).

Conflicts and the way they are dealt with are important predictors of relationship dissolution (Kliem, Weusthoff, Hahlweg, Baucom, & Baucom, 2015). In a meta-analysis, Woodin (2011) found significant associations between a greater level of reported quality and lower levels of hostility, distress, and withdrawal patterns in relationships. Furthermore, a higher level of (marital) quality is linked to a higher level of observed intimacy and problem-solving during conflict. Additionally, some longitudinal studies have demonstrated that couple communication during conflict is predictive of dissolution and divorce (Birditt, Brown, Orbuch, & McIlvane, 2010). Some theoretical perspectives describe an increase in marital conflicts over the newlywed years (Lavner et al., 2014; Huston, Houts, Caughlin, Smith, & George, 2001) whereas others maintain that couples' problems remain

stable. Lavner and his colleagues tested these opposing views by examining changes in problems and satisfaction among couples over the first four years of marriage. The result was that although marital satisfaction declined on average, overall levels of marital problems remained stable and only the tolerance for the problems decreased (Lavner et al., 2014). This is consistent with the research of Timmerman (2006), who observed changes of gender roles in Turkish marriages through the migration process. Even confrontation with a different system of norms could provoke conflicts. In contrast, Weiß and Wagner (2010) noted that Germans (both men and women) consider the level of conflict in their partnerships and marriages to be as high as it is for those of the Turkish immigrants. There is probably a higher risk of more frequent conflicts with their partner among Turkish women than there is among German women. This could lead to stress and a lower degree of relationship satisfaction (Randall & Bodenmann, 2017). The more disagreements are reported, the more they lead to a negative view of the partnership (hypothesis 2).

In addition to the frequency of conflicts, lots of studies show that the way in which couples manage their conflicts also has an impact. Some researchers highlight the fact that it is not the conflict itself, but instead how internal and external stress is coped with and adapted to, which has an influence on quality and stability. Karney and Bradbury (1995) operationalized this with their Vulnerability-Stress-Adaptation Model. But it is not clear what comes first, namely whether communication predicts marital satisfaction or the other way round (Lavner, Karney, & Bradbury, 2016). To date, not much is known about the conflict behaviour of Turkish migrants in Germany. For Turkey, Karahan (2009) analyses the communication skills of couples and demonstrates the impact of gender roles in Turkish couples.

Protective Factors (Predictors of Stabilisation)

Generally speaking, equality between partners in a relationship is crucial for their satisfaction and happiness. However, it is unclear whether differences may exist between cultures. As long as Turkish couples are more likely than German couples to live in traditional, complementary partnership arrangements in which there is a higher proportion of male breadwinners, Turkish women are more likely to do more household work than their husbands and the number of contribution conflicts could be lower (see also Steinbach, 2009). Because the division of household tasks does not need to be negotiated as often between Turkish spouses as it does between German spouses, for Turkish women the negative impact of perceived inequality in household tasks could be lower than for German women without a migration background. If the predominant share of household tasks is carried out equally, the risk of developing a negative view of the partnership is lower

(hypothesis 3).

A normative pressure to stay in a partnership could promote the stability thereof. The major correlation can be seen in the high marriage rate among the Turkish community in Germany. Unmarried Turkish couples are rare, in contrast to German couples which usually begin living together before they get married (Naderi, 2008). It is conceivable in this context that Turkish migrants assess their partnership situation according to different standards, modelled more on the basis of a Turkish reference group. This is presumably at least in terms of expectations regarding their social and financial situation (Weiß & Wagner, 2010; Fischer & Wiswede, 2002). The assessment of the partnership may be focused more on the functional aspects, such as fatherhood and everyday life experiences. In conservative Turkish milieus, these criteria could be weighted more heavily than purely emotional aspects (feeling of being loved) (Gründler, 2012). Attitudes indicating a positive view on stable marriages are associated with a lower risk of the development towards a negative view on a relationship (hypothesis 4).

According to a study by Gestring, Janssen, and Polat (2006), the social networks of second generation Turkish migrants have particular characteristics: this group places a strong focus on family, have a limited social reach, are ethnically homogeneous and are rooted at the local level (see also Janßen & Polat, 2006). The Turkish networks may therefore be considered as integration retardants. Furthermore Turkish networks have strong intergenerational overlaps (Nauck & Kohlmann, 1998; Nauck, Kohlmann, & Diefenbach, 1997) and therefore they have a higher degree of multiplexity and homogeneity. Partnership-based norms and values are passed on through intergenerational transmission processes (Idema & Phalet, 2007; Phalet & Schönplflug, 2001), not just through the integration process. A stronger level of social control over Turkish networks may therefore be assumed. Consequently, separation or divorce for Turkish couples produces high social costs (penalties). Overall, the social, emotional and financial costs of divorce for Turkish migrants are even greater than they are for Germans (Gründler, 2012). Another explanation is offered by migrants' minority status, which may well strengthen the social cohesion of the partnership and the family as well as between 'peers'. The result is a higher potential for solidarity (Nauck, 2002) and a better degree of embeddedness (with high potential for support) in their partnerships and in the Turkish community, with instrumental and emotional support resources (Weiß & Wagner, 2010; Baykara-Krumme, 2007). Finally, Turkish couples have more social capital and a stronger inner solidarity ('against all odds'). That means that if this embeddedness is doubted, it could lead to a negative view of the relationship in question. A lower level of social embeddedness is an indicator that women will develop a negative view of the partnership (hypothesis 5).

DATA AND METHODS

Data source for this research are the two waves from the German Generations and Gender Survey (GGS) (Sauer et al., 2012; Ruckdeschel, Ette, Hullen, & Leven, 2006). The GGS contains a range of information concerning partnership history, partnership satisfaction, an established method of measuring conflicts, attitudes, future plans (such as splitting up) and many more socioeconomic, demographic and psychological items. It is a unique collection of aspects for population research and family sociology. Furthermore, a disproportionate number of persons of Turkish origin have been surveyed using virtually the same instrument in Germany (Ette, Hullen, Leven, & Ruckdeschel, 2007; Naderi et al., 2012). So far, these datasets are the only source to analyse the Turkish population in Germany in comparison with Germans without a migration background. Other existing data sources in Germany, like PAIRFAM (Panel Analysis of Intimate Relationships and Family Dynamics), do not allow a cross-cultural analysis within one country because the number of cases for migrant groups, including Turks as the largest of these groups, is too low. The disproportionately high sample of people of Turkish origin in the German GGS is a unique advantage and the reason why we decided to use this data. First of all, there was the decision to select women aged between 18 and 42 at the time of interview at wave 1 (2005 or 2006). As far as theoretical considerations and implications were concerned, it was important to analyse women of reproductive age, because this stage of life – the rush hour of life (Bujard & Ralina Panova, 2016) – is often marked by an imbalance in family and work life and a greater number of conflicts emerging as a result. Also, the consequence of dissolution in this age group on fertility cannot be underestimated. The analytical framework is based on the changes in partnership quality between the two waves. Bivariate analyses were carried out and reviewed by a measure of association (Cramér's V). Central independent variables were thus identified, processed and presented here. For multivariate analysis, we opted for separate models using binary logistic regression. Since only two points in time were available and no continuous dependent variable is provided by its construction, there are no alternatives from our point of view.

Four variables have been combined to construct the *dependent variable*: The first two variables are the individual overall satisfaction with the relationship in both waves. The satisfaction was measured on a scale of 0 (not satisfied) to 10 (completely satisfied). In a similar approach to Gründler (2012), we decided to describe reduced satisfaction as any score below 9. Satisfaction is often measured in terms of an overall generalised satisfaction with the partnership, mostly using a rating scale of 0 (not satisfied) to 10 (very satisfied) (e.g. Fincham & Bradbury, 1987). This 'overall satisfaction'-operationalization is reliable, because social psychology studies show that there is a high correlation between a single-item measurement and a

multiple-item (or scale) measurement. There are also strong links between other factors, such as satisfaction towards dimensions of everyday life, as well as the satisfaction with the division of labour or sexuality. In addition to this, other correlates such as subjective stability and commitment are operationalized in the context of satisfaction (Arránz Becker & Hill, 2010).

In the first step, both waves for this satisfaction have been compared. If, in both the first and second wave, a value of 9 or 10 was indicated, this was summarised as 'fully satisfied in both waves'. For values lower than 9 in both waves, the category was defined as 'continuous dissatisfaction'. A decrease in satisfaction was defined if the value was higher than 8 in wave 1 and below value 9 in wave 2. Finally, an increase in satisfaction was defined if the value was below 9 in wave 1 and above 8 in wave 2. In a second step, this was summarised in a binary variable. 0 represents a continuously high level of satisfaction or an increase from a lower to a higher level of satisfaction as a positive category. Anything else is declared as a negative development and coded as 1. In a third step, the respondent's thoughts about splitting up have been integrated into the variable, coded as yes or no. Code 0 from the constructed index for the development of the satisfaction (positive) was recoded as 1 (negative) if thoughts about dissolution are mentioned at least in one wave.

There is almost no difference in the positive or negative evaluation of the partnership between both of the groups compared (see table 1): 38.7% of German women and 37.1% of women of Turkish origin without a migration background say that their relationship deteriorated or that they were even thinking about splitting up. This always has to be reflected under the time frame of three years. On the other hand, the consequences are known to be different: Turkish women split up significantly less than their German counterparts.

The literal and quantitative description of the independent variables can be found in table 1. Changes have been made to the variables for the analyses. Age has been differentiated into two age groups. Duration of relationship has been measured by the difference between the year when the interview for wave 1 was conducted (2005 or 2006) and when the relationship started. The variable 'parenthood and birth' was constructed by using information about the number of own biological children in wave 1 and 2. The question from wave 2 as to whether an additional child was born between the two waves has also been considered. This information is used to summarise three categories, namely remaining childless, additional birth and no changes in the number of children.

The disagreement variables from waves 1 and 2 are constructed by using nine items covering different issues of disagreement and the frequency of disagreement (please see table 2). The original variables for disagreements

in the last 12 months have five categories: ‘never’, ‘seldom’, ‘sometimes’, ‘frequently’ and ‘very frequently’. In a first step, each variable has been dichotomised: ‘never’ and ‘seldom’ are grouped together in category 1 while the three categories between ‘sometimes’ and ‘very frequently’ are included in category 2. In a second step, all variables except the issue of child-raising are added into a disagreement index for each wave (the phrasing and design of the variables are identical in wave 1 and 2). The exclusion of “child-raising” is necessary to keep the childless couples in the sample when using the index, because this question was not asked in the German GGS if a respondent and her partner have no children. The sum has been divided by the number of variables in use (8). The result of that is recoded as two categories, again where 1 is based on values between 1.00 and 1.149, and where the second category consists of values from 1.15 to 2. Labour participation of the couple is reconstructed by simply combining variables in the GGS about the respondents’ answers regarding both their own occupational situation and the situation of their partner. The same applies to the second wave.

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics for Variables in Use

Dimension	Item	Category	German		Turkish	
			Percent	Count	Percent	Count
Dependent variable	Evaluation of the relationship's situation and development between two waves	Consistently good/improving	61.3	182	62.9	117
		Consistently less good/deteriorating	38.7	115	37.1	69
Age	Age groups (at wave 1)	18 – 32	27.6	82	55.9	104
		33 – 42	72.4	215	44.1	82
Partnership stability	Duration of relationship (2 groups), at wave 1	Up to 9 years	38.0	113	43.5	81
		10 years and longer	62.0	184	56.5	105
Fertility	Parenthood and birth	Still childless at wave 2	9.8	29	7.5	14
		Parenthood – (Additional) Child born between W1 and W2	25.9	77	39.2	73
		Parenthood – No child born between W1 and W2	64.3	191	53.2	99
Frequency of conflicts (Hypothesis 2)	Disagreements in the 12 months before wave 1	Never/seldom	64.6	192	68.3	127
		Sometimes to very frequent	35.4	105	31.7	59
	Disagreements in the 12 months before wave 2	Never/seldom	58.9	175	65.1	121
		Sometimes to very frequent	41.1	122	34.9	65

Integration in the labour market (Hypothesis 1 & 3)	Labour participation of the couple at wave 1	Both partners are working	58.2	173	15.6	29
		Only one partner is working	37.7	112	62.9	117
		Neither partner is working	4.0	12	21.5	40
	Labour participation of the couple at wave 2	Both partners are working	67.0	199	23.7	44
		Only one partner is working	31.3	93	64.5	120
		Neither partner is working	1.7	5	11.8	22
Economic situation (Hypothesis 1)	Change in the evaluation of the economic situation between both waves	Better	20.2	60	32.3	60
		No change	62.0	184	48.9	91
		Worse	17.8	53	18.8	35
Division of household tasks (Hypothesis 3)	Predominant share of household tasks at wave 1	Equal	23.2	69	13.4	25
		Unequal	76.8	228	86.6	161
	Predominant share of household tasks at wave 2	Equal	24.2	72	16.7	31
		Unequal	75.8	225	83.3	155
Social embeddedness (Hypothesis 5)	Expression of individual loneliness at wave 1 (6-scale loneliness index)	Not lonely (0)	64.6	192	42.5	79
		Medium (1;2)	24.2	72	34.4	64
		High (3 to 6)	11.1	33	23.1	43
	Expression of individual loneliness at wave 2 (6-scale loneliness index)	Not lonely (0)	68.7	204	39.8	74
		Medium (1;2)	22.2	66	38.2	71
		High (3 to 6)	9.1	27	22.0	41
Satisfaction with division of domestic tasks (Hypothesis 3)	Satisfaction with the division of domestic tasks at wave 1	Satisfaction is high (9;10)	39.7	118	51.6	96
		Satisfaction is lower (8 to 0)	60.3	179	48.4	90
	Satisfaction with the division of domestic tasks at wave 2	Satisfaction is high (9;10)	38.4	114	44.1	82
		Satisfaction is lower (8 to 0)	61.6	183	55.9	104
Belief in the stability of marriage (Hypothesis 4)	Attitude at wave 1: Marriage is a life-time institution and should never be ended	Agree	32.7	97	74.7	139
		Neither agree nor disagree	24.6	73	11.8	22
		Disagree	42.8	127	13.4	25
	Attitude at wave 2: Marriage is a life-time institution and should never be ended	Agree	24.6	73	68.8	128
		Neither agree nor disagree	24.2	72	12.9	24
		Disagree	51.2	152	18.3	34

Source: GGS Germany Waves 1 and 2, weighted data for percentage, unweighted for count, own calculations.

The change in the evaluation of the economic situation between both waves is constructed based on the answers regarding the variable, which is identical in both waves. The question is about how easy (or difficult) it is to make ends meet. So, the answers reflect the development in subjective terms. The variables for measuring the actual predominant share of household tasks are constructed from different household chores to create one variable. The expression of individual loneliness is constructed using the concept of Gierveld's and van Tilburg's (2006) recommendations for the loneliness scale on the GGP. It is based on six items asking the respondents about the extent to which they feel embedded. The questions are identical in both waves. The variable of satisfaction with the division of household tasks was constructed by reducing the original 10-item scale into variables with two categories. The attitudinal variable about marriage is based on a 5-item scale. It is recoded as a 3-point scale, comprising 'agreement', 'disagreement', and a category in between.

We examined family status and its change, but there was no effect. Nearly all of the Turkish women were already married in the first wave. In the sample of women without a migration background, there are more changes in status, but without any greater effects.

RESULTS

The major assumption is that changes in the female's evaluation of a partnership are associated with different issues of disagreement (see tables 2 and 3). The results for the index values to be included in the following regression models are also described. The highest values for Cramer's V in the first wave are found for disagreements about sex, leisure time and relations with friends in both groups under study. As far as the percentage of negative developments of partnerships in association with the issue of disagreement is concerned, the two groups produce results that differ in terms of their order. For Turkish women, the highest percentage (80%) for a negative evaluation can be found if disagreements about sex occur sometimes to very frequently. For German women, the highest percentage was recorded in the category 'relations with friends' while 'drinking alcohol' was the lowest. The lowest percentage was recorded in relation to disagreements about 'child-raising'.

Table 2: Negative Development of Partnership over Three Years, by Issue of Disagreement in Wave 1; In % of Each Category

Disagreement regarding	German women without a migration background			Female with a Turkish migration background			Cr. V	Cr. V
	Never/seldom	Sometimes to very frequent	Cr. V	Never/seldom	Sometimes to very frequent	Cr. V		
Household chores	34.6	53.0	0.169 **	39.3	54.5	0.120		
Money	36.7	52.7	0.126 *	38.2	53.2	0.134		
Use of leisure time	35.4	57.9	0.180 **	36.2	72.4	0.271 ***	***	
Sex	36.4	61.9	0.190 **	39.2	80.0	0.235 **	**	
Relations with friends	36.4	65.5	0.177 **	37.0	75.0	0.263 ***	***	
Relations with parents, in-laws	36.6	48.6	0.105	39.4	60.9	0.146		
Child-raising issues (only parents)	34.8	47.5	0.122	40.9	43.5	0.065		
Having children	39.2	46.2	0.029	41.3	54.5	0.065		
Drinking alcohol	39.4	40.9	0.008	40.5	70.0	0.138		
Index (1-1.149;1.5-2; without Child-raising issues)	34.8	46.4	0.115 *	32.7	58.7	0.252 **	**	

* p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001

Source: GGS Germany Waves 1 and 2, weighted data

Overall, this indicates that conflicts relating to matters of an intimate and personal nature were more common among both groups during an earlier stage of the relationship. The three main issues reflect the most important emotional aspects. This is true for Turkish respondents.

Table 3: Negative Development of Partnership over Three Years, by Issue of Disagreement in Wave 2; in %

Disagreement regarding...	German women without a migration background			Female with a Turkish migration background			
	Never/seldom	Sometimes to very frequent	Cr. V	Never/seldom	Sometimes to very frequent	Cr. V	
Household tasks	31.8	59.3	0.254 ***	36.6	57.4	0.186	*
Money	34.4	60.3	0.210 ***	36.7	56.0	0.175	*
Use of leisure time	32.5	63.8	0.269 ***	37.4	55.3	0.160	*
Sex	32.8	64.3	0.258 ***	40.4	51.7	0.084	
Relations with friends	36.6	60.5	0.162 **	41.5	50.0	0.052	
Relations with parents, in-laws	35.9	48.8	0.117 *	39.2	62.5	0.161	*
Child-raising issues (only parents)	34.5	48.6	0.140 *	33.6	61.7	0.253	**
Having children	39.4	58.3	0.076	38.7	80.0	0.233	**
Drinking alcohol	37.3	56.8	0.131 *	40.2	77.8	0.167	**
Index (1-1.149;1.5-2; excluding child-raising issues)	23.2	62.2	0.394 ***	31.1	57.5	0.264	***

* $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$

Source: GGS Germany Wave 1 and 2

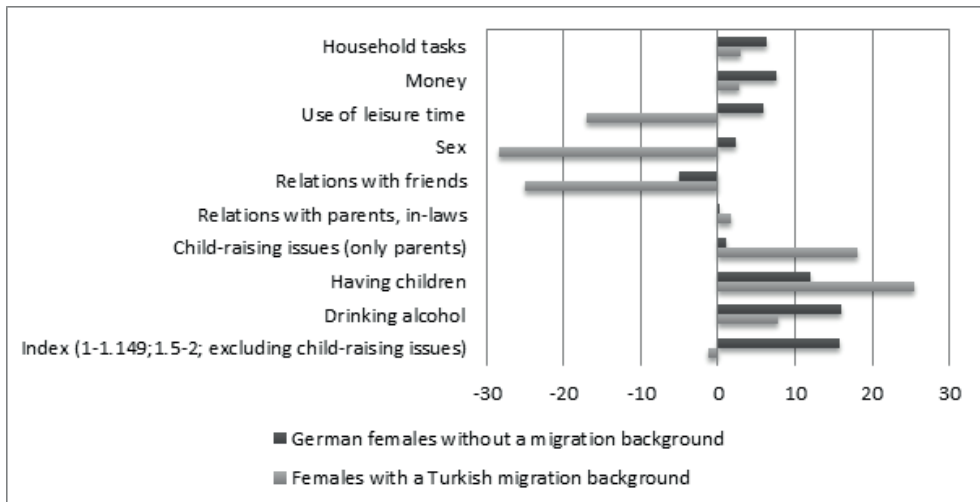
In the case of German women, these aspects are followed by 'household tasks' and financial issues. These are the more rational conflict subjects, which reflect a higher importance of negotiations about gender equality, including at the earlier stage of the relationship. In the second wave, emotional and social subjects, namely sex, use of leisure time and relations with friends, still rank highest among the issues of disagreement for German women. Sexual satisfaction in particular is a strong predictor of stability (Byers, 2005). The rational aspects are also very important for the description of a negative development of a relationship in this group. For Turkish women, the second wave conflicts show a complete shift away from personal desires to parenthood issues, with the exception of discussions about drinking alcohol which seems to be an important issue in this group.

A comparison of both tables (table 2 and table 3) leads to one initial result. At first sight, there are significantly more bivariate associations measured by Cramer's V for the second wave compared to the first wave. This is also

due to the fact that the index is more significant for the dependent variable as well and also has a higher value for Cramer's V in wave 2. This is much more so for the female respondents without a migration background. There are only slight differences in the impact of wave 1 disagreements and wave 2 disagreements for the Turkish women. First, this could be an indication that, for German women, the conflicts need to be more proximal to the actual evaluation of the relationship than for Turkish women – only considering the index. For women without a migration background, the index value is more than three times higher in the second wave compared to the first wave. For Turkish women, the index value remains virtually unchanged.

The changes in disagreement represent changes in individual life courses and transitions to different phases of the existing relationship within three years. This has to be taken into account when interpreting the impact, because in this differentiated view it seems that subjects of disagreement differ as transitions within life courses and partnership phases occur. On the other hand, it could also represent the changing priorities in the interaction between female and male partners from the female perspective, in the cases examined for this study. Figure 1 shows the changes in the impact of disagreement issues by subject, only taking into account the category "sometimes to very frequent", on the development of a negative view on the partnership. Negative values indicate a reduction in frequency, whereas positive values show an increase from wave 1 to 2. For Turkish women, one interesting result is finding a shift in the importance of the issues discussed between the two waves. In the earlier phase of the relationship, the subjects of having sex, followed by relations with friends and the use of leisure time (all three close to a personal and an intimate dimension) are very important in terms of the development of a negative view on the relationship. In wave 2 itself, day-to-day discussion subjects become most important: child-raising, having (more) children, and drinking alcohol. The sexual issue is no longer an important impact factor in why a female may develop a negative evaluation of the partnership – instead, it is the question of becoming and being a parent.

Figure 1. Negative Development of Relationship by Differences in the Category ‘Sometimes to Very Frequent’, from First to Second Wave by Issues of Disagreement, Percentage Points



Source: GGS Germany Wave 1 and 2, weighted data, own calculations

This is completely different for German women without a migration background. In each subject except for ‘Relations with friends’, there is an increasing percentage of disagreement, which has a negative impact on the relationship. That is also as described for the index variable, obviously connected to the idea that there could be proximity between the conflict and the negative evaluation.

The above bivariate analysis showed that when investigating the evaluation of partnership development, it is more expedient to use the index as a whole than it is to use the individual variables for each topic of disagreements. It seems that it is more important to aggregate the types of conflict. From a methodological perspective, it also helps to reduce the number of variables in relation to the number of cases in the regression model, which would also cause problems.

Results of the Regression: German Women without Migration Background

The logistic regression is divided into three different models and a full model which integrates all variables. The first model contains the control variables of age and the duration of the relationship. The second model integrates the number of disagreements as index variables for the last 12 months before wave 1 and wave 2. In the third model, loneliness, satisfaction with

household tasks and attitudes towards lasting marriage are all variables that are integrated. The aim is to see if the independent variables have a different impact in each group. That is why there are two tables: the first one for German women aged 18 to 42 without a migration background, while the second table shows the results for women in the same age group with a Turkish migration background. In this chapter, the tables only show relevant factors. The work carried out already resulted in some factors being excluded, even though they seemed to be important on a theoretical level. To prove this, the full tables are included in the annex to this article.

The first model is dedicated to the three variables of age, duration of relationship at first wave and parenthood. In the model for German women without a migration background, only parenthood has a slightly significant impact and the overall strength of the model is very low with a pseudo R^2 (Nagelkerke) of 0.024. The variable of parenthood shows that a potential development towards the adoption of a negative view can be influenced by parenthood, but less so by a new child born between the two waves. All in all, the significance of this variable is too low to justify an examination of further factors (e.g. age of child).

The second model focuses on the disagreements. The variables are the combination of all issues discussed in the year before waves 1 and 2, excluding childcare. While the variable for wave 1 clearly has no impact on the development of the partnership in wave 2, the impact of disagreements reported at wave 2 is very high. This model increases to 0.207, which ultimately accounts for the largest part of the full model. For German women, obviously, an immediate connection can be found: conflicts must have been perceived to have occurred at some point in time close to the evaluation of the partnership in order to have an influence.

Table 4: Binary Logistic Regression: Negative Development of Partnership over Three Years; German Women Aged 18 to 42 (At Wave 1) without a Migration Background (N=297)

Dimension	Item	Category	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Full	
			Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.
Sociodemographic Factors										
Age	Age groups t wave 1)	Ref.: 18 - 32								
		33 - 42	0.751					0.988		
Stability	Duration of relationship (2 groups), at wave 1	Ref.: Up to 9 years								
		10 years and longer	0.968					1.087		
Fertility	Parenthood and birth	Ref.: Still childless at wave 2								
		Parenthood – (additional) child born between W1 and W2	1.838					1.761		
		Parenthood – but no child born between W1 and W2	2.766	*				1.863		
Risk Factors										
Frequency of conflicts	Disagreements in 12 months before wave 1	Ref.: Never/seldom								
		Sometimes to very frequent			1.031			0.717		
	Disagreements in 12 months before wave 2	Ref.: Never/seldom								
		Sometimes to very frequent			5.731	***		5.112	***	
Loneliness	Expression of individual loneliness at wave 1 (6-item loneliness scale)	Ref.: Not lonely (0)								
		Medium (1;2)					1.456		1.673	
		High (3 to 6)					1.684		1.559	
	Expression of individual loneliness at wave 2 (6-item loneliness scale)	Ref.: Not lonely (0)								
		Medium (1;2)					1.766		1.555	
		High (3 to 6)					1.994		1.342	
Protective Factors										
Satisfaction with the division of household tasks	Satisfaction with the division of household tasks at wave 1	Ref.: Satisfaction is high (9;10)								
		Satisfaction is lower (8 to 0)					2.090	*	1.860	

	Satisfaction with the division of household tasks at wave 2	Ref.: Satisfaction is high (9;10)						
		Satisfaction is lower (8 to 0)	3.417	***	3.071	***		
Belief in the stability of marriage	Attitude at wave 1: Marriage is a life-time institution and should never be ended	Ref.: Agree						
		Neither agree nor disagree	0.909		0.894			
		Disagree	1.455		1.542			
	Attitude at wave 2: Marriage is a life-time institution and should never be ended	Ref.: Agree						
		Neither agree nor disagree	1.727		1.701			
		Disagree	1.996		1.615			
	Constant		0.348	*	0.048	***	0.009	***
	Nagelkerke R ²		0.024		0.207		0.239	0.355

* p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001

Source: GGS Germany Wave 1 and 2, unweighted data

In the third model, the subjective perspective is key. It clearly shows the significance of the satisfaction with the division of household tasks. As in the case of the disagreements model, this becomes apparent immediately. The development of the relationship will be evaluated as having deteriorated if the satisfaction with the division of household tasks is not rated as high in wave 2. The impact of dissatisfaction in wave 1 is not so important. The expression of loneliness or attitudes towards marriage does not show significant effects. The model is relatively strong and a little stronger than the disagreement model with a Nagelkerke R² of 0.239.

In the full model for German women without a migration background, there are only two variables that are of significance. The greatest effect is for the disagreement index for wave two. The second greatest effect is dissatisfaction with the division of household chores. This allows one interpretation for this group: reported disagreements and expressed dissatisfaction about the division of household tasks are more important in terms of deterioration in the partnership than is the measurement of the actual situation. This does not mean that an unequal division of work is not reflected by the women under study, but it shows that actual imbalances do not necessarily lead to a negative partnership.

Results of the Regression and Differences: Women with a Turkish Migration

Background

At first, there are no significant effects in the first model. Model 2 includes the two significant effects of the indices of each wave. It seems that there is a longer aftermath of disagreements from wave 1 and before, probably long-term conflicts which are difficult to solve or confrontations which were more intense and essential. But the corresponding Nagelkerke R^2 is relatively low at 0.109, so the impact of disagreements for Turkish women should be interpreted as being of secondary importance.

The third model is of major importance. The most striking factor is the expression of a high degree of loneliness both in wave 1 and 2. A very strong effect can be measured by the dissatisfaction with the division of household tasks, but for wave 2 only. There is only a slight impact for wave 1 dissatisfaction. Attitudes towards marriage and its stability have no significant impact. All in all, this model is very strong with Nagelkerke R^2 of 0.501. The full model is slightly stronger with 0.548.

The differences between women without a migration background and women of Turkish origin are relevant, albeit these differences are in some cases only moderate. For German women, there is no influence on the later evaluation of the partnership, while for Turkish women, the effect is more significant and is slightly greater than for the index of wave 1 disagreements. This would allow two interpretations to be drawn. First, considering the lower risk of separation for Turkish women, conflicts could be endured more compared to women without a migration background. Second, disagreements and their discussion could, in more cases, also be a usual facet of relationships in this group.

Table 5: Binary Logistic Regression: Negative Development of Partnership over Three Years; Women Aged 18 to 42 With a Turkish Migration Background (At Wave 1) (N=186)

Dimension	Item	Category	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Full	
			Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp (B)	Sig.	Exp (B)	Sig.	Exp (B)	Sig.
Sociodemographic factors										
Age	Age groups	Ref.: 18 – 32								
		33 – 42	0.846					0.452		
Stability	Duration of relationship (2 groups)	Ref.: Up to 9 years								
		10 years and longer	1.823					2.723		
Fertility	Parenthood and birth	Ref.: Still childless at wave 2								
		Parenthood – (additional) child born between W1 and W2	0.757					1.024		
		Parenthood – but no child born between W1 and W2	0.445					0.573		
Risk Factors										
Frequency of conflicts	Disagreements in 12 months before wave 1	Ref.: Never/seldom								
		Sometimes to very frequent			2.502	**		2.552	*	
	Disagreements in 12 months before wave 2	Ref.: Never/seldom								
		Sometimes to very frequent			2.048	*		0.871		

Table 5: Binary Logistic Regression: Negative Development of Partnership over Three Years; Women Aged 18 to 42 With a Turkish Migration Background (At Wave 1) (N=186)

Dimension	Item	Category	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Full	
			Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp (B)	Sig.	Exp (B)	Sig.	Exp (B)	Sig.
Loneliness	Expression of individual loneliness at wave 1 (6-item scale loneliness index)	Ref.: Not lonely (0)								
		Medium (1;2)				0.873		1.004		
		High (3 to 6)					4.377	**	4.737	**
	Expression of individual loneliness at wave 2 (6-item scale loneliness index)	Ref.: Not lonely (0)								
		Medium (1;2)				1.356		1.401		
		High (3 to 6)					5.585	**	6.022	**
Protective Factors										
Satisfaction with the division of household tasks	Satisfaction with the division of household tasks at wave 1	Ref.: Satisfaction is high (9;10)								
		Satisfaction is lower (8 to 0)				2.766	*	2.453	*	
	Satisfaction with the division of household tasks at wave 2	Ref.: Satisfaction is high (9;10)								
		Satisfaction is lower (8 to 0)				18.390	***	24.118	***	
Belief in the stability of marriage	Attitude at wave 1: Marriage is a life-time institution and should never be ended	Ref.: Agree								
		Neither agree nor disagree				0.467		0.518		
		Disagree				0.481		0.414		
	Attitude at wave 2: Marriage is a life-time institution and should never be ended	Ref.: Agree								
		Neither agree nor disagree				0.613		0.471		
		Disagree				0.951		0.920		
	Constant		0.768		0.065	***	0.001	***	0.000014	***
	Nagelkerke R ²		0.026		0.109		0.501		0.548	

* p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001, Source: GGS Germany Wave 1 and 2, unweighted data

The basic assumption regarding the difference in reasons as to why Turkish women and women without a migration background negatively evaluate their partnership and its development should be confirmed. This means that the assumed protective and risk factors are not universal. This result can be linked to other findings in research on family and relationships of Turkish migrants in Germany: it seems to be a specific group which is significantly different to Germans without a migration background. This could be due to a strong persistence of family norms in the country of origin – or, in more accurate terms, from the region of origin – for their traditions to be reflected.

Hypothesis 1 relates to the economic difficulties. None of the variables had a significant impact (see annex tables). As a result, this hypothesis cannot be confirmed using this specific research question. Due to the fact that different socioeconomic variables, such as the income situation of the couple, the division of labour, education and its share between both partners had been taken into consideration, it is very unlikely that this can be reduced to problems of methodology or measurement. It should be remembered that we have looked at relationships in which the partners did not split up. So the economic reasons for splitting up are not necessarily factors which explain why a relationship is evaluated in a negative way and develops accordingly. Therefore, instead of contradicting the existing literature, this enhances it.

As the results of model 2 clearly show, conflicts do matter, usually in a negative way. As a result, hypothesis 2 has to be approved, if one uses the sum of all conflicts and their frequency. The mechanisms are slightly different in each group, so this is another point for strengthening hypothesis 1. The impacts of wave 2 conflicts are more important for women without a migration background. A differentiated view on the conflicts even increases the diverse influence of disagreements. This could also be attributed to different cultural norms.

The satisfaction with the division of household tasks has a clear and direct impact on the evaluation of the relationship itself. Hypothesis 3, focussing on perceived equity, can be approved for both groups. This seems to be a universal factor. Dissatisfaction with the division of housework is directly linked to dissatisfaction with the relationship as a whole. At the same time norms regarding the stability of marriage have no impact, which means that hypothesis 4 has to be rejected.

Finally, it was possible to demonstrate that hypothesis 5 about social embeddedness holds true. The impact of expressing loneliness in one or both waves is a very important factor for women of Turkish origin. This does not seem to be a universal reason as to why women develop a negative view on the existing relationship. Maybe it is not a factor at all. It could be just an expression of dissatisfaction. In the case of Turkish women, this dissatisfaction

does not lead to the relationship splitting up, but maybe to some kind of desperation while enduring the partnership. The loneliness index is a strong indicator which supports such an interpretation.

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

The cultural dimension of partnership issues is undoubtedly of major relevance. Depending on origin and socialisation, it can be assumed that a migration background has an impact on dealing with conflicts and dissatisfaction in partnerships. In turn, these aspects have an impact on the stability of partnerships. We did not want to analyse stability, but instead the development in the evaluation of an existing partnership between two points in time. Two groups have been compared: German women without a migration background and women of Turkish origin living in Germany. A particular focus was placed on conflicts as risk factors. In conclusion, the negative evaluation of a partnership and its deterioration can primarily be understood by the satisfaction with the division of household tasks and by the degree of loneliness that is measured. The reporting of disagreements and their frequency is a secondary factor. The importance of equity, which includes satisfaction with the division of household tasks, is verified for both groups. There is a highly significant link between satisfaction with the division of labour in the home and the general evaluation of the development of the partnership (as measured here). How a situation – for instance, the division of household tasks – is actually perceived has no direct impact in terms of understanding why relationships are stable, yet are probably dissatisfying at the same time; this is the most striking similarity in both groups of women under study. The expression of dissatisfaction with the division of household tasks is highly significant while the description of the actual division of housework has no impact.

It seems that the research carried out provides a good basis for indicating factors to explain a negative view of a relationship or its deterioration. This includes thinking about splitting up. When considered from a different angle, this is a further indication in support of the known fact that a successful relationship is linked to satisfaction expressed by women in the division of household tasks expressed by women. If the levels of dissatisfaction regarding this factor, the expressed loneliness and the frequency of conflicts are low, there is a very good chance of a satisfied and stable relationship. And this could ultimately support the development towards parenthood, becoming parents to more children, or possibly just to a happier family life.

Finally, the importance of equity as a protective factor for a consistently positive evaluation must be highlighted. Another striking result for Turkish women in Germany is that cultural factors mean that they are less inclined to question a relationship. In particular – and this seems to advance the

research on intimate relationships from a cultural perspective – loneliness is a strong predictor of partnership-dissatisfaction and instability for women with Turkish migration background, but not for women without migration background in Germany. This probably indicates a culturally different approach to dealing with conflicts and dissatisfaction.

APPENDIX

Table 6: Binary Logistic Regression: Negative Development of Partnership over Three Years; German Women Aged 18 to 42 (At Wave 1) without a Migration Background (N=297)

Item	Category	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Full	
		Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.
Age groups (at wave 1)	Ref.: 18 - 32										
	33 – 42	0.751								0.870	
Duration of relationship (2 groups), at wave 1	Ref.: Up to 9 years										
	10 years and longer	0.968								1.129	
Parenthood and birth	Ref.: Still Childless at wave 2										
	Parenthood – (Additional) Child born between W1 and W2	1.838								1.107	
	Parenthood – No child born between W1 and W2	2.766	*							1.461	
Disagreements in the 12 month before wave 1	Ref.: Never/seldom										
	Sometimes to very frequent			0.928						0.656	
Disagreements in the 12 month before wave 2	Ref.: Never/seldom										
	Sometimes to very frequent			5.319	***					5.175	***
Predominant type of reactions to disagreements before wave 1 (scoring: see Methods chapter)	Ref.: No conflicts at all										
	Constructive reactions			0.839						0.372	
	Heated reactions			0.667						0.307	*

Item	Category	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Full	
		Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.
Predominant type of reactions to disagreements before wave 2 (scoring; see Methods chapter)	Ref.: No conflicts at all										
	Constructive reactions			2.600						2.176	
	Heated reactions			1.050							
Labour participation of the couple at wave 1	Ref.: Both partners are working										
	Only one partner is working					1.039				0.950	
	Neither partner is working					5.281				5.051	
Labour participation of the couple at wave 2	Ref.: Both partners are working										
	Only one partner is working					1.147				0.684	
	Neither partner is working					.				.	
Change in the evaluation of the economic situation between both waves	Ref.: Better										
	No change					0.629				0.995	
	Worse					0.535				0.618	
Predominant share of household tasks at wave 1	Ref.: Equal										
	Unequal					1.193				1.214	
Predominant share of household tasks at wave 2	Ref.: Equal										
	Unequal					1.290				0.956	
Education at wave 1	Ref.: ISCED97 1-3										
	ISCED 4-6					1.207				1.356	
	Still in education					.				.	
	Unknown					.				.	

Item	Category	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Full	
		Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.
Expression of individual loneliness at wave 1 (6-item loneliness scale)	Ref.: Not lonely (0)										
	Medium (1;2)							1.456		1.585	
	High (3 to 6)							1.684		1.402	
Expression of individual loneliness at wave 2 (6-item loneliness scale)	Ref.: Not lonely (0)										
	Medium (1;2)							1.766		1.674	
	High (3 to 6)							1.994		1.804	
Satisfaction with the division of household tasks at wave 1	Ref.: Satisfaction is high (9;10)										
	Satisfaction is lower (8 to 0)							2.090	*	1.922	
Satisfaction with the division of household tasks at wave 2	Ref.: Satisfaction is high (9;10)										
	Satisfaction is lower (8 to 0)							3.417	***	3.072	**
Attitude at wave 1: Marriage is a life-time institution and should never be ended	Ref.: Agree										
	Neither agree nor disagree							0.909		1.173	
	Disagree							1.455		1.633	
Attitude at wave 2: Marriage is a life-time institution and should never be ended	Ref.: Agree										
	Neither agree nor disagree							1.727		1.992	
	Disagree							1.996		1.977	
Constant		0.348	*	0.068	***	0.380		0.009	***	0.003	***
Nagelkerke R ²		0.024		0.244		0.080		0.239		0.424	

* p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001

Data-source: GGS Germany Wave 1 and 2

Table 7: Binary Logistic Regression: Negative Development of Partnership over Three Years; Women Aged 18 to 42 With a Turkish Migration Background (At Wave 1) (N=186)

Item	Category	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Full	
		Exp (B)	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.
Age groups	Ref.: 18 - 32										
	33 - 42	0.846							0.345		
Duration of relationship (2 groups)	Ref.: Up to 9 years										
	10 years and longer	1.823							3.359	*	
Parenthood and birth	Ref.: Still Childless at wave 2										
	Parenthood – (Additional) Child born between W1 and W2	0.757							0.892		
	Parenthood – No child born between W1 and W2	0.445							0.411		
Disagreements in 12 month before wave 1	Ref.: Never/seldom										
	Sometimes to very frequent			2.609	*				4.626	*	
Disagreements in 12 month before wave 2	Ref.: Never/seldom										
	Sometimes to very frequent			1.626					0.859		
Predominant type of reactions to disagreements before wave 1 (scoring; see Methods chapter)	Ref.: No conflicts at all										
	Constructive reactions			1.170					0.654		
	Heated reactions			0.842					1.061		
Predominant type of reactions to disagreements before wave 2 (scoring; see Methods chapter)	Ref.: No conflicts at all										
	Constructive reactions			2.371					2.658	**	
	Heated reactions			0.914					0.610		
Labour participation of the couple at wave 1	Ref.: Both partners are working										
	Only one partner is working					0.801			0.382	**	
	Neither partner is working					1.001			0.554		

Item	Category	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Full	
		Exp (B)	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.
Labour participation of the couple at wave 2	Ref.: Both partners are working										
	Only one partner is working					1.293				0.814	
	Neither partner is working					3.303				6.335	***
Change in the evaluation of the economic situation between both waves	Ref.: Better										
	No change					1.206				0.767	
	Worse					1.401				1.882	
Predominant share of household tasks at wave 1	Ref.: Equal										
	Unequal					1.677				1.130	
Predominant share of household tasks at wave 2	Ref.: Equal										
	Unequal					2.763				3.257	***
Education at wave 1	Ref.: ISCED 97 1-3										
	ISCED 97 4-6					2.438				1.630	
	Still in education					.				.	
	Unknown					1.402				1.279	
Expression of individual loneliness at wave 1 (6-scale loneliness index)	Ref.: Not lonely (0)										
	Medium (1;2)							0.873		1.630	
	High (3 to 6)							4.377	**	8.057	
Expression of individual loneliness at wave 2 (6-item loneliness scale)	Ref.: Not lonely (0)										
	Medium (1;2)							1.356		1.375	
	High (3 to 6)							5.585	**	9.185	
Satisfaction with the division of household tasks at wave 1	Ref.: Satisfaction is high (9;10)										
	Satisfaction is lower (8 to 0)							2.766	*	1.636	
Satisfaction with the division of household tasks at wave 2	Ref.: Satisfaction is high (9;10)										
	Satisfaction is lower (8 to 0)							18.390	***	26.075	

Item	Category	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Full	
		Exp (B)	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.
Attitude at wave 1: Marriage is a life-time institution and should never be ended	Ref.: Agree										
	Neither agree nor disagree						0.467		0.661		
	Disagree						0.481		0.256		
Attitude at wave 2: Marriage is a life-time institution and should never be ended	Ref.: Agree										
	Neither agree nor disagree						0.613		0.300		
	Disagree						0.951		0.869		
Constant		0.768	0.075	***	0.022	**	0.001	***	0.000016		
Nagelkerke R ²		0.026	0.155		0.104		0.501		0.626		

* $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$

Data source: GGS Germany Wave 1 and 2

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