DOES "NINE"[1] MAKE ALL THE DIFFERENCE?
Differences in first births between natives and Turkish migrants in Western Germany.

FARK NİNEDEN Mİ KAYNAKLANIYOR?
İlk doğumlarda Batı Almanlar ve Türk göçmenler arasındaki doğurganlık farklılıkları

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ABSTRACT

Fertility levels, including frequency of and age at first birth, differ considerably between Turkish migrants in Germany and the native German population. A central question in fertility research is which factors cause this difference to persist. This article examines whether one explanatory factor might be that young Turkish couples are more often able to count on the support of their own mothers when it comes to childcare, and that this greater support potential tends to encourage them towards family foundation. Data were used from the 1st wave of the German Generations and Gender Survey for the calculation of event history analysis models. The distance from home, the contact frequency and the quality of the relationship with the respondent's own mother are used as indicators for the support potential. The results show that the requirements for care of grandchildren are indeed more favourable among the Turkish migrants. They live close to their mother's home more often and have, on average, a better relationship quality. The findings also confirm Turkish migrants' increased risk of a transition to a first child. Still, we do not find any indication that differences in support potential are explaining the different fertility behaviour of Germans and Turkish migrants in Germany.

KEYWORDS: fertility behaviour, care of grandchildren, Western Germany, Turkish migrants, event history analyses

ÖZET

Almanya'daki Türk göçmenler ile göçmen kökenli olmayan nüfusun, doğurganlık düzeyi arasında büyük farklılık bulunmaktadır. Doğurganlık araştırmasındaki temel bir soru, bu farkın üçüncü nesilde de görülmesinin arkasında hangi faktörlerin bulunduğudur. Bu çalışmada, olası bir açıklayıcı faktör olarak, genç Türk çiftlerin kendi anneleri tarafindan çocuk bakımında, Alman asıllı çiftlere kıyasla daha büyük bir destek potansiyeline sahip oldukları ve bu destek potansiyelinin aile kurma eğilimini teşvik edip etmediği incelenmektedir. Bu incelemeler Alman "Generations and Gender Survey" verileri ile ve olay geçmişi çözümlemesi yöntemleri uygulanarak yapılmıştır. Potansiyel destek göstergeleri olarak 'ikamet mesafesi', 'görüşme sıklığı' ve 'anneler ile ilişki kalitesi' kullanılmıştır. Elde edilen bulgular torun bakımındaki koşulların, Türk göçmenlerde gerçekten daha elverişli olduğunu göstermektedir. Türk asıllı çiftler, Alman asıllı çiftlere kıyasla, annelerinin evlerine daha yakın yaşıyorlar ve ortalama olarak anneler ile daha iyi bir ilişki kalitesine sahipler. Bulgular aynı zamanda, Türk göçmenlerin aile kurma olasılığının daha yüksek olduğunu da doğruluyor. Buna rağmen, araştırmamızda destek potansiyelindeki farklılıkların, Almanya'daki Almanlar ile Türk göçmenlerin aralarındaki farklı doğurganlık davranışlarını açıkladığına dair bir kanıt bulunamamıştır.

KEYWORDS: doğurganlık düzeyi; torun bakımı; Batı Almanya; Türk göçmen; olay geçmişi çözümlemesi

1. Introduction

One of the questions that is asked most frequently in family research is how to explain the relatively low level of fertility in Germany. Despite an upward trend in the past three years, it is still far below the fertility level of most other societies in Europe, with a total fertility rate of, most recently (2014), 1.47 births per woman (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2016). Western Germany in particular is typified by a low fertility rate of roughly 1.4 children per woman, which has been virtually constant for more than thirty years. After a drastic fall as a result of German Unification, the figures in Eastern Germany are above the Western German level once more, but at 1.54 children per woman (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2016) the former East Germany too are, for the time being, only slightly distinct from the low Western German fertility level.

The search for reasons is directed in a multiplicity of directions. A finger is frequently pointed at political frameworks which do not go far enough to make it easier to reconcile work and family, these including shortcomings in the infrastructure in terms of public childcare in Western Germany (Haan

and Wrohlich, 2009; Hank, Kreyenfeld, Spieß, 2004) or statutory parental leave arrangements (Bujard and Passet, 2013). Other commentators point to labour market structures, such as the relatively demanding requirements that are made of employees in Germany in terms of flexibility and mobility (Kaiser, 2013; Lück, 2010; Schneider, Ruppental, Lück, 2009), or the high degree of job insecurity (Blossfeld, Hofäcker, Bertolini, 2011). Cultural influences are often also brought into the debate, including the low level of value attaching to children within society (Trommsdorff and Nauck, 2005), particularly demanding expectations vis-à-vis parents and their obligations towards their children (Ruckdeschel, 2009; 2015), or the stigmatisation of large families (Dorbritz and Diabaté, 2015; Diabaté, Ruckdeschel, Dorbritz, Lux, 2015). The question as to which factors are relevant to an explanation of Germany's low fertility depends amongst other things on which other country is taken as a reference: In comparison with other heavily modernised societies such as France or Sweden, it is the political framework which is particularly relevant; in comparison to less heavily modernised societies such as Ireland or Turkey, on the other hand, it is more cultural perceptions of the family and of individual life planning which are vital (Bujard, 2011).

A further explanation which suggests itself is surprisingly seldom brought up: family structures and family relationships, such as a higher degree of instability in partnerships (Keizer, Dykstra, Jansen, 2007), or a low level of availability of other relatives to provide support with childcare (Ette and Ruckdeschel, 2007), are used to explain the drop in fertility over time or to give reasons for differences at micro level, but they are virtually disregarded as an explanation of differences in an international comparison. This is especially surprising because analyses of individual differences within Germany show that the potential availability of support with childcare from one's own parents can certainly exert an influence on family planning and on generative conduct (Ette and Ruckdeschel, 2007; Hank et al., 2004; Del Boca, 2002). It has also been proven that, in an international comparison, there are some unambiguous differences when it comes to the spread and relevance of grandparents and care of grandchildren (Nauck and Suckow, 2003: 57 et seq.). Considerable importance attaches to care of grandchildren, particularly in those countries in which public expenditure on family-related services is low (as a proportion of GDP) and in which childcare is considered to be a private matter (Adam, Mühling, Förster, Jakob, 2014). This poses the question of whether the comparatively low level of availability of care of grandchildren may also help to explain Germany's low fertility, at least in comparison with societies with a lower level of modernisation. This consideration forms the starting point of this article.

There are also problems, caused above all by multicollinearity, when it comes to precisely identifying the causes of differences in an international

comparison: the fact that different conditions also intercorrelate at macro level which exert a statistical influence on generative conduct. This frequently fails to answer the question as to which of the context-related conditions actually exerts a relevant influence on birth behaviour, and which tends to be influenced more strongly by birth behaviour or does not have any direct causal relationship with it. Does for instance France have higher fertility than Germany because the public childcare infrastructure is better, or because working mothers are taken for granted there? Does Turkey have higher fertility than Germany because greater value is attached to children, or because parents receive more support from their relatives when it comes to childcare? Several relevant contextual conditions vary equally when comparing countries, and can hence be considered as explanations for the differences in fertility. In view of the small numbers of cases which are generally available for a country comparison, this problem can also not be solved by multivariate analysis procedures and by controlling for confounding variables.

A particular opportunity is offered by ethnic minorities when it comes to determining causes more precisely. It is known that the cultural perceptions and conduct of migrants – in particular those who belong to the second and third generations of immigrants –, as well as their generative conduct amongst other things, come closer to those of the host country over time and under prerequisites (Schmid and Kohls, 2011). They however also retain cultural perceptions and conduct from their country of origin to a certain extent. Given that they live in the same towns and cities, work in the same companies and are subject to the same laws as the ethnic majority, it may be possible to rule out a great deal of structural frameworks in order to explain the differences which nonetheless persist. The potential causes are reduced, firstly, to cultural aspects, and secondly to factors at the micro level such as education, social origin or indeed family structures, such as the potential availability of support through care of grandchildren. This makes it possible for a comparison of ethnic groups in the same country to reveal findings which a comparison between two countries could not. This is the approach pursued in the present article.

The Turkish-origin population suggests itself as an ethnic minority in Germany with which the majority society can be compared. It is not only the largest ethnic minority in Germany, but is also highly amenable to research in terms of its family structures, for instance on the basis of the corresponding additional sample of the Generations and Gender Survey (GGS). The fertility of the Turkish-origin population living in Germany is higher, and their age at the birth of the first child is lower, than among the majority population of natives – not to the same extent, but along the same lines as with regard to the population of Turkey. It is hence possible to conclude with some degree

of plausibility from the differences which exist between natives and Turkish-origin people in Germany that differences exist between Germany and Turkey. Moreover, the comparison per se is a relevant field of research.

We explore the question of what influencing factors are responsible for the differences in the risk of a first birth between natives and Turkish-origin people in Germany. We are particularly interested in the question of whether differences in the support potential for care of grandchildren explain some of these differences. We use data from the first wave of the German Generations and Gender Survey (GGS) from 2005/2006, as it appears to be particularly suitable for the comparison. We use three common indicators of support potential which allow support in childcare by the respondent's own mother to be subjectively anticipated: These are geographical distance from home, contact frequency and the subjectively-estimated quality of the relationship with the mother.

We study in a first step to what extent Turkish-origin people living in Germany can count more reliably on childcare, using the abovementioned support potential, and on the informal support of their own mother, than natives can. In a second step, we study whether distance from home, contact frequency and the subjectively-estimated quality of the relationship with the respondent's own mother favour or accelerate family foundation. In a third step, we examine whilst controlling for other possible influencing factors – in particular socio-demographic characteristics and cultural-normative perceptions of children –, to what degree the connection between the anticipated availability of care of grandchildren and the first birth may constitute part of the fertility difference between the two ethnic groups.

Unlike other topical analyses of differences between Germans and Turkish migrants in Germany (Naderi, 2013), we do not make use of the panel structure of the GGS, instead calculating event analyses on the basis of retrospective data in the first wave of the survey. This is necessary, given the fact that the inclusion of the second wave would cause the number of cases available for our questions to be reduced by too great an extent. Our dependant variable is the first birth and the transition to the first child. For reasons related to the number of cases, we are restricting the analyses to Western Germany. This is also favoured by the fact that the vast majority of people belonging to the ethnic minority of Turkish migrants in Germany live in the Western part of the country, and that the structural framework hence corresponds most closely to that of people in Western Germany. We furthermore restrict the analyses to the influence exerted by potential care of grandchildren by the respondent's own mother because (grand)fathers seldom assume care of grandchildren (Adam et al., 2014: 75), and because no data are available in the dataset on the respondents' parents-in-law.

2. Previous research and theoretical approaches

Marked differences exist when it comes to the generative conduct of women in Germany and in Turkey: Turkish women have their children earlier than German women do; fewer of them remain childless; they are more likely to have three or more children, and have a higher total birth rate. The official statistics for 2014 for women in Germany for instance show an average age of 29.5 at the birth of the first child and a total fertility rate of 1.47 (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2016), whilst women in Turkey have an average age on giving birth (for all births) of 28.4 and a total fertility rate of 2.17 (Eurostat, 2014). The share of women who are permanently childless is 21.2% in the 1970 birth cohort in Germany, whilst in Turkey it is only 4.1% in the birth cohorts from 1967 to 1971; the share of women with numerous children (with three or more births) is 16.8% in Germany, whilst it is 48.1% in Turkey (Bujard and Lück, 2015; Turkstat, 2016).

Very similar differences in generative conduct, albeit they are somewhat weaker by degree, exist between German women without a migration background and Turkish female migrants in Germany (cf. Naderi, 2013; 2015; Dorbritz, 2011; Hullen, 2009; Haug, 2002; Milewski, 2003; 2007; 2011). If one looks at the birth behaviour in the sequence of the different generations of immigrants, however, trends towards approximation can be recognised: Female migrants of the second and third generations come closer to the general fertility level in Germany in terms of their generative conduct (Schmid and Kohls 2011). This also already applies to what is known as the "first-and-a-half generation of immigrants" (Naderi, 2013, amongst others) – that is those who immigrated to Germany when they were young. A precise distinction by generations of immigrants has been shown to be important in general terms (Milewski, 2007; 2011). Despite tendencies towards approximation, the level of births to women with a Turkish migration background remains much higher than that of Germans (Naderi, 2015). Older official data, as well as findings which are weighted using official data, might in fact considerably underestimate this difference, particularly since the correction of the official statistics by the census 2011 reveals that people with a foreign nationality have much greater fertility than had previously been shown (Pötzsch, 2016).

Different influencing factors have been identified which help explain the differences in generative conduct. These particularly include the different educational structure (Siegert, 2008; Naderi, 2015), as well as the influence of religion and religiosity (Gerhards, 2005; Kröhnert and Klingholz, 2010). Both the share of those with a low level of education and that of religious women is higher among Turkish-origin women than among women without a migration background. In turn, both characteristics are associated with higher fertility and a lower age at the birth of the first child. Controlling for

education and religiosity, the remaining differences in generative conduct are considerably reduced (Naderi, 2015).

A further factor helping to explain the differences in generative conduct is based on the "value of children" approach (cf. Nauck, 2001). On this basis, it has been found that, due to cultural factors, persons in Germany and Turkey attach a different value to children, and that the same applies between natives and Turkish migrants in Germany (Nauck, 2001; 2011; Nauck and Klaus, 2007; Klaus, 2008; Naderi, 2013). Accordingly, a child entails social recognition in Turkish culture more than is the case in German culture. Particularly the economic "benefit" which children are seen as constituting, which may for instance consist of support in old age, is greater in Turkey than in Germany (Trommsdorff and Mayer, 2011). The differences between the cultures are less marked when it comes to perceptions connected to the emotional "benefit"; this value lies at a high level in both countries (Nauck, 2010). Both the benefit, and the cost perceptions in terms of the "value of children" approach, exert a significant influence on the number of children which is regarded as ideal and personally desired (Nauck, 2010: 233). This must also be presumed to exert an influence on generative conduct.

The topic of care of grandchildren is frequently researched in the context of intergenerational solidarity in general. Many studies are available for this. It is possible to sum up the most important finding here in that intensive mutual support services are very frequently provided between the generations within a family group, such as financial transfers, which typically flow from the older to the younger generation, or practical everyday help, where the opposite is the case (cf. e.g. Igel, 2012; Kopp and Steinbach, 2009; Van Gaalen and Dykstra, 2006; Bertram, 2006; Szydlik, 2001). Grandparents, and care of grandchildren in particular, also form an element of these support services, and are a common topic of research (e.g. Hank and Buber, 2009; Igel, 2012; Adam et al., 2014). They exert an influence on the life planning of the younger generation, particularly by reducing problems related to reconciliation and making it easier for mothers to take up gainful employment (for an overview see Büchel and Spieß, 2002).

The influence of support potential and of anticipated support through care of grandchildren on desired fertility or generative conduct is studied as a rule in connection with other (anticipated) forms of support in childcare. Many studies focus exclusively on formal childcare in this context (Anderson, Duvander, Hank, 2004; Engelhardt, 2004; Bühler and Philipov, 2005; Kravdal, 1996); others additionally discuss the influence of informal care (Hank et al., 2004; Hank and Kreyenfeld, 2002; Ette and Ruckdeschel, 2007; Del Boca, 2002; Pinnelli and Fiori, 2006). This second group also does not necessarily take care of grandchildren into consideration: Some articles for instance exclusively

concentrate on the influence of support services provided via social networks on fertility conduct (Bühler and Philipov, 2005; Aassve, Meroni, Pronzato, 2012; Balbo and Mills, 2011). Differences between the studies furthermore exist with regard to the dependent variable used in each case: Most studies examine the influence on the transition to the first child, or to the second or third child. Engelhardt (2004) studies the effect on desired fertility. Given these very different approaches, the studies listed also reach highly divergent conclusions. Some do not indentify any marked influence of anticipated care on fertility conduct (Anderson et al., 2004; Hank and Kreyenfeld, 2002; Pinnelli and Fiori, 2006) or desired fertility (Engelhardt, 2004). Others find indications of a positive influence – related to both formal and informal care (Kravdal, 1996; Ette and Ruckdeschel, 2007; Del Boca, 2002; Hank et al., 2004).

There is no doubt that family solidarity potential is generally stronger among Turkish migrants than among Germans (Carnein and Baykara-Krumme, 2013; Baykara-Krumme, Klaus, Steinbach, 2011), and that Turkish-origin couples in Germany make more frequent use of informal support in childcare than German couples without a migration background do (Kröber and Beyreuther, 2012; Alt and Teubner, 2006). Although Turkish migrants in Germany undergo a change in attitudes as against people in Turkey, they do show continuity in terms of conduct with regard to mutual support between parents and adult children (Baykara-Krumme, 2013). It is however not clear to what degree informal care or specifically-anticipated childcare support on the part of the respondent's own parents helps to explain differences in fertility between natives and Turkish-origin people in Germany. Naderi (2013) found in analyses that were carried out separately for Turkish migrants and for Germans that individual bivariate connections exist, but did not identify a significant influence exerted by care of grandchildren on the expansion of a family in multivariate analyses.

The question of whether and how birth behaviour is associated in each case with the individual indicators of support potential used below – distance from home, contact frequency and quality of the relationship with the respondent's own parents – and whether differences in this regard can explain the differences in fertility between the ethnic groups – is posed differently by degree. We have no authoritative information on this either. Having said that, in the event of a positive connection, the direction of the causality may have to be presumed to be mutual: A birth event may not only have been favoured by close contact or a positive relationship with the respondent's parents – and the anticipation of support in childcare to which this leads; a birth event may also lead to closer contact and to changes in the relationship with the parents.

3. Theoretical foundation and research questions

Our theoretical presumptions are founded on the human capital approach and on the New Home Economics according to Gary S. Becker (1981), in conjunction with theories of sociocultural change. The New Home Economics presume that household members attempt to increase the welfare production of their household. This includes not only household income, but also commodities, including begetting, bearing and bringing up children. The time and human capital of the household members are used as efficiently and effectively as possible for these goals – an argument which builds on the human capital approach (Mincer, 1963). Hence, firstly, the specific individual conditions of both partners give rise to a certain form of division of tasks which optimises the ratio of the resources that are input and the earnings. Secondly – and this is decisive here – the available, necessary resources determine which income and which commodities are produced at all. The threatening opportunity costs caused by taking career breaks as a result of a birth may for instance lead to a couple not having any children at all (or only very few). This particularly applies if the opportunity costs would be high – that is if the woman and the man both have the same amount of human capital and can achieve high incomes as long as they avoid career breaks.

Support in childcare – regardless of the manifestation which it takes – makes it easier to reconcile gainful employment with family work. It hence makes it possible to dispense with restrictions in gainful employment in the case of a birth, thus reducing the opportunity costs of children. Support in childcare – including support from one's own family of origin – therefore increases the risk of opting to have children. It particularly does so when the parents have considerable human capital and hence could incur major opportunity costs. Given the existing gender hierarchy, in particular human capital and the threatened opportunity costs of the woman are likely to be decisive here, so that anticipated support in care exerts a more positive influence on the generative conduct of female academics than on that of women with a lower level of education.

The support of one's own parents in caring for children is among the instrumental instances of assistance which, according to Szydlik (2000), constitute the functional dimension of intergenerational familial solidarity, along with monetary transfers and coresidence. What is more, a distinction is made between the dimensions of affective and associative intergenerational solidarity. It was long presumed in Talcott Parsons tradition of modernisation theory (1973 [1954]) that modern societies would be characterised by a reduction to the core family or the "neolocal elementary family", which would become largely independent of the grandparents' generation. The empirical

research tends by contrast to confirm more closely to the model of Hans Bertram's "multilocal, multi-generational family" (2000; 2002), according to which, despite living in separate households, close solidarity-based family relationships existed between the generations of a family. Various studies have concluded that intergenerational familial solidarity remains strong despite the change that has taken place within society over recent decades, and that this applied in all of the dimensions that have been specified (Kohli, 2012; Olk, 2012; Kohli, Künemund, Motel-Klingebiel, Szydlik, 2005; Kohli and Szydlik, 2000). The hypothesis that material security provided to the elderly by the social welfare state rendered intergenerational solidarity dispensable, and hence weakened it, is regarded as having been largely refuted (Künemund and Motel, 2000).

There are however also indications that intergenerational solidarity varies at least in some dimensions, depending on the cultural background and on societal prosperity. A high level of prosperity is accompanied in this process by a reduced frequency of support and of allocations (Trommsdorff and Mayer, 2011). It is also possible to presume such a difference to exist when comparing Turkey and Germany. It can be presumed that this should also be noticeable in terms of contact frequency, distance from home and (to a lesser degree also) with regard to the quality of the relationship. The relationship with one's own parents should hence be characterised within Germany's majority population without a migration background – albeit at a high level – by a lower contact frequency by degree, greater distance from home and poorer relationship quality than among the Turkish-origin minority in Germany.

In conjunction with the considerations on the basis of the micro economy, this means that – if the influence of education and human capital is controlled for – one may particularly expect those couples to forego having children who have a less close and less positive relationship with their own parents and who live further away from their parents, particularly since they can expect little support in childcare and to incur high opportunity costs. This is likely to apply more strongly to people without a migration background than to Turkish-origin people in Germany.

It is possible to derive the following hypotheses from these presumptions regarding the context conditions (H1 to H4), as well as a core hypothesis regarding our central research question (H5):

H1: In comparison to natives, Turkish migrants in Germany live closer to their parents in geographical terms – unless they live in Turkey, as could be expected for the first generation of migrants (cf. on this also Baykara-Krumme et al., 2011).

H2: Turkish migrants in Germany are in touch with their parents more frequently than are natives (Baykara-Krumme et al., 2011).

H3: Turkish migrants in Germany tend to be more positive with regard to their relationships with their parents than are natives (Baykara-Krumme et al., 2011).

H4: Distance from home, contact frequency and quality of the relationship with their own mothers constitute support potential for young adults in the family planning phase, which allows them to hope for support for childcare should it be needed. They thus increase the risk of forming a family.

H5: The connection between distance from home, contact frequency and quality of the relationship with their own mothers, and the risk of a first birth, explains some of the difference in generative conduct between Turkish migrants in Germany and natives: Controlling for distance from home, contact frequency and relationship quality reduces the statistical effect of ethnic affiliation on the transition to the first child.

The theoretical foundation presented here does not question other influences – such as the cultural influence of different religions and degrees of religiosity, different characteristics caused by education-specific social environments or different values attaching to children in the sense of the "value of children" approach (Nauck, 2001), but rather can be used to complement and add to this. The other influences specified, which have already been adequately documented in the research literature, are however not re-examined here, but are presupposed, and hence only taken into account in the analyses as control variables.

4. Data and method

The foundation of the present analyses is formed by the first wave of the German Generations and Gender Survey (GGS) from 2005 (main survey) and 2006 (additional survey on Turkish migrants in Germany). German-speaking persons aged between 18 and 79 who live in private households in Germany were surveyed in the main survey. The population of the additional survey covers persons with Turkish nationality living in Germany aged between 18 and 79. Both samples are representative (Ruckdeschel et al., 2007; Ette et al., 2007).

The study, which was carried out on behalf of the Federal Institute for Population Research (BiB), includes questions on fertility, partnership development and intergenerational relationships (Ruckdeschel et al. 2006: 7). The main survey and the additional Turkish survey enable a comparison to be carried out of German and Turkish-origin persons in Germany, based on sufficiently large case numbers. We rely on the first wave of the GGS, since too few birth events are recorded between the survey waves to be able

to carry out analyses of our questions. True, distortions are documented for the German GGS with regard to an underestimation of the fertility of older respondents (Ruckdeschel, Sauer, Naderi, 2016; Sauer et al., 2012), but these do not notably affect the connections studied here.

The population for the following analyses is made up of respondents aged between 18 and 50 who live in Western Germany. No boundaries were drawn or distinctions made in terms of gender, particularly since such preliminary studies did not reveal any gender-specific differences in the influences with regard to the determinants which are relevant for us that might have given reason to do so. The age restriction rules out cases which are outside the generative phase of life. The restriction to Western Germany is to enable comparisons to be drawn, as well as avoiding a problem related to the number of cases: The remaining differences in fertility conduct between Eastern and Western Germans call for a differentiation to be made between the two parts of the country (see inter alia Schneider, 2011; Goldstein and Kreyenfeld, 2011). It is however not possible to carry out an analysis that is broken down according to the two parts of the country since the case numbers for Eastern Germany are small as a rule in the GGS, particularly since the Turkish minority is virtually unrepresented there.

Our research interest relates to the differences between Western German natives and Turkish-origin people in Western Germany aged from 18 to 50. The respondents are attributed to one of the two comparison groups not on the basis of an individual's nationality, since we do not expect this to provide any socialising characteristics, but on the basis of the Turkish migration background. This means that the sub-population of Turkish migrants that we used was recruited not only from the GGS additional survey of 2006, in which Turkish nationals were included, but also from the GGS main survey of 2005. The criteria that were used to establish a Turkish migration background here are the birth of the respondent, of a parent or of a grandparent in Turkey. The reason for this operationalisation is the presumption that a cultural fertility pattern will tend to be identifiable more from the birth in a specific country than by nationality. This particularly applies to the Turkish fertility pattern, given a specific naturalisation situation of Turkish migrants: In a comparison with other groups of migrants, Turkish-origin migrants have had the highest annual naturalisation rates since 1995 (Diehl and Blohm, 2008: 440). What is more, there are special legal arrangements for Turkish migrants in Germany. For instance, children who were born in Germany after 1990 and who have a parent who has been living in Germany lawfully for at least eight years are entitled to German nationality (section 4 subsection (3) of the Nationality Act [StAG], cf. Gresch and Kristen, 2011: 211). The operationalisation described above leaves 642 Western German natives, and 546 individuals of Turkish origin, in the sample analysed.

Even if, in de facto terms, we only have one wave of the survey at our disposal, and hence data in the cross-section, we nonetheless carry out an event analysis to study the question since analyses of generative conduct require an observation to be carried out in the life course perspective as a matter of principle. Our analyses are nonetheless unable to prove causality in the same way as real long-sectional analyses can, given that decisive variables are only recorded in a prospective fashion and that they do not precede the measured birth events. We use a piecewise constant exponential model. The dependent variable is family foundation, that is the transition to the first child. This will operationalise in months since the beginning of the fertile phase. Borrowing from common definitions, we set the start of the fertile phase at the time of turning 14. The dependent variable hence measures the number of months between the 14th birthday and the start of the pregnancy nine months before the first birth.

Event analysis offers the possibility, in our case at least for some of the variables, to model the timeline of events, and additionally to take covariables into account which vary over time (Blossfeld, Golsch, Rohwer, 2007). In terms of the variables, the majority of which are recorded prospectively, it must however accept the disadvantage that these can only be considered as determinants for retrospectively-recorded birth events if they are accepted as being constant over time, since the chronological sequence of presumed cause and effect would otherwise be swapped. Particularly when it comes to the distance from home, contact frequency and quality of the relationship with the respondent's own parents, this presumption must be questioned, especially since, as has already been determined, these characteristics are in a mutual causal relationship with birth behaviour. Given that there is no more suitable alternative, constancy over time is nonetheless to be presumed here. Having said that, we wish to strain this presumption as little as possible. We hence permit a maximum discrepancy of five years between the time of birth and the time of the interview; in other words, we limit the analysis to birth events which took place after 2000 (main survey) or 2001 (additional survey). This restriction maintains just about enough birth events in the selected time window for differentiated analyses to be carried out: 604 births took place in the population which we observed – 238 to German respondents and 366 to Turkish ones.

As was mentioned above, the central independent variables are distance from home, contact frequency and quality of the relationship with the respondent's own mother. These constitute common indicators for measuring support potential, and can be used as proxy variables for the expectation of being supported with childcare by the respondent's own parents should this be needed since the subjective expectation itself is not available as a

variable in the dataset. Relying on the abovementioned proxy variables is also supported by the hypothesis (cf. H4) that young adults in any case frequently do not know with any degree of certainty to what degree they could rely on support from their parents with childcare should they form a family, but that a short distance from home, frequent contact and a positive relationship with their parents permits them to expect this in subjective terms, and that this presumption in itself is relevant to determining actions. Contact frequency and the quality of the relationship with this parent were not recorded for respondents who live together in the same household with one or both parents. It is hence possible to deal with coresidence for the descriptive analyses as a (minimum) manifestation of distance from home. However, for the multivariate analysis, coresidence must be included in the model as a separate explanatory variable since it would otherwise interact with the determinants contact frequency and quality of the relationship.

Only the mothers of the respondents were taken into account when operationalising the independent variables in the multivariate analyses, but not the fathers or parents-in-law. The restriction to mothers is carried out because the majority of care and support services are provided by women, and close contact with the respondent's own father would hence probably not be a reason to hope for support with childcare (Adam et al., 2014). It is not possible to take parents-in-law into account since no information is available on them in the dataset.

The independent variables are first of all descriptively evaluated (cf. Figs. 2 to 4) and then dichotomised as follows to become dummy variables for the event analysis:

- coresidence (only differentiated in multivariate analyses): respondent living in a household with both parents or with own mother (dummy 1), not applicable (reference).
- distance from home: up to 10 minutes one-way (dummy 1), more than 10 minutes and up to 45 minutes (dummy 2), more than 45 minutes (reference).
- contact frequency: at least once per week (dummy), less than once per week (reference).
- quality of the relationship: positive assessment ("highly satisfied") by means of the values 9 to 10 on a scale of ten (dummy), values 1 to 8 on a scale of ten (reference).
- interaction term: up to 10 minutes one-way * contact at least once per week * positive assessment of the quality of the relationship.

In addition to these independent variables, various influences are controlled for in the event analysis. These include the benefits and costs which are subjectively associated with children in the context of the

"value of children" approach (cf. Nauck, 2001). These are operationalised by three indicators which were previously identified with the aid of main component analyses from eight VOC items contained in the dataset2 and which correspond relatively closely to the dimensions which were described by Nauck in theoretical and empirical terms (Nauck, 2001; Nauck and Klaus, 2007):

a) A psychological-affective benefit is measured by four items (Cronbach's Alpha3: 0.803):

- It is only possible to be happy and satisfied in our modern world within a family, at home and with one's children.
- I always enjoy having children around me.
- It is impossible to be really happy without children.
- I like children because they give me the feeling of being really needed.

b) An economic-utilitaristic benefit is measured by two items (Cronbach's Alpha: 0.703):

Let's suppose that you had a child/another child in the next three years. What consequences would this have for various areas of your life?

- Probably care and security when you're old,
- Security in your life.

c) Subjectively-perceived costs are measured by two items (Cronbach's Alpha: 0.616):

Let's suppose that you had a child/another child in the next three years. What consequences would this have for various areas of your life?

- Your employment opportunities,
- Your financial situation.

The dimensions that were identified by the main component analysis are first of all operationalised in each case by an additive index, and then dichotomised, so that a binary indicator can be included in the analysis in each case. All in all, the following control variables were taken into account in the event analyses, whereby those for which this is theoretically plausible and technically implementable are modelled in each case as being changeable over time:

- psychological-affective benefit (VoC dimension): high benefit (1), low benefit (0), constant over time,
- economic-utilitaristic benefits (VoC dimension): high benefit (1), low benefit (0), constant over time,
- costs (VoC dimension): high costs (1), low costs (0), constant over time.
- migration background: 1st generation of migrants, immigrated after the age of 12 (dummy 1), "first-and-a-half generation of migrants", immigrated up to the age of 12 (dummy 2), 2nd or 3rd generation of migrants (dummy 3), no migration background (reference), constant over time,

- partner's migration background: with migration background (dummy 1), no migration background (reference), constant over time,
- partnership: partner: yes (1), partner: no (0), changes over time,
- woman's activity status: in gainful employment (1), not in gainful employment (0), constant over time,
- man's activity status: in gainful employment (1), not in gainful employment (0), constant over time,
- woman's level of education: high level of education of ISCED levels 5-6 (dummy 1), medium level of education of ISCED levels 3-4 (dummy 2), low level of education of ISCED levels 1-2 (reference), constant over time,
- man's level of education: high level of education of ISCED levels 5-6 (dummy 1), medium level of education of ISCED levels 3-4 (dummy 2), low level of education of ISCED levels 1-2 (reference), constant over time,
- sex: women (1), men (0), constant over time,
- age: in two-year categories, changes over time.

Religion was not recorded because of multicollinearity. Partner characteristics are only asked for with regard to the current partner. For this reason, only those respondents were included in the analysis with regard to whom no change of partner had taken place between the time of the pregnancy and the time of the survey (91 % of the sample).4 For more detailed descriptions of the independent variables, see Appendix A & B.

5. Results

5.1. Descriptive findings

We already know from the research literature that the risk of a first birth and the age at the birth of the first child of Western Germans without a migration background and of Turkish migrants in Germany are different (cf. the section on the state of the research). This difference is also revealed in the GGS data on which our evaluation is based. It is shown in the figure below, broken down by sex, in the shape of Kaplan-Meier survival curves which show what percentage of the respondents in our sample were (still) childless at what age (cf. Fig. 1). The younger age of Turkish female migrants (bright red) and male migrants (bright blue) at first childbirth in comparison to Western German women (dark red) and Western German men (dark blue) can be read from a curve which falls earlier, and the higher final number of children can be read from the lower level at which the curve ends. This difference can be observed both in the comparison of women and in the comparison of men.

Figure 1: Family foundation by age – Western German women and men and Turkish female migrants and migrants
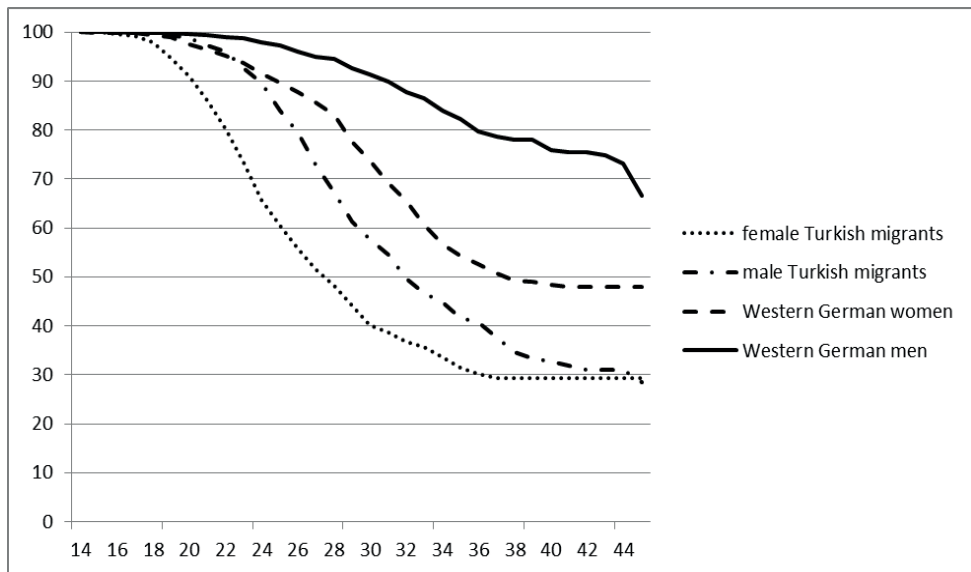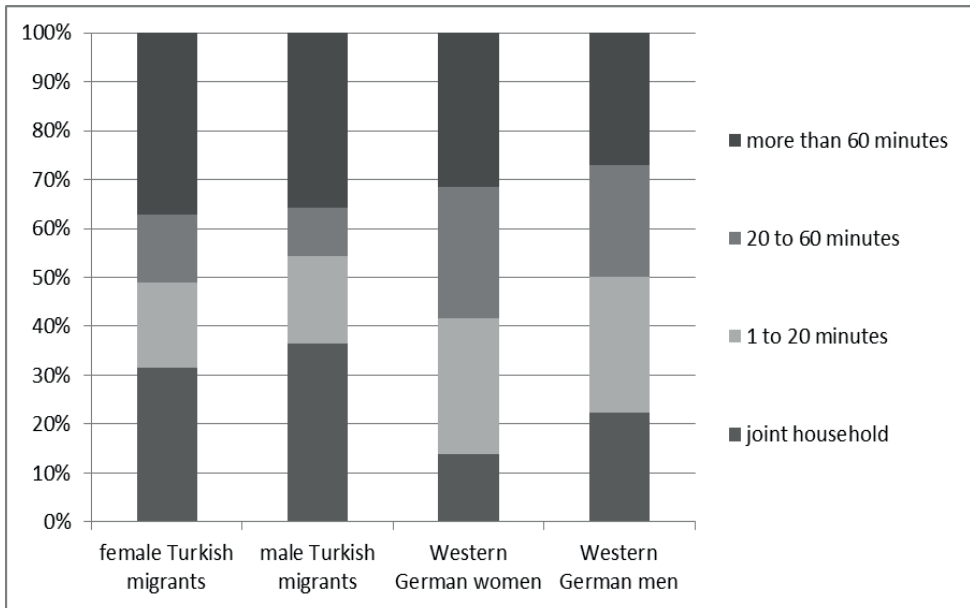

Source: GGS for Germany, 1st wave (own estimates)

It is important to note that the findings illustrated in Figure 1 are not representative of either the Western German population or of Turkish migrants living in Germany. The shares of the permanently childless are for instance considerably overestimated. This is due to the fact that the evaluations are based on a sub-population which is customised according to technical aspects and relevance criteria (cf. the section on "Data and method"). Furthermore, fertility is generally underestimated in the German GGS (Ruckdeschel et al., 2016). The figure can therefore not be used to describe the generative conduct of Germans or of Turkish migrants, but only to describe the dependent variables used in the multivariate analyses below. It is vital to be aware here that this reflects the difference that is presumed to exist between the sub-groups as to first births and shows a more frequent and earlier transition to parenthood for Turkish migrants.

The central independent variables – that is distance from home, contact frequency as well as the quality of the respondents' relationships with their own mothers – are also to be initially observed in bivariate terms. Our expectations with regard to these differences are worded in the first three hypotheses (H1 to H3). They form the precondition for our core hypothesis being correct, namely that a more frequent potential availability of care of grandchildren provides an additional explanation of why Turkish migrants form families earlier and more frequently than Western Germans without

a migration background. All differences discussed in the following are significant according to a chi2 test.

When it comes to the distance from home, our expectation is that Turkish migrants in Germany as a rule live closer to their parents in geographic terms than natives do, but that, at the same time, there is also a larger share of Turkish migrants who live a particularly great distance from home, especially since a relevant share of them are likely to have parents who live in Turkey, this particularly applying to the first generation of migrants (H1). In other words, we expect Turkish migrants to demonstrate a broader spread of distances from home and a greater concentration at both ends of the scale. We presume here that, as a consequence, Turkish migrants live close enough to their parents to be able to be regularly available to provide care of grandchildren more often than natives.

Figure 2: Distance from home of young adults to their mothers

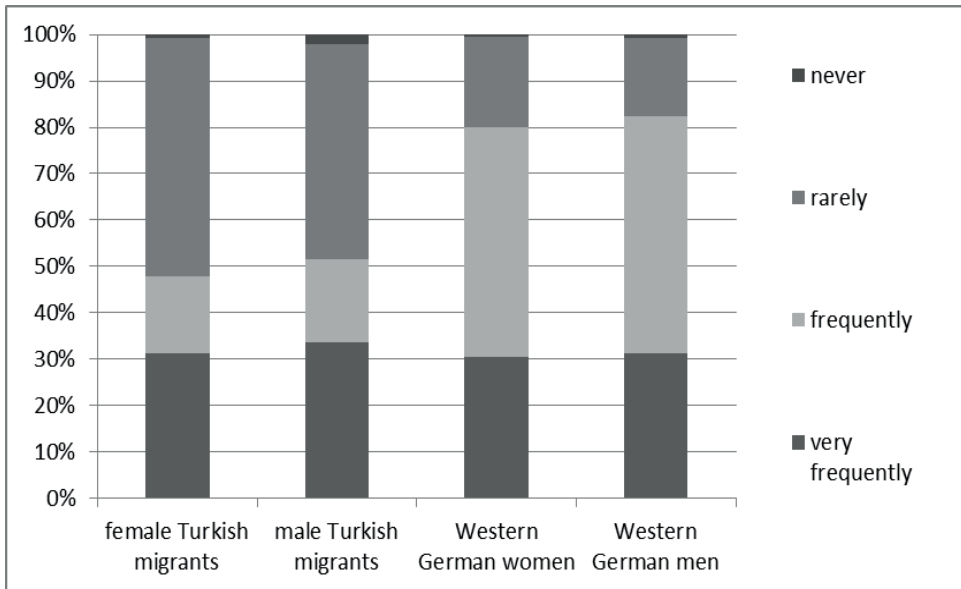Source: GGS for Germany, 1st wave (own estimates)

This expectation is confirmed (cf. Fig. 2). In fact, both ends of the scale are represented disproportionately strongly among Turkish migrants: Firstly, the share of those migrants whose mothers live in the same household is two-to three-times larger, at more than 30% (depending on the gender), than among Western Germans without a migration background. Secondly, and largely as a result of migrants of the first generation, distances from home of more than 60 minutes' travelling time are also more common. Having

said that, the difference here is only a few percentage points. To what degree the difference can be traced back to the fact that some of the mothers of Turkish migrants live in Turkey cannot be securely documented using the data from the GGS since the parents' current place of residence is not asked for. Medium distances from home of up to 60 minutes' travelling time are found to a disproportionately minor degree among Turkish migrants.

It is, finally, confirmed that Turkish women and men are more often in the situation that their mothers live close enough to be able to help regularly with childcare. This is at least the case if this distance is operationalised with up to 20 minutes' travelling time. This share accounts for roughly 50% among Turkish migrants. The share among Western German women is roughly ten percentage points below that of the respective comparison group, and roughly five percentage points below this level among Western German men. A similar result would be reached if one were to determine the maximum travelling time between the households at 30 minutes or an arbitrary value below this. However, the trigger for the more favourable situation overall with regard to distances from home among the Turkish population is solely the fact that coresidence is much more common. Short distances from home between two separate households are more common among natives. It can hence be summed up that the distances from home to the respondents' own mothers are more favourably spread among Turkish migrants when it comes to care of grandchildren, but that there is a need to examine whether coresidence as a special form of a very short distance also really promotes family foundation.

Our expectation when it comes to contact frequency is that Turkish migrants in Germany have more frequent contact with their parents than natives do (H2). This expectation cannot be confirmed with the data of the GGS (cf. Fig. 3), and in fact the opposite appears to be the case: Whilst among Turkish migrants, both female and male, and among Western German women and men without a migration background, a roughly equally-large share of roughly 30% in each case states that they have "very frequent" contact with their own mothers, roughly 50% of Western Germans, but only roughly 20% of Turkish migrants, report that they nonetheless have "frequent" contact. Accordingly, a vast majority of 80% of Western Germans have frequent or very frequent contact, whilst this only applies to half the Turkish-origin respondents. With few exceptions, the remaining 20% among Western Germans and 50% among Turkish migrants report that contact took place "seldom". Hypothesis 2 is hence refuted.

Measured against these figures, the frequency of contacts between young adults in Western Germany and their mothers suggests that people without a migration background can be more hopeful when it comes to receiving support through care of grandchildren than Turkish migrants can. It should

Figure 3: Contact frequency of young adults with their mothers

Source: GGS for Germany, 1st wave (own estimates)

be noted that the contact frequency was evaluated in subjective terms. It would be possible that Turkish migrants are more critical in their evaluation of the de facto frequency against the background of different normative expectations. The finding is nonetheless so unambiguous that it is difficult to imagine that Turkish migrants have de facto more frequent contact with their own mothers than Western German natives do. And even if this were the case, weight must attach also and particularly to the subjective perception when it comes to the degree to which people anticipate whether they could count on support from their mothers in the shape of care of grandchildren should they found a family.

Our expectation as to the quality of the relationship is that Turkish migrants in Germany tend to have a more positive perception of their relationships with their parents than natives do (H3). This expectation is confirmed (cf. Fig. 4). True, it applies both to those with a migration background and to those without, to both women and men, that most of them are "highly satisfied" with their relationship with their own mother (values 9 to 10 on a scale of 0 to 10). Having said that, at roughly 70%, this share is another ten to 20 percentage points higher among Turkish female and male migrants than among Western German natives. The number of those who are "not satisfied" with their relationships (values 0 to 4) is in the mid-single-digit percentage range in all populations. Hypothesis 3 is hence confirmed.

Figure 4: Quality of the relationship between young adults and their mothers
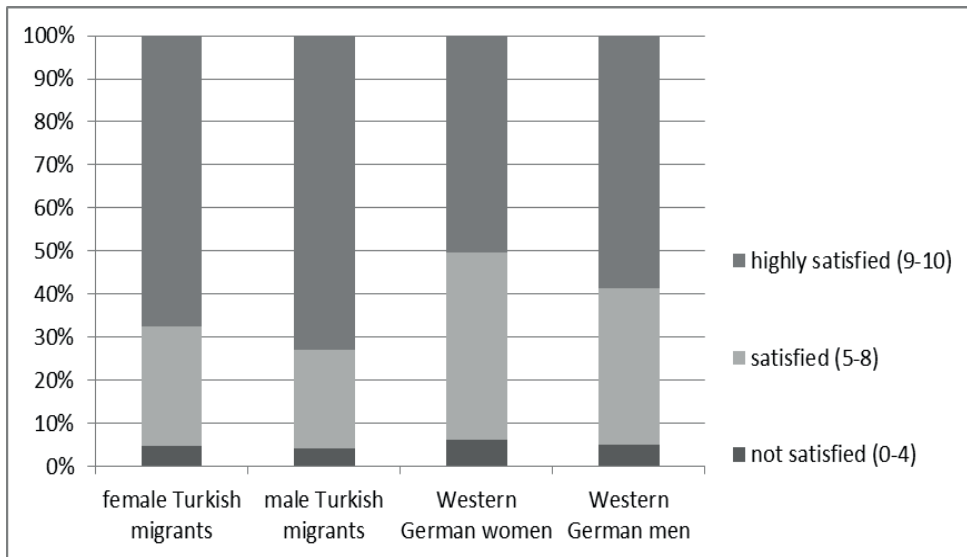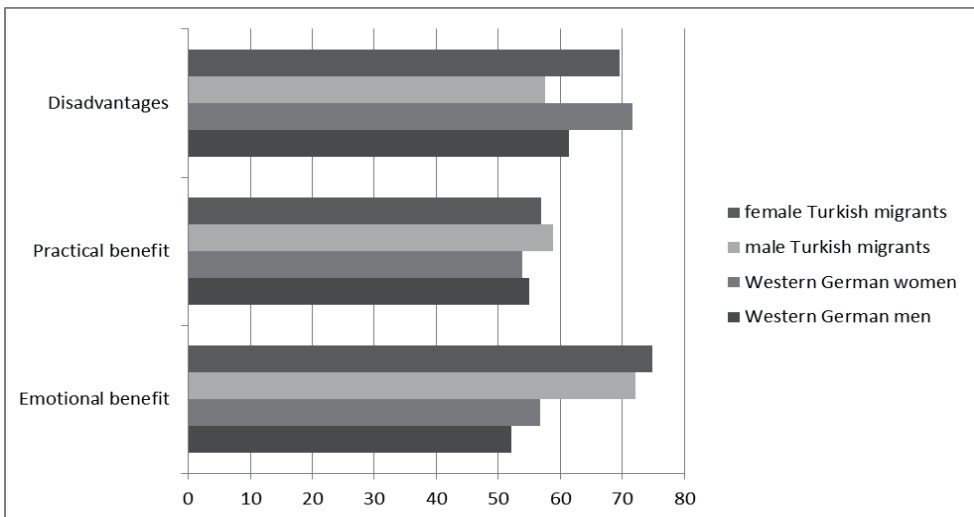

Source: GGS for Germany, 1st wave (own estimates)

The question remains to be asked as to from what value on the scale of 0-10 one may presume that a respondent counts on his/her mother supporting him/her in the event of a family foundation: Does this apply to a young adult who states that they are "satisfied" with their relationship with their mother (values 5 to 8) in the same way as it does to those who are "highly satisfied"? Were this to be so, the quality of the relationship would not serve as an indication of which population would be more positively encouraged to found a family by support potential with regard to care of grandchildren. One may presume that the present tilted distribution is due to some degree to a distortion caused by social desirability, and that those who rate the quality of the relationship with values below 9 actually register relevant shortcomings, dissatisfaction or conflicts. We therefore presume that at least a non-negligible share of those who state that they are only "satisfied" with their relationship with their mother do not count on her helping them with childcare. Since this share is somewhat larger among natives than among Turkish migrants, the preconditions for care of grandchildren appear to be somewhat more favourable among Turkish migrants with regard to the quality of the relationship.

In addition to the dependent variables and to the central independent ones, finally, the most important control variable is still to be observed in bivariate terms. As is known from the literature (cf. the section on the state

of the research), differences emerge between natives and Turkish migrants in Germany with regard to the "value of children", that is the value which people subjectively associate with children and which guides them in their family planning (Naderi, 2013; Trommsdorff and Mayer, 2011; Nauck, 2010; 2011). A higher economic-utilitaristic "benefit" of children can be anticipated among Turkish migrants in particular. And one may expect the latter to go a long way towards explaining the larger final number of children, as well as the lower age on family foundation among Turkish migrants. Before now going on to explore the question of the degree to which the independent variables tested here make an additional contribution towards this explanation, it is to be examined to what degree the known differences can be replicated using our data as to the "value of children".

Corresponding to the operationalisation that has already been presented (cf. section on "Data and method"), main component analyses were calculated with the VoC items contained in the GGS dataset. The factors identified here correspond to three VoC dimensions of the psychological-affective benefit that can be theoretically anticipated, of the economic-utilitaristic benefit, as well as of the costs of children. These are operationalised in each case by a simple summated index, and then dichotomised. The differences between Turkish migrants and Western German natives are shown below using these three dichotomous indices (cf. Fig. 5).

Figure 5: Subjective appreciation of children within the meaning of the VoC approach (shares)

Source: GGS for Germany, 1st wave (own estimates)

The findings are not completely in line with what one might anticipate from the research literature. Whilst Turkish migrants only assess the economic-utilitaristic benefit of children slightly higher than Western German natives do, Turkish migrants in our database above all state a higher psychological-affective benefit of children. Migrants estimate the costs that are associated with children slightly lower. Nonetheless, all in all the value of children is higher among Turkish migrants in Western Germany than among Western German natives, as is known from the literature. The three VoC indices hence constitute important control variables to explain the differences in fertility.

5.2. Multivariate findings

In order to test hypotheses H4 and H5, the influences exerted by the independent variables on the transition to the first child are examined in multivariate analyses. Table 1 shows the results. An incrementally-structured piecewise constant exponential model was calculated, albeit it should be recalled at this juncture that our event-analytical model does not constitute a real long-sectional analysis given the data available, and that particularly for the central independent variables only connections can be documented, and not causal directions of action.

Three models were calculated: Model 1 only contains the migration background, broken down according to the first, the "first-and-a-half" and the following generation of migrants, as well as the control variables. These are fundamental sociodemographic and economic variables, as well as the VoC indices, that is variables which have been proven in the specialist literature to exert an influence on generative conduct, or where this is at least plausible (cf. sections on "State of the research" and "Data and method"). Model 2 additionally contains our theoretically-relevant independent variables: distance from home, coresidence as a special form of a very short distance from home, contact frequency and quality of the respondents' relationship with their own mother. We anticipate with hypothesis H4 that these three independent variables, controlling for the confounding variables, exert a separate significant effect on the transition to the first child. With hypothesis H5, we expect the influence of the migration background to become weaker and less significant through the inclusion of the independent variables. Model 3 additionally takes an interaction effect into account from the three independent variables distance from home, contact frequency and quality of the relationship.5

Model 1 reveals first of all more comprehensible, unambiguous connections between family foundation and sex6, as well as relationship status: As Figure 1 already shows, women in our sample have a higher risk of founding a

family than men do, which is ultimately a factor of the lower age at the birth of the first child and of the age ceiling to which the sample is subjected. Persons who are in a partnership have a higher risk of a first birth than persons who have no partner. The education of both sexes has no significant effect whatever, whilst the woman's activity status has a highly-marked one: Gainful employment of the woman considerably reduces the risk of a first birth. Gainful employment of the man is not shown to have a significant positive effect on the first birth until support potential is controlled for. Men who are in work have a higher risk of becoming a father for the first time than those who are not in work. Moreover, Model 1 shows the significant effect of the "value of children", which can be demonstrated in two of the three dimensions: A high psychological-affective "benefit" of children drastically increases the risk of family foundation, whilst a high economic-utilitaristic "benefit" considerably reduces the risk. The subjectively-perceived costs of children, by contrast, do not demonstrate any effect in our model.

Calculating the effect of the migration background reveals pronounced connections with the first birth. Respondents with a personal experience of migration who immigrated to Germany after they were 12 ("first generation of migrants") have a much higher risk of a first birth than Western German natives do. Respondents belonging to the second or third generation of migrants also show a much higher risk. A negative significant effect is however shown if personal migration took place before the age of 12 ("first-and-a-half generation of migrants"). This finding may be explained by the fact that those who immigrated in their youth, firstly, are influenced by the host society to a relatively large degree, whilst however they frequently entered the German education system in later years, and hence had greater difficulties in establishing themselves in working life and in achieving the economic preconditions for family foundation (Herwig and Konietzka, 2012).

A migration experience of the partner also reduces the risk of a first birth. It should however be noted in order to interpret this finding that, when it comes to the partner's migration experience, for reasons that are related to the case numbers, no distinction was made by country of origin, and one may not necessarily presume the existence of a Turkish migration background. What is more, depending on the migration status of the respondent him/herself, the indicator may point to a culturally-homogeneous partnership in some cases, and to bicultural ones in others. The negative effect may for instance be owing to a large share of bicultural relationships, or to a large share of migrants from Eastern Europe whose fertility is relatively low. The variable is only to be regarded as a control variable in the present analyses.

The actual independent variables on coresidence, distance from home, contact frequency and quality of the relationship with the respondent's own

Table 1: Factors influencing the first birth

		Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Sex	female	1.426***	1.434***	1.433***
Partner: yes/no	yes	9.838***	9.912***	9.913***
Level of education of the woman *(ref.: medium level of education)*	low level of education	1.126	1.132	1.125
	high level of education	0.954	0.953	0.966
Level of education of the man *(ref.: medium level of education)*	low level of education	1.022	1.021	1.017
	high level of education	0.854	0.854	0.845
Activity status of the woman	in gainful employment	0.323***	0.339***	0.338***
Activity status of the man	in gainful employment	1.257	1.282*	1.284*
Generation of migrants *(ref.: no migration background)*	1st generation (migrated after age 12)	1.981***	1.934***	1.938***
	first-and-a-half generation (migrated up to age 12)	0.324**	0.323**	0.31**
	2nd/3rd generation	2.187***	2.289***	2.281***
Partner has a migration background	yes	0.733**	0.732**	0.728**
Value-of-children dimensions	considerable emotional benefit	2.317***	2.393***	2.424***
	considerable practical benefit	0.696***	0.71***	0.717***
	high costs	1.079	1.069	1.080
Coresidence	yes		0.425**	0.433**
Distance from home to one's own mother *(ref.: more than 45 minutes one-way)*	to 10 minutes		0.923	1.194
	more than 10, up to 45 minutes		0.641***	0.62***
Contact frequency with one's own mother	at least … times per week		1.274	1.337*
Assessment of the quality of the relationship with one's own mother	highly satisfied (values 8-10 on a scale of 10)		0.952	0.980
Interaction effect: distance from home * contact frequency * quality of the relationship	up to 10 mins * at least once per week * highly satisfied			0.651

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Constants	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***
Person years	7,859	7,859	7,859
Persons	1,188	1,188	1,188
Results	604	604	604
Log likelihood (0)	-2766.70	-2766.70	-2766.70
Log likelihood	-2048.35	-2035.32	-2034.01
LR chi²	1436.71	1462.76	1465.38
Prob>chi²	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000

Source: GGS for Germany, 1st wave (own estimates) Piecewise constant exponential model with cross-sectional data retrospectively recorded in some cases: Coefficients of the age years are not illustrated, but are contained in each model.

mother were additionally included in Model 2. As could be seen in Table 1, significant effects on the first birth are revealed that are caused by the contact frequency and distance from home. Persons who have contact with their own mothers at least once per week have a higher risk of family foundation than persons whose contact is more rare, this effect however not becoming significant until Model 3. This aspect can be regarded as confirming hypothesis H4, but only applies with the restriction that the increased contact frequency could also be a consequence of family foundation.

The finding is less plausible when it comes to the distance from home: Persons who live 11 to 45 minutes' distance from their mothers have a lower risk of having a child than mothers and fathers who have more than 45 minutes to travel. Very short distances of up to 10 minutes do not show any significant effect in comparison to very long distances from home. This means that not only very short, but also very long distances to the home of the respondent's own mother are associated with an increased risk of a first birth. Whilst the first part of this finding could be interpreted as partly confirming our hypothesis, the second part is virtually impossible to interpret with regard to support potential for care of grandchildren. It is more likely that the respondents who have to cover major distances incorporate selection effects. One might presume for instance that many individuals can be found in this group who have moved to another region or to another country, either for work-related reasons or because of a partner, and that these are also more frequently successful in their work or live in stable relationships. Because

of such confounding variables, which have not been controlled for, it might be possible in this group to establish a better starting situation for family foundation.

Contrary to our hypothesis on the connection between the distance from home to the respondent's own mother, coresidence as a special form of a very short distance from home exerts a significant negative effect on the risk of family foundation. In addition, therefore, also no positive effect of support potential is shown here, but probably a selection effect such that young adults who have not yet completely moved out of their parents' home (regardless of their calendar age, which is controlled for in the models) have also yet to form a family in biographical terms. The assessment of the quality of the relationship with the respondent's own mother does not show any significant effect.

In a last step (Model 3), a model was calculated with an additional interaction term from the three independent variables distance from home, contact frequency and quality of the relationship in order to test whether only the interaction of the three favourable preconditions for care of grandchildren exerts a significant effect on the risk of family foundation. This cannot be confirmed using our analysis. The interaction effect is not significant.

Hypothesis H4 can therefore be confirmed to a highly restricted degree at best. It is only for the contact frequency that a positive effect can be supposed to be exerted on the first birth within the meaning of our hypothesis. The distance from home shows differentiated connections which only partly correspond to our expectations. The assessment of the quality of the relationship does not appear to exert any effect in the sense that one might theoretically anticipate. Hence, the finding from the specialist literature, which suggests that the anticipation of support in childcare from the grandparents makes family foundation more likely (cf. Ette and Ruckdeschel, 2007; Hank et al., 2004; Del Boca, 2002) is not satisfactorily confirmed with our data. The findings indicate a minor influence at most.

We do not find any evidence to support our central hypothesis H5 that the differences in the potential for support, or the different anticipated reduction in burden provided through care of grandchildren, could serve as an additional explanation of fertility differences between Germans and Turkish migrants: The influence of the migration background on the first birth also remains largely unchanged if one includes coresidence, distance from home, contact frequency and quality of the relationship with the respondent's own mother, as well as in the case of an interaction between the conditions which are considered to be favourable. The effects of the indicators remain significant at the same level, and the intensity of the effect also does not change significantly. It is therefore necessary to reject our hypothesis H5.

6. Discussion

This article addressed the question of whether the support potential with regard to possible care of grandchildren has an effect on the family foundation of Western German natives and of Turkish migrants, and whether different support potentials were able to provide an additional explanation of the difference in the probabilities of a first birth between these two groups. This presumption appears to be plausible. However, it cannot be confirmed using our data. True, a greater potential, and hence more favourable preconditions for care, at least on two dimensions, is shown for grandchildren in the Turkish population. And also the higher risk of family foundation that is known to exist from the literature is confirmed in our data. Having said that, we only find minor indications of a positive effect of the support potential on a first birth. Moreover, we do not find any positive effect particularly on the dimensions with regard to which Turkish migrants have more favourable preconditions for care of grandchildren. Accordingly, confirmation is also not found that different potentials for care of grandchildren constitute a partial explanation of the differences in the probabilities of a first birth that are found to exist between Western Germans and Turkish migrants in Western Germany. We must hence presume that this connection is not relevant to the differences in fertility encountered between Germans and Turkish migrants in Germany, or that it is not present, although the premise that Turkish migrants could rely on a greater support potential is very probably accurate.

If we take another look at the hypotheses which we drew up, it is revealed that hypotheses H1 and H3 can be confirmed using our analyses: Turkish migrants more commonly live in a household with their mothers than Western German natives do. If one sets the threshold up to which one may realistically imagine regular support in care from the respondent's own mother to lie below a 30 minutes' one-way journey, care of grandchildren can hence be considered more frequently among Turkish migrants in terms of travel. What is more, Turkish migrants are more likely to assess their relationship with their own mother positive than Western German respondents do. One may conclude from this that they would probably be more willing to regularly entrust their child to their own mother, and also would have better prospects that this would meet with a positive response and with willingness. We find greater support potential on these two dimensions in the Turkish population, and hence more favourable preconditions for care of grandchildren.

It is only when it comes to the contact frequency (H2) that our expectations are not confirmed, since Turkish-origin respondents state more frequently than Western Germans that they are "rarely" in touch with their own mothers. This assessment is made according to subjective standards, and

could be at least also partly defined by cultural factors and reflect different normative expectations. The finding is nonetheless so unambiguous that the presumption of Turkish migrants being in touch with their mothers more frequently than natives needs to be regarded as having been refuted.

Looked at all in all, the fundamental preconditions for care of grandchildren therefore tend to be met more frequently for the Turkish-origin respondents living in Germany than for Western German natives. Additionally, we know from the literature that informal support in childcare also de facto takes place more frequently (Baykara-Krumme, 2013; Kröber and Beyreuther, 2012; Alt and Teubner, 2006). We hence presume that it also tends to be anticipated more commonly by couples in their family planning in the Turkish population group. Having said that, the greater support potential lies on specific dimensions which evidently do not have a relevant effect on family foundation.

Whether and to what degree support potential and the expectation of young couples to receive help with childcare from their own mothers, should it be needed, actually influences them in terms of the risk of their founding a family is disputed in the research literature to some degree. The indications which suggest that this is the case tend to be stronger (Ette and Ruckdeschel, 2007; Hank et al., 2004; Del Boca, 2002). Our hypothesis in this regard (H4) can however only be partly confirmed. In our analysis, the contact frequency only exerts the positive effect which we had anticipated with regard to the first birth. The subjectively-estimated quality of the relationship with the respondent's own mother does not show any significant effect. A possible explanation could lie in the fact that this indicator is subject to too great a distortion caused by social desirability. Hence, the dimension is revealed to be highly influential with regard to which Turkish migrants do not have more favourable preconditions, whilst we are unable to demonstrate any effect on family foundation for the dimension with regard to which they can show greater support potential.

The findings on distance from home are ambivalent: True, a short one-way distance of up to ten minutes is more closely linked to a higher risk of a first birth than is a medium distance from home of eleven to 45 minutes. This corresponds to our expectations. Having said that, and in relation to large distances over 45 minutes, the short distance does not demonstrate any significant effect. What is more, coresidence, that is the shortest conceivable distance from home, which furthermore occurs particularly frequently among Turkish migrants, has a negative connection with the first birth. This means that both very short and very great distances from home are connected with a high risk of family foundation, whilst coresidence and medium distances from home are associated with a low risk. We presume that selection effects are

responsible for the two partial findings just mentioned, but are nonetheless unable to identify any thoroughly positive connection for the distance from home, albeit we did ascertain a highly-differentiated one, namely with the first birth. An unfavourable combination of findings is in turn shown here: Short distances of up to ten minutes are positively associated with the first birth, but occur more rarely among Turkish migrants than among Western Germans; coresidence, which occurs particularly frequently in the Turkish population and indicates its greater support potential, does not have a positive effect on family foundation. The three independent variables do not exert any significant effect in interaction with one another.

Given this constellation, it is understandable that our core hypothesis (H5) cannot be confirmed using our data. The positive effect of the migration background on the first birth – with regard to the first, to the "first-and-a-half" and also to the second and third generations of migrants – remains stable and significant, even after controlling for the support potential for care of grandchildren. What is more, no reduction can be identified among the theoretically-relevant effects. Hence, the greater support potential in the Turkish population, although it is present in de facto terms, cannot explain the more pronounced tendency towards family foundation among Turkish migrants.

Against the background of our results, only cultural socialisation influences can serve as explanatory factors for the different generative conduct of the groups observed here – for instance with regard to the "value of children" or the influences of religion and religiosity which are known from the literature – as well as the composition effects – particularly with regard to different education structures.

Notes

1) Turkish for "Grandma"
2) The factor analysis was also carried out broken down by sex and migration background. Since no notable differences were identified between the groups, the joint factor analysis was used as a starting point.
3) Cronbach's alpha is a measure of reliability and internal consistency of a scale, as it can be identified by factor analysis or principle component analysis (Gatignon, 2014).
4) This is based on the presumption that the partner at the time of the pregnancy is also the second biological parent of the child.
5) In addition to the models presented here, several other models were calculated and other operationalisations of the independent variables were

tested. The findings were very close to those which are presented here, and give us the impression that they are robust.

6) In order to do justice to the possibility that, in addition to education and activity status, other variables also interact with sex and could have a gender-specific impact, models were calculated which were also separated by sex. These did not however reveal any marked differences. Because of this, and given the fact that the number of cases was not particularly high, a joint model was selected as a final solution.

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Appendix A: List of variables

Explaining variables	Questionnaire
coresidence	At the beginning of our interview when we were talking about your household you mentioned that you are … 1 – living with both of your parents 2 – living with your father (not your mother) 3 – living with your mother (not your father) 4 – not living with your parents
distance from home	How long does it take to get from your home to where your mother is living at present? _____hours_____ minutes
contact frequency	How often do you see your mother? _____ times per: W M Y 0 – never
quality of the relationship	How satisfied are you with the relationship with your mother? On a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means 'not at all satisfied' and 10 means 'completely satisfied' and 5 means 'about average'
age	Now I'd like to ask you a few questions about yourself. In what month and year were you born? month |___|___| year |___|___|
partnership	I would like to move on with a few questions about your current partner or spouse. In what month and year did you and he/she first start living together? month |___|___| year |___|___|
migration background / partner's migration background	In which country were you born? In what month and year did you first start living permanently in [Germany]? month |___|___| year |___|___|

Explaining variables	Questionnaire
level of education (differentiated by sex)	Now I would like to ask a few questions about your education. What is the highest level of education you have successfully completed? [Country-specific list to be compatible with ISCED]
employment status (differentiated by sex)	Which of the items on the card best describes what you are mainly doing at present? Which of the items on the card best describes you're your partner is mainly doing at present? 1 – employed or self-employed 2 – helping family member in a family business or a farm 3 – unemployed 4 – student, in school, in vocational training 5 – retired 6 – on maternity leave, parental leave or childcare leave 7 – ill or disabled for a long time or permanently 8 – looking after the home or family 9 – military service or social service 10 – other

Appendix B: Descriptive statistics of independent variables

Independent variables		Events (number of failure)
Exposures (person-months)	7.859	
Age respondent (duration variable)	18-19	87
	20-21	105
	22-23	152
	24-25	151
	26-27	148
	28-29	137
	30-31	98
	32-33	76
	34-35	60
	36-37	38
	38-39	15
	40-41	10
	42-43	3
	44-45	6
	46-50	1
Sex	female	337
	male	267
Partner: yes/no	yes	935
	no	152
Level of education of the woman	low level of education	211
	medium level of education	311
	high level of education	82
Level of education of the man	low level of education	143
	medium level of education	333
	high level of education	128
Activity status of the woman	in gainful employment	152
	not in gainful employment	452
Activity status of the man	in gainful employment	507
	not in gainful employment	97
Generation of migrants	no migration background	238
	1st generation (migrated after age 12)	7

	first-and-a-half gene-ration (migrated up to age 12)	230	
	2nd/3rd generation	129	
Partner has a migration background	yes	384	
	no	220	
Value-of-children di-mensions	emotional benefit	High benefit	412
		Low benefit	192
	practical benefit	High benefit	175
		Low benefit	429
	costs	High cost	198
		Low costs	406
Coresidence	yes	12	
	no	592	
Distance from home to one's own mother	to 10 minutes	79	
	more than 10, up to 45 minutes	141	
	more than 45 minutes one-way	226	
Contact frequency with one's own mother	at least once per week	187	
	Less than once per week	417	
Assessment of the qua-lity of the relationship with one's own mother	highly satisfied (values 9-10 on a scale of 10)	323	
	Low satisfied (values 1 to 8 on a scale of 10)	281	