FamiliesAndSocieties
Working Paper Series

39 (2015)

Changing families and sustainable societies:
Policy contexts and diversity over the life course and across generations

Country-specific case studies on fertility among the descendants of immigrants

Introduction: Hill Kulu and Tina Hannemann
Germany: Sandra Krapf and Katharina Wolf
Sweden: Gunnar Andersson and Lotta Persson
United Kingdom: Hill Kulu and Tina Hannemann
France: Ariane Pailhé
Spain: Amparo González-Ferrer, Teresa Castro-Martín and Elisabeth Kraus
Switzerland: Andrés Guarin and Laura Bernardi

A project funded by European Union's Seventh Framework Programme under grant agreement no. 320116

Contents

Introduction: Country-specific case studies on fertility among the descendants of immigrants

Hill Kulu and Tina Hannemann

This report consists of six case studies on fertility among the descendants of immigrants by comparing their patterns to those of the 'native' population. The countries that are included in the analysis are Germany, Sweden, United Kingdom, France, Spain and Switzerland. All of the case studies use large-scale longitudinal data and apply event-history analysis. The analysis shows that the descendants of immigrants have lower first-birth rates than 'natives' suggesting the postponement of childbearing among ethnic minorities; the only exception are women of Turkish origin who exhibit elevated first-birth levels in several countries (Germany, Sweden, Switzerland and France) indicating early childbearing among this group. Some ethnic minority groups have somewhat higher second-birth risks than 'natives' (e.g. South Asians in the UK, women of Turkish origin in Germany and Moroccans in Spain), but many show significantly higher third-birth rates; elevated third-birth levels are observed among women of Turkish, Middle Eastern and Northern African origin in Sweden, South Asians in the UK and North Africans in France and Spain. Elevated third-birth levels largely explain a relatively high total fertility among these minority groups. Fertility differences between the 'native' and ethnic minority women largely persist once women's educational level is included in the analysis, but decrease after factors related to language, religion and family of origin are controlled.

Overall, the analysis supports the importance of cultural-normative factors, potentially related to minority subcultures, in shaping childbearing patterns of ethnic minority groups, particularly third-birth rates. The analysis also suggests that education and employment related factors may play a role, e.g. explain delayed entry into motherhood among most ethnic minorities or low fertility among highly educated women of Turkish descent in Germany.

Childbearing among the descendants of immigrants in Germany

Sandra Krapf and Katharina Wolf

Abstract:
Turkish migrants and their descendants are the largest migrant group from a single origin country living in Germany. The German Mikrozensus as a large dataset allows us to distinguish between Turkish migrants who migrated as children (1.5 generation) and those who were born to Turkish parents in Germany (second generation migrants). We compare both groups to German non-migrants. Using event-history techniques, our results show that 1.5 generation migrants have the highest risk of first and second births, while German non-migrants have the lowest birth risks. The second generation lies in-between. This pattern persists also after taking into consideration the educational attainment of respondents. However, there seems to be an adaptation for highly educated second generation Turkish migrants to non-migrant Germans: we find no significant differences in the first birth risks in the two groups. For second births, we do not find this pattern which might be related to the young age structure in the sample of second generation migrants.

Keywords: immigrant descendants, fertility, second generation, 1.5 generation, Turkish migrants, Germany

Acknowledgement: The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme (FP7/2007-2013) under grant agreement no. 320116 for the research project FamiliesAndSocieties.

1. Introduction

In the last decades, Germany has experienced on average positive net migration and the stock of foreign people living in the country has been growing since the mid-20th century (Destatis, 2013; 2014). The majority of international migrants arrived in the context of labor migration in the 1960s and early 1970s from Mediterranean countries (e.g., from Turkey, Italy, and Greece) and family reunion thereafter. Today, migrants with Turkish roots form the largest immigrant group originating from a single country, representing 3.6 percent of the total population in Germany (Destatis, 2012). Migrant behavior has often been examined by focusing on the question whether they "adapt" to behavioral patterns of the receiving country. In this vein, labor market integration (Granato & Kalter, 2001; Konietzka & Seibert, 2003; Seibert & Solga, 2005), educational adaptation (Fick, 2011; Groh-Samberg et al., 2012; Segeritz et al., 2010) and patterns of life satisfaction among migrants (Safi, 2010; Siegert, 2013; Zapf & Brachtl, 1984) have been under study. An aspect that is less explored is the demographic adaptation of migrants. This is of specific interest if migration occurs from high fertility to low fertility countries, like from Turkey to Germany. A large body of research has investigated the childbearing behavior of first generation migrants showing that the timing of migration, the duration of stay, the reasons to migrate and a person's labor force participation affect migrant fertility (Andersson, 2004; Andersson & Scott, 2005, 2007; Cygan-Rehm, 2011; Mayer & Riphahn, 2000; Milewski, 2007; Mussino & Strozza, 2012; Toulemon, 2004; Wolf, 2014). Such aspects are less relevant for second generation migrants who were born in the country of destination. Children of labor migrants, who relocated mostly in the early 1970s (and later in the context of family reunion), now reach ages above 30 years. Although they have not yet reached the end of their reproductive phase, studying their fertility behavior in their thirties is already indicative for their overall fertility behavior.

This study aims at comparing native Germans and descendants of Turkish migrants. While most studies focused on fertility behavior of first generation migrants in Germany, we examine also fertility transitions of the second and the so-called 1.5 generation, i.e. those who migrated as children. Our central research questions are: How do first and second birth patterns of native Germans, 1.5, and second generation Turkish migrants differ? Are fertility variations caused by differences in the socio-economic composition of the groups? Do those who take over the German citizenship show more similar childbearing to German natives than to those who have kept Turkish citizenship? Analyzing those who migrated as children as a

separate group is promising in two respects. First, contrasting second and 1.5 generation migrants allows us to single out the effect of childhood socialization as this is the main distinction of these two groups. The 1.5 generation was partly exposed to family values in the country of origin while second generation experienced their entire childhood in the country of destination. Therefore, variations in fertility behavior between the two groups are likely to be the result of different socialization environments. Second, 1.5 generation migrants did not take the decision to migrate themselves. While the first generation, who migrated as adults, might consciously time their decision to migrate and to start a family, for the 1.5 generation both migration and fertility transitions can be assumed to be independent of each other. Their fertility should not be biased by migration timing like for migrants who arrived during their childbearing years (Toulemon, 2004; Wolf, 2014). Accordingly, selection into migration is less relevant for the 1.5 generation and biases are avoided (Adsera et al., 2012).

Our analyses are based on the German Mikrozensus. The large sample size allows us to study the descendants of Turkish migrants as a single migrant group. We use two Mikrozensus waves from the years 2005 and 2009. In other survey years, migration information was limited to citizenship and year of migration. Based on this information, it was not possible to identify second generation migrants with German citizenship. The extended question program in 2005 and 2009 allows us for the first time to identify these second generation migrants. Using the own-children method, we generate information on age at childbirth. We compare the transition to first birth among women of the two migrant groups to non-migrant western Germans employing event history techniques. Furthermore, the transition to second birth is examined.[1] Focusing on structural aspects of integration, we analyze the effect of education and citizenship on fertility behavior.

In the following section, we discuss the theoretical approaches to understand the fertility behavior of descendants of migrants. In section 3, we give an overview on Turkish migrants and their descendants in Germany. Following that, the data and methods of our analyses are discussed (section 4), while section 5 is dedicated to the presentation of results. The last section summarizes and discusses the results.

[1] It would have been interesting to also analyze third birth behavior. However, as can be read from Table 3 in the appendix, particularly the second but also the 1.5 generation Turkish migrants are very young and until today, only a very selective group is at risk of having a third birth.

2. Theoretical consideration

For the demographic development of a country, particularly those migrants who decide to stay are of great importance. Thus, the question arises, in how far their integration processes pass off and what are the determinants. A first attempt to present a theoretical framework was made by representatives of the Chicago School who developed an approach to explain assimilation processes in the US (Gordon, 1964; Park & Burgess, 1921). Classical assimilation theory describes the decline of an ethnic or racial distinction and the cultural and social differences that express it (Alba & Nee, 1997). Assimilation was expected to be an inevitable, gradual process which increases over immigrant generations (Alba & Nee, 1997; Zhou, 1997). However, the theory received a lot of criticism. It was argued that receiving societies are not homogenous and that migrants might adapt to specific groups rather than mainstream society, resulting in segmented assimilation (Portes & Zhou, 1993; Rumbaut, 1994). Moreover, it was criticized that both classical assimilation and segmented assimilation theory do not offer explicit mechanisms to explain assimilation processes but rather describe empirical outcomes (Esser, 2004, 2008). Others observed that the concept of assimilation in general implies a dominance of the majority society (Bade & Bommes, 2004). Thus, in Europe since the 1980s, researchers prefer the normatively more neutral concept of integration to the term assimilation (Aumüller, 2009 (pp. 34)). Social integration can be conceptualized as a "process of inclusion and acceptance of migrants in the core institutions, relations and statuses of the receiving society" (Heckmann, 2006 (pp. 18)). The processes can refer to first generation immigrants but also to their children and grandchildren (ibid.: pp. 17).

The fertility patterns of migrants can serve as an indicator of integration into the society in the country of destination (Coleman, 1994). Fertility decisions in advanced societies are influenced by both cultural and structural conditions (Lesthaeghe & Surkyn, 1988; Letablier et al., 2009; Rindfuss & Brewster, 1996). Both aspects might differ between countries, resulting in diverse fertility patterns among migrants and non-migrants. A number of theoretical arguments were suggested to explain the fertility behavior of first generation migrants, such as the socialization, adaptation, disruption, and selection hypotheses (Kulu, 2005; Kulu & González-Ferrer, 2013; Lindstrom & Giorguli Saucedo, 2007). However, there is less research on the fertility behavior of migrants' descendants. As second generation migrants have not migrated themselves and 1.5 generation migrants arrived during childhood, disruption and selection effects do not play a role in their fertility patterns. In the following,

we discuss how socialization, adaptation and composition effects might explain differences in fertility behavior among natives, second, and 1.5 generation migrants.

2.1. Childhood socialization

Family values as well as gender role attitudes differ across countries (Nauck & Klaus, 2007). Based on socialization theory, researchers expect that these social roles and values are transmitted to each social group member via socialization (Goode, 1964). In the classic formulation of the theory, socialization was described as a process that takes place largely within the family and during childhood (Parsons, 1955). Also family-related norms and values are transmitted during childhood within the family (Putney & Bengtson, 2002). In line with this, it has been shown that mothers pass on their gender role attitudes (Moen et al., 1997), their childbearing preferences and behavior to their daughters (Barber, 2000).

Concerning international immigrants, it is argued that the home country's norms and values regarding fertility persist also after migration. Empirical evidence shows that those who migrate from high fertility origin countries have considerably higher fertility than the natives in the low fertility destination countries (Alders, 2000; Andersson, 2004; Kahn, 1988). However, fertility norms and values are also transmitted via the first generation to their children. In line with this, it was found that first generation migrants transmit their higher child number ideals and lower age norms concerning the first child to their children (Nauck, 2001; Nauck et al., 1997). Also for female migrants in the Netherlands, studies have indicated that children reproduce their parents' preferences for an early entry into motherhood (De Valk, 2006; De Valk & Liefbroer, 2007). Accordingly, the second generation of Turkish migrants shows higher first birth rates than the majority population in several European countries (Milewski, 2011). Moreover, a study on Germany indicates that second generation migrants are on average younger at first birth than native (western) Germans but older than first generation migrants (Milewski, 2010a).

Socialization arguments not only explain why migrants and their descendants show different fertility behavior than natives. In addition, they provide a framework to explain why migrant generations are distinct. Based on the fact that the 1.5 generation was born in Turkey while second generation migrants were born in Germany, the two groups have different socialization experiences. Both groups are influenced by the Turkish community and family.

But those migrating as children were partly socialized in the country of origin, i.e. they were exposed to their home countries' norms to a larger extent than those born in the host country. By contrast, the second generation experienced socialization entirely in the receiving society. They maintained social contacts with both peers of Turkish origin and non-migrant Germans during childhood and were thus exposed to German family norms to some extent. According to socialization theory, we expect that 1.5 generation Turkish migrants have higher childbearing risks than Germans and the second generation lies in between the two groups (hypothesis 1).

2.2. Adaptation

While socialization arguments are usually employed to explain behavioral differences between migrant generations and non-migrants, adaptation arguments help us to understand why fertility patterns converge. Adaptation consists of two different mechanisms that are interrelated and affect one another (Frank & Heuveline, 2005; Kulu, 2005; Rumbaut & Weeks, 1986). On the one hand, the economic conditions in the country of destination affect childbearing. From a neo-classical micro-economic perspective, fertility decisions are the product of direct costs and opportunity costs of children (Becker, 1991; Hotz et al., 1997; Mincer, 1963). Moving to a country with better job perspectives for women and higher living costs increases the costs of childrearing for migrants from less developed areas. Accordingly, they adapt their fertility behavior towards lower fertility and later birth transitions. In line with this, studies for Sweden showed that women participating in the labor market had largely the same fertility patterns – independent of migrant background (Andersson & Scott, 2005; 2007). On the other hand, fertility is determined by norms and values concerning the ideal family size and the timing of parenthood. According to Hoffman and Hoffman's (1973) the "Values of Children"-approach, the "value of children refers to the functions they serve or the needs they fulfill for parents" (ibid.: pp. 46). Empirically, it has been shown that the value parents attach to children differs systematically across countries (Nauck, 2007; Nauck & Klaus, 2007). In a similar vein, the notion of Second Demographic Transition links the cultural change seen in many European countries over the last decades, marked by secular individualization trends, with decreasing fertility levels (Lesthaeghe, 1995; Sobotka, 2008; Van De Kaa, 1994). Non-Western migrants are exposed to these individualistic norms and values after migrating to European countries. They might adapt to the lower child number ideals and preferences for later entry into parenthood prevalent in the country of destination.

Initially, the concept of adaptation was used to explain adjustment processes of first generation immigrants in the short-term. Related to their duration of stay, adaptation was assumed to increase the longer a migrant resides in the receiving society (Hervitz, 1985; Kahn, 1988; Lindstrom & Giorguli Saucedo, 2002; Singley & Landale, 1998; Stephen and Bean, 1992). But adaptation theory can also be translated to immigrants' children. For their whole adult life, both the 1.5 and the second migrant generation are exposed to the normative and economic conditions in the country of destination. They might thus experience cultural adaptation via social contacts with the majority population, affecting their childbearing preferences. Migrants' descendants are subject to the receiving society's institutions and labor markets, which impacts the opportunity structure of having children. In line with this, it has been shown that across Europe, second generation migrants reported higher ideal ages at parenthood than the first generation migrants (Holland & De Valk, 2013).

The adaptation of norms and values somehow contradicts socialization theory in its original sense, where fertility preferences are assumed to be based on childhood socialization and stay constant over the life course. Nevertheless, socialization can be seen as a lifelong process, as individuals change their preferences and attitudes also after the beginning of adulthood (Mortimer & Simmons, 1978; Settersten Jr., 2002). According to adaptation arguments, the relevance of the conditions in the receiving society exceeds the influence of the fertility preferences absorbed during childhood socialization. As second and 1.5 generation Turkish migrants are exposed their entire adult life to German values and conditions, according to adaptation arguments we expect that both groups should have similar fertility patterns (hypothesis 2).

2.3. Compositional effects

Migrants differ in their socio-economic, cultural and demographic structure from natives. These aspects are relevant for childbearing decisions. Therefore, the composition of migrant generations could be responsible for fertility differentials. Besides cultural factors, such as religion, language, and family orientation, differences between migrants and non-migrants in the country of destination particularly occur in the socio-economic sphere. One indicator to approximate the socio-economic status of a person is the educational attainment. From a micro-economic perspective, higher educational levels are related to higher opportunity costs and lead to lower fertility (Schultz 1969). This negative effect is also reflected in elevated

postponement of first births among highly educated and career-oriented women (Gustafsson 2001). Concerning higher order births, the relationship seems to be more complex. For some western European countries, it has been shown that education was positively related to second and/or third birth risks (Kreyenfeld & Konietzka, 2008; Lappegård & Rønsen, 2005; Tesching, 2012).

It has been shown that second generation migrants on average attend school longer than first generation migrants (Dustmann et al., 2012). Yet, the gap in school attainment between 1.5 and second generation Turkish migrants and native Germans persists (Fick, 2011). The composition hypothesis assumes that these educational differences account for deviating fertility patterns of migrants' descendants and native Germans. Based on such compositional effects, we expect that fertility risks of native Germans, 1.5 and second generation Turkish migrants converge after accounting for the effect of education (hypothesis 3).

3. Turkish migrants and their descendants in Germany

Within Germany, the population of Turkish origin is the largest international migrant group from a single sending country. Immigration from Turkey to Germany was induced by large labor shortages in Germany after World War II. To acquire foreign workers the German government initiated agreements with several European and Northern African countries.[2] The contract on coordinated labor migration from Turkey to Germany was signed in 1961. Most labor migrants from Turkey came from agrarian regions and had vocational qualifications for jobs in craft industries. Thus they had higher qualifications than the average Turkish population, but on a lower level compared to native Germans (Treichler, 1998). Once in Germany, labor migrants mostly filled unskilled and semi-skilled jobs in industry (Seifert, 1997). After the oil price shock and the resulting recession in 1973, the recruitment agreements were terminated. Since 1973, for Turkish citizens, the only option to immigrate legally to Germany is to rely on the right of family reunification or asking for political asylum. For family reunification, an immigrant living in Germany was allowed to bring a foreign spouse and children up to age 15 to the country. As a result, the size of the foreign population in Germany increased and its composition changed (Heckmann, 2003). Before

[2] Agreements were made with Italy (1955), Spain and Greece (1960), Morocco (1963), Portugal (1964), Tunisia (1965) and former Yugoslavia (1968).

1973, immigrants were mainly workers aged between 20 and 40, most of them men. Later, more and more women and children migrated for family reunion (Münz et al., 1999).

Today, Turkish migrants and their descendants represent 3.6 percent of the total German population (Destatis, 2012). About half of them belongs to the first immigrant generation and migrated themselves, the second generation makes up the other half (Destatis, 2012). Turkish migrants and their descendants mostly live in western Germany, particularly in urban areas (Haug et al., 2009). According to religion, Turkish migrants form a quite homogeneous group since more than 80 percent are Muslim (Haug et al., 2009). Concerning the educational status, the transferability of educational and vocational degrees is the main problem. Qualifications that were gained in a foreign country, particularly non-EU countries like Turkey, are often not recognized by employers and public institutions in Germany. Among first generation migrant women from Turkey, less than 10 percent have a vocational degree that is recognized in Germany (Stichs, 2008). This is not only due to transferability problems, but also to the fact that heading for a vocational qualification was less common in their regions of origin. In sum, first generation Turkish migrants show on average lower educational degrees than native Germans (Müller & Stanat, 2006; Segeritz et al., 2010). This also affects their position in the labor market. It was found that immigrants in Germany have easier access to blue-collar jobs than to white-collar jobs (Seifert, 1996). The picture is different for the second migrant generation. They are not affected by the transferability problem, since they grew up and obtained their educational degrees in Germany. On average, they reach higher educational degrees and obtain vocational education more often than first generation migrants. However, compared to native Germans their educational and vocational status is still lower (Müller and Stanat, 2006; Segeritz et al., 2010; Stichs, 2008). The 1.5 generation lies in between. They obtained a higher educational status than their parents, but are on average less educated compared to the second migrant generation (Fick, 2011; Segeritz et al., 2010; Seibert, 2008).[3]

In sum, Turkish migrants and their descendants in Germany differ from native Germans in several ways. As a result of the migration history, most of them come from working class families, what is also reflected in their (on average) lower educational and vocational status compared to native Germans. Yet, not only socio-economic conditions but also religious and

[3] It has to be noted that the definition of the 1.5 generation migrants differ across studies. Seibert (2008) defines 1.5 generation migrants as those who arrived to Germany before age 15. Segeritz et al. (2010) and Fick (2011) refer to those who arrived to Germany until school starting age (6 years).

cultural factors are of great importance for fertility decisions. Since migrants' descendants are partly socialized within their home country norms and values, the prevailing fertility development in Turkey, which differs markedly from the one in Germany, plays a major role. Turkey has seen a sharp fertility decline beginning in the mid-20th century. The average total fertility rate (TFR) fell from 6.62 in the period 1950-1955 to a value of 2.16 - close to replacement level - in 2005 - 2010 (United Nations, 2012). With a TFR of approximately 1.4 in Germany since the 1970s, fertility in Turkey is still considerably higher. But within Turkey large differences occur across ethnic groups, particularly Kurdish women show much higher rates of having a higher order birth than women of other ethnicities (Yavuz, 2008). In addition, fertility behavior differs by region. Women living in urban regions experience the transition to first, second, and third childbirth less often and later in their life course compared to women living in rural areas (Eryurt & Koç, 2012).

4. Data and methods

4.1. Data

Our analyses are based on pooled cross-sectional data from the German Mikrozensus of the years 2005 and 2009. In these two years, the household survey's obligatory question program was extended. Prior to that, migrants could be identified only on basis of citizenship and place of birth, so that descendants of migrants who were born in Germany and who had German citizenship could not be identified. In the 2005 and 2009 questionnaires, a number of items refer to parents' migration status which allows us to distinguish the second generation even if respondents have German citizenship.

The Mikrozensus is a one-percent sample of all German households and covers standard socio-demographic characteristics such as age, citizenship, region of residence, educational attainment, etc. The scientific use file contains a 70 percent subsample of the Mikrozensus data. While other studies usually considered migrants from different countries of origin, the large sample size of the Mikrozensus allows us to differentiate Turkish migrants from other migrant groups. Moreover, in comparison with other surveys, nonresponse is of minor relevance in the Mikrozensus because participation is not voluntary but respondents are required by law to submit information. Unfortunately, the detailed information collected in the survey refers to only the household members but not to persons who do not live in the household. Therefore, no complete fertility histories are provided. Instead, the number of

children born per woman needs to be estimated via the number of co-residing children. By means of the so-called "own-children method" women's fertility histories are reconstructed based on the year of birth of the mother and the year of birth of each child living in the household. This procedure might underestimate the true number of children of a person especially in case that a child has already left parental home. It has been shown for respondents living in western Germany that the number of children calculated on basis of the "own-children method" is largely consistent with the reported number of biological children up to a maternal age of 40 years in the Mikrozensus (see Krapf, Wolf, Kreyenfeld, forthcoming).[4] Therefore, we use information on children co-residing with women in the age range 18 to 40 years. Another limitation of the data is related to the fact that respondents' characteristics refer to only the time of interview so we cannot account for time-varying covariates.

The vast majority of people with foreign origin migrated to western Germany and still lives there (Destatis, 2012; Münz et al., 1999). As fertility patterns differ between eastern and western Germans (Huinink et al., 2012), we compare those with Turkish background to non-migrants living in western Germany excluding respondents living in eastern Germany from our analyses. Moreover, we do not consider respondents with other than Turkish or German background.

In our sample, the migrant groups differ in their age structure. Respondents of the second generation are considerably younger than 1.5 generation migrants and native Germans. The reason for this is simple: Turkish women immigrated mainly after 1973 in the context of family reunion (Münz et al., 1999). Second generation migrants are largely born after that and in the two Mikrozensus waves 2005 and 2009, they had not yet reached the age of 40 years (see Table A1 in the appendix).

4.2. Methods

In order to compare the fertility behavior of respondents of migrant origin and native Germans, we use discrete-time hazard models. For the transition to first birth, the process time is the age of the respondent at first birth, while for the transition to second birth it is the

[4] In the Mikrozensus 2008, female respondents were asked how many children they have given birth to, which gave the opportunity to compare the actual number of births to number of children living in the household.

duration since the birth of the first child. The information on the age at first birth is generated based on the difference between the mother's birth year and the year of birth of the oldest child in the household. For second births, we calculate the duration since first birth based on the difference in the birth year of the oldest and the second oldest child living in the family. Using yearly time information results in an overestimation of the Kaplan-Meier survival estimates (see descriptive analysis below). In order to reduce this overestimation, we imputed a random birth month. Still, the time scale is discrete, and assuming that the underlying latent time variable was continuous, we specified the hazard rate as complementary log-log (cloglog) function (Allison, 1982). The data were organized in person-month format, with each person potentially contributing one entry per month. Cases are censored in the year a woman gives birth or when a respondent has not yet had a first (second) birth at time of the interview.

To identify whether education has a different effect on fertility patterns among native Germans and the descendants of migrants, we additionally interact the level of education with migrant status (two-way interaction). Moreover, we run three-way interactions in order to account for the fertility intensities by age according to educational group. It has been shown that low educated women have their highest first birth risks in their mid-twenties, while those with higher education enter motherhood on average at later ages (Tesching, 2012). In order to examine whether these age patterns differ according to migrant background, we interact the level of education, migrant status and the age of first birth. It has to be noted that for this model, we reduced the number of age groups to three (18-25, 26-32, 33-40 years). This is necessary because of the small sample size especially for respondents of Turkish origin in the high education group. Due to sample size issues we refrain to run the three-way-interaction also for second births.

4.3. Explanatory variables

In the multivariate analyses, the key variable is the migration background of a woman. We distinguish native Germans (those who were born in Germany and whose parents have or had exclusively the German citizenship), second generation Turkish migrants (those who were born in Germany but whose parents have or had the Turkish citizenship)[5] and 1.5 generation

[5] In order to clearly distinguish between second and third generation migrants we would need information not only on parents' citizenship but on their place of birth which is not available for all respondents in the Mikrozensus. However, we

(those who were born in Turkey, migrated to Germany as a child and who have or had the Turkish citizenship). Respondents are categorized as 1.5 generation if they migrated before age 15. It would have been interesting to investigate the behavior of those with one Turkish and one German parent. But this group is too small for meaningful analysis and therefore we excluded it from the sample.[6]

Another independent variable of interest is education. As mentioned before, the variables in the Mikrozensus are available only for the time of interview. Assuming that the school education was finished in early adulthood, we distinguish women with lower secondary or no school degree (low), secondary education (medium) and those with higher secondary education (high). The group that was enrolled in school education was very small and we categorized it into the lower secondary school group. The descriptive statistics show that in our sample, native Germans have the highest level of education compared to 1.5 and second generation Turkish migrants. This is the case for both the sample for the first birth and the sample for the second birth analyses (see Tables A1 and A2 in the appendix). For both samples, while only a small share of respondents of the 1.5 generation had high education (first birth sample: 18 percent, second birth sample: 6 percent), this share has increased for the second generation.

Further, we control for citizenship. Prior research found a higher average number of children for those immigrants without German citizenship compared to naturalized immigrants (Stichnoth & Yeter, 2013). Although there are different naturalization rules for 1.5 and second generation Turkish migrants,[7] Table A1 shows that in both groups a similar share has German citizenship.[8] In order to account for cohort effects, we control for the birth year of respondents. This variable is grouped in 10 year categories. In the analyses of the transition to second birth, we also control for age at first birth.

---

argue that third generation Turkish migrants only reach adulthood now and are thus only to a minor extend considered in the age groups under study.

[6] Also those with a parent with other than Turkish or German citizenship were excluded.

[7] A second generation migrant with Turkish parents obtains Turkish citizenship by birth. Since 2000, residents of Turkish origin in addition immediately obtain the German citizenship, if they are born in Germany. Those second generation migrants are allowed to keep both citizenships until the age of 23, when they have to decide for one of them and give up the other.

[8] The category Turkish citizenship includes some respondents among 1.5 generation and second generation migrants who have both the German and the Turkish citizenship. The number of cases was too small to examine this group separately.

5. Results

5.1. Descriptive Results

Figure 1 describes the pattern of the transition to first and second births on basis of the pooled Mikrozensus data for the years 2005 and 2009. The first panel shows the estimated Kaplan-Meier survival curves for first births. For Germans, the median age at first birth was reached at 31.3 years. For 1.5 generation Turkish migrants, the median age was 24.3 while for second generation migrants it was 27.6 years. This shows that first childbirth occurs earlier for 1.5 generation Turkish migrants in Germany compared to natives, while second generation migrants lie in between. Concerning childlessness, we find a similar pattern: Germans remain childless more often compared to Turkish migrants' descendants. By age 40, 27 percent of native German women were still childless while it was 11 percent of 1.5 generation Turkish migrants. Also for childlessness by age 40, the second generation takes an intermediate position between the other two groups. [9]

The second panel of Figure 1 illustrates the transition to second birth. Here, the process time of interest is the duration since first birth. For all three migrant status groups, children are most likely to be born in the time span of one to four years after the first child. While the curves for the three groups follow a similar pattern for the first four years after first birth, they diverge afterwards. For Germans, we see a levelling off after four years. For Turkish descendants on the other hand, second childbirth occurs with a higher distance between first and second birth. Moreover, the graph shows that the overall share of women having a second child within 10 years after first childbirth is lower among Germans compared to Turkish migrants' descendants. Migrants of the 1.5 generation have their second child in shorter intervals, while the curve of the second generation lies in-between. However, the curves of both migrant groups are quite similar to each other. Women with Turkish origin seem to start their childbearing career earlier and space their subsequent births further apart than non-migrant Germans.

(Figure 1 about here)

[9] The second generation Turkish migrants in our sample consists of very young respondents, just reaching the ages of 30 and above at time of the interview. Since both Turkish migrants and German natives experienced a postponement of the entry into motherhood among the cohorts observed, the first birth behavior of the very young second migrant generation might be underestimated. However, examining first birth patterns by migrant status and birth cohort we found that there is no such bias that affects our results.

5.2. Multivariate Analyses

This section presents the results of the discrete-time hazard models on the transition to first and second births (see Tables 1 and 2). Table 1 reports the results of a stepwise model on first births, which includes Germans and descendants of Turkish migrants. Model 1 shows a hump-shaped effect of age: The first birth risk for respondents under age 25 is low, rises for those between 26 and 35 years and diminishes again for those in the age group 36 to 40 years. For birth cohort, we find a negative effect: women born earlier show higher first birth risks than those born in younger birth cohorts. This indicates that there is an on-going postponement of first births.

Concerning the migration background of respondents, we defined second generation Turkish migrants as reference category in order to not only show the difference between those with Turkish origin and natives but also to show whether there are significant differences between the two migrant generations. Our results show that, as expected, native Germans have a lower first birth risk (relative risk (RR)=0.53) while 1.5 generation migrants have a higher risk (RR=1.45) than respondents of the second generation. In Model 2, we added the level of respondent's school education. We find a negative gradient of educational attainment: the higher the school education, the lower are the first birth risks. Moreover, the effect of the migration background is slightly reduced compared to Model 1: the difference in first birth risks of Turkish 1.5 and second generation migrants and native Germans diminishes after controlling for education. However, the effects of the migrant status on first birth remain significant. It reveals that fertility differentials can only partly be explained by educational differences.

In order to identify whether the effect of education on first births differs across migrant generations, Model 3 includes the two-way interaction effect of migrant background and educational attainment that is graphically displayed in Figure 2. In the first panel, the reference category is second generation migrants with medium level education. The results show that Germans have the lowest birth risk, followed by second generation Turkish migrants while respondents of the 1.5 generation have the highest risk. In all three groups, the effect of education is negative. In the second panel the standardized effect is shown with second generation migrants as reference category for each educational group. What is remarkable is the fact that the relative difference in birth risks is considerably reduced for

women with high education. For highly educated women of second generation Turks and native Germans, the difference in birth risks is not significant.

(Table 1 about here)
(Figure 2 about here)

In order to compare the age patterns of different educational groups, we additionally interacted age at first birth, educational attainment and migrant status. The numbers of events in each category are partly very small which can be seen in Table A3 in the appendix. To compare across educational groups, we display the medium education level as reference category for each age group. Table 4 in the appendix and Figure 3 show the results of the three-way interaction. The first panel of Figure 3 presents the pattern for Germans. Respondents with low education have lower first birth risks with increasing age compared to the reference group of women with a medium level education. By contrast, highly educated women postpone their first birth and have the highest fertility risks in the age group 33 to 40 years. The pattern for descendants for Turkish migrants with low education is similar as for Germans: Panel 2 of Figure 3 shows that first birth risks of lowly educated 1.5 generation Turkish migrants decline with age (reference category: medium educated). The same is the case for second generation migrants (Panel 3 in Figure 3). However, the highly educated women of Turkish origin differ from the German pattern. Both for 1.5 and second generation migrants in this group, first birth risks are significantly lower than for women with medium education. By contrast to the German respondents, this is also the case for highly educated women in the older age group. For the interpretation, however, we have to keep in mind that the results especially for highly educated women in the highest age group refer to a small number of women in our sample (see also Table 3 in the appendix). This is related to two aspects: First, a lower number of Turkish origin women have higher education. Second, Turkish migrants descendants are still very young and reach only now the second half of their thirties.

(Figure 3 about here)

In the next step, we were interested in the effect of citizenship. As all Germans in our sample have German citizenship, the results in Table 2 only refer to respondents with Turkish origin. Again, belonging to the 1.5 generation was related to increased first birth risks. Also the

effects of the other control variables were largely the same as they were in the models above. Compared to the results for the sample including Germans (see Table 1), we now find that the birth of the first child occurs earlier in life for Turkish respondents: Among women with Turkish origin first birth risks are highest for those aged between 26 and 30. In Model 4, we did not find significantly different first birth risks among those with Turkish versus German citizenship. In order to account for different naturalization rules for 1.5 and second generation Turkish migrants, we ran interactions between citizenship and generation. The results of the interaction effect between migrant generation and citizenship (Model 5) also imply that the difference between generations are more pronounced while having German or Turkish citizenship did not have any significant effects.

(Table 2 about here)

Table 3 is devoted to determinants influencing the transition to second birth. In these models, the process time is the duration since first birth. The results show that second birth risks are highest two to four years after the first birth. Before and after that, the second birth risks were lower. We also control for maternal age at first birth. In line with other studies (e.g., Kreyenfeld 2002), we find a lower second birth risk for women who had their first child after age 30 compared to those who were younger. Similar as for first births, Model 6 indicates higher second birth intensities for 1.5 generation migrants (RR=1.24) and lower intensities for Germans (RR=0.89) compared to respondents of the second generation Turkish migrants. In Models 7 and 8, we control for the educational attainment of respondents. Our results imply that for second births, women with low and medium level education show similar birth risks. By contrast, highly educated mothers have significantly higher second birth rates than those with medium education (RR=1.20). In order to identify whether this pattern is different for respondents with Turkish origin and native Germans, we specify an interaction effect (Model 8) which is graphically displayed in Figure 4. As the first panel in Figure 4 indicates, the positive effect of high education is found only for Germans. For second and 1.5 generation migrants, we find a negative gradient for education. Interestingly, the second panel in Figure 4 reveals that the difference in relative second birth risks is smallest for women with high education, while for the other education groups, differences between respondents of each migrant status group are more pronounced. However, it has to be noted that only few of the interaction effects in Model 8 are significant which is related to small sample sizes especially

in each education category for women with Turkish background. This is also the reason why we refrained from running the three-way-interaction models for second births.

(Table 3 about here)
(Figure 4 about here)

When taking into consideration the effect of citizenship for respondents with Turkish origin (Table 4), Model 9 indicates that also for the transition to second birth members of the 1.5 generation have higher rates than those of the second generation. We do not find significant differences between those with German and Turkish citizenship. This implies that also for second births socialization effects seem to be important – independent of citizenship. Interestingly, we find a negative effect of age at entry into motherhood on second birth rates. Due to the age structure of women with Turkish origin in our sample, there are no respondents in the age group above 35 years. Also we do not find significant effects for different birth cohorts and school education.

(Table 4 about here)

6. Discussion

Based on data of the German Mikrozensus this study focuses on fertility patterns of the 1.5 and second generation Turkish migrants compared to native Western Germans. Our results show that the 1.5 generation, who migrated as children, have the highest first birth risks, Germans have the lowest birth risks, while second generation lie in between the two other groups.

The comparison of second and 1.5 generation Turkish migrants allowed us to disentangle adaptation and socialization effects. According to adaptation theory, the destination country's childbearing values and its opportunity structure influence migrants' fertility behavior. Since both groups, the 1.5 migrant generation as well as the second generation, spent their entire adult life in Germany, they should adapt to the low fertility patterns of Germans to the same extent. 1.5 generation migrants differ markedly from the German pattern, while the fertility behavior of the second generation is more similar to that of Germans. Both migrant generations differ from each other in that way that for generation 1.5, childhood socialization

has partly taken place in Turkey, while it took place in Germany for the second generation. The differences in fertility behavior between both groups indicate that family values learnt through childhood socialization are of great importance for the later fertility behavior of migrants' descendants.

This finding does not necessarily contradict adaptation arguments, but it seems that socialization effects are more relevant here. In our data, we find some adaptation tendencies of fertility, particularly among highly educated women. For the lowly educated, first birth risks varied strongly, the difference diminished slightly for those with medium education. Highly educated women of the second generation behave very similar to Germans of the same educational status, while 1.5 generation migrants still differ. Again, it reveals that differences between 1.5 and second generation migrants, which are likely to be related to socialization effects, are prevailing, even after considering the socio-economic background of the women. That means that the composition hypothesis finds support only partly. Our findings indicate that education has an equalizing effect especially among highly educated second generation migrants – but less for those with lower education and the generation 1.5.

Three-way interaction models of education, migrant status, and age provided us with further insights concerning the age patterns for each group. Highly educated German women show higher first birth risks with increasing age. Migrants of Turkish origin with a high educational status, by contrast, do not show this direct relation, but have constantly low first birth risks in each age category. The finding for Germans indicates a postponement of first childbirth into higher ages, as also found in previous works on western countries (Blossfeld & Huinink, 1991; Ní Bhrolcháin & Beaujouan, 2012; Tesching, 2012). For Turkish descendants, we see no postponement of first births occurs among the highly educated, but their fertility level remains low across all age groups compared to those with lower education. However, particularly second generation migrants are still young and so far only few women with Turkish roots have attained high education and reached ages above 30 years. Until they have reached higher ages, it remains unclear if highly educated Turkish descendants follow different age patterns for first childbirth than Germans with the same educational level.

An interesting control variable in our analyses was women's citizenship. We assumed that those descendants of migrants, who gave up Turkish citizenship in order to obtain the German one, identify with German culture more than women who keep their Turkish citizenship.

Accordingly, those with German citizenship were expected to have more similar birth rates to native Germans than Turks. Contrary to this hypothesis, in our analyses citizenship seemed to be of minor relevance for fertility behavior. One explanation for this finding might be that naturalization among young Turks might be less an act of identification with the German culture but is related to other reasons. Having German citizenship is accompanied by a number of advantages, such as easier access to the labor market; the right to vote and higher mobility within the European Union (see Avitabile et al., 2012 for more detail). Those who decide to give up Turkish citizenship might have the desire to profit from these side effects and still feel attached to Turkish family values that affect childbearing patterns.

Our study adds to the literature on the fertility behavior of migrants in advanced societies. First, in line with findings for other countries (Blau et al., 2008; Garssen & Nicolaas, 2008; Parrado & Morgan, 2008; Scott & Stanfors, 2011) we were able to show a process of convergence across Turkish migrant generations in Germany. However, the second generation still differs markedly from Germans, thus fertility adaptation seems to be less developed like for example in the Netherlands (Garssen & Nicolaas, 2008). In addition, we illustrated that a distinction between 1.5 and second generation migrants is appropriate and necessary. From a theoretical point of view, both groups should differ in their fertility behavior due to differing socialization experiences during childhood. Like for several migrant groups in Sweden (Scott & Stanfors, 2011), our results confirm this theoretical relationship for the case of Turkish migrants in Germany. So far, only differences between 1.5 and second generation Turkish migrants concerning completed fertility were shown (Stichnoth & Yeter, 2013). We extend this to parity-specific evidence. Both the transitions to first and second childbirth were found to differ considerably between the two migrant generations. Regarding fertility determinants, we were able to show that naturalization plays a minor role for fertility assimilation of Turkish migrants in Germany. Furthermore, our results indicate a potential for fertility convergence in future if descendants of Turkish migrants increase their average educational attainment. Today, those of Turkish origin still have lower levels of education on average than native Germans. Given an increase in educational attainment, a larger share of women with migrant origin will earn a degree in higher secondary education. As this group has similar fertility patterns as Germans, the aggregated fertility of Turkish migrants should decline in future.

For future research, in order to complete our picture of the fertility of migrants' descendants, we should study the transition to third birth. This is of specific interest, as there might be a large difference between women in western Germany, who follow a two child norm, and women of Turkish origin, who experience a transition to a third child more often (Milewski, 2010b). In this paper, we refrained from analyzing third births which was related to the age structure of second (and partly 1.5) generation Turkish migrants in Germany who only now reach ages above 35 years and who are at risk of having a third birth to a limited extent (see Table A3 in the appendix for the number of events and person-months). This will change as second generation migrants grow older. The Mikrozensus 2013 again includes the survey items on parents' migrant status which offers the opportunity to further investigate the fertility behavior of the descendants of migrants in Germany.

References

Adsera, A., & Ferrer, A. (2014). Factors influencing the fertility choices of child immigrants in Canada. *Population Studies, 68*(1), 65-79.

Alba, R., & Nee, V. (1997). Rethinking assimilation theory for a new era of immigration. *International Migration Review, 31*(4. Special Issue: Immigrant adaptation and native-born responses in the making of Americans), 826-874.

Alders, M. (2000). Cohort fertility of migrant women in the Netherlands: Developments in fertility of women born in Turkey, Morocco, Suriname, and the Netherlands Antilles and Aruba. *Paper presented at the BSPS-NVDURU Conference*, Utrecht, The Netherlands.

Allison, P. D. (1982). Discrete-time methods for the analysis of event histories. *Sociological Methodology, 13*, 61-98.

Andersson, G. (2004). Childbearing after migration: Fertility patterns of foreign-born women in Sweden. *International Migration Review, 38*(2), 747-774.

Andersson, G., & Scott, K. (2005). Labour-market status and first-time parenthood: The experience of immigrant women in Sweden, 1981-97. *Population Studies, 59*(1), 21-38.

Andersson, G., & Scott, K. (2007). Childbearing dynamics of couples in a universalistic welfare state: The role of labor-market status, country of origin, and gender. *Demographic Research, 17*(30), 897-938.

Aumüller, J. (2009). *Assimilation: Kontroversen um ein migrationspolitisches Konzept.* Bielefeld, Germany: Transcript Verlag.

Avitabile, C., Clots-Figueras, I., & Masella, P. (2012). *Citizenship, fertility and parental investment (U. o. N. Centre for Studies in Economics and Finance (CSEF), Italy, Trans.)* Working Paper No. 305: CSEF Centre for Studies in Economics and Finance.

Bade, K. J., & Bommes, M. (2004). Einleitung zum Themenheft "Migration – Integration – Bildung. Grundfragen und Problembereiche". In K. J. Bade & M. Bommes (Eds.), *IMIS-Beiträge. Themenheft "Migration – Integration – Bildung. Grundfragen und Problembereiche"* (pp. 7-20). Osnabrück: Institut für Migrationsforschung und Interkulturelle Studien (IMIS).

Barber, J. S. (2000). Intergenerational influences on the entry into parenthood: Mothers' preferences for family and nonfamily behavior. *Social Forces, 79*(1), 319-348.

Becker, G. S. (1991). *A treatise on the family* (Rev. Ed.). Cambridge, MA.

Blau, F. D., Kahn, L. M., Liu, A. Y.-H., & Papps, K. L. (2008). The transmission of women's fertility, human capital and work orientation across immigrant generations *Working Paper Vol. 14388*. National Bureau of Economic Research.

Blossfeld, H.-P., & Huinink, J. (1991). Human capital investments or norms of role transition? How women's schooling and career affect the process of family formation. *American Journal of Sociology, 97*(1), 143-168.

Coleman, D. A. (1994). Trends in fertility and intermarriage among immigrant populations in Western Europe as measures of integration. *Journal of Biosocial Science, 26*(1), 107-136.

Cygan-Rehm, K. (2011). Between here and there: Immigrant fertility patterns in Germany: *BGPE Discussion Paper.*

De Valk, H. A. G. (2006). *Pathways into adulthood. A comparative study on family life transitions among migrant and Dutch youth.* Utrecht: Utrecht University.

De Valk, H. A. G., & Liefbroer, A. C. (2007). Timing preferences for women's family-life transitions: Intergenerational transmission among migrants and Dutch. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 69*(1), 190-206.

DESTATIS. (2012). *Bevölkerung und Erwerbstätigkeit. Bevölkerung mit Migrationshintergrund – Ergebnisse des Mikrozensus 2011.* Wiesbaden: Statistisches Bundesamt.

DESTATIS. (2013). *Bevölkerung und Erwerbstätigkeit. Ausländische Bevölkerung. Ergebnisse des Ausländerzentralregisters.* Wiesbaden: Statistisches Bundesamt.

DESTATIS. (2014). *Bevölkerung und Erwerbstätigkeit. Wanderungen 2012.* Wiesbaden: Statistisches Bundesamt.

Diehl, C., & Koenig, M. (2013). God can wait – New migrants in Germany between early adaptation and religious reorganization. *International Migration, 51*(3), 8-22.

Dustmann, C., Frattini, T., & Lanzara, G. (2012). Educational achievement of second-generation immigrants: an international comparison. *Economic Policy, 27*(69), 143-185.

Eryurt, M. A., & KOÇ, İ. (2012). Internal migration and fertility in Turkey: Kaplan-Meier survival analysis. *International Journal of Population Research*, *Article ID 329050*.

Esser, H. (2004). Does the "new" immigration require a "new" theory of intergenerational integration?. *International Migration Review, 38*(3), 1126-1159.

Esser, H. (2008). Assimilation, ethnische Schichtung oder selektive Akkulturation? Neuere Theorien der Eingliederung von Migranten und das Modell der intergenerationalen Integration. *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie, 48*(Sonderheft "Migration und Integration"), 81-107.

Fick, P. (2011). Berufliche Bildungschancen von Migranten in Deutschland und die Bedeutung von Generation und Herkunft. *Zeitschrift für Soziologie der Erziehung und Sozialisation, 31*(3), 280-295.

Frank, R., & Heuveline, P. (2005). A crossover in Mexican and Mexican-American fertility rates: Evidence and explanations for an emerging paradox. *Demographic Research, 12*(4), 77-104.

Garssen, J., & Nicolaas, H. (2008). Fertility of Turkish and Moroccan women in the Netherlands: Adjustment to native level within one generation. *Demographic Research, 19*(33), 1249-1280.

Goode, W. J. (1964). *The family*. Englewood Cliffs/ New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

Gordon, M. M. (1964). *Assimilation in American life: The role of race, religion, and national origins.* New York: Oxford University Press

Granato, N., & Kalter, F. (2001). Die Persistenz ethnischer Ungleichheit auf dem deutschen Arbeitsmarkt. *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie, 53*(3), 497-520.

Groh-Samberg, O., Jossin, A., Keller, C., & Tucci, I. (2012). Biografische Drift und zweite Chance. Bildungs- und Berufsverläufe von Migrantennachkommen. *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie, Sonderheft 52*, 186-210.

Gustafsson, S. (2001). Optimal age at motherhood. Theoretical and empirical considerations on postponement of maternity in Europe. *Journal of Population Economics, 14*(2), 225-247.

Haug, S., Müssig, S., & Stichs, A. (2009). *Muslimisches Leben in Deutschland (Muslim Life in Germany)*. Nürnberg: Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge.

Heckmann, F. (2003). From ethnic nation to universalistic immigrant integration: Germany. In F. Heckmann & D. Schnapper (Eds.), *The integration of immigrants in European societies: National differences and trends of convergence* (pp. 45-78). Stuttgart: Lucius & Lucius.

Heckmann, F. (2006). *Integration and integration policies. IMISCOE network feasibility study.* Bamberg: European Forum for Migration Studies.

Hervitz, H. M. (1985). Selectivity adaptation or disruption? A comparison of alternative hypotheses on the effects of migration on fertility: the case of Brazil. *International Migration Review, 19*(2), 293-317.

Hoffman, L. W., & Hoffman, M. L. (1973). The value of children to parents. In J. T. Fawcett (Ed.), *Psychological perspectives on population* (pp. 19-76). New York: Basis Books.

Holland, J. A., & de Valk, H. A. G. (2013). Ideal ages for family formation among immigrants in Europe. *Advances in Life Course Research, 18*(4), 257-269.

Hotz, V. J., Klerman, J. A., & Willis, R. J. (1997). The Economics of fertility in developed countries. In M. R. Rosenzweig & O. Stark (Eds.), *Handbook of Population and Family Economics* (Vol. 1A, pp. 275-347). Amsterdam: Elsevier.

Kahn, J. R. (1988). Immigrant selectivity and fertility adaptation in the United States. *Social Forces, 67*(1), 108-128.

Konietzka, D., & Seibert, H. (2003). Deutsche und Ausländer an der "zweiten Schwelle". Eine vergleichende Analyse der Berufseinstiegskohorten 1976-1995 in Westdeutschland. *Zeitschrift für Pädagogik, 49*(4), 567-590.

Kreyenfeld, M. (2002). Time squeeze, partner effect or self-selection? An investigation into the positive effect of women's education on second birth risks in West Germany. *Demographic Research, 7*(2), 15-48.

Kreyenfeld, M., & Konietzka, D. (2008). Education and fertility in Germany. In I. Hamm, H. Seitz & M. Werding (Eds.), *Demographic change in Germany. The economic and fiscal consequences* (pp. 165-187). Berlin: Springer.

Kulu, H. (2005). Migration and fertility: Competing hypotheses re-examined. *European Journal of Population, 21*(1), 51-87.

Kulu, H., & González-Ferrer, A. (2013). Family dynamics among immigrants and their descendants in Europe: Current research and opportunities FamiliesAndSocieties *Working Paper Series, Vol. 3*.

Lappegård, T., & Rønsen, M. (2005). The multifaceted impact of education on entry into motherhood. *European Journal of Population, 21*(1), 31-49.

Lesthaeghe, R. (1995). The second demographic transition: An interpretation. In K. O. Mason & A.-M. Jensen (Eds.), *Gender and Family Change in Industrialized Countries* (pp. 17-62). Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Lesthaeghe, R., & Surkyn, J. (1988). Cultural dynamics and economic theories of fertility change. *Population and Development Review, 14*(1), 1-45.

Letablier, M.-T., Luci, A., Math, A., & Thévenon, O. (2009). *The costs of raising children and the effectiveness of policies to support parenthood in European countries: a Literature Review*. Brussels: European Commission.

Lindstrom, D. P., & Giorguli Saucedo, S. (2002). The short-and long-term effects of US migration experience on Mexican women's fertility. *Social Forces, 80*(4), 1341-1368.

Lindstrom, D. P., & Giorguli Saucedo, S. (2007). The interrelationship of fertility, family maintenance and Mexico-U.S. Migration. *Demographic Research, 17*, 821-858.

Mayer, J., & Riphahn, R. T. (2000). Fertility assimilation of immigrants: Evidence from count data models. *Journal of Population Economics, 13*(2), 241-261.

Milewski, N. (2007). First child of immigrant workers and their descendants in West Germany: Interrelation of events, disruption, or adaptation?. *Demographic Research, 17*(29), 859-896.

Milewski, N. (2010a). *Fertility of immigrants. A two-generational approach in Germany*. Berlin/Heidelberg: Springer.

Milewski, N. (2010b). Immigrant fertility in West Germany: Is there a socialization effect in transitions to second and third births?. *European Journal of Population, 26*(3), 297-323.

Milewski, N. (2011). Transition to a first birth among Turkish second-generation migrants in Western Europe. *Advances in Life Course Research, 16*(4), 178-189.

Mincer, J. (1963). Market price, opportunity costs, and income effects. In C. Christ (Ed.), *Measurement in economics* (pp. 66-82). Stanford/California: Stanford University Press.

Moen, P., Erickson, M. A., & Dempster-McClain, D. (1997). Their mother's daughters? The intergenerational transmission of gender attitudes in a world of changing roles. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 59*(2), 281-293.

Mortimer, J. T., & Simmons, R. G. (1978). Adult socialization. *Annual Review of Sociology, 4*(1), 421-454.

Müller, A. G., & Stanat, P. (2006). Schulischer Erfolg von Schülerinnen und Schülern mit Migrationshintergrund: Analysen zur Situation von Zuwanderern aus der ehemaligen Sowjetunion und aus der Türkei. In J. Baumert, P. Stanat & R. Watermann (Eds.), *Herkunftsbedingte Disparitäten im Bildungswesen: Differenzielle Bildungsprozesse und Probleme der Verteilungsgerechtigkeit* (pp. 221-255). Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

Münz, R., Seifert, W., & Ulrich, R. (1999). *Zuwanderung nach Deutschland - Strukturen, Wirkungen, Perspektiven.* Frankfurt: Campus Verlag.

Mussino, E., & Strozza, S. (2012). The fertility of immigrants after arrival: The Italian case. *Demographic Research, 26*(4), 99-130.

Nauck, B. (2001). Social capital, intergenerational transmission and intercultural contact in immigrant families. *Journal of Comparative Family Research, 32*(2), 465-489.

Nauck, B. (2007). Immigrant families in Germany. Family change between situational adaptation, acculturation, segregation and remigration. *Zeitschrift für Familienforschung, 19*(1), 34-54.

Nauck, B., & Klaus, D. (2007). The varying value of children: Empirical results from eleven societies in Asia, Africa and Europe. *Current Sociology, 55*(4), 487-503.

Nauck, B., Kohlmann, A., & Diefenbach, H. (1997). Familiäre Netzwerke, intergenerative Transmission und Assimilationsprozese bei türkischen Migrantenfamilien. *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie, 49*(3), 477-499.

Ní Bhrolcháin, M., & Beaujouan, É. (2012). Fertility postponement is largely due to rising educational enrolment. *Population Studies, 66*(3), 311-327.

Park, R. E., & Burgess, E. W. (1921). *Introduction to the science of sociology*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Parrado, E. A., & Morgan, S. P. (2008). Intergenerational fertility among Hispanic women: New evidence of immigrant assimilation. *Demography, 45*(3), 651-671.

Parsons, T. (1955). Family structure and the socialization of the child. In T. Parsons & R. F. Bales (Eds.*), Family, socialization and interaction process* (pp. 35-131). Glencoe/ Illinois: The Free Press.

Portes, A., & Zhou, M. (1993). The new second generation: Segmented assimilation and its variants. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 530*(1), 74-96.

Putney, N. M., & Bengtson, V. L. (2002). Socialization and the family revisited. *Advances in Life Course Research, 7*(0), 165-194.

Rindfuss, R. R., & Brewster, K. L. (1996). Childrearing and fertility. *Population and Development Review, 22*(Supplement: Fertility in the United States: New Patterns, New Theories), 258-289.

Rumbaut, R. G. (1994). The crucible within: Ethnic identity, self-esteem, and segmented assimilation among children of immigrants. *International Migration Review, 28*, 748-794.

Rumbaut, R. G., & Weeks, J. R. (1986). Fertility and adaptation: Indochinese refugees in the United States. *International Migration Review, 20*(2), 428-466.

Safi, M. (2010). Immigrants' life satisfaction in Europe: Between assimilation and discrimination. *European Sociological Review, 26*(2), 159-176.

Schultz, T. P. (1969). An economic model of family planning and fertility. *Journal of Political Economy, 77*(2), 153-180.

Scott, K., & Stanfors, M. (2011). The transition to parenthood among the second generation: Evidence from Sweden, 1990–2005. *Advances in Life Course Research, 16*(4), 190-204.

Segeritz, M., Walter, O., & Stanat, P. (2010). Muster des schulischen Erfolgs von jugendlichen Migranten in Deutschland: Evidenz für segmentierte Assimilation?. *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie, 62*(1), 113-138.

Seibert, H. (2008). *Bildung und Einbürgerung verbessern die Chancen IAB Kurzbericht* 17: Institut für Arbeitsmarkt- und Berufsforschung (IAB).

Seibert, H., & Solga, H. (2005). Gleiche Chancen dank einer abgeschlossenen Ausbildung? Zum Signalwert von Ausbildungsabschlüssen bei ausländischen und deutschen jungen Erwachsenen. *Zeitschrift für Soziologie, 34*(5), 364-382.

Seifert, W. (1996). Neue Zuwanderergruppen auf dem westdeutschen Arbeitsmarkt: Eine Analyse der Arbeitsmarkchancen von Aussiedlern, ausländischen Zuwanderern und ostdeutschen Übersiedlern. *Soziale Welt, 47*(2), 180-201.

Seifert, W. (1997). Occupational and economic mobility and social integration of Mediterranean migrants in Germany. *European Journal of Population, 13*(1), 1-16.

Settersten Jr., R. A. (2002). Socialization and the life course: new frontiers in theory and research. *Advances in Life Course Research, 7*(0), 13-40.

Siegert, M. (2013). *Die Zufriedenheit der Migranten in Westdeutschland. Eine empirische Analyse*. Wiesbaden: Springer VS.

Singley, S. G., & Landale, N. S. (1998). Incorporating origin and process in migration-fertility frameworks: the case of Puerto Rican women. *Social Forces, 76*(4), 1437-1464.

Sobotka, T., & Toulemon, L. (2008). Overview chapter 4: Changing family and partnership behaviour: Common trends and persistent diversity across Europe. *Demographic Research, 19*(Special Collection 7: Childbearing Trends and Policies in Europe), 85-138.

Stephen, E. H., & Bean, F. D. (1992). Assimilation, disruption and the fertility of Mexican-origin women in the United States. *International Migration Review, 26*(1), 67-88.

Stichnoth, H., & Yeter, M. (2013). *Cultural influences on the fertility behaviour of first- and second-generation immigrants in Germany*. ZEW Discussion Paper 13-023: Zentrum für Europäische Wirtschaftsforschung.

Stichs, A. (2008). *Arbeitsmarktintegration von Frauen ausländischer Nationalität in Deutschland. Eine vergleichende Analyse über türkische, italienische, griechische und polnische Frauen sowie aus den Nachfolgestaaten des ehemaligen Jugoslawiens.* Working Paper Vol. 20. BAMF, Nürnuberg.

Tesching, K. (2012). *Education and fertility. Dynamic interrelations between women's educational level, educational field and fertility in Sweden*. Stockholm: Stockholm University, Demography Unit.

Toulemon, L. (2004). Fertility among immigrant women: new data, a new approach. *Population and Societies, 400*,1-4.

Treichler, A. (1998). Arbeitsmigration und Gewerkschaften: LIT Verlag

United Nations. (2012). *World population prospects: The 2012 revision*: Department of Economic and Social Affairs. Population Division.

van de Kaa, D. (1994). The second demographic transition revisited: Theories and expectations. In G. N. C. Beets, H. van den Brekel, R. Cliquet, G. Dooghe & J. de Jong-Gierveld (Eds.), *Population and family in the low countries 1993: late fertility and other current issues* (Vol. 30 pp. 81-126). Lisse: Swets & Zeitlinger.

Wolf, K. (2014). Fertility of Turkish migrants in Germany: Duration of stay matters. *MPIDR Working Paper (Vol. 2014-001)*: MPIDR.

Yavuz, S. (2008). *Fertility decline in Turkey from the 1980s onwards: Patterns by main language groups.* (Doctoral dissertation), Haceteppe University.

Zapf, W., & Brachtl, W. (1984). Die Lebensqualität der Gastarbeiter. In W. Glatzer & W. Zapf (Eds*.), Lebensqualität in der Bundesrepublik. Objektive Lebensbedingungen und subjektives Wohlbefinden* (pp. 286-322). Frankfurt am Main/New York: Campus Verlag.

Zhou, M. (1997). Segmented assimilation: Issues, controversies, and recent research on the new second generation. *International Migration Review*, 31(4. Special Issue: Immigrant Adaptation and Native-Born Responses in the Making of Americans), 975-1008.

Figures and Tables

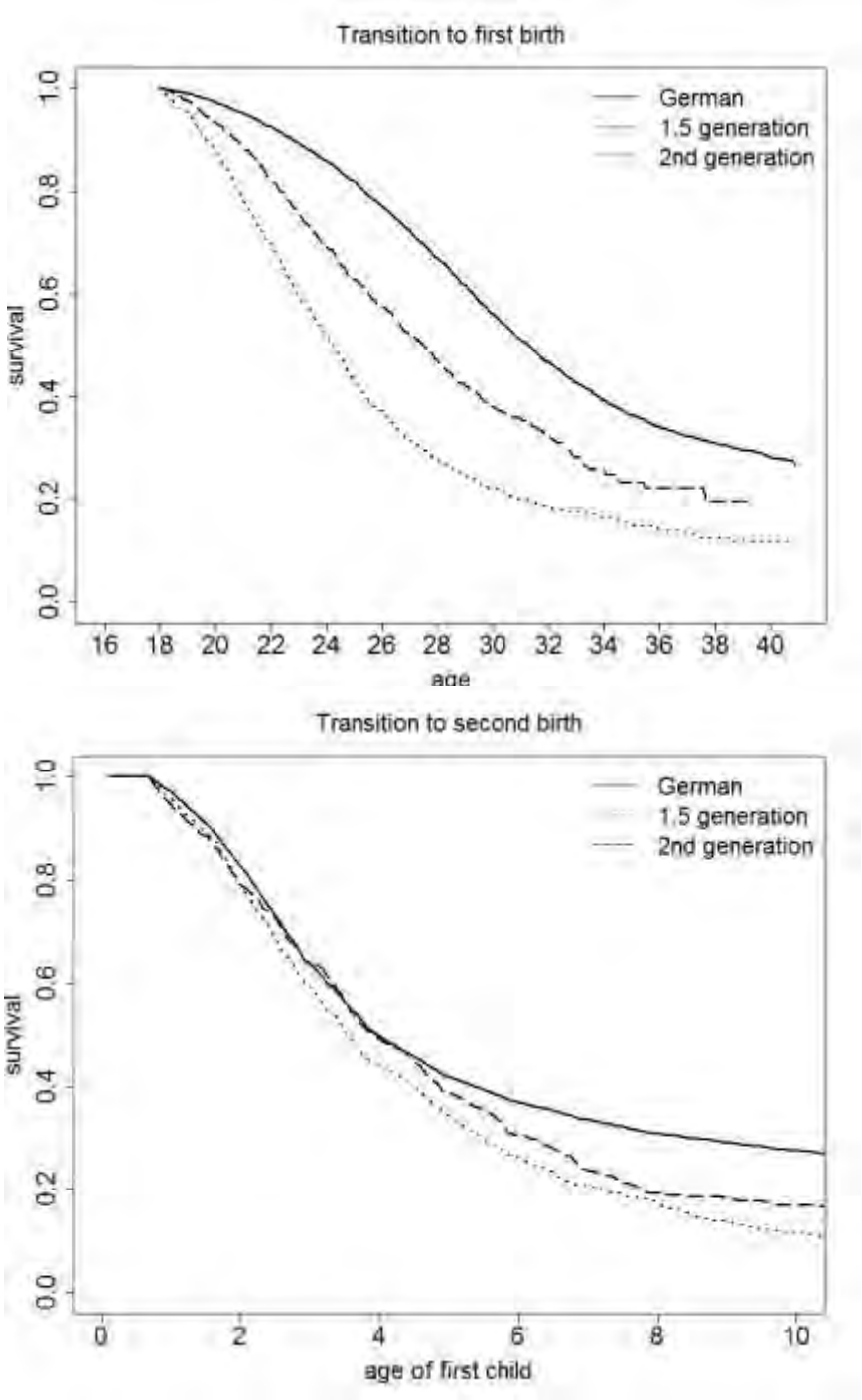


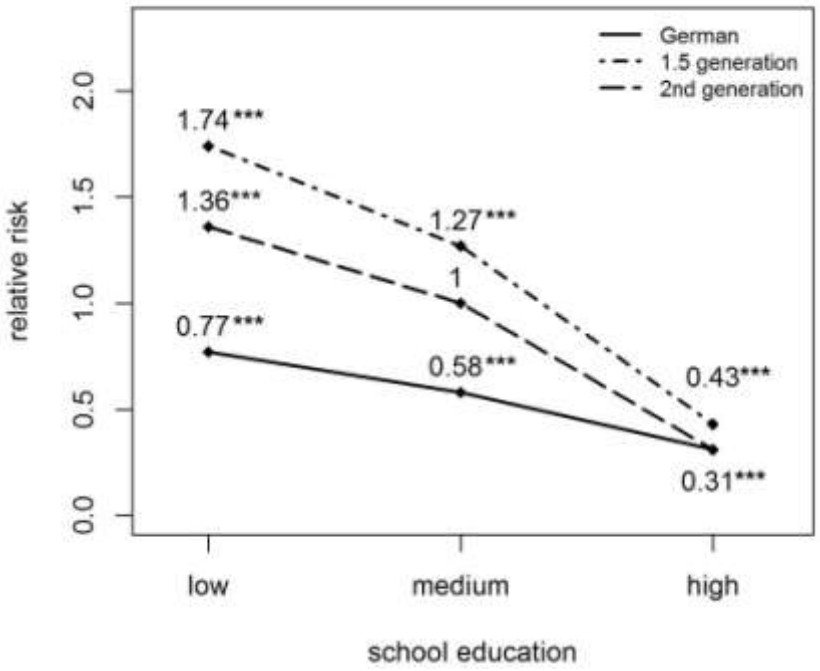
Figure 1. *Survival curves for Germans, 1.5 and second generation migrants. Female respondents of birth cohorts 1959-1991.*

Source: German Mikrozensus 2005 and 2009.

Table 1. *Determinants of the transition to first births. Relative Risks. Cloglog model. Female respondents between 18 and 40 years. Western Germans, 1.5 and second generation Turkish migrants.*

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
constant	0.14 ***	0.15 ***	0.16 ***
age			
18-25 years	0.42 ***	0.40 ***	0.40 ***
26-30	1	1	1
31-35	0.98	0.98	0.98
36-40	0.47 ***	0.46 ***	0.46 ***
cohort			
1959-1969	1.12 ***	1.06 ***	1.06 ***
1970-1979	1	1	1
1980-1991	0.61 ***	0.65 ***	0.65 ***
migration background			
German	0.53 ***	0.62 ***	
1.5th generation Turkish migrants	1.45 ***	1.33 ***	
2nd generation Turkish migrants	1	1	
school educational			
low		1.34 ***	
medium		1	
high		0.53 ***	
interaction			
low edu and German			0.77 ***
middle edu and German			0.58 ***
high edu and German			0.31 ***
low edu and 1.5th generation Turkish			1.74 ***
middle edu and 1.5th generation Turkish			1.27 **
high edu and 1.5th generation Turkish			0.43 ***
low edu and 2nd generation Turkish			1.36 ***
middle edu and 2nd generation Turkish			1
high edu and 2nd generation Turkish			0.31 ***
person-months	747,071	747,071	747,071
number of events	32,580	32,580	32,580

Source: Calculations based on the German Mikrozensus data 2005 and 2009
Notes: *** p <= 0.01, ** p <= 0.05, * p <= 0.10. Respondents with one German and one Turkish parent and also eastern Germans were excluded from the sample.



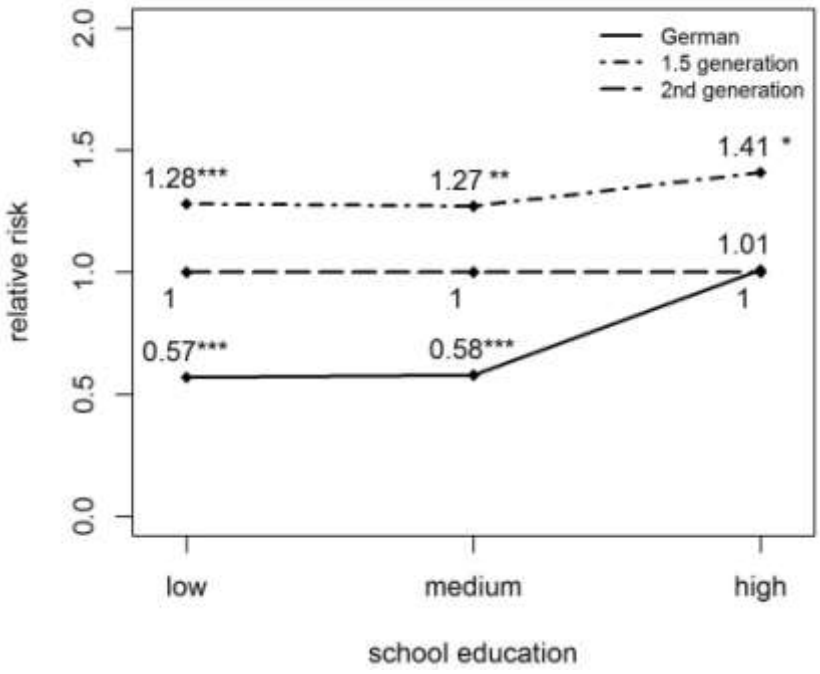


Figure 2. *Interaction between migration background and education (Model 3). Transition to first birth. Female respondents between 18 and 40 years. Western Germans, 1.5 and second generation Turkish migrants. Mikrozensus 2005 and 2009.*

Notes: *** p <= 0.01, ** p <= 0.05, * p <= 0.10. Controlled for mother's age, cohort. Respondents with one German and one Turkish parent and those living in eastern Germany were excluded from the sample.

Source: German Mikrozensus 2005 and 2009.

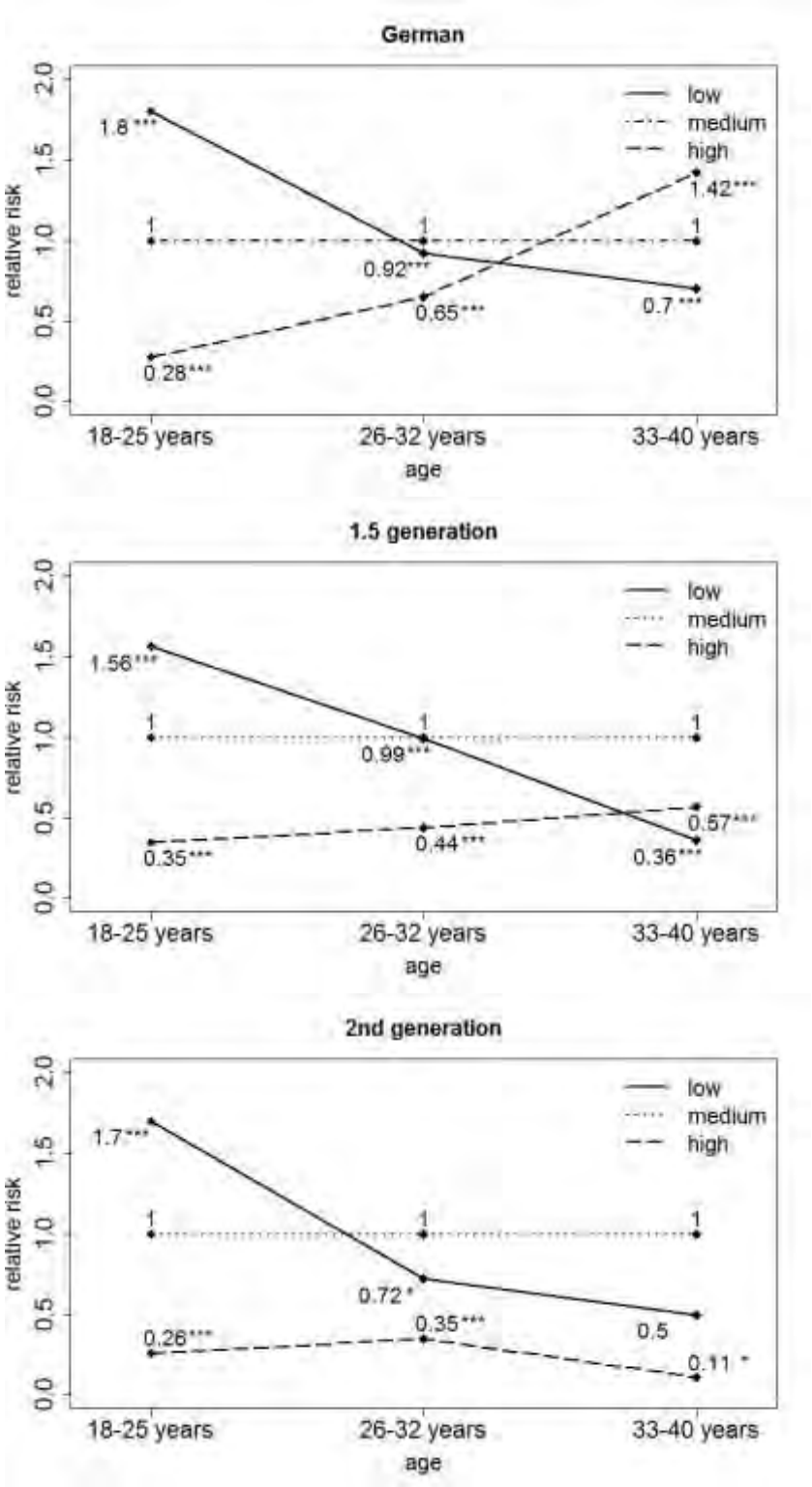


Figure 3. *Three-way interaction of migration status, education and age. Transition to first birth. Relative Risks. Cloglog model. Female respondents between 18 and 40 years. Western Germans, 1.5 and second generation Turkish migrants.*

Notes: *** p <= 0.01, ** p <= 0.05, * p <= 0.10. Controlled for cohort. Respondents with one German and one Turkish parent and also eastern Germans were excluded from the sample.
Source: German Mikrozensus 2005 and 2009.

Table 2. *Determinants of the transition to first births. Relative Risks. Cloglog model. Female respondents between 18 and 40 years. 1.5 and second generation Turkish migrants.*

	Model 4	Model 5
constant	0.10 ***	0.11 ***
age		
18-25 years	0.74 ***	0.73 ***
26-30	1	1
31-35	0.72 **	0.72 **
36-40	0.48 *	0.48 *
cohort		
1959-1969	0.95	0.95
1970-1979	1	1
1980-1991	0.54 ***	0.54 ***
migration background		
1.5th generation Turkish migrants	1.33 ***	
2nd generation Turkish migrants	1	
school educational		
low	1.34 ***	1.34 ***
medium	1	1
high	0.35 ***	0.35 ***
citizenship		
only German	1	
Turkish	1.03	
interaction		
1.5th generation and German citizen		1.29 ***
1.5th generation and Turkish citizen		1.37 ***
2nd generation and German citizen		1
2nd generation and Turkish citizen		1.00
person-months	17,416	17,416
number of events	1,372	1,372

Source: Calculations based on the German Mikrozensus data 2005 and 2009
Notes: *** p <= 0.01, ** p <= 0.05, * p <= 0.10. Respondents with one German and one Turkish parent and also eastern Germans were excluded from the sample.

Table 3. *Determinants of the transition to second births. Relative Risks. cloglog model. Female respondents between 18 and 40 years. Western Germans, 1.5 and second generation Turkish migrants.*

	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8
constant	0.55 ***	0.54 ***	0.50 ***
years since first birth			
0-1	0.05 ***	0.05 ***	0.05 ***
1-2	0.33 ***	0.32 ***	0.32 ***
2-4	1	1	1
4-7	0.75 ***	0.75 ***	0.75 ***
7-10	0.35 ***	0.35 ***	0.35 ***
10+	0.27 ***	0.27 ***	0.27 ***
mother's age at first childbirth			
18-25 years	1.00	1.02	1.02
26-30	1	1	1
31-35	0.88 ***	0.85 ***	0.85 ***
36-40	0.77 ***	0.72 ***	0.72 ***
cohort			
1959-1969	1	1	1
1970-1979	1.02	1.02	1.02
1980-1991	0.81 ***	0.81 ***	0.81 ***
migration background			
German	0.89 **	0.87 **	
1.5th generation Turkish migrants	1.24 ***	1.25 ***	
2nd generation Turkish migrants	1	1	
school education			
low		0.97	
medium		1	
high		1.20 ***	
migration background & school education			
low educ. and German			0.91
middle educ. and German			0.95
high educ. and German			1.15
low educ. and 1.5th generation Turkish			1.37 ***
middle educ. and 1.5th generation Turkish			1.36 **
high educ. and 1.5th generation Turkish			0.98
low educ. and 2nd generation Turkish			1.16
middle educ. and 2nd generation Turkish			1
high educ. and 2nd generation Turkish			0.84
person-months	103,440	103,440	103,440
number of events	18,675	18,675	18,675

Source: Calculations based on the German Mikrozensus data 2005 and 2009
Notes: *** p <= 0.01, ** p <= 0.05, * p <= 0.10. Respondents with one German and one Turkish parent and also eastern Germans were excluded from the sample.

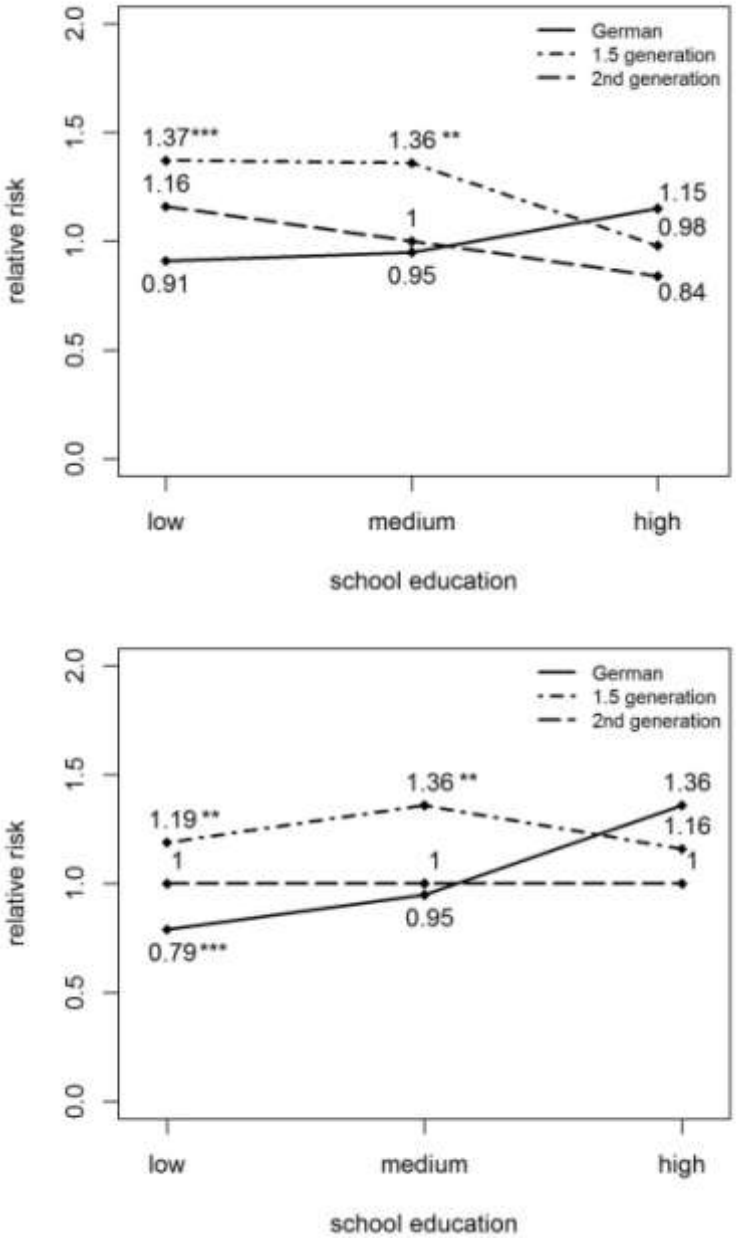


Figure 4. *Interaction between migration background and education. Transition to second birth. Female respondents between 18 and 40 years. Western Germans, 1.5 and second generation Turkish migrants*

Notes: *** p <= 0.01, ** p <= 0.05, * p <= 0.10. Controlled for years since first birth, mother's age at first birth, cohort. Respondents with one German and one Turkish parent and those living in eastern Germany were excluded from the sample.
Source: German Mikrozensus 2005 and 2009.

Table 4. *Determinants of the transition to second births. Relative Risks. Cloglog model. Female respondents between 18 and 40 years. 1.5 and second generation Turkish migrants.*

	Model 9
constant	0.36 ***
years since first birth	
0-1	0.07 ***
1-2	0.36 ***
2-4	1
4-7	1.28 ***
7-10	0.70 **
10+	0.50 ***
mother's age at first childbirth	
18-25 years	1.30 ***
26-30	1
31-35	0.71
36-40	-
cohort	
1959-1969	1
1970-1979	0.99
1980-1991	0.82
school education	
low	1.01
medium	1
high	0.79
migrant generation & citizenship	
1.5th generation and German	1.31 **
1.5th generation and Turkish	1.34 ***
2nd generation and German	1
2nd generation and Turkish	1.10
person-months	4,332
number of events	961

Source: Calculations based on the German Mikrozensus data 2005 and 2009
Notes: *** p <= 0.01, ** p <= 0.05, * p <= 0.10. Respondents with one German and one Turkish parent and also eastern Germans were excluded from the sample.

Appendix

Table A1. *Descriptive statistics. Number of first birth events. Germans, 1.5 and second generation migrants. Female respondents.*

	German		1.5th generation		2nd generation	
	share (person months)	number of events	share (person months)	number of events	share (person months)	number of events
education						
low	19.1%	9,558	59.6%	573	41.2%	418
middle	36.7%	13,999	22.7%	154	28.8%	206
high	44.2%	8,902	17.7%	50	30.0%	73
age						
18-25	11.5%	1,580	10.3%	46	22.9%	67
26-30	18.9%	4603	15.3%	117	34.7%	250
31-35	26.9%	9,532	30.6%	248	31.4%	285
36-40	42.7%	16,744	43.7%	366	11.0%	95
cohort						
1959-1969	31.7%	12,651	29.2%	236	4.3%	32
1970-1979	50.9%	16,961	56.6%	467	60.8%	508
1980-1991	17.4%	2,847	14.2%	74	34.9%	157
citizenship						
German	100.0%	32,459	48.2%	331	47.3%	309
Turkish			51.8%	446	52.7%	388
total		32,459		777		697

Source: Calculations based on the German Mikrozensus data 2005 and 2009.

Table A2. *Descriptive statistics. Number of second birth events. Germans, 1.5 and second generation migrants. Female respondents.*

	German		1.5th generation		2nd generation	
	share (person months)	number of events	share (person months)	number of events	share (person months)	number of events
education						
low	34.0%	5,874	75.4%	489	63.8%	281
middle	44.2%	7,787	18.4%	119	26.7%	105
high	21.8%	4,744	6.1%	30	9.4%	32
age						
18-25	2.5%	390	0.1%	18	5.1%	18
26-30	9.6%	1,914	11.0%	82	27.7%	121
31-35	25.5%	5,328	31.8%	218	47.6%	207
36-40	62.4%	10,773	57.2%	320	19.6%	72
cohort						
1959-1969	48.1%	8,169	34.2%	209	7.3%	25
1970-1979	46.8%	9,321	61.0%	399	84.8%	333
1980-1991	5.1%	915	4.8%	30	15.2%	60
citizenship						
German	100.0%	18,405	42.9%	263	41.8%	171
Turkish			57.1%	375	58.2%	247
total		18,405		638		418

Source: Calculations based on the German Mikrozensus data 2005 and 2009.

Table A3. *Descriptive statistics. Number of third birth events. Germans, 1.5 and second generation migrants. Female respondents.*

	German		1.5th generation		2nd generation	
	share (person months)	number of events	share (person months)	number of events	share (person months)	number of events
education						
low	36.2%	1,613	76.1%	227	73.2%	82
middle/high	63.8%	2,598	23.9%	37	26.8%	18
age						
18-25	0.6%	51	0.8%	3	1.5%	3
26-30	5.0%	386	6.8%	25	18.1%	20
31-35	22.3%	1,164	30.6%	83	53.5%	54
36-40	72.1%	2,610	61.8%	153	26.9%	23
cohort						
1959-1969	56.2%	1,997	40.6%	102	9.8%	8
1970-1979	41.9%	2,054	57.9%	154	83.3%	85
1980-1991	1.9%	160	1.5%	8	6.9%	7
citizenship						
German	100.0%	4,211	40.9%	105	37.1%	32
Turkish		0	59.1%	159	62.9%	68
total		4,211		264		100

Source: Calculations based on the German Mikrozensus data 2005 and 2009.

Table A4. *Descriptive statistics. Number of first birth events by migration status, education and age. Female respondents between 18 and 40 years. Western Germans, 1.5 and second generation Turkish migrants.*

	education					
	low		**medium**		**high**	
age	person months	birth events	person months	birth events	person months	birth events
German						
18-25	71%	6,020	70%	6,105	68%	1,943
26-32	25%	3,085	26%	6,583	28%	5,503
33-40	5%	240	4%	567	4%	943
1.5 migrant generation						
18-25	82%	442	81%	103	67%	24
26-32	15%	84	17%	38	28%	20
33-40	2%	6	1%	3	5%	4
2nd migrant generation						
18-25	85%	325	86%	128	77%	34
26-32	14%	63	13%	56	22%	36
33-40	1%	3	0%	2	1%	1

Source: Calculations based on the German Mikrozensus data 2005 and 2009.

Table A5. *Three-way interaction of migration status, education and age. Transition to first birth. Relative Risks. Cloglog model. Female respondents between 18 and 40 years. Western Germans, 1.5 and second generation Turkish migrants*

age	education		
	low	medium	high
German			
18-25	1.80 ***	1	0.28 ***
26-32	0.92 ***	1	0.65 ***
33-40	0.70 ***	1	1.42 ***
1.5 migrant generation			
18-25	1.56 ***	1	0.35 ***
26-32	0.99	1	0.44 ***
33-40	0.36	1	0.57
2nd migrant generation			
18-25	1.70 ***	1	0.26 ***
26-32	0.72 ***	1	0.35 ***
33-40	0.50 ***	1	0.11 ***

Notes: *** p <= 0.01, ** p <= 0.05, * p <= 0.10. Controlled for cohort. Respondents with one German and one Turkish parent and also eastern Germans were excluded from the sample.
Source: Calculations based on the German Mikrozensus data 2005 and 2009.

Childbearing among the descendants of immigrants in Sweden

Gunnar Andersson and Lotta Persson

Abstract:
This study provides analyses of the childbearing behavior of the descendants to immigrants in Sweden. The study is based on register data covering the period 1998–2012, which allows for very detailed analyses of the childbearing behavior of twenty country groups of descendants. By means of event history techniques, we analyze the transition to any first, second and third birth. Our analyses show that most groups of descendants to immigrants have lower fertility than women with a full Swedish background. The risk of having the first child is particularly depressed; only a fraction of this difference can be explained by the descendants' relatively poor labor-market standing. The risk of having the second child is also lower for the descendants to immigrants than for women with a full Swedish background. However, the patterns in third birth fertility mainly go in the opposite direction: Many groups of immigrant-descendant two-child mothers have elevated third birth risks. These findings demonstrate the necessity to account for parity-specific differences in fertility also when studying the fertility of descendants of migrants. In some cases, country background differences appear: Women with a parental background in Turkey or the Arab Mid-East seem to have higher fertility on average than women with a full Swedish background. Women with a parental background in other Nordic countries differ relatively little from women with both parents born in Sweden.

Keywords: fertility, descendants, immigration, Sweden

Acknowledgement: Our research received funding from the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme (FP7/2007-2013) via the project FamiliesAndSocieties, grant agreement 320116. We are also grateful for financial support from the Swedish Research Council (Vetenskapsrådet) via the Swedish Initiative for Research on Microdata in the Social and Medical Sciences (SIMSAM), grant 839-2008-7495.

1. Introduction

In recent years, immigrant fertility has been a much studied topic in Sweden (e.g., Andersson and Scott, 2005, 2007; Persson & Hoem, 2014) and other countries that receive immigrants (e.g., Abbasi-Shavazi & McDonald, 2000; Milewski, 2006; Parrado, 2011; see also Sobotka, 2008). The focus is often on immigrants from high-fertility to low-fertility countries, with research focusing on the interdependencies of migration and childbearing trajectories (Kulu & Milewski, 2007) and the fertility adaptation of migrants in different settings in Europe and North America (e.g., Kahn, 1988; Ford, 1990; Andersson, 2004; Kulu, 2005). There is less research on the childbearing of the descendants of immigrants in developed countries; this field has long been dominated by research on "second-generation" Mexicans and Hispanics in the U.S. (e.g., Stephen & Bean, 1992; Parrado & Morgan, 2008). Immigration to many countries in Europe is a more recent phenomenon than that of the migration to the US; it is only in recent years that there has been enough women at childbearing ages with parents born abroad to allow for any in-depth research on their childbearing patterns. Consequently, in Europe this field of research is still relatively young (cf. de Valk & Milewski, 2011). In this research, the descendants to immigrants are typically treated as distinct population sub-groups; the focus is often to find evidence of socio-demographic integration with the majority population of the country where they live and where they were born. In terms of data and demographic analysis, the processes involved are much less complex than in research on first-generation immigrants. As the descendants to migrants are no migrants themselves there are no temporal interdependencies between a person's own migration and his or her other life course histories to account for.

The present study provides evidence of childbearing patterns of descendants to immigrants in Sweden, a country with relatively high levels of immigration (Statistics Sweden, 2004) and increasing fractions of people with a foreign background (Statistics Sweden, 2010a). It expands on previous research on the first-birth fertility of descendants of immigrants in Sweden by Scott and Stanfors (2010; 2011). In our study, we compare the childbearing patterns of the descendants to immigrants to those of Swedish-born women with two Swedish-born parents. Our study is based on analyses of longitudinal register data that cover the entire resident population of Sweden during 1998–2012, which allows us to carry out a very detailed analysis of the childbearing behavior of widely different groups of descendants to immigrants. We present parity specific analyses of the transition to a first, second and third

child birth in Sweden. We also demonstrate how childbearing patterns and any differences in parity-specific fertility are modified by women's socioeconomic characteristics.

2. Childbearing trends in Sweden

Sweden is renowned for its roller coaster fertility (Hoem & Hoem, 1996). At least since the 1930s, periods with low levels of childbearing have alternated with periods of high fertility. There are several reasons for these fluctuations. The fertility decrease from the mid-1960s to the mid-1980s occurred during a period when it was difficult for women to combine parenthood with working life, just as the situation was, and still is, in many other parts of Europe. The introduction of modern contraceptives in the early 1960s contributed to the decline. This decrease was followed by an upturn in fertility during the 1980s, which was partly fuelled by a strong economy, partly by the expansion of increasingly ambitious social policies directed towards working parents (Bernhardt, 1993). The latter include newly introduced incentives in the Swedish parental-leave system for a more compressed spacing of childbirths (Hoem, 1993; Andersson, 1999). In Sweden, there is a clearly positive relationship between the business cycle and fertility. Economic compensation paid during parental leave is tied to previous income from work, which fuels the positive relationship at the individual level. Previous research has shown that women and men who are not established in the labor force have a much lower propensity to become a parent than those employed (Andersson, 2000; Hoem, 2000; Duvander & Olsson, 2001). This holds for immigrant and Swedish-born women and men alike (Andersson & Scott, 2005; Scott & Stanfors, 2011; Lundström & Andersson, 2012). Consequently, during the economic downturn in Sweden during the early to mid-1990s, when young women and men had increasing difficulties in getting established in the labor market, there was another strong decrease in fertility. During this decade, an increasing number of young people enrolled in higher education and postponed having children (Thalberg, 2011). In 1999, Sweden had the lowest fertility ever recorded in the country with a Total Fertility Rate (TFR) of only 1.5 children per woman. Subsequently, the TFR increased continuously until 2010 when it stood at 1.98 children per women. This peak was followed by another moderate decline.

(Figure 1 about here)

Previous research on period trends in the childbearing behavior of immigrants in Sweden shows that developments over time have been remarkably similar for Swedish- and foreign-born people but that there are sometimes differences in levels of childbearing intensities between women from different countries of origin (Andersson, 2004). First-birth rates of immigrants tend to be elevated: The differences in crude rates are often spurious and related to the fact that migration and childbearing are often interrelated events and that childbearing more likely follows migration than the other way round (Andersson, 2004; Toulemon & Mazuy, 2004). However, second-birth rates of immigrants in Sweden are generally lower than those of the Swedish-born (Andersson, 2004). To a large extent, this stems from the fact that immigrants did not react particularly strongly to the "speed-premium" incentives that were introduced in the Swedish parental leave system during the 1980s and that caused much shorter birth intervals for Swedish-born mothers (Andersson et al., 2006). Research on the fertility of immigrants in Sweden further reveals that the socioeconomic characteristics of immigrants relate to their fertility in a strikingly similar manner as for native Swedes (Andersson & Scott, 2005; 2007; Lundström & Andersson, 2012). In particular, women and men who are not established in the labor market with regular employment display very low first-birth rates.

3. Descendants to immigrants in Sweden

Like many other countries in Europe, Sweden has gone from being a country of emigration to a destination for immigration. Since 1945, immigration has contributed significantly to the Swedish population (Statistics Sweden, 2004). Until the early 1970s, immigration was mainly dominated by labor migrants, mostly from other countries in Europe. Since the 1980s, the geographical origin of migrants to Sweden has been much more diverse than before. In 2013, 16 percent of the population was foreign-born (www.scb.se). Previous migration has also contributed to a steady increase in the stock of descendants to immigrants, sometimes referred to as the "second generation" of immigrants. Evidently, this development occurs with a time lag of a generation and is a more recent phenomenon than that of migration itself. In 1970, only four percent of the population were born in Sweden and had one or two foreign-born parents (Statistics Sweden, 2010a). The corresponding figure for 2013 was 12 percent: five percent with two foreign-born parents and seven percent with one foreign- and one Swedish-born parent (www.scb.se).

In our study, we present analyses of the childbearing behavior of female descendants to immigrants in Sweden: we present analyses for descendants of one or two foreign-born parents combined. Our study covers the childbearing behavior of twenty groups of descendant women who are classified by their parents' country of birth, as specified below. If a person has just one foreign-born parent she is classified according to that parent's country of birth. If she has two foreign-born parents that are from different countries she is assigned to her mother's country of origin. The overall distribution of descendants across groups reflects migration patterns as they appeared a few decades ago.

Descendants of immigrants with a background in Finland are the by far the largest group in our study: more than a third of the descendants have one parent or two from Finland (Table 1). Migration from Finland was high during the 1950s to early 1970s. By that time, Sweden had a much better economic situation than neighboring Finland and many Finns came to Sweden for work. This movement was facilitated by the existence of a free Nordic labor market. It also helped that Finland has a Swedish-speaking minority and that Swedish language is taught in schools. The second largest group is Other Nordic countries, with descendants to parents born in Denmark and Norway, and, less often, Iceland. The third largest group is those with at least one parent born in Western Europe, with Germany as the most common country. This group is followed by the descendants to migrants from former Yugoslavia, many of whom arrived during the 1960s as labor migrants. Descendants to immigrants from Southern Europe mainly have parents from Greece or Italy, which are two other countries that contributed with labor migrants to Sweden during the 1960s. Descendants to immigrants from Poland are also well-represented. Some of their parents arrived as refugees from the old communist regime; others came as tied movers, in many cases as spouses to Swedish men. Other descendants to immigrants from Eastern Europe include those whose parents left the region during communist time, most of them from Hungary. The descendants to migrants from Turkey mainly have parents that arrived as labor migrants during the 1960s. Many of those with parents born in Central and South America have parents that came to Sweden as refugees from Chile during the 1970s. The category of descendants to parents born in the Arab Mid-East often has a background in Lebanon or Syria. Those with parents from the Baltic countries mainly have a parent or two from Estonia. Those with a parent born in the U.S., Canada, Australia or New Zealand constitute a group of their own (US/Aus/NZ/Can): The majority of them have links to the U.S. Descendants to immigrants from Africa are divided into those with links to North Africa, Sub-Saharan Africa and the

Horn of Africa. The latter group is still small when it comes to immigrants having produced young off-springs in Sweden. The most common country backgrounds in these categories are those of Morocco, Gambia, and Ethiopia, respectively. Those with parents born in South East Asia mainly have links to Thailand or the Philippines. Descendants to immigrants from Iran mostly have parents that came to Sweden as refugees during the 1980s; those with parents born in South Asia mainly have parents born in India or Pakistan. Our last two categories are those with parents born in East Asia, such as the descendants to immigrants from Japan or China, and the Post-Soviet states, with a majority of parents being born in the Soviet Union.

As a consequence of changing migration patterns, the group of descendants of immigrants has changed its composition as well. Table 1 presents statistics on the distribution of descendant women at childbearing ages in Sweden in 1998, 2003, 2008 and 2012, respectively, by the country-background categories that we apply in our study. In 1998, 57 percent of descendant women at childbearing ages had a parent or two born in Finland or another Nordic country. Another 15 percent had at least one parent born in another Western European country, and relatively few, only nine percent, had a parent born outside Europe. In 2012, the share with a Nordic background (Finland or another Nordic country) had decreased to 42 percent; the share of women with links to Western Europe had decreased to 9 percent, while the share of descendants to immigrants from countries outside Europe had increased to 28 percent. Clearly, the descendants of immigrants are still dominated by those with links to the neighboring countries of Sweden, but the changes in composition over time motivate a relatively dis-aggregated approach to the study of these descendants.

(Table 1 about here)

4. Childbearing of descendants to immigrants

To a large extent, research on the fertility of descendants to immigrants has been confined to countries with a long history of immigration, such as the U.S., Canada, and Australia, which are countries that were built by migration. Most studies suggest that the fertility of the descendants to migrants from high- to low-fertility countries is lower than that of their parents; some studies suggest that it is even lower than that of the majority population in the countries where they live. For example, Bélanger and Gilbert (2003) find evidence of depressed fertility among descendants to immigrants in Canada. Compared to women with a

Canadian background, the descendants to immigrants were less likely to have a child aged 0-4: Those with one foreign-born parent had a seven percent lower odds while those with two foreign-born parents had a 17 percent lower odds to have a young child. Similar results have been found for Australia (Khoo & McDonald, 2003). Research on descendants to immigrants in the U.S. gives another picture (e.g., Stephen & Bean, 1992; Blau et al., 2008; for a critical discussion see Parrado & Morgan, 2008). On average, second generation immigrants in the U.S. have higher fertility rates than native U.S. women. These patterns are mainly driven by the behavior of second-generation Hispanics in the U.S. Frank and Heuveline (2005) highlight the role of elevated teen-age fertility in producing high fertility among the descendants to Mexican immigrants in the U.S. They ascribe these patterns to the segmented assimilation and racial stratification of second-generation Mexicans in the U.S., rather than being reflections of any Mexican pro-natalist values.

There is much less research on the childbearing and other family-demographic behavior of the descendants to immigrants in Europe (for an overview, see de Valk & Milewski, 2011). For Germany, Milewski (2006) finds that the descendants to immigrants in most cases have adapted their behavior to the low-fertility regime of that country. In another study, she analyses the childbearing behavior of Turkish second-generation migrants in six countries in Western Europe (Milewski, 2011). Also in this case, she finds evidence of fertility adaptation towards the different fertility regimes in the countries where the descendants live.

For Sweden, Scott and Stanfors (2010; 2011) analyze how the socio-economic characteristics of descendants to immigrants influence their first birth fertility. They show that the positive relationship between a strong labor market attachment and entry into parenthood that has been observed for the majority population of Sweden also applies to the descendants of immigrants. A study by Statistics Sweden (2010a) shows that women and men who are descendants to immigrants from other Nordic countries have very similar fertility patterns as those observed for Swedish-born women and men with a full Swedish background. The study also reveals that the descendants to immigrants from other EU-countries and from countries outside Europe with a medium-level development (medium HDI) rather have lower fertility than the native Swedes.

In the current study, we provide an overview of patterns in parity-specific fertility among the twenty groups of descendants to immigrants in Sweden that were specified in Table 1. A few of the perspectives from the literature on the childbearing of international migrants may apply

to the descendants of immigrants as well. This holds for issues related to socialization into cultural sub-groups or, in the case of the descendants, into the main-stream society where these people were born and where they live their lives. Hypotheses related to the role of differences in socio-economic characteristics in creating differentials in fertility behavior matter too (cf. Milewski, 2011). In general, patterns in parity-specific childbearing may be seen as evidence of the degree of family-demographic integration of the descendants of immigrants into the society in which they live.

Patterns in fertility may differ in different ways at the various birth orders. For first births, any differentials in fertility may be seen as evidence of differences in the possibilities for descendants to immigrants to establish themselves as young adults. Differences in the timing of first births may stem from variations in the success in getting established in the Swedish labor market; if this is the case we would find that crude differences in first-birth rates disappear once we add controls for women's socio-economic characteristics. For second births, we may regards differentials in fertility rates as evidence of how different population sub-groups adjust to the Swedish pattern of close spacing of first and second births. The "speed premium" of the Swedish parental leave system matters more for those who are well established in the labor market; the subtleties of its regulations may be more efficiently communicated among some groups of mothers than others. For third births, we may detect true evidence of low- or high-fertility behavior. This is the first parity progression with real variation in the quantum of fertility; only about half of Swedish two-child mothers progress to have a third child (Statistics Sweden, 2011).

5. Data and methods

Swedish population registers provide demographic information on all persons with legal residence in the country. The data for our analyses are retrieved from the Historical Population Register, which is a longitudinal database with information on the histories of all vital events to every de jure resident in Sweden (Statistics Sweden, 2006). Data on individuals' parents and their country of birth are derived from the Multi-Generation Register (Statistics Sweden, 2010b). Information on parents and their country of birth exists for almost all individuals born in Sweden after 1950 (almost 100 percent of these cohort members have information on their mother; 98 percent have information on their father). In addition, we are able to link data on various socio-demographic characteristics from different administrative

registers; this is facilitated by Sweden's system of personal identification numbers. Our analyses are based on data for all individuals born in Sweden that lived in the country at any time during 1998–2012.

As specified above, the descendants to immigrants are classified into twenty groups depending on their parents' country of birth (Table 1). We present event-history analyses of their transition from being childless to having a first child; from having one child to having a second birth; and from having two children to having a third birth. We present relative risks of childbirth by country background and other control variables. These are estimated by means of Cox proportional hazard regressions in the PROC PHREG procedure of SAS. The main independent variable of interest is the country category of a woman's background, i.e., her parents' country of birth. As mentioned, women born to one Swedish-born and one foreign-born parent are classified as a descendant to the immigrant parent. Women with two foreign-born parents from two different countries are classified by their mother's country of birth. In our basic models, we control for the role of age group of woman and time since any last previous birth. In the strongly fluctuating period fertility of Sweden it is also essential to control for calendar year. In our extended models we further control for a woman's educational attainment and her labor market status. The socio-economic status during a given calendar year is treated as a determinant of the conditional probability to have a(nother) child during the subsequent year.

Women enter the study at age 17 or in 1998, whichever comes last. They are censored at age 45, at any emigration, death, or the end of 2012, whichever comes first. Those who had twins in their first or second delivery are excluded from the analysis of the subsequent parity progression. Appendix Tables A1-A2 provide an overview of the number of woman years under observation (Table A1) and the number of children born at the different birth orders (Table A2), by country groups of origin. Appendix Tables A3-A5 show the distribution of descendants to immigrants over age groups (Table A3), categories of educational attainment (Table A4), and labor-market status (Table A5).

6. Results: Childbearing of descendants to immigrants in Sweden

As an introduction to our analysis, we present period Total Fertility Rates for each year during 1970-2012 for Swedish-born women with at least one foreign-born parent and Swedish-born women with two Swedish-born parents, respectively (Figure 2). This shows that during the

entire period, total fertility has been slightly lower for the descendants to immigrants in Sweden than for women with a full Swedish background. During more recent years differentials have widened. This may be due to changes in the composition of descendants to immigrants during the 2000s, with larger fractions of descendants with links to other countries than the neighboring Nordic ones. This appears to happen despite the fact that many of these descendants' parents stem from countries with relatively high fertility. Contrary to popular belief, the more recent groups of immigrants may not carry any long-lasting high-fertility behavior to their off-spring in Sweden. In the next step of our study, we provide a more detailed analysis of the parity-specific fertility of the descendants to immigrants.

(Figure 2 about here)

6.1. First-birth fertility

Table 2 provides an overview of the relative risks to become a mother, by country group of background and other control variables. Model A includes controls for age and calendar year. It shows that the risk of having a first child is significantly lower for 17 of the 20 groups of women with a foreign background. The relative risks are particularly depressed for women with parents born in Iran, the Horn of Africa or East and South Asia. The relative risks are also very low for women with a parent or two from Poland, the Post-Soviet states, US/Aus/NZ/Canada, South East Asia or Sub-Saharan Africa. Only two groups, women with a parent born in Turkey or another Nordic country than Finland, i.e., Denmark, Norway, or Iceland, have slightly higher first birth risks than those with two parents born in Sweden. The largest group, women with a parental background in Finland has a three percent lower risk to have a first child than those with a full Swedish background.

In the next step we extend our model in order to see how much of the differences in first-birth risks that can be explained by differences across country groups in socioeconomic characteristics (Model B). Table A4 of the Appendix shows that most groups of descendants to immigrants have lower educational attainment than those with a full Swedish background. Table A5 shows that they are also employed to a lower extent than women with two Swedish-born parents (see also Statistics Sweden 2010a). There are exceptions though; daughters of parents born in the Baltic States stand out with high educational attainment and high levels of employment. Women with parents from Western Europe, Eastern Europe, or East Asia also

have relatively high educational attainment. On the other end, women with a parental background in the Horn of Africa, the Arab Mid-East, Iran or South East Asia have much lower levels of education than women with a full Swedish background (Table A4). Many women in these groups are still students (Table A5). To a large extent, this is related to the fact that the descendants to the most recent groups of immigrants are still relatively young (Appendix Table A3). In our multivariate analyses, we control for such differences in age distribution.

Our Model B shows that socio-economic differences have some role to play in explaining differences in levels of first birth fertility, but that most of the variation remains also after controlling for these factors. For all groups of descendants, the relative risks of first birth fertility increases somewhat when we add controls for educational attainment and labor-market status. However, we still find seventeen country groups with significantly lower first-birth fertility than that of women with a full Swedish background. Thus, the depressed first birth fertility of descendants of immigrants in Sweden cannot be explained by their relatively weak labor-market status.

(Table 2 about here)

6.2. Second-birth fertility

The relative risks of one-child mothers to have a second child are presented in Table 3. It shows that most groups of descendants to immigrants also have significantly lower second birth fertility than women with two Swedish-born parents. For descendants to immigrants from different parts of Europe the levels are depressed by some four to fourteen percent. For descendants to immigrants from other parts of the world the relative risks are in many cases depressed by more than that. Only one group, descendants to immigrants from the Arab Mid-east have slightly higher second birth rates than women with a full Swedish background.

As for first birth fertility, differences in socio-economic characteristics explain only a small part of the differences in second birth fertility (Model D). The patterns of associations and changes in patterns when adding controls are very similar to those observed in our first birth analyses.

(Table 3 about here)

6.3. Third-birth fertility

Evidently, most groups of descendants of immigrants in Sweden have depressed first and second birth fertility. To some extent, this reflects postponed rather than foregone childbearing. In contrast, when we turn to differences in third birth fertility we may observe patterns that relate more strongly to differences in the ultimate number of children born. Table 4 shows that the descendants who have already had two children no longer display any low-fertility behavior. In this case, many groups of descendants to immigrants rather have higher third birth rates than women with a full Swedish background. Women with at least one parent born in the former Yugoslavia are the only exception in terms of significantly depressed third-birth fertility. Nine of the country-background groups have significantly higher third birth risks than women with two Swedish-born parents. Two-child mothers with at least one parent born in Finland or another Nordic country have 5-6 percent higher third birth risks than the reference category of full Swedes. Two-child mothers with a parent born in Western Europe have nine percent higher risks whereas several groups with a parent or two from outside Europe have between 24 and 56 percent higher third birth intensities: this holds for descendants to immigrants from overseas Anglo-Saxon countries (US/Aus/NZ/Can), sub-Saharan Africa, North Africa, Turkey, the Arab Mid-East, and South Asia.

(Table 4 about here)

7. Discussion

This study shows that many groups of descendants to immigrants in Sweden have lower fertility than women with a full Swedish background: The first and second birth risks are depressed for almost all country groups of descendants to immigrants. Differences in socio-economic characteristics such as educational attainment and labor-market attachment explain only a small fraction of the differences in fertility. The depressed first-birth fertility of descendants to immigrants suggests that their family formation and entry into adult life run slower than for women with two Swedish-born parents. A related study by Andersson et al. (2014) shows that the marriage formation of descendants to immigrants also is slightly lower than for women with a full Swedish background. However, this mainly holds for women with one Swedish- and one foreign-born parent. Another study shows that descendants to immigrants from outside Europe often form families with someone with similar background (Statistics Sweden, 2010a); this may reduce the scope of partner markets and make family

formation more difficult. Some young women and men are even afraid that they will not have the possibility to choose whom to marry (Swedish National Board for Youth Affairs 2008). Another explanation to depressed first birth risks could be that children of immigrants need to invest more in job and career than those with a full Swedish background to achieve the same status. In such a situation, family formation may be delayed. It could also be the case that with access to networks in more than one country, they have more opportunities to pursue many other activities than settling down early to form a family. Finally, it may be that some of the observed differences in first-birth rates stem from the bias created by un-registered emigration of descendants to immigrants. As a robustness check we have re-estimated fertility rates based on women with clear evidence of registered activity in Sweden. This procedure produces rates that are very similar to those presented here.

Our study also shows that most groups of descendants to immigrants have lower second birth fertility than women with a full Swedish background; this holds especially for those with a parent or two from outside Europe. These patterns indicate that a strong two child norm exists for women with a full Swedish background. They also suggest that the Swedish pattern of very rapid progression to second childbearing is not universally shared by all sub-groups in society. In contrast to the first two parity progressions, we find at least some evidence of high-fertility behavior when it comes to the third birth fertility of the descendants to immigrants. Such patterns likely stem from the transmission of high-fertility behavior from parents to their children (Murphy & Knudsen, 2002; Kolk, 2014).

We note that the descendants to immigrants from Turkey and the Arab Mid-East may be the only groups in Sweden that are not characterized by depressed fertility overall. They have similar or slightly higher first and second birth rates than native Swedes and elevated third birth rates. Bernhard et al. (2007) demonstrate that the descendants of immigrants from Turkey often consider partnering someone of their own background important and that they are more likely than other young Swedes to live with their parents. Continuous ties to the parental home might reinforce commitments to the values of relatively high fertility.

In sum, our study reveals that most categories of descendants to immigrants in Sweden display depressed fertility rates while only a few groups have somewhat high fertility. In contrast, descendants to immigrants from another Nordic country differ relatively little in their

childbearing behavior from women with a full Swedish background. It remains for future research based on other kinds of data to find explanations to the observed differentials.

References

Abbasi-Shavazi, M. J., & McDonald, P. (2000). Fertility and multiculturalism: Immigrant fertility in Australia, 1977-1991. *International Migration Review, 34*, 215-242.

Andersson, G. (1999). Childbearing trends in Sweden, 1961-1997. *European Journal of Population*, *15*(1), 1-24.

Andersson, G. (2000). The impact of labor-force participation on childbearing behavior: Pro-cyclical fertility in Sweden during the 1980s and the 1990s. *European Journal of Population, 16*(4), 293-333.

Andersson, G. (2004). Childbearing after migration: Fertility patterns of foreign-born women in Sweden. *International Migration Review, 38*(2), 747-775.

Andersson, G., & Scott, K. (2005). Labour-market status and first-time parenthood: The experience of immigrant women in Sweden, 1981–97. *Population Studies, 59*(1), 21-38.

Andersson, G., & Scott, K. (2007). Childbearing dynamics of couples in a universalistic welfare state: The role of labor-market status, country of origin, and gender. *Demographic Research, 17*(30), 897-938.

Andersson, G., Hoem, J. M., & Duvander, A. Z. (2006). Social differentials in speed-premium effects in childbearing in Sweden. *Demographic Research, 14*(4), 51-70.

Andersson, G., Scott, K., & Obucina, O. (2014). Marriage and divorce of immigrants and descendants to immigrants in Sweden. *Stockholm Research Report in Demography* 2014.

Bélanger, A., & Gilbert, S. (2003). The fertility of immigrant women and their Canadian-born daughters. *Report on the Demographic Situation in Canada 2002.* Ottawa: Statistics Canada.

Bernhardt, E. (1993). Fertility and employment. *European Sociological Review, 9*, 25-42.

Bernhardt, E., Goldscheider, C., Goldscheider, F., & Bjerén, G. (2007). *Immigration, gender and family transition to adulthood in Sweden*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America.

Blau, F., Kahn, L., Liu, A.Y. H., & Papps, K. (2008). *The transmission of women's fertility, human capital and work orientation across immigrant generations*. (NBER Working Paper 14388). Cambridge, MA: National Bureau of Economic Research.

de Valk, H., & Milewski, N. (2011). Family life transitions among children of immigrants: An introduction. *Advances in Life Course Research, 16*(4), 145-151.

Duvander, A.-Z., & Olsson, S. (2001). När har vi råd att skaffa barn? [When can we afford to have children?]. *RFV Analyserar*, *8*. Stockholm: National Social Insurance Agency.

Ford, K. (1990). Duration of residence in the United States and the fertility of U.S. immigrants. *International Migration Review, 24*(1), 34-68.

Frank, R., & Heuveline, P. (2005). A crossover in Mexican and Mexican-American fertility rates: evidence and explanations for an emerging paradox. *Demographic Research, 12*(4), 77-104.

Hoem, B. (2000). Entry into motherhood in Sweden: The influence of economic factors on the rise and fall in fertility, 1986-1997. *Demographic Research, 2*(4), 1-28.

Hoem, B., & Hoem, J. M. (1996). Sweden's family policies and roller-coaster fertility. *Jinko Mondai Kenkyu (Journal of Population Problems), 52*, 1-22.

Hoem, J. M. (1993). Public policy as the fuel of fertility: effects of a policy reform on the pace of childbearing in Sweden in the 1980s. *Acta Sociologica, 36*, 19-31.

Kahn, J. (1988). Immigrant selectivity and fertility adaptation in the United States. *Social Forces, 67*(1), 108-128.

Khoo, S. A., McDonald, P., & Khoo, S. E. (Eds.). (2003). *The transformation of Australia's population 1970–2030.* University of New South Wales Press.

Kolk, M. (2014). Multigenerational transmission of family size in contemporary Sweden. *Population Studies, 68*(1), 111-129.

Kulu, H. (2005). Migration and fertility: Competing hypotheses re-examined. *European Journal of Population*, *21*, 51-87.

Kulu, H., & Milewski, N. (2007). Family change and migration in the life course: An introduction. *Demographic Research, 17*, 567-590.

Lundström, K., & Andersson, G. (2012). Labor market status, migrant status and first childbearing in Sweden. *Demographic Research, 27*(25), 719-742.

Milewski, N. (2006). First child of immigrant workers and their descendants in West Germany: interrelations of events, disruption, or adaptation? *Demographic Research*, *17*(29), 859-896.

Milewski, N. (2011). Transition to a first birth among Turkish second-generation migrants in Western Europe. *Advances in Life Course Research, 16*(4), 178-189.

Murphy, M., & Knudsen, L. (2002). The intergenerational transmission of fertility in contemporary Denmark: The effects of number of siblings (full and half), birth order, and whether male or female. *Population Studies, 56*(3), 235-248.

Parrado, E. (2011). How high is Hispanic/Mexican fertility in the United States? Immigration and tempo considerations. *Demography, 48*(3), 1059-1080.

Parrado, E., & Morgan, P. (2008). Intergenerational fertility among Hispanic women: New evidence of immigrant assimilation. *Demography, 45*(3), 651-671.

Persson, L., & Hoem, J. (2014). Immigrant fertility in Sweden, 2000-2011: A descriptive note. *Demographic Research, 30*(30), 887-898.

Scott, K., & Stanfors, M. (2010). Second generation mothers – Do the children of immigrants adjust their fertility to host country norms? In T. Salzmann, B. Edmonston, & J. Raymer (Eds.), *Demographic Aspects of Migration* (pp. 123-152). Wiesbaden: VS Verlag.

Scott, K., & Stanfors, M. (2011). The transition to parenthood among the second generation: Evidence from Sweden, 1990–2005. *Advances in Life Course Research, 16*(4), 190-204.

Sobotka, T. (2008). The rising importance of migrants for childbearing in Europe. *Demographic Research, 19*(9), 225-248.

Statistics Sweden. (2004). Efterkrigstidens invandring och utvandring [Immigration and emigration during the postwar period]. *Demografiska rapporter, 5.*

Statistics Sweden. (2006). Historic population register. *Background Facts on Population and Welfare Statistics, 3*.

Statistics Sweden. (2010a). Födda i Sverige – ändå olika? [Born in Sweden – yet different?] *Demografiska rapporter, 2*.

Statistics Sweden. (2010b). Multi-generation register. A description of contents and quality. *Background Facts on Population and Welfare Statistics, 3*.

Statistics Sweden. (2011). Tredje barnet – en ny trend? [The third child – a new trend?] *Demografiska rapporter, 1*.

Stephen, E., & Bean, F. (1992). Assimilation, disruption, and the fertility of Mexican American women in the United States. *International Migration Review, 26*(1), 67-88.

Swedish National Board for Youth Affairs. (2008). Gift mot sin vilja [Married against one's wish]. *Ungdomsstyrelsens skrifter, 9.*

Thalberg, S. (2011). Does money matter? Childbearing behavior of Swedish students in the 1980s and 1990s. *Finnish Yearbook of Population Research, 46*, 5-20.

Toulemon, L., & Mazuy, M. (2004). Comment prendre en compte l'âge à l'arrivée et la durée de séjour en France dans la mesure de la fécondité des immigrants? *Documents de travail 120*, 2004. Paris: INED.

Tables and Figures

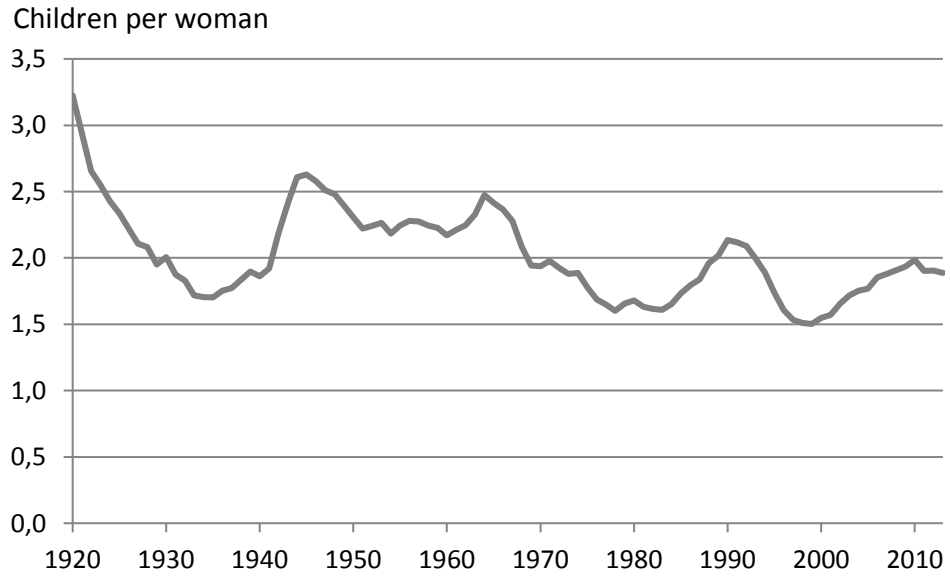


Figure 1: *Total Fertility Rate in Sweden, 1920–2013*
Source: Statistics Sweden

Table 1: *Descendants of immigrants in Sweden, by country background, women aged 17-45 in 1998, 2003, 2008 and 2012. Percentage distribution*

	1998	2003	2008	2012
Finland	41	40	37	32
Other Nordic	16	14	12	10
Former Yugoslavia	5	6	7	8
Poland	2	3	4	4
Western Europe	15	13	11	9
Southern Europe	4	5	5	4
Baltic	3	2	1	1
Eastern Europe	4	4	3	3
US/Aus/NZ/Can	2	2	2	2
Central/South America	1	2	3	4
Horn of Africa	0	0	1	1
Sub-Saharan Africa	1	1	1	1
North Africa	1	1	2	2
Arab Mid-East	1	1	3	5
Iran	0	1	1	2
Turkey	2	3	4	4
East Asia	0	1	1	1
South East Asia	0	1	1	2
South Asia	0	1	1	1
Post-Soviet States	1	1	1	1
Total	100	100	100	100

Source: Swedish register data, authors' own calculations

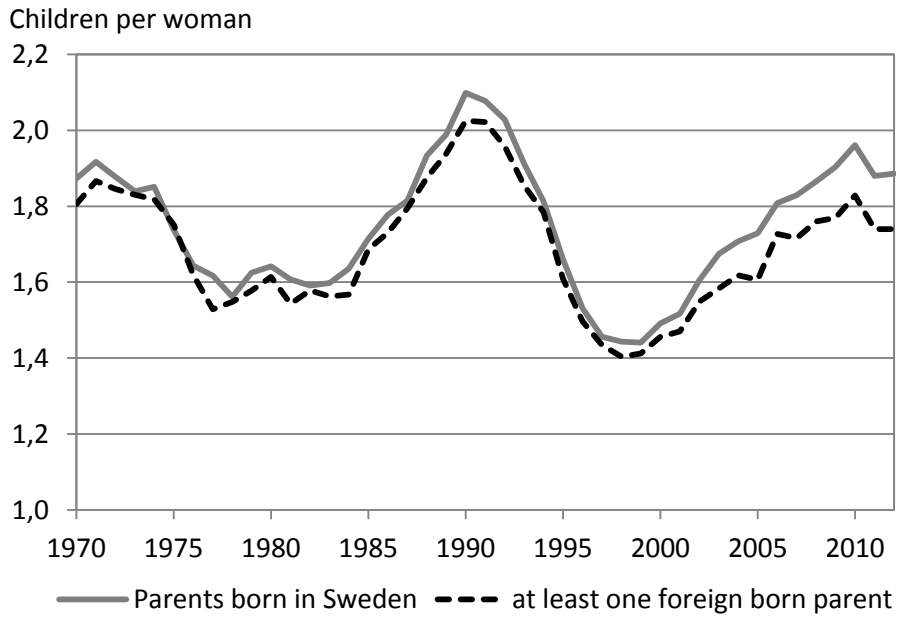


Figure 2: *Total Fertility Rate by background in Sweden, 1970-2012*
Source: Swedish population registers, authors' own calculations

Table 2: *Relative risk of having a first child in Sweden, childless women aged 17–45, 1998–2012. Swedish-born women by their parents' country of birth.*

Variable	Relative risks	
	Model A	Model B
Parent/parents born in		
Sweden	1	1
Finland	0.97***	0.99**
Other Nordic	1.02**	1.04***
Former Yugoslavia	0.91***	0.94***
Poland	0.69***	0.75***
Western Europe	0.84***	0.88***
Southern Europe	0.78***	0.84***
Baltic	0.88***	0.89***
Eastern Europe	0.80***	0.84***
US/Aus/NZ/Can	0.70***	0.78***
Central/South America	0.85***	0.92***
Horn of Africa	0.43***	0.49***
Sub-Saharan Africa	0.73***	0.79***
North Africa	0.77***	0.82***
Mid-East	0.96	1.02
Iran	0.43***	0.48***
Turkey	1.06***	1.10***
East Asia	0.58***	0.63***
South East Asia	0.71***	0.76***
South Asia	0.60***	0.66***
Post-Soviet States	0.65***	0.70***
Age group		
-19 years	0.07***	0.12***
20-24 years	0.35***	0.40***
25-29 years	1	1
30-34 years	1.65***	1.52***
35-39 years	0.98***	0.92***
40-45 years	0.19***	0.19***
Calendar year		
1998	0.88***	0.92***
1999	0.88***	0.90***
2000	0.92***	0.94***
2001	0.93***	0.94***
2002	0.99	0.98**
2003	1.01	1.01
2004	1.01	1.01
2005	1	1
2006	1.04***	1.04***
2007	1.05***	1.03***
2008	1.08***	1.04***
2009	1.09***	1.06***
2010	1.10***	1.09***
2011	1.04***	1.01*
2012	1.03***	1.01
Educational level		
Compulsory		1.00
Secondary		0.83***
Post secondary <3 years		0.71***
Post secondary >3 years		1
Unknown		0.78***
Employment status		
Employed		1
Student		0.34***
Unemployed		0.74***
Social allowance		1.00
Other		0.33***

Source: Swedish register data, authors' own calculations

*** = significant at the 1-percent level, ** = 5-percent level, * = 10-percent level.

Table 3: *Relative risk of having a second child for one-child mothers aged 17–45, 1998–2012. Swedish-born women by their parents' country of birth.*

	Relative risks	
	Model C	Model D
Background		
Sweden	1	1
Finland	0.88***	0.93***
Other Nordic	0.89***	0.94***
Former Yugoslavia	0.88***	0.93***
Poland	0.88***	0.91***
Western Europe	0.96***	0.96***
Southern Europe	0.86***	0.90***
Baltic	1.05	1.02
Eastern Europe	0.93***	0.94***
US/Aus/NZ/Can	0.94	0.94
Central/South America	0.82***	0.88***
Horn of Africa	0.73***	0.74**
Sub-Saharan Africa	0.83***	0.87***
North Africa	0.83***	0.89***
Mid-East	1.08**	1.15***
Iran	0.92	0.93
Turkey	0.94**	1.02
East Asia	1.00	0.97
South East Asia	0.84***	0.90*
South Asia	0.75***	0.75***
Post-Soviet States	0.76***	0.78***
Age group		
-19 years	0.21***	0.32***
20-24 years	0.67***	0.81***
25-29 years	1	1
30-34 years	1.15***	1.06***
35-39 years	0.73***	0.70***
40-45 years	0.12***	0.12***
Calendar year		
1998	0.88***	0.95***
1999	0.88***	0.94***
2000	0.87***	0.92***
2001	0.87***	0.91***
2002	0.92***	0.94***
2003	0.95***	0.96***
2004	0.98**	0.99
2005	1	1
2006	1.04***	1.03***
2007	1.03***	1.01*
2008	1.03***	1.00
2009	1.06***	1.02**
2010	1.10***	1.06***
2011	1.06***	1.02**
2012	1.07***	1.03***
Educational level		
Compulsory		0.60***
Secondary		0.73***
Post secondary <3 years		0.84***
Post secondary >3 years		1
Unknown		0.69***
Employment status		
Employed		1
Student		0.74***
Unemployed		0.88***
Social allowance		0.62***
Other		0.86***

Source: Swedish register data, authors' own calculations

*** = significant at the 1-percent level, ** = 5-percent level, * = 10-percent level.

Table 4: *Relative risk of having a third child for two-child mothers aged 17–45, 1998–2012. Swedish-born women by their parents' country of birth.*

	Relative risks	
	Model E	Model F
Background		
Sweden	1	1
Finland	1.05***	1.06***
Other Nordic	1.06***	1.07***
Former Yugoslavia	0.87***	0.88***
Poland	1.05	1.00
Western Europe	1.09***	1.07***
Southern Europe	0.96	0.94
Baltic	1.02	0.99
Eastern Europe	1.06	1.04
US/Aus/NZ/Can	1.30***	1.24***
Central/South America	0.98	0.95
Horn of Africa	0.94	0.87
Sub-Saharan Africa	1.24**	1.17
North Africa	1.39***	1.35***
Mid-East	1.56***	1.52***
Iran	1.13	1.05
Turkey	1.26***	1.26***
East Asia	1.14	1.08
South East Asia	1.21	1.16
South Asia	1.47***	1.40***
Post-Soviet States	0.89	0.87
Age group		
-24 years	0.93***	0.85***
25-29 years	1	1
30-34 years	0.82***	0.80***
35-39 years	0.49***	0.48***
40-45 years	0.08***	0.08***
Calendar year		
1998	0.85***	0.87***
1999	0.87***	0.90***
2000	0.91***	0.93***
2001	0.91***	0.93***
2002	0.93***	0.95***
2003	0.99	1.01
2004	1.00	1.00
2005	1	1
2006	1.08***	1.06***
2007	1.11***	1.09***
2008	1.11***	1.08***
2009	1.11***	1.07***
2010	1.17***	1.11***
2011	1.11***	1.06***
2012	1.12***	1.06***
Educational level		
Compulsory		0.82***
Secondary		0.66***
Post secondary <3 years		0.74***
Post secondary >3 years		1
Unknown		1.05
Employment status		
Employed		1
Student		0.95***
Unemployed		1.25***
Social allowance		1.39***
Other		1.23***

Source: Swedish register data, authors' own calculations

*** = significant at the 1-percent level, ** = 5-percent level, * = 10-percent level.

Appendix

Table A1: *Woman years in Sweden, by country background, 1998–2012*

Group	Woman years as:		
	Childless	Parity 1	Parity 2
Sweden	8 852 048	2 774 740	4 717 810
Finland	535 018	185 801	277 433
Other Nordic	171 429	64 718	106 844
Former Yugoslavia	112 206	29 127	35 114
Poland	70 383	10 886	10 479
Western Europe	169 730	56 702	92 023
Southern Europe	76 916	19 550	22 800
Baltic	18 555	9 647	20 210
Eastern Europe	53 679	14 771	21 662
US/Aus/NZ/Can	30 271	6 134	9 396
Central/South America	59 637	7 608	5 141
Horn of Africa	12 592	604	457
Sub-Saharan Africa	20 445	2 739	2 262
North Africa	28 440	4 465	3 516
Arab Mid-East	53 868	5 302	3 751
Iran	25 730	1 108	752
Turkey	63 945	11 746	9 427
East Asia	14 041	1 748	1 793
South East Asia	27 213	2 396	1 514
South Asia	21 677	2 254	1 793
Post-Soviet States	8 738	2 580	4 181

Source: Swedish register data, authors' own calculations

Table A2: *Number of children born, by country background in Sweden, 1998–2012*

Group	Number of children born, birth order:		
	First	Second	Third
Sweden	454 609	371 756	128 087
Finland	27 458	22 308	8 429
Other Nordic	8 735	7 329	2 916
Former Yugoslavia	5 163	3 890	1 095
Poland	2 283	1 419	372
Western Europe	8 057	6 785	2 416
Southern Europe	3 322	2 430	691
Baltic	1 140	1 093	415
Eastern Europe	2 371	1 816	602
US/Aus/NZ/Can	970	721	265
Central/South America	1 848	923	200
Horn of Africa	151	72	16
Sub-Saharan Africa	617	353	99
North Africa	973	557	187
Arab Mid-East	1 510	812	256
Iran	321	146	32
Turkey	2 634	1 706	561
East Asia	369	246	60
South East Asia	618	303	75
South Asia	521	269	87
Post-Soviet States	271	226	74

Source: Swedish register data, authors' own calculations

Table A3: *Woman years in Sweden, by country background and age, 1998–2012. Percentage distribution by age (time-varying)*

Group	Woman years						Total
	-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-45	
Sweden	11	18	19	19	16	17	100
Finland	11	19	19	19	17	16	100
Other Nordic	11	17	17	17	17	21	100
Former Yugoslavia	17	22	22	20	13	6	100
Poland	20	31	23	14	7	5	100
Western Europe	9	15	17	19	19	21	100
Southern Europe	12	22	23	20	14	9	100
Baltic	2	4	11	21	27	36	100
Eastern Europe	12	18	19	19	17	16	100
US/Aus/NZ/Can	18	23	16	13	12	17	100
Central/South America	31	36	19	9	4	2	100
Horn of Africa	45	33	12	5	3	1	100
Sub-Saharan Africa	27	31	20	12	6	3	100
North Africa	24	31	21	14	7	3	100
Arab Mid-East	40	36	15	6	2	1	100
Iran	42	38	12	5	2	1	100
Turkey	25	36	24	11	3	1	100
East Asia	24	27	19	14	9	7	100
South East Asia	37	36	17	6	2	1	100
South Asia	28	34	20	10	5	3	100
Post-Soviet States	14	15	13	14	18	27	100

Source: Swedish register data, authors' own calculations

Table A4: *Woman years in Sweden, by country background and educational level, 1998–2012. Percentage distribution by educational level (time-varying)*

Group	Woman years					Total
	Primary	Secondary	Post-sec <3 years	Post-sec >3 years	Unknown	
Sweden	18	46	16	20	1	100
Finland	21	49	14	15	1	100
Other Nordic	22	49	13	15	1	100
Former Yugoslavia	25	47	13	14	1	100
Poland	28	38	16	17	2	100
Western Europe	16	44	17	22	1	100
Southern Europe	22	45	14	17	2	100
Baltic	7	43	20	29	0	100
Eastern Europe	19	42	16	21	1	100
US/Aus/NZ/Can	24	38	17	19	2	100
Central/South America	40	36	12	10	3	100
Horn of Africa	49	29	10	9	3	100
Sub-Saharan Africa	35	35	13	15	2	100
North Africa	32	38	13	13	3	100
Arab Mid-East	46	33	10	8	3	100
Iran	46	30	13	9	2	100
Turkey	36	43	10	9	2	100
East Asia	28	30	18	23	1	100
South East Asia	44	34	11	10	2	100
South Asia	32	33	16	16	2	100
Post-Soviet States	22	40	18	19	1	100

Source: Swedish register data, authors' own calculations
Note: Educational level refers to the highest educational level according to the Swedish Educational Nomenclature, SUN 2000

Table A5: *Woman years in Sweden, by country background and labor-market status, 1998–2012. Percentage distribution by labour-market status (time-varying)*

Group	Woman years					Total
	Employed	Student	Unemployed	Allowance	Other	
Sweden	70	19	4	1	6	100
Finland	67	19	5	3	7	100
Other Nordic	67	18	5	2	7	100
Former Yugoslavia	59	24	6	3	8	100
Poland	50	34	4	3	9	100
Western Europe	69	18	4	2	8	100
Southern Europe	60	22	5	2	12	100
Baltic	81	8	4	1	6	100
Eastern Europe	64	22	5	2	8	100
US/Aus/NZ/Can	57	28	4	2	10	100
Central/South America	43	41	4	4	9	100
Horn of Africa	29	57	3	3	9	100
Sub-Saharan Africa	45	38	4	3	9	100
North Africa	47	34	4	5	10	100
Arab Mid-East	35	47	5	5	8	100
Iran	32	55	3	3	7	100
Turkey	47	33	7	3	9	100
East Asia	50	38	3	1	8	100
South East Asia	39	47	4	3	7	100
South Asia	42	44	3	2	8	100
Post-Soviet States	63	23	4	2	8	100

Source: Swedish register data, authors' own calculations
Notes: Employed: The data are originally derived from labor-force statistics from administrative sources. Based on a number of conditions, the person is either defined as working or not working. To be counted as employed, the person should have worked at least one hour a week in November in a given year.
Student: The data are originally derived from The Register of Education. To be counted as student the person has to be registered as student in the fall semester of the current year.
Unemployed: If the person is neither counted as a student or as employed and have been registered at the employment office more than 75 days in a calendar year, the person is classified as unemployed. Information on registration at the employment office is derived from the "AMS register" of the Swedish Employment Board.
Allowance: If the person has received income support for more than five months of the current year, the person is included in this category.
Other: Those who do not fit into any of the above-defined groups.

Why does fertility remain high among certain UK-born ethnic minority women?

Hill Kulu and Tina Hannemann

Abstract:
This study investigates fertility among the descendants of immigrants in the UK and examines the causes of high fertility among certain ethnic minority groups. Previous research has shown high total fertility among the UK-born Pakistani and Bangladeshi women, but the reasons for their high fertility have remained far from clear. Some researchers attribute elevated fertility levels among the UK-born ethnic minorities to cultural factors, whereas others argue that high fertility is the consequence of their poor education and labour market prospective. Using data from the Understanding Society study and applying multivariate event history analysis the study shows, first, that relatively high second-, third- and possibly also fourth-birth rates are responsible for the high total fertility among women of Pakistani and Bangladeshi origin; there is little variation in the first-birth rates among the UK-born women. Second, the fertility differences between ethnic minorities and 'native' British women slightly decrease once the socio-economic and cultural characteristics, particularly religiosity, are controlled, but significant differences persist. Third, cultural factors account for some elevated fertility among ethnic minorities in the UK, whereas the role of education and employment seem to be negligible.

Keywords: Fertility, second generation, immigrants, event history analysis, UK

Acknowledgement: The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme (FP7/2007-2013) under grant agreement no. 320116 for the research project FamiliesAndSocieties.

1. Background

European populations are characterised by a growing share of immigrants and ethnic minority populations (Castles & Miller, 2009; Raymer et al., 2011). A large body of literature investigates various aspects of immigrants' lives: their employment and education (Adsera & Chiswick, 2007; Rendall et al., 2010), residential and housing patterns (Musterd, 2005; Arbaci, 2008), health and mortality (Sole-Auro & Crimmins, 2008; Wengler, 2011; Hannemann, 2012), legal status and citizenship (Seifert, 1997; Bauböck, 2003; Howard, 2005). Recently, there has also been a growing interest in family and fertility dynamics among immigrants and ethnic minorities. While the childbearing dynamics of immigrants have received considerable attention (Andersson, 2004; Sobotka, 2008; Tromans et al., 2009; Milewski, 2010; Mussino & Strozza, 2012), the fertility patterns of the descendants of immigrants have been scarcely studied and understood. In the UK, those few studies show that the fertility levels of the descendants of immigrants from high-fertility countries are usually lower than those of their parents, but for some ethnic groups, e.g., Bangladeshi and Pakistani, fertility remains relatively high (Sobotka, 2008; Coleman & Dubuc, 2010). The reasons for high fertility levels among particular ethnic minority women are far from clear. Some researchers attribute high fertility to cultural factors and religion, arguing that large families continue to be a norm (Penn & Lambert, 2002). Others argue that early childbearing and high fertility is the consequence of poor education and labour market prospective among ethnic minorities (Coleman & Dubuc, 2010).

The aim of this study is to investigate the fertility patterns among the descendants of immigrants in the UK and examine the causes of the relatively high fertility among certain ethnic minority groups. This study extends previous research in the following ways. First, fertility measures are disaggregated, and childbearing patterns are analysed by birth order to gain a better understanding of the underlying fertility behaviour of UK-born ethnic minorities in comparison to a UK-born 'native' group. Although studies have provided information on the aggregate fertility levels of ethnic minorities in the UK (e.g., Sobotka, 2008; Coleman & Dubuc, 2010), no study has investigated the fertility dynamics among ethnic minorities by parity, to the best knowledge of the authors. Second, this study uses multivariate analysis to investigate the role of various factors in explaining the fertility patterns among the descendants of immigrants. The causes of high fertility among ethnic Pakistani and Bangladeshi women have been discussed (Coleman & Dubuc, 2010; Hampshire et al., 2012),

but no study has explicitly analysed the role of different factors. Third, this study uses newly available large-scale individual-level longitudinal data, which allow for the calculation of reliable fertility estimates for UK-born ethnic minorities and the examination of the role of various factors in explaining the fertility differences between the descendants of immigrants and the 'native' British population. Finally, although this paper focuses on childbearing among the descendants of immigrants in the UK, it is a first step towards a comparative study to investigate childbearing patterns among ethnic minorities in a number of European countries. The latter can be used to examine how socio-economic, institutional and policy settings shape the family lives of the 'second-generation' in different European societies.

1.1. Research on childbearing patterns among the descendants of immigrants in Europe

Previous research on European countries has shown that the descendants of some immigrants have fertility levels and patterns similar to those of the native population, but there are also ethnic minorities, mostly of non-Western origin, with relatively early childbearing and high fertility levels (Sobotka, 2008). Scott and Stanfors (2011) investigated the childbearing patterns of ethnic minorities in Sweden. Their analysis showed that the descendants of immigrants from high-fertility countries (Turkey, Lebanon and Syria) had significantly higher first-birth levels than native Swedes or the descendants of immigrants from other European countries. The analysis also revealed that in most cases, fertility levels were lower among the 'second generation' than for those who arrived in Sweden as children.

Milewski (2010) arrived at similar results in her study on the fertility of the 'second generation' in Germany. The analysis showed that while there were few differences in fertility behaviour between native Germans and the descendants of migrants from Southern European countries, the descendants of immigrants from Turkey showed distinct fertility patterns: They had their first child much earlier than native Germans, and the propensity to have a child and have three children was much higher than the native population. In a subsequent paper, Milewski (2011) compared the first-birth rates of the descendants of immigrants from Turkey in seven European countries. The women of Turkish descent had relatively high first-birth rates in all seven countries, although there were significant differences across countries: The descendants of Turkish immigrants had somewhat lower first-birth rates in Germany and Switzerland than in France, the Netherlands and Sweden. The author concluded that the study provided evidence for both a socialisation into a 'Turkish subculture' and an adaptation to

mainstream European societies. Garssen and Nicolaas (2008) investigated the childbearing of women of Turkish and Moroccan origin in the Netherlands and concluded that while the immigrants had significantly higher completed fertility than native Dutch women, the descendants of immigrants resembled native Dutch women much more than they resembled their mothers. However, a closer look at the results revealed that the 'second generation' held a clear middle position between immigrants and native Dutch in their fertility behaviour.

Coleman and Dubuc (2010) studied the fertility patterns among UK ethnic minority women using pooled data from two national surveys and aggregate fertility measures. The study showed that the total fertility significantly declined among the UK ethnic minority populations from the 1970s to the early 2000s. Furthermore, in each ethnic group, the total fertility of the UK-born women was lower than that of women born in the country of origin. However, while fertility levels were low among women of Indian and Black Caribbean descent, fertility was relatively high among women of Pakistani and Bangladeshi origin despite a continued fertility decline. The recent studies on various European countries thus show that the fertility levels for the descendants of immigrants from high-fertility countries are usually lower than those of their parents, but for some non-Western groups, fertility levels remain relatively high in comparison to the 'native' population. However, the reasons for their high fertility are less clear, although most studies attribute it to the incomplete cultural assimilation of the second generation.

1.2. Explanations of high fertility among certain UK-born ethnic groups

There are four possible explanations for the continued high fertility among certain ethnic groups in the UK. First, cultural factors may be responsible. Pakistani and Bangladeshi immigrants, for example, arrived in Britain from high-fertility countries. Although they experienced a fertility decline after moving to the UK, their fertility levels nonetheless remained higher than those of 'native' British and other population subgroups (Coleman & Dubuc, 2010). Several factors may support desire among ethnic minorities for large families: They come from large families, they grew up in the 'high-fertility' culture, and extended family has played an important role in their lives (cf. Penn & Lambert, 2002; Robson & Berthoud, 2007). The latter may also have a direct effect on the childbearing decisions of ethnic Pakistani and Bangladeshi women: The members of the extended family (particularly the mother-in-law) often influence the fertility decisions of young women; they encourage

them to become pregnant soon after marriage and to have many children (Hampshire et al., 2012). The culturally driven strong preference for sons may also promote high fertility. Hampshire et al. (2012) found, for example, that many Pakistani couples continue childbearing until they have at least one son, with two sons being the desired fertility outcome. The cultural and normative factors may thus explain not only a desire for large families among high-fertility ethnic minority populations in the UK, but various socio-cultural practises also ensure that the actual fertility remains high among these populations.

Second, it is possible that the early childbearing and high fertility among UK-born ethnic minority women are the consequence of their poor education and labour market prospective. Research shows that the majority of ethnic Pakistani and Bangladeshi women have poor or no educational qualifications, and their labour market participation rates are low compared to 'native' British and other ethnic minority women (Dustmann & Fabbri, 2005; Dale et al., 2006; Salway, 2007). Poor human capital may explain the low activity rates, but hidden discrimination in the labour market is also considered an important factor (e.g. Brown, 2000). The number of women pursuing higher education has increased among the younger cohorts, but many of them still remain inactive or become unemployed after attempts to establish themselves in the labour market (Dale, 2002). Consequently, young ethnic minority women may decide to choose the 'motherhood track' to find meaning for their lives and justify their lives to others. Studies show that women of Pakistani and Bangladeshi ethnic origin commonly equate 'housewife' with high status (Salway, 2007). This may be not surprising at first glance; this view is consistent with the dominance of traditional gender roles in the South Asian communities (Hennink et al., 1999). However, it is surprising given the high aspirations of younger generations in terms of educational qualifications and occupational status (Dale et al., 2002). The poor employment options may thus simply explain the high status attached to housewives by British Pakistani and Bangladeshi women.

Third, research shows that the residential segregation of ethnic minority populations, particularly Pakistani and Bangladeshi, is high by European standards (Musterd, 2005), although the debate on the role of 'choice' versus 'constraint' in the residential segregation of the UK's ethnic minorities continues (see Peach, 1998; 2009; Finney & Simpson, 2009; Raymer & Giulietti, 2009). The high residential segregation of ethnic populations may promote high fertility both indirectly and directly. The daily interaction of people with the same ethnic origin outside the home helps to sustain a cultural and normative environment,

which may be responsible for high fertility. Alternatively, it can be argued that high ethnic residential segregation may hinder young ethnic minority women's achievement of educational and occupational aspirations. While the UK educational system is equalitarian in general (non-selective comprehensive schools dominate), the schools in ethnic minority areas are often poor and leave most students little chance to pursue further studies. The high spatial concentration of ethnic minority populations may also have a direct effect on fertility levels. Areas with young families and many children tend to have relatively high fertility even after controlling for compositional factors and selective residential moves. This is attributed to the tendency of couples to copy the childbearing behaviour of their peers and friends or relatives (Kulu & Boyle, 2009).

Finally, the share of intra-group marriages is high among ethnic Pakistani and Bangladeshi populations in Britain (Voas, 2009). The prevalence of ethnically homogamous marriages, which may be explained by the factors discussed above, may sustain high fertility. The high fertility may be further supported by the fact that some spouses of UK-born ethnic minority women come from the same origin countries as their parents, where fertility has recently declined but remains high (Dale & Ahmed, 2011). It is therefore critical to also consider the origin of spouses in the investigation of the causes of high fertility among certain UK-born ethnic minority women.

2. Data

2.1. Understanding Society

This study uses data from the Understanding Society study (UoS), a large longitudinal study in the UK that was launched in 2009. The main immigrant and ethnic minority groups in Britain were over-sampled in the study, thus providing a sufficient sample size to study ethnic differences in attitudes and behaviour. Retrospective fertility, partnership and employment histories were collected at the first wave (conducted between January 2009 and January 2010). The dataset also contains information on ethnicity and birthplace of respondents and their household members. In the first wave, data were gathered on 50,994 individuals, including 27,792 women. Full interviews were conducted with 47,732 individuals, whereas the remaining interviews were proxy interviews for non-present household members. For the current study, only full interviews are used; 309 cases are excluded from the analysis because essential information is missing for those individuals. Further, 234 individuals are removed

from the sample because some information vital to the analysis showed inaccurate values, indicating recording/reporting mistakes. The analysis is limited to the birth cohorts born between 1940 and 1994; therefore, 5,690 individuals who were born before 1940 are disregarded from the original sample. The final sample consists of 41,499 individuals; the analysis is conducted only among the 23,263 women.

The research population is divided into British 'natives', immigrants (the 'first generation') and descendants of immigrants (the 'second generation'). Immigrants are also included in the analysis to provide another (natural) comparison group (in addition to 'natives') for the descendants of immigrants. 'Natives' are defined as individuals who were born and whose two parents were born in the UK; they form 70% of the (unweighted) sample. Individuals who were born outside of the UK, independent of the origin of their parents, were classified as immigrants. If a person was born in the UK but at least one of the parents was born outside of the UK, the individual is classified as a descendant of immigrant(s). If a descendant of immigrants has parents of different foreign origins, priority is given to the father's country of birth. Due to the small sample sizes, the following aggregated regions of origin are used in the analysis: 1) Europe and other Western/industrialised countries, 2) India, 3) Pakistan, 4) Bangladesh, 5) Caribbean countries, and 6) all other origins. The last group contains individuals from many different countries and continents, including Africa, the Far and Middle East, China and Latin America. Although this group is large in comparison to the other sub-groups, no specific origin has a sufficient size to be analysed separately. The descendants of immigrants are grouped using similar principles, with two exceptions. First, the descendants of immigrants from Bangladesh and Pakistan had to be combined into one group due to the small numbers in both groups of origin. Second, there is an extra group ('Missing') for cases where the specific origin is unknown but the individual is clearly defined as a descendant of immigrants. Table 1 presents the distribution of the female population by the migrant status for the entire sample as well for the subsample where information on employment is available. The share of migrant groups does not differ substantially between the samples, which supports the plan to also analyse this subsample.

(Table 1 about here)

There are two issues regarding the data from the Understanding Society study. Although information was collected on partnership histories, birthplace and ethnicity information is

available only for the partner at the time of interview. Because divorce is still a rare event among ethnic Pakistani and Bangladeshi populations, the current partner is usually also the first partner for the two ethnic groups (Hannemann and Kulu, 2014). However, a preliminary analysis showed that there were very few (if any) individuals in exogamous marriages in the sample of the South Asian population; therefore, we had to exclude this variable from the main analysis due to the lack of heterogeneity. Another issue concerns the woman's place of residence, which is available only at the (first) wave of the survey. Fortunately, however, information is also available on the number of residential changes since a woman turned 14 years old, i.e., the distance between her current residence and the place where she lived at age 14 and the date her arrival at the current address. These data will provide us valuable information to develop realistic assumptions about the places of residence of women when their children were born[10].

2.2. Accuracy of UoS-based fertility measures

To achieve confirmation about the data quality, first, this study conducts a comparison of fertility estimates based on the UoS data and data from the Office of National Statistics (ONS, 2012a; 2012b). Data on women born between 1930 and 1989 are used; weights were applied to take into account the oversampling of ethnic minorities and individuals from Northern Ireland. Table 2 presents a comparison of the percentage of women who entered motherhood at different ages by birth cohort. For women born between 1930 and 1959, the estimated percentage of mothers at age 45 is very similar across the two datasets; the ONS figures lie mostly within the 95% confidence intervals of the values based on the UoS data. For the 1960-69 cohorts, one can observe somewhat higher share of mothers for the UoS data. A similar pattern also seems to prevail for the two youngest cohorts, those born in the 1970s and 1980s and later.

(Table 2 about here)

We also calculated the mean number of children at different ages by birth cohort (Table 3). Again, one can see a consistency between the estimates based on the UoS data and those from the ONS data for cohorts born in the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s and a somewhat higher average number of children for the 1960s cohort in the UoS data. The estimates for the 1970s cohort are quite similar across the datasets. Both UoS and ONS data show that the average number of

[10] Information on an individual's place of residence was not available for this report.

children born to a woman has declined across cohorts, although fertility is still relatively high for the women born in the 1960s, the youngest cohort that has passed through their reproductive ages. The comparisons of fertility estimates based on UoS data and those from the ONS data thus show a good consistency for most cohorts, although the UoS data may slightly overestimate the fertility levels of younger cohorts, particularly first-birth rates. One should be aware of that when interpreting the results.

(Table 3 about here)

2.3. Methodology

This study examines the fertility of UK-born ethnic minority women born between 1940 and 1994. The analysis goes beyond conventional aggregate fertility measures (the total fertility rate and age-specific fertility rates) dominant in the literature on the fertility of ethnic minorities and conducts an analysis of fertility by parity, applying event history analysis. By examining childbearing patterns by birth order, fertility measures are disaggregated, which is necessary to detect the underlying fertility behaviour of ethnic minority women. Event history analysis allows to take a step further and calculate parity-specific fertility rates with and without controlling for the characteristics of the women. The model uses the time in months to conception (generated from recorded live births) to measure the effect of covariates on childbearing decisions as precisely as possible. The basic model can be formalised as follows:

$$\ln \mu_i(t) = \ln \mu_0(t) + \sum_j \alpha_j x_{ij} + \sum_l \beta_l w_{il}(t), \qquad (1)$$

where $\mu_i(t)$ denotes the hazard of the first, second, third or fourth conception (leading to a live birth) for individual i, and $\ln\mu_0(t)$ denotes the baseline log-hazard, which is specified as a piecewise constant hazard; the baseline for first birth is a woman's age in months by five-year age categories (women are considered at risk since age 15); for the second, third and fourth births, baseline is measured as time in months since the previous birth. x_{ij} represents the values of a time-constant variable, and $w_{il}(t)$ represents a time-varying variable.

The analytical strategy of this study is as follows. First, the period total fertility rate (TFR) by migrant status is presented to provide an overview of the fertility behaviour of ethnic minorities and natives in the UK. Thereafter, first-, second-, third- and fourth-birth rates are

calculated by *migrant status* controlling for *age of woman* (first birth), *time since previous birth* (higher order births) and *birth cohort*. The following models then control for women's socio-economic characteristics to explore the extent to which they explain fertility differences by migrant status. The models include individual *education level* (tertiary degree, other higher education, A-level, GSCE and no or lower qualifications); *English language skills* (speaks English as the first language, speaks English without problems, speaks English with problems) and the *importance of religion* in their lives (religion makes no difference, little difference, some difference and a great difference). The values of all three variables were measured at the first wave of the survey. However, for education level, the age of the completion of various levels were imputed following the general logic of the British educational system (e.g., GCSE at age 16; A-level at age 18; tertiary degree at age 21).

The woman's *age at first birth* (for the second, third and fourth birth models) and *partnership status* (for first birth: single, cohabiting, married and separated; and for higher order births: in union, out of union) are also included in the analysis. However, partnership status is included only once the effects of all other variables are controlled for; changes in the partnership status are strongly related to the decision of having a child, particularly a first child; the role of partnership status as an 'explanatory' variable should thus be treated with caution, particularly for the analysis of first birth. *Employment status* (full-time employed, part-time employed (including self-employed), unemployed, in education (including the time spent before the first employment is reported) and other) was measured for only one-fourth of the UoS sample. Therefore, employment status is included in the final model fitted on a subsample of the UoS study. All models use unweighted data in the analysis because migrant status, the main weighting variable, is included in the analysis. However, models that use weights are also fitted for sensitivity analysis; the comparison of the results is provided in Appendix 1 (Table 11).

Tables 4 and 5 provide the distribution of risk time and the number of births by various categories of covariates. The displayed information confirms that the number of births is sufficient to study the transition to first, second, third and fourth birth by migrant status.

(Table 4 about here)

(Table 5 about here)

3. Results

3.1. Total Fertility by migrant status

As first step of analysis, the TFR is calculated by migrant status for the period of 1989 to 2008 (cohorts born between 1940 and 1993 formed the risk population.) The estimated TFR for the UK in this period, based on the (weighted) UoS data, was 1.90, although it varied by period, being the lowest in the late 1990s (1.8) and highest in 2005 to 2008 (2.0). The analysis of UoS data by migrant status (unweighted) shows that migrants had higher fertility than 'natives'; the highest levels were observed for immigrants from Pakistan and Bangladesh (3.7); fertility levels were also relatively high among Indian (2.6) and Caribbean immigrants (2.6) (Figure 1). The descendants of immigrants had lower total fertility than immigrants, as expected. However, the fertility levels varied significantly across ethnic groups. While most groups had a total fertility level below or around the replacement level, women of Pakistani and Bangladeshi descent exhibited high fertility levels (2.8 and 2.7). The analysis of the total fertility by migrant status thus largely supports what previous studies on ethnic minority fertility in the UK have shown (Coleman & Dubuc, 2010). This study provides (period) fertility estimates explicitly for immigrants and their descendants (the 'second-generation').

(Figure 1 about here)

Next, the contribution of transitions to first, second, third and fourth birth to fertility variation is calculated by migrant status and it is investigated the extent to which the socio-economic characteristics of women explain the high fertility observed among certain ethnic minority women in the UK.

3.2. Parity-specific fertility

3.2.1. First birth

In the first step, the model only controls for age (baseline) and cohort next to the variable of interest: migrant status. One can see that immigrants from Europe and 'Other' countries have a low risk for first birth, whereas those from Pakistan and particularly from Bangladesh have significantly higher first-birth rates, supporting the early and universal childbearing among these groups (Table 6, Model 1). First-birth risks are also higher among immigrants from the Caribbean region. Fertility variations among the descendants of immigrants are smaller. The estimated first-birth risks are higher for women of Pakistani and Bangladeshi descent, but the

differences to the levels of natives are not statistically significant. The descendants of immigrants from other European countries, from India and from 'Other' countries have lower first-birth rates than 'natives' and other groups. Models 2 and 3 also control for education level, English languages skills and religiosity. The fertility differences between immigrants and natives slightly decline, but immigrants from Pakistan, Bangladesh and the Caribbean region still exhibit higher first-birth risks. Similarly, differences to 'natives' slightly decline for the descendants of immigrants, although women of (continental) European origin still have lower first-birth levels.

(Table 6 about here)

Finally, Model 4 additionally controls for partnership status. The differences between most groups of immigrants and their descendants disappear, suggesting that first-birth rates vary across groups because of different partnership patterns; some ethnic groups are more likely to marry (earlier) than other groups. Although the results from the model of partnership status are interesting, they do little to improve our understanding of the factors behind the differences in first-birth levels because the event of marriage and the birth of a first child are part of the same family formation process. Notably, once we control for partnership status, first-birth rates become elevated among immigrants from the Caribbean region and their descendants. This suggests that for most population subgroups, partnership formation (marriage) and childbearing are indeed closely related events, whereas this may be not the case for women of Caribbean origin in the UK. Given this strong relationship between fertility and marriage behaviour, the following models including employment status do not contain the variable of union status. Employment histories are only available for a subsample of the UoS study; therefore, models are estimated with and without employment status using this subsample. Model 5 (based on the subsample) shows largely similar results to Model 3 (which uses the main sample), although there is some variation in the magnitude of the coefficients for immigrants. Most importantly, however, once employment status is controlled, the variation between population subgroups slightly decreases, but previously observed differences largely persist (Table 6, Model 6).

3.2.2. Second birth

The first model controls for time since first birth and birth cohort. Only women who reported a first birth are at risk. Again, immigrants from Pakistan and Bangladesh exhibit a

significantly higher likelihood of having a second child than the 'native' British women; notably, however, whereas Caribbean immigrants have high first-birth rates, their second-birth levels are relatively low (Table 7, Model 1). The propensity to have a second child also varies among the descendants of immigrants. Women of Pakistani and Bangladeshi ethnic origin have a significantly higher risk of second birth than the 'natives', whereas the descendants of immigrants from Europe, the Caribbean region and 'Other' countries have lower fertility levels. Estimated second-birth rates are also higher for women of Indian descent, although the difference between them and the 'natives' is not statistically significant. Next, Models 2 to 4 additionally control for the women's age at first birth, their education level, their English language skills and their religiosity. Again, fertility variation between the population subgroups decreases, but the main differences persist; immigrants from Pakistan and Bangladesh and their descendants have high second-birth levels, whereas those of Caribbean origin exhibit low second-birth rates (Table 7, Model 4). Notably, religiosity explains some initial fertility differences, particularly elevated second-birth levels among South Asians, whereas the role of education is negligible. Similarly, the role of employment status is small (Table 7, Model 7); the inclusion of partnership status in the analysis reduces initial differences in the risk of second birth, indicating some differences by partnership status across population subgroups (Table 7, Model 5).

(Table 7 about here)

3.2.3. Third birth

The patterns for third birth (Table 8) are most notable; they reveal an important source of fertility variation between the descendants of immigrants and the 'native' British women. Apart from immigrants from (other) European countries, all other immigrant groups and their descendants exhibit a significantly higher propensity to have a third child than the 'native' women (Table 8, Model 1). The third-birth rates are particularly high among women of Pakistani and Bangladeshi origin; their levels are more than twice as high as the 'natives'. Third-birth levels are also elevated among the descendants of Indian and Caribbean immigrants, whose first- and second-birth rates are close to or below the levels of the 'native' women. Again, once the models control for the women's socio-demographic characteristics, fertility variations across population subgroups decrease; however, the main differences persist: The descendants of immigrants from South Asian countries, but also from Europe, still have significantly higher third-birth levels than the 'native' women (Table 10, Model 4).

Estimated third-birth levels are also higher among women of Caribbean descent, but the difference between them and the 'natives' is not significant. Notably, although low educational qualifications account for some elevated fertility among immigrants, neither education nor employment explains high fertility among the descendants of immigrants (Table 8, Model 7). Again, religiosity is the main factor that accounts for some elevated fertility among immigrants and their descendants; poor English languages skills also play a role in high immigrant fertility.

(Table 8 about here)

3.2.4. Fourth birth

Finally, fourth-birth rates are also investigated by migrant status. The patterns for fourth birth are similar to those of third birth, with minor differences. Most immigrant groups and their descendants have a significantly higher likelihood of having a fourth child than the 'native' British women; again, fourth-birth rates are particularly high among immigrants from Pakistan and Bangladesh and their descendants, twice as high as among the 'native' women (Table 11, Model 1). Notably, fourth-birth levels are also high among individuals of Caribbean origin, both immigrants and their descendants, whereas the levels among women of Indian origin are relatively low, these does not differ from those of the 'native' British women with three children. Again, once the models control for the socio-demographic characteristics of women, particularly religiosity, the differences across population subgroups decrease but persist (Table 9, Models 2–7). Immigrants from Pakistan and Bangladesh and their descendants have significantly higher risks of fourth birth. Estimated fourth-birth rates are also high among individuals of Caribbean origin, but the sample size is too small to draw final conclusions.

(Table 9 about here)

4. Summary and discussion

This study investigated the fertility patterns among the descendants of immigrants in the UK in comparison to immigrants and 'native' British women and examined the causes of fertility variation across population subgroups. Using data from the UoS study, total fertility was calculated for various immigrant and ethnic minority groups, and then, fertility variation was

investigated by birth order using event history models with and without controlling for the socio-demographic characteristics of the analysed women. This is the first study in the UK to analyse fertility dynamics among ethnic minorities by parity and to investigate in a multivariate setting the role of various factors in explaining the fertility patterns among the descendants of immigrants.

The analysis of the total fertility showed that immigrants had higher fertility than 'native' British women, and the highest levels were observed for immigrants from Pakistan and Bangladesh. The descendants of immigrants had lower total fertility levels than immigrants; for most groups, the total fertility was below or around the replacement level. However, women of Pakistani and Bangladeshi descent exhibited high fertility levels. The analysis of fertility by parity showed, first, that there was little variation in the first-birth rates among the UK-born women. The first-birth levels of the descendants of immigrants of Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Caribbean origin were not different from those of the 'native' women, whereas the levels were lower for women of Indian and other European descent, suggesting a lower likelihood of becoming a mother among these groups. The differences between groups persisted once the models controlled for the socio-demographic characteristics of analysed women. Second, the descendants of immigrants from Pakistan and Bangladesh exhibited a significantly higher risk of a second birth, whereas the risk levels were low among women of European and particularly Caribbean origin. Again, the differences between the population subgroups largely persisted once individual characteristics were included in the model. Third, all UK-born ethnic minority groups exhibited a higher likelihood than 'native' British women and most other groups to have a third child and a fourth child; the third- and fourth-birth rates were particularly high among women of Pakistani and Bangladeshi descent. Once the socio-demographic characteristics were taken into account, particularly the importance of religion, differences between the 'natives' and the descendants of immigrants decreased but persisted.

The parity-specific analysis thus showed that high second-, third- and fourth-birth rates were responsible for a high total fertility observed among women of Pakistani and Bangladeshi origin; notably, their first-birth levels were not that different from those of the 'native' women, suggesting relatively similar timing and levels of family formation in comparison to the 'native' British women. Women of Indian and European descent had a low risk of first birth and relatively high third-birth rates, suggesting a polarisation among these groups in terms of fertility behaviour; some women remained childless, whereas others had two or three

children. The descendants of immigrants from the Caribbean region experienced first-birth rates similar to those of the 'natives'; they had low second-, but high third- and fourth-birth levels, again suggesting a polarisation among this group: Some women had one child, and some had three or four children.

Why do descendants of immigrants of Pakistani and Bangladeshi descent have high second- and higher order birth rates? It was expected that education and employment would explain at least some of the high fertility among women of Pakistani and Bangladeshi origin. However, this was not the case. Although education and employment accounted for some high fertility among immigrants from Pakistan and Bangladesh, they played little (if any) role in high second-, third-, and fourth-birth levels among the descendants of immigrants. One reason might be that the measures available for this study were too crude. Education level was measured at the survey, and the values of education were imputed to include it in the analysis as a time-varying variable. However, the inclusion of education in the models, measured either at the survey or with imputed values, did not change the results much. Additionally, the fact that employment status was available only for a subsample should not challenge the results of the study. The effect of employment status on fertility was consistent with that observed in other studies (e.g., Kulu & Washbrook, 2014).

Does this finding suggest that cultural factors explain the high fertility among women of Pakistani and Bangladeshi descent in the UK? The level of religiosity was the only factor related to high second- and particularly third- and fourth-birth rates among South Asian women. This was not surprising; many studies in Europe have shown the importance of religion in the decision of having a third child (Philipov & Berghammer, 2007). However, the level of religiosity was measured at the time of the survey rather than at age 15; therefore, the effect of family events and careers on an individual's level of religiosity measured at the survey is unclear. Previous studies have suggested that there may be some influence, although most research assumes that the causality runs from religiosity to family behaviour rather than the opposite. Most important, however, is the fact that once the model included religiosity, the differences in the second-, third- and fourth-birth rates decreased between women of Pakistani and Bangladeshi origin and the 'native' women, but they persisted. Because the various models also controlled for education and employment, it can be assumed that the 'residual effect' is likely related to cultural and normative factors, which are difficult to capture with measures available in standard surveys.

The study has shortcomings that offer opportunities for future research. This study could not investigate the role intra-group marriages play in the high fertility among the descendants of Pakistani and Bangladeshi immigrants. The main reason was the lack of heterogeneity. Most marriages for which the information on the partner was available in the sample were endogamous; there were very few exogamous marriages. This study could also not investigate the effect of residential segregation on the fertility behaviour of UK-born Pakistani and Bangladeshi women because the data were not available. However, it can be assumed that the possible 'place effect' would simply be a proxy for various individual characteristics already included in the analysis (e.g., education, employment, and religiosity). Future research could also examine how much a potential preference for sons might explain the elevated higher order fertility among women of Pakistani and Bangladeshi origin. Similarly, the research should explicitly examine the role of values; with the panel design of the UoS study, this should soon be possible.

This study supported the findings of high fertility among UK-born Pakistani and Bangladeshi women. It showed that relatively high second-, third- and fourth-birth rates were responsible for the high total fertility among women of Pakistani and Bangladeshi origin. The fertility differences between them and 'native' British women slightly decreased once the model controlled for the socio-demographic and cultural characteristics of women, particularly their religiosity, but they persisted in the final model.

References

Adsera, A., & Chiswick, B. R. (2007). Are there gender and country of origin differences in immigrant labor market outcomes across European destinations? *Journal of Population Economics, 20*(3), 495-526.

Andersson, G. (2004). Childbearing after migration: Fertility patterns of foreign-born women in Sweden. *International Migration Review, 38*(2), 747-774.

Arbaci, S. (2008). (Re)viewing ethnic residential segregation in Southern European cities: Housing and urban regimes as mechanisms of marginalisation. *Housing Studies, 23*(4), 589-613.

Bauböck, R. (2003). Towards a political theory of migrant transnationalism. *International Migration Review, 37*(3), 700-723.

Brien, M. J., Lillard, L. A., & Waite, L. J. (1999). Interrelated family-building behaviors: Cohabitation, marriage, and nonmarital conception. *Demography, 36*(4), 535-551.

Brown, M. S. (2000). Religion and economic activity in the South Asian population. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 23*(6), 1035-1061.

Castles, S., & Miller, M. J. (2009). *The age of migration: International population movements in the modern world* (Vol. Fourth Edition). New York: Guilford Press.

Coleman, D. A., & Dubuc, S. (2010). The fertility of ethnic minorities in the UK, 1960s-2006. *Population Studies, 64*(1), 19-41.

Dale, A. (2002). Social exclusion of Pakistani and Bangladeshi women. *Sociological Research Online, 7*(3).

Dale, A., & Ahmed, S. (2011). Marriage and employment patterns amongst UK-raised Indian, Pakistani, and Bangladeshi women. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 34*(6), 902-924.

Dale, A., Lindley, J., & Dex, S. (2006). A Life-Course perspective on ethnic differences in women's economic activity in Britain. *European Sociological Review, 22*(4), 459-476.

Dale, A., Shaheen, N., Kalra, V., & Fieldhouse, E. (2002). Routes into education and employment for young Pakistani and Bangladeshi women in the UK. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 25*(6), 942-968.

Dustmann, C., & Fabbri, F. (2005). Immigrants in the British labour market. *Fiscal Studies, 26*(4), 423-470.

Finney, N., & Simpson, L. (2009). *Sleepwalking to segregation?* Bristol: The Policy Press.

Garssen, J., & Nicolaas, H. (2008). Fertility of Turkish and Moroccan women in the Netherlands: Adjustment to native level within one generation. *Demographic Research, 19*(33), 1249-1280.

Hampshire, K., Blell, M., & Simpson, B. (2012). Navigating new socio-demographic landscapes: Using anthropological demography to understand the 'Persistence' of high and early fertility among British Pakistanis. *European Journal of Population, 28*(1), 39-63.

Hannemann, T. (2012). *It breaks a man's heart: Socioeconomic differences in the onset of cardiovascular disease in contemporary Sweden.* Lund University, Lund Studies in Economic History 58.

Hennink, M., Diamond, I., & Cooper, P. (1999). Young Asian women and relationships: traditional or transitional? *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 22*(5), 867-891.

Howard, M. M. (2005). Variation in dual citizenship policies in the countries of the EU. *International Migration Review, 39*(3), 697-720.

Kulu, H. (2005). Migration and fertility: Competing hypotheses re-examined. *European Journal of Population, 21*(1), 51-87.

Kulu, H., & Boyle, P. J. (2009). High fertility in city suburbs: Compositional or contextual effects? *European Journal of Population, 25*(2), 157-174.

Kulu, H., & Washbrook, E. (2014). Residential context, migration and fertility in a modern urban society. *Advances in Life Course Research, 21*, 168-182.

Milewski, N. (2010). Immigrant fertility in West Germany: Is there a socialization effect in transitions to second and third births? *European Journal of Population, 26*(3), 297-323.

Milewski, N. (2011). Transition to a first birth among Turkish second-generation migrants in Western Europe. *Advances in Life Course Research, 16*(4), 178-189.

Mussino, E., & Strozza, S. (2012). The fertility of immigrants after arrival: The Italian case. *Demographic Research, 26*(4), 97-130.

Musterd, S. (2005). Social and ethnic segregation in Europe: Levels, causes and effects. *Journal of Urban Affairs, 27*(3), 331-348.

ONS. (2012a). Cumulative fertility: Average number of live-born children1, age and year of birth of woman, 1920-1997. Office for National Statistics

ONS. (2012b). Cumulative fertility: Proportion of women who have had at least one live birth1, age and year of birth of woman, 1920-1997. Office for National Statistics

Peach, C. (1998). South Asian and Caribbean ethnic minority housing choice in Britain. *Urban Studies, 35*(10), 1657-1680.

Peach, C. (2009). Slippery segregation: Discovering or manufacturing ghettos? *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 35*(9), 1381-1395.

Penn, R., & Lambert, P. (2002). Attitudes towards ideal family size of different ethnic/nationality groups in Great Britain, France and Germany. *Population Trends* (108), 49-58.

Philipov, D., & Berghammer, C. (2007). Religion and fertility ideals, intentions and behaviour: a comparative study of European countries. *Vienna Yearbook of Population Research, 5*, 271-305.

Raymer, J., de Beer, J., & van der Erf, R. (2011). Putting the pieces of the puzzle together: Age and sex-specific estimates of migration amongst countries in the EU/EFTA, 2002-2007. *European Journal of Population, 27*(2), 185-215.

Raymer, J., & Giulietti, C. (2009). Ethnic migration between area groups in England and Wales. *Area, 41*(4), 435-451.

Rendall, M. S., Tsang, F., Rubin, J. K., Rabinovich, L., & Janta, B. (2010). Contrasting trajectories of labor-market integration between migrant women in Western and Southern Europe. *European Journal of Population, 26*(4), 383-410.

Robson, K., & Berthoud, R. (2006). Age at first birth and disadvantage among ethnic groups in Britain. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 29*(1), 153-172.

Salway, S. M. (2007). Economic activity among UK Bangladeshi and Pakistani women in the 1990s: Evidence for continuity or change in the family resources survey. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 33*(5), 825-847.

Scott, K., & Stanfors, M. (2011). The transition to parenthood among the second generation: Evidence from Sweden, 1990-2005. *Advances in Life Course Research, 16*(4), 190-204.

Seifert, W. (1997). Admission policy, patterns of migration and integration: The German and French case compared. *New Community, 23*(4), 441-460.

Sobotka, T. (2008). The rising importance of migrants for childbearing in Europe. *Demographic Research, S7*(9), 225-248.

Sole-Auro, A., & Crimmins, E. M. (2008). Health of immigrants in European countries. *International Migration Review, 42*(4), 861-876.

Steele, F., Kallis, C., Goldstein, H., & Joshi, H. (2005). The relationship between childbearing and transitions from marriage and cohabitation in Britain. *Demography, 42*(4), 647-673.

Tromans, N., Natamba, E., & Jefferie, J. (2009). Have women born outside the U.K. driven the rise in U.K. births since 2001? *Population Trends*(136), 28-42.

Voas, D. (2009). The maintenance and transformation of ethnicity: Evidence on mixed partnerships in Britain. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 35*(9), 1497-1513.

Wengler, A. (2011). The health status of first- and second-generation Turkish immigrants in Germany. *International Journal of Public Health, 56*(5), 493-501.

Tables and Figures

Table 1: *Distribution of women by migrant status, UoS-data*

Migrant group	Complete sample		Employment subsample	
	N women	**%**	**N women**	**%**
Natives	15,914	68.4	3,749	71.9
Immigrants				
Europe and Western countries	737	3.2	201	3.9
India	455	2.0	85	1.6
Pakistan	409	1.8	58	1.1
Bangladesh	347	1.5	40	0.8
Caribbean countries	166	0.7	31	0.6
Other countries	2,306	9.9	445	8.5
Descendants of Immigrants				
Europe and Western countries	807	3.5	212	4.1
India	346	1.5	65	1.2
Pakistan	314	1.3	52	1.0
Bangladesh	178	0.8	14	0.3
Caribbean countries	290	1.2	65	1.2
Other countries	825	3.5	163	3.1
Missing information	169	0.7	33	0.6
Total	23,263	100.0	5,213	100.0

Source: Authors' own calculations based on the UoS data.

Table 2: *Percentage of women who entered motherhood by age and birth cohort, comparison between ONS and UoS data (UoS data weighted)*

	ONS	UoS	95 % CI		ONS	UoS	95 % CI		ONS	UoS	95 % CI	
Age	%	%	lower	upper	%	%	lower	upper	%	%	lower	upper
		1930-1939				1940-1949				1950-1959		
20	9.8	12.3	11.0	13.8	16.2	17.9	16.7	19.3	17.0	18.0	16.8	19.2
25	53.3	52.7	50.6	54.9	58.0	57.8	56.1	59.4	46.4	47.1	45.5	48.6
30	78.6	77.4	75.6	79.2	80.4	80.0	78.7	81.4	69.9	70.5	69.1	71.9
35	85.7	83.4	81.8	84.9	86.9	86.0	84.8	87.1	79.8	81.4	80.1	82.5
40	87.4	85.0	83.5	86.5	88.4	87.8	86.6	88.8	83.1	84.5	83.3	85.6
45	87.7	85.6	84.1	87.1	88.9	88.2	87.1	89.2	83.9	85.0	83.9	86.1
		1960-1969				1970-1979				1980-1989		
20	12.0	15.7	14.7	16.7	12.5	15.3	14.4	16.4	11.8	16.6	15.5	17.7
25	36.0	40.3	39.0	41.7	32.5	38.1	36.7	39.4	-	-		
30	59.3	64.9	63.6	66.2	53.8	62.1	60.7	63.4	-	-		
35	73.4	79.3	78.2	80.4	-	-			-	-		
40	79.1	84.6	83.6	85.5	-	-			-	-		
45	-	-			-	-			-	-		

Source: Authors' own calculations based on the UoS data and ONS (2012b)

Table 3: *Average number of children by age and birth cohort, comparison between ONS and UoS data*

	ONS	UoS	95 % CI		ONS	UoS	95 % CI		ONS	UoS	95 % CI	
Age	data	data	lower	upper	data	data	lower	upper	data	data	lower	upper
		1930-1939				1940-1949				1950-1959		
20	0.12	0.11	0.10	0.13	0.20	0.18	0.16	0.20	0.21	0.18	0.16	0.19
25	0.86	0.79	0.74	0.83	1.04	0.94	0.90	0.98	0.80	0.72	0.68	0.75
30	1.72	1.65	1.59	1.71	1.76	1.69	1.64	1.73	1.43	1.36	1.32	1.39
35	2.19	2.12	2.06	2.19	2.08	2.05	2.01	2.10	1.83	1.86	1.82	1.90
40	2.35	2.24	2.17	2.30	2.18	2.15	2.11	2.20	1.99	2.01	1.96	2.05
45	2.38	2.27	2.21	2.34	2.21	2.18	2.14	2.23	2.02	2.05	2.01	2.09
		1960-1969				1970-1979				1980-1989		
20	0.14	0.15	0.13	0.16	0.15	0.15	0.14	0.16	0.14	0.15	0.14	0.16
25	0.61	0.60	0.57	0.63	0.53	0.53	0.51	0.56	0.51	0.42	0.40	0.44
30	1.20	1.21	1.18	1.25	1.01	1.05	1.01	1.08	-	-		
35	1.65	1.76	1.72	1.80	1.53	1.50	1.46	1.54	-	-		
40	1.87	1.95	1.91	1.99	-	-			-	-		
45	1.93	2.00	1.96	2.04	-	-			-	-		

Source: Authors' own calculations based on the UoS data and ONS (2012a)

Table 4: *Person-months and number of events by covariate categories among women, UoS data*

Variable	First births				Second births			
	Person-months	Percent	Events	Percent	Person-months	Percent	Events	Percent
Age								
15-19 years	1255374	41.9	4009	24.4				
20-24 years	836952	27.9	5725	34.8				
25-29 years	461455	15.4	4258	25.9				
30-34 years	225788	7.5	1895	11.5				
35+ years	218979	7.3	567	3.4				
Duration since first birth								
0 -1 year					176603	22.0	2720	21.9
1 -3 years					217424	27.1	6210	50.1
3 -5 years					112931	14.1	2026	16.3
5 - 10 years					153886	19.2	1192	9.6
10+ years					142243	17.7	250	2.0
Birth cohort								
1940 - 1949	450056	15.0	2988	18.2	153876	19.2	2559	20.6
1950 - 1959	599030	20.0	3373	20.5	187781	23.4	2831	22.8
1960 - 1969	810998	27.0	4376	26.6	250554	31.2	3468	28.0
1970 - 1979	709327	23.7	3842	23.3	160946	20.0	2711	21.9
1980+	429137	14.3	1875	11.4	49930	6.2	829	6.7
Migrant group								
Natives	2048720	68.3	11559	70.3	569648	70.9	8845	71.3
Immigrants								
Europe and Western countries	111017	3.7	445	2.7	20435	2.5	312	2.5
India	59244	2.0	339	2.1	14298	1.8	258	2.1
Pakistan	44147	1.5	353	2.1	21183	2.6	553	4.5
Bangladesh	29338	1.0	310	1.9	11305	1.4	256	2.1
Caribbean countries	19584	0.7	139	0.8	10091	1.3	101	0.8
Other countries	320096	10.7	1560	9.5	77952	9.7	1076	8.7
Descendants of Immigrants								
Europe and Western countries	117275	3.9	577	3.5	31297	3.9	422	3.4
India	45125	1.5	208	1.3	8131	1.0	163	1.3
Pakistan and Bangladesh	40258	1.3	212	1.3	4913	0.6	157	1.3
Caribbean countries	38574	1.3	207	1.3	15563	1.9	131	1.1
Other countries	106757	3.6	431	2.6	23082	2.9	299	2.4
Missing information	18413	0.6	114	0.7	6494	0.8	81	0.7
Age at first birth								
15 - 19 years					155426	19.4	2521	20.3
20 - 24 years					283698	35.3	4735	38.2
25 - 29 years					223445	27.8	3470	28.0
30+ years					140518	17.5	1672	13.5
Education level								
Tertiary degree	531034	17.7	2713	16.5	125668	15.6	2001	16.1
Other higher degree	407451	13.6	2158	13.1	111896	13.9	1727	13.9
A-level	424352	14.2	2496	15.2	127292	15.9	1869	15.1
GSCE	1063397	35.5	6090	37.0	293675	36.6	4424	35.7
No or lower qualifications	572314	19.1	2997	18.2	144556	18.0	2377	19.2
English skills								
English is first language	2578735	86.0	14081	85.6	702978	87.5	10666	86.0
Speaks without problems	343220	11.4	1808	11.0	77196	9.6	1293	10.4
Speaks with problems	76593	2.6	565	3.4	22913	2.9	439	3.5
Religion makes a difference in life								
No difference	1089636	36.3	6131	37.3	310427	38.7	4468	36.0
Little difference	546958	18.2	2913	17.7	146131	18.2	2170	17.5
Some difference	683117	22.8	3551	21.6	174218	21.7	2685	21.7
Great difference	678837	22.6	3859	23.5	172311	21.5	3075	24.8
Union status								
Single	2071740	69.1	4387	26.7				
Cohabiting	294079	9.8	2533	15.4				
Married	478516	16.0	9067	55.1				
Separated	154213	5.1	467	2.8				
In union					582094	72.5	11061	89.2
Out of union					220993	27.5	1337	10.8
Total	**2998548**	**100.0**	**16454**	**100.0**	**803087**	**100.0**	**12398**	**100.0**
Employment status (subsample)								
Full-time employed	403556	56.6	2705	69.1	70271	37.6	764	25.8
Part-time employed	31652	4.4	250	6.4	37222	19.9	576	19.5
Unemployed	12175	1.7	107	2.7	4835	2.6	48	1.6
In eductaion	234968	32.9	344	8.8	7636	4.1	85	2.9
Other	31270	4.4	507	13.0	67018	35.8	1487	50.2
Total	**713621**	**100.0**	**3913**	**100.0**	**186982**	**100.0**	**2960**	**100.0**

Source: Calculations based on data from Understanding Society

Risk time starts at age 15 (1st child) or time of first birth (2nd child) until conception or the individual is censored

Table 5: *Person-months and number of events by covariate categories among women, UoS data*

Variable	Third births				Fourth births			
	Person-months	Percent	Events	Percent	Person-months	Percent	Events	Percent
Duration since second / third birth								
0 -1 year	136734	11.7	1088	21.1	56327	11.8	438	24.1
1 -3 years	220456	18.8	2012	39.0	91548	19.2	724	39.9
3 -5 years	170705	14.6	1051	20.4	73038	15.4	307	16.9
5 - 10 years	317355	27.1	822	15.9	136832	28.8	285	15.7
10+ years	327273	27.9	190	3.7	117847	24.8	60	3.3
Birth cohort								
1940 - 1949	316387	27.0	1159	22.4	145964	30.7	421	23.2
1950 - 1959	349885	29.8	1193	23.1	134711	28.3	436	24.0
1960 - 1969	348135	29.7	1517	29.4	141859	29.8	560	30.9
1970 - 1979	139782	11.9	1079	20.9	49126	10.3	353	19.5
1980+	18334	1.6	215	4.2	3932	0.8	44	2.4
Migrant group								
Natives	916927	78.2	3465	67.1	353942	74.4	1105	60.9
Immigrants								
Europe and Western countries	26552	2.3	95	1.8	7372	1.6	35	1.9
India	20431	1.7	108	2.1	10787	2.3	42	2.3
Pakistan	12919	1.1	215	4.2	12284	2.6	112	6.2
Bangladesh	10845	0.9	166	3.2	8106	1.7	94	5.2
Caribbean countries	8937	0.8	48	0.9	4247	0.9	23	1.3
Other countries	76533	6.5	479	9.3	31922	6.7	186	10.3
Descendants of Immigrants								
Europe and Western countries	40882	3.5	197	3.8	19366	4.1	69	3.8
India	11341	1.0	81	1.6	5949	1.3	22	1.2
Pakistan and Bangladesh	6658	0.6	87	1.7	3828	0.8	43	2.4
Caribbean countries	9393	0.8	68	1.3	5194	1.1	30	1.7
Other countries	24264	2.1	110	2.1	8567	1.8	33	1.8
Missing information	6841	0.6	44	0.9	4028	0.8	20	1.1
Age at first birth								
15 - 19 years	221123	18.9	1571	30.4	150601	31.7	745	41.1
20 - 24 years	498656	42.5	2187	42.4	218278	45.9	779	42.9
25 - 29 years	343649	29.3	1063	20.6	87514	18.4	240	13.2
30+ years	109095	9.3	342	6.6	19199	4.0	50	2.8
Education level								
Tertiary degree	167680	14.3	659	12.8	53690	11.3	147	8.1
Other higher degree	166636	14.2	608	11.8	56410	11.9	162	8.9
A-level	170933	14.6	711	13.8	60595	12.7	226	12.5
GSCE	440205	37.5	1825	35.3	175008	36.8	639	35.2
No or lower qualifications	227069	19.4	1360	26.3	129889	27.3	640	35.3
English skills								
English is first language	1063809	90.7	4276	82.8	419683	88.2	1409	77.7
Speaks without problems	85463	7.3	602	11.7	38821	8.2	257	14.2
Speaks with problems	23251	2.0	285	5.5	17088	3.6	148	8.2
Religion makes a difference in life								
No difference	438974	37.4	1782	34.5	173661	36.5	578	31.9
Little difference	219260	18.7	785	15.2	78579	16.5	250	13.8
Some difference	263702	22.5	1066	20.6	103871	21.8	336	18.5
Great difference	250587	21.4	1530	29.6	119481	25.1	650	35.8
Union status								
In union	1001517	85.4	4545	88.0	399901	84.1	1584	87.3
Out of union	171006	14.6	618	12.0	75691	15.9	230	12.7
Total	**1172523**	**100.0**	**5163**	**100.0**	**475592**	**100.0**	**1814**	**100.0**
Employment status (subsample)								
Full-time employed	95836	33.1	237	20.3	36030	31.3	59	15.6
Part-time employed	86880	30.0	210	18.0	31491	27.3	67	17.7
Unemployed	3696	1.3	30	2.6	2712	2.4	11	2.9
In eductaion	5936	2.0	31	2.7	2708	2.3	5	1.3
Other	97554	33.7	658	56.4	42337	36.7	237	62.5
Total	**289902**	**100.0**	**1166**	**100.0**	**115278**	**100.0**	**379**	**100.0**

Source: Calculations based on data from Understanding Society

Risk time starts at time of second birth (3rd child) or third birth (4th child) until conception or the individual is censored

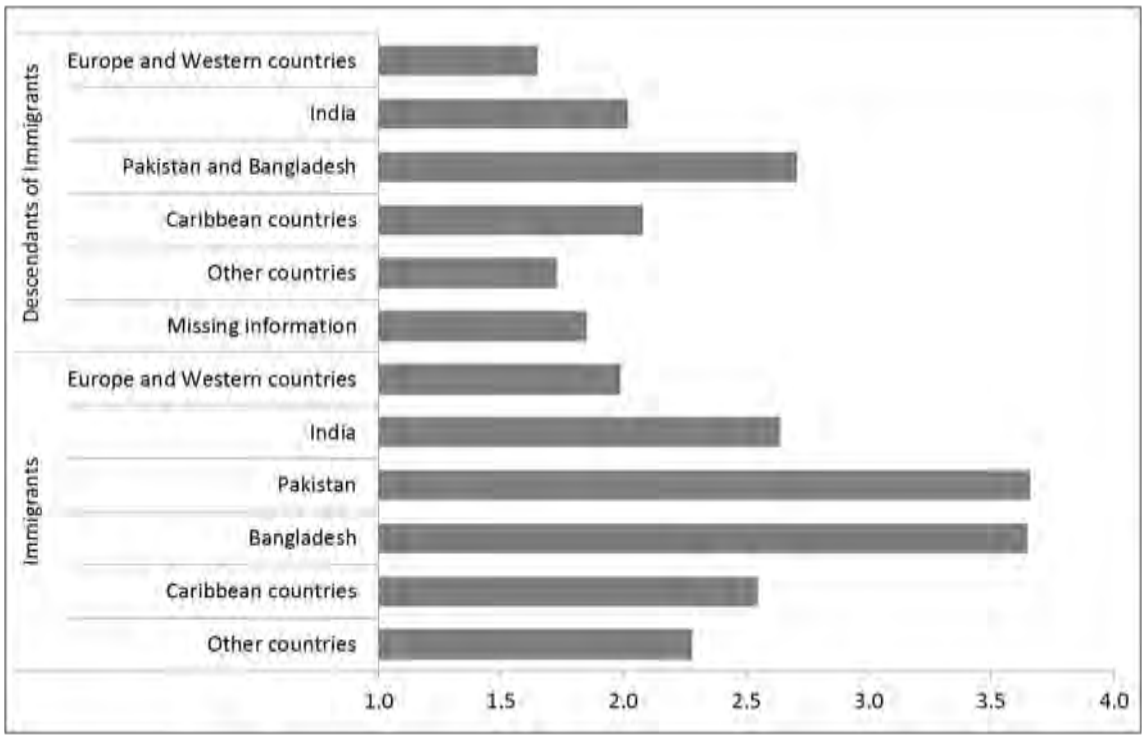


Figure 1: *TFR by migrant group 1989-2008, UoS data*

Source: Authors' own calculations based on the UoS data.

Table 6: *Relative risks of conception leading to first birth*

Variable	Model 1	Model2	Model3	Model4	Model5 (empl. subsample)	Model6 (empl. subsample)
Age (baseline)						
15-19 years	0.003 ***	0.003 ***	0.003 ***	0.029 ***	0.003 ***	0.005 ***
20-24 years	0.007 ***	0.008 ***	0.008 ***	0.028 ***	0.008 ***	0.008 ***
25-29 years	0.009 ***	0.011 ***	0.012 ***	0.025 ***	0.011 ***	0.010 ***
30-34 years	0.008 ***	0.010 ***	0.011 ***	0.021 ***	0.010 ***	0.008 ***
35+ years	0.002 ***	0.003 ***	0.003 ***	0.006 ***	0.003 ***	0.003 ***
Birth cohort						
1940 - 1949	1.31 ***	1.22 ***	1.23 ***	0.96	1.20 ***	1.09
1950 - 1959	1.07 **	1.04	1.04	0.84 ***	1.11 *	1.08
1960 - 1969	1	1	1	1	1	1
1970 - 1979	0.95 *	0.99	0.99	1.09 ***	0.96	0.99
1980+	0.98	1.01	1.01	1.15 ***	1.02	1.10
Migrant group						
Natives	1	1	1	1	1	1
Immigrants						
Europe and Western countries	0.70 ***	0.76 ***	0.75 ***	0.85 **	0.81 *	0.91
India	1.05	1.10	1.07	1.05	0.99	1.07
Pakistan	1.57 ***	1.51 ***	1.44 ***	1.09	1.74 ***	1.41 *
Bangladesh	2.30 ***	2.14 ***	2.03 ***	1.15	1.82 **	1.69 **
Caribbean countries	1.27 **	1.21 *	1.21 *	1.74 ***	1.88 **	2.10 ***
Other countries	0.87 ***	0.91 ***	0.89 **	1.03	0.91	0.96
Descendants of Immigrants						
Europe and Western countries	0.86 ***	0.87 **	0.88 **	1.00	0.93	0.92
India	0.85 *	0.88	0.89	0.98	0.83	0.85
Pakistan and Bangladesh	1.14	1.10	1.09	0.98	1.37	1.38 *
Caribbean countries	0.99	0.97	0.97	1.46 ***	1.00	1.00
Other countries	0.74 ***	0.79 ***	0.79 ***	1.01	0.78 *	0.88
Missing information	1.13	1.00	0.99	1.09	1.22	1.05
Education level (time varying)						
Tertiary degree		0.58 ***	0.59 ***	0.69 ***	0.58 ***	0.69 ***
Other higher degree		0.72 ***	0.72 ***	0.83 ***	0.76 ***	0.93
A-level		0.91 ***	0.91 ***	0.91 ***	0.93	0.92
GSCE		1	1	1	1	1
No or lower qualifications		1.02	1.01	1.09 ***	1.08	1.19 ***
English skills						
English is first language			1	1	1	1
Speaks without problems			1.02	1.01	0.98	1.04
Speaks with problems			1.11	1.04	1.09	0.87
Religion makes a difference in life						
No difference			1	1	1	1
Little difference			0.95 *	0.94 **	0.99	1.03
Some difference			0.92 ***	0.90 ***	0.91 *	0.94
Great difference			0.99	1.03	1.04	1.07
Union status						
Single				0.08 ***		
Cohabiting				0.41 ***		
Married				1		
Separated				0.18 ***		
Employment status (subsample)						
Full-time employed						1
Part-time employed						1.24 **
Unemployed						1.33 **
In education						0.26 ***
Other						2.35 ***

Source: Calculations based on data from Understanding Society

Significance levels: * p < 0.10, ** p < 0.05, *** p < 0.01

Table 7: *Relative risks of conception leading to second birth*

Variable	Model 1	Model2	Model3	Model4	Model5	Model6 (empl. subsample)	Model7 (empl. subsample)
Duration since first birth (baseline)							
0 -1 year	0.015 ***	0.016 ***	0.016 ***	0.016 ***	0.018 ***	0.015 ***	0.012 ***
1 -3 years	0.027 ***	0.031 ***	0.030 ***	0.029 ***	0.035 ***	0.031 ***	0.024 ***
3 -5 years	0.017 ***	0.020 ***	0.019 ***	0.019 ***	0.024 ***	0.019 ***	0.016 ***
5 - 10 years	0.007 ***	0.008 ***	0.008 ***	0.008 ***	0.011 ***	0.008 ***	0.007 ***
10+ years	0.002 ***	0.002 ***	0.002 ***	0.002 ***	0.002 ***	0.001 ***	0.001 ***
Birth cohort							
1940 - 1949	1.27 ***	1.21 ***	1.21 ***	1.19 ***	1.07 *	1.23 ***	1.19 **
1950 - 1959	1.13 ***	1.10 ***	1.10 ***	1.09 ***	1.03	1.09	1.06
1960 - 1969	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
1970 - 1979	0.98	0.93 **	0.92 **	0.93 **	0.96	0.91	0.92
1980+	0.84 ***	0.73 ***	0.73 ***	0.74 ***	0.83 ***	0.73 **	0.75 **
Migrant group							
Natives	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Immigrants							
Europe and Western countries	0.97	0.99	0.97	0.96	0.96	1.01	1.08
India	1.04	1.04	1.01	0.95	0.90	0.95	0.94
Pakistan	1.81 ***	1.76 ***	1.76 ***	1.61 ***	1.51 ***	2.14 ***	1.98 ***
Bangladesh	1.32 ***	1.26 ***	1.25 ***	1.14	1.00	1.30	1.23
Caribbean countries	0.68 ***	0.67 ***	0.67 ***	0.63 ***	0.89	0.56 *	0.61 *
Other countries	0.89 ***	0.91 **	0.89 ***	0.84 ***	0.92	0.85	0.92
Descendants of Immigrants							
Europe and Western countries	0.90 *	0.91 *	0.90 *	0.89 *	0.92	0.88	0.89
India	1.17	1.18 *	1.17 *	1.13	1.10	1.30	1.30
Pakistan and Bangladesh	1.83 ***	1.79 ***	1.78 ***	1.64 ***	1.48 ***	1.78 **	1.75 **
Caribbean countries	0.65 ***	0.63 ***	0.62 ***	0.59 ***	0.73 ***	0.58 **	0.62 *
Other countries	0.88 *	0.89	0.87 *	0.85 **	0.97	0.93	0.99
Missing information	0.90	0.88	0.89	0.89	1.00	1.09	1.02
Age at first birth							
15 - 19 years		1.04	1.05	1.05	1.17 ***	0.99	1.01
20 - 24 years		1	1	1	1	1	1
25 - 29 years		0.90 ***	0.89 ***	0.89 ***	0.85 ***	0.87 **	0.87 **
30+ years		0.64 ***	0.62 ***	0.63 ***	0.59 ***	0.64 ***	0.64 ***
Education level (time varying)							
Tertiary degree			1.17 ***	1.15 ***	1.11 ***	1.14 *	1.23 ***
Other higher degree			1.06 *	1.05	1.03	1.09	1.15 *
A-level			1.00	1.00	1.00	1.03	1.04
GSCE			1	1	1	1	1
No or lower qualifications			1.04	1.04	1.07 *	1.11	1.11
English skills							
English is first language				1	1	1	1
Speaks without problems				0.99	0.94	0.94	0.94
Speaks with problems				0.99	0.92	0.94	0.91
Religion makes a difference in life							
No difference				1	1	1	1
Little difference				1.02	1.01	0.94	0.96
Some difference				1.05	1.04	0.98	0.99
Great difference				1.17 ***	1.16 ***	1.17 **	1.19 **
Union status							
In union					1		
Out of union					0.36 ***		
Employment status (subsample)							
Full-time employed							1
Part-time employed							1.30 ***
Unemployed							0.81
In education							0.74 *
Other							1.46 ***

Source: Calculations based on data from Understanding Society
Significance levels: * p < 0.10, ** p < 0.05, *** p < 0.01

Table 8: *Relative risks of conception leading to third birth*

Variable	Model 1	Model2	Model3	Model4	Model5	Model6 (empl. subsample)	Model7 (empl. subsample)
Duration since second birth (baseline)							
0 -1 year	0.007 ***	0.008 ***	0.007 ***	0.007 ***	0.007 ***	0.006 ***	0.005 ***
1 -3 years	0.008 ***	0.009 ***	0.009 ***	0.008 ***	0.009 ***	0.008 ***	0.006 ***
3 -5 years	0.005 ***	0.006 ***	0.006 ***	0.006 ***	0.006 ***	0.006 ***	0.004 ***
5 - 10 years	0.002 ***	0.003 ***	0.003 ***	0.003 ***	0.003 ***	0.002 ***	0.002 ***
10+ years	0.001 ***	0.001 ***	0.001 ***	0.001 ***	0.001 ***	0.000 ***	0.000 ***
Birth cohort							
1940 - 1949	1.07	1.02	0.95	0.93	0.90 *	0.95	0.91
1950 - 1959	0.92 *	0.89 **	0.87 ***	0.86 ***	0.84 ***	0.84 *	0.81 *
1960 - 1969	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
1970 - 1979	1.17 ***	1.02	1.03	1.04	1.05	0.98	0.96
1980+	1.35 ***	0.95	0.97	0.98	0.99	0.70	0.66 *
Migrant group							
Natives	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Immigrants							
Europe and Western countries	0.86	0.92	0.92	0.88	0.89	0.87	0.92
India	1.24 *	1.27 *	1.23 *	1.07	1.06	1.07	1.15
Pakistan	2.87 ***	2.90 ***	2.69 ***	2.20 ***	2.15 ***	2.63 ***	2.56 ***
Bangladesh	2.48 ***	2.20 ***	2.04 ***	1.62 ***	1.58 ***	1.45	1.39
Caribbean countries	1.44 *	1.20	1.25	1.13	1.23	1.09	1.17
Other countries	1.35 ***	1.42 ***	1.40 ***	1.24 **	1.27 **	1.21	1.27
Descendants of Immigrants							
Europe and Western countries	1.24 **	1.23 **	1.23 **	1.21 *	1.22 **	1.42 *	1.44 **
India	1.51 ***	1.61 ***	1.64 ***	1.54 ***	1.52 ***	1.53	1.52
Pakistan and Bangladesh	2.04 ***	1.98 ***	1.95 ***	1.69 ***	1.66 ***	2.50 ***	2.47 ***
Caribbean countries	1.45 **	1.25	1.28 *	1.19	1.28	1.44	1.52
Other countries	1.03	1.06	1.09	1.04	1.07	1.16	1.21
Missing information	1.54 **	1.31	1.24	1.24	1.27	1.17	1.13
Age at first birth							
15 - 19 years		1.54 ***	1.49 ***	1.50 ***	1.53 ***	1.52 ***	1.49 ***
20 - 24 years		1	1	1	1	1	1
25 - 29 years		0.65 ***	0.66 ***	0.66 ***	0.66 ***	0.62 ***	0.63 ***
30+ years		0.51 ***	0.52 ***	0.52 ***	0.52 ***	0.44 ***	0.45 ***
Education level (time varying)							
Tertiary degree			1.05	1.03	1.02	0.97	1.05
Other higher degree			0.96	0.95	0.94	1.12	1.21
A-level			0.98	0.97	0.97	1.11	1.14
GSCE			1	1	1	1	1
No or lower qualifications			1.32 ***	1.31 ***	1.32 ***	1.34 ***	1.31 **
English skills							
English is first language				1	1	1	1
Speaks without problems				0.96	0.96	0.99	0.97
Speaks with problems				1.19	1.18	1.44	1.34
Religion makes a difference in life							
No difference				1	1	1	1
Little difference				0.94	0.94	0.99	0.99
Some difference				1.06	1.06	1.05	1.05
Great difference				1.26 ***	1.26 ***	1.27 **	1.27 **
Union status							
In union					1		
Out of union					0.76 ***		
Employment status (subsample)							
Full-time employed							1
Part-time employed							0.95
Unemployed							1.99 ***
In education							1.12
Other							1.55 ***

Source: Calculations based on data from Understanding Society
Significance levels: * p < 0.10, ** p < 0.05, *** p < 0.01

Table 9: *Relative risks of conception leading to fourth birth*

Variable	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6 (empl. subsample)	Model 7 (empl. subsample)
Duration since third birth (baseline)							
0 -1 year	0.006 ***	0.006 ***	0.006 ***	0.006 ***	0.006 ***	0.006 ***	0.004 ***
1 -3 years	0.006 ***	0.007 ***	0.006 ***	0.006 ***	0.006 ***	0.007 ***	0.005 ***
3 -5 years	0.004 ***	0.004 ***	0.003 ***	0.003 ***	0.003 ***	0.003 ***	0.002 ***
5 - 10 years	0.002 ***	0.002 ***	0.002 ***	0.002 ***	0.002 ***	0.002 ***	0.001 ***
10+ years	0.000 ***	0.000 ***	0.000 ***	0.000 ***	0.000 ***	0.000 ***	0.000 ***
Birth cohort							
1940 - 1949	1.01	0.97	0.90	0.88	0.85 *	0.81	0.83
1950 - 1959	0.97	0.96	0.94	0.92	0.91	0.80	0.81
1960 - 1969	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
1970 - 1979	1.22 **	1.07	1.08	1.07	1.08	1.16	1.13
1980+	1.49 *	1.13	1.13	1.13	1.15	1.31	1.19
Migrant group							
Natives	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Immigrants							
Europe and Western countries	1.37	1.58 **	1.65 **	1.55 *	1.55 *	1.23	1.44
India	1.21	1.24	1.18	0.97	0.96	0.81	0.91
Pakistan	2.19 ***	2.31 ***	2.07 ***	1.63 **	1.63 **	1.75	1.63
Bangladesh	2.34 ***	2.23 ***	2.02 ***	1.59 **	1.57 **	1.64	1.57
Caribbean countries	1.75 **	1.52 *	1.60 *	1.41	1.52	1.41	1.83
Other countries	1.50 ***	1.60 ***	1.58 ***	1.32 *	1.35 *	1.08	1.13
Descendants of Immigrants							
Europe and Western countries	1.16	1.14	1.17	1.15	1.16	0.94	0.94
India	0.94	1.03	1.04	0.93	0.92	0.71	0.77
Pakistan and Bangladesh	2.15 ***	2.16 ***	2.12 ***	1.76 **	1.73 **	2.07 *	2.04 *
Caribbean countries	1.63 **	1.42	1.49 *	1.36	1.45 *	0.91	1.00
Other countries	1.12	1.13	1.17	1.12	1.16	0.89	1.00
Missing information	1.56 *	1.36	1.33	1.32	1.36	1.31	1.26
Age at first birth							
15 - 19 years		1.44 ***	1.39 ***	1.40 ***	1.41 ***	1.38 **	1.35 *
20 - 24 years		1	1	1	1	1	1
25 - 29 years		0.67 ***	0.73 ***	0.72 ***	0.71 ***	0.88	0.86
30+ years		0.50 ***	0.55 ***	0.55 ***	0.54 ***	0.40 *	0.39 *
Education level (time varying)							
Tertiary degree			0.85	0.82 *	0.82 *	0.71	0.77
Other higher degree			0.91	0.89	0.89	0.59 *	0.64 *
A-level			1.02	1.02	1.01	1.00	1.00
GSCE			1	1	1	1	1
No or lower qualifications			1.31 ***	1.31 ***	1.33 ***	1.28	1.23
English skills							
English is first language				1	1	1	1
Speaks without problems				1.05	1.04	1.02	1.00
Speaks with problems				1.07	1.06	1.79	1.61
Religion makes a difference in life							
No difference				1	1	1	1
Little difference				1.02	1.01	1.09	1.07
Some difference				1.04	1.03	1.06	1.05
Great difference				1.34 ***	1.33 ***	1.19	1.19
Union status							
In union					1		
Out of union					0.79 **		
Employment status (subsample)							
Full-time employed							1
Part-time employed							1.13
Unemployed							1.41
In education							0.68
Other							1.63 **

Source: Calculations based on data from Understanding Society

Significance levels: * p < 0.10, ** p < 0.05, *** p < 0.01

Appendix

Table 10: *Numbers of individuals and events and exclusions for all transitions*

Parity	Women under risk		Exclusions	Women analysed	Conception events
First child	23263		n.a.	23263	16454
Second child	16454	367	cases due to timing*	15914	12398
		173	cases due to twin births**		
Third child	12398	257	cases due to timing	12001	5163
		140	cases due to twin births		
Fourth child	5163	128	cases due to timing	4961	1814
		74	cases due to twin births		

* Timing: women reported last birth as pregancy at time of the interview and never became under risk for a new birth during the observation period

** Twin births: mothers do not contribute any person-months between births and are removed from the analysis

Table 11: *Relative risks of conception leading to first, second, third and fourth birth for final models with and without weights*

Variable	First Birth		Second Birth		Third Birth		Fourth Birth	
	no weights	weights	no weights	weights	no weights	weights	no weights	weights
Age (baseline)								
15-19 years	0.003 ***	0.003 ***						
20-24 years	0.008 ***	0.008 ***						
25-29 years	0.012 ***	0.012 ***						
30-34 years	0.011 ***	0.011 ***						
35+ years	0.003 ***	0.003 ***						
Duration since first birth (baseline)								
0 -1 year			0.016 ***	0.015 ***	0.007 ***	0.007 ***	0.006 ***	0.006 ***
1 -3 years			0.029 ***	0.030 ***	0.008 ***	0.008 ***	0.006 ***	0.006 ***
3 -5 years			0.019 ***	0.018 ***	0.006 ***	0.006 ***	0.003 ***	0.003 ***
5 - 10 years			0.008 ***	0.008 ***	0.003 ***	0.002 ***	0.002 ***	0.002 ***
10+ years			0.002 ***	0.001 ***	0.001 ***	0.000 ***	0.000 ***	0.000 ***
Birth cohort								
1940 - 1949	1.23 ***	1.26 ***	1.19 ***	1.21 ***	0.93	0.93	0.88	0.84 *
1950 - 1959	1.04	1.05	1.09 ***	1.11 ***	0.86 ***	0.85 ***	0.92	0.89
1960 - 1969	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
1970 - 1979	0.99	0.96	0.93 **	0.93 **	1.04	1.06	1.07	1.07
1980+	1.01	0.93 *	0.74 ***	0.73 ***	0.98	1.08	1.13	1.23
Migrant group								
Natives	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Immigrants								
Europe and Western countries	0.75 ***	0.73 ***	0.96	0.95	0.88	0.84	1.55 *	1.53 *
India	1.07	1.13	0.95	0.94	1.07	1.14	0.97	0.92
Pakistan	1.44 ***	1.52 ***	1.61 ***	1.97 ***	2.20 ***	2.48 ***	1.63 **	1.71 **
Bangladesh	2.03 ***	2.02 ***	1.14	1.38 ***	1.62 ***	1.63 ***	1.59 **	1.67 **
Caribbean countries	1.21 *	1.26 *	0.63 ***	0.66 ***	1.13	1.32	1.41	1.67 *
Other countries	0.89 **	0.90 *	0.84 ***	0.84 **	1.24 **	1.18	1.32 *	1.25
Descendants of Immigrants								
Europe and Western countries	0.88 **	0.89 **	0.89 *	0.88 *	1.21 *	1.21 *	1.15	1.08
India	0.89	0.84 *	1.13	1.15	1.54 ***	1.36 *	0.93	0.82
Pakistan and Bangladesh	1.09	1.20	1.64 ***	1.72 ***	1.69 ***	1.49 **	1.76 **	1.40
Caribbean countries	0.97	0.99	0.59 ***	0.61 ***	1.19	1.12	1.36	1.21
Other countries	0.79 ***	0.76 ***	0.85 **	0.97	1.04	1.12	1.12	1.03
Missing information	0.99	0.97	0.89	0.91	1.24	1.22	1.32	1.37
Age at first birth								
15 - 19 years			1.05	1.05	1.50 ***	1.57 ***	1.40 ***	1.41 ***
20 - 24 years			1	1	1	1	1	1
25 - 29 years			0.89 ***	0.88 ***	0.66 ***	0.63 ***	0.72 ***	0.69 ***
30+ years			0.63 ***	0.61 ***	0.52 ***	0.50 ***	0.55 ***	0.44 ***
Education level								
Tertiary degree	0.59 ***	0.58 ***	1.15 ***	1.22 ***	1.03	1.13 *	0.82 *	0.82
Other higher degree	0.72 ***	0.72 ***	1.05	1.08 *	0.95	0.97	0.89	0.92
A-level	0.91 ***	0.90 ***	1.00	1.02	0.97	0.99	1.02	1.06
GSCE	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
No or lower qualifications	1.01	1.03	1.04	1.02	1.31 ***	1.29 ***	1.31 ***	1.32 ***
English skills								
English is first language	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Speaks without problems	1.02	0.99	0.99	0.89 *	0.96	0.84 *	1.05	0.97
Speaks with problems	1.11	1.04	0.99	0.87	1.19	1.14	1.07	1.11
Religion makes a difference in life								
No difference	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Little difference	0.95 *	0.94 **	1.02	1.03	0.94	0.95	1.02	1.04
Some difference	0.92 ***	0.91 ***	1.05	1.04	1.06	1.07	1.04	1.07
Great difference	0.99	0.93 **	1.17 ***	1.14 ***	1.26 ***	1.26 ***	1.34 ***	1.34 ***

Source: Calculations based on data from Understanding Society

Risk time starts at age 15 (1st child) or previous birth (higher parity) until conception or the individual is censored

The timing of childbearing among the descendants of immigrants in France

Ariane Pailhé

Abstract:
This study analyses the transition to the first, second and third births for four groups of second generation immigrants in France – women of North and Sub-Saharan African, Southeast Asian and Turkish origin. It analyses the extent to which descendants of immigrants have assimilated to host-country fertility norms and whether the observed differences arise from cultural or structural determinants. Using the Trajectories and Origins Survey (Ined-Insee, 2008) and event history techniques, we show a convergence towards French standards, which, however, differs across groups. Those of Southeast Asian descent clearly deviate from fertility pattern of their parents, whereas those of Turkish descent preserve their parents' cultural heritage the most. The differences in adaptation between groups depend on family social capital, family structure and family values. Access to a higher level of education is a crucial factor that erases differences between groups.

Keywords: fertility, second generation immigrants, birth order, France, adaptation, socialisation

Acknowledgement: The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme (FP7/2007-2013) under grant agreement no. 320116 for the research project FamiliesAndSocieties.

1. Introduction

Over the past few years, research has started to focus on analysing the life trajectories of the descendants of immigrants. This new interest stems from the fact that the great waves of immigration, which arrived in Europe between the end of the Second World War and the 1970s have produced a second generation of immigrants. The availability of new data allows categorizing the descendants of immigrants by country of origin, providing sufficient sample sizes for analysing their behaviours separately. Various fields have been analysed: their educational attainment, employment trajectories, partnership formation patterns and fertility (Alba, 2005; Meurs et al., 2006; Crul et al., 2012; Milewski, 2010; De Valk & Milewski, 2011). Hence, analysing the fertility of immigrants' descendants is a key issue for demographers, since it affects the structure of the future of the entire population (Sobotka, 2008).

Immigrant descendants' fertility is subject to multiple influences. One usually observes an intergenerational transmission of fertility behaviour, both in terms of completed fertility and of the timing of births (Barber, 2001; Steenhof & Liefbroer, 2008). This transmission may be altered for descendants of immigrants who are subject to having been socialised with their parents' specific values; it may also be affected by the norms and standards of the country where they were born and socialised (De Valk & Milewski, 2011). The process of adapting to the dominant fertility behaviour in the host society may vary according to origins, depending on the cultural distance between the parents and the host country (Adserà & Ferrer, 2014). It may also depend on the countries of settlement (Milewski, 2011), depending on the way they incorporate immigrants and their descendants.

While fertility behaviours have been extensively examined for first generation immigrants in France (Tribalat, 2005; Toulemon, 2004), much less attention has been paid to the descendants of immigrants who make up a sizeable and growing fraction of the French population, about 10%. This article explores the inter-generational transmission of fertility patterns in France. Specifically, it analyses the extent to which descendants of immigrants follow the fertility behaviour of either their parents or that of the native population. To do this, there are two main questions that need to be answered. First, in terms of timing of childbearing, to what extent have the children of immigrants assimilated to host-country norms? Second, how far apart are the observed differences that arise from cultural or

structural determinants (i.e., family background, belonging to a disadvantaged social milieu, lower level of education and disadvantageous position in the labour market)?

To answer these questions, we analyse the transition to first, second and third births among different groups of descendants of immigrants, and we compare them to the native-born. These parity-specific transitions are analysed because each has its own reasoning in France. Entry into parenthood is a key stage in the transition to adulthood, and it is much related to completing education, forming a partnership and starting employment. Transition to a second birth is quite uniform, given the strong two-child family norm, while transition to a third birth is more related to cultural background (Regnier-Loillier, 2006). Several groups whose cultural origins differ greatly from the host country are selected, most of them having high levels of fertility: North Africa, Sub-Saharan Africa, Turkey, and Southeast Asia. Our research design uses a data set that oversamples immigrants and their descendants; it is called the Trajectories and Origins Survey, conducted in 2008.

2. Theoretical framework

2.1. Fertility of immigrants

A huge amount of research has been conducted on the fertility pattern of immigrants, especially in the US context. Competing hypotheses have been developed concerning the impact of internal and international migration on childbearing patterns (Kulu, 2005; Milewski, 2007). According to the disruption hypothesis, migration is a stressful event in the life course, which may lead to the postponement of childbearing. This postponement may precede migration or occur shortly after migration. Alternatively, the family formation hypothesis underscores that migration and family formation are interrelated, which can explain high fertility in the first years following migration. With regards to fertility behaviour in the medium and long term, the socialization hypothesis considers that exposure to certain norms and values during an immigrant's childhood (i.e., those of their country of origin) have long-lasting effects and are dominant in shaping their fertility behaviour. Thus, fertility patterns should be close to that of the country of origin. By contrast, the assimilation or adaptation hypothesis emphasizes the adaptation of immigrant behaviours to the environment and norms of the society of settlement. So, their fertility behaviours should converge to those in the host country. Finally, according to the selectivity hypothesis, this convergence comes from the selection of migrants in the country of origin; in particular, migrants and non-migrants in the

country of origin may have different fertility preferences. This selection may lead to migrant fertility patterns that are close to those of the host country population.

Empirical analysis found that these hypotheses are more complementary than competitive. No evidence of a disrupting effect from migration has been found in Europe, contrary to Australia (Abbasi-Shavazi & McDonald, 2002). The fertility of female immigrants is even high in the first years following migration, due to a catch-up effect (Toulemon & Mazuy, 2005) and because migration, marriage and childbearing are interrelated (Milewski, 2007). Immigrants have more children in general than the native population (Sobotka, 2008), but a convergence to the host country behaviours generally appears with duration of stay (Sobotka, 2008; Andersson, 2004; Andersson & Scott, 2005 2007) and after taking into account age at migration (Toulemon, 2004; Roig Vila & Castro Martín, 2007). In the UK, this convergence of childbearing patterns is faster for groups from higher fertility countries (Dubuc, 2012). Few studies have analysed the drivers of this convergence. In Sweden, this adaptation of childbearing behaviours occurs through adaptation to the social and labour market conditions of the host country (Andersson & Scott, 2005). More generally, it has been shown that immigrants' assimilation takes time and occurs overall several generations (Alba and Nee, 2003). The convergence of fertility patterns may be thus observed for the second and subsequent generations.

2.2. Fertility of the second generation

As descendants of immigrants may be affected by their parent's norms and standards as well as by those in their country of residence, both the socialization and assimilation hypotheses may explain their fertility behaviour. The differing extent of adhesion to parental vs. country norms regarding childbearing depends on the social and cultural context in the country of destination. More generally, the literature on immigrant integration has stressed that the assimilation of descendants of immigrants is not uniform but rather segmented: they follow several paths of adaptation based on disparities in their parents' human and social capital, family structure and modes of incorporation in the host society (Portes, Fernandez-Kelly & Haller, 2009). These various paths of adaptation may result in various fertility patterns.

Little attention has been devoted to the fertility behaviour of the second generation in Europe, given that the second generation population has only recently reached the age of family

formation. In countries with longer immigration histories, like France, the category could not be identified in a large-scale survey, as mentioned previously. Thus, most analyses relate to the US context and focus on the fertility of Hispanics and Mexicans (Parrado & Morgan, 2008). This topic was recently addressed for European countries, as can be seen from the special issues of the journal Advance in Life Course Research (De Valk & Milewski, 2011). Studies have been possible with the availability of new data, such as the comparative research projects developed in Europe regarding the Turkish second generation (The Integration of the European Second Generation (2006-2008)). Given the young age structure of descendants of immigrants, only entry into parenthood has been analysed. No information is available regarding transition to subsequent births.

Empirical studies have found a general trend of converging fertility patterns across generations of immigration. This adjustment to host country behaviour among children of immigrants was found in Germany (Milewski, 2007; 2010), Sweden (Scott & Stanfors, 2011), the Netherlands (Garssen & Nicholaas, 2008) and the UK (Dubuc, 2012). It occurs at various rates across groups of origins. Convergence is lower for those with Turkish origins (Scott & Stanfors, 2011), given their strong attachment to the 'Turkish family culture' (Milewski, 2010). However, this attachment magnitude varies according to the country of destination, and thus to the national context. Turkish descendants tend to postpone fertility in countries where fertility is low compared to those in countries where fertility is higher (Milewski, 2011), which is a sign that they adjust their behaviours to the environment and norms of the society in the country of destination. Furthermore, labour market integration is a determinant factor of adjustment to majority population behaviour (Scott & Stanfors, 2011).

3. The French context

3.1. Migration history of France

Since the beginning of mass immigration in the middle of the nineteenth century, France has had a long history of immigration, with flows that continued during the twentieth century, even after the economic downturn of the 1970s provoked successive restrictive immigration policies. In 2010, the French metropolitan population was made up of 10.7% immigrants. The descendants of immigrants amounted to about 4.5 million in 2008, which represent about 10% of the whole population in France (Insee, 2012). The descendants of immigrants from Southern Europe (Italy, Spain and Portugal) are the most numerous, followed by those of

immigrants from North Africa (Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia) (Table 2). Half of all descendants are from parents of mixed origins, 20% having only an immigrant mother and 30% only an immigrant father. Mixed parenthood is more frequent for descendants of immigrants from the EU 27. Descendants of immigrants are on average younger than the French natives. Nearly 3/4 of descendants of immigrants from Europe are over 35, whereas about half of descendants of immigrants from Turkey, Southeast Asia or Sub-Saharan Africa are under 25. Descendants of North African immigrants are older: about one third is age 25-34 and 20% are 35-44.

Compared to the French native population, the four selected groups differ significantly in terms of educational level and background: they have on average a lower educational level, come more frequently from a lower social class and were born in larger and more religious families (Appendix 1). Women from the Turkish second generation are least educated and the French language was less frequently spoken at home during their childhood. In contrast, women of Southeast Asian descent more frequently reached a high level of education, with the share of women achieving a tertiary level of education (41%) being even larger when compared to the French natives. Compared to the other groups of descendants of immigrants, Southeast Asians were less often raised in large families (most of them have 2 or 3 siblings), religion was less important in their education, and they come from a higher social background. The Sub-Saharan and North African second generations are in between these two groups and quite close in terms of educational level. Like those of Turkish descent, they come more often from a lower social milieu and from families with a higher level of religiosity. They also come from larger families and, because their parents come from former French colonies, the French language was more frequently spoken by their parents.

(Table 1 about here)

3.2. Fertility in France

As elsewhere in Europe, entry into parenthood is increasingly delayed and the timing of fertility is changing rapidly in France (Toulemon et al., 2008). The fertility schedule is moving continuously to higher ages and the mean age at childbirth is continuing to rise. The mean age at first childbirth has increased since the mid-1970s, rising from 23.9 years in 1975

to 28.1 years in 2010. This increase is a result of both a decrease in fertility at young ages (before 25) and an increase at ages 28 and over (Insee, bilan démographique).

However, unlike the other European countries, this postponement seems to have little impact on completed fertility. France is one of Europe's most fertile countries. In 2008, with 1.99 children per woman on average, France ranked second in Europe behind Ireland. Since the end of the 1990s, France stands apart from many other European countries: fertility began to increase clearly from 1996, and the period total fertility rate has remained stable above 1.9 since 2000. Despite the recent economic crisis and rapidly increasing unemployment, the country's fertility continued to increase until 2010, even attaining a mean of two children per woman (Pison, 2011). However, beginning in 2011, the trend somewhat reversed: the deepening crisis and notable surge in youth unemployment were accompanied by a slight decrease both in the number of births and in the total fertility rate (Figure 1). In spite of this changing trend, fertility remains at a high level.

(Figure 1 about here)

The proportion of childless women has remained very low: only 11% of women born in 1970 will remain childless; and "the probability of a progression to a second, a third and a fourth child has not changed since 1975" (Toulemon et al., 2008). All in all, a higher proportion of women give birth to a first child in France than in other European countries, and the rates are similar for second and third births (Prioux, 2005). Finally, the two-child family is the norm (Regnier-Loilier, 2006); 41% of women born in 1960 have two children.

This relatively high level of fertility is related to a tradition of family orientations, i.e. an ideology that promotes the family as an institution (Revillard, 2006) and a rather generous and diversified family policy, i.e., a combination of allowances, tax deductions and child care facilities that allow combining family and work.

3.3. Immigrant fertility in France

Despite its long history, immigration has rather little impact on overall demographic increase (Héran, 2004); it accounts for one third of the increase between 1946 and 2004 (Bergouignan et al., 2005). Immigrant women, especially those born outside of Europe, have more children

than French natives (Tables 2 and 3). According to census data, less than one birth out of five comes from an immigrant woman, but since they only represent 12% of women aged 15 to 50, their contribution to fertility is low (Héran & Pison, 2007): without women born outside the European Union, the TFR would be 0.1 lower (Table 2).

(Table 2 about here)

(Table 3 about here)

3.4. Fertility of second generation immigrants in France

Little is known regarding the fertility of second generation immigrants in France, since it is not possible to identify this population category in the French census. Before the 2000s, only specific surveys such as the *Mobilité géographique et insertion sociale* (geographical mobility and social integration, MGIS) survey, conducted by INED in conjunction with INSEE in 1992, specifically identified the descendants of immigrants. Since then, many more surveys contain information that permits this identification, but few of them have sufficient sample sizes for comparing behaviours between groups of origin. Using the recent *Trajectories and Origins Survey*, Hamel et al. (2011) show that the median age at first childbirth is as high as – and even higher than– that of the native population.

4. Hypotheses

From this review of the literature and given the French context, we formulate the following hypotheses:

H1 Convergence towards French standards differs across groups of origins. The path of adaptation of a group depends on its family social capital and family structure

The larger socio-cultural distance between source and destination countries slows down the process of adjustment. Behaviours will be closer to those of the native population among groups whose parents come from countries that are culturally closer to the host country. The propensity to have children is expected to be higher in lower social classes, in families with numerous children and with strong religious beliefs. Thus, we expect the fertility behaviour of

descendants of immigrants from Southeast Asia to be closer to the French natives than to those from other selected countries who have often grown up in larger families.

H2 Access to higher levels of education and to employment is a factor that erases differences between groups

We expect that educational attainment and access to employment are key factors in shaping fertility behaviours. The higher educational level of the Southeast Asian second generation is expected to reinforce the convergence towards the French standards regarding fertility. Conversely, due to the lower educational background of Turkish descendant, we expect a lower convergence for second generation Turkish population, i.e., earlier childbearing relative to the French population.

H3 Due to the strong two–child family norm in France, cultural factors are more important determinants for the transition to the third birth

We expect the main differences across observed groups for the transition to the first and to the third birth. Educational level is expected to be a more important factor for the transition to the first birth, and culture for the transition to the third birth.

5. Data and method

5.1. Data

The data we use come from the Trajectories and Origins (TeO) survey, conducted in 2008 by the French National Institute of Demography (INED) and the French National Statistical Office (INSEE). This survey is particularly appropriate, since it investigates the living conditions and social trajectories of immigrants and second generation immigrants living in France. In total, 22,000 persons living in metropolitan France were interviewed, and immigrants and their descendants were oversampled (Beauchemin et al., 2010). Native French and immigrants were between 18-60 years old (cohorts 1948-1990), while descendants of immigrants were between 18-50 years old (cohorts 1958-1990).

The survey contains retrospective biographical data concerning family and employment history, in particular years of childbirths. We have thus randomly generated for each a month

of birth. The survey also contains standard socioeconomic information and very detailed information on family background, e.g.: parents' social class, religion, level of education, number of siblings, language skills, etc.

Detailed information defines groups of immigrants: individual place of birth and nationality at birth, parents' place of birth and nationality at birth, year of arrival in France and reasons for arrival. Native French are defined as individuals born to two French-born parents. Descendants of immigrants are persons born in metropolitan France with at least one immigrant parent. The following aggregated regions of origin are used: North Africa (Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco), Sub-Saharan Africa (Senegal, Mali, Cameroon, Guinea, etc.), Southeast Asia (Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos), and Turkey. Cases with missing information, first childbirth prior to age 15 or with inconsistent dates in their life history were also excluded from the analysis. Our sample counts 3,965 individuals. Table 4 displays the sample size for each group and the share of each group in respect to the whole population. Appendix 1 provides characteristics of each group.

(Table 4 about here)

5.2. Method

We first estimate age at first childbirth and then duration in months between first and second birth and between second and third birth. Childless people are followed from age 15, and cases are censored at the interview date or at age 45 when no birth is reported. We first carry out a non-parametric duration analysis using the Kaplan-Meier method. The analyses are adjusted using sampling weights in order to account for the stratifying nature of the survey. Then Cox proportional hazards models (Cox, 1972) are estimated. For the transition to the third birth, Turkish, Southeast Asian and Sub-Saharan African second generations are excluded from the analysis, since the number of events is too low in these groups (Table 4).

5.3. Control variables

The same set of control covariates is used for the analysis of the transition to the first, second and third birth, with the covariates being added step by step in order to analyse how these covariates are related to the specific effect of country of origin. Model 1 controls for

migration background and birth cohort. Dummy variables for each group of origin are introduced (the reference category being native women), as well as a dummy variable indicating whether the woman has parents of mixed origins. Three birth cohorts are distinguished: born between 1958-1969; between 1970-1979 and between 1980-1990.

Model 2 controls for partnership status, i.e., two time-varying dummy variables indicating whether the woman started living in a partnership and whether this is a mixed partnership. A time-varying variable for being married is also included, since the formalisation of the union may be a pre-condition for having children. These time-dependent variables are lagged by one year in order to evaluate their effect on the conception of the child. Additional variables related to the first birth are added into the models for second and third births. The age at first union formation is added, since it is usually a good indicator of the quality of the partnership match. Early union formation promotes early parenthood. Contrary, couples formed at a later age may be prone to accelerate the second birth. The sex of previous children is also added, since there is generally a preference for children's sex diversity (Hank & Kohler 2003).

Model 3 controls for the level of education that shapes both individual preferences and age at first partnership (Furtado, 2012; Ní Bhrolcháin & Beaujouan, 2012). It is thus introduced with four dummy variables: no education, low education (primary), medium level (secondary) and high education (university).

Model 4 controls for some background variables, since immigrants and their descendants often come from a working-class background, and individuals may adhere to the behaviours, values, and norms that dominated their childhood years (Michaël & Tuma, 1985) and which may also influence family behaviours (Régnier-Loilier & Prioux, 2008). Social background is taken into account through parents' social class; and religiosity through dummies indicating its level of importance during childhood. We use this last variable rather than religion, since the type of religion is correlated to the country of origin. We also control for the number of siblings, specifically whether the respondent had at least two siblings. This is because growing up in a large family is usually a good determinant for higher preferred family size, because it may indicate that the respondent was raised in a family with strong family values (Michaël & Tuma, 1985). We also control for the main language spoken by parents during the woman's childhood (only French, French and foreign, or only foreign), since this may be a proxy for integration into the host society.

Finally, the timing of childbearing is usually strongly correlated with having completed education and with employment status (Mills et al., 2005). Model 5 controls for the activity status – whether the respondent is still in education or has been employed in a stable job, i.e., a job lasting at least one year. This time-dependent variable, computed for each calendar year is lagged by one year. Indeed, education and having a child are not very compatible; the majority of women in France wait until they have completed education and found a stable job before entering motherhood (Pailhé & Solaz, 2012).

6. Results

6.1. First birth

Figure 2 displays the Kaplan Meier estimates of the proportion of childless women by age. The transition to the first birth occurs faster for descendants of Turkish immigrants. Their median age at first birth is 23.7, about three and a half years lower than the French natives (see Appendix 2). By contrast, descendants of Sub-Saharan African immigrants tend to postpone childbearing. It is only by 30.7 years that 50% of women whose parents come from Sub-Saharan Africa have become first-time mothers. Although to a lesser extent, descendants of immigrants from Southeast Asia also postpone childbearing when compared to the native population. The timing of first childbirth of descendants of North African immigrants shows a close pattern to that of native French women. By age 24, one out of every four women in these two groups has had their first child. But descendants of North African immigrants tend to postpone childbearing even more: the median age at first childbirth is 28.3, one year later than the native French women. This later childbearing among the North African second generation does not however result in higher childlessness. By age 40, the share of childless women converges for the two groups.

(Figure 2 about here)

Table 5 presents the results of the Cox regression estimates. Model 1 compares the groups of origins controlling for the birth cohort. Results are in line with those of the Kaplan-Meier non-parametric analysis: women whose parents come from Sub-Saharan African and Southeast Asia have lower propensities to enter motherhood, while women of Turkish descent have a higher probability of an early birth when compared to native French women. There is

no significant difference between native French women and descendants of North African immigrants. Having parents of mixed origins also does not show any significant effect.

Model 2 controls for partnership history, since childbearing is highly dependent on couple formation and, for some groups, on marriage. Once controlled for partnership formation, the gap in first birth rates is not any more significant between descendants from Sub-Saharan Africa and native French. This indicates that the former have a lower propensity to form a union, which delays childbearing. Symmetrically, the odds-ratio for the Turkish second generation decreases, meaning that part of their earlier childbearing is linked with their early couple formation (Hamel et al., 2015).

Model 3 adds education level of the women. Compared to women with no qualifications, women with higher education enter into motherhood more slowly. Regarding the propensity to have children, differentials in education levels across groups of origins are key factors in shaping gaps. Hence, once educational level is taken into account, there is no significant difference between the Turkish second generation and the French natives. Similarly, the North African second generation appears to have a significantly lower propensity to have a first child, given the educational level. Model 3b excludes variables related to couple formation and shows that the odds-ratio for the Turkish second generation is significant (and above the value 1). In other words, the fastest transition to motherhood for women of Turkish descent stems from the combination of their lower human capital and their early couple formation.

Model 4 controls for background variables. Religious upbringing does not affect the transition to the first birth, whereas women with numerous siblings and for whom foreign language was spoken only during childhood are more prone to have a first child. On the contrary, all other things being equal, being raised in lower social classes tends to diminish the risk of having a first child. Controlling for background widens the gap between the North African second generation and the native French, and the odds-ratio for the Sub-Saharan African second generation becomes significant (and below the value 1). For a given background, their risk of first childbirth is significantly lower than that of natives. This result holds for North African and Sub-Saharan African second generations when we estimate this model by excluding the education level variable (results not shown here, available on request). Conversely, the origin becomes non-significant for the Turkish second generation, meaning that their fastest transition to motherhood also comes from an intergenerational transmission of family values.

In the final step, we control for activity status. Having completed education and having had a first job that lasts at least one year accelerate the transition to the first birth. Controlling for these time-varying variables does not significantly change the first birth risks of groups of origins, except that the fact of being raised in a mixed couple becomes non-significant. Estimating the same model without variables related to couple formation (Model 5b) results in the same outcomes.

(Table 5 about here)

6.2. Second birth

Overall, the transition to the second child with respect to origin follows some common patterns when compared to that of the first child (Figure 3): it takes place faster for the Turkish second generation, is slower for Sub-Saharan African and Southeast Asian second generations, and it is very close for the North African second generation and French natives. However, differences between origins are much less pronounced than for the first child. In particular, although the transition from one to two children is faster for the Turkish second generation, differences from French natives are quite small (the median duration from first birth is only 5 months lower, see appendix 3). Similarly, this median duration is only 3 months higher for the North African second generation when compared to the natives. The share of women with only one child ten years after the birth of the first one is a bit higher for the second generation from North Africa. When compared to the transition to the first child, the significant difference is the clear tendency to postpone the second birth for those with a Southeast Asian background.

Once controlled for characteristics, there is no significant difference between groups of origins, except that descendants of Sub-Saharan Africa have a lower propensity to have a second child (Table 6). This result is robust regardless of the set of variables included. The gap widens when background variables are added. More generally, the transition to the second birth appears to be mainly related to timing (i.e., age at first birth and having completed education), as well as to cohort (i.e., having married and being a highly educated).

(Figure 3 about here)
(Table 6 about here)

6.3. Third birth

Since the number of events is very small for Turkish, Sub-Saharan and Southeast Asian descendants of immigrants, the transition to the third birth is analysed only for natives and the North African second generation. These two groups show quite a different pattern: while the transition to the first and second child was slower for the North African second generation, it takes place faster for the third child (Figure 4 and appendix 4). Moreover, the share of those who still have two children ten years after the birth of the youngest is much lower for them: about one out of three compared to about 60% for the native French.

This gap between women of North African descent and French natives still holds when taking into account cohort, marital status, age at first birth, sex of the two first-born children and education level (Table 7). However, once background variables are considered, it does not persist. The higher propensity to have a third child for the second generation from North Africa appears to be related to family background, and thus to a transmission of the parents' fertility patterns.

(Figure 4 about here)

(Table 7 about here)

7. Conclusion

This study analyses the transition to the first, second and third births for four groups of second generation immigrants in France. We compare them to the native French in order to assess whether there is a convergence in fertility patterns.

We find various childbearing patterns according to the different origins. Those of Southeast Asian descent enter childbearing much later than native French women. They clearly deviate from the fertility pattern of their parents. Their higher educational level contributes to this postponement, and even to a deviation from the French childbearing pattern. Their will to be integrated through education and employment increases the cost of children for them.

In contrast, Turkish descendants of immigrants enter motherhood at younger ages when compared to the native French. This early childbearing is connected with their young age at partnership formation, with their lower human capital and with their cultural background.

Indeed, once these compositional effects are taken into account, there is no significant difference when compared to the French natives. This group is the one that preserves their parents' cultural heritage the most.

The two groups of African descent are quite close in terms of characteristics, but adopt different fertility patterns. Descendants of Sub-Saharan immigrants tend to postpone both first and second births, partly because they form their first union later, but also because they adopt the French model of late childbearing and a small family. It appears they adapt to the society of settlement. However, this group is still rather young, and further research needs to be conducted in order to analyse more deeply the transition to the second and subsequent births.

Regarding transition to the first child, descendants of North African immigrants converge with the majority French fertility pattern. They follow the same pattern when compositional effects are not taken into account. But once level of education and background are considered, they appear to deviate from the native population, i.e., they postpone childbearing. Even the less educated postpone the birth of the first child and adhere to the average standard. However, they have a higher propensity to have a third child when compared to the native French. This higher propensity is related to their family background. It seems they adapt in terms of timing, but less in terms of quantum. It would be worth studying their completed fertility in order to evaluate to what extent they preserve the North African family pattern.

In line with our first hypothesis, convergence towards French standards differs across groups of origins. The path of adaptation of a group depends on its family social capital, family structure and family values. But some groups diverge more than others in their family background. Access to a higher level of education is a crucial factor that erases differences between groups. Contrary to our expectations, access to employment does not appear to be a key factor in explaining differences across groups with different national backgrounds. The universal and rather generous family policy that is not based on past employment record may explain this similarity across groups in spite of their various paths of entry into stable employment. Our third hypothesis was that convergence occurs differently according to the birth order, and that cultural factors are more important determinants for the transition to the third birth. It appears that there is clearly no difference for the transition to the second child. That confirms the strong norm regarding the timing of transition to the second birth. By contrast, differences are huge regarding the transition to the third child. It seems that, for the

only groups for whom we could have analysed the transition to the third birth, there is both an adaptation to the timing of the first and second childbirth as well as a transmission of their parents' family oriented values for higher birth order.

References

Adsera, A. (2011). The interplay of employment uncertainty and education in explaining the second births in Europe. *Demographic Research, 3*(16), 513-544.

Antonnen, A., & Sippilä, J. (1996). European social care services; Is it possible to identify models?. *Journal of European Social Policy*, *6*(2), 87-100.

Behnke, C., & Meuser, M. (2012). Look here mate! I´m taking parental leave for a year – involved fatherhood and images of masculinity. In M. Oechsle, U. Mueller & S. Hess (Eds.) *Faterhood in Late Modernity. Cultural Images, Social Practices, Structural Frames.* Opladen/Farmington Hills: Verlag Barbara Budrich.

Abbasi-Shavazi, M. J., & McDonald, P. (2002). A comparison of fertility patterns of European immigrants in Australia with those in the countries of origin. *Genus, 58*(1), 53-76.

Adserà, A., & Ferrer, A. (2014). Immigrants and demography: Marriage, divorce, and fertility. *IZA Discussion Paper, No. 7982*.

Alba, R. (2005). Bright vs. blurred boundaries: Second-generation assimilation and exclusion in France, Germany, and the United States. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *28*(1), 20–49.

Andersson, G. (2004). Childbearing after migration: fertility patterns of foreign-born women in Sweden. *International Migration Review*, *38*(2), 747–775.

Andersson, G., & Scott, K. (2005). Labour-market status and first-time parenthood: the experience of immigrant women in Sweden, 1981–97. *Population Studies, 59*(1), 21–38.

Barber, J.S. (2001). The intergenerational transmission of age at first birth among married and unmarried men and women. *Social Science Research*, *30*, 219–247.

Beauchemin, C., Hamel, Ch., & Simon, P. (2010). Trajectories and origins: Survey on population diversity in France. *Document de travail de l'Ined*, *168*.

Booth, A., Alison, L., Kee, H. J., & Hiau, J. (2006). Intergenerational transmission of Fertility patterns in Britain, *2437*, Institute for the Study of Labor.

Cox, D.R. (1972). Regression models and life tables. *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, Series B 34*(2), 187–220.

Crul, M., Schneider, J., & Lelie, F. (2012). *The European second generation compared: Does the integration context matter?*. Amsterdam University Press, Amsterdam.

de Valk, H., & Milewski, N. (2011). Family life transitions among children of immigrants: An introduction. *Advances in Life Course Research, 16*(4), 145-151

Hamel, Ch., Moguerou, L., & Santelli, E. (2011). L'entrée dans la vie adulte des filles et fils d'immigrés. *Politiques sociales et familiales, 105*, 47-58.

Hamel, Ch., & Pailhé, A. (2015). Avoir des enfants en contexte migratoire. In C. Beauchemin, Ch. Hamel & P. Simon (Eds.), Enquête trajectoires et origines, Paris, Collection Grandes enquêtes, Ined, *forthcoming*.

Hank, K., & Kohler, H.-P. (2003). Sex preferences for children revisited: New evidence from Germany. *Population*, *1*, 133-143.

Héran, F., & Pison, G. (2007). Two children per woman in France in 2006: are immigrants to blame?. *Population and Societies, 432*.

Kristen, C., Reimer, D., & Kogan, I. (2008). Higher education entry of Turkish immigrant youth in Germany. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, *49*(2–3), 127–151.

Kulu, H., (2005). Migration and fertility: Competing hypotheses re-examined. *European Journal of Population*, *21*, 51–87.

Meurs, D., Pailhé, A., & Simon, P. (2006). The persistence of intergenerational inequalities linked to immigration: Labour market outcomes for immigrants and their descendants in France. *Population*, *61*(5–6), 763–801.

Michaël, R. T., & Tuma, N. B. (1985). Entry into marriage and parenthood by young men and women: The influence of family background. *Demography*, *22*(4), 515-544.

Milewski, N. (2007). First child of immigrant workers and their descendants in West Germany: interrelation of events, disruption, or adaptation?. *Demographic Research, 17*(29), 859-896.

Milewski, N. (2011). Transition to a first birth among Turkish second-generation migrants in Western Europe. *Advances in Life Course Research*, *16*(4), 178-189

Mills, M., Blossfeld, H.-P. & Klijzing, E. (2005). Becoming an adult in uncertain times. A 14-country comparison of the losers of globalization. In H.-P. Blossfeld, E.Klijzing, M. Mills & K. Kurz (Eds.), *Globalization, uncertainty and youth in society* (pp. 423-441). London/New York: Routledge Advances in Sociology Series.

Ní Bhrolcháin, M., & Beaujouan, É. (2012). Fertility postponement is largely due to rising educational enrolment. *Population Studies, 66*(3), 311–327.

Pailhé, A., & Solaz A., (2012). The influence of employment uncertainty on childbearing in France: A tempo or quantum effect?. *Demographic Research*, *26*(1), 1-40.

Pison, G. (2011). Two children per woman in France in 2010: Is French fertility immune to economic crisis?. *Population and Societies, 474*.

Pla, A., & Beaumel, C., (2012). Bilan démographique 2011. La fécondité reste élevée, *Insee Première* n° *1385*, available at http://www.insee.fr/fr/themes/document.asp?ref_id=ip1385.

Regnier-Loilier, A. (2006). Influence of own sibship size on the number of children desired at various times of life. The case of France. *Population - E 61*(3), 165-194.

Régnier-Loilier, A., & Prioux, F. (2008). Does religious practice influence family behaviours?. *Population & Societies, 447*.

Revillard, A. (2006). Work/family policy in France: from State familialism to State feminism? International Journal of Law. *Policy and the family, 20*, 133–150.

Scott, K., & Stanfors, M. (2011). The transition to parenthood among the second generation: Evidence from Sweden, 1990–2005. *Advances in Life Course Research*, *16*(4), 190-204.

Sobotka, T. (2008). The rising importance of migrants for childbearing in Europe, *Demographic Research*, Special Collection 7: Childbearing trends and policies in Europe, *19*(9), 225-248.

Steenhof L. & Liefbroer A. (2008). Intergenerational transmission of age at first birth in the Netherlands for birth cohorts born between 1935 and 1984: Evidence from municipal registers. *Population Studies*, *62*(1), 69-84.

Roig Vila, M., & Castro Martín, T. (2007). Childbearing patterns of foreign women in a new immigration country: The case of Spain. *Population-E, 62*(3), 351-380.

Toulemon, L. (2004). Fertility among immigrant women: new data, new approach, *Population & Societies, 400*.

Toulemon, L., & Mazuy, M. (2005). Mesurer la fécondité des immigrants. In C. Lefèvre & A. Filhon (Eds.), *Histoires de familles, histoires familiales*, Paris, Ined, coll. Les Cahiers de l'Ined, n°156.

Toulemon, L., Pailhé, A., & Rossier, C. (2008). France: High and stable fertility. *Demographic Research, 19*(16), 503-556.

Tribalat, M. (1996). *De l'immigration à l'assimilation. Enquête sur les populations d'origine étrangère en France*, La découverte, Paris.

Tribalat, M. (2005). Fécondité des immigrées et apport démographique de l'immigration étrangère. In Ch. Bergouignan, Ch. Blayo, A. Parant, J.-P. Sardon & M. Tribalat, *La population de la France. Évolutions démographiques depuis 1946*, Pessac, CUDEP, 727-767.

Tavan, C. (2005). Les calendriers de constitution des familles immigrées. In C. Lefèvre & A. Filhon (Eds.), *Histoires de familles, histoires familiales*, Les Cahiers de l'Ined, n°156.

Weiss, Y., & Willis, R. (1997). Match quality, new information and marital dissolution, *Journal of Labor Economics*, *15* (suppl.), 293-329.

Tables and Figures

Table 1: *Repartition of adult descendants of immigrants according to parents' place of birth in 2008*

	In thousands	%
Italy	880	20
Other UE 27 countries	780	17
Algeria	640	14
Spain	580	13
Portugal	450	10
Morocco	310	7
Other African countries	200	4
Tunisia	180	4
Other European countries	160	4
Cambodia, Laos, Viet Nam	90	2
Turkey	80	2
Other Asian countries	80	2
America, Oceania	60	1
Total	4,480	100

Source: Insee, 2012

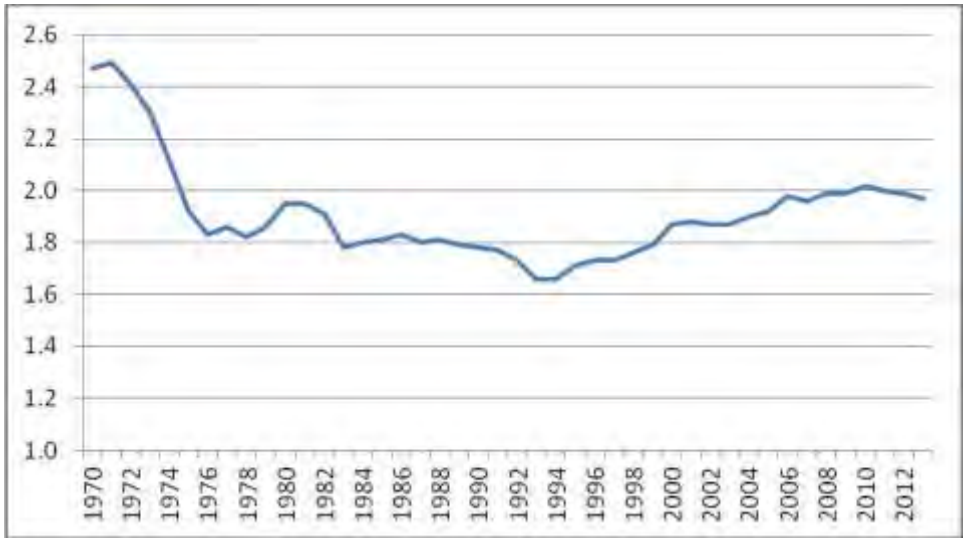


Figure 1: *Total fertility rate since 1970 in France*

Source: Insee, register data

Table 2: *Fertility by place of birth in France in 2008*

	Births		Women aged 15-50		TFR
	Number	Share (%)	Number (thousands)	Share (%)	
Women born in France	679,909	82	13,423	88	1.89
Women born abroad	148,495	18	1,865	12	2.89
EU-27	18,824	2	432	3	1.86
Outside EU-27	129,671	16	1,433	9	3.14
Total	828,404	100	15,288	100	2.01

Source: Pla and Beaumel, 2012

Table 3: *TFR by country of birth for immigrants in France in 2008*

	TFR
Spain, Italy, Portugal	1.8
Other European countries	2.0
Algeria	3.5
Morocco, Tunisia	3.3
Other African countries	2.9
Turkey	2.9
Other Asian countries	1.9
America, Oceania	2.6
All immigrants	2.6
Total	1.9

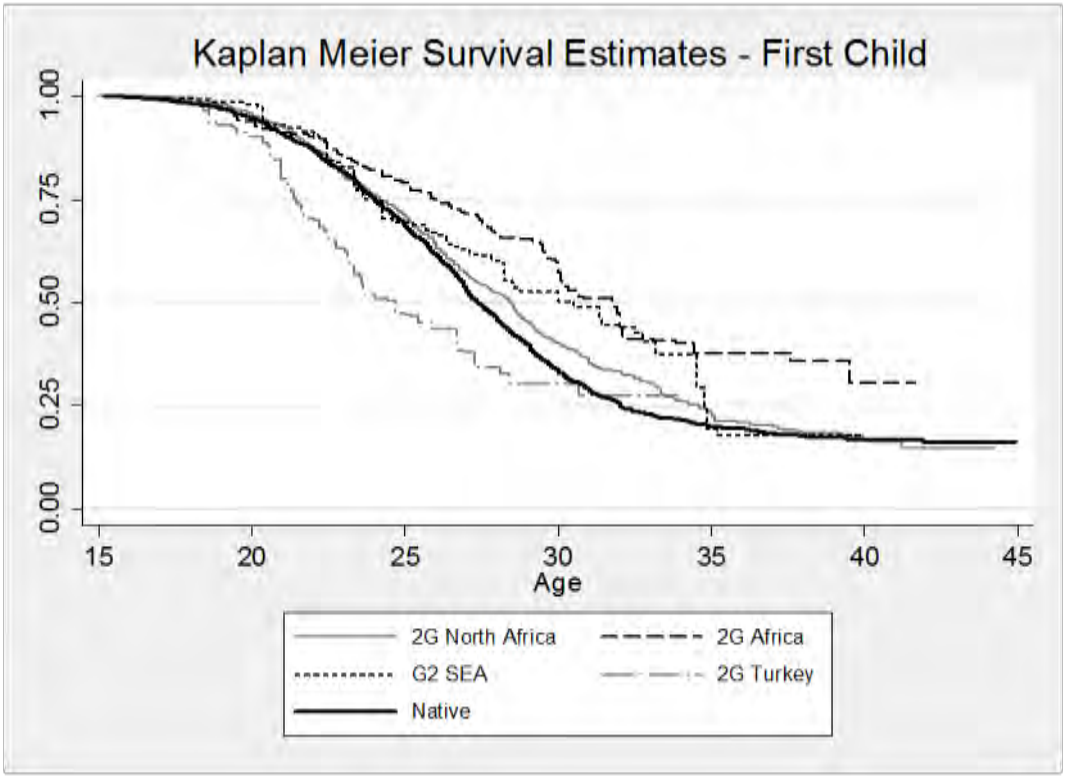
Source: Insee, Population census

Table 4: *Sample size and number of events*

	2G North Africa	**2G Sub Saharan Africa**	**2G SEA**	**2G Turkey**	**Native**	**Total**
No birth	690	326	206	149	592	1,963
1st child	667	117	67	85	1,066	2,002
2nd child	434	57	30	51	754	1,326
3rd child	197	19	8	14	274	512
N	1,357	443	273	234	1,658	3,965

Source: Calculations based on TeO 2008

Figure 2: *Kaplan-Meier estimates of the proportion of childless women at different ages, by origin*



Source: Calculations based on TeO 2008

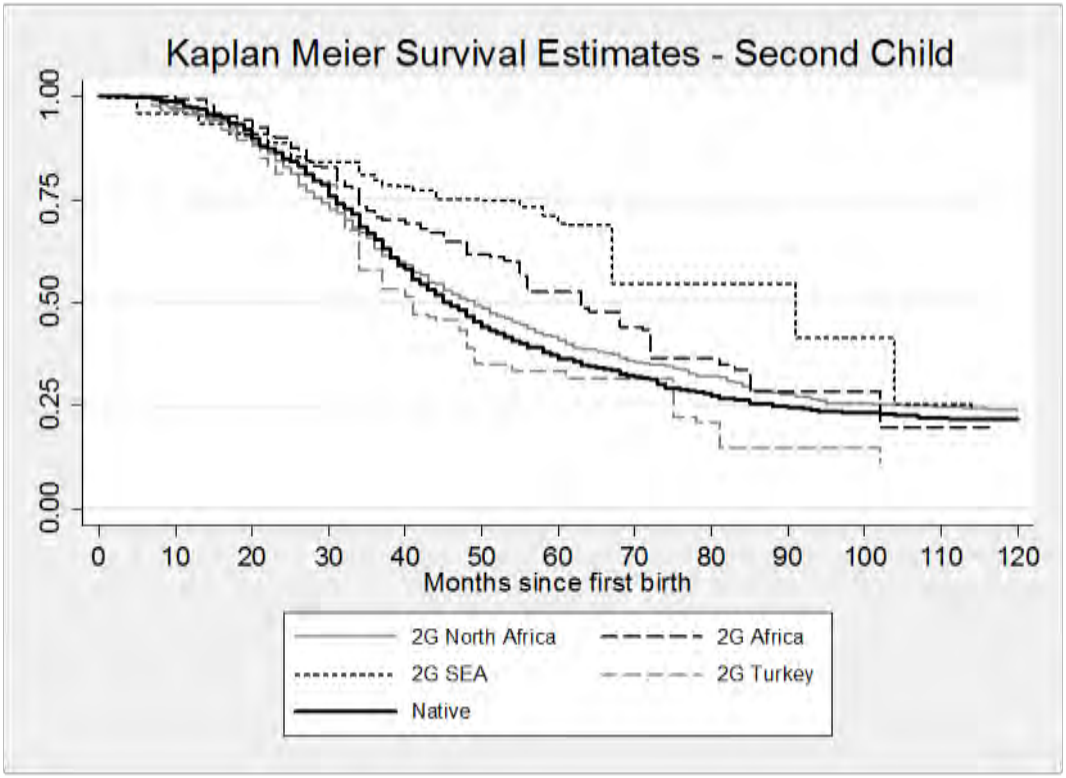
Table 5: *Relative risk of having a first child in France*

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 3b		Model 4		Model 5		Model 5b	
Migration background														
Native	1		1		1		1		1		1			
2G Sub-Saharan Africa	0.77	**	0.89	-	0.84	-	0.71	***	0.75	**	0.78	**	0.62	***
2G North Africa	0.97	-	0.98	-	0.87	**	0.83	***	0.78	***	0.79	***	0.71	***
2G SEA	0.71	**	0.77	*	0.81	-	0.75	**	0.73	**	0.72	**	0.65	***
2G Turkey	1.72	***	1.35	**	1.08	-	1.30	**	0.91	-	0.90	-	1.00	-
Descendant of unmixed couple	1		1		1		1		1		1		1	
Descendant of mixed couple	0.93	-	1.07	-	1.12	-	0.99	-	1.19	**	1.15	-	1.09	-
Birth cohort														
1958-1969	1		1		1		1		1		1		1	
1970-1979	0.87	***	0.99	-	1.15	***	0.99	-	1.17	***	1.19	***	1.06	-
1980-1990	0.82	***	1.01	-	1.19	**	0.89	-	1.22	**	1.17	**	0.88	*
Partnership status (TV)														
Single			1		1				1		1			
Married			2.64	***	2.43	***			2.43	***	2.43	***		
Cohabiting			3.52	***	3.49	***			3.49	***	3.21	***		
Mixed couple			0.91	-	0.94	-			0.95	-	0.96	-		
Educational level														
No qualifications					1		1		1		1		1	
Lower professional					0.75	***	0.73	***	0.75	***	0.78	***	0.75	***
Secondary					0.55	***	0.53	***	0.58	***	0.64	***	0.61	***
Higher					0.43	***	0.37	***	0.46	***	0.59	***	0.54	***
Importance of religion in own education														
Not or little important									1		1		1	
Rather or very important									0.93	-	0.93	-	1.05	-
Parents social class														
Higher than unskilled									1		1		1	
Unskilled blue or white collar									0.89	**	0.88	**	0.94	-
Number of siblings														
Less than 2									1		1		1	
2 or 3									1.22	***	1.22	***	1.21	***
4+									1.38	***	1.40	***	1.42	***
Language spoken by parents														
Only French									1		1			
French and foreign									1.00	-	1.00	-	1.01	
Only foreign									1.21	*	1.23	**	1.21	*
Activity status (TV)														
In education											1		1	
No longer in education											2.83	***	3.37	***
Not in stable employment											1		1	
Stable employment											1.18	**	1.24	***
N	3,965													
Events	2,002													

Source: Calculations based on TeO 2008

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Figure 3: *Kaplan-Meier estimates of the proportion of women with one child at different months after first childbirth, by origin*



Source: Calculations based on TeO 2008
Scope: Women with at least one child, multiple births at first childbirth excluded

Table 6: *Relative risk of having a second child in France*

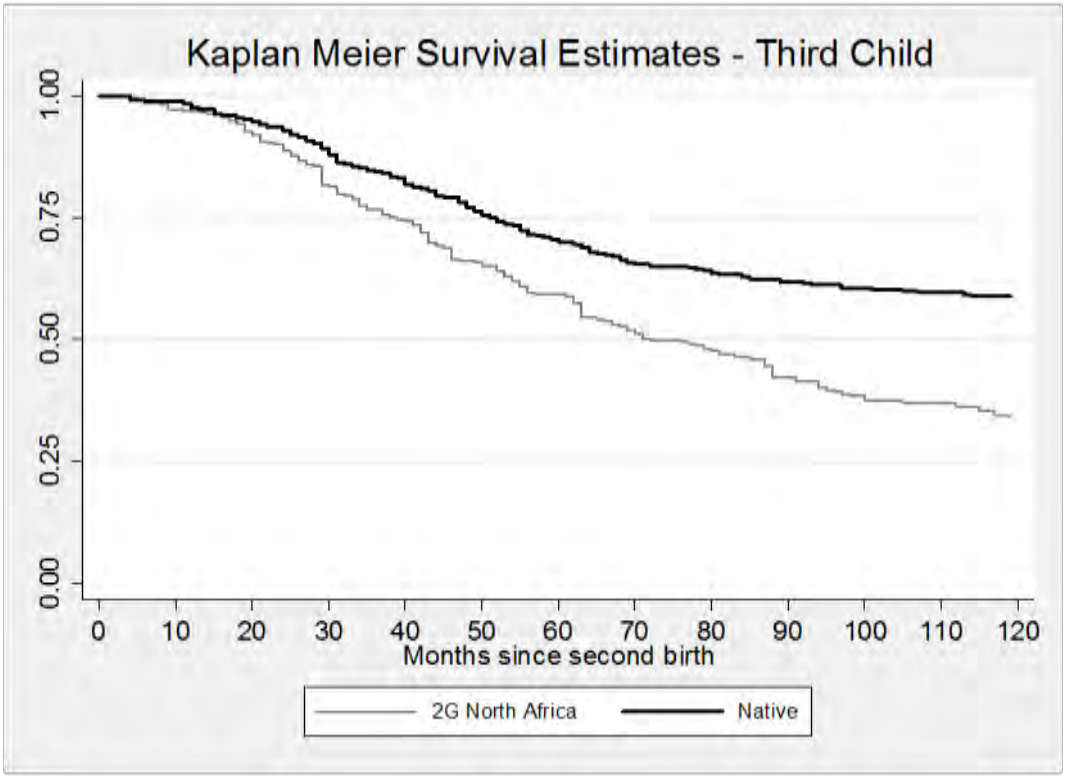
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5	
Migration background										
Native	1		1		1		1		1	
2G Sub-Sah. Africa	0.78	*	0.72	**	0.73	**	0.66	**	0.66	**
2G North Africa	1.03	-	1.02	-	1.05	-	0.96	-	0.96	-
2G SEA	0.78	-	0.83	-	0.80	-	0.73	-	0.73	-
2G Turkey	1.11	-	1.00	-	1.04	-	0.90	-	0.90	-
Descendant of unmixed couple	1		1		1		1		1	
Descendant of mixed couple	0.78	***	0.84	*	0.84	*	0.91	-	0.90	-
Birth cohort										
1958-1969	1		1		1		1		1	
1970-1979	1.36	***	1.35	***	1.31	***	1.32	***	1.32	***
1980-1990	1.34	**	1.35	**	1.34	**	1.33	**	1.30	**
Partnership status (TV)										
Unmarried			1		1		1		1	
Married			1.75	***	1.74	***	1.73	***	1.71	***
Mixed couple			0.92	-	0.91	-	0.92	-	0.92	-
Age at first birth										
< 25			0.87	**	0.93	-	0.93	-	0.92	-
25-29			1		1		1		1	
30-34			0.75	***	0.73	***	0.73	***	0.73	***
35+			0.54	**	0.51	***	0.50	***	0.50	***
Sex of first child										
Boy			1		1		1		1	
Girl			1.05	-	1.05	-	1.04	-	1.05	-
Educational level										
No qualifications					1		1		1	
Lower professional					1.07	-	1.07	-	1.09	-
Secondary					0.96	-	0.97	-	1.00	-
Higher					1.32	***	1.33	***	1.40	***
Importance of religion in own education										
Not or little important							1		1	
Rather or very important							1.06	-	1.06	-
Parents social class										
Higher than unskilled							1		1	
Unskilled blue or white collar							1.00	-	0.99	-
Number of siblings										
Less than 2							1		1	
2 or 3							1.01	-	1.01	-
4+							1.04	-	1.03	-
Language spoken by parents										
Only French							1		1	
French and foreign							1.02	-	1.02	-
Only foreign							1.26	*	1.25	*
Activity status (TV)										
In education									1	
No longer in education									1.69	***
Not in stable employment									1	
Stable employment									0.84	-
N	1,853									
Events	1,257									

Source: Calculations based on TeO 2008

Scope: Women with at least one child, no multiple births at first childbirth

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Figure 4: *Kaplan-Meier estimates of the proportion of women with two children at different months after second childbirth, by origin*



Source: Calculations based on TeO 2008
Scope: Women with at least two children, no multiple births at first two childbirths

Table 7: *Relative risk of having a third child in France*

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5	
Migration background										
Native	1		1		1		1		1	
2G North Africa	1.50	***	1.49	***	1.49	***	1.07	-	1.06	-
Descendant of unmixed couple	1		1		1		1		1	
Descendant of mixed couple	1.01	-	0.94	-	0.90	-	1.23	-	1.29	-
Birth cohort										
1958-1969	1		1		1		1		1	
1970-1979	1.59	***	1.67	***	1.68	***	1.64	***	1.62	***
1980-1990	1.09	-	1.40	-	1.39	-	1.32	-	1.27	-
Partnership status (TV)										
Unmarried			1		1		1		1	
Married			1.43	**	1.41	**	1.42	**	1.49	***
Mixed couple			1.09	-	1.12	-	1.08	-	1.05	-
Age at first birth										
< 25			1.45	***	1.55	***	1.55	***	1.53	***
25-29			1		1		1		1	
30-34			0.97	-	0.94	-	0.97	-	0.96	-
35+			1.59	-	1.53	-	1.41	-	1.40	-
Sex of previous children										
Boy and girl			1		1		1		1	
Same sex			1.25	**	1.26	**	1.25	**	1.25	**
Educational level										
no qualifications					1		1		1	
Lower professional					0.84	-	0.85	-	0.87	-
Secondary					0.85	-	0.91	-	0.93	-
Higher					1.18	-	1.29	*	1.27	-
Importance of religion in own education										
Not or little important							1		1	
Rather or very important							1.08	-	1.07	-
Parents social class										
Higher than unskilled							1		1	
Unskilled blue or white collar							0.89	-	0.86	-
Number of siblings										
less than 2							1		1	
2 or 3							1.14	-	1.15	-
4+							1.69	***	1.68	***
Language spoken by parents										
Only French							1		1	
French and foreign							0.96	-	0.97	-
Only foreign							1.73	***	1.67	**
Activity status (TV)										
In education									1	
No longer in education									0.73	-
Not in stable employment									1	
Stable employment									0.65	***
N	1112									
Events	443									

Source: Calculations based on TeO 2008

Scope: Women with at least two children, no multiple births at first two childbirths

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

TV: time-varying variable

Appendix

Appendix 1: *Sample characteristics*

	G2 North Africa		G2 Africa		G2 SEA		G2 Turkey		Native	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Descendant of mixed couple	385	28.4	114	25.7	101	37.0	10	4.3	0	0.0
Cohort 1958-1969	257	18.9	17	3.8	13	4.8	1	0.4	697	42.0
Cohort 1970-1979	448	33.0	98	22.1	55	20.2	42	18.0	489	29.5
Cohort 1980-1990	652	48.1	328	74.0	205	75.1	191	81.6	472	28.5
No qualifications	312	23.0	98	22.1	29	10.6	89	38.0	275	16.6
Lower professional education	279	20.6	76	17.2	27	9.9	53	22.7	369	22.3
Secondary education	390	28.7	143	32.3	104	38.1	56	23.9	399	24.1
Higher education	376	27.7	126	28.4	113	41.4	36	15.4	615	37.1
Religion rather or very important	843	62.1	287	64.8	109	39.9	162	69.2	479	28.9
Unskilled blue or white collar parents	470	34.6	147	33.2	56	20.5	80	34.2	203	12.2
less than 2 siblings	118	8.7	45	10.2	70	25.6	24	10.3	664	40.1
2 or 3 siblings	431	31.8	135	30.5	121	44.3	103	44.0	681	41.1
4+ siblings	808	59.5	263	59.4	82	30.0	107	45.7	313	18.9
Only French	415	30.6	175	39.5	77	28.2	12	5.1	1398	84.3
French and foreign	787	58.0	212	47.9	140	51.3	109	46.6	244	14.7
Only foreign	155	11.4	56	12.6	56	20.5	113	48.3	16	1.0

Source: Calculations based on TeO 2008

Appendix 2: *Median age at first birth*

	N	25%	50%	75%
G2 North Africa	1357	24.1	28.3	33.9
G2 Sub Saharan Africa	443	25.8	30.7	-
G2 Southeast Asia	273	23.6	30.0	34.7
G2 Turkey	234	21.3	23.7	-
Native	1658	24.0	27.3	32.0
Total	5279	24.0	27.4	32.0

Source: Calculations based on TeO 2008

Appendix 3: *Median duration between first and second birth (months)*

	N	25%	50%	75%
G2 North Africa	655	29	49	109
G2 Sub Saharan Africa	115	34	63	102
G2 Southeast Asia	65	44	91	114
G2 Turkey	82	31	41	75
Native	1,05	31	46	88
Total	1,967	31	46	89

Source: Calculations based on TeO 2008

Appendix 4: *Median duration between second and third birth (months)*

	N	25%	50%	75%
G2 North Africa	429	39	72	
G2 Sub Saharan	57			
Africa		56	71	
Southeast Asia	51	31		
G2 Turkey	745	51		
G2 Native	1,282	51		

Source: Calculations based on TeO 2008

Childbearing among women of immigrant and non-immigrant origin in Spain

Amparo González-Ferrer, Teresa Castro-Martín and Elisabeth Kraus

Abstract:
This study provides analyses of the childbearing behavior of female immigrants and their descendants in Spain. The study is based on two major surveys carried out in 2006 and 2007, the Fertility and Values Survey (2006) and the National Immigrants Survey (2007), which allow to compare the childbearing behavior of native, first generation and 1.5 generation immigrant women (who came to Spain at age 0-15). By means of event history techniques, we analyze the transition to first, second and third birth. Our analyses show that most groups of descendants to immigrants have similar or lower odds of parity transition than women with a full Spanish background, with the only exception of those coming from the Maghreb area. The lower odds of having the first child among 1.5 generation immigrant women should be interpreted as an indication of motherhood delay rather than an increased probability of childlessness, because the survival curves show that most women eventually make the transition to first birth. The risk of having a second and a third child is only significantly higher for the descendants of Moroccan immigrants compared to women with a full Spanish background. The results obtained partially reflect the intense selection involved in female migration inflows recently arrived to Spain, but also reveal an ongoing adaptation process of the reproductive behavior of the descendants of migrants to native fertility patterns. In addition, our findings confirm the importance of taking into account parity-specific differentials when studying the fertility of descendants of migrants, and to distinguish between quantum and tempo effects, especially when analyzing the transition to first birth. Moreover, our findings raise questions about two main issues: firstly, the potential contribution of immigrants to fertility recovery in countries with very-low fertility levels like Spain; and secondly, the slower assimilation of Moroccan origin immigrants into the mainstream fertility behavior, its causes and consequences.

Keywords: fertility, natives, immigrants, descendants, Spain

Acknowledgement: The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme (FP7/2007-2013) under grant agreement no. 320116 for the research project FamiliesAndSocieties.

1. The Spanish context

1.1. Fertility in Spain

Spain had one of the highest levels of fertility in Europe for a large part of the 20th century, but from the mid-1970s onwards it experienced an extraordinarily steep fertility drop. The total fertility rate (TFR), which was nearly 3 children per woman in the early 1970s, dropped below replacement threshold in 1981 and continued its decline until reaching an historical low of 1.15 in 1998, which ranked Spain among the lowest fertility countries in the world. In the early 2000s, there was a moderate fertility recovery, as a result of the slowing-down of birth postponement and increased immigration, and the TFR reached 1.45 in 2008. This moderate fertility rebound came to an end with the arrival of the economic crisis and the dramatic increase in youth unemployment. In 2013, the total fertility rate stood at 1.27 children per woman.

After more than two decades of a fertility level below 1.5 children per woman, even though the mean desired number of children is about two, there is certain resignation that very low fertility is here to stay, particularly if failure to address youth unemployment, job precariousness and work-family balance persists. The most recent population projections presume that the total fertility rate will remain below 1.3 in the next 50 years (INE, 2014).

The decline in fertility is closely linked to a progressive postponement of childbearing. Increasingly, both women and men want to first establish themselves in the labor market before assuming the role of parents. The mean age at first birth increased from 25 in 1980 to 30.4 among women and 33.6 among men in 2013. Spain, together with Italy, Germany and the UK, is now one of the countries with the latest age of entry into motherhood in the world (OECD, 2011).

However, it seems important to remind that the very low fertility in Spain cannot be attributed to an increasing rejection of parenthood: definitive childlessness (13% among women born in 1965) is below the levels observed in many European countries; instead, it is low rates of progression to second and higher order births which explains low fertility levels (Castro-Martín & Martín-García, 2013).

1.2. Immigration and fertility in Spain

In recent years, we have seen increased attention to the possibility that, with their youthful age pyramid and higher fertility, immigrants could help lessen the consequences of Europe's sub-fertile, labor-short, ageing and declining populations (Lutz & Scherbov, 2002). In Spain, this argument seemed particularly attractive because the very low fertility rates of native women described in the previous section were accompanied by a huge immigration boom. With a net annual inflow of more than 600,000 foreigners in the period 2000-2008, Spain became one of the main receiving countries of Europe – until the onset of the current economic crisis. The proportion of foreigners in the total population increased rapidly: from 1.6% in 1998 to 12.2% in 2010. Net migration accounts for more than 90% of Spain's population growth.

In parallel, after decades of uninterrupted decline, the annual number of births rose dramatically: from 365,193 in 1998 to 519,779 in 2008. The crude birth rate of foreign women in this period was about twice that of Spaniards, but this was partly due to immigrants' younger age profile. There was also a significant rise in total fertility – from 1.15 children per woman in 1998 to 1.46 in 2008. This allowed Spain to surmount the lowest-low fertility threshold. Both Spaniards' and immigrants' childbearing contributed to this fertility turn-around (Castro-Martín & Martín-García, 2013).

The birth statistics for 2011 indicate that nearly one out of four newborns in Spain (23.1%) had at least one foreign-born parent. Several studies have shown, however, that the aggregate impact of migrants on overall fertility levels, although not trivial, is rather modest (Roig & Castro-Martín, 2007). This pattern of immigrants' high contribution to the total number of births but small impact on the period total fertility is observed in most European countries (Sobotka, 2008). Castro-Martín & Rosero-Bixby (2011) estimated that immigrants' contribution to Spain's TFR in 2004-2006 was of 6.6% – or 0.08 children. This surprisingly small contribution resulted from their relatively low share of the childbearing population and also from the sustained decline in foreign women's fertility rates over time.

Figure 1 shows that the fertility rate of foreign women residing in Spain fell from 2.05 children in 2002 to 1.53 in 2013, which is above the fertility level of native women (1.23), but also quite low. The decline in immigrants' fertility can be partly attributed to ongoing change in the composition of the foreign population – a high proportion of recent immigrants come from low-fertility countries in Eastern Europe. Additionally, as also observed in other

countries (Andersson, 2004), the longer they stay, the more immigrants' fertility will converge to the level of the native population.

(Figure 1 about here)

Although the contribution of immigrants' fertility to overall fertility in Spain has been relatively modest, it is important to note that immigrant women's younger childbearing schedule – their mean age at first birth in 2013 was 27 compared to 31 among Spanish women – has contributed significantly to slowing down the rise in the mean age at motherhood and hence also the aggregate process of fertility postponement.

(Figure 2 about here)

Since the onset of the economic crisis, there has been a notable decline in immigration flows, union formation, and fertility – both of Spaniards and immigrants. Emigration has substantively increased and, at the same time, immigrants who arrived during the boom are progressively aging, which announces a parallel decrease in their fertility rates. In addition, it is not clear whether descendants of immigrants will keep their parents' patterns of family building, or whether they will rather assimilate to the natives' ones with additional reductions in the number of children per woman and increasing fertility postponement. Despite the intensity of recent immigration and their quick process of family reunification in Spain, most descendants of immigrants are still not of marriage age and, thus, it is difficult to anticipate how they will behave in terms of childbearing. According to the 2011 Population Census, the descendants of immigrants amounted to approximately 2 million people, of which only 800,000 corresponded to the second generation, while the rest were people who came to Spain during their childhood. Only 700,000 of all the descendants were older than 15 in 2011, namely only 144,678 from the second generation and 545,000 from the 1.5 generation. Thus, any analysis of the fertility patterns of descendants of immigrants will inform us only about the behavior of their older members – who represent less than half of their total size – and, for this reason, the results obtained should be taken with caution.

(Table 1 about here)

2. Theoretical framework and hypotheses

Previous studies on the childbearing patterns of migrant women residing in Spain have shown that their fertility is lower than the fertility of women in their countries of origin for all Latin American countries examined, although higher for women coming from Morocco where the TFR is still relatively high (Roig & Castro, 2007).[11] As argued by this and other studies, the observed differentials in the case of the Latin Americans could be partly due to selective migration. The proportion of women with secondary or higher education is considerably larger among Ecuadorian, Colombian and Peruvian women residing in Spain than among women in their home countries (Rosero-Bixby & Castro-Martín, 2011). In the case of Moroccan immigrants, their higher fertility is closely related to their distinct migration and partnership patterns. An important proportion of first generation Moroccan women came to Spain as marriage migrants, that is, right after marrying a Moroccan migrant who was living in Spain for a relatively long time. This type of marriage at a distance has been found to be associated with 'more traditional family behaviors' in other groups (Turkish immigrants) and countries (Germany, Denmark, Netherlands, etc.), as shown by Lievens (1999) and González-Ferrer (2007, 2011), among others. However, the extent to which these fertility patterns of first generation immigrant women remain unchanged or not among their daughters in Spain is still unknown. Note, for instance, that concurrent events of partnership formation, migration and fertility like the ones occurring for many Moroccan first generation women who come to Spain, will not take place for those who came during their childhood.

Given the very young age structure of descendants of immigrants in Spain, their entry into parenthood has never been analyzed. Immigrants from the 1.5 generation are classic in-betweeners; they are raised in immigrant families while being educated and reaching adulthood in the host society. Previous studies have found a general trend towards assimilation in fertility behavior among children of immigrants in different contexts: in Germany (Milewski, 2007; 2010), Sweden (Scott & Stanfors, 2011), the Netherlands (Garssen & Nicholaas, 2008) and the UK (Dubuc, 2012).

However, assimilation into native fertility patterns occurs at different pace depending on the group of origin, age at arrival, language fluency or country of destination, among other factors. Descendants of Turkish migrants, for instance, have been found to assimilate at

[11] The TFR in Morocco was at 2.6 in 2013 (PRB 2014).

slower rate than other groups. Some authors have emphasized the strength of family values in the Turkish culture to explain this result (Milewski, 2010); however, descendants of Turkish migrants in different countries of destination also show important variations in their fertility patterns that may be explained by different average fertility levels at destination (Milewski, 2011), different labor market performance (Scott & Stanfors, 2011), or different patterns of selection in their original parents' migration (Adserà, Ferrer, Sigle-Rushton & Wilson, 2012).

In other words, the influence of parental values and mothers' behavior concerning childbearing is likely to be weakened by the influence of school and peers. However, this weakening effect will be dependent on other factors such as age at migration, language fluency or residential segregation, but also selection processes going on at their parents' migration. The more selected (different from the average citizen in the country of origin) their parents were at the time of migration, the less likely children of immigrants are to reflect the dominant fertility patterns in their (parents') countries of origin. In the case of Spain, selection (in comparison to the dominant behavior in their country of origin) of Latin American and Moroccan immigrants with regard to fertility behavior seems to be different, as we described before. Accordingly, it is very likely that convergence with comparable natives takes place more quickly for the former than for the latter.

Fluency in the language of the destination country has long been recognized to play a key role in immigrants' outcomes and degree of adaptation (Chiswick and Miller, 2001). In the case of fertility, a non-official mother tongue may impact the ability of the child-migrant to access local cultural cues through school and peers to form her fertility preferences. In the Spanish case, again, descendants of Moroccan origin are less likely to be fluent in the host country language upon arrival than their Latin-American counterparts, who are almost all native Spanish speakers.

In addition to selection patterns and differential social distances across groups of origin, Adserà and Ferrer (2013) in their study on immigrants who arrived to Canada before adulthood, found that the fertility rate of individuals migrating up to age 6 was either somewhat lower or indistinguishable from that of natives while that of immigrants who migrated in their late teens showed a sharp increase relative to immigrants who arrived at earlier ages. The same age at arrival profile is present in England and France (Adserà, Ferrer, Sigle-Rushton & Wilson, 2012). Overall, once researchers allow estimates of fertility to vary

by age at immigration, they find patterns broadly consistent with the adaptation hypothesis. With few exceptions, women who immigrated at the youngest ages have fertility rates that are most similar to native-born women (Adserà & Ferrer, 2014).

2.1. Hypotheses

On the basis of the findings of previous research and taking into account the Spanish context, we intend to test the following hypotheses concerning the fertility patterns of immigrant women in Spain:

H1: Generation and origin. Assimilation into behavior of native women differs across groups of origins. The path of adaptation of a group depends on fertility patterns in their countries of origin, type of selection processes going on at parental migration to Spain, and size of women's family of origin.

In line with the arguments previously discussed, immigrants of Moroccan origin are expected to have more children and to have them earlier than natives, but also than comparable immigrants of Latin American origin; in contrast, descendants of EU15 immigrants are likely to be indistinguishable from native women. Reasons for these expectations are based not only on differences in the average fertility levels in their countries of origin but also in differential selection patterns of female migration to Spain of these three groups, their language and social distance with the country of destination, and their differences in average size of their families of origin.

H2: Birth cohort and education. Younger and more educated women are expected to have more similar fertility patterns to comparable natives, than less educated ones and women from older cohorts.

Descendants of EU15 and Latin American immigrants in Spain are known to achieve secondary and higher education in larger proportions than their Moroccan counterparts (partly because the average age at migration of the former is younger than that of the latter). Accordingly, controlling by education level is expected to considerably reduce the gross difference between natives and 1.5 generation Moroccan women.

H3: Spanish ancestry. Having a native-born parent is expected to accelerate convergence with native born women given the selection already involved in mixed marriages formed by immigrants and non-immigrants partners.

3. Data and methods

Most socio-demographic surveys carried out in Spain still lack detailed information on important life events. This limitation seriously restricts the possibility to analyze the process of family formation and dissolution from a life-course perspective not only for the recently arrived migrants but, in many occasions, also for the native-born population.

Just to give an idea of the extent of this limitation, it seems important to mention that the 2011 Census, for instance, did not collect any date other than date of birth and date of arrival to Spain/region/municipality/dwelling; there is no information on date of entry into marriage or cohabitation, neither fertility histories. The Labor Force Survey, which is periodically taken and has a very large sample with good coverage of immigrants, has never included information about the date of marriage or separation of the interviewees; in addition, like the Spanish Census, it only collects information on the number and age of children still living in the household, which implies a serious drawback to study the fertility behavior of older women whose children already left the parental home.[12]

Fortunately, the Centre for Sociological Research carried out the Fertility and Values Survey (FVS2006), which offers the best possibilities for exploring the fertility behavior of women in Spain. FVS2006 collected quite detailed partnership and fertility histories, with dated information; however, FVS2006 does not include men and did not over-sample immigrant populations. In order to compare the fertility behavior of immigrant and non-immigrant origin women in Spain, we merged data from the FVS2006 and the National Immigrants Survey (ENI2007), which collected information about the date of birth of all children of interviewed migrants regardless of their place of birth and residence at the time of the survey. Instead of looking at total fertility as some previous studies have done, in this article we analyze transition to first, second and third births, which allows to better understand differences not only in the total number of children but also in the fertility timing of women from different

[12] In fact, the Census data available only include the age of children by five-year groups, which additionally limits the possibility to reconstruct fertility histories.

origins. This is particularly relevant when we are analyzing the fertility behavior of young cohorts, who have still not completed their reproductive cycle.

Moreover, we will for the first time analyze the fertility patterns of descendants of immigrants in Spain in comparison to their native counterparts. ENI2007 allows us to examine transitions to the first, second and third birth of 1.5 generation immigrant women from EU15, Maghreb and Latin American origin, and compare them with their mothers' generation and also their native counterparts. As can be seen in Table 2, the sample sizes for the 1.5 generation groups are relatively small. Therefore, all the results concerning them must be taken with caution, not only because of limited sample sizes but also because our data will over-represent those women who had their children at younger ages. Thus, as the rest of 1.5 generation women become of childbearing age, the observed results for this sub-sample might change.

(Table 2 about here)

Since we only have yearly data, our event history models will be discrete-time with a logit link to estimate the probability to make a transition from childless to first birth, from the first to the second birth, and from the second to the third one. Our covariates include apart from the region of origin and generation, age, birth cohort, level of education, number of siblings in the family of origin of the woman, date of entry into marriage (only for those who married because we lack information on the start of cohabitation), and place of birth of the parents (whether at least one parent was born in Spain) in order to control for the potential effect of being the child from a mixed parental couple, which might distort the socialization effects often associated with the country of birth of the woman.

4. Results and discussion

The left-side graphs in Figures 4 to 6 summarize the non-parametric results for transitions to first, second and third births among native, first generation and 1.5 generation immigrant women, including all the birth cohorts in our sample. As can be seen, first generation immigrant women are as likely than natives to have a first birth, although they tend to have it a bit earlier than their native counterparts; in contrast, their descendants are slightly less likely to have a first birth and tend to have it later (50 percent of native and first generation had their first child at age 26 or earlier, while the median age at first birth for the 1.5 women is 29 years). When we look at the second birth, women of immigrant origin seem less likely to

experience this transition over their life time, although differences in timing seem again important: 1.5 generation women have their second child at older ages than their mothers had. In addition, the observed differences in the incidence of a second birth between native and first generation women seem to derive mainly from a higher incidence of this transition after age 29 for native than for immigrant women. Finally, differences concerning the third birth completely disappear between native and first generation, but remain large and significant between them and the 1.5 generation women, who are significantly less likely to have a third child and, in any case, have them later.

(Figure 3 about here)

(Figure 4 about here)

(Figure 5 about here)

As immigrant women in Spain belong, on average, to younger birth cohorts, in the right-hand side of the Figures we plotted the same birth transitions but restricting the sample to women born after 1950. As can be seen, in this case, differences in first birth timing between the first generation and the natives become wider, with first generation women being the ones who become mothers at younger ages, followed by natives and descendants of immigrants; and the same pattern is also found for the transition from the first to the second birth. Differences in both incidence and timing become also much larger in the transition to the third child, which remains substantially less likely to occur for 1.5 generation women than for the rest.

Bearing in mind the previous results, in the multivariate analyses we have restricted our sample to women born in 1950 or later in order to homogenize the composition of our three sub-samples, as can be seen in Table 3.

(Table 3 about here)

In addition, all models control not only for birth cohort but also for generation and region of origin, educational level, year of marriage, and Spanish ancestry. In Table 4, three step-wise models are estimated for each birth transition, comparing native and immigrants from the first and 1.5 generation. Model 1 controls by age, birth cohort and origin group, Model 2 adds educational level as a covariate, and Model 3 adds woman's number of siblings, Spanish

ancestry (the mother or the father of the woman were Spanish born) and also the year of entry into marriage for the first birth.[13]

Before discussing the results it is important to note that the interpretation of the odds ratio in the case of the transition to the first birth reveals differences in timing of childbearing across groups rather than differential incidence, since, as we saw in the previous survival functions, childlessness is very uncommon for all the women in our samples.

As can be seen, the results for the transition to the first birth tend to confirm a trend to convergence with native women's behavior across immigrant generations in the case of both Latin Americans, and the residual group of 'Others'. However, the same pattern does not emerge for immigrants with origin in the EU15 or the Maghreb group. EU15 first generation women were already indistinguishable from comparable natives concerning their entry into motherhood, but their descendants are significantly less likely to have a first child or, more precisely, more likely to delay it to older ages. In the case of immigrants from the Maghreb, gross differences shown in Model 1 indicate also some assimilation across generations (significant coefficient above 1 for the first generation, but no significant differences for the 1.5). However, once differences in the educational composition of the three groups – native, first generation and their descendants-, in the size of their families of origin and marriage-migration patterns are controlled for, the initial differences completely change: as can be seen in Model 3, both first and 1.5 generation women from the Maghreb appear significantly more likely to have their first child later in life than comparable natives. Thus, it is clear that initial differences between Spanish-born women and female immigrants from the Maghreb are mostly due to differences in educational levels, which are shown to have substantial effects in reducing/delaying the transition to first child.

(Table 4 about here)

Some important changes occur when we analyze further fertility transitions after the first birth. Note that, in this case, a number below 1 indicates a lower probability of having a child, rather than just a delay in the woman's fertility timing, as it is common for the first child.

[13] Unfortunately, ENI did not collect complete partnership histories nor the date of entry into cohabitation. Since most women marry only once and usually before the first birth, we decided to at least introduce this control in the transition to first birth models.

Immigrants from the EU15 appear as less likely to have the second and the third child compared to natives, and there is no significant change across generations. In contrast, important changes are observed among the immigrants of Latin American origin: first generation women were less likely to have a second child than their native counterparts, but more likely to have a third one, conditionally on having had the second. These differences with respect to native women's reproductive behavior completely vanish for the 1.5 generation of Latin Americans, which might be indicating a relatively rapid convergence for this group of descendants of immigrants. Finally, immigrants from the Maghreb remain more likely to have a second and a third child than comparable natives, although the probability to have the third one has significantly reduced from the first to the 1.5 generation (the effect is statistically significant when we run a separate analysis for them without the natives). The residual group of 'Others' shows no generational change in the probability to have a second child, which is significantly lower than among comparable natives. In the case of the third child, it is not clear whether the absence of statistically significant differences between the 1.5 generation and the natives – taking into account the higher probability of a third child among the first generation – is due to a true assimilation effect, or whether it rather reflects the limited sample size for this group in this transition.

With regard to the effect of the rest of covariates, all showed the expected effects. Younger and more educated cohorts are less likely to have children, and to have them at older ages, and coming from a larger family tends to increase a woman's probability to have more kids, which also supports the importance of the socialization hypothesis on the intergenerational transmission of fertility behavior.[14] In addition, the role of tertiary education seems to be much more important in deciding the timing of the first birth than in the transitions to the second and third births, where its effect does not differ significantly from having 'just' secondary education. Marriage tends to accelerate entry into motherhood, as suggested by the significant odds ratio above 1 for this variable. Finally, having a parent of Spanish origin has not a clear effect on the fertility transitions analyzed here. Although the effect is never statistically significant, its sign changes across the different transitions. One potential explanation has to do with fact that mixed parental couples of the women include two different types: the ones formed by Spanish emigrants who married abroad with foreigners

[14] No significant interaction effects were found for this variable by immigrant origin. In other words, the influence of coming from a larger family does not seem to influence differently native and immigrant origin women's fertility patterns.

and returned to Spain with them, and the more conventional mixed couples formed in Spain by immigrants of foreign origin.

5. Conclusions

In this paper we have analyzed the transitions to first, second and third births of native and immigrant origin women, including both first and 1.5 generation, in Spain. The twofold comparison confirms a trend towards intergenerational assimilation: first generation women had more children than comparable natives, but also than their daughters living in Spain. Despite this overall trend towards lower fertility levels and delay of the age at entry into motherhood, some important differences across origin groups remain, even when the comparison is restricted to only natives and children of immigrants who have spent most of their childhood in Spain.

Our analyses show that most groups of descendants to immigrants have similar or lower fertility than women with a full Spanish background. The lower odds of having the first child should be interpreted as an indication of motherhood delay rather than an increased probability of childlessness, because the survival curves show that most women eventually make the transition to first birth. This pattern of motherhood postponement has clearly grown over time and, particularly, with women's increasing educational level. The risk of having a second and a third child is only significantly higher for the descendants of Moroccan immigrants compared to women with a full Spanish background. In contrast, differences between descendants of Latin American immigrants and comparable natives disappear already in the transition to the second birth, while descendants of EU15 immigrants show a lower propensity of having a second and a third child already among first generation immigrants.

These findings demonstrate the necessity to account for parity-specific differences in fertility also when studying the fertility of descendants of migrants, and to distinguish quantum and tempo effects, especially when analyzing the transition to first birth. Moreover, the general assimilation trend in fertility patterns expected for the second generation is already observed for the 1.5 generation in some groups like the Latin Americans, and to a lesser extent for the Moroccans who appear less likely than their mothers to have a third child.

Our results were partially expected given the difficult context for childbearing existent in Spain (lack of part-time jobs, lack of pre-school services in ages 0-3, lack of substantial welfare benefits supporting fertility, etc.), and the strongly selected nature of female immigration in most origin groups. In addition, they partially challenge the extended belief that immigrants might imply a miraculous recovery of fertility levels in Spain, which have been among the lowest in the world for the latest two decades, and raises some questions about the causes and consequences of slower assimilation of Moroccan origin immigrants into the mainstream fertility behavior.

References

Adserà, A., Ferrer, A., Sigle-Rushton, W. & Wilson, B. (2012). Fertility Patterns of Child Migrants: Age at Migration and Ancestry in Comparative Perspective. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 643*(1), 160-189.

Adserà, A. & Ferrer, A. (2013). The Fertility of Recent Immigrants to Canada. *IZA Discussion Papers 7289*, Institute for the Study of Labor (IZA).

Adserà A., & Ferrer,A. (2014). Immigrants and Demography: Marriage, Divorce, and Fertility, IZA Discussion Paper No. 7982.

Anderson, G. (2004). Childbearing after Migration: Fertility Patterns of Foreign-Born Women in Sweden. *International Migration Review, 38*(2), 747-775.

Castro-Martín, T., & Rosero-Bixby, L. (2011). Maternidades y fronteras: la fecundidad de las mujeres inmigrantes en España. *Revista Internacional de Sociología* 69 (M1), 105-137.

Castro-Martín, T. & Martín-García, T. (2013). The fertility gap in Spain: Late parenthood, few children and unfulfilled reproductive desires. In G. Esping-Andersen (Coord.), *The Fertility Gap in Europe: Singularities of the Spanish Case*. Social Studies Collection no. 36. Barcelona: la Caixa Foundation.

Chiswick, B. & Miller, P. (2001). A model of destination-language acquisition: Application to male immigrants in Canada. *Demography*, *38*(3), 391-409.

de Valk, H., & Milewski, N. (2011). Family life transitions among children of immigrants: An introduction. *Advances in Life Course Research*, *16*(4), 145-151.

Dubuc, S. (2012). Immigration to the UK from high-fertility countries: Intergenerational adaptation and fertility convergence. *Population and Development Review*, *38*(2), 353-368.

Garssen, J. & Nicolaas, H. (2008). Fertility of Turkish and Moroccan women in the Netherlands: Adjustment to native level within one generation. *Demographic Research, 19*(33), 1249-1280.

González-Ferrer, A. (2007). The process of family reunification among original guest-workers in Germany. Special issue *of Zeitschrift für Familienforschung* on the topic Immigrant Families in Europe, 3, 10-33.

González-Ferrer, A. (2011). Explaining the labour performance of immigrant women in Spain: the interplay between family, migration and legal trajectories. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, 52 (1-2), 63-78.

INE (2014). Proyección de la Población de España 2014–2064.

Kulu H., (2005). Migration and fertility: Competing hypotheses re-examined. *European Journal of Population*, 21, 51–87.

Lievens, J. (1999). Family-Formation Migration from Turkey and Morocco to Belgium: The Demand for Marriage Partners from the Countries of Origin. *International Migration Review,* 33(3), 717-744.

Lutz, W. & Scherbov, S. (2002). Can Immigration Compensate for Europe's Low Fertility?. Laxenburg, International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis, Interim Report IR-02-052.

Milewski, N. (2007). First child of immigrant workers and their descendants in West Germany: interrelation of events, disruption, or adaptation?, *Demographic Research* 17(29), 859-896.

Milewski, N. (2010). Immigrant fertility in West Germany: Is there a socialization effect in transitions to second and third births?. *European Journal of Population, 26*(1), 297-323.

OECD (2011). *Doing better for families*, Paris: OECD Publishing.

Population Reference Bureau (PRB) (2014). World Population Data Sheet.

Roig, M., & Castro-Martín, T. (2007). Childbearing Patterns of Foreign Women in a New Immigration Country: The Case of Spain. *Population-E* 62 (3): 351-380.

Scott K., & Stanfors M., (2011). The transition to parenthood among the second generation: Evidence from Sweden, 1990–2005, *Advances in Life Course Research*, 16(4), 190-204.

Sobotka, T. (2008). The rising importance of migrants for childbearing in Europe, *Special Collection 7: Childbearing Trends and Policies in Europe*, 19 (9), 225-248.

Tables and Figures

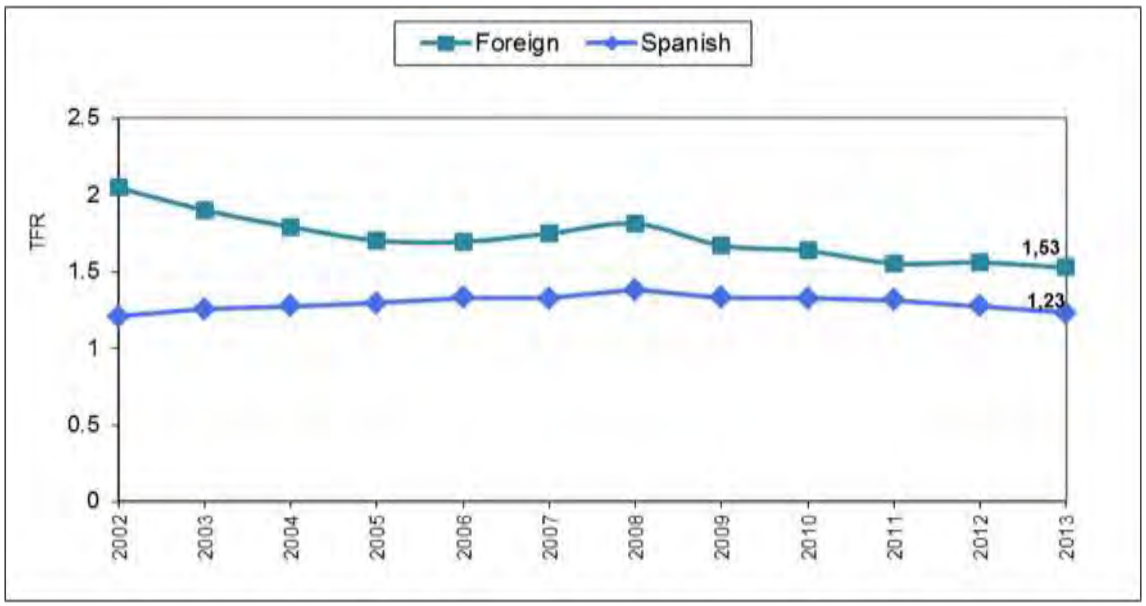


Figure 1. *Total Fertility Rate of women residing in Spain, by nationality, 2002-2013*
Source: INE, Demographic Indicators

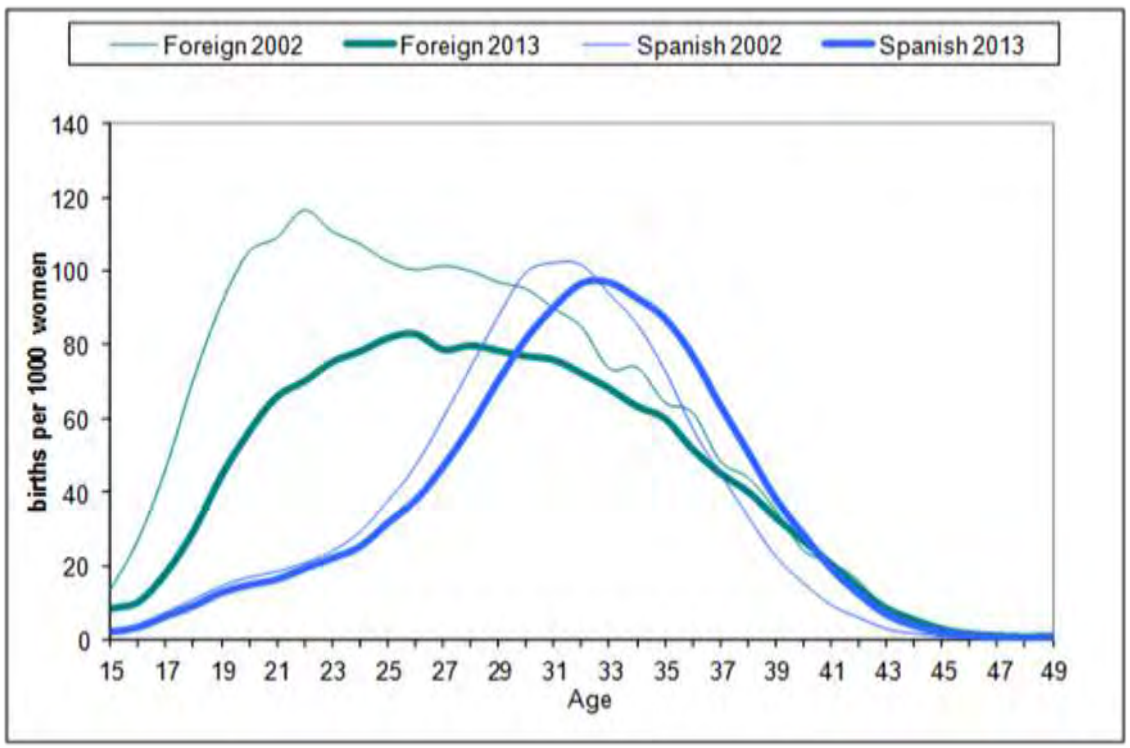


Figure 2. *Age-specific fertility rates by nationality, 2002 and 2013*
Source: INE, Birth Statistics 2002 and 2013

Table 1: *Size and characteristics of the resident population in Spain by own and parental place of birth combined, 2011*

Own and parents' place of birth	Size	Female	Age at migration	16 or more	3 first origins	Married
Native	38,947,733 84		NA	33,295,310		
Children born abroad to two Spanish-born emigrants	476,044 1	52%	11 5	426,776	Arg, Fr, Mor	49%
Children of one Spanish-born emigrant born abroad	275,868 1	49%	17 13	230,431	Fr, Germ, Venez	37%
1st gen	3,830,496 8	50%	32 30	3,830,496	Rom, Mor, Ecu	60%
1.5 gen	1,066,777 2	45%	7 8	545,652	Mor, Rom, Ecu	10%
2nd gen	797,289 2	47%	NA	144,678	Mor, Rom, Ecu	7%
Children of mixed couples in Spain	1,180,519 3	50%	NA	610,392	Fr, Mor, Germ	18%
Total	46,574,725 100					

Source: 2011 Census Population, weighted percentages.

Table 2: *Number of events by birth transition and origin (only women)*

	Total	None	First child	Second child	Third child	% of total with 1 child	% of with 2 children over total with 1	% of with 3 children over total with 2
Native	5,527	2,315	3,212	2,114	477	58	66	23
1G-UE15+US+Can	1,725	618	1,107	602	116	64	54	19
1.5G-UE15+US+Can	598	241	357	217	25	60	61	12
1G-Magreb	520	154	366	228	74	70	62	32
1.5G-Magreb	121	55	66	49	15	55	74	31
1G-LA	2,623	758	1,865	1,060	318	71	57	30
1.5G-LA	324	184	140	80	16	43	57	20
1G-Other	628	184	444	227	53	71	51	23
1.5G-Other	75	40	35	17	5	47	49	29
Total	12,141	4,549	7,592	4,594	1,099	63	61	24

Source: ENI 2007 & FVS2006.

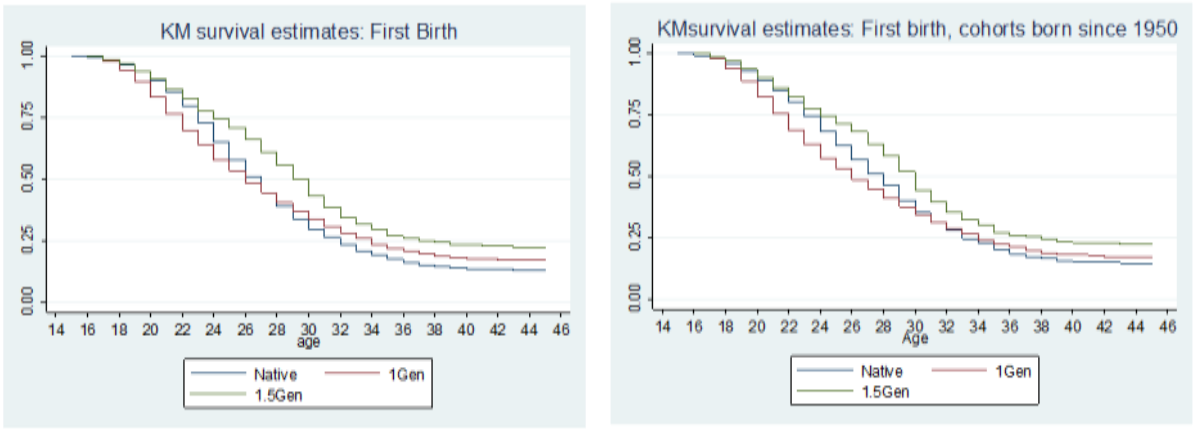


Figure 3: *KM Survival estimates of the transition to first birth, by origin and generation*

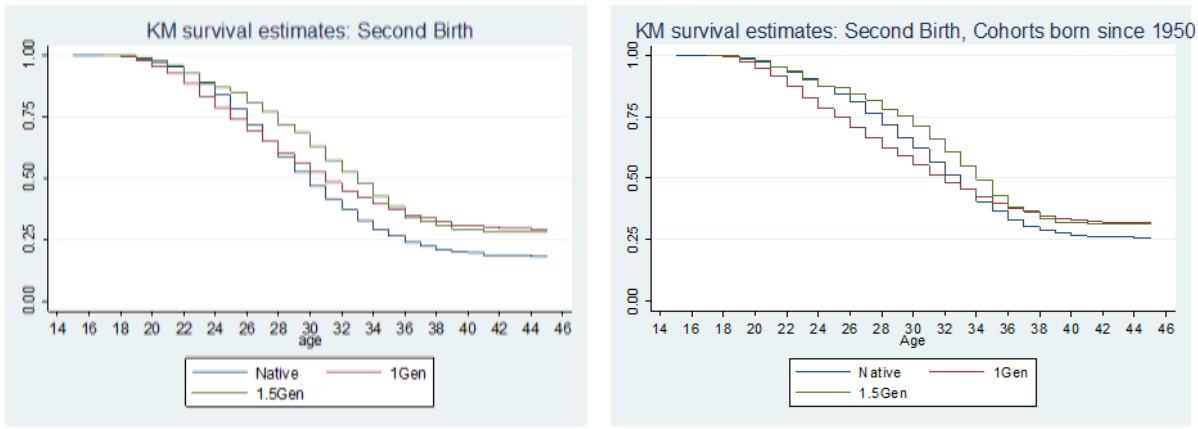


Figure 4: *KM Survival estimates of the transition to second birth, by origin and generation*

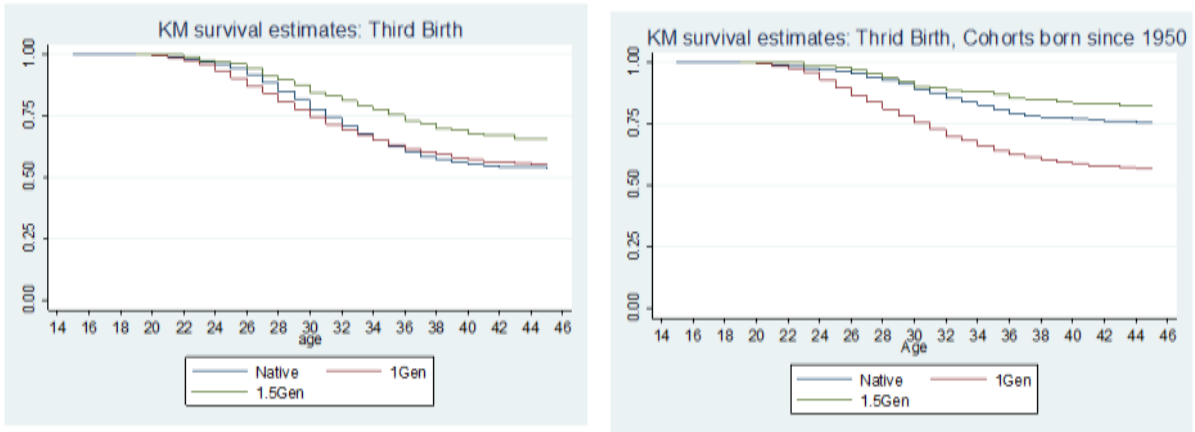


Figure 5: *KM Survival estimates of the transition to third birth, by origin and generation*

Table 3: *Sample by generation and birth cohort, including and excluding women born before 1960.*

	Total Sample						**Analyses Sample**			
	Native	**First Gen**	**1.5 Gen**	**Total**			**Native**	**First Gen**	**1.5 Gen**	**Total**
Bef. 1950	34.57	13.31	13.17	24.37						
1950-59	14.19	12.57	10.49	13.25		1950-59	21.68	14.49	12.08	17.51
1960-69	18.04	24.13	28.48	21.3		1960-69	27.57	27.84	32.8	28.16
1970-79	16.43	34.44	21.9	24.09		1970-79	25.11	39.73	25.22	31.84
1980-89	16.77	15.55	25.96	17		1980-89	25.64	17.94	29.89	22.48
Total	100	100	100	100		Total	100	100	100	100

Table 4. *Time-discrete logit estimates of transition to first, second and third birth (odds ratio)*

	First				Second			Third		
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	1	2	3
Ref. Native										
1G-EU15+US+Can	0.999	1.005	1.037	1.052	0.766***	0.759***	0.768***	0.828**	0.845*	0.883
	(0.04)	(0.13)	0.99	1.39	(5.62)	(5.78)	(5.44)	(2.05)	(1.82)	(1.34)
1.5G-EU15+US+Can	0.817***	0.789***	0.822**	0.836**	0.871*	0.856**	0.812**	0.638**	0.620**	0.707
	(3.52)	(4.08)	(2.72)	(2.48)	(1.84)	(2.06)	(2.08)	(2.33)	(2.47)	(1.53)
1G-Maghreb	1.253***	0.943	0.858**	0.865**	1.641***	1.531***	1.401***	3.048***	2.645***	2.416***
	4.34	(1.08)	(2.74)	(2.59)	7.55	6.28	4.8	12	9.95	8.7
1.5G-Maghreb	0.917	0.719**	0.698**	0.717**	1.533**	1.452**	1.326*	1.804**	1.685**	1.814**
	(0.70)	(2.67)	(2.86)	(2.64)	2.9	2.52	1.81	2.68	2.36	2.49
1G-LatinAmerica	1.299***	1.324***	1.264***	1.291***	0.897**	0.885**	0.843***	1.624***	1.649***	1.539***
	8.89	9.4	7.57	8.25	(2.81)	(3.10)	(4.20)	7.45	7.53	6.26
1.5G-LatinAmerica	0.845*	0.964	0.998	1.017	0.931	0.937	0.882	0.819	0.882	1.046
	(1.91)	(0.41)	(0.02)	0.17	(0.61)	(0.55)	(0.92)	(0.85)	(0.53)	0.17
1G-Other	1.198***	1.258***	1.272***	1.287***	0.689***	0.678***	0.682***	1.442**	1.503***	1.485**
	3.53	4.41	4.58	4.81	(5.40)	(5.55)	(5.42)	3.04	3.33	3.16
1.5G-Other	0.796	0.786	0.799	0.813	0.606**	0.613**	0.578**	1.646	1.732	1.958
	(1.32)	(1.39)	(1.27)	(1.17)	(2.04)	(1.99)	(2.18)	1.18	1.3	1.55
Age	2.100***	2.170***	2.177***	2.149***	1.551***	1.560***	1.567***	1.540***	1.594***	1.587***
	42.69	44.04	44.06	43.26	17.56	17.54	17.63	8.77	9.24	9.13
Age Square	0.987***	0.987***	0.987***	0.987***	0.992***	0.992***	0.991***	0.991***	0.991***	0.991***
	(39.41)	(40.44)	(40.45)	(39.67)	(19.59)	(19.52)	(19.58)	(11.02)	(11.33)	(11.19)
Ref. Birth cohort 1950-59	-	-			-	-	-	-	-	-
1960-69	0.766***	0.840***	0.844***	0.847***	0.901**	0.915**	0.915**	0.878**	0.921	0.913
	(8.62)	(5.48)	(5.35)	(5.21)	(2.83)	(2.38)	(2.36)	(2.18)	(1.34)	(1.47)
1970-79	0.628***	0.717***	0.726***	0.731***	0.703***	0.719***	0.729***	0.664***	0.689***	0.681***
	(14.59)	(10.11)	(9.63)	(9.42)	(8.42)	(7.73)	(7.34)	(5.57)	(4.98)	(5.08)
1980-1989	0.580***	0.625***	0.643***	0.652***	0.484***	0.495***	0.508***	0.300***	0.323***	0.319***
	(11.03)	(9.32)	(8.64)	(8.37)	(8.29)	(7.94)	(7.57)	(5.18)	(4.85)	(4.80)
Less than Primary		-				-	-		-	-
Secondary		0.678***	0.698***	0.701***		0.846***	0.867***		0.700***	0.733***
		(12.44)	(11.34)	(11.22)		(4.47)	(3.78)		(6.01)	(5.14)
Tertiary		0.337***	0.355***	0.358***		0.911*	0.951		0.703***	0.765**
		(28.44)	(26.49)	(26.19)		(1.87)	(0.99)		(3.80)	(2.83)
Nr woman's siblings			1.038***	1.038***			1.036***			1.049***
			7.62	7.6			(5.9)			(5.46)
One parent Sp-born			0.98	0.97			1.116			0.874
			(0.35)	(0.53)			(1.37)			(0.86)
Marriage (tv)				1.666***						
				11.52						
Person Years	145881	145881	145881	145881	55049	55049	55049	47880	47880	47880

Exponentiated coefficients; t statistics in parentheses. * p < 0.10, ** p < 0.05, *** p < 0.001

First child among immigrants and their descendants in Switzerland

Andrés Guarin and Laura Bernardi

Abstract:
Drawing on data from the Swiss Household Panel (SHP), we examine the first birth behaviour of immigrants and their descendants by comparing their patterns to those of the 'native' population in Switzerland. Using event-history techniques, the empirical evidence shows that all second-generation immigrants (2G) have similar probabilities of becoming parents than Swiss natives, with the exception of 2G with Former Yugoslavian and Turkish origins. The latter group is more likely of becoming parents and having children at younger ages than their counterparts from Switzerland and from other origin.

Keywords: Immigrants, the 'second-generation' immigrants, childbearing, Switzerland.

Acknowledgement: The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme (FP7/2007-2013) under grant agreement no. 320116 for the research project FamiliesAndSocieties.

1. Introduction

After the Second World War, the massive influx of "temporary" immigrants in response to a lack of workers, led to the founding of large immigrant communities in most countries of Western Europe (Coleman, 2006; Mens, 2006). Many studies analyse the difference in life trajectories of immigrants, trying to understand their level of integration in the host country; research has investigated labour market integration (Fibbi et al. 2006; Liebig et al. 2012; Bicin et al. 2011), educational adaptation (Orozco et al. 2005; Sam et al. 2008; Crul 2013), fertility (Kulu & Milewski, 2007), residential and housing patterns (Musterd, 2005; Abbaci 2008). The children of those immigrants, commonly referred to as "second-generation" immigrants, have also been studied in Europe (Crul, 2012). Descendents of immigrants have reached adult age and a large number of studies [15] has aimed at understanding the differences in adaptation between first-generation immigrants and their children, with reference to the "native" population; the research covers school contextual effects (Kogan 2007; Rendall et al. 2010), adaptation process in early adulthood (Bolzman et al. 2003; Portes & Rumbaut 2005; Santelli 2007), professional trajectories after school (Sweet et al. 2010), economic performance (Algan et al. 2010), and transition to parenthood (Milewski, 2011; Scott & Stanfors 2011).

The recent literature has witnessed an increasing interest in the study of family dynamics among immigrants. One of the main indicators to understand the process of integration among populations with immigrant origins is family and fertility behaviour (Sobotka, 2008). Immigrants from high-fertility to low-fertility countries are particularly investigated (Andersson, 2014; Kulu & Milewski, 2007); most research finds patterns of gradual adaptation of migrants' fertility in different settings in Europe and North America (Ford, 1990; Andersson, 2004; Kulu, 2005). These studies report overall differences in fertility but hide a large heterogeneity between different groups of migrants (Coleman, 1994; Sobotka, 2008). Research shows that the timing of migration, the duration of stay, the reasons for migration and a person's labour force participation affect the fertility of migrants (Andersson & Scott, 2005, 2007; Milewski, 2007; Toulemon, 2004).

[15] Early works were heavily influenced by theories developed in the United States (Crul, 2012).

Literature proposes four main mechanisms to explain the integration of immigrants, or the lack thereof, with reference to fertility; a) the *socialisation* mechanism suggests that family trajectories of immigrants are influenced by values, norms and behavioural patterns to which they are exposed during childhood (Kulu & Milewski, 2007; Kulu & Gonzalez-Ferrer, 2013); b) the *adaptation* mechanism, suggesting that the family behaviour of migrants will converge (in a medium rather than a long-term perspective) towards that of the population of the host society (Andersson, 2004; Andersson & Scott, 2005; Kulu & Gonzalez-Ferrer, 2013); c) the *selection* mechanism, which suggests that the behaviour of immigrant families is different from the behaviour of the population in their home country, as they have chosen and managed to leave their original social environment for another (Andersson, 2004; Kulu & Milewski, 2007; Kulu & Gonzalez-Ferrer, 2013); and finally d) the *disruption* mechanism suggests that fertility levels are particularly low immediately after migration due to the economic costs and the psychological stress related to the event of migration (rapid change of living environment). After a given time of adjustment, fertility levels are expected to rise again (De Valk & Milewski, 2011; Milewski 2007; Kulu & Gonzalez-Ferrer, 2013)[16].

With reference to children of immigrants, research on fertility is still relatively young (De Valk & Milewski, 2011). Often this is due to the relatively young age of the second generations who might have not yet reached the end of their reproductive ages. Yet, studying fertility behaviour of individuals in their late 20s early 30s is in many cases a good indicator for completed fertility (Kreyenfeld, 2014). In studies, the descendants of immigrants are typically treated as distinct population sub-groups; the focus is often on finding evidence of socio-demographic integration, meaning similar characteristics between immigrants and the majority population of the host country (Andersson, 2014; Milewski, 2007; De Valk & Milewski, 2011). The existing research on the fertility of descendants of migrants focuses on the comparison between either migrant generations, descendants of migrants and the majority population, or descendants of migrants of different origins (or migrant groups). Most studies suggest "that the fertility of the descendants of migrants moving from high to low-fertility countries is lower than that of their parents" (Andersson, 2014, p. 6), but that it remains higher than fertility of the majority population.

[16] For resume on this topic you can see Kulu and Gonzalez-Ferrer (2013) where they present an excellent state-of-the-art report of hypotheses that could be explain the differences between immigrant population and natives.

Such differences have been attributed to three main mechanisms[17]; 1) *Socialization*: fertility norms and values are transmitted via the first generation to their children. Indeed, this mechanism has shown that first generation migrants transmit their ideals of larger families and lower age at transition to parenthood to their children (De Valk & Milewski, 2011; Milewski, 2011). 2) *Adaptation*: during adult life, the second generation are exposed to both normative and economic conditions of the host country. They might thus experience cultural adaptation via social contacts with the majority population, affecting their childbearing preferences (Holland and De Valk 2013); and 3) *Population composition*: besides cultural factors, such as religion, language, and family orientation, differences between second-generation immigrants and "natives", particularly occur in the socio-economic sphere and these differences could play a role in fertility behaviour.

This report aims to contribute to the understanding of childbearing patterns among descendants of immigrants in Switzerland. Although we also present the results of the first generation migrants, our analyses focuses on the children of immigrants and therefore the comparison of fertility between Swiss natives and descendants of migrants as well as differences between migrant groups. More precisely, using the Swiss Household Panel (SHP), we examine how do first birth patterns of Swiss natives, and second-generation migrants differ from each other. We also demonstrate how childbearing patterns and any differences in parity-specific fertility are modified by women's socioeconomic characteristics. The case of Switzerland is an interesting case to study. Among European countries Switzerland has one of the highest rates of foreign population (Marks, 2005), which is characterized by a highly diversified immigrant group both in terms of geographical origin and socio-economic position (Bolzman, 2001; Fibbi, 2010; Lagana et al., 2013; Lerch, 2010).

In the next section, we give an overview of immigrants and their descendants in Switzerland. Following that in section 3, we present the childbearing trends in Switzerland for natives, immigrants and their descendants. Section 4 presents the data and methods of our analyses, thereafter section 5 is dedicated to the discussion of results.

[17] For resume on this mechanisms you can see Krapf and Wolf (2014).

2. Immigrants and their descendants in Switzerland

In the history of immigration in Switzerland, the proportion and origin of foreigners has greatly varied over time. These variations were closely related to the country's economic development (Wanner, 2004). The industrialization process contributed to the rapid growth of the foreign population. In the beginning of 1910 about 15% of the population were immigrants (Afonso, 2004). This phase of population growth is followed by the interwar period, characterized by a slowdown of immigration flows into Switzerland. Subsequently, as Wanner (2004) shows, one can identify three major periods of immigration in Switzerland. The first period, between 1948 and 1973, was characterized by the development of internal migration. After the Second World War, the economy of Switzerland underwent considerable growth due to the economic demands generated by post war reconstruction. Foreign labour was promoted in order to fulfil such demands (Afonso, 2004). Most of these labour migrants who arrived at this point in time to work in the construction industry, factories or the service sector came from Italy and Spain. During this first period Switzerland practiced a "rotation policy"[18] to prevent the permanent settlement of foreigners (Afonso, 2004; Cerutti, 1994; Wanner, 2004). Swiss laws controlled the immigration flows and prevented a more stable and "permanent" immigration. A second period, which occurred between 1974 and 1990 is considered as a period of "transition". The proportion of foreigners quickly dropped as a consequence of the economic crisis of the 1970s. The final period followed in the 1990s, which was characterized by the diversification of migration flows. In this period, Switzerland has experienced a change in migration policies, now focussing more on integration, which made family reunification possible and promoted social mobility of foreigners by enabling promotion on the work place for them (Fibbi et al., 2009). Further, a diversification of reasons for immigrants to come to Switzerland emerged. In addition to the usual flows of economic immigrants, newcomers, especially from the Balkans countries migrated because of political reasons (asylum seekers) (Fibbi et al. 2007; Wanner et al. 2004).

At the beginning of the 21st century Switzerland is characterized by the presence of a highly diversified immigrant population, both in terms of geographical origin and socio-economic position (Lerch, 2010). This massive influx of immigrants in Switzerland, led to the development of large immigrant communities (Coleman, 2006; Mens, 2006). In 2013, about

[18] According to this policy immigration, immigrants would generally only stay in the country for a short time. The fundamental features of this policy were the seasonal permits (normally 6 months).

34% of the Swiss population has immigrant origins[19], four fifths of which are from other European countries. The largest immigrant group in Switzerland is from Italy, followed by immigrants from Germany and Portugal (FSO, 2014)[20]. Currently, most immigrants arriving in Switzerland come from Former Yugoslavian countries, followed by immigrants from Turkey and Sri Lanka (Fibbi et al. 2009). Immigrant descendants, commonly referred to as "second-generation" immigrants, were educated and socialized in the host country (Crul & Mollenkopf, 2012). Four out of five of the foreigners are first generation migrants and the remaining are second-generation migrants (Bader & Fibbi, 2012). Marks (2005) estimates (considering only individuals born in Switzerland from two foreigner parents) that 8% of the population born in Switzerland has immigrant origins. Using the Program for International Student Assessment survey data (PISA), Lagana et al., (2013) estimated this proportion to be about 10%, within these, about 4% have Italian or Spanish parents and 5.4% parents coming from Portugal or Former Yugoslavia and Turkey.

3. Immigrants' fertility in Switzerland

Migration constitutes a powerful component of demographic change. Immigration contributes directly to population size and composition, and migration has a broader demographic impact on each society, especially when immigrant populations have different levels and patterns of fertility (Sobotka, 2008). However, migration is also the most unstable and the least predictable component of population change (Alho et al., 2006). In the literature, authors explain that different factors such as: marriage (mixed-marriages), time of migration, migration policies and type of immigration can play a role in the family formation behaviour in immigrant populations (Andersson, 2004; Sobotka, 2008; Toulemon 2004). Although all these factors play a role in understanding fertility behaviour, "the period TFR gives a basic picture of the major trends in fertility of immigrants, differences between immigrants from various regions, and the overall impact of immigration on the observed TFR of national populations" (Sobotka, 2008 p. 231).

During the last century, Switzerland, like other European countries, has experienced two short

[19] The high proportion of foreigners in Switzerland is however also partially a result of the restrictive naturalization policy, a high birth rate amongst immigrants and their low mortality rate (Fibbi et al. 2009).

[20] http://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/portal/en/index/themen/01/07/blank/key/04.html

periods of increase in the TFR, the first one between 1940 and 1945 when the TFR rose from 1.5 to 2.0 and one in the period between 1954 and 1964 where the TFR rose from 1.7 to 2.0 (Calot et al., 1998). Otherwise, the TFR followed a downward trend in the second half of the 20th century. We can see for example that in the period between the wars the TFR decreased from 2.1 to 1.5 and for the period between 1965 and 1978, TFR decreased from 1.7 to 1.2. Since 2001, the TFR grew gradually, reaching 1.52 children per woman in 2013 (FSO, 2014).

As predictable, fluctuations in the TFR were accompanied by changes in the age of the mother at first birth. We see that during the 1960s, women were on average 28 years old at first birth, in 1990 women had their first children around age 30 and in 2013 at age 32 years. There are several reasons for these fluctuations in terms of the TFR and age at first birth: 1) fewer women under 30 years of age are giving birth to children and more women above 35 are giving birth; 2) longer periods of education and delayed entrance in the job market; 3) changes in mentality and behaviour, and 4) the introduction of modern contraceptives in the early 1960's contributed to the decline (Le Goff et al., 2005; Wanner, 1998; 2004; 2005).

Despite these general trends, there are major differences between the fertility of the Swiss native and foreign populations (Figure 1). Foreign women on average have more children than the Swiss natives (FSO, 2014)[21]. However, differences exist also among immigrant groups (Wanner, 2005). Portuguese and Spanish families have an average number of children that is particularly low, not exceeding 1.6 children. The German, French and Italian immigrants have a value only slightly higher (between 1.67 and 1.69 children), still below the level for the Swiss (1.81 children); However the Turkish communities (2.02 children), Former Yugoslavians (2.33 children) and Africans (2.01 children) have larger families (Wanner, 2000).

(Figure 1 about here)

So far research on the fertility of descendants of immigrants has been restricted to countries with a long history of immigration, such as the U.S., Canada, and Australia (Kreyenfeld,

[21] During the economic crisis of the seventies, the TFR rate drops and passes below the replacement level (FSO, 2014). During this period the TFR of immigrants was similar to the TFR of Swiss natives.

2014). Most studies suggest that the fertility of the descendants of migrants from high to low-fertility countries is lower than that of their parents; some studies suggest that it is even lower than that of the majority population in the host countries (Andersson, 2014; Milewski, 2011). There is much less research on childbearing and other family-demographic behaviour of the descendants of immigrants in Europe (De Valk & Milewski, 2011). Milewski (2006) finds that the descendants of immigrants in most cases have adapted their behaviour to the low-fertility regime of the host country.

For Switzerland, the study conducted by Bolzman (2003) on the children of Spanish and Italian migrants in Switzerland confirm these general trends, finding that there is very little difference between young individuals with Spanish and Italian migration background and Swiss natives belonging to working classes or lower middle classes (Bolzman, 2007). In another study, Kohler (2012) observed that second-generation women from the Middle East, Maghreb and Turkey still display the largest fertility differentials, but the drop in their fertility rate compared to their parents' generation is also the largest. All in all the adaptation theory seems to be the major mechanism at work.

In the following, we analyse differences in the occurrence and timing of first birth between the majority population (Swiss natives) and the various immigrant groups of first and second-generations currently resident in Switzerland. We test whether the observed differences can be attributed to a different population composition by education and cohort of the various immigrant groups and the majority population.

4. Data and methods

For our study we used data from the Swiss Household Panel (SHP)[22]. The SHP collects longitudinal data on a variety of life course dimensions like origin, union, family, residence, health, education, and profession. It therefore represents an invaluable source of information to study union and family dynamics from a life course perspective. Data collection started in 1999 with a sample of 5,074 households containing 12,931 individuals. In 2004 a second

[22] This part of the document uses the information of the Swiss House Panel
http://www.swisspanel.ch/spip.php?rubrique127&lang=en

sample of 2,538 households with a total of 6,569 household members was added. The SHP database currently holds longitudinal information for the years 1999 to 2011.

The only limitation for the current study is that the SHP had not, until 2013[23], targeted the immigrant population or its descendants during the sampling process. This means that the small number of available cases limits the analyses. There are a few modelling choices we had to make in order to target and compare the populations of interest, namely; a) defining first and second-generations, b) identifying the timing of transitions to first birth; and c) distinguishing immigrant populations of different origins.

a) *Definition of population subgroups (first and second-generations):* The first step was to identify those individuals with a migration background. We constructed the variable "Origin" for this purpose. This is a combination of the dummy variable "being born in Switzerland" (yes/no), having moved to Switzerland before the age of 15[24] and the nationality of the parents. In a large number of cases, about 1/3 of our sample, we did not have any information about the respondents' father's nationality. In these cases, we used the nationality of the respondent as proxy, in order to maximise the number of cases available. Of course we miss those second-generation immigrants who may have been naturalised. This means that our results concerning the differences between migrants and non-migrants are conservative. On the other hand, if naturalisations are more likely for some migrant groups than others, differences between migrant groups may be slightly biased by those cases in which the nationality of the father is missing and the person results of Swiss nationality. Yet, the proportions of the populations of various origins did not change after the inclusion of the recoded cases. We could then use the variable Origin to classify the research population Swiss natives, immigrants (the 'first generation') and their descendants (the 'second-generation')[25].

b*) Identification of first births and the timing of the transition to parenthood:* We generated a variable that indicates whether the woman had a first birth. For the transition to first birth, the

[23] From the 2013, the SHP includes a subsample of the descendants of immigrants, but data are not yet available since the end of November 2014.

[24] Analyses were performed for the children of immigrants who arrived before the age of 10 and 6 and the results of the analyses are practically identical.

[25] Natives are individuals who themselves and whose parents have the Swiss nationality. If at least one of the parents did not have the Swiss nationality; an individual was classified as a descendant of immigrant(s). If a descendant of immigrant(s) had parents of different origin, priority was given to the father's country of birth.

process time is the respondent's age. The information on the age at first birth is generated based on the difference between the mother's birth year and the birth year of her firth child. Using yearly time information results in an overestimate of the Kaplan-Meier survival estimates. In order to reduce this overestimation, we imputed a random birth months to distribute births across the year.

c) *Disaggregation of the variable "origin" according to geographic origin*: after checking the descriptive analyses for each immigrant group, we decided to run the event history models combining immigrants of Southern Europe (Spain, Portugal, Italy and Greece), Western Europe (Belgium, Denmark and territories, Finland, UK, Ireland, Iceland, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Netherlands and territories, Norway and territories, Austria, Rumania, Sweden, Poland, Hungary Slovakia, Czech Republic, Malta, Monaco), Former Yugoslavia and Turkey (Albania, Yugoslavia, Serbia, Serbia-Montenegro Croatia Slovenia Bosnia-Herzegovina Macedonia Ex-Republic of Yugoslavia Kosovo), and Others (where the main countries are Russia, United States and territories, Sri Lanka, India and Lebanon). Table 1 shows the descriptive of the sample for the analyses of the occurrence of first birth for women of the first generation and the second generation as well as Swiss natives, but without distinction by origin. In our sample, migrant groups differ by age structure. Respondents of the second-generation are on average considerably younger than first generation immigrants and Swiss natives, which is not surprising. This does not mean that there are no newcomers in recent years but they cumulate with a relatively old critical mass of migrants in the previous years. In Table 2 we present the same results for women disaggregated by different migrant groups.

(Table 1 about here)
(Table 2 about here)

Our research approach involves two steps: first we present descriptive analyses (with the variable "origins" aggregated and disaggregated), by means of Kaplan-Meier survival estimates of the risk of having a first birth. Secondly, we apply event-history analyses (Cox models) to identify some influential determinants of the transition to first birth. Our modelling strategy is straightforward and follows the guidelines for the country case studies of the FamiliesAndSocieties project. For each transition investigated in the study, we estimated a series of main effect models and monitor the change in the effects of the independent variable

with the introduction of controls (namely cohort, age at first birth, and achieved education level). The first model (M1) includes the independent variable "origins" (immigrant status/generation) and the birth cohort. In M2, we add controls on educational attainment (low, medium, high) of respondents. For M3 we add control variables using a stepwise procedure. The common starting age at risk is age 15[26]. Cases are right-censored either at the last known interview date or at age 45.

5. Results

5.1 Descriptive results

Figures 2 and 3 describe the patterns of the transition to first birth by origins. More precisely, these graphics show the estimated Kaplan-Meier survival curves for first birth, first with the migrants aggregated by origin but distinguished by 1G and 2G, and second with migrants disaggregated by migrant group (respectively Figures 2 and 3). Figure 2 shows the extent to which the Swiss natives and the children of immigrants (2G) remain childless more often compared to the first generation immigrants. By age 45, 34% of native Swiss women and second-generation immigrants were still childless while it was 19% of first generation immigrants. However, there are differences according to migrants' group of origin. In Figure 3 we see that the risk to become a parent is higher for 1G from Former Yugoslavia, Turkey and Southern Europe than for the other groups (by age 45, 8% of the other groups were still childless in comparison the 34% of the Swiss). If we now look at 2G we see that although most groups have the same probabilities of having a child than the Swiss natives, yet, the 2G from Former Yugoslavia and Turkey origins have relatively higher probabilities than natives and all other 2Gs.

(Figure 2 about here)

(Figure 3 about here)

Swiss natives and the second-generation immigrants (2G) show older median ages at first birth than the first generation immigrants (around 27 for natives and 2G and 25.6 for 1G). Particularly 1G immigrants with Former Yugoslavia, Turkey and Southern Europe are the youngest parents in the sample (median age of 24) while the youngest parents of the second

[26] We decided to start the risk age at 15 years because we do not have many cases that start the first births before 15.

generations are from Former Yugoslavia and Turkey, with median ages at first birth of 25 years.

5.2 Multivariate analyses

This section presents the results of the Cox models of the transition to first births. Each set of estimations is run once keeping all migrant groups together (Table 3) and once distinguishing between the large groups of origin (Table 4). In both tables, Model 1 shows the simplest model, where we estimate the effect of the individual origin on first birth occurrences. Models 2 introduce the birth cohort and Models 3 adds the level of education. Results are as we expected: 1G immigrants show a higher first birth risk (relative risk: RR=1.48) than Swiss natives while 2G immigrants do not distinguish themselves from Swiss natives (RR=0.97). Those risks do not change when controlling for the population composition by cohort and education (Models 2 and 3). Individuals belonging to the older cohorts have higher probabilities for first birth than those from recent cohorts (which might suggest lower complete fertility or simply a delay in transition to parenthood). Low education also has a predictable positive correlation on the probabilities of first births compared to medium and higher level of education.

When we focus on immigrant groups of different origins (Table 4) we observe that the relative risk of first birth is higher for immigrants from Former Yugoslavia, Turkey and Southern Europe (1.98 and 1.97 respectively). With the exception of Southern Europeans, also 2G immigrants from these areas show higher propensities for first birth than the Swiss natives (RR=1.43). Previously we found also that 2G with Former Yugoslavian & Turkish origins have higher risk of first union (RR= 1.43) than Swiss natives, which might contribute to the differences in fertility as well.

(Table 3 about here)

(Table 4 about here)

6. Summary and Discussion

This paper aims at drawing a portrait of the differential patterns in the transition to parenthood in Switzerland among the descendants of migrants in comparison with immigrants and Swiss

native women. Using data from the Swiss Household Panel and event history techniques, we analyzed quantum and tempo of first births among Swiss native women and women who are residents with a migration background. We focussed on the relative risk of first birth for migrants of first and second generations, distinguishing the migrant populations according to their geographical origin, compared to the native Swiss population. The overall conclusion is that first generation migrants become parents earlier and more often than the Swiss natives and the second generation of migrants. These results hold even after adding controls for those variables that could most likely affect the transition to parenthood (cohort and education). To the best of our knowledge, this is the first study that compares the timing and intensity of the transition to parenthood across migrant groups for the first and second generation in Switzerland.

With the exception of the 1970s (due to the economic crisis) the TFR shows that on average immigrant women have higher fertility than their Swiss counterparts. The children of immigrants have similar level of fertility than the Swiss native women (not shown). During the analysis of transition to first birth, we observe that women born in Switzerland, whether they are Swiss natives or have an immigrant background, have a lower likelihood of becoming a mother than the first generation immigrant women (with the exception of the residual and too heterogeneous group of origins represented by "Others"). Second generation immigrant women born in Switzerland have even lower likelihood of first birth than Swiss natives in case they come from Western Europe. Swiss born women with parents from Southern Europe or Former Yugoslavia regions and Turkey show slightly higher first birth risks. After introducing the controls for cohort and education, such differences persist only for the descendent of immigrants from Former Yugoslavia and Turkey.

There are some shortcomings to this analysis. First of all it is rather explorative and leaves research questions open for the future about the causes of the observed differences. Given the limited number of cases and the heterogeneity of the immigrant population in Switzerland, we gave priority to distinctions among generation of migrants and region of origin (which also correspond roughly to migration waves in Switzerland). This meant limited chances for controlling for population composition by other characteristics (employment behaviour and union formation behaviour in the first place). Second, it is limited to the transition to parenthood and does not analyze further fertility and family enlargement. In the Swiss context

this is an extremely important analysis to perform because Swiss women with a child exhibit relative high second-birth risks in a short time interval (Le Goff et al., 2005). Comparing second birth timing between natives and second generations might show slight differences which do not follow the same direction than in the other countries of this report. We also plan an analysis of third birth risks by migrant generation, but not disaggregated by origin (small sample issues would not allow such an analysis).

References

Abbasi-Shavazi, M., & McDonald, P. (2000). Fertility and multiculturalism: Immigrant fertility in Australia, 1977-1991. *International Migration Review 34*, 215-242.

Afonso, A. (2004). Immigration and its impacts in Switzerland. *Mediterranean Quarterly, Published by Duke University Press 15*(4), 147-166.

Algan, Y., Dustmann, C., Glitz, A., & Manning, A. (2010). The Economic situation of first and second-generation immigrants in France, Germany and the United Kingdom. *The Economic Journal, 120* (542), 4-30.

Alho J., Alders M., Cruijsen H., Keilman N., Nikander T., & Pham D. Q., (2006). New forecast: population decline postponed in Europe, *Statistical Journal of the United Nations ECE*, 23,1-10.

Andersson, G. (2004). Childbearing after migration: Fertility patterns of foreign-born women in Sweden. *International Migration Review*, *38*(2), 747-774.

Andersson, G., & Persson, L. (2014). Childbearing among the descendants of immigrants in Sweden. Document do not published. FamiliesAndSocieties Working Paper Series: Changing families and sustainable societies: Policy contexts and diversity over the life course and across generations.

Andersson, G., & Scott, K. (2005). Labour-market status and first-time parenthood: The experience of immigrant women in Sweden, 1981-97. *Population Studies*, 59(1), 21-38.

Andersson, G., & Scott, K. (2007). Childbearing dynamics of couples in a universalistic welfare state: The role of labor-market status, country of origin, and gender. *Demographic Research,* 17, 897-938.

Bader, D., & Fibbi, R. (2012). *Les enfants de migrant un véritable potentiel*. Neuchâtel: Forum suisse pour l'étude des migrations et de la population.

Bisin, A., Patacchini, E., Verdier, T & Zenou, Y. (2011). Ethnic identity and labour market outcomes of immigrants in Europe. *Economic Policy*. 26(65), 57–92.

Bolzman C., (2001). Les immigrés sur le marché du travail: entre discrimination et égalité de chances. Le cas de la Suisse. In Boucher, M. (Ed.), *De l'égalité formelle à l'égalité réelle. La question de l'ethnicité dans les sociétés européennes*, Paris : L'Harmattan.

Bolzman, C. (2007). Familles espagnoles et italiennes en Suisse et transition vers la vie adulte. *Enfances, Familles, Générations, 6*, 38-53.

Bolzman, C., Fibbi, R., & Vial, M. (2003). *Que sont-ils devenus?: Le processus d'insertion des adultes issus de la migration.* Migrations Et La Suisse. Geneva : Résultats Du Programme National De Recherche "migrations Et Relations Interculturelles.

Calot G., Confesson A., Sardon, J.P., Baranzini E., Cotter, S & Wanner, P. (1998). Deux siècles d'histoire démographique Suisse. Album graphique de la période 1860–2050. Berne: Office fédéral de la statistique (OFS).

Cerutti, M. (1994). *Un secolo di emigrazione italiana in Svizzera (1870-1970), attraverso le fonti dell'Archivio federale*. Bern: Studi e fonti. Pubblicazioni dell'Archivio federale svizzero, 20, 11-95.

Coleman, D. (1994). Trends in fertility and intermarriage among immigrant populations in Western Europe as measures of integration. *Journal of Biosocial Science*, 26, 107-136.

Coleman, D. (2006). Immigration and ethnic change in low-fertility countries: A third demographic transition. *Population and Development Review*, 323, 401-446.

Crul, M. (2013). Snakes and ladders in educational systems: Access to higher education for second-generation Turks in Europe. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 39,* 9.

Crul, M., & Mollenkopf, J. H. (2012). *The changing face of world cities: Young adult children of immigrants in Europe and the United States*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Crul, M., & Vermeulen, H. (2003). The second-generation in Europe. *International Migration Review*, 37(4), 965-986.

De Valk, H. (2011). Paths to adulthood: a focus on the children of immigrants in the Netherlands. In M. Wingens, M. Windzio, H. De Valk & C. Aybek (Eds.), *A life-course perspective on migration and integration*. New York: Springer Dordrecht, Heidelberg.

De Valk, H., & Milewski, N. (2011). Family life transitions among children of immigrants: An introduction. *Advances in Life Course Research*, 16(4), 145-151.

Federal Statistical Office (FSO). (2014). Migration and integration, Data-Indicators http://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/portal/en/index/themen/01/07/blank/key/04.html

Fibbi, R., Lerch, M., & Wanner, P. (2007). Naturalisation and socio-economic characteristics of youth of immigrant descent in Switzerland. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 33(7), 1121-1144.

Fibbi, R., Lerch, M., & Wanner, P. (2010). School qualifications of children of immigrant descent in Switzerland. In R. Alba & M. Waters (Eds.), *New Dimensions of Diversity: The Children of Immigrants in North America and Western Europe*. New York: New York University Press.

Fibbi, R., Wanner, P., & UNICEF. (2009). *Children in immigrant families in Switzerland: On a path between discrimination and integration.* Florence, Italy: UNICEF, Innocenti Research Centre

Ford, K. (1990). Duration of residence in the United States and the fertility of U.S. immigrants. *International Migration Review* 24(1), 34–68.

Francesco, L., Chevillard, J., & Gauthier JA. (2013). Socio-economic Background and Early Post-compulsory Education Pathways : a Comparison between Natives and Second-generation Immigrants in Switzerland. *European Sociological Review*. 2013, 1-17.

Kogan, I., (2007). A study of immigrants' employment careers in West Germany using the sequence analysis technique. *Social Science Research,* 36(2), 491-511.

Kohler, P. (2012). Cultural integration in Switzerland, in Y. Algan., A. Bisin., A. Manning., & T. Verdier (Ed.), *Cultural integration of immigrants in Europe.* Oxford (UK): Oxford University Press.

Krapf, S., & Wolf, K. (2014). Persisting differences or adaptation to German fertility patterns? First and second birth behavior of the 1.5 and second-generation Turkish migrants in Germany. Document do not published. FamiliesAndSocieties Working Paper Series: Changing families and sustainable societies: Policy contexts and diversity over the life course and across generations.

Kreyenfeld, M., & Andersson, G. (2014). Socioeconomic differences in the unemployment and fertility nexus: Evidence from Denmark and Germany. *Advances in Life Course Research*, 21, 59-73.

Kulu, H., (2005). Migration and fertility: competing hypotheses re-examined. *European Journal of Population,* 21, 51-87.

Kulu, H., & Gonzalez-Ferrer, A. (2013). *State of the art report: Family dynamics among immigrants and their descendants in Europe: Current research and opportunities,* FamiliesAndSocieties Working Paper Series: Changing families and sustainable societies: Policy contexts and diversity over the life course and across generations.

Kulu, H., & Milewski, N. (2007). Family change and migration in the life course: An introduction. *Demographic Research*, 17, 567-590.

Le Goff, J-M., Sauvain-Dugerdil, C., Rossier, C., & Coenen-Huther, J. (2005). Maternité et parcours de vie. *L'enfant a-t-il toujours une place dans les projets des femmes en Suisse*. Bern: Peter-Lang.

Lerch, M., & Wanner P. (2010). Quels apports démographiques des migrations internes des étrangers pour les villes suisses?. *GeoRegard*, 3.

Liebig, T. and Von Haaren, F. (2011). Citizenship and the Socioeconomic Integration of Immigrants and their Children: An Overview across EU and OECD Countries. In OECD (ed.), *Naturalization: A Passport for the Better Integration of Immigrants?* Paris: OECD Publishing.

Marks, G. (2005). Accounting for immigrant non-immigrant differences in reading and mathematics in twenty countries *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 28(5)*, 925-946.

Mens, Y. (2006). La deuxième génération bouscule l'Europe. *Alternatives internationales*, 3(30), 31-32.

Milewski, N. (2006). First child of immigrant workers and their descendants in West Germany: interrelations of events, disruption, or adaptation? *Demographic Research* 17(29), 859–896.

Milewski, N. (2011). Transition to a first birth among Turkish second generation migrants in Western Europe. *Advances in Life Course Research*, 16, 178-189.

Milewski, N., & Kulu, H. (2013). Mixed marriages in Germany: A high risk of divorce for immigrant-native couples. *European Journal of Population,* 3, 1-25.

Musterd, S. (2005). Social and Ethnic Segregation In Europe; Levels, Causes and Effects». *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 27(3), 331-348

Portes, A., & Rumbaut, R. (2005). Introduction: The second generation and the children of immigrants longitudinal study. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 28(6), 983-999.

Rendall, M., Tsang, F., Rubin, J-K., Rabinovich, L., & Janta, B. (2010). Contrasting Trajectories of Labor-Market Integration Between Migrant Women in Western and Southern Europe. *European Journal of Population*, 26 (4), 383-410.

Sam, D., Vedder, P.H., Liebkind, K., Neto, F., & Virta, E. (2008). Immigration, acculturation and the paradox of adaptation in Europe. *European Journal of Developmental Psychology*, 5 (2), 138–158.

Santelli, E. (2007). Les jeunes de banlieue d'origine maghrébine: entre galère et emploi stable, quel devenir? *Revue européenne des migrations internationales*, 23(2), 57-77.

Scott, K., & Stanfors, M. (2011). The transition to parenthood among the second generation: evidence from Sweden, 1990-2005. *Advances in Life Course Research*, 16, 190-204.

Sobotka, J., Chavez, L., Waters, M., & DeSipio, L. (2012). Changing family and partnership bahavior: Common trends and persistent diversity across Europe. *Demography Research*, 19(6), 85-138.

Sobotka, T. (2008). The rising importance of migrants for childbearing in Europe. *Demographic Research* 19(9), 225–248.

Suárez-Orozco, M., Suárez-Orozco, C., & Qin-Hilliard, D. (2005). *The new immigration: An interdisciplinary reader*. New York: Routledge.

Sweet, R., Anisef, P., Brown, R., Walters, D., & Phythian, K. (2010). *Parcours de jeunes immigrants après l'école secondaire.* Toronto: Conseil ontarien de la qualité de l'enseignement supérieur.

Toulemon, L. (2004). Fertility among immigrant women: new data, a new approach. *Population et Sociétés,* April 2004, 400.

Wanner, P. (2004). Intégration professionnelle des populations d'origine et de nationalité étrangères en Suisse. *Revue Européenne des Migrations Internationales, 20*(1).

Wanner, P., & Fei P. (2005). *Facteurs influençant le comportement reproductif des Suissesses et des Suisses*. Neuchâtel: Office fédéral de la statistique.

Wanner, P., Schweiz., & Schweizerisches Forum für Migrations- und Bevölkerungsstudien (2005). *Migration et intégration: Populations étrangères en Suisse*. Neuchâtel: Office fédéral de la statistique.

Figures and Tables

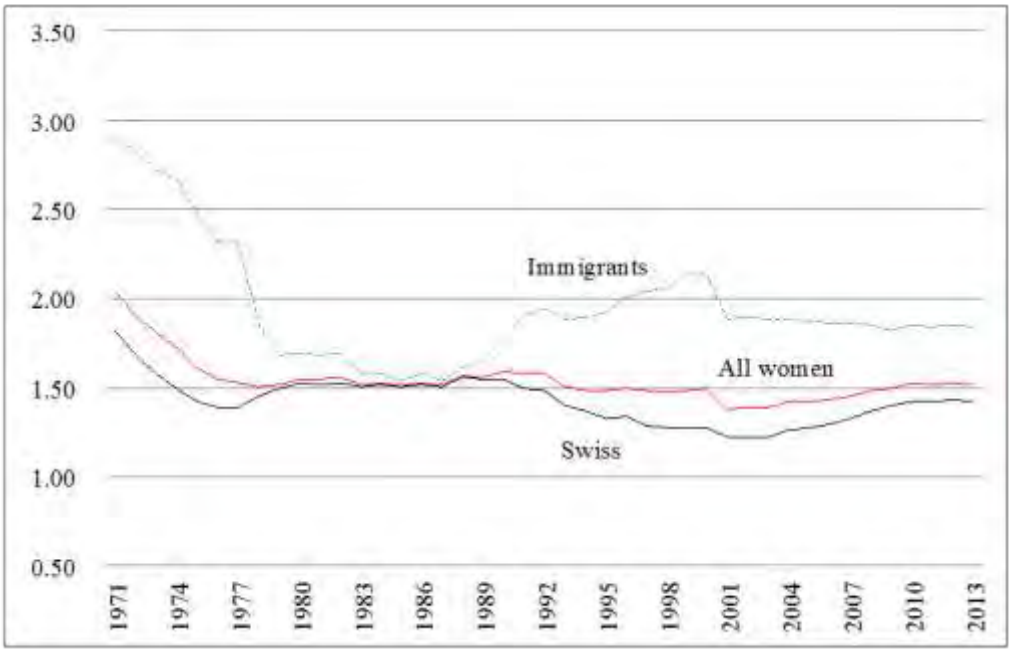


Figure 1. *Average of number of children per women for "natives" and immigrants in Switzerland. (FSO 2013)*

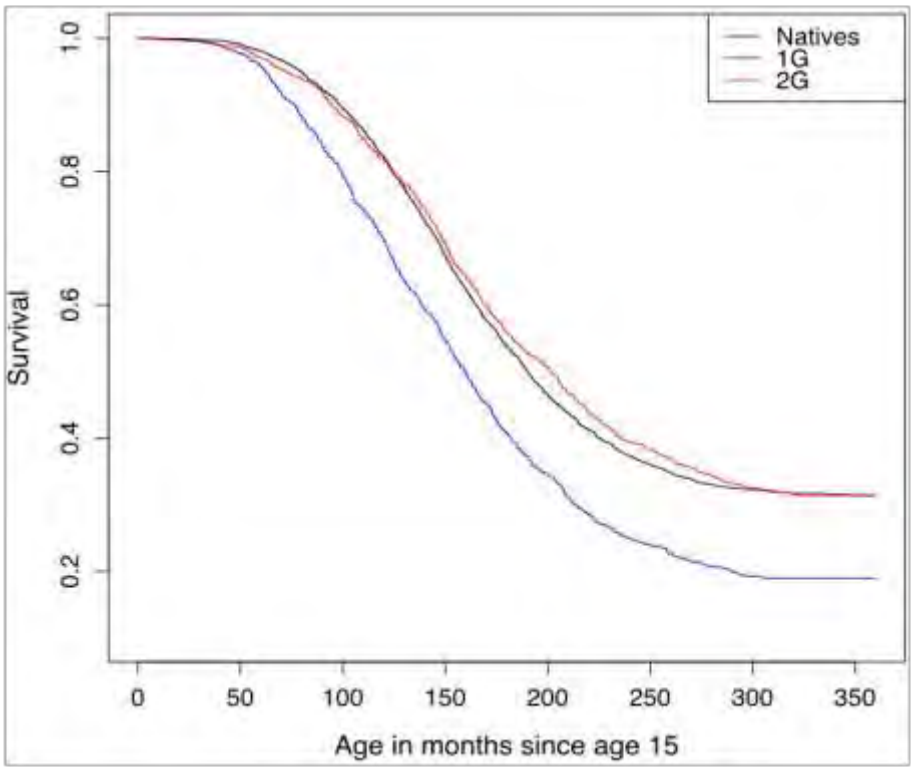


Figure 2. *Kaplan-Meier survival estimates of entering into motherhood by (aggregated) origin for women.*

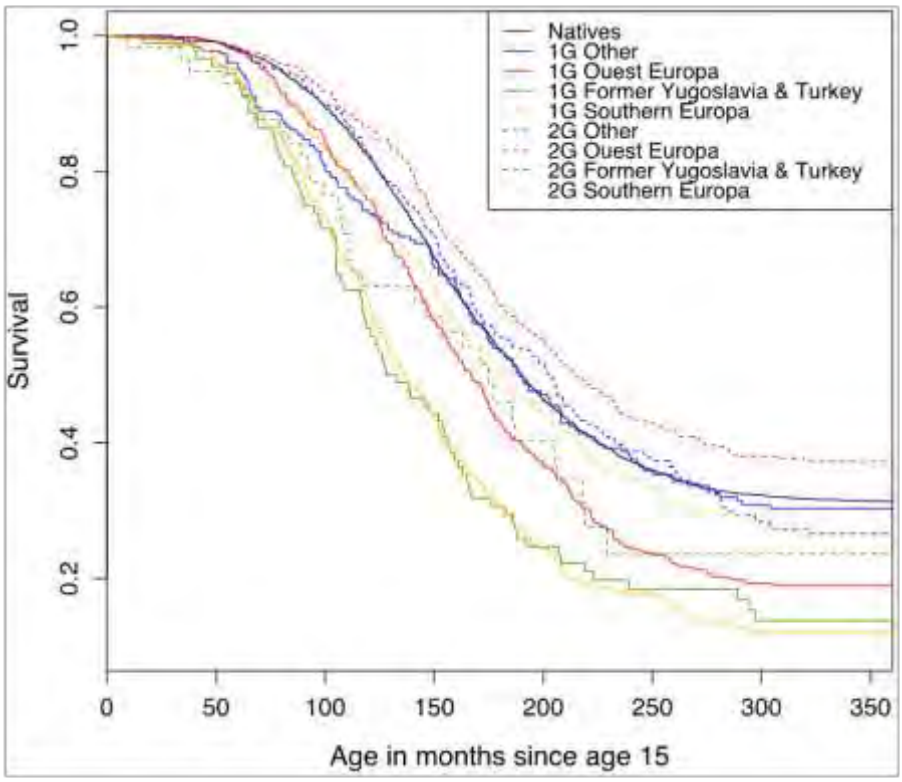


Figure 3. *Kaplan-Meier survival estimates of entering into motherhood by (disaggregated) origin for women.*

Table 1. *Number of first birth events for women by (aggregated) origin.*

	Swiss		1G		2G	
	%	Events	%	Events	%	Events
Education						
low	21.67	692	33.80	267	25.61	209
middle	61.40	1961	44.68	353	51.84	423
high	16.94	541	21.52	170	22.55	184
Total		3194		790		816
Age						
15-25	33.53	1071	44.05	348	34.39	281
26-30	40.33	1288	33.54	265	37.58	307
31-35	19.85	634	16.46	130	19.34	158
36 and +	6.29	201	5.95	47	8.69	71
Total		3194		790		817
Cohort						
Before 1950	37.23	1190	39.62	313	18.24	149
1951-1960	27.47	878	24.68	195	24.97	204
1961-1975	31.91	1020	32.15	254	51.41	420
1976 and +	3.38	108	3.54	28	5.39	44
Total		3196		790		817

Source: SHP

Table 2. *Number of first birth events for women by (disaggregated) origin.*

	Swiss		1G Others		1G Western Europe		1G Former Yugoslavia & Turkey		1G Southern Europe		2G Others		2G Western Europe		2G Former Yugoslavia & Turkey		2G Southern Europe	
	%	Events	%	Events	%	Events	%	Events	%	Events	%	Events	%	Events	%	Events	%	Events
Education																		
low	21.67	692	46.10	65	19.53	67	33.78	25	47.41	110	37.50	78	15.38	50	28.57	10	28.63	71
middle	61.40	1961	31.21	44	50.15	172	50.00	37	43.10	100	39.42	82	58.15	189	45.71	16	54.84	136
high	16.94	541	22.70	32	30.32	104	16.22	12	9.48	22	23.08	48	26.46	86	25.71	9	16.53	41
Total		3194		141		343		74		232		208		325		35		248
Age																		
15-25	33.50	1070	41.84	59	36.44	125	55.41	41	53.02	123	35.41	74	25.85	84	57.14	20	40.49	100
26-30	40.39	1290	29.08	41	38.19	131	29.73	22	30.60	71	35.41	74	43.38	141	22.86	8	35.22	87
31-35	19.94	637	20.57	29	19.83	68	10.81	8	10.78	25	18.18	38	22.46	73	17.14	6	16.60	41
36 and +	6.17	197	8.51	12	5.54	19	4.05	3	5.60	13	11.00	23	8.31	27	2.86	1	7.69	19
Total		3194		141		343		74		232		209		325		35		247
Cohort																		
Before 1950	37.23	1190	21.28	30	56.27	193	4.05	3	37.50	87	12.92	27	23.38	76	8.57	3	17.34	43
1951-1960	27.47	878	29.79	42	20.70	71	31.08	23	25.43	59	26.32	55	24.00	78	17.14	6	26.21	65
1961-1975	31.91	1020	43.26	61	21.57	74	54.05	40	34.05	79	49.28	103	49.85	162	65.71	23	53.23	132
1976 and +	3.38	108	5.67	8	1.46	5	10.81	8	3.02	7	11.48	24	2.77	9	8.57	3	3.23	8
Total		3196		141		343		74		232		209		325		35		248

Source: SHP

Table 3. *Transition to first birth for women by (aggregated) origin.*

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Origin			
Swiss	1	1	1
1G	1.48 ***	1.46 ***	1.48 ***
2G	0.97 *	0.94 *	0.95 *
Cohort			
Before 1950		1	1
1951-1960		1.52 ***	1.65 ***
1961-1975		1.33 ***	1.48 ***
1976 and +		0.64 ***	0.72 ***
Education			
low			1
middle			0.86 ***
high			0.65 ***

***p < 0.001, **p < 0.01, *p < 0.05

Table 4. *Transition to first birth for women by (disaggregated) origin.*

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Origin			
Swiss	1	1	1
1G Others	1.07	1.04	1.03
1G Western Europe	1.39 ***	1.4 ***	1.48 ***
1G Former Yugoslavia & Turkey	1.95 ***	1.78 ***	1.74 ***
1G Southern Europe	1.98 ***	1.97 ***	1.88 ***
2G Others	1	0.99	0.99
2G Western Europe	0.82 **	0.8 *	0.83 **
2G Former Yugoslavia & Turkey	1.43 *	1.43 *	1.44 *
2G Southern Europe	1.15 *	1.09	1.06
Cohort			
Before 1950		1	1
1951-1960		1.52 ***	1.65 ***
1961-1975		1.31 ***	1.46 ***
1976 and +		0.63 ***	0.71 ***
Education			
low			1
middle			0.86 ***
high			0.61 ***

***p < 0.001, **p < 0.01, *p < 0.05