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Fertility Behavior of 1.5 and Second Generation Turkish Migrants in Germany

Migration from Turkey to Germany marks the third biggest migration corridor in the world[1]. About 3 million people with Turkish background are living in Germany, representing 3.6 percent of the total population. Around half of them migrated themselves, the other half was already born in Germany. To improve our understanding of integration mechanisms, it is of interest, whether migrants follow the behavior and habits prevalent in the home country or whether they adapt to the society in the host country. While numerous studies focused on the economic situation of migrants and their descendants, it has also been suggested that the demographic behavior of migrants, like their fertility behavior, is one sphere in which they might adapt to (or remain distinct from) the native population (Coleman 1994). This is of specific interest if migration occurs from high fertility countries to low fertility host societies, like from Turkey to Germany.

The fact that migration to Germany started quite early in comparison to other countries leads to a specific advantageous situation. Those migrants who stayed form quite large homogeneous groups, who already settled down to a family life. For the Turkish migrants who arrived in Germany in the 1960s and 1970s, studies have shown significantly higher fertility levels than for native Germans (Nauck, 2007; Stichnoth and Yeter, 2013). While the total fertility rate (TFR) in Germany was 1.45 in 1990, the TFR among women who migrated from Turkey reached a level of 3.0 (Nauck, 2007). By now, the children of first generation migrants are reaching ages of 30 and older. As this so-called second generation grows older, although they have not necessarily reached the end of their reproductive phase, studying their fertility behavior becomes possible. In comparison to first generation migrants it was found that the second migrant generation from different countries of origin obtains lower first, second and third birth risks (Milewski, 2010). Less is known about the fertility behavior of 1.5 generation migrants, i.e. those

[1]Following the flow from Mexico to the US and from Bangladesh to India (Héran, 2013).

who migrated as children. As a result, our study is one of the first focusing on fertility patterns of Turkish migrants' descendants in Germany. In addition to the second generation which is coming out of age, the behavior of the so-called 1.5 generation will be examined. Those who migrated as children are of specific interest for several reasons. On the one hand, they migrated themselves, i.e. we can study the effect of being partly socialized in a foreign country. On the other hand, they did not take the decision to migrate themselves. While adults might consciously time their decision to migrate and to start a family, for the 1.5 generation both events can be assumed to be independent of each other. Using newly available data from the German Mikrozensus allows us to identify ethnic background not only on basis of citizenship but of parents' migrant status. Female migrants are compared to female West German natives. We study the transition to motherhood to identify different timing patterns in female life courses. Furthermore, the transition to 2nd births is examined. 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 keep Turkish citizenship?

A number of theoretical arguments were suggested to understand the fertility behavior of first generation migrants, such as the socialization, adaptation, disruption, and selection hypotheses (see González Ferrer and Kulu, 2013, for a review). We use the socialization argument to model in how far natives and migrants are distinguishable regarding their fertility behavior. Socialization theory posits that norms and values are established especially during childhood. Children learn from their family, peers and relevant others what behavior is adequate and desirable. Fertility preferences are shaped during childhood and adolescence by the predominant fertility norms and values prevalent in the social environment. Empirical evidence showed that migrants from high fertility origin countries have considerably higher fertility than natives in low fertility host countries (Alders 2000; Andersson 2004; Kahn 1988; Scott and Stanfors 2011). The home country's norms and values regarding fertility not only influence the fertility behavior of the first migrant generation. Furthermore, they are transmitted via the first generation to their children. In line with this, a study on migrants' values concerning family formation and children showed that first generation migrants passed on 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 and Liefbroer 2007). Second generation Turkish migrants also show higher first birth rates than the majority population in several European countries (Milewski 2011). Within the family and the ethnic community, it might be promoted that having a family early in life and having more than two children is desirable. Based on the fact that the 1.5 generation was born in Turkey while second generation migrants were born in Germany, the two groups might differ in their fertility patterns. In contrast to the second generation, 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 host society. Besides influences from the Turkish community and family, they were exposed to social contacts with native peers and other relevant others during childhood. Therefore also norms of family formation are affected (Oropesa and Landale 2004; Pyke 2005) leading to more similar first and second birth patterns between second generation migrants and natives. In sum, we expect the fertility patterns regarding first and second childbirth of second generation migrants to lie in between that of native Germans and 1.5 generation migrants.

Our analyses are based on pooled cross-sectional data from the German Mikrozensus (waves 2005 and 2009). This dataset is a one-percent sample of the population residing in Germany and it covers standard socio-demographic characteristics such as age, nationality, region of residence, educational attainment, etc. In the years 2005 and 2009, the question program of the Mikrozensus was extended and includes several specific items on the migrant status that enables us to distinguish 1.5 and 2nd generation migrants. The large sample size allows us to differentiate between migrant groups according to country of origin. Therefore, respondents with Turkish ethnic background can be considered as a single group. However, the dataset has some drawbacks. First, it does not provide the fertility histories of respondents. We determine births on basis of the "own-children method", i.e. based on the number of children living in the household. Second, respondents' characteristics refer to only the time of interview so we cannot account for time-varying covariates. In order to identify different patterns of timing and spacing of childbearing, we analyze the transition to first and second childbirth of women in the age group 18 to 40 years using Kaplan-Meier survival curves. The effect of

individual level characteristics on childbearing is investigated by running discrete time hazard models, including migrants and German natives for each birth transition. In the multivariate analyses the main covariate is the migration background. In addition, we control for birth cohort, level of school attainment and the citizenship of a woman. The models on the transition to second childbirth also contain the age of the first child. To further examine the relationship between migration background and education interaction effects are calculated.

Our descriptive results on basis of Kaplan-Meier estimates indicate that, as socialization arguments suggest, fertility is lowest for native Germans, followed by second generation migrants. 1.5 generation Turkish migrants had the highest transition rates to first and second childbirth. Germans remain childless more often than Turkish descendants and experience first childbirth later in life. We find high transition rates to second childbirth among 1.5 generation migrants, followed by the second generation and native Germans. Although the patterns are less distinct between Germans and women with Turkish origin than for first births. Furthermore we find the tendency for an equalizing effect of education on first birth risks. After considering education, differences in first-birth behavior between Germans and 1.5 and second generation migrants were reduced, but remained significant. This reveals that higher first birth risks among the migrant group can partly be explained by the low educational status the migrant group has on average. Moreover, we find that first birth risks among second generation Turkish migrants and German women do not differ significantly, if the women obtained a high educational degree. For the transition to second births, it reveals that there is a positive relationship between birth risks and educational attainment for German women, but not for Turkish migrants and their descendants.

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