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Fertility of Turkish Migrants in Germany: Duration of Stay Matters

In Germany, Turkish migrants and their descendants form the numerically most important immigrant group. In 2011 they represented 3.6 percent of the total population. The majority came to Germany in context of labor migration, stemming back to the recruiting agreement which was initiated in 1961 between Turkey and Germany. As a result mostly young male, low-skilled workers immigrated to fill positions in the German industrial sector. After the agreement was halted in 1973, one of the few possible options to immigrate to Germany was to rely on the right for family reunion or family formation. The composition of the migration flow thus changed to a more family-oriented migration and as a result the Turkish minority in Germany grew. Nowadays around half of the Turkish group belongs to the first generation of immigrants and thus experienced migration themselves. As migration is an incisive event to the human life course, it can be expected to have a strong impact on fertility behavior. To shed light on Turkish migrant fertility behavior the aim of this study is to examine the impact of the timing of migration on Turkish migrant fertility in Germany. To take a life course perspective, their fertility behavior in Turkey as well as in Germany are under study. Hence children born before and after migration are considered. The fertility of Turkish men and women is compared to their German counterparts.

Common theories understand differences between migrant and native fertility as a result of socialization, adaptation, disruption or selection effects (Hervitz, 1985; Kulu, 2005; Lee, 1992; Stephen and Bean, 1992). In addition, an interrelation of the events migration, union formation and childbirth is assumed (Andersson, 2004; Mulder and Wagner, 1993; Singley and Landale, 1998). Disruption theory takes into account the eco-

conomic and psychological costs of migration. Due to the stress people are exposed to during the migration process and shortly after short-term interruption of fertility is assumed immediately following migration. A so-called anticipatory effect occurs if fertility is disrupted preceding the move due to anticipatory effects or short-term separation from the partner. Second, socialization theory assumes that norms and values regarding fertility behavior in the home country are essential for the later fertility behavior of migrants. Migrants will maintain the fertility behavior learned during socialization, even if norms and values differ in the country of destination. Furthermore adaptation theory hypothesizes the possibility of changing norms and values once learned during early socialization. Major determinants for those changes are cultural aspects and the socio-economic conditions in the country of destination. As a result migrants adjust to the social, economic and cultural conditions in the host country in the long-run (Kulu, 2005; Milewski, 2007). With increasing duration of stay in the country migrant fertility levels are thus expected to resemble the ones in the host country more and more. Selection hypothesis on the contrary assumes individual characteristics of migrants to be determining for their fertility behavior. They form a selective group according to education, occupation, career and family orientation. These characteristics and their decision to migrate brings them closer to the new host society in terms of cultural ideas, norms and values than their counterparts in the home country. The more similar the norms and values are, the more similar the fertility behavior becomes to the dominant regime in the country of destination.

Furthermore the idea of the interrelation of events presumes a simultaneous appearance of several life course events (Andersson, 2004; Mulder and Wagner, 1993; Singley and Landale, 1998). More precisely, migration and union formation as well as childbirth (especially birth of the first child) are interdependent and occur almost simultaneously. Thus elevated birth rates by migrants shortly after arrival result from the close proximity of migration, union formation and childbirth. From this point of view the timing of migration is a major determinant for the timing of migrant fertility.

Until now only few studies dealt with the fertility of migrants taking a life course per-

spective, in fact considering migrant fertility in the host country as well as in the home country. For France and Catalonia distinctive arrival effects of elevated birth risks compared to natives in the years immediately following migration were found (Devolder and Bueno, 2011; Toulemon, 2004). With increasing duration of stay fertility risks decrease and converge to native levels. Patterns for men are different, fertility rises less steep and more progressive after migration (Toulemon, 2004). Unfortunately no detailed information on the impact of the timing of migration on specific migrant groups can be made as both works examined all migrants combined.

Most German studies on migrant fertility focus on migrants from former guest-worker sending countries like Turkey, Italy, Spain, Greece and former Yugoslavia and combine the groups due to small sample sizes. Only some take into account children born abroad (Cygan-Rehm, 2011; Mayer and Riphahn, 1999; Schmid and Kohls, 2009), others focus on the fertile behavior of immigrants in Germany (Milewski, 2007, 2010). In sum no disruption of fertility after migration but a strong interrelation of events was found. Thus migrants experience elevated birth risks in their first year after immigration as well as in their first year of marriage. This applies to women migrating childless but also to those who already had children before moving (Milewski, 2007, 2010).

This study adds to previous research as it focuses on the fertility of Turkish migrants and does not study the whole group of migrants in Germany. As migrant groups differ in their migration histories, cultural and religious experience, differences in fertility behavior seem reasonable. Turkish migrant fertility is examined from a life course perspective, allowing more detailed information on the impact of the timing of migration. Additionally, this study advances the scientific knowledge about migrant behavior in Germany as it considers not only female fertility, like it is done in most of the previous works, but rather includes male migrants.

To examine if previous findings on migrant fertility behavior in Germany can be confirmed for male and female Turkish migrants micro-level data of the first wave (2005/06) of the Generations and Gender Survey (GGS) is used. A particular advantage of the German GGS is the sub sample of Turkish migrants with a size of $n = 4000$. In comparison

to other data sources it offers a sufficient sample size to study the demographic behavior of Turkish migrants in Germany. The sample consists of female and male respondents born between 1950 and 1969 who were born in Turkey or Germany.

The methodology follows an approach by Toulemon and Mazuy (2004) (see also Devolder and Bueno, 2011; Toulemon, 2004). First of all, smoothed age-specific fertility rates are estimated for a first impression on general fertility differences between Turkish migrants and Germans. Afterwards, total fertility rates are calculated and displayed in groups by age at migration. In the multivariate analysis the relative risks for having a child by duration of stay are examined with the help of discrete-time regression models. First, Turkish migrants are compared to their German counterparts. The primary independent variable is the duration until or since migration. It contains negative values if the child was born before the parents migrated and positive values if child-birth occurred after the migrants' arrival to Germany. Moreover the educational status, the birth cohort and the time-varying union status of the respondents are included in the models. In a next step regression models are calculated for Turkish migrants only. Therefore migration-specific covariates like the first language spoken at home, the age at migration and the marriage status at time of migration are included. All regression models are calculated separately for the transition to a first birth and higher order births. In the latter case the time distance since last birth as well as the parity are included.

First findings show a strong impact of the timing of migration on the fertility behavior of male and female Turkish migrants in Germany. Even after controlling for different individual factors the duration of stay explains most of the differences between Turks and their German counterparts. This applies to the transition to a first birth as well as to higher parity births.

Altogether no disruption of fertility in the years following migration was found. In fact the opposite is the case, it turns out that there is an interrelation of migration and child-birth. Fertility risks are elevated in the year following migration. This so-called arrival effect is even more distinct for Turkish women than for men. Compared to Germans their risk of having a first child is about 4.5 times higher in the respective year. Higher

order births altogether occur more often among Turkish migrants than among Germans. But no sex differences were observed among higher order birth transitions.

The age at migration influences fertility risks in a negative way. The older a Turkish migrant is, when he or she migrates to Germany, the lower is the risk of having a first or higher order child. This finding contradicts socialization theory, according to that a younger age at migration would mean lower migrant fertility. This opposite effect could occur due to postponement effects of migration. A migrant would postpone his or her fertility as migration is a stressful event and new networks need to be set, resources acquired etc. If fertility is not caught-up, the postponement in total leads to lower fertility.

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