

# The rising importance of migrants for childbearing trends in Europe

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# INTRODUCTION

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Migration has become the main ,engine‘ of population growth in the EU, preventing population decline in a number of countries

- 2004: EU pop. growth 0.54 %, of which 0.38 % due to immigration
- Recent immigration levels in many countries well above the projected values (Italy, Spain, Norway, UK, Sweden, the Czech Republic); huge cross-country diversity
- Coleman (2006): Immigration gradually transforming European populations in the manner unforeseen by various pop. projections
- Increasing impact on age composition, marriage rates (also through intermarriage), living arrangements and partnership forms and fertility

## Relatively few comparative studies on

- the impact of migration on childbearing & fertility
- the contribution of immigrants' fertility to population size and age structure

This is partly linked to the lack of comparable data

Comparative studies: articles in Haug, Compton and Courbage (2002), Coleman (1994), Schoorl (1995)

Country-specific studies: Toulemon (2004), Toulemon and Mazuy (2004) (France), Garssen and Nicolaas (the Netherlands), Roig Vila and Castro Martín (Spain), Andersson (2004) for Sweden, Østby 2002 (Norway)

United States: High fertility of immigrants from Mexico (Frank and Heuveline 2005) and its impact on population size (Jonsson and Rendall 2004)

## The impact of immigration on fertility and population trends increasingly debated by the media and politicians

- also related to the possible role of immigrants' fertility on the recent rise in the TFR in many countries (e.g. Héran and Pison 2007 for France)

# Methodological difficulties in studying fertility of (im)migrants across countries

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**DATA, DEFINITIONS:** Ideally, statistics on births to immigrant women (i.e., those **born abroad and currently resident** in a given country). Such data usually not published or collected (exceptions: vital statistics in the UK, NL, Denmark, Norway, Sweden). Most countries collect data by **nationality**

- foreign nationals constitute a select group of immigrants and do not represent the whole immigrant community
- shorter duration of residence, lower level of integration
- different criteria for ‚naturalisation‘ make this statistics even less comparative across countries

When data available (also surveys), different generations distinguished: G1 usually includes those who have immigrated, G2 born in the country & having at least one immigrant parent (other definitions possible: e.g., by age at immigration, G1.5).

# Methodological issues (2)

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- Usually no data available on **fertility among emigrants**; no reliable estimates on the impact of emigration on childbearing & fertility trends (important in the CEE countries with labour emigration: BG, PL, UKR, LIT...)
- Data on births to **immigrant men** scarce (exception: countries with population registers)

## Computing migrants' fertility rates:

- TFR and age-specific rates problematic, especially for recent immigrants (and hence also for the 'foreign' nationality women):
  - Event of migration frequently interrelated with family formation and childbearing: immigrants' fertility strongly depends on time since immigration (Toulemon 2004, Andersson 2004, Østby 2002).
  - Migrants' period fertility rates particularly high at short durations of stay (could be controlled if data available; Toulemon and Mazuy 2004)

# This analysis

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## Different indicators on the importance of immigrant women for childbearing & fertility

- 1) Contribution to the total number of births
- 2) Differential fertility rates: Does immigrants' fertility surpass fertility of native-born women?
- 3) The heterogeneity in immigrant's fertility
- 4) The impact of immigrants on the overall fertility rates

**Data:** Focus on immigrant women in Southern & North-western Europe

- both ,proper' data on immigrant women and the ,distorted' data on foreign women used
- the latter are only indicative and should be interpreted with caution

# 1) The contribution of immigrants to the total number of births

	Period	Births to immigrant women (%)	Births to immigrant women, 1 <sup>st</sup> + 2 <sup>nd</sup> gen. (%)	Births to foreign mothers (%)	At least one parent foreigner (%)	Source
<b>Denmark</b>	1999-2003	13.5		11.1		Statistics Denmark 2004
<b>England and Wales</b>	1980	13.3				Schoorl 1995, p. 100
	1996	12.4				ONS 2005, p. 51
	2004	19.5				ONS 2005, p. 52
<b>France</b>	1991-98	12.4				Toulemon 2004
	1998				14.5	Prioux 2005, p. 449
	2004		15 (est. Heran & Pison 2007)		18.2	Prioux 2005, p. 449
<b>Italy</b>	1999			4.0		ISTAT 2006
	2004			8.7		ISTAT 2006
<b>The Netherlands</b>	1996	15.5	21.0			CBS Statline 2006
	2005	17.8	25.5			CBS Statline 2006
<b>Spain</b>	1996			3.3	4.5	Instituto Nacional de Estadística 2006, Vila and Castro Martin 2005
	2000			6.2	7.9	
	2004			13.7	16.9	
	2005			15.0		
<b>Sweden</b>	2005	19.5		11.8		Statistics Sweden 2006
<b>Switzerland</b>	1980			15.3		Coleman 2003
	2000			22.3		Swiss Statistical Office 2006
	2005			26.3		

## 2) Differential fertility rates: Does immigrants' fertility surpass fertility of native-born women?

Total fertility rate of native and immigrant women

Country	Period	TFR			Source
		Native women	Immigrant women	Diff.	
Denmark	1999-2003	1.69	2.43 <sup>1)</sup>	0.74	Statistics Denmark 2004
England & Wales	2001	1.6	2.2	0.6	ONS 2006
France	1991-98	1.65	2.5	0.85	Toulemon 2004
	1991-98	1.70 <sup>2)</sup>	2.16 <sup>2)</sup>	0.46 <sup>2)</sup>	Toulemon 2004
The Netherlands	2005	1.65	1.97	0.31	CBS 2006
Norway	1997-98	1.76	2.42	0.66	Østby 2002
Sweden	2005	1.72	2.01	0.29	Statistics Sweden 2006

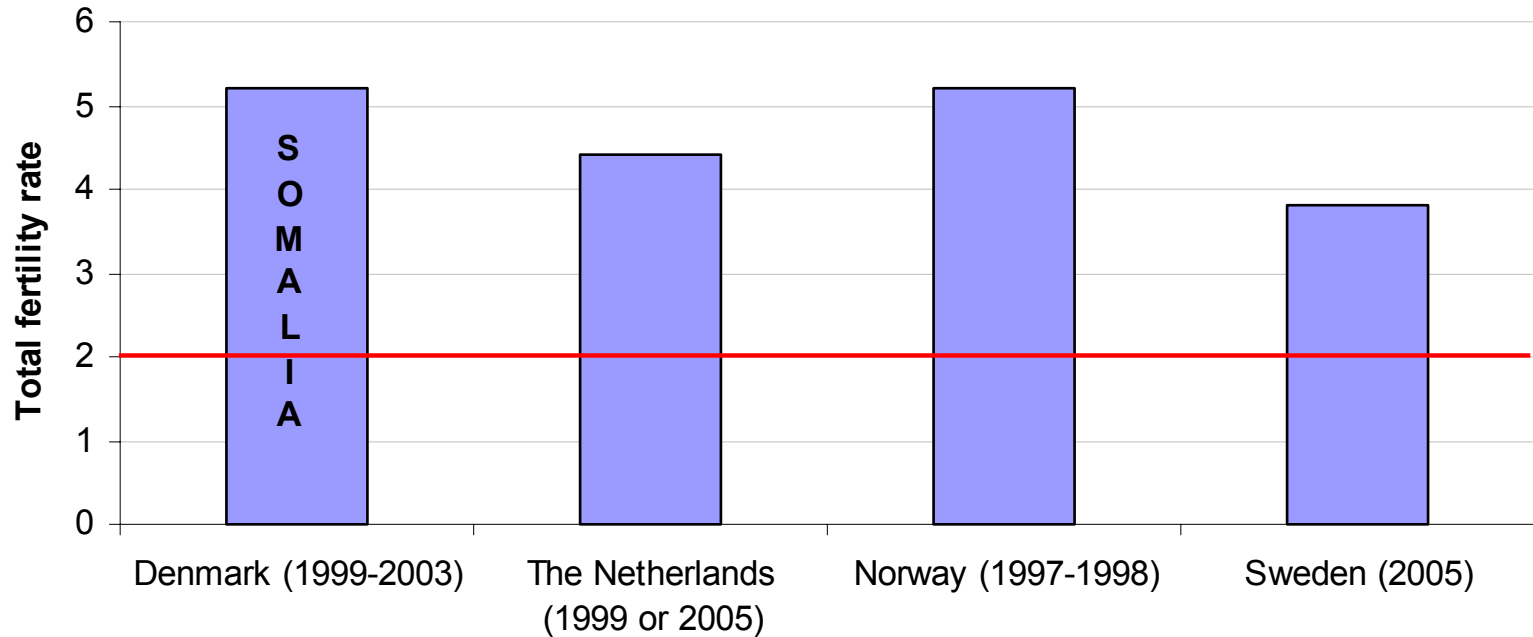
**Notes:** 1) excluding immigrant women born with Danish nationality

2) Data adjusted for age at arrival to France

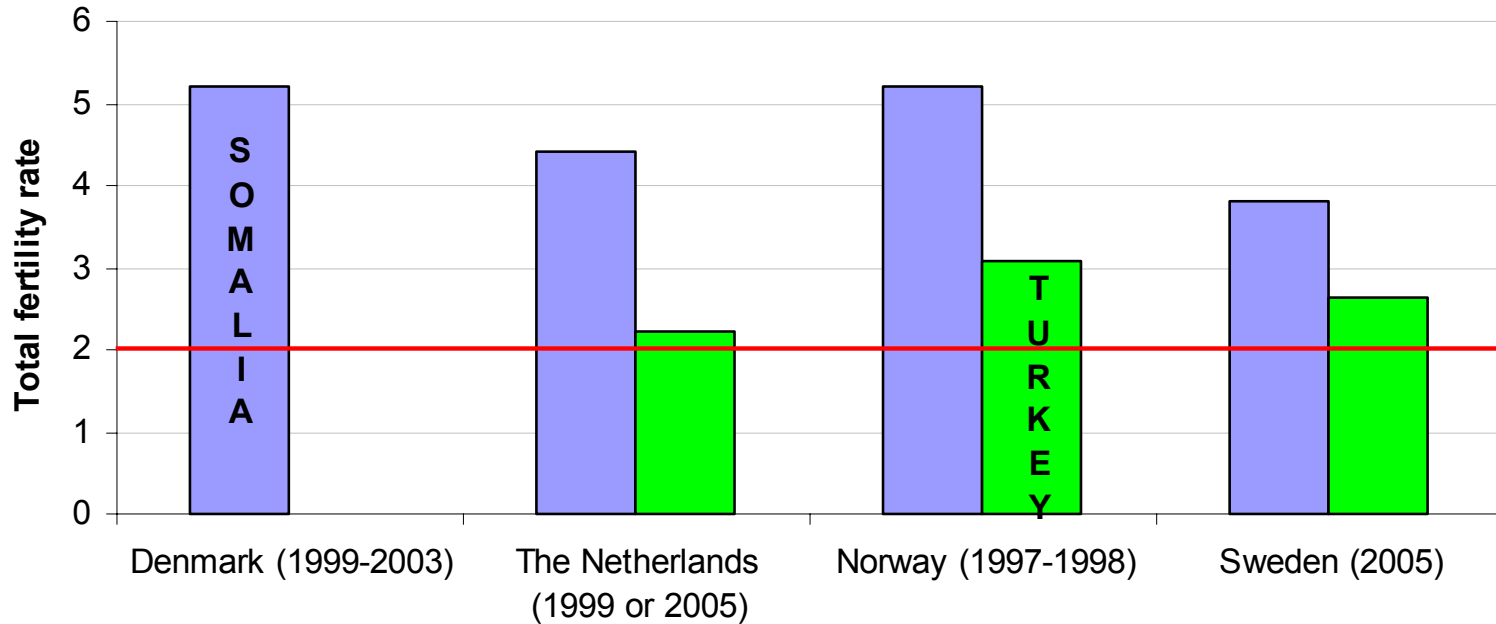
Immigrants' TFR typically at or around 2.0 – well above the TFR of the 'native-born' women, even when controlling for duration or age at arrival

### 3) Fertility rates are very heterogeneous with respect to migrants' country of origin

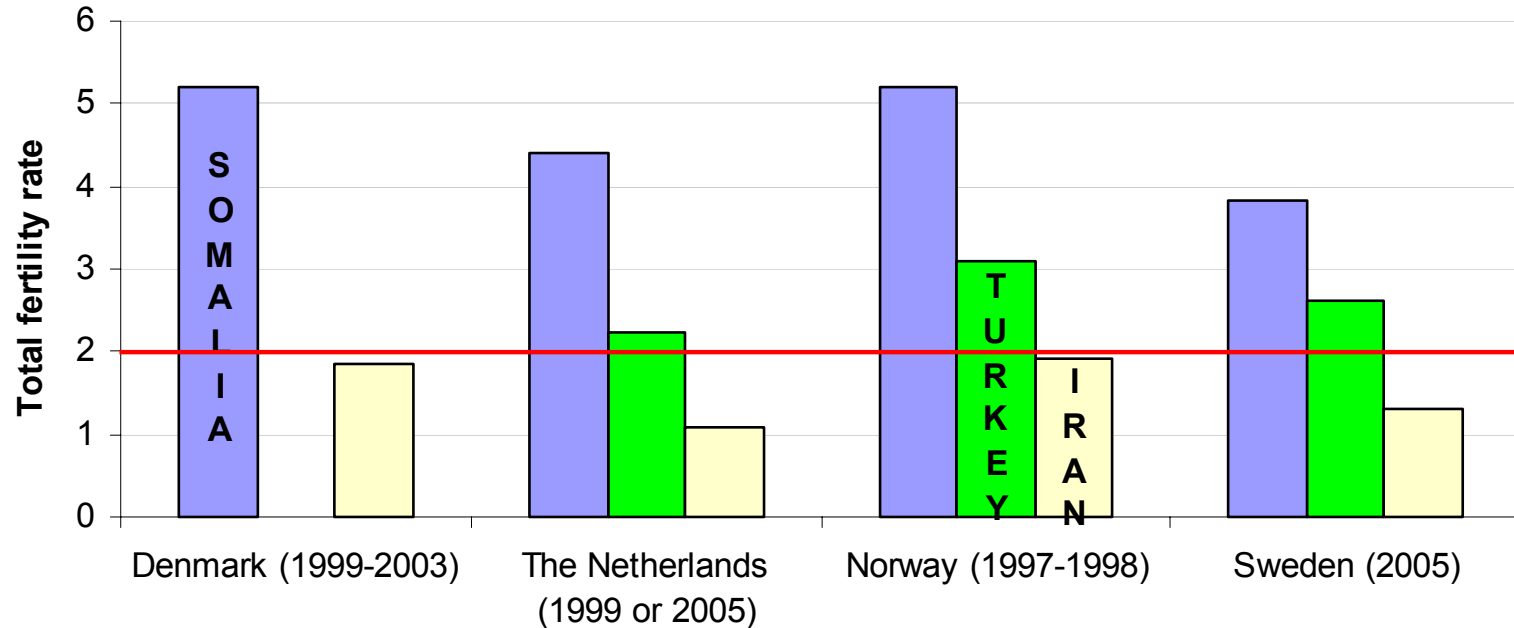
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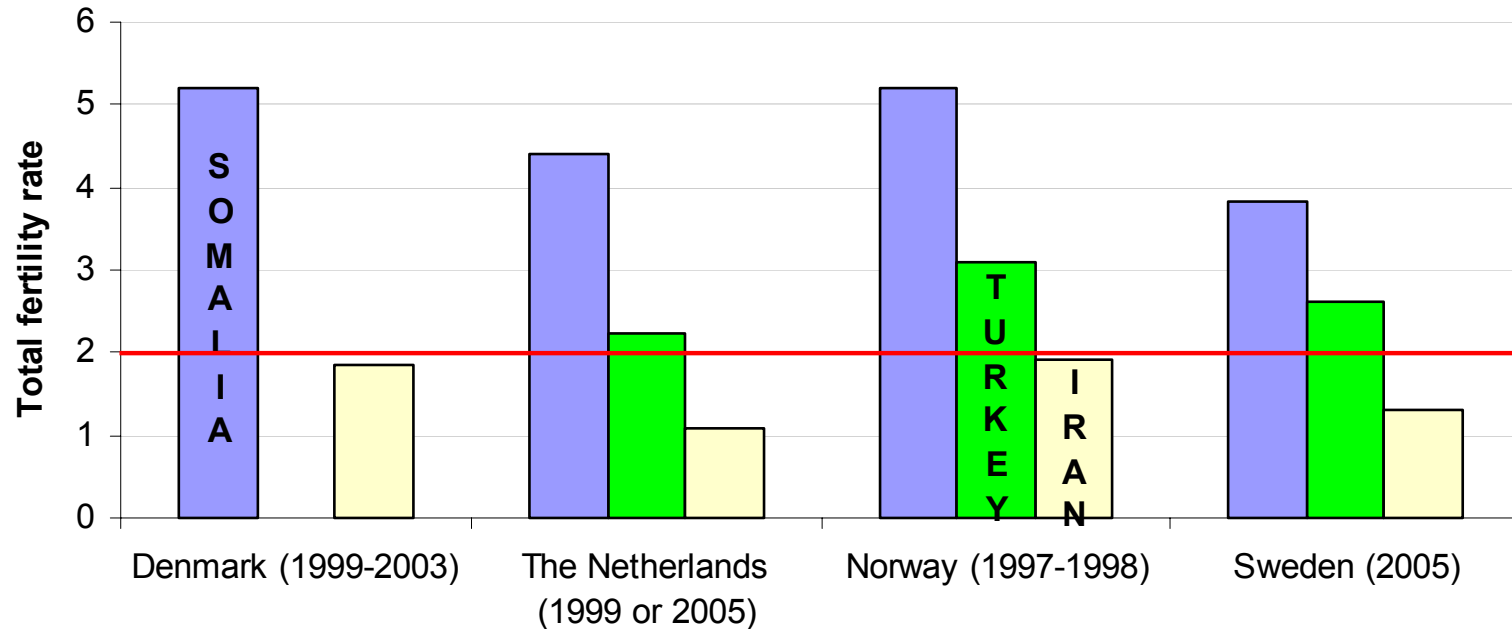
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It is commonly suggested that the ,pronatalist' culture with disadvantaged position of women is responsible for high fertility of immigrants from predominantly Muslim societies. This figure gives a more nuanced picture: country and region of origin, education and social group probably play more important role for fertility than religion as such.

## 4) The impact of immigrants on the overall fertility rates

The 'Net effect' of immigrant women on the observed period TFR

Country	Period	TFR			Source
		All	Native	Net effect	
Denmark	1999-2003	1.76	1.685	0.075	Statistics Denmark 2004
England and Wales	1996	1.74	1.67	0.07	Coleman et al. 2002
France	1991-98	1.72	1.65	0.07	Toulemon 2004
The Netherlands	2000-2005	1.724	1.646	0.078	CBS Statline 2006
The Netherlands 1)	2000-2005	1.724	1.68	0.044	CBS Statline 2006
Norway	1997-98	1.81	1.76	0.05	Ostby 2002 (Lappegård 2000)
Sweden	2005	1.769	1.716	0.053	Statistics Sweden 2006

**Notes:** 1) Including the second generation of immigrant women (mother born in the Netherlands, at least one of her parents born outside the Netherlands)

# Other distinctive features of immigrants' childbearing behaviour

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Non-European immigrants: earlier family formation & lower childlessness

- this pattern often different among the 2nd generation of immigrants: High childlessness and delayed childbearing among 2G women from Turkey and Surinam in the Netherlands

Extramarital childbearing: Women from the more 'traditional' countries display very low extra-marital fertility

- England & Wales: 2% of children born to women from Bangladesh, Pakistan and India extra-marital (49% among the native-born women)
- Spain: women from the countries with higher extra-marital fertility (esp. Latin America) partly responsible for the rapid rise in the percentage of extramarital births in Spain (Delgado et al. 2008)

# SUMMARY of major findings

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- 1) Immigrant or foreign-nationality women account for a relatively high and typically rising proportion of births
  - Also a positive effect of the younger age structure of immigrant populations
- 2) Immigrant women have, on average, notably higher period fertility rates than the 'native-born' women
- 3) However, the diversity in fertility between groups of immigrant women is enormous
- 4) Immigrants have a small, but non-negligible positive impact on the period fertility rates in Western, Northern and Southern Europe
  - Migrant women played a relatively minor role in the recent rise in the period TFR in many countries of Europe (slowing-down of fertility postponement more important)
  - In some cases (especially the Netherlands) convergence between the TFR of foreign-born and native women

# Discussion (1)

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- ‘Adaptation hypothesis’ receives relatively broad support: fertility rates of immigrants often converge to the fertility of native women after a longer duration of stay and for the 2G of immigrants
  - Specific institutional factors may have a similar influence on childbearing behaviour of various groups of immigrants (Andersson and Scott 2005)
  - However, the adaptation of immigrants to the local social context may also imply a shift to a higher fertility in comparison with their country of origin (Mexican immigrants in the US, see Frank & Heuveline 2005)

# Discussion (2)

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- The fertility contribution of immigrants has often been neglected in various projections & population estimates
  - US: rejuvenating effect of immigration primarily due to the higher fertility of immigrants (Jonsson & Rendall 2004)
- EUROPE / EU: The size of immigration streams consistently underestimated in various projections during the last decades
  - Projections scenarios should accommodate the possibility of long-term high immigration rates IN COMBINATION with a higher fertility of (recent) immigrants