

Foreign population in Lombardy: Reproductive Behaviors and Migratory Strategies

Eleonora Mussino¹, Giuseppe Gabrielli², Anna Paterno³, Salvatore Strozza⁴, Laura Terzera⁵

¹ ISTAT, Istituto Nazionale di Statistica

² Dipartimento di Scienze Statistiche "C. Cecchi", Università di Bari "A. Moro"

³ Dipartimento per lo Studio delle Società Mediterranee, Università di Bari "A. Moro"

⁴ Dipartimento di Teorie e Metodi delle Scienze Umane e Sociali, Università di Napoli Federico II

⁵ Dipartimento di Statistica, Università di Milano Bicocca

Introduction

In the last decades, nuptiality and reproductive behavior of foreigners, although a slight delay compared to American literature, have received much more attention among European researchers. The interest, due to demographic impact of the foreign presence, especially as regards the fertility, encouraged different hypotheses on immigrant's reproductive behavior. Among all *adaptation*, *disruption* and *socialization* were the most discussed hypotheses; but in recent years has developed a different approach that looks more closely at the interrelationships between events. Following this idea the *life course hypothesis* assumes that there is dependence among migration, marriage and fertility (Mulder and Wagner, 1993, Courgeau, 1989). Andersson (2004) showed that migration and fertility were interrelated: during the first years after migration in Sweden, immigrant women had a higher risk of having a first child. Singley and Landale (1998) found similar results for Puerto Ricans in the United States; they rejected the disruption hypothesis on the risk of having a first child in the host country, while they concluded that there was strong evidence for the interrelation between migration and family formation. Always in the United States Lindstrom and Giorguli Saucedo (2007) established that women who leave Mexico for the United States had a higher risk of first birth than women who stayed. In Germany too Milewsky (2007) showed as migration, marriage, and a first pregnancy happen consequently in a short sequence for the first immigrant generation. Nedoluzhko and Andersson (2007), in Kyrgyzstan, found that if the migration was motivated by marriage it also increased first-birth risks explaining the elevated childbearing propensities of migrants in the short period, while migration related to labor reason slightly reduced propensities to become a parent. Similar results have also been shown for Italy when following the 2003 immigrant foreign by Mussino and Strozza (2011).

Based on previous studies that established the link between reproductive behaviors and migratory strategies, we would like to investigate if this interconnection is valid in Italy and especially in the case of Lombardy. The data relates to a limited geographical area, that assumes the role of "experimental laboratory" of migration trends taking place in Italy, since about ¼ of the immigrant population in Italy live in this region and this is a consistent presence stable foreign population. More in detail we would like to follow, using survey data, a longitudinal approach that simultaneously involves different

aspects of the life of foreign immigrants in Lombardy. In other words we would like to answer to the following questions: *different migratory strategies lead to distinct reproductive behavior? These possible differences persist or decrease over time?*

Methods & Data

The main goal of this work is to study the propensity to have one or more births in Lombardy for foreign women. Assuming that the fertility of foreign women is associated with their migration and marital history, and there is interdependency in the timing between the different events, it is therefore a necessity to use a method that takes duration of stay and marriage history into account, which is the reason why it is important to apply a life course approach (Kulu and Milewski, 2007, Milewski, 2010). The goal of this approach was not only to provide better descriptions and explanations of the process determining the life course but also to link these trajectories together (Mayer and Tuma, 1990). First, we provide descriptive statistics and a non-parametric analysis: the transition to the first and second birth is studied using Kaplan-Meier survival curves. Second, we study the impact of socio-demographic variables on the risk of having a first and second birth using the Discrete Event History model.

When the interrelation between childbearing or family formation and migration are considered, longitudinal data are generally used if migration studies are taken into account (Courgeau, 1989, Courgeau and Lelievre, 2006). The data are from the 2010 yearly survey from the Regional Observatory on Integration and Multiethnicity in Lombardy. This is an ongoing project implemented by ISMU Foundation. To include in the analysis both fertility, nuptiality and migration carrier we have to consider in our analysis women in couple, in this way we have also the information of the partner and the marriage formation.

Preliminary Results

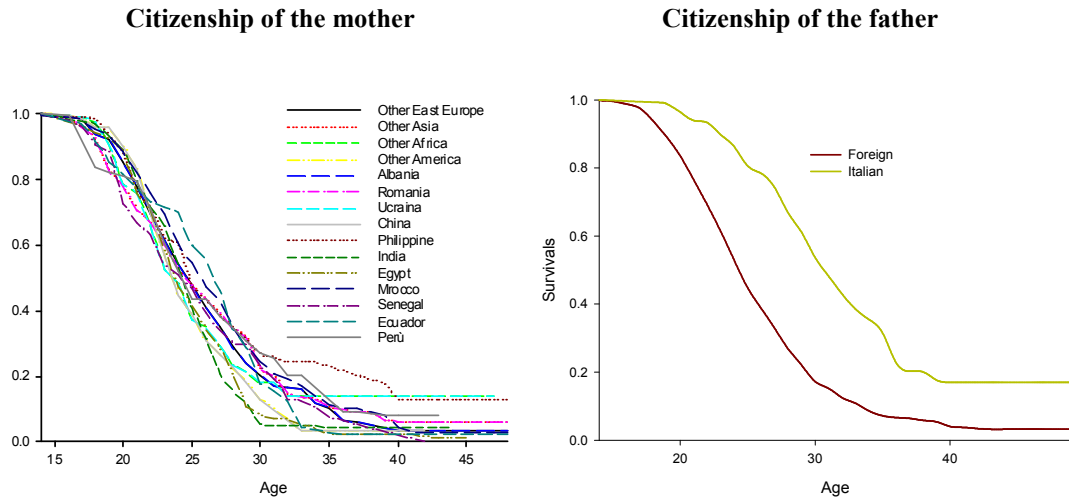
The distribution of parity for foreign mothers varies by citizenship of the parents. For this reason it is interesting to analyze differences in the timing for the transition to the first and second child by citizenship of the mother and of the father, using Kaplan-Maier curves. Studying the transition on the first child we include all the women in couple who are at least 15 years old while for the transition to the second the population analyzed included only women with parity one. Figure 1 shows that over time, almost all women in couple experienced the event, with differences only in the timing. Ukrainians and Philippines are the one with highest proportion of childless women, while for Indians this proportion is approximate zero.

Strong differences appear when the citizenship of the father¹ is taken into account. For citizenship of the father, the curves were significantly independent. Women who had a

¹ The citizenship of the partner was aggregated in Italian and Foreign, where foreign is in the 95% of the cases is the same citizenship of the mother.

foreign partner had children at a very young age, while the one with an Italian partner showed a postponement of the age at first child and a highest proportion of childless.

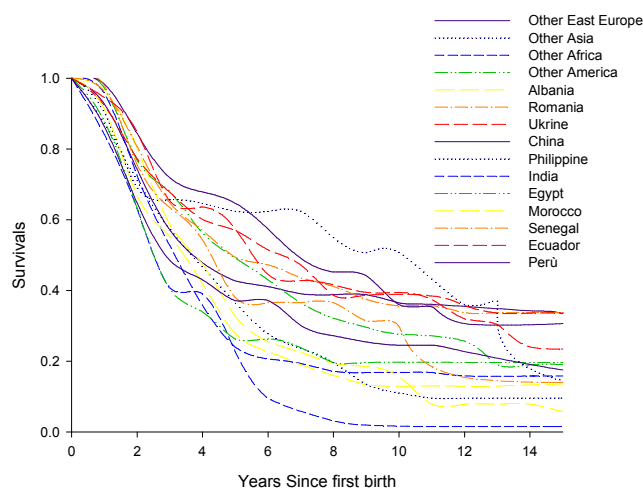
Figure 1: Transition to first child by citizenship of the mother and of the father



Source: ISMU, Survey 2010 (author's calculations).

The multivariate approach, where we control for socio-demographic and migratory factors, confirms these first results; women with foreign partner have high risk. Besides we found lower risk before the migration and faster catch up after. In line with KM curves there is less heterogeneity than we could aspect in the risk of having a child between the citizenship, also if comparing to Albanians, Chinese, Indians, Senegalese, Peruvians and Ecuadorians have a significantly higher risk of having a first child. Probably because one child is a universalistic while the differences are stronger if we consider the transition to a second child, as seems confirmed by Figure 2. Other results will be available in time for the EPC meeting.

Figure 2: Transition to second child by Citizenship of the mother



Source: ISMU, Survey 2010 (author's calculations).

Conclusion

Primarily results show as the risk of having the first child is lower before the migration and it faster catch up after the movement, we interpreted as interrelation of events (re-union of household and migration) and not disruption because it happen right after the migration. We did not found indicator of adaptation during the time but strong impact if the partner is Italian. Clearly there is a socialization effect: different behaviours by citizenship, but considering that all the women have already with a partner, the first child is a universal norm so the differences are more in the timing. We expect the frequencies of second birth will be different

References

- 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. (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.
- Coleman D. A. (1994) Trends in Fertility and Marriage among Immigrant Population in Wester Europe as Measures of Integration, *J. biosoc.Sci.*, 26, 107-136.
- Courgeau, D. (1989). Family Formation and Urbanization. *Population: An English Selection*, 44(1), 123-146.
- Hoem J.M., Nedoluzhko L. (2008) Marriage formation as a process intermediary between migration and childbearing, *Demographic Research*, 18, 612-625.
- Kulu, H. (2006). Fertility of internal migrants: comparison between Austria and Poland Population. *Space and Place*, 12(3), 147-170.
- Kulu H., Milewski N. (2007) Family change and migration in the life course: An introduction, *Demographic Research*, 17, 567-590.
- Lindstrom, D. P., & Giorguli Saucedo, S. (2007). The Interrelationship of Fertility, Family Maintenance and Mexico-U.S. Migration. *Demographic Research*, 17, 821-858.
- Milewski, N. (2007). First child of immigrant workers and their descendants in West Germany: Interrelation of events, disruption, or adaptation?. *Demographic Research*, 17, 859-896.
- Mulder C. H., Wagner M. (1993) Migration and Marriage in the Life Course: a Method for Studying Synchronized Events, *European Journal of Population*, 9, 55-76.
- Mussino E., Iaccarino C., Prati S., Strozza S. (2009) Short-term reproductive behaviour of foreign women who became mothers between 2002-2006 in Italy, *Vienna Yearbook of Population Research 2009*, 63-82.
- Mussino E., Strozza S., The fertility of foreign immigrants after their arrival: The Italian case, *Annual meeting of PAA Washington 31-2 March 2011*
- Nedoluzhko, L. & Andersson, G. (2007) Migration and first-time parenthood: Evidence from Kyrgyzstan. *Demographic Research*, 17, 741-774.
- Singley, S. G. and Landale, N. S. (1998). Incorporating origin and process in migration fertility frameworks: the case of Puerto Rican women. *Social Forces* 76: 1437-1464.