

women's lives – Family Planning and Migration Throughout Life

Interim results of a town-based study involving women with a Turkish, eastern European or southeastern European migration background

Women with a migration background account for a considerable proportion of the female population in the reproductive phase in many German towns and cities. The Federal Centre for Health Education (BZgA) is increasingly turning its attention to the life situations of this heterogeneous group and has therefore commissioned the study “women's lives” – Family Planning and Migration Throughout Life”. The aim of this study is to gain an insight into the varying need for information and support in matters concerning family planning for selected migrant groups as well as to gain an insight into social and cultural influencing factors.

During an initial phase, the feasibility of surveying migrant groups on the topic of family planning in the municipalities of Stuttgart and Oberhausen was examined. The results of this initial phase already indicate interesting correlations between migration background and family planning. These will be reported here in an initial interim report based on data taken from the two municipalities. Trends that were found to a similar extent in both municipalities with regard to the following aspects: lifestyle, desire to have children, contraception and termination of pregnancy were selected for this publication. The database will be extended at the next stage by incorporating other municipalities in order to enable more in-depth evaluations to be made, such as e.g. comparisons between the control groups of social situation indicators.

KEY POINTS OF THE STUDY

601 women with a Turkish or eastern European/southeastern European migration background were surveyed by telephone about their migration history, their reproductive history and their current circumstances. The key points of the study are:

- Social environment approach: the survey was carried out in cooperation with the two municipalities

CONTENTS

Migration profiles	2
Family situation	3
Contraception and termination of pregnancy	5
Need for information, sources of information and advice requirements	9
Outlook for the second generation	11

of Oberhausen and Stuttgart, who wished to gain special data regarding their own particular “immigration history” as a basis for local integration and family policy. This municipal approach is important as representative data is not valid for individual municipalities.

- Focus on two migrant groups: general data on “migrants” are too non-distinguished as the group is very heterogeneous in terms of origin, culture and religion, etc. In agreement with the cooperation partners, the two migrant or origin groups that are the most prevalent in the municipalities and in the population as a whole were selected for the purposes of the survey.
- Combination of the quantitative sub-study with a qualitative sub-study: the second part of the survey comprises qualitative individual interviews and group discussions with the target groups.
- Age bracket: women aged 20 to 44 were surveyed because family planning is an issue for this age group.
- Comparison group: German women without a migration background.

Migration profiles

The women with a Turkish migration background surveyed were predominantly born in Turkey (84%). These immigrant women have been living in Germany for an average of 18.4 years. According to the definition below, 35% of these belong to the second generation. Younger women are also continuing to migrate. Of the Turkish women aged between 20 and 34, 55% belong to the first genera-

tion. 73% of older women aged between 35 and 44 belong to the first generation.

91% of women with an eastern European/southeastern European migration background decided themselves to migrate and have been living in Germany for an average of 12.7 years. 27% belong to the second generation.

OVERVIEW OF THE PROFILES OF THE FIRST GENERATION

Turkish group

- The majority of women came when they were young. There is a significant peak in immigration in the case of the 18 to 20 years age bracket.
- The majority came childless and for marriage-related reasons. They had their first child (in Germany) at a young age.
- They majority came with a low level of education and lacking in work experience.

Eastern European/southeastern European group

- The women were, on average, somewhat older than those in the Turkish group when they migrated.
- A large proportion came married and with one or more children. A second similarly large proportion was childless and single. The main reasons for immigrating are resettlement and family reunion.
- They follow the pattern of “early motherhood” and are young when they give birth to their first child.
- They came with a higher level vocational qualification, but this is not recognised in the majority of cases.

DEFINITIONS AND TERMINOLOGY

- A person is deemed to have a Turkish or Eastern European/southeastern European migration background if the respondent or at least one of his/her parents was born in Turkey or an eastern European/southeastern¹ country. Naturalised women and emigrants are therefore considered according to their origin.
- The “second generation” was not only defined as women who were born in Germany, but also those who came to Germany before the age of 12. The “first generation” is therefore made up of all women who came to Germany at at least the age of 12. All women from the first and second generations who have personal experience of migration are referred to as “immigrants”.
- For reasons of linguistic simplification, the terms “women with a Turkish migration background”, “Turkish women” and “women in the Turkish group” are used synonymously, although all respondents with a Turkish migration background may possess German citizenship. The same applies to women with an eastern European or southeastern European migration background. “German women” is the term used to refer to the comparison group made up of women without a migration background.

¹ The eastern European/south eastern European group is made up of women who have migrated themselves or whose parents have migrated from one of the following countries: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Estonia, Georgia, Yugoslavia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Croatia, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Moldova, Montenegro, Romania, Russian Federation, Serbia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, Uzbekistan and Belarus.

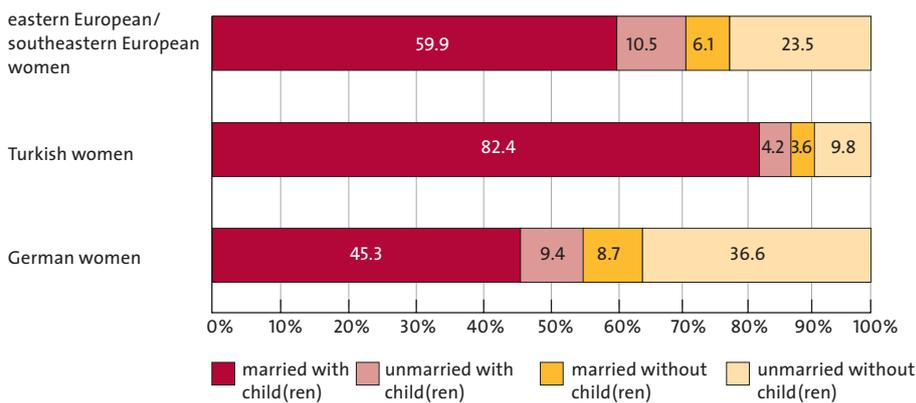
Family situation

A characteristic of the family situation of women with a Turkish migration background is the high proportion of women who are married and live with their partner and child(ren) (82%) and the small proportion of childless single women (10%). The proportion of other lifestyles or family statuses is low (figure 1). This is the result of a lifestyle in which marriage and one or more children are desired and these wishes are made a reality at a young age (figure 2). Children are strictly within marriage. Only 4% of women are currently unmarried with children – however, all of these women were previously married and are now separated, divorced or

widowed. All of those who have never been married (10%) do not have any children.

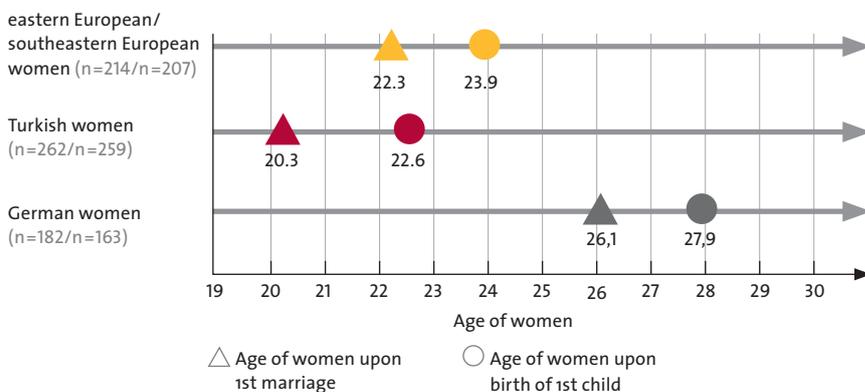
The vast majority of women with an eastern European/southeastern European migration background are also married and live with their partners and child(ren) (60%, 6% married without children) and the women here have also married at a comparatively young age. However, other lifestyles combined account for one third of women (figure 1). 24% of women are single and just under 11% are currently unmarried with children from a previous marriage in the vast majority of cases (87%).

FIGURE 1: Lifestyles of women with and without children between the ages of 20 and 44 according to migration background (in %)



Source: BZgA, data record “women’s lives II” 2007, women aged between 20 and 44 years with and without a migration background

FIGURE 2: AVERAGE AGE WHEN MAJOR LIFE EVENTS INVOLVING REPRODUCTION OCCUR ACCORDING TO MIGRATION BACKGROUND (in years)



Source: BZgA, data record “women’s lives II” 2007, women aged between 20 and 44 years with and without a migration background

The qualitative interviews show that in the case of both migrant groups, this strong and early focus on marriage and family is very clear as far as subjective patterns of interpretation are concerned. However, women from the eastern European/southeastern European group are more flexible in their approach,

which may explain the statistically higher proportions of women opting in favour of other lifestyles, since despite the strong connection with marriage and family, these women subscribe to a concept of life, which, in principle, grants them (economic) autonomy and independence.

EARLY MOTHERHOOD AS PART OF THE CONCEPT OF LIFE

Women with a Turkish migration background have an average of 2.1 children. Comparatively few are childless (14%) and a comparatively large number (39%) have three or more children. They started a family at a young age, that is to say, at an average age of 22.6 years. A large number have already completed their family planning. Two thirds do not wish to have any more children – 38% of women under the age of 35 share this view.

The average number of children born to women with an eastern European/southeastern European background is 1.3. Families consisting of three or more children are just as rare as in the German comparison group (table 1). On average, they gave birth to their first child at the age of 23.9 years. However, due to delaying the births of subsequent children, they do not complete their family planning as early as Turkish women. 42% do not wish to have any (further) children. Only approximately

one fifth of women under the age of 35 have already completed their family planning (19%) and do not wish to have any more children.

Women from the Turkish migrant group completed their family planning earlier than both women with an eastern European/southeastern European migration background and German women, with 41% of this group not wishing to have any more children (women under the age of 35: 15%).

In the qualitative interviews, this concept of early motherhood is shown to be a biographical determiner for both migrant groups. However, eastern European/southeastern European women adopt a more flexible approach once again and are prepared to delay starting a family if the concept of early motherhood conflicts with the biographical concept of (economic) autonomy and independence which is pursued simultaneously.

TABLE 1: NUMBER OF CHILDREN BORN TO WOMEN BETWEEN THE AGES OF 20 AND 44 ACCORDING TO MIGRATION BACKGROUND (average values and in %)

Number of children	Turkish women n=307	Eastern European/south-eastern European women n=294	German women n=299
no children	13.7	29.6	45.5
1	15.0	25.9	22.1
2	32.6	33.7	24.1
3	29.6	8.5	6.0
4 or more	9.1	2.3	2.3
Total	100	100	100
Average number of children			
all	2.1	1.3	1.0
Women aged between 35 and 44	2.7	1.8	1.6
Women aged between 20 and 34	1.4	0.9	0.4

Source: BZgA, data record "women's lives II" 2007, women aged between 20 and 44 years with and without a migration background

Contraception and termination of pregnancy

64% of the Turkish women and 65% of the eastern European/southeastern European women were using contraception at the time of being interviewed. The pill constitutes the most frequently used form of contraception in all three groups surveyed, although the extent to which the pill is used varies (table 2). Condoms and the coil are the second and third most frequently used forms of contraception in all three groups.²

The coil and female sterilisation are contraceptive methods which are mainly used when women have had their families and do not wish to have any more children (or at least do not wish to have children over the next few years). This may explain why the coil is more widespread amongst the two migrant groups and why Turkish women are more frequently sterilised. German women start families later in life and therefore also conclude their family planning later, which means that they do not opt to use the coil or to be sterilised until later in life (table 2).

TABLE 2: Current contraception according to migration background (based on women who use contraception, in %)

Means/method of contraception*	Turkish women n=170	Eastern European/south-eastern European women n=164	German women n=202
Pill	32.9	40.9	57.4
Condom	22.4	26.2	21.8
Coil	22.9	26.2	11.9
Coitus interruptus	4.7	1.2	–
Female sterilisation	11.8	3.7	3.5
Male sterilisation	0.6	1.8	7.9
Other**	5.9	4.9	5.9

* Multiple answers possible

** The “other” category combines contraceptive methods that are used by fewer than 3% of women in all three sub-groups (other, temperature method/rhythm method, diaphragm, balms/suppositories, three-month injection, Persona)

Source: BZgA, data record “women’s lives II” 2007, women aged between 20 and 44 years with and without a migration background

Just under 20% of Turkish women and 7% of eastern European and southeastern European women have, to date, never used contraception. These figures relate to equal proportions of married women and women living alone, the majority of whom are single. The majority of these women are younger childless women (51%).

The qualitative interviews provide a possible explanation for the behaviour of Turkish women as regards contraception compared to other groups, for example, a greater number of young Turkish women are against the pill as it is linked to the notion

of sexual permissiveness. Another pattern can be explained by the reproductive cultures of Turkish women. Sexual activity often only begins following marriage because Turkish women “save themselves” for their future husbands. Turkish women are expected to have children following an early marriage or they may wish to delay the birth of their first child but contraception is not available. Turkish women generally make less use of contraception for the purposes of actively deciding to space out the births of their children (amount of time between the birth of the first child and subsequent children).

² In comparison with other surveys, the proportion of Turkish women who specified coitus interruptus as their method of contraception was noticeably low. This may be due to the way in which the question was worded; generally, surveys in which questions regarding “soft” contraceptive methods such as coitus interruptus are asked separately achieve higher use values than surveys in which open-ended questions are asked requiring respondents to specify methods of contraception. Cf.: YÜKSEL, E. (2005): Wissen und Verhalten türkischer Migrantinnen in Bezug auf Sexualität und Verhütung, in: BZgA Forum, Booklet 3, 16–19, Cologne

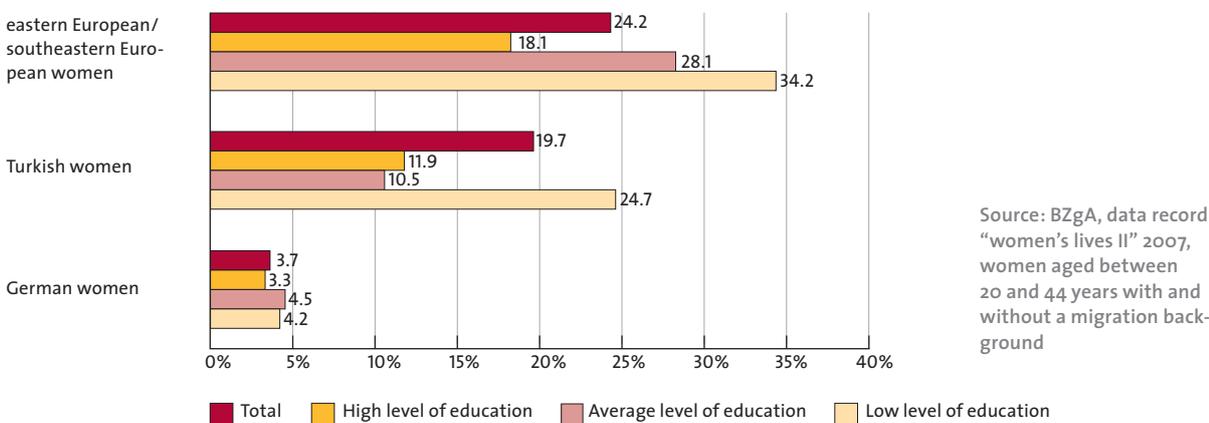
EXPERIENCES OF TERMINATION OF PREGNANCY

The focus on family experienced by women with a Turkish or eastern European/southeastern European migration background does not mean that the women surveyed have not had any termination of pregnancies. One fifth to one quarter of women with a migration background has experience of termination of pregnancy. However, the proportion of German women with experience of termination of pregnancy, which stands at 3.7%, appears to be unusually low compared with other studies³. 21% of Turkish women said that they had had two ter-

mination of pregnancies and 22% of eastern European/southeastern European women said that they had had three or four termination of pregnancies, a combined total of 6.6% and 13% respectively (calculated as a percentage of those who had had at least one termination of pregnancy).

In the case of both migrant groups, women with a low level of education terminated a pregnancy more frequently than other women.

FIGURE 3: Proportion of women with experience of termination of pregnancy according to migration background (in %)



The average age of women having their first termination of pregnancy is similarly high in both migrant groups (Turkish women: 25.1 years, eastern European/southeastern European women: 24.6 years; German women: 27.7 years). Nevertheless, women decide to have an termination of pregnancy at varying stages in their lives. 4% of female Turkish immigrants had an termination of pregnancy before migrating. This can be explained by the fact that for the majority of these women, their first sexual experiences were not until they were married and their marriage occurred closely in time with their migration.⁴ In the case of women with an eastern European/southeastern European background who have had an termination of pregnancy, just under half (48%) had the termination of pregnancy prior to migrating.

Both in the qualitative individual interviews and in group discussions, termination of pregnancies were virtually never discussed by Turkish women and were only rarely discussed by eastern European/southeastern European women. In the case of the latter, discussion of termination of pregnancies followed two patterns: firstly, termination of pregnancy is linked to the general right of women to reproductive autonomy, and secondly, is associated with the conflicts between the concept of early motherhood and a strong focus on the family and the concept of (economic) independence which is pursued at the same time.

³ HELFFERICH, C. et al. (2001): women's lives. Eine Studie zu Lebensläufen und Familienplanung, in: BZgA (Ed.): Forschung und Praxis der Sexualaufklärung und Familienplanung, Cologne

⁴ See Chapter 1: Migration profiles

TABLE 3: FIGURES RELATING TO TERMINATION OF PREGNANCY ACCORDING TO MIGRATION BACKGROUND (in years and in %)

First termination of pregnancy	Turkish women n=61	Eastern European/south-eastern European women n=70	German women n=11
average age upon first termination of pregnancy (in years)	25.1	24.6	27.7
... prior to first marriage or single at the time of being surveyed	n=52 3.8	n=60 30.0	n=11 63.6
... prior to first child or childless at the time of being surveyed	n=53 41.5	n=63 34,9	n=11 63.6
... prior to immigration (only immigrants)	n=56 4.1 (2)	n=68 45.0(27)	–

Source: BZgA, data record “women’s lives II” 2007, women aged between 20 and 44 years with and without a migration background

BIOGRAPHICAL PERSPECTIVES – DELAYING BIRTH AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF MIGRATION HISTORIES

Behaviour as regards contraception and termination of pregnancy is linked to the stages in the woman’s life where a birth is delayed or to the conclusion of family planning (contraception to prevent pregnancy or prevention of a birth). A pattern emerges in the case of women with no migration background, which has been confirmed in other studies⁵ for the federal states that were formerly part of West Germany as a whole; childless and unmarried women in particular delay starting a family by having an termination of pregnancy or by using safe methods of contraception. They start their families late and conclude their family planning late.

The vast majority of biographies of female Turkish immigrants show that women start their families early – become sexually active at the same time – and complete their family planning early, which means that they generally experience comparatively fewer lengthy periods of delay. All Turkish women (first and second generation), with few exceptions, had termination of pregnancies after they were mar-

ried⁶. Only in the case of Turkish women, not in the case of the other two groups (with a few exceptions), did termination of pregnancies occur after marriage but before the birth of the woman’s first child⁷, which therefore served to delay the birth of the woman’s first child in marriage. This concerned 15 cases and therefore one quarter of the reported 61 termination of pregnancies.⁸ In general, women did not give birth to their first child immediately following marriage, but rather 2.3 years after marriage on average.

The qualitative interviews in turn provide one possible explanation for this delay, which has not formed part of previous research⁹: the first (completely time-restricted) phase following marriage should serve to stabilise the partnership before the child extends the partnership. The interviews reveal an area of conflict: on the one hand, starting a family quickly is important against the background of a patrilineal family structure, as married women only achieve respectable status when they become

⁵ HELFFERICH, C. et al. (2001): women’s lives. Eine Studie zu Lebensläufen und Familienplanung, in: BZgA (Ed.): Forschung und Praxis der Sexualaufklärung und Familienplanung, Cologne

⁶ There was only one case where the respondent was unmarried. There were four cases of women having had an termination of pregnancy in the same year as they were married.

⁷ In the case of married women with no children: a potential first child.

⁸ Even in the four cases where an termination of pregnancy took place in the same year that the women were married, or in the ten cases where there was no information regarding the year in which the women were married or regarding an termination of pregnancy, a similar pattern can be seen. The proportion could by all means be even higher.

⁹ Previous studies on starting a family and migration do not address the issue of termination of pregnancies, e.g.: NAUCK, B. (1989): Lebenslauf, Migration und generatives Verhalten bei türkischen Frauen, in: HERLTH, A./STROHMEIER, K. P. (Ed.): Lebenslauf und Familienentwicklung. Mikroanalysen des Wandels familialer Lebensformen, Opladen, Leske + Budrich, 189–230

mothers for the first time. On the other hand, Turkish women try to use the time following marriage to consolidate their partnership and to enjoy “romantic couple time” or to get used to their new environment. However, in the biographical reflection, the older Turkish women interviewed regrettably distanced themselves from the concept of early motherhood and explicitly promoted the concept of delaying (for a limited period of time) starting a family following marriage. Another explanation

would be migration, which is also closely linked in time to marriage and the desire to wait to have a child in Germany due to the better financial protection on offer there. Only a comparatively small proportion of Turkish women amounting to 40% held qualifications and only 35% were in employment before giving birth to their first child (calculated on the basis of mothers). A relationship can be established here between starting a family early and how this ties in with migration history.

TABLE 4: BIOGRAPHICAL CONTEXTUALISATION OF FAMILY PLANNING ACCORDING TO MIGRATION BACKGROUND – AN IDEAL COMPARISON (women belonging to the first generation)

Migration background	Beginning of starting a family – age at birth of first child	End of family planning (no further children wanted)
Turkish women	earlier in life (early marriage linked to migration; first child born in Germany)	earlier in life
eastern European/ southeastern European women	(1) In the case of migration with children: earlier in life in country of origin	birth of additional children delayed and children therefore born later in Germany
	(2) In the case of migration without children: birth of child delayed and child born later in Germany	later in life
German women	later in life (in particular in the case of highly qualified women)	later in life

Source: BZgA, data record “women’s lives II” 2007, women aged between 20 and 44 years with and without a migration background

In the case of 21 eastern European/southeastern European women, their first termination of pregnancy was prior to marriage or they were unmarried at the time of being interviewed (35% of all termination of pregnancies for which information is available). Irrespective of whether they came to Germany married with children or single and childless, women delayed their wish to have a (another) child as a result of migration. Almost half of the termination of pregnancies had by these women (34 cases, 58% of all termination of pregnancies for which information is available) occurred after the women had had their first child but before they had had their second child.¹⁰ Due to this delay, even those who started a family early (in their country of origin), concluded their family planning later. Of the women in this group who have one or more children, three quarters completed a vocational qualification prior to starting a family and 71%

were in employment – despite first becoming mothers at a relatively young age. It must be noted that some of the qualifications taken by the women in their countries of origin were shorter than German qualifications.

The qualitative interviews reveal the aforementioned conflict between the concept of early motherhood and the concept of (economic) autonomy and independence which is pursued simultaneously, particularly in the case of eastern European/southeastern European women: As far as eastern European/southeastern European women are concerned, migration often goes hand in hand with professional downgrading, which women seek to counterbalance by taking additional qualifications. This results in women delaying starting a family or extending their families even if women regret this period as “lost time as far as children are concerned”.

¹⁰ Or in the case of women with only one child: before a potential second child

Need for information, sources of information and advice requirements

Expressions of interest amongst Turkish women in various sub-aspects of the issues of family and family planning that formed part of the survey, is consistently and in part significantly higher than amongst eastern European/southeastern European and German women. This is particularly true in the case of medical questions (gynaecological and sexually transmitted diseases such as AIDS) and issues concerning gender relations within the partnership. Medical issues are also the principal concern of eastern European/southeastern European and German women, albeit to a significantly lesser extent.

Likewise, Turkish women also have an extraordinarily strong interest in the issue of the “rights and duties of husband and wife within the family”. Sig-

nificantly fewer eastern European/southeastern European and German women were interested in this issue. The fact that Turkish women show a particularly strong interest in the issue of “violence within the family” cannot and should not necessarily result in rash conclusions being made that the Turkish women surveyed are more frequently affected by violence within the family. This response may also be attributed to the increased presence of the issue in the media or may result from the fact that Turkish women have a larger network of friends and acquaintances (table 5).

In both migrant groups, it is predominantly women with few qualifications that have a strong interest in obtaining information.

TABLE 5: INTEREST IN OBTAINING INFORMATION RELATING TO FAMILY PLANNING
(proportion of women “interested” in %*)

Interest in obtaining information**	Turkish women n=307	eastern European/ southeastern European women n=294	German women n=299
Contraception and the pill*	45.6	21.8	33.8
Pregnancy and birth*	34.9	26.5	22.5
What to do if you are unable to conceive*	39.0	21.6	15.7
Satisfying sexuality within the partnership	61.3	41.1	45.9
Sexually transmitted diseases, e.g. AIDS*	70.2	38.6	43.6
Diseases of the female sex organs	89.5	69.4	78.6
Child benefit*	42.7	45.6	33.8
Rights and duties of husband and wife within the family*	81.4	44.9	41.8
What to do in the case of violence within the family?	71.6	34.7	38.6

* The majority of the remaining answers were “not interested”. With the exception of “Satisfying sexuality within the partnership”, the answers “no comment”, “half and half” and “don’t know” almost do not feature at all.

** Multiple answers possible

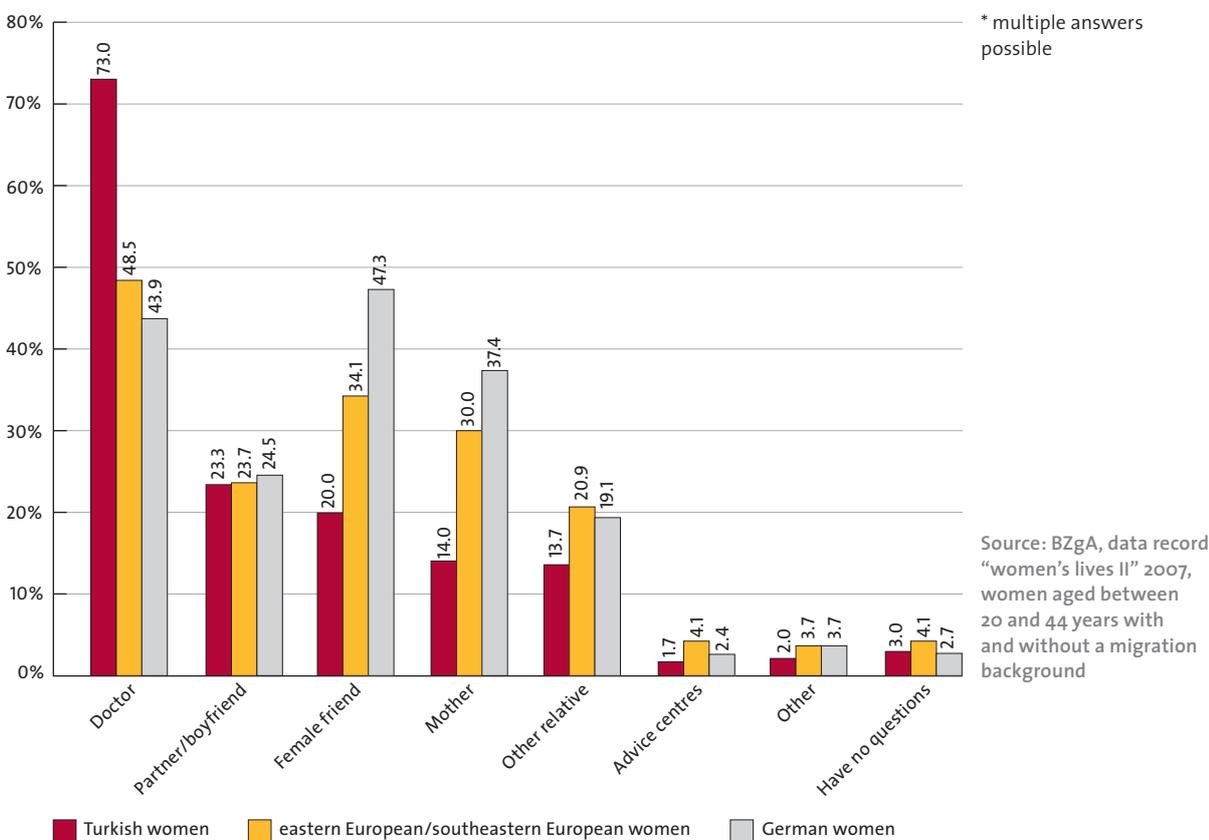
Source: BZgA, data record “women’s lives II” 2007, women aged between 20 and 44 years with and without a migration background

CORRELATION BETWEEN EDUCATION AND PREFERRED SOURCES OF INFORMATION

The persons to whom women prefer to go to seek information are also dependent on education. In the Turkish group, it is predominantly women with a low level of education who would prefer to consult a doctor (79%), whilst in the case of eastern European/southeastern European women, it is women with a higher level of education who are more likely to prefer to seek advice from a doctor (women with a low level of education: 30%, women with a high level of education: 55% said that they would prefer

to seek advice from a doctor). Diametrically opposed trends also emerge in another respect. Women with a high level of education (29%) would prefer to ask their mothers for information than women with a low level of education (10%). In the case of eastern European/southeastern European women, the reverse is true (30% of women with a high level of education prefer to seek advice from their mothers, whilst this figure is 43% for women with a low level of education).

FIGURE 4: Preferred persons to consult with questions regarding family planning according to migration background* (proportion of women who said “yes” in %)



IMPROVING THE ADVICE ON OFFER

In the event that women wish to make use of the advice on offer with regard to issues concerning family and family planning, it is important particularly for Turkish women that the advice is offered in their native language and that the persons provid-

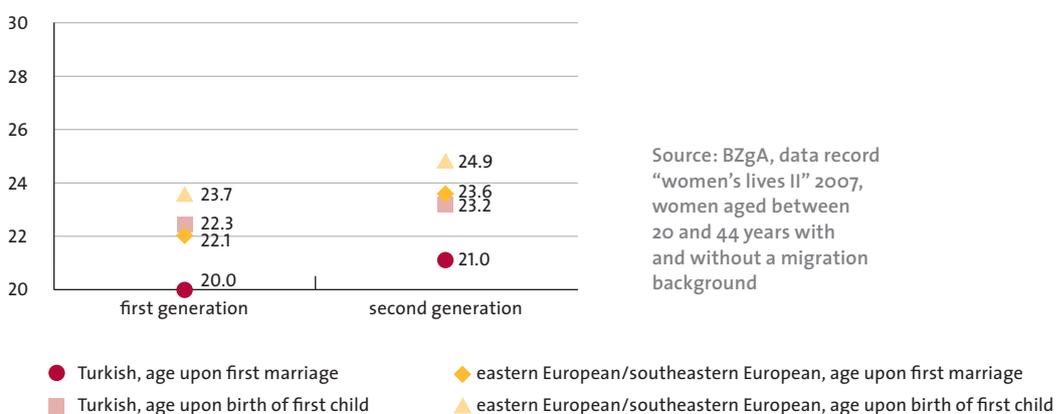
ing the advice are familiar with their native culture and religion. Doctors are particularly important here as they are the preferred source of information in this area for over 70% of Turkish women.

Outlook for the second generation

As far as the processes involved in starting a family are concerned, a trend that is reminiscent of the German pattern emerges both for second-generation Turkish women and second-generation eastern European/southeastern European women – considered with the necessary level of caution: on average, second-generation women marry for the first time one year later and have their first child approximately

one year later than the first generation. For Turkish women, this is associated with – when compared with their mothers – an improvement in educational opportunities. There are indications that even within second-generation migrant groups, models for raising a family polarise between sub-groups that wish to have lots of children and sub-groups that no longer view motherhood as an obligation.

FIGURE 5: Comparison between the first and second generation of the age at which women have children (in years)



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SAMPLE

- a) 601 women between 20 and 44 years of age
migration background: Turkish: N=307
eastern European/southeastern European: N=294
299 women without a migration background
- b) 30 individual interviews, 18 group discussions
mainly with women with a Turkish or eastern
European/southeastern European migration
background

METHOD

- Telephone surveys, standardised questionnaires (also in Turkish)
- Random sample taken from the registers held at the registration office
- Use of Turkish-speaking interviewers

ABSTRACT

The study presented examines the relationship between family planning and experiences of migration in the lives of women aged between 20 and 44 years. It builds on the study "Frauen leben. Eine Studie zu Lebensläufen und Familienplanung" ["women's lives."] Women with a Turkish or eastern European/southeastern European migration background were surveyed in two German municipalities. Key points of the research approach are a comprehensive understanding of family planning as a private life choice, the inclusion of biographical perspectives, the focus on skills and resources and the consideration of the subjective viewpoint of the women.

A central aspect of the research is the significance of the migration of the women surveyed (or their parents) as far as their own family planning is concerned, since the issues surrounding family planning differ depending on whether women migrated with or without their families or whether their migration was in connection with marriage or whether they belong to the second generation. The study therefore does not focus exclusively on cultural differences, but above all on the interplay between migration as a biographical event and family planning as a private life choice.

In the second phase of the study, the cities of Berlin and Nuremberg will be included as survey areas. The expansion of the database makes it possible to carry out more in-depth analyses, in particular to make distinctions according to social status indicators. The study is scheduled for completion at the end of 2009 and the results will be published at the start of 2010.

PERFORMANCE OF THE TELEPHONE INTERVIEWS

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