Behavior and Life Satisfaction surrounding Childbirth: An Examination of Labour Force Behavior, Life Satisfaction, and Perceptions of Hardship among Immigrant and German Women

By

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#### I. Background

*Immigration Policy*. In Germany, public opinion and public policy during the last quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century were formulated based on the premise that "Germany is not a country of immigrants" (Independent Commission on Migration to Germany, 2001; Martin, 1998). Despite these perceptions, Germany experienced substantially more inmigration than out-migration during the period from 1954 to 2000. According to statistics presented in the Report by the Independent Commission on Migration to Germany (2001), about 31 million persons immigrated to the Federal Republic of Germany during this period, while 22 million people left. In 2000, 7.3 million foreigners were living in Germany, which represented 8.9 percent of the entire population. Within the European Union, Germany's rate of immigration and the proportion of its population with immigrant status substantially exceed the European average of approximately 5 percent (Coppel, Dumont, and Viscon, 2001). As Table 1 indicates, Germany's percentage of the population that was foreign in 1995 was equal to the percentage found in the United States.

Figure 1 shows the numbers of foreigners living in Germany for the period 1980 to 2002. During this period, immigration flows were steady or slightly declining during the beginning of the 1980s followed by a period of rapid increase during the early 1990s. The high increases in the 1990s were characterized by two distinct inflows of

foreigners—relatively large numbers of individuals who were seeking asylum and smaller, but highly significant in political terms, numbers of individuals who migrated to Germany as ethnic Germans (Aussiedler). For all years, the numbers of males outnumbered the numbers of females. Individuals with Turkish nationality, the traditional guest workers in Germany, constitute the largest immigrant group, accounting for over 25% of all foreigners living in Germany (see Table 2).

According to statistics from December1999 published by the German Federal Ministry of the Interior (2004), approximately 32 percent of all officially registered foreigners had been living in Germany for 20 years or more; 28 per cent had been living in Germany for under six years and approximately 20 per cent had been living there for between six and ten years. Foreigners in Germany tend to be heavily concentrated in specific regions and cities. States with percentages substantially above the national average include Baden-Württemberg, Berlin, Bremen, Hamburg, Hesse and North-Rhine/Westphalia. Several cities have a population share of foreigners that exceeds 20% including Frankfurt/Main (30.1 per cent), Stuttgart (24.1 per cent), Munich (23.6 per cent), and Cologne (20.5 per cent)

A number of historical factors have resulted in Germany's current distribution of foreigners by nationality. Germany has formulated an immigration policy that affords special status to Ethnic Germans living in countries that had been part of the Soviet block (Zimmerman, 1999). Because of the historical persecution of Ethnic Germans who lived outside of Germany, Germany set up laws and policies that allowed these individuals to migrate and to gain immediate citizenship, thereby granting these migrants more rights and privileges than other migrants. In the late 1980s, German law and policy also provided for more immigration by asylum seekers than did many other countries. These factors have in turn shaped public policy initiatives and research agenda. In 1994/1995, these research efforts were greatly facilitated by the addition of a large immigrant sample to the German Socio-Economic Panel, which allows researchers to differentiate among foreigners based on nationality, on place of birth, on status as an asylum seeker, and on status as an Ethnic German (Buechel and Frick, 2000).

The rapid rise in the number of immigrants from the late 1980s through the middle of the 1990s prompted intense public policy and media discussions and stimulated

the development of a corresponding body of research literature. The public policy and research debates dealt with the forces behind the immigration and its impact on the German economy and society as a whole. These discussions and debates resulted in simultaneous efforts to curb some forms of immigration and to facilitate integration for immigrants already residing in Germany.

The distinction among different groups of immigrants based on humanitarian and economic grounds marked the debate at all levels. Bauer and Zimmerman (2000) reported that public opinions regarding German immigration policy also reflect major differences based on the status of the immigrant group. Based on opinion surveys in 1996, they found that while only 11.5 percent of respondents surveyed in West Germany wanted a total stop to immigration by Ethnic Germans from Central and Eastern Europe (Aussiedler); 21.7 percent wanted a stop to immigration by asylum seekers; 12.1 percent wanted a stop to all labor immigrants from the EU; and 31.3 percent wanted a stop to all labor immigration from outside the EU. In all cases except for asylum seekers, the percentage of respondents in East Germany wanting to stop all immigration exceeded the percentages found in the West. Substantial differences between respondents in the East and West existed for whether the respondent wanted a stop to labor migration from the EU (37.7 % in East Germany versus 12.1% in the West) and from outside the EU (49.2% in East Germany versus 31.1% in the West). For respondents in West Germany, the percentages reporting that all immigration should be stopped had declined for all categories of immigration compared with the percentages reported in 1990. The opposite time trend was observed for respondents in East Germany.

For West Germany, changes in perceptions that occurred between 1990 and 1996 are likely accounted for by changes in immigration law that were implemented in 1991, which sharply restricted the ability of asylum seekers to remain in Germany. The 1990 Foreigners Act (Federal Law Gazette I, p. 1354), which took effect on 1 January 1991, was designed in part to improve the integration of foreigners lawfully living in Germany and to restrict immigration. (See Bauer and Zimmerman, 2000 for a fuller discussion of German immigration policy.) In contrast, the sharply rising rate of unemployment, particularly in East Germany, may have contributed to the increase in negative attitudes towards labor migration among respondents living in the eastern part of Germany. On 1 January 2000, the Act to Amend the Nationality Law [Gesetz zur Reform des Staatsangehörigkeitsrechts] took effect (Federal Ministry of the Interior, 2004). The major provisions of the Act deal with the attainment of citizenship. Major provisions include:

- Children of foreign parents who are born in Germany will receive German nationality if one parent was born in Germany or entered Germany before the age of 14 and possesses a residence permit.
- On condition that they can support themselves financially and have no criminal record, the following persons will be granted a right to nationality:
  - foreigners with eight years' legal residence in Germany;
  - foreign minors where at least one parent holds an unlimited residence permit and who have lived with this parent as a member of his or her family in Germany for five years;
  - foreign spouses of Germans after three years' legal residence in Germany if the marriage has existed for at least two years. (Federal Ministry of the Interior, 2004).

In addition to these provisions, this law contained transitional provisions concerning citizenship for children under the age of ten when the law was enacted. Hence the children of many of the immigrant women who are included in the analyses described below will have the option of electing to become citizens of Germany. Prior to the enactment of this law, citizenship was relatively difficult (but not impossible) to obtain even for individuals who had been born and raised in Germany. It is for this reason that the analyses do not assume that women who were born in Germany are citizens. For the 1992-2000 period during which behavior and attitudes of mothers surrounding childbirth are examined, women with long standing residences in Germany, including women who were born and/or raised in Germany, may still have had official legal status as immigrants rather than as German citizens.

Although the naturalization law did shorten the required period of residence from fifteen to eight years, it nonetheless placed more stringent emphases on measures of integration, particularly in regards to competency in the German language. The new law also requires "commitment to the Basic Law requirements for naturalisation". As stated by the Federal Ministry of the Interior, this commitment entails the following conditions:

... the foreign population is expected to demonstrate the willingness and determination to integrate, though this does not mean they are expected to renounce their own cultural identity or to adapt ours. However, it does mean they must respect the basic values of our constitution. This includes accepting democracy as the system of government with the multi-party system, the separation of powers and the state monopoly, the separation of the state and the church and religious tolerance as well as equal rights for men and women (Federal Ministry of the Interior, 2004).

German law continues to discourage multiple nationality, making allowances only in special cases based primarily on hardship criteria. Recent initiatives to develop an immigration policy that more successfully targets immigrants based on needed skill levels in the German economy have yet to result in enacted statutes. Germany did pass ordinances on 1 August 2000 regulating residence and work permits that allow companies to employ up to 20,000 IT experts from non-EU-states. These ordinances provided qualified foreigners more favorable conditions in terms of foreigners' law.

*Immigration Policy as Family Policy.* Within Germany, immigration law and policy interact not only with direct labor market concerns and humanitarian issues concerning Ethnic Germans and asylum seekers, but also with family and population policy. Germany is one of many countries within Europe facing low fertility rates. German women tend to delay childbearing until they have completed their education and worked for a period in the labor market—average age at first birth is over 30 years of age for married women and 27.5 years of age for first time mothers who are unmarried. As Table 3 indicates, fertility in Germany is well beneath replacement rate with a rate of 1.3 in 2002. Within this demographic context, immigration policy is often viewed as a strategy to mitigate or at least to soften the effects of population decline, although within Germany the level of immigration required to achieve population replacement is considered untenable. Nevertheless immigration can have both immediate and long-term consequences for the population profile and population pyramid, particularly if the immigrant groups have higher fertility levels on average than native-born citizens. In Germany, birth rates for immigrants and non-citizens are somewhat higher than those of

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native-born citizens, but these differences are not substantial (Independent Commission to Germany, 2001).

According to Heckmann (2001), "immigration integration refers to the inclusion of new populations into existing social structures and the quality and manner in which these new populations are connected to the existing system of socio-economic, legal and cultural relations. (p. 61)." Official government policy in Germany recognizes that the labor market represents one of the most critical social structures where integration occurs. Special programs and integration courses exist to provide assistance to foreign women in achieving language competency and in gaining knowledge about vocational, training and career possibilities. According to official government statistics, approximately 230,000 immigrant women have taken part in these courses. The Federal Institute for Vocational Training has also established a number of pilot projects to enhance the vocational education and chances of foreign women on the labor market (Federal Institute of the Ministry, 2000). The time surrounding childbirth represents a particularly critical period for both mothers and children. Hence a detailed study of whether and to what extent differences exist in how mothers adjust their labor market supply in response to the demands of parenthood can provide insight on the degree of integration between nativeborn German citizens and different groups of immigrant women living in Germany.

## II. Methodology and Data

The analyses are based on longitudinal data from the German Socio-Economic Panel (Burkhauser, Kreyenfeld, and Wagner1997)<sup>1</sup>. The research was conducted with GSOEP data for the years 1992-2000—a period when maternity and parental leave policies at the

- Longitudinal data (panel design)
- Household context (all adult household members are surveyed)
- Comparisons within Germany

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The German Socio-Economic Panel (SOEP) is a wide-ranging representative longitudinal study of private households in Germany. The same private households, persons and families have been surveyed annually since 1984. As early as June 1990, i.e. before the currency, economic and social union, the survey was extended to include the territory of the former German Democratic Republic (GDR). In 1994/95 a new immigrant sample was introduced. Extensive details on the GSOEP and all contact information can be found at http://www.diw.de/english/sop/uebersicht/index.html. The advantages of the SOEP data are the unique analytical possibilities with respect to:

<sup>•</sup> Foreigners (currently the largest repeated survey of foreigners in the Federal Republic of Germany; the sample includes households whose the head is Turkish, Spanish, Italian, Greek or former Yugoslavian)

<sup>•</sup> Immigrants (currently the only high-quality survey of immigrants who entered West-Germany in the years 1984-1995)

Federal level in Germany were relatively stable. The study differentiated among different groups of immigrants as well as between German women in the west and in the east. Because this time period was marked by relatively minor changes in maternity and parental leave policy at the Federal level, it provides a good opportunity to examine whether and to what extent the choices of immigrant women and German women are affected by economic, human capital, and cultural differences. The first part of the analyses was descriptive and examined the labor force status of women during the 12-month period before birth and the labor market transitions, if any, that followed the birth of a child. In the next stage of the research, the timing of entering the labor force after birth for women in the different groups was examined. Specifically, a time varying Cox regression hazard rate model was estimated that examined the duration (in months) before mothers re-entered market work after childbirth. (See Allison, 1984; Kiefer, 1988 for discussions of hazard rate models.)

The equations included, as cofactors, demographic variables, a household resource variable, human capital variables and a series of variables that pertain to immigration status and nationality. The richness of the GSOEP allowed us to include a wide range of variables concerning immigration and citizenship status. Hence we included variables that measured religious affiliation, language competency for all immigrants and non-German citizens, and indicators of whether the woman resided in East or West Germany. We differentiated between German citizens who were and who were not born in Germany. We also differentiated between immigrants from Turkey, the largest immigrant group in Germany, Ethnic Germans (Aussiedler), and immigrants from the EU. Although the data do permit a classification of asylum seeker, the percentage of new mothers in this category was too low for the category to be included as a separate classification.

In Germany, distinctions among leave/homemaker, full-time work and part-time work are essential in understanding labor force dynamics for women, particularly for women in the years immediately following childbirth. Family policy in Germany has traditionally favored a breadwinner model with an emphasis on full-time caregiving by mothers and full-time employment by fathers. (See Trzcinski, 1998, 2000, 2003 for extended discussions of historical and current German family law and policy.) In recent years, however, policy has shifted to an emphasis on facilitating part-time work for mothers (Trzcinski and Holst, 2003). These policy goals have strongly influenced the range of options available to German women and have resulted in a relatively high percentage of women in part-time employment and in full-time homemaking compared with other countries in the EU and the OECD. Hence we differentiate in our analyses not only between employment and non-employment, but also between part-time and full-time employment.

The results strongly confirm the importance of these distinctions. Time trends in subjective well being were also examined for the German and immigrant women stratified by first and second or later births. These analyses build upon and extend previous work on labor market behavior of mothers of infants and young children in Germany, such as work by Gustafsson, Wetzels, Vlasblom and Dex, 1996: Ondrich, Spiess, and Yang, 1996; and Giannelli, 1996.

#### III. Results

*Descriptive Results concerning Labor Market Activity.* The results indicate that patterns of labor market participation differ for immigrant versus German women both prior to and after the first birth. Differences are also observed surrounding second and later births. However, the nature of these differences depends on the type of employment (See Figures 2 to 6). Prior to the birth of the first child, German women work more in the market than do women who are immigrants. The pre-birth differences in participation rates stem almost entirely from differences in the extent of full-time employment. After the birth of the first child, however, immigrant and German women exhibit the same rates of full-time employment, but German women participate more in the labor market on a part-time basis. Patterns of full-time employment are nearly identical for German and immigrant women following the second birth. Following both first and second or later births, German women are more likely to return to employment part-time than are immigrant women. *Cox Regression Results.* The Cox regression results suggest that substantial differences exist not only between immigrants and native born German women, but also among different categories of immigrants. Tables 4 through 7 present the results for the time-variant Cox regressions (Table 4 presents the means for the covariates). Table 5 presents the results concerning the hazard rates for return to any employment after a duration of time spent on leave or as a homemaker. In this equation, German citizens who were born in Germany and EU nationals are likely to return to work more quickly than other groups. This equation also yields the surprising result that women in East Germany return to work less quickly than do women in West Germany. Fair-to-poor language skills lower the hazard function for return to work, but these effects are not statistically significant.

Tables 6 and 7, which separately examine return to full-time versus part-time work, paint a different picture. When socio-economic variables, such as income, religious affiliation, and education are controlled for, immigrant women who have Turkish nationality return to full time work more quickly than do other women. Immigrant women whose self-reported language competency is fair to poor return to full-time work more slowly than do other women. No differences exist in the hazard rates for women in East and West Germany regarding the timing of their likelihood of returning to full-time work.

The equation for part-time work (Table 7) strongly indicates that the immigration variables influencing hazard rates do not operate in the same manner for part-time work as for full-time work. Here the results show that similarities in behavior exist for German citizens who were born in Germany, for Ethnic Germans (Aussiedler), and for immigrants who are EU nationals. Membership in any of these three groups is associated with a statistically significant positive effect on the hazard rate of returning to part-time work. In contrast with the results for full-time work, these results show that East German women are less likely to return to part-time work at the same rate as women in West Germany. Language competence does not, however, influence the rate of return to part-time work for immigrant women.

*Subjective Well-Being*. Substantial differences also exist in subjective well being between immigrant and German mothers. Figures 7 and 8 present the mean level of life

satisfaction by the mothers in the years preceding and following first birth and second and later births. The scale used for these figures is an 11-item self-report of overall life satisfaction, ranging from 0 (low) to 10 (high satisfaction). The patterns of life satisfaction are similar for German citizens who were born in Germany and for immigrant women. First birth is associated with a sharp rise in life satisfaction followed by declines following the births. Sharp increases in satisfaction are not observed for second and later births, however, self-reported life satisfaction declines after second or later birth for both immigrant and German women. Although the patterns are similar for both groups, the extent of the change is stronger for immigrant women than for German women, that is, immigrant women experience on average both a greater increase in life satisfaction leading up to the birth, followed by a sharper decline in life satisfaction afterwards.

Figures 9 and 10 differentiate among patterns of life satisfaction based on each woman's choice of labor market status following the birth. In Figures 9 and 10, a woman is classified into the group "part-time work", if she returns to part-time work before the 37<sup>th</sup> month following childbirth; into the group "full-time work", if she returns to full-time work, and into the group "homemaker", if she has not returned to work by the 37<sup>th</sup> month after childbirth. Women with multiple transitions after childbirth are classified based on their first transition. Here the results indicate that German women and immigrant women experience different patterns of satisfaction based on their employment outcomes. While German women who return to part-time work report on average the highest levels of satisfaction surrounding birth compared with other women, it is immigrant women who are full-time homemakers who report the highest levels of satisfaction. Trzcinski and Holst (2003) provide more extended results for German women that indicate these results still hold in multivariate analyses of the predictors of life satisfaction surrounding work.

*Financial Hardship*. The final set of figures (Figures 9 and 10) and Charts 1 and 2 provide measures of self-reported financial hardship. Figures 9 and 10 provide self-reports of whether the mothers reported serious worries about their financial situation, with all results differentiated by immigrant/non-immigrant status and by first versus second or later births. In all cases, a higher percentage of immigrant women reported that

they had serious worries about their financial situation in the years before and following births than did German women. These results were statistically significant for every year observed relative to the birth year.

Charts 1 and 2 show differences in social exclusion variables. Because the information on these variables was not collected until 2001, these results show the self-reported level of social exclusion reported by mothers in 2001 for all children born during the period from 1992-2000. The specific measures of social exclusions include whether the family has a telephone, owns an automobile, has housing that is in good condition, and has housing located in a good neighborhood. Following standard procedures for assessing the degree of social exclusion, GSOEP asks these questions in two stages, first to assess whether the condition exists and then to assess whether financial reasons are the cause of the condition. Under both specifications, immigrant women reported that they were less likely to have a telephone, less likely to have housing that is in good condition, and less likely to live in a good neighborhood.

## IV. Discussion

The results presented here indicate that immigrant women differ substantially in their labor market behavior compared with women who are both German citizens and who were born in Germany. The Cox Regressions, however, underscore the critical importance of differentiating among different groups of immigrants. Within Germany, the results suggest that women who immigrated as Ethnic Germans and women who are EU nationals have patterns of labor market behavior that are more similar to German citizens who were also born in Germany. A surprising result in the Cox regressions is that women with Turkish nationality have higher hazard rates of returning to full-time work than do women from other immigrant groups or German women. Hence lower rates of full-time employment observed in aggregate data for women with Turkish nationality seem to be better explained by standard socio-economic variables than by cultural variables associated with Turkish nationality.

It must be emphasized, however, that these differences are within county differences. When compared with patterns of labor force participation surrounding childbirth that typify other countries, striking similarities between German women and immigrant women in Germany do exist. Although differences in levels are observed, women in both

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classifications tend to work in full-time employment prior to the birth of their first children while relatively small percentages of German and immigrant women return to full-time work following the birth of their first child.

Similarities and differences also exist in reported levels of life satisfaction. Both German women and immigrant women experience increases in life satisfaction immediately prior to childbirth; both groups experience declines afterwards. The relatively greater declines in life satisfaction experienced by immigrant women in comparison with German women, however, suggest that German policy needs to focus more on this critical time for families as it formulates its integration strategy. In addition, relatively greater levels of serious financial concerns accompany declines in life satisfaction for new mothers with immigrant status. They also report more frequently that they live in situations marked by risks of social exclusion. Given how essential the periods of infancy and early childhood are for successful child development, these discrepancies in psychological as well as in economic outcomes observed between German and immigrant women could constitute risks factors for immigrant families. Such risks, if not addressed in policy, could threaten to undermine the integration not only of the current generation of immigrants, but also of future generations.

Table 1. Stocksof foreign population in selected OECD countries				
Percent of the population				
	1991	1995	2000	
Austria	6.8	9.0	9.3	
Belgium	9.2	9.0	8.4	
Czech Republic		1.5	2.0	
Denmark	3.3	4.2	4.8	
Finland	0.8	1.3	1.8	
Germany	7.3	8.8	8.9	
Ireland	2.5	2.7	3.3	
Italy	1.5	1.7	2.4	
Japan	1.0	1.1	1.3	
Netherlands	4.8	4.7	4.2	
Norway	3.5	3.7	4.1	
Portugal	1.2	1.7	2.1	
Slovak Republic		0.4	0.5	
Spain	0.9	1.3	2.2	
Sweden	5.7	5.2	5.4	
Switzerland	17.1	18.9	19.3	
United States		8.8	10.4	
Source: Table A.1.5. Stocks of foreign populationin selected OECD				
in Trends in Internationl Mighration, OECD, 2002 edition.Data				
retrieved from http://www.oecd.org./				



Source: Federal Statistical Office of Germany (2003). Data retrieved from <u>Http://ww.w.destatis.de/</u>

Table 2. Population, by sex and citizenship					
Specification	Unit	2000	2001	2002	2002
					Percent of
					total
					population
Inhabitants on 31	1 000	82 259.5	82 440.3	82 536.7	
December					
Male	1 000	40 156.5	40 274.7	40 344.8	
Female	1 000	42 103.0	42 165.6	42 191.9	
By citizenship					
Germans	1 000	74 992.0	75 122.1	75 188.7	91.1
Foreigners	1 000	7 267.6	7 318.2	7 348.0	8.9
					Percent of
Incl:					foreigners
Turkey	1 000	1 998.5	1 947.9	1 912.2	26.0
Yugoslavia <sup>1</sup>	1 000	662.5	627.5	591.5	8.0
Italy	1 000	619.1	616.3	609.8	8.3
Greece	1 000	365.4	362.7	359.4	4.9
Bosnia/Herzegov.	1 000	156.3	159.0	163.8	2.2
Poland	1 000	301.4	310.4	317.6	4.3
Croatia	1 000	216.8	223.8	231.0	3.1
Austria	1 000	187.7	189.0	189.3	2.6
United States	1 000	113.6	113.5	112.9	1.5
Macedonia	1 000	51.8	56.0	58.3	0.7
Slovenia	1 000	18.8	19.4	20.6	.03

<sup>1</sup>Serbia-Montenegro Source: Federal Statistical Office, 16 September 2003. Data retrieved from <u>http://www.destatis.de/</u>

Table 3. Germany					
Specification	Unit	2000	2001	2002	
Mean age of mothers at	the birth of live	e-born childro	en		
Total	Age	29.5	29.6	29.7	
Married mothers <sup>1</sup>					
Total	Age	30.1	30.3	30.5	
At birth of first child	Age	28.8	29.0		
At birth of second child	Age	30.5	30.7		
At birth of third child	Age	32.0	32.2		
Unmarried mothers					
Total	Age	27.5	27.5	27.5	
Total fertility rate					
Average number of children	Per women	1.4	1.4	1.3	
<ul> <li><sup>1</sup> Referring to children from the present marriage.</li> <li>Percentages updated on 08 August 2003</li> <li>© Federal Statistical Office Germany 2003, <u>www.destatis.de</u></li> </ul>					











Table 4. Means of Covariates			
Explanatory Variables	Mean		
Human Capital Variables			
Years of education	11,556		
Years of full time work	5,989		
Years of Part time work	1,120		
Individual Specific Variables			
Age (t)	28,711		
Age squared (t)	849,048		
Married (t)	,792		
Evangelical	,284		
Catholic	,296		
Ln Real HH Wage and Salary Income – Mother's Wage and	,675		
Salary Income (Standardized)	,075		
Self employed	,021		
Immigration and Ethnicity Variables			
East German	,216		
Language Fair to Poor	.047		
Born in Germany, citizen	,783		
Born in German, non-citizen	,047		
Ethnic German	,.025		
Turkish	,077		
EU Nationality	,045		
Second or later Birth	,365		

	Ν	1	Percent
Full time and Part Time Combined	Ill time and Part Time Combined 559		44,6%
Censored		693	55,4%
Total		1252	100,0%
Explanatory Variables	В	Sig.	Exp(B)
Years of education	,096	,000	1,101
Years of full time work	,049	,000	1,050
Years of Part time work	,101	,000	1,10
Age (t)	,206	,026	1,22
Age squared (t)	-,004	,013	,99
Married (t)	,004	,972	1,004
Evangelical	-,233	,037	,792
Catholic	-,368	,001	,692
Self employed	1,320	,000	3,74
Ln Income	,011	,516	1,01
Second or later birth	-,211	,045	,81
Immigration and Ethnicity Variables			
East German	-,241	,050	,78
Language Skill: Fair to Poor (t)	-,430	,146	,65
Born in Germany, citizen	,417	,043	1,51
Born in Germany, non-citizen	,023	,927	1,02
Ethnic German (Aussiedler)	,128	,753	1,13
Turkish	,299	,254	1,34
EU Nationality	,663	,019	1,94

# Table 5. Full and Part Time Employment Combined<br/>Cox RegressionDuration Variable: Length of Time as Homemaker or on Leave after birth, 37 months maximum

	Ν		Percent
Full time employment		186	14,9%
Censored	1066		85,1%
Total		1252	100,0%
		i	
Explanatory Variables	В	Sig.	Exp(B)
Years of education	,085	,026	1,088
Years of full time work	,069	,002	1,072
Years of Part time work	-,001	,974	,999
Age (t)	,092	,521	1,097
Age squared (t)	-,002	,476	,998
Married (t)	-,201	,314	,818
Evangelical	-,367	,066	,693
Catholic	-,495	,018	,609
Self employed	1,954	,000	7,054
Ln Income	-,027	,158	,974
Second or later birth	-,324	,082	,723
Immigration and Ethnicity Variables			
East German	,235	,245	1,264
Language Skill: Fair to Poor (t)	-1,021	,054	,360
Born in Germany, non-citizen	-,100	,792	,905
Born in Germany, citizen	-,048	,886	,953
Ethnic German (Aussiedler)	-11,271	,945	,000
Turkish	,881	,024	2,414
EU Nationality	,648	,147	1,911

Table 6. Employment after Birth: Full Time Only Cox Regression Results Duration Variable: Length of Time as Homemaker Or on Leave after birth, 36 months maximum

# Table 7. Employment after Birth: Part Time Only<br/>Cox Regression ResultsDuration Variable: Length of Time as Homemaker or on Leave after birth, 36 months maximum

	N	Percent	
Part time Employment	373	29,8%	
Censored	879	70,2%	
Total	1252		100,0%
Explanatory Variables	В	Sig.	Exp(B)
Years of education	,106	,000	1,112
Years of full time work	,038	,016	1,039
Years of Part time work	,132	,000	1,142
Age (t)	,262	,030	1,299
Age squared (t)	-,005	,016	,995
Married (t)	,136	,415	1,145
Evangelical	-,158	,245	,854
Catholic	-,304	,029	,738
Self employed	,690	,077	1,993
Ln Income	,040	,066	1,037
Second or later birth	,149	,243	,862
Immigration and Ethnicity Variables			
East German	-,507	,002	,602
Language Skill: Fair to Poor (t)	,045	,903	1,046
Born in Germany, citizen	,737	,006	2,089
Born in Germany, non-citizen	,186	,573	1,205
Ethnic German (Aussiedler)	,758	,085	2,135
Turkish	-,328	,401	,720
EU Nationality	,668	,067	1,950

















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