



Immigrant Fertility in Comparative Perspective: South Africa and the United States

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Abstract

Because immigrant fertility is situated within two societies, the resultant childbearing patterns reflect a culmination of selectivity into migration alongside blended experiences of origin-destination contexts around fertility norms. We analyze the ways that national origin shapes patterns of childbearing within fertility covariates. We use data from Statistics South Africa and the United States Census Bureau harmonized in the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series, International for a disaggregated analysis of the odds of a birth in the past year among the three most prominent immigrant groups compared with native-born women in each receiving country. Interacted logistic regression analyses and margins results demonstrate significant nativity-based differences in the odds of childbearing across age, previous childbearing, and marital status, but not across educational attainment. We attribute variation in the covariates of fertility across nativities to demographic composition and the contexts of migration unique to each group.

Keywords Immigrant fertility · Fertility differences · Cross-national comparative study · U.S. fertility · South African fertility

Introduction

Sociologists and demographers have long puzzled over the nature of immigrant fertility and the features of migrants and migration experiences that affect fertility behavior. Although scholars have debated whether immigration can stall or reverse future trends toward very

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low fertility and population decline, immigrants and immigrant fertility have played a role in the demographic fates of the world's major immigration societies in both the Global North and Global South (Edmonston and Passel 1994; Hirschman 2005; Ibisomi et al. 2014; Kahn 1988; van de Kaa 2002). Of particular interest is the influence of immigrants' demographic composition and demographic behavior on receiving societies because of the potential for transformation demographically, not to mention politically, economically, and culturally (Beine et al. 2013; Chavez 2013; Parrado 2011; Parrado and Morgan 2008).

Immigration flows in the United States and globally have grown ever more heterogeneous (Castles et al. 2013), and likely as diverse are immigrants' fertility behaviors. As immigrants and immigrant contexts diversify globally, the bulk of research in the U.S. context has focused on Hispanic populations, particularly on immigrants and second-generation Americans of Mexican ancestry (Carter 2000; Hill and Johnson 2004). Research that expands on diverse nationalities but also immigrant women's fertility is rare; however, a few exceptions exist (e.g., Kahn 1994). South African studies of immigration have often focused on shifting political restrictions and economic necessity driving immigration, such as the duality of the restrictive apartheid era immigration policy alongside demand for migrant men's labor; meanwhile, policy and social norms that readily decreased fertility and curbed population growth are widely studied separately (Burger et al. 2012). An encompassing demographic perspective in a cross-national comparative analysis can yield a more nuanced picture of the range of immigrant demographic composition and behavioral patterns that shape fertility levels.

We implement a comparative analysis of recent childbearing within the three largest immigrant nativity groups in two premier immigration destinations of the twenty-first century: the United States and South Africa. We draw on 2010 and 2011 census data harmonized in the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series, International (IPUMS-I) (Minnesota Population Center 2017) to examine the predictors of recent childbearing among native-born South African and American women compared with foreign-born Mexican, Asian Indian, and Filipina women in the United States, and Zimbabwean, Mozambican, and Basotho women in South Africa. Our goals are twofold: (1) to identify aspects of immigrant demographic composition that contribute to fertility differences across native- and foreign-born groups; and (2) to ascertain whether women's country of origin moderates the influence of age, parity, marital status, and education on the odds of giving birth.

By analyzing the experiences of six immigrant nativities relative to native-born women, our comparative logistic regression analyses demonstrate that distinctive fertility patterns across country-of-origin groups are linked to compositional differences, which follow from selection and life course processes of migration. Interacted logistic regression analyses and margins results demonstrate significant nativity-based differences in the odds of childbearing within age, previous childbearing, and marital status, but not educational attainment. We elaborate on the ways that demographic composition, and thereby fertility, are influenced by origin and destination contexts of migration.

Literature Review: Immigrant Fertility

Scholarship on immigrant fertility has investigated several processes surrounding the migration experience, such as selection, disruption, and adaptation. These processes alter fertility outcomes and typically result in fertility levels between that of the home and host

society (e.g., Abbasi-Shavazi et al. 2015; Carter 2000; Chattopadhyay et al. 2006; Choi 2014; Ford 1990; Milewski 2010; Ng and Nault 1997; Rojas et al. 2018; Stephen and Bean 1992). Immigrant women's fertility and, more broadly, their family-formation experiences reflect a complicated juggling between two societies and the resultant unique configuration of resources and barriers that may encourage or restrict childbearing. On one hand, migration and childbearing are transformative life events that both tend to occur in the demographically dense young adult years (Rindfuss 1991), wherein migration and adaptation processes often overlap with women's passage through peak childbearing years. Likewise, decisions to migrate tend to concentrate in young and healthy people, who are capable of taking the risk of migrating (Fargues 2011). On the other hand, many immigrants are demographically and socioeconomically different from both sending and receiving country populations as a result of responses to push or pull factors, which may also be influential for birth rates.

Through Kahn's (1988, 1994) analyses of a wide range of immigrant nativities, we gain insights into the pronounced role of compositional differences in creating the immigrant-native fertility gap. Kahn's (1988) analysis of children ever born within the nine largest immigrant groups represented in 1980 U.S. census data found that controlling for immigrant composition greatly reduced nativity-based fertility differences. For certain immigrant women, such as those of Mexican ancestry, adaptation toward host country fertility appears relatively slow, suggesting a subcultural difference potentially rooted in origin culture persistence or in social and economic conditions encountered in the destination (Kahn 1988:125). Other scholars (e.g., Parrado and Morgan 2008) have argued that stagnant or stalled Mexican fertility decline is rooted in the inadequacy of period measures and cross-sectional comparisons. Further suggestive of the dynamic nature of adaptation, stalls in fertility decline in rural South Africa—presumably attributed to Mozambican immigrant women's fertility—were instead occasioned by increases in native-born women's fertility (Ibisomi et al. 2014). Thus, native-born women's fertility may, too, be a moving target.

The fertility behavior of immigrant populations is predisposed to origin and host society preferences for birth timing, completed fertility, and other family-building preferences. Education, age, and marital status patterns to childbearing that diverge across societies are more or less due to socioeconomic conditions and cultural preferences. Although highly educated women are posited to experience attitudinal shifts and opportunity costs that lower or delay their fertility, cross-national analyses have demonstrated that the relationship between education and childbearing is complex, widely variable across countries, and highly dependent on context (Wood et al. 2014). Educational attainment may also capture exposure to destination norms around the life course timing of events if schooling completion occurred in the destination for those arriving at younger ages. Past research has suggested that immigrant women's tendency toward positive educational selectivity more readily permits adaptation to destination society norms and practices, thereby lessening the influence of sending-country fertility levels and expectations (Kahn 1988). Moreover, immigrants positively selected on educational attainment are also selected on other characteristics, such as mobility aspirations and adaptability, which distinguish them from the high-fertility majority in select origin countries (Kahn 1988:112). In a supplementary analysis, we find that all six immigrant nativities in our present study are two to nine times more likely to have college education than their nonmigrant counterparts in origin (authors' analysis of IPUMS-I data, available upon request). We therefore anticipate a relatively robust inverse education-fertility gradient across foreign-born nativities, a pattern resembling that of the United States and South African populations (Baudin et al. 2015; Kirk and Pillet 1998).

Concerning the age pattern of fertility across nativity status, the scholarship on fertility disruption and postponement related to immigration is instructive. The timing of migration is often tightly linked to that of family formation, and immigration strongly shapes the age pattern of childbearing (Parrado 2011:1060; Parrado and Flippen 2012). If migration displaces childbearing at the time of migration into later years, immigrant women highly selected on education may appear to have relatively high age-specific fertility in older ages, postponing childbearing until after the relatively disruptive processes of migration, settlement, and adjustment to the host society. Nulliparous immigrant women may more so reflect postponed marriage and fertility than native-born women because of the disruption associated with cross-border migration experiences (Choi 2014; Ford 1990).

In many immigration societies, fertility rates tend to be lower than in most sending societies, and family-related beliefs and behaviors consistent with the second demographic transition also result in rising rates of nonmarriage, cohabitation, and nonmarital fertility that are “foreign” in more traditional, higher-fertility countries. Many immigrant women are arriving and assimilating into demographic regimes in which marriage and childbearing have been widely decoupled and in which large numbers of births are to unmarried women (e.g., 43% of births from 2009–2013 in the United States) (Vanorman and Scommegna 2016). In South Africa, fertility decline has preceded that of many regional neighbors (Reher 2004). In addition, rates of late marriage, nonmarriage, and nonmarital fertility are very high owing to adaptations to apartheid; the HIV/AIDS epidemic; and diverse, complex post-apartheid social and residential arrangements (Garenne 2016; Hosegood et al. 2009; Madhavan et al. 2013; Marston et al. 2009). Albeit for distinct reasons, a retreat from formal marriage has occurred in both the United States and South Africa, and in many other immigration societies (Madhavan et al. 2013). As we analyze immigrant fertility, our analyses and interpretation should be attentive not only to the quantity of childbearing but also to distinctive relational contexts and cultural mores of childbearing in the host society.

Immigrant Fertility in Low- and Middle-Income Countries

To date, South-South international migrants (i.e., those who move between low- and middle-income nations, including both inter- and intraregional migrants) have been largely absent from the immigrant fertility literature. When migration and fertility have been examined in low- and middle-income countries, the focus has been on domestic migrants’ fertility (e.g., Chattopadhyay et al. 2006; Liang et al. 2014; Rokicki et al. 2014; Werwath 2011) or on the ways that remittances, male outmigration, and ideational diffusion influence origin-community fertility (Agadjanian et al. 2011; Anwar and Mughal 2016; Beine et al. 2013; Bertoli and Marchetta 2015; Clifford 2009; White and Potter 2013). Despite a small number of recent studies beginning to address fertility and migration between low- and middle-income countries (e.g., Abbasi-Shavazi et al. 2015; Ibisomi et al. 2014), studies regarding immigrant childbearing in South-South immigration settings relative to South-North immigration settings are scarce.

An analytical innovation that compares nativity-based fertility differences in a high-income (United States) and middle-income country (South Africa) is instructive on several levels. First, both countries have a rather parallel history of state-sanctioned racial exclusion (Paret 2016). The cross-national comparison thus gives insight into the extent to which recent demographic behavior of immigrants belonging to racial/ethnic minority groups

differs across nations that experienced radical policy transformations on behalf of the state. Additionally, both destinations have experienced racial, migration, and citizenship transformations that scholars have argued facilitated the removal of external constraints placed on labor markets, ultimately inviting mass immigration to both destinations and yielding two comparable primary immigrant destinations in otherwise very distinct regions of the world (Paret 2016:87).

Second, the socioeconomic, demographic, and development disparities between origin-destination country pairs are comparable in the Global North and Global South. Illustrating comparable developmental destination-origin disparities, compared with the origin countries of the first, second, and third most populous immigrant groups, gross national income per capita in the United States is, respectively, 3, 7, and 10 times greater; gross national income is 7, 11, and 4 times greater in South Africa than its top three sending nations. Demographically, all six of the sending nations are largely less urban and have age structures that are younger than in South Africa and the United States; these traits are associated with greater fertility (Macunovich 1998; Singh and Casterline 1985; Waldorf and Byun 2005). Thus, questions about fertility disparities and convergence are apropos in both types of destinations.

Third, the inclusion of a wider set of national-origin comparisons yields a more robust framework for assessing fundamental theoretical concepts, such as demographic composition effects and explanations based on selection and incorporation, which ought to hold irrespective of geography. Finally, middle-income countries like South Africa (and one might add Thailand, Malaysia, Argentina, and a host of others) are experiencing social, economic, and demographic impacts of immigration that warrant investigation alongside the more long-standing, affluent immigration destinations of Europe and North America.

Hypotheses

Our review of previous research demonstrates that selection and life course dynamics influence the composition of immigrant populations, which in turn informs patterns of childbearing among immigrant women. Additionally, immigrant women's fertility behavior reflects the interplay of origin and destination cultures and social structures that influence contexts, constraints, and preferences for childbearing. Considering these frameworks, we specify the following hypotheses.

Hypothesis 1: Because of life course patterns of migration and childbearing, as well as high fertility levels at origin, we will observe significantly higher levels of fertility among all foreign-born nativities relative to native-born women in the United States and South Africa in models unadjusted for demographic compositional features of age, marital status, parity, and educational attainment.

Hypothesis 2: Statistically controlling for demographic compositional features, especially age and marital status, will reduce native-born and foreign-born fertility differences to statistical insignificance.

Hypothesis 3: Given the robustness of education-fertility gradients across sending and destination societies and the positive education selection in most immigration

flows, compared with the native-born, foreign-born women with advanced levels of education will experience relatively lower odds of recent childbearing, irrespective of country of origin.

Hypothesis 4: Because of the disruptive nature of migration and adaptation experiences in relationship to the life course of childbearing and related delays in achieving desired family sizes, immigrant women in their late reproductive years (ages 35–49) will be more likely to experience recent childbearing than native-born women.

Hypothesis 5: Marital status differently structures childbearing across nativities. Compared with native-born women from the destination contexts of South Africa and the United States, immigrants from origin societies with strong norms against nonmarital childbearing will be less likely to experience recent childbearing outside of a married union.

The Context of Women's Immigration in South Africa and the United States

Women's migration in the twenty-first century has veered from tied migration to independent, employment-related migration. Whereas research has often focused on men's migration, the international global division of labor has identified women's employment-related migration, beyond care work, in high-skilled sectors. Economic engagement, family reunification, and asylum-seeking, especially in the South African context, likely represent the status of most of the immigrants considered in our analysis.

South Africa and the Southern African Development Community (SADC), to which Zimbabwe, Mozambique, and Lesotho also belong, have seen a gender reconfiguration of migration streams away from male-dominated contract labor into the mining and commercial farming sectors (Crush et al. 2005; Dodson 1998). Thus, women's experiences alongside fertility and family are growing in the scholarship on South African immigration. Historically, women migrants from Zimbabwe, Mozambique, and Lesotho have generally moved for employment or as refugees. Zimbabwean immigration has a long history of positive educational selectivity, notably among women who are nurses (Gaidzanwa 1999). In the early 1990s, Zimbabwean women's migration was highly circular, but migration has diversified in the twenty-first century as a result of political and economic crisis in Zimbabwe (Crush et al. 2015; de Jager and Musuva 2016). The change in roles and activities in which migrant women engage is reflected in their age structure, employment, and nature of migration: women are older, engaged in a variety of occupations, and staying longer in South Africa (Crush et al. 2015).

Mozambican women's migration into South Africa is historically linked to the Mozambican civil war during the mid-1980s (Ibisomi et al. 2014) and more recently to economic opportunity during South Africa's democratization period (Lubkemann 2000; Moyo and Cossa 2015; Peberdy 2010; Segatti 2011). As McDonald et al. (2000) noted, whereas immigration into South Africa from Zimbabwe is largely from urban areas, Mozambican immigration is largely from rural areas, which may be related to a majority of Mozambican women having less than secondary education.

The labor of Basotho women has in recent decades been absorbed into domestic work and farming, while men's mining jobs and remittances have fallen because of

widespread retrenchment in the 1990s and early 2000s that led to return migration (Peberdy 2010; Ulicki and Crush 2007). Many Basotho immigrant women in South Africa sought employment in short-term contract farm work as a household solution to the downsizing of Basotho men's mining labor in South Africa (Ulicki and Crush 2007). In their analysis, Ulicki and Crush (2007) found that the vast majority of farms that they studied in South Africa had all-female workforces, and although about one-half of all farmworkers were married, female migrant farmworkers tended to be older than men and to be widowed or divorced.

These immigrant groups in South Africa emigrate from unique fertility regimes that favor youthful childbearing as a result of early marriage but also as a consequence of the HIV/AIDS epidemic. Adolescent or child marriage is still widespread in Zimbabwe, Mozambique, and Lesotho, such that by ages 20–24, 32%, 48%, and 17% of women, respectively, report they were married by age 18 (UNICEF 2018). In Zimbabwe, premarital childbearing is very unlikely, but nonetheless, early marriage leads to young childbearing (Sayi and Sibanda 2018). Qualitative research of Swartz et al. (2018) suggests that in South Africa, childbearing is a potential pathway into meaningful adulthood, especially for child-headed households or those otherwise affected by parental loss associated with the HIV/AIDS epidemic (Richter and Desmond 2008). Combined with norms of early marriage in origin countries, immigrants' fertility in South Africa is staged for youthful childbearing through a mix of high propensities for marriage and a native-born reference group that is potentially also at risk of entering adult roles early.

The origins of the largest immigrant groups of women in the United States—namely, Mexico, the Philippines, and India—are rather varied geographically, a feature that is associated with their selection characteristics. As Feliciano (2005) noted, distance is an indicator of positive educational selectivity. Irrespective of positive educational selectivity (Feliciano 2005) and the greater shares employed in destination than at origin (Parrado and Flippen 2005), research has shown that Mexican immigrant women's employment returns on education are significantly decreased or reversed in the United States (Flippen and Parrado 2015). Although economic restrictions may hinder the extent of Mexican immigrant women's positive educational selectivity in the United States, family-oriented reasons for migration may also play a role. Mexican women have frequently moved to the United States following parents or a husband, and only a small percentage have migrated independently (Cerrutti and Massey 2001). More recently, Durand and Massey (2019) found that Mexican spousal migration probabilities remained below those of household heads well into the twenty-first century. Yet, in Mexico, cohabitation has increased as a proportion of all unions since the 1980s across all levels of educational attainment (including the rising share of those with greater education), among a growing secularized population, and across increased ethnic heterogeneity in municipalities (Esteve et al. 2016).

Among Southeast Asian countries, the Philippines has the most highly educated labor force (Williams and Guest 2005). Likewise, Filipina women in the United States have relatively high levels of educational attainment and job skills (Liu et al. 1991; Parreñas 2000) as well as shared aspects of language and culture associated with the countries' historic colonial relationship. As an example of their positive educational selectivity, in contrast to Filipina emigrants elsewhere, Filipina nurses in the United States outnumber domestic workers (Tyner 1999). Between 1990 and 2010, women's

average age at marriage in the Philippines increased from age 21 to about age 25, an increase even more pronounced among women with more than secondary education (Abalos 2014). Alongside this trend of delayed marriage is the rise in the percentage of women never married at all age groups between 1970 and 2007. Most notable in Abalos' work is that the total percentage of couples cohabiting more than doubled, while formal marriage dropped as a share of all unions. This finding is notable given historical cultural sway of the Catholic Church in the Philippines, resulting in the illegality of divorce, high prevalence of marriage, and social disapproval of premarital sex and childbearing (Abad 2001). Suggestive of marriage selectivity among Filipinos migrating to the United States, the 2013–2015 American Community Survey showed that 71% of foreign-born Filipinos are part of a married-couple household (Pew Research Center 2017).

The first large group of Indian women immigrated to the United States after the 1965 immigration reforms (Kakaiya 2000), mostly to accompany their husbands. Nonetheless, Indian immigrants in the United States tend to be highly skilled and educated and fulfill U.S. occupational needs accordingly (Pew Research Center 2012). A patrilocal residence pattern identified among Indian American families, which informs economic decision-making and day-to-day interaction (Das and Kemp 1997), implies a unique status among Asian Indian women in the United States—highly educated and professional, yet often wedded to traditional gender and familial norms (Kallivayalil 2004). Termed a *negotiated modernity* in the research of Kōu and Bailey (2017), their qualitative work showed the varied paths in which Indian women merge ambitions, high qualifications, and traditional familial preferences or obligations. Further, research has shown equal likelihoods of homemaker status between highly educated Asian immigrant women and those with less than high school education (Omori 2016). The opposite is true among the majority of women in the United States, wherein higher education and labor force participation are associated. The lives of immigrant women may thus be nuanced in a blended spectrum of traditional norms and modernity, more so than those of native-born women.

Data and Methods

Data

The data for this study are from 2010 for the United States and 2011 for South Africa, were extracted from the IPUMS-I (Minnesota Population Center 2017), and are analyzed using Stata 14.2. The South African sample ($N = 1,200,791$) is from Statistics South Africa, and the U.S. Census Bureau provides the United States sample ($N = 681,422$). Although IPUMS-I offers data that are representative at the population level, we use selection criteria to construct samples of reproductive-age women (aged 15–49). Although both data sets derive from census data collections that aim to fully enumerate populations, including the foreign-born, we are attentive to potential undercounting of particular immigrant groups (Hoefler et al. 2012).

We create a binary fertility outcome variable, comparable across countries, indicating whether a respondent gave birth in the past year. The 2010 U.S. census survey question reads, “Did this person give birth to any children in the past 12 months?” The

2011 South African census question asks, “When was (*name’s*) last child born, even if the child died soon after birth?” We categorize women’s national origin as native-born, specific national origin of the three largest foreign-born groups, and foreign-born women from all other countries. In the United States, the top three origin nations are Mexico, India, and the Philippines; in South Africa, they are Zimbabwe, Mozambique, and Lesotho.

Age, marital status, educational attainment, and a proxy for birth parity constitute our fertility determinant covariates. Age has four categories that distinguish life course stages with varying probabilities of childbirth: adolescence (15–19 years), early adulthood (20–24 years), adulthood (25–34 years), and middle age (35–49 years). Marital status has three categories: married, previously married (i.e., widowed, separated, or divorced), and never married. In both South Africa and the United States, cohabiting women had the option to report the marital status that they considered most appropriate. Educational attainment is internationally comparable and represented by three categories of level completed: less than secondary, secondary, and university or higher education. The U.S. census data gathered in IPUMS-I do not include a measure of children ever born. Recognizing the importance of parity in the odds of giving birth, we create a comparable proxy for past childbearing for both the United States and South Africa: number of own children residing in the respondent’s household minus a birth in the past year. Although this proxy fails to enumerate children not residing with their mothers, given that past research has found that immigrant mothers do not always move with their children (Parrado and Flippen 2012), it does represent a minimum number of children borne by the respondent.

Analytical Approach: Total Fertility Rate Calculation

The total fertility rate (TFR) represents the average number of children born throughout the reproductive years, assuming that age-specific fertility rates (ASFRs) observed in the reference year remain the same throughout all reproductive ages. We first calculate single-year ASFRs per 1,000 reproductive-aged women for each nativity subgroup, the sum of which is the dividend in the final step that expresses fertility rates per woman. The Population Reference Bureau (PRB 2010) published 2010 country-level TFRs for origin countries (see Table 1).

Analytical Approach: Multivariate Analyses

We use logistic regression to model the odds of giving birth in the past year, presented as odds ratios. The focal independent variable is nativity; control variables are age, marital status, educational attainment, and prior children living in the household. Our baseline model (Model 1) distinguishes the fertility of various immigrant groups compared with native-born women, in line with work by Andersson (2004), Dubuc (2012), and Kahn (1988), who analyzed the fertility of various nationalities and found general migration-fertility patterns across unique groups. The main effects model (Model 2) introduces age, marital status, educational attainment, and number of own children in the household to assess the extent of nativity-based differences in the odds of recent childbearing while accounting for covariates that are both key factors in fertility, and the selectivity of immigrant women. These covariates are then interacted

with the nativity variable in Model 3 to discern nativity-based fertility behavior differences within each of the covariates. Using Stata margins commands (Long and Freese 2014), Model 3 then yields two sets of predicted probabilities, one set for each country, that express (1) the likelihood of birth to immigrant women based on each subgroup's modal categories for the demographic covariates and (2) the probability of birth if the demographic modal categories for native-born women characterize each immigrant subgroup.

Total Fertility Rates and Descriptive Statistics

Despite particularities in demographic and development profiles and in histories of immigration, the United States and South Africa exhibit parallel patterns in the fertility of native-born and immigrant women. Prominent foreign-born groups in each destination have TFRs (calculated through census data) that are higher than native-born women's yet lower than TFRs for women at origin (Table 1). Two exceptions in each destination exist, however: (1) Basotho women in South Africa, for whom the TFR is lower than both native-born women in South Africa and women at origin; and (2) Mexican women, whose TFR is higher than both native-born women's in the United States and Mexican women's at origin. These anomalies and the TFR variation compared with native-born women across destinations call into question the processes of migration selection and the context of immigrants' life course experiences that shape fertility preferences and behaviors.

Considering first the South African case, childbearing-age Zimbabwean, Mozambican, and Basotho immigrant women have greater proportions married compared with native-born women. However, the nativity groups diverge widely on educational attainment: Zimbabwean women exhibit education levels on par with native-born South Africans, but Basotho and Mozambican women lag far behind. Between 51% and 66% of women in our South African sample have no children in the household (Table 1); thus, the majority of births observed in the past year were to nulliparous women.

Considering the U.S. case, immigrant women are disproportionately married, and within the broad 15–49 year age group, Indian women are particularly concentrated in key childbearing ages (25–34 years). Regarding higher educational attainment, Mexican-origin women exhibit a proportion far lower than native-born women as well as Filipina and Indian immigrants. The proportion university-educated among Indians and Filipinas is, respectively, close to two and three times greater than that among native-born women. As in the South African case, our proxy for parity also indicates that the majority of births were first births (29% to 55% had no prior children in the household), except among Mexican women, 53% of whom coreside with two or more children.

The socioeconomic and demographic composition of immigrant women gives impetus for our hypotheses. We note that the age, marital status, and educational attainment composition of foreign-born women relative to native-born women situates them in condensed family-building stages of the life course and thus may offer partial explanation for nativity-based fertility differences. Upon controlling for these key demographic compositional factors, we will be equipped to observe and interpret nativity-based fertility differences and their association with the unique characteristics

Table 1 Weighted descriptive statistics for women of reproductive age in South Africa 2011 and the United States 2010 by nativity (including the top three origin countries)

	South Africa			United States				
	Native-born	Zimbabwe	Mozambique	Lesotho	Native-born	Mexico	Philippines	India
Nativity Subgroup Sample Size (unweighted <i>N</i>)	1,150,706	19,388	7,816	5,562	569,871	30,456	5,364	5,241
Nativity Subgroup Total Fertility Rates (TFR) ^a	2.4	2.8	3.3	2.1	1.9	3.0	2.1	2.3
Population Reference Bureau Country-Level TFR	2.4	3.7	5.1	3.2	2.0	2.2	3.2	2.6
Births in the Past Year								
0	0.93	0.89	0.89	0.93	0.95	0.91	0.94	0.91
1	0.07	0.11	0.11	0.07	0.05	0.09	0.06	0.09
Age								
Median	29	27	29	30	31	34	37	33
15–19	0.18	0.06	0.07	0.07	0.16	0.07	0.05	0.04
20–24	0.18	0.25	0.21	0.18	0.15	0.11	0.08	0.07
25–34	0.31	0.48	0.45	0.44	0.27	0.33	0.28	0.45
35–49	0.33	0.21	0.26	0.32	0.42	0.49	0.59	0.43
Marital Status								
Married	0.37	0.65	0.72	0.57	0.40	0.59	0.63	0.81
Previously married	0.04	0.04	0.03	0.06	0.13	0.11	0.10	0.03
Never married	0.59	0.31	0.25	0.37	0.47	0.30	0.27	0.16
Education								
Less than secondary	0.58	0.62	0.90	0.80	0.16	0.50	0.05	0.05
Secondary	0.36	0.30	0.09	0.17	0.59	0.44	0.46	0.21
University	0.06	0.07	0.01	0.03	0.26	0.06	0.49	0.74
Respondent's Other Children in the Household								
0	0.54	0.66	0.51	0.66	0.55	0.29	0.47	0.42
1	0.18	0.21	0.23	0.18	0.18	0.18	0.21	0.25
2 or more	0.28	0.13	0.26	0.16	0.27	0.53	0.32	0.34

Sources: U.S. Census Bureau; Statistics South Africa, South Africa.

^a Calculations are based on sample data for nativity subgroups in each destination country.

of migrant women from different origin nations in two receiving nations: South Africa and the United States.

Multivariate Results

Through logistic regression analyses of recent childbirth, we address the extent to which fertility differences across nativity groups are linked to features of subgroup demographic composition: namely, age-, education-, marital status-, and parity-specific childbearing patterns. Tables 2 and 3 present our results from the South African and U.S. samples, respectively.

In support of our first hypothesis, Model 1 (Tables 2 and 3) demonstrates that in both the United States and South Africa, nativity significantly differentiates the odds of recent childbearing, potentially concealing life course patterns of migration and childbearing that skew immigrant women toward childbearing. Similar to the TFR comparisons, except for Basotho women in South Africa, birth odds are greater for foreign-born than native-born women in both destinations. Moreover, demographic covariates of fertility and nativity addressed in our models account for a significant portion of the observed nativity-based fertility differences, lending partial support for our second hypothesis. Results for Model 2 (Tables 2 and 3) are indicative of a nativity-specific culmination of demographic characteristics that combine to yield relatively high odds of childbearing: with controls for immigrant women's age structure, educational attainment, marital status, and family size, the higher odds of recent fertility are reduced to statistical insignificance among four of the six immigrant groups relative to native-born women. One exception to this pattern applies in each destination country: Mexican women's significantly higher odds of recent childbearing and Basotho women's significantly lower odds of a birth. As interaction analyses reveal, beyond demographic composition, nativity group-specific fertility behaviors emerge when we compare the odds of childbearing across key life course and status positions.

Several other patterns among the Model 2 covariates warrant mention. In both destinations, age follows the same life course pattern wherein 20- to 24-year-old women have greater odds of a birth compared with the referent age group (ages 25–34). Although married women exhibit the highest odds of a recent birth, the difference between married and never-married women is far greater in the United States than in South Africa. We also note a parallel in the education gradient of recent childbearing that shows a robust effect of educational attainment in reducing the odds of childbearing, although it is more pronounced in South Africa. Finally, when we control for all other covariates in Model 2, women with one child already at home have greater odds of a recent birth compared with nulliparous women, indicating family-building toward the averages of two to three children noted in the country-level TFRs.

In Model 3 (Tables 2 and 3), nativity interactions across the main effects suggest that the differential odds of a birth across nativity in Model 2 are partially a product of distinct behavior specific to the life course. In both destinations, Model 3 reveals variation in each nativity-interacted covariate except educational attainment, where differences between native- and foreign-born are statistically insignificant both throughout and within national-origin groups.

Compared with native-born South African women and the referent within each nativity-covariate interaction, foreign-born women's recent childbearing is generally

greater among nulliparous, younger, and married women. Never-married Zimbabwean and Basotho women in South Africa have lower levels of childbearing than native-born and respective married immigrant women from each origin nation (Table 2) (although not statistically significant among Mozambican women). In the United States, fertility odds by marital status are distinct across nativities, with opposing patterns between never-married Mexican- and Indian-origin women (Table 3). The odds of a birth among never-married Mexican women are markedly higher than that among native-born women and married Mexican women. Never-married Indian women follow an opposing pattern, having much lower odds of a recent birth than native-born women as well as married Indian women. In South Africa, we find evidence for Hypothesis 5 among never-married women from Zimbabwe and Lesotho, countries with strong norms against nonmarital childbearing; these never-married women are significantly less likely to have experienced a recent birth than native-born women and those married of the same national origin. In the United States, both the Indian and Mexican case also support Hypothesis 5. Cross-national demographic data demonstrate a marked increase over the past two decades in nonmarital childbearing in Mexico to rates higher than OECD averages, whereas nonmarital fertility remains negligible in India (Dommaraju 2012; OECD 2016). Our findings confirm that Indian and Mexican immigrants accordingly show childbearing patterns by marital status that demonstrate some consistency with patterns in the origin context.

South African childbearing has been delayed to later ages and increasingly occurs outside of marriage (Hosegood et al. 2009); however, foreigners do not tend to conform to this pattern. Although few immigrant women in our South African analytical sample fall into the 15–19 age group (i.e., 6% to 7% vs. 18% of the native-born), compared with native-born women, foreign-born women in South Africa tend toward more youthful childbearing in the teenage years (Model 3, Table 2). In South Africa, a significant trend in delayed childbearing is underway, which may reflect rural-urban differences (Ibisomi et al. 2014), the earlier ages at first childbearing that prevail in the origin countries (Sayi and Sibanda 2018; World Bank 2011a, b, c), or the social positions and adaptation experiences of foreign-born adolescents living in South Africa (Williams et al. 2013). Mozambican women are one exception to the prevailing pattern because in addition to youthful childbearing, higher odds of a birth persist into ages 35–49.

By comparison, childbearing among immigrant women in the United States favors relatively older childbearing (Table 3). Although age at first birth in the top U.S. sending societies is relatively youthful, these national-origin groups' odds of a recent birth are markedly higher among women reaching the later stages of childbearing (ages 35–49) in the United States. As in Hypothesis 4, we reason that these greater odds of later childbearing relate to disruptive effects of migration, such that women may continue having children into later ages as a way to catch up to reach desired family sizes. As such, results for all foreign-born groups in the U.S. sample, but only those for Mozambican women in the South African sample, support Hypothesis 4.

In parity and in educational attainment, similarities exist in the childbearing odds of foreign-born women in South Africa and the United States: both destinations display lower odds of higher-order births than a first birth. However, across destinations, our results fail to statistically differentiate the education–fertility gradient (Model 3). In both the United States and South Africa, all foreign-born groups show that the odds of recent

Table 2 Odds ratios of a birth in the past year for women of reproductive age in South Africa ($N = 1,200,791$)

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
Nativity Subgroups						
South African native-born (ref.)	1.00		1.00		1.00	
Zimbabwe (ZI)	1.57***	(0.04)	1.04	(0.02)	1.35***	(0.06)
Mozambique (MZ)	1.61***	(0.06)	1.07	(0.04)	0.98	(0.07)
Lesotho (LS)	0.90	(0.05)	0.69***	(0.04)	0.62***	(0.06)
Age						
15–19			0.61***	(0.01)	0.60***	(0.01)
20–24			1.18***	(0.01)	1.16***	(0.01)
25–34 (ref.)			1.00		1.00	
35–49			0.29***	(0.00)	0.29***	(0.00)
Marital Status						
Currently married (ref.)			1.00		1.00	
Previously married			0.39***	(0.01)	0.40***	(0.01)
Never married			0.56***	(0.00)	0.58***	(0.01)
Education						
Less than secondary (ref.)			1.00		1.00	
Secondary			0.87***	(0.01)	0.87***	(0.01)
University			0.73***	(0.01)	0.72***	(0.01)
Respondent's Other Children in Household						
0 (ref.)			1.00		1.00	
1			1.11***	(0.01)	1.12***	(0.01)
2 or more			0.85***	(0.01)	0.86***	(0.01)
Origin × Other Children in Household						
ZI × 1					0.58***	(0.04)
ZI × 2					0.61***	(0.05)
MZ × 1					0.80*	(0.07)
MZ × 2					1.09	(0.11)
LS × 1					0.74*	(0.11)
LS × 2					1.21	(0.20)
Origin × Age						
ZI × 15–19					2.09***	(0.21)
ZI × 20–24					1.24***	(0.07)
ZI × 35–49					1.13	(0.11)
MZ × 15–19					1.87***	(0.26)
MZ × 20–24					1.27**	(0.11)
MZ × 35–49					1.30*	(0.15)
LS × 15–19					2.83***	(0.62)
LS × 20–24					1.63***	(0.21)
LS × 35–49					1.24	(0.21)

Table 2 (continued)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Origin × Marital			
ZI × Previously married			0.37*** (0.11)
ZI × Never married			0.38*** (0.03)
MZ × Previously married			1.26 (0.40)
MZ × Never married			0.94 (0.09)
LS × Previously married			0.58 (0.27)
LS × Never married			0.71* (0.10)
Origin × Education			
ZI × Secondary			0.96 (0.05)
ZI × University			1.16 (0.13)
MZ × Secondary			1.03 (0.13)
MZ × University			1.26 (0.61)
LS × Secondary			1.12 (0.16)
LS × University			1.34 (0.47)
Constant	0.08*** (0.00)	0.17*** (0.00)	0.17*** (0.00)
Number of Observations	1,200,791	1,200,791	1,200,791

Notes: Standard errors are shown in parentheses. For brevity, the reference categories have been omitted for the interaction terms. For each nativity-covariate interaction, the reference category is native-born across all categories of the covariate, as well as the interaction between the respective foreign-born national origin and the specified referent in each of the main effects covariates. For example, for the interaction between Zimbabwean national origin and educational attainment, the reference is native-born South African women of all educational levels (“RSA × less than secondary,” “RSA × secondary,” “RSA × university”) as well as “ZI × less than secondary”; similarly for Mozambican women, the reference is native-born South African women at all educational levels as well as “MZ × less than secondary.”

Sources: U.S. Census Bureau; Statistics South Africa, South Africa.

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

childbearing are not significantly different across all levels of educational attainment, nor are the patterns significantly different from native-born women’s odds. Thus, Hypothesis 3 is not supported. Taken together, differences across destinations in the marital status and age patterning of fertility and similarities in the influence of parity and educational attainment speak to a contextual robustness of the immigrant life course pattern of events that situate childbearing behavior, ideals, costs, and benefits.

As a cross section of the life course, the recent fertility of foreign-born women in these destinations reflects the vital timing of life events and the merging of contexts within which major life events take place. Given that the reproductive lives of women are staged between menarche and menopause, the definitive moment of motherhood must be strategically interjected into the political and economic context that surrounds their lives in each destination country. According to our findings, one major domain across which immigrant women’s fertility behavior does not significantly diverge is levels of educational attainment, nor does it diverge significantly from that of native-

Table 3 Odds ratios of a birth in the past year for women of reproductive age in the United States ($N = 681,422$)

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
Nativity Subgroups						
U.S. native-born (ref.)	1.00		1.00		1.00	
Mexico (MX)	1.73***	(0.04)	1.37***	(0.04)	1.19*	(0.10)
Philippines (PH)	1.19**	(0.08)	1.13	(0.08)	0.84	(0.51)
India (IN)	1.77***	(0.10)	1.03	(0.06)	2.41	(1.47)
Age						
15–19			0.44***	(0.02)	0.47***	(0.02)
20–24			1.23***	(0.03)	1.31***	(0.03)
25–34 (ref.)			1.00		1.00	
35–49			0.19***	(0.00)	0.16***	(0.00)
Marital Status						
Currently married (ref.)			1.00		1.00	
Previously married			0.40***	(0.01)	0.40***	(0.01)
Never married			0.29***	(0.01)	0.27***	(0.01)
Education						
Less than secondary (ref.)			1.00		1.00	
Secondary			0.81***	(0.02)	0.81***	(0.03)
University			0.78***	(0.02)	0.78***	(0.03)
Respondent's Other Children in Household						
0 (ref.)			1.00		1.00	
1			1.66***	(0.03)	1.79***	(0.04)
2 or more			0.75***	(0.02)	0.82***	(0.02)
Origin × Other Children in Household						
MX × 1					0.71***	(0.05)
MX × 2					0.76***	(0.06)
PH × 1					0.50***	(0.08)
PH × 2					0.55**	(0.11)
IN × 1					0.43***	(0.06)
IN × 2					0.14***	(0.04)
Origin × Age						
MX × 15–19					1.03	(0.14)
MX × 20–24					0.83*	(0.06)
MX × 35–49					1.63***	(0.10)
PH × 15–19					0.26	(0.18)
PH × 20–24					0.59	(0.19)
PH × 35–49					1.85***	(0.27)
IN × 15–19					2.27	(1.88)
IN × 20–24					0.55	(0.19)
IN × 35–49					1.87***	(0.32)

Table 3 (continued)

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
Origin × Marital						
MX × Previously married					1.34**	(0.15)
MX × Never married					2.19***	(0.16)
PH × Previously married					1.47	(0.38)
PH × Never married					1.10	(0.26)
IN × Previously married					0.51	(0.27)
IN × Never married					0.07***	(0.03)
Origin × Education						
MX × Secondary					1.08	(0.07)
MX × University					1.07	(0.13)
PH × Secondary					1.72	(1.02)
PH × University					1.49	(0.88)
IN × Secondary					0.98	(0.60)
IN × University					0.73	(0.45)
Constant	0.06***	(0.00)	0.21***	(0.01)	0.22***	(0.01)
Number of Observations	681,422		681,422		681,422	

Notes: Standard errors are shown in parentheses. For brevity, the reference categories have been omitted for the interaction terms. For each nativity-covariate interaction, the reference category is native-born across all categories of the covariate, as well as the interaction between the respective foreign-born national origin and the specified referent in each of the main effects covariates. For example, for the interaction between Mexican national origin and educational attainment, the reference is U.S.-born women of all educational levels (“USA × less than secondary,” “USA × secondary,” “USA × university”) as well as “MX × less than secondary”; similarly for Filipina women, the reference is U.S.-born women at all educational levels as well as “PH × less than secondary.”

Sources: U.S. Census Bureau; Statistics South Africa, South Africa.

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

born women. Remarkably, this is true for all the foreign-born groups in our study across both destinations. Marital status, age, parity, and educational attainment significantly determine the odds of a recent birth in Model 2, but when the nativity-covariate interactions are assessed in Model 3 (although varied), marital status, age, and parity—but not educational attainment—continue to significantly predict the odds of a birth.

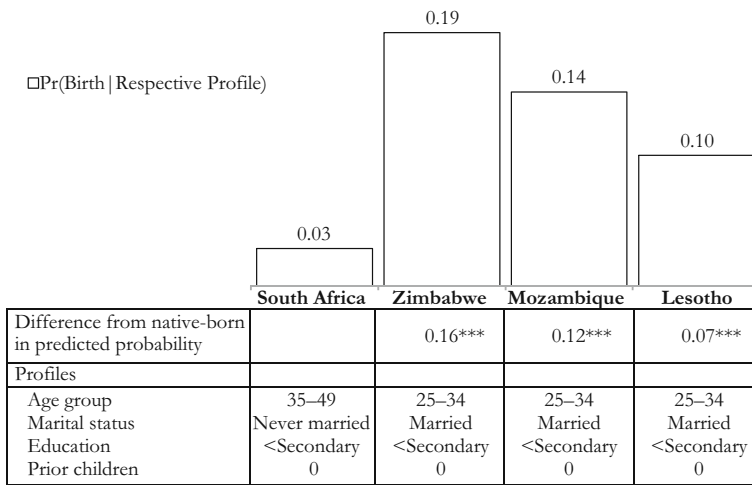
Margins Results

The context of migration for each foreign-born subgroup influences the compositional features thereof, making it likely that all subgroups experience varied life course paths in the receiving society, including varied probabilities of a birth. Using modal categories of descriptive variables, we create profiles of each nativity group to predict the probability of a recent birth and test for significant differences between native- and foreign-born profiles. For ease of explaining findings, we refer to this as the *modal*

scenario and discuss probabilities in terms of percentages. Then, we create an *adjusted scenario*, wherein the profiles for each foreign-born group are made to be equal to modal categories of native-born women in each destination. In both destinations, we find two general patterns. First, the prevailing composition of each group significantly influences fertility differences for some immigrant women toward a probability of a birth that is greater than native-born women’s (South Africa, Fig. 1, panel a; United States, Fig. 2, panel a). Second, when women differ only by national origin and not by demographic composition, significant childbearing differences remain, although toward probabilities nearly equal to or lower for immigrant women than for native-born women (South Africa, Fig. 1, panel b; United States, Fig. 2, panel b).

Demographically, the South African foreign-born groups are vastly the same in terms of modal characteristics: aged 25–34, married, less than secondary education, and no previous children in the household. With the exception of age and marital status, the profiles of

a. South Africa, modal scenario



b. South Africa, adjusted scenario

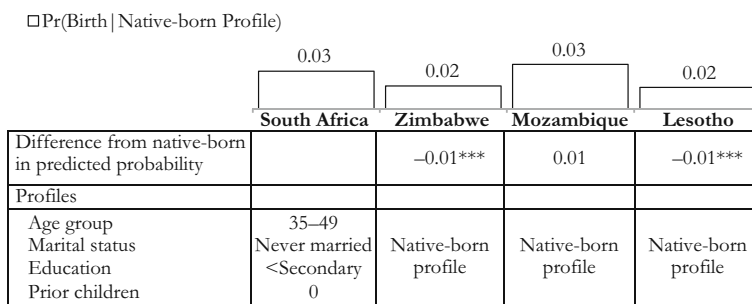
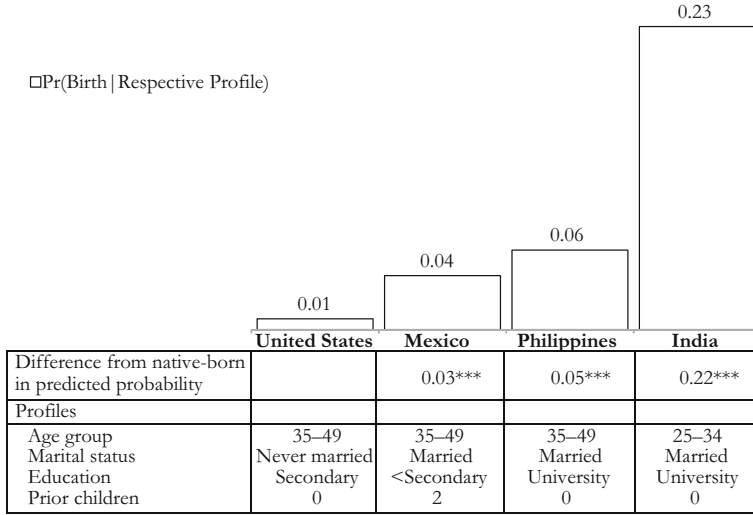


Fig. 1 South African nativity subgroup predicted probabilities of a recent birth using two scenarios. Panel a shows the modal scenario in which profiles are based on group-specific modal categories of age group, marital status, education, and prior children. Panel b shows the adjusted scenario, in which profiles are based on native-born modal categories of age group, marital status, education, and prior children. Rounding to the hundredths place occurs after differences in predicted probabilities are calculated. *** $p < .001$

a. United States, modal scenario



b. United States, adjusted scenario

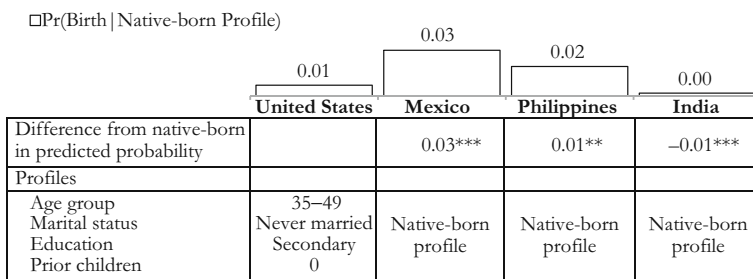


Fig. 2 U.S. nativity subgroup predicted probabilities of a recent birth using two scenarios. Panel a shows the modal scenario, in which profiles are based on group-specific modal categories of age group, marital status, education, and prior children. Panel b shows the adjusted scenario, in which profiles are based on native-born modal categories of age group, marital status, education, and prior children. ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

foreign- and native-born women in South Africa are also the same, yet the divergence from native-born fertility in the modal scenario shows statistically greater childbearing probabilities for foreign-born women (Fig. 1, panel a). Per the modal scenario, Zimbabwean, Mozambican, and Basotho women, respectively, have a 19%, 14%, and 10% chance of a birth, compared with 3% among native-born South African women. Considering the similarities in demographic composition across groups, the divergence from native-born women in the predicted probability of a birth may be attributed to national origin, younger ages, and to being married as opposed to never married.

In the adjusted scenario, the probability of a birth is modified such that foreign-born women’s demographic traits reflect the modal native-born profile, increasing the age group and changing marital status from married to never married across the three immigrant groups in South Africa (Fig. 1, panel b). With this change, we see the native-foreign differences in panel a of Fig. 1 decrease substantially. Whereas panel a of Fig. 1 reflects a greater probability of a recent birth among immigrant women, the adjusted

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scenario shows a marginally lower, yet significant, probability among Zimbabwean and Basotho women compared with native-born women. This reversed pattern across the modal and adjusted scenarios lends support for Hypothesis 5. Indeed, national origin and marital status are key predictors of a recent birth among immigrant women. In the Zimbabwean case, being married and younger increases the probability of a recent birth from never-married women's 2% chance in the adjusted scenario to 19% in the modal scenario; for Basotho women, the probability of a birth increases from 2% in the adjusted scenario to 10% in the modal scenario. However, if the only demographic difference between native- and foreign-born women were national origin, then immigrant women would have nearly the same probability of recent childbearing.

Nativity subgroups in the United States are more demographically varied than in South Africa. In the modal scenario, native-born women are aged 35–49, are never married, have secondary education, and have no prior children in the home. Mexican women are similar to native-born women only in age (aged 35–49), but they are married, have less than secondary education, and have at least two children in the home. Filipinas are also aged 35–49, but they are married, are university-educated, and have no prior children. Indian women are younger (aged 25–34), married, and university-educated, with no prior children in the home. Differences in predicted probabilities of a birth between native- and foreign-born women are statistically significant across all groups in the modal scenario: the probability of a birth is 3, 5, and 22 times greater among Mexican, Filipina, and Indian women, respectively (Fig. 2, panel a). Indian women's 23% chance of a birth tops all other groups, including South African foreign-born groups. Indian women's higher childbearing patterns potentially display an attempt to recoup delays in childbearing related not only to migration but also to high levels of educational attainment, particularly for those in the midst of childbearing ages.

When made to match the native-born modal profile—aged 35–49, single, with secondary education, and no prior children in the home—Mexican women's profile becomes single, with a greater level of educational attainment and fewer prior children. Filipina women become single and their level of education decreases, but their number of prior children remains the same. Indian women become older and single, with decreased educational attainment. In the adjusted scenario (Fig. 2, panel b), findings are completely reversed for Indian women in comparison with the modal scenario, such that being an order never-married woman with secondary education decreases to a negligible chance of a birth. Even though the adjusted profiles of immigrant women change considerably to match native-born women's profile, the probability of a birth remains largely the same for Mexican women and slightly decreases for Filipina women compared with the modal scenario. We interpret this as demonstrating robust effects of national origin and preferences that may be founded on origin experiences. Mexican women's change to being never married and having greater education and no prior children lowers the chance of birth from 4% to 3%. Being never married and having only secondary education decreases Filipinas' chance of a birth to 2% from 6%. Other scenarios of predicted probabilities not shown here (available upon request), point to marital status, age, and (to a lesser extent) prior children as major factors influencing the probability of a birth. Family-building is actually quite evident for Indian women. A married nulliparous Indian woman is much more likely than all the other nativity groups to have a recent birth even if she belongs to the older group (aged 35–49).

Discussion

In this study, we disaggregate immigrant groups to answer questions about nativity-based fertility differences and the extent to which fertility covariates—age, marital status, parity, and educational attainment—are moderated by country of origin. We analyze the fertility of immigrants and native-born women in two settings to add to the literature a perspective on the Global South as to how immigrant fertility is shaped by their prevailing demographic composition. In analyzing six immigrant groups, the three most populous in both South Africa and the United States, we are able to assess the ways in which distinctive demographic profiles tied to mechanisms of selection and origin country norms combine to shape immigrant women's fertility.

In both South Africa and the United States, we first identify variation in TFRs across the most prominent groups of foreign-born women, all of which show greater fertility than the respective native-born groups. Given prior research suggesting the period-specific shortcomings of TFRs in overestimating immigrant women's fertility as a result of their demographically dense profile (Parrado 2011; Rindfuss 1991), we assess the differential influence of covariates on the odds of a birth using logistic regression. Interactions between national origin and the covariates allow us to disentangle the variation masked by the TFRs with respect to not only age but also marital status, educational attainment, and parity. The logistic regressions then yield predicted probabilities that further inform our hypotheses about the ways in which demographic composition influences the fertility of immigrant women differently than native-born women.

Our findings indicate that the demographic composition of immigrant women has significant influence on the likelihood of recent childbearing. First, the demographic composition of immigrant women is different from that of native-born women. Second, age and educational selectivity of immigrant women vary across national origin, but marital status and parity are widely the same (e.g., married with no prior children). In the results of the interacted logistic regression, marital status and age show significant influence on the odds of a birth, but national origin differently affects these two covariates. We reason that the origin context and motives for women's migration provide a salient background for such variation. For example, compared with married Zimbabwean women, other marital statuses show much lower odds of a birth. Yet in the United States, the opposite is true for Mexican-origin women, for whom married status shows lower odds of a birth than other marital statuses. The childbearing behavior of these national-origin groups reflects norms of each sending nation. By age 18 in Zimbabwe, the risk of premarital childbearing is low, but the prevalence of marriage is high (Sayi and Sibanda 2018). In Mexico, childbearing within consensual unions increased more than twofold between 1970 and 2010, from 27% to 59%, potentially owing to the rise in nonmarital childbearing among university-educated women (Laplante et al. 2015). Unexpectedly, the education gradient of fertility is not evident among immigrant women in either destination country. That is, statistically significant differences in the odds of a birth are not found across levels of educational attainment. Important, however, is the role of migrant educational selectivity: it varies widely across the national origin groups in our study and is tightly linked with fertility (Kahn 1988). Thus, for some immigrant women, educational selectivity may influence the timing and quantity of childbearing over the life course. We are unable to observe this influence in the current analyses with our measure of period fertility (i.e., a birth in the past year).

The Indian immigrant population in the United States has a particularly large share of highly educated women, yet the difference in birth odds between women with less than secondary schooling and university education is not statistically significant. However, in the literature, we find that this group maintains strong affiliation with traditional family-building norms even though more than one-fifth have graduate degrees (Omori 2016). The devaluation of Indian women's credentials in the United States creates difficulties in joining the labor force (Purkayastha 2005). Thus, the greater tendency toward being a married homemaker found in prior research may not be entirely by choice; moreover, limited economic opportunity may be linked to the juggling of political, economic, and traditional family-building preferences within marriage (Kôu and Bailey 2017). For all the foreign-born groups in our study, we extend this logic of childbearing in the context of migration as shaped by origin country norms and life course circumstances of immigration, which ultimately shape the differential patterns in the odds of a birth.

Limitations in our analyses are largely tied to the cross-sectional nature of our data, which prohibits a thorough analysis of the sequence of family-building events in immigrant women's lives, including the timing of marriage, childbearing, educational attainment, and migration. Most importantly, the migration experience is not empirically analyzed in terms of adaptation or the disruption effect of migration on fertility. Variables such as duration in the destination, age at migration, and age at schooling completion can inform family-building processes of immigrant women, including the disruption effect of migration on fertility that speaks to the timing of childbearing in the life course. We also do not analyze completed fertility, which would provide an indication of immigrant women's fertility adaptation, the extent of nativity-based differences in parity progression or completed fertility, and the effect on population change in the receiving society. The racial/ethnic heterogeneity in each destination suggests limitations in our native-born referent, given that we do not separate majority groups from other prevalent ethnicities or races.

The noteworthy strengths in our analysis are related to the heterogeneity that we identify in immigrant demographic composition across various groups in two destinations, which allows us to explain the nativity-based fertility differences that are concealed in the group-specific TFRs. Patterns that we find to be resilient across destinations also contribute to the literature the range of outcomes that can be attributed to covariates of fertility, such as the education gradient of fertility. Unexpected results related to the education gradient of fertility call for further investigation of the influence of migrant women's educational selectivity on period fertility. Future studies could examine the cumulative effects of migration and higher educational attainment on the timing of first births among immigrant women.

In conclusion, this study contributes to the literature on the fertility of immigrant women by offering a disaggregated perspective on the moderating effects of national origin on fertility covariates. We identify heterogeneity in the influence of marital status and age, and we make the case that the nature of origin-country family-building preferences tends to prevail in the destination context but is also closely tied to the context of migration streams between the sending and receiving nations. The differences across marital status and age and the similarities in parity and educational attainment across two contexts suggest that studies of immigrant fertility are doubly tasked with considering the ways in which origin and destination contexts may shape covariates of immigrant fertility. Destination potentially confines the influence of educational

attainment, origin potentially shapes the bounds of marital childbearing, and nulliparity alongside group age structure overall is shaped by the reasons for migration.

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