

Endogamy and Fertility Among Second-Generation Men of Turkish and Moroccan Origin in Belgium

Lisa Van Landschoot¹, Helga A.G. de Valk^{1,2} & Jan Van Bavel^{1,3}

Extended abstract

Context and motivation

Migration from Turkey and Morocco to Belgium can largely be divided into three phases: labour migration, family reunification and marriage migration. Turkish and Moroccan migrants started to enter Belgium in large numbers after the Second World War in a context of labour migration. The Belgian authorities were stimulating this in order to compensate for labour shortages (Castles 1986; Reniers 1999). The idea was that the predominantly male labour forces would return to their home country once these shortages were resolved. However, many stayed permanently, and many brought spouses and other relatives over from back home (Castles 1986; Van Mol and de Valk 2016; Reniers 1999). The oil crisis in the early 1970s reduced the need for labour force, and this led the Belgian Government to impede further immigration with a labour stop in 1974 (Castles 1986; Reniers 1999). Nevertheless, even after this, new immigrants continued to enter the country. One pathway for this is marriage migration: many of the children of the former labour migrants (i.e., the second-generation) still choose to marry someone born and raised in Turkey or Morocco (Castles 1986; Lievens 1997). This marriage migration from the parental country of origin is remarkable, given that the parents no longer choose the partner. It are rather the young adults themselves who have the final say in the choice of their future spouse (Lesthaeghe and Surkyn 1995). Moreover, in the second generation, there is no longer a numerical shortage of potential partners of same origin in Belgium, so they do not have to import their partner from the country of origin to create a union for that reason (Van Kerckem et al. 2013). Nevertheless, even today, the majority of the second-generation of Turkish and Moroccan origin still partners a marriage migrant (i.e., a first-generation partner) (González-Ferrer 2006; Hooghiemstra 2003).

Lievens (1999), and more recently Timmerman et al. (2009), emphasizes that the popularity of choosing a marriage migrant can not be explained only by the legal constraints that Turks and Moroccans face to enter Belgium through other channels. They argue that the high propensity of choosing for a first-generation partner also stems from specific preferences both second-generation men and women have concerning their future spouse. According to these authors, second-generation *women* give preference to an immigrant partner, as they perceive their male counterparts in Belgium as too traditional. In contrast, second-generation *men* find locally born and raised same-origin women too modern. It is precisely their longing for a “more traditional” wife that incites them to partner someone of the country of origin in order to confirm his traditional power within the household (Lievens 1999; Timmerman et al. 2009).

¹ Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Interface Demography

² Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute/Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen/ University of Groningen

³ University of Leuven, Centre for Sociological Research

This study aims to elaborate the latter argumentation by linking the partner choice of second-generation men to his fertility behaviour. We believe that if the choice for a certain partner is indeed the outcome of specific preferences; this choice might just as well affects other family related aspects. Our research question is thus: *'does the partner choice of second-generation men of Turkish and Moroccan origin affects their fertility behaviour?* Therefore, we will compare the fertility patterns between unions where the female partner is of first-generation to unions where the wife is also of second-generation or of native Belgian origin. If second-generation men partner a first-generation wife in order to reinforce traditional behaviour, fertility patterns are expected to differ as compared to when a second-generation man is married to a second-generation same-origin partner or a native Belgian woman.

Data, Method and Measures

Data. This study uses data from the 2001 Belgian Census, combined with the 2006 National Population Register data. The Belgian Census covers all residents legally present in Belgium. It provides a wide range of individual-level information at the time of the Census, including nationality, nationality at birth, household composition and several socio-economic indicators. By linking the Census to the Register we are able to analyse the fertility behaviour of second-generation men from the date of marriage formation until January 1, 2006.

Method. This study analyses whether the generation and origin of the female partner affects the fertility patterns of the second-generation men of Turkish and Moroccan origin. We account for the fact that second-generation men may choose a specific spouse in order to realise his fertility preferences. This study will therefore attempt to account for selection into union both based on observed characteristics as well as based on unobserved heterogeneity. First, we will make use of hazard regressions to estimate the relative birth risks depending on the generation and origin of the female partner. Second, following the approach proposed by Lillard (1993), a multi-process model will be used to allow the fertility patterns to be correlated with the selection into either a union with a women born and raised in Turkey or Morocco (a first-generation partner), a union where the partner is raised in Belgium but of Turkish or Moroccan origin (a second-generation partner) or a union with a native Belgian woman.

Measures. In this study, we focus on second-generation men of Turkish or Moroccan origin who are either married to a native Belgian woman, a first-generation or a second-generation wife of same origin. To determine the *origin* of both spouses, we combined two different approaches. First, if he or she had the Turkish or Moroccan nationality at the time of the Census, we used the current nationality as a proxy for his or her origin. Second, if one or both spouses had the Belgian nationality at time of the Census, we looked at (a) the nationality at birth of the mother (or the father for single-parent fathers) for everyone still living in the parental home at the time of the Census, or (b) the own nationality at birth for those who left the parental home before the Census as a proxy for origin. If the mother (or father) also had the Belgian nationality at birth, the individual is considered to be of native Belgian origin. If the mother (or father) had however the Turkish or Moroccan nationality at birth, than the individual is considered to be of Turkish or Moroccan origin. Next, we distinguished individuals of Turkish and Moroccan origin by place of birth and year of immigration (if born outside Belgium) to determine the generation. A first-generation immigrant is defined as someone of

Turkish or Moroccan origin, born outside Belgium and migrated to Belgium at age 7 or later. Everyone of Turkish or Moroccan origin born in Belgium or migrated to Belgium before the age of 7 is however classified as someone of second-generation.

Preliminary descriptive results

This study analyses if and how the partner choice of second-generation men of Turkish and Moroccan origin affects their fertility behaviour. In this abstract, only preliminary results are included for second-generation men who are married at the time of the Census, but did not yet have a first child (Table 1). In total, 618 second-generation men of Turkish and 1,212 second-generation men of Moroccan origin are in a childless marriage at time of the Census. As Table 1 indicates, similar results are found for both origin groups. First, both men of Turkish and Moroccan origin are most often in an endogamous unions and especially in an endogamous union with a first-generation female partner (respectively 47% and 52% have a same origin first-generation partner). This is in line with previous studies indicating the still rather high propensity of the second-generation partnering someone born and raised in the country of origin. Second, the majority of both origin groups have a first child between 2001 and 2006: approximately 60% of second-generation of Turkish and 58% of Moroccan origin become a father.

Table 1. Descriptive statistics for second-generation, childless married men at time of the Census

	Turkish origin (N=618)		Moroccan origin (N=1,212)	
	N	%	N	%
Generation and origin of partner				
Native Belgian	110	17.8	180	14.9
1 st -generation	293	47.4	625	51.6
2 nd -generation	215	34.8	407	33.6
First birth				
No	247	40.0	513	42.3
Yes	371	60.0	699	57.7

Source: Belgian Census (2001) and National Population Register (2006). Authors' calculations

Table 2 shows the absolute and relative distribution of having a first child by the generation and origin of the partner. The majority of childless second-generation men of Turkish and Moroccan origin in union with a same origin partner have a first child between 2001 and 2006. For Turkish men, approximately 63% of those married to a first-generation wife and 69% married to someone of second-generation has a first child by the end of the observation. For Moroccan men, these percentages are respectively 57% and 67%. In contrast, the majority of unions with a native Belgian partner are still childless by the end of our observation.

Table 2. Absolute and relative numbers of first births of second-generation men by generation and origin of female partner

	Turkish origin (N=618)				Moroccan origin (N=1,212)			
	First birth		First birth		First birth		First birth	
	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Generation and origin of partner								
Native Belgian	72	65.5	38	34.5	109	60.6	71	39.4
1 st -generation	108	36.9	185	63.1	268	42.9	357	57.1
2 nd -generation	67	31.2	148	68.8	136	33.4	271	66.6

Source: Belgian Census (2001) and National Population Register (2006). Authors' calculations

Note: the percentages represent row percentages

Next steps

We aim to analyse whether the generation and origin of the female partner influences the fertility behaviour of second-generation men. Up to know, only descriptive statistics are shown for married second-generation men who are childless at the time of the Census. Next, we will include all married second-generation at time of the Census and analyse their fertility patterns since date of marriage formation until January 1, 2006. Moreover, we want to make use of an empirical model that both gives estimations for the net effect of the female characteristics (origin and generation) and that account for a potential selection effect into a union corresponding the family related preferences of second-generation men.

Acknowledgment

The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Research Council under the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme (FP/2007-2013) / ERC Grant Agreement no. 312290 for the GENDERBALL project.

This research was part of and supported by the European Research Council Starting Grant project (no. 263829) "Families of migrant origin: A life course perspective".

References

- Castles, Stephen. 1986. "The Guest-Worker in Western Europe - An Obituary." *International Migration Review* 20(4):761-78.
- González-Ferrer, Amparo. 2006. "Who Do Immigrants Marry? Partner Choice Among Single Immigrants in Germany." *European Sociological Review* 22(2):171-85.
- Hooghiemstra, Erna. 2003. *Trouwen over de Grens: Achtergronden van Partnerkeuze van Turken En Marokkanen in Nederland*. Den Haag.
- Van Kerckem, Klaartje, Koen Van der Bracht, Peter A. J. Stevens, and Bart Van de Putte. 2013. "Transnational Marriages on the Decline: Explaining Changing Trends in Partner Choice among Turkish Belgians." *International Migration Review* 47(4):1006-38.
- Lesthaeghe, Ron, and Johan Surkyn. 1995. "Heterogeneity in Social Change: Turkish and Moroccan Women in Belgium." *European Journal of Population* 11:29.
- Lievens, John. 1997. *The Third Wave of Immigration from Turkey and Morocco: Determinants and Characteristics*. Brussel - Gent.
- Lievens, John. 1999. "Family-Forming Migration from Turkey and Morocco to Belgium: The Demand for Marriage Partners from the Countries of Origin." *International*

- Migration Review* 33(3):717–44.
- Lillard, Lee A. 1993. "Simultaneous Equations for Hazards: Marriage Duration and Fertility Timing." *Journal of Econometrics* 56:189–217.
- Van Mol, Christof, and Helga A. G. de Valk. 2016. "Migration and Immigrants in Europe: A Historical and Demographic Perspective." Pp. 31–55 in *Integration Processes and Policies in Europe. Contexts, Levels and Actors*, edited by Garcés-Mascareñas Blanca and Penninx Rinus.
- Reniers, G. 1999. "On the History and Selectivity of Turkish and Moroccan Migration to Belgium." *International Migration* 37(4):679–713.
- Timmerman, Christiane, Ina Lodewyckx, and Johan Wets. 2009. "Marriage at the Intersection between Tradition and Globalization." *The History of the Family* 14(2):232–44.