

Family Patterns and Living Arrangements of Moroccans in Spain

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Abstract

This study examines the family characteristics and living arrangements of Moroccans in Spain compared to the populations of Morocco and Spain. Moreover, within the group of Moroccans in Spain, we examine the coresidential behaviors among first, 1.5, and second generation immigrants. We use the Integrated Public-Use Microdata Series International (IPUMS-I) and Spain 2011 data provided by the National Statistics Institute of Spain (INE) which contain person records organized into households. Preliminary findings show that the living arrangements of Moroccans in Spain are unique compared to both populations in Morocco and Spain. Second generation Moroccans, particularly females, marry and have children significantly earlier than the general Spanish population. Those with both parents born in Morocco tend to exhibit more traditional Moroccan family plans compared to those who have one non-Moroccan parent. To uncover the underlying factors to marital and childbearing patterns, we also explore the composition of first generation migrants from Morocco.

Keywords: migration, migrants, second generation, coresidence, marriage, childbearing, timing

Background

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Moroccans currently stands as the second biggest immigrant group in Spain (INE, 2015), only recently surpassed by Romania. From the European perspective, Spain houses roughly 20% of all Moroccans residing in Europe (Aneas et al, 2010), making Moroccans in Spain a vital group for understanding migrant assimilation and acculturation processes. Most previous studies on Moroccan migrants focus on those living in Belgium, France and the Netherlands, historical destinations for Moroccans seeking economic opportunities abroad (Shoenmaeckers, et al., 1999; Crul and Doornik, 2003; Portes and Fernandez-Kelly, 2015) . Little literature on family strategies and second generation assimilation processes based on quantitative data exist. Moreover, second generation migrants in Europe are very different than those in the United States, due to the fact that the sending countries are often ex-colonies (Thomson and Crul, 2007) of which the colonized were often recruited to the economically stronger European countries as laborers.

Moroccans in Spain as a group stands apart from the general Spanish population due to ethnic, religious, language and cultural differences. This group, however, is also compositionally different from the general population of Morocco in various ways. It comprises of mostly male, low-skilled, economic migrants who work in agriculture, construction, and services (Rodríguez-Planas, 2012). They tend to have moved from rural areas in Morocco with high illiteracy rate (Aneas et al, Handbook of Ethnic Conflict: International Perspectives), yet migrant's selection theory (Chiswick, 1998; Feliciano, 2005) posits that immigrants are likely to possess more resources compared to their home population, making the migrant group particularly fit for survival. Although later family reunification migration brought more women and children, they remain by and large unassimilated in the labor market (Rodríguez-Plana, 2012).

Hypotheses

First, we hypothesize that the first generation of Moroccan migrants in Spain are a unique selection of individuals with characteristics that differ from the general population in Morocco, with migrants possessing more human capital than local home population, as previous studies in the United States suggested (Chiswick, 1998; Feliciano, 2005). Second, we hypothesize that second generation Moroccans in Spain observe similar early union formation and childbearing and practice endogamy, as Esteve and Bueno (2012) have observed for first generation migrants. Lastly, we hypothesize that the level of early union formation, childbearing, and endogamy for second generation is contingent on whether both parents are Moroccan, whether only the father is Moroccan, or whether only the mother is Moroccan, with individuals with two Moroccan parents exhibiting more traditional Moroccan family characteristics.

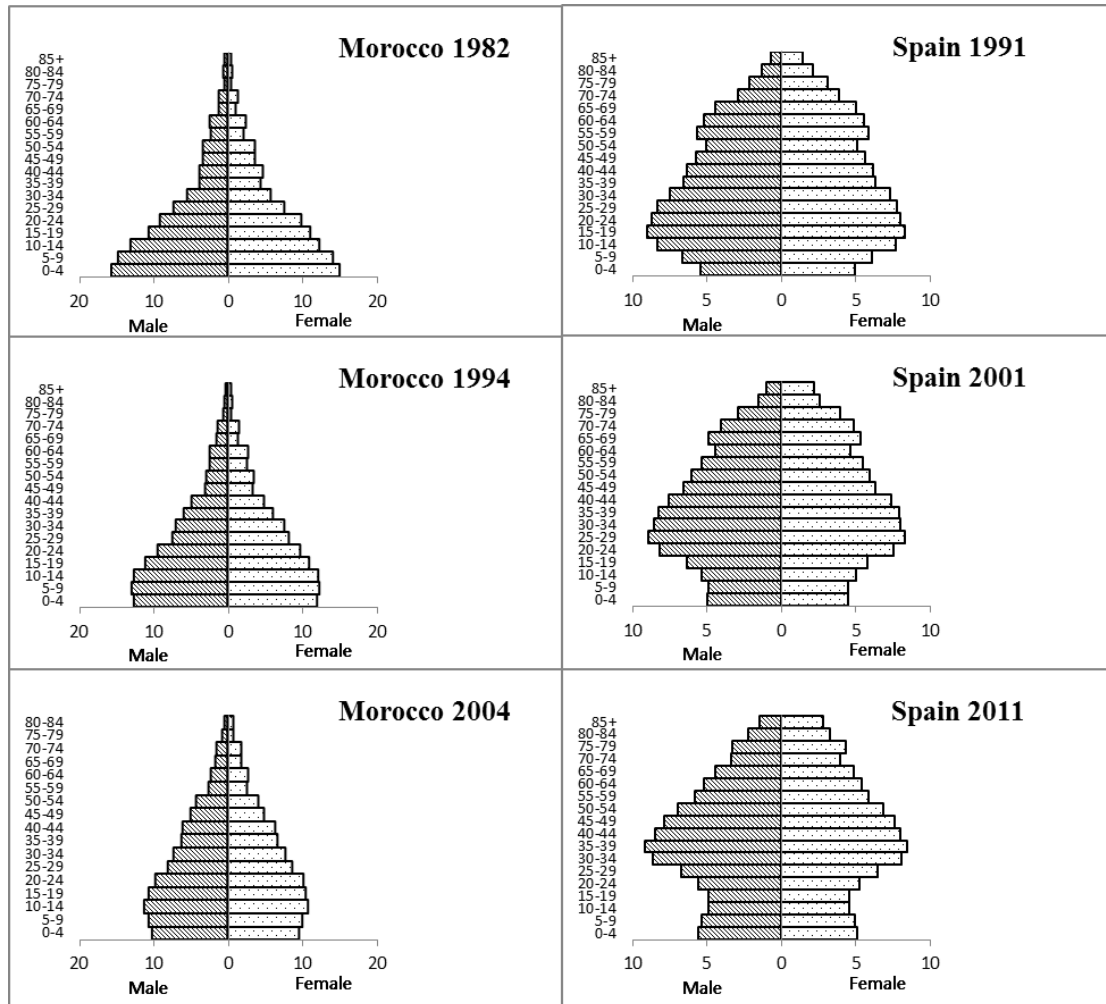
Data and Methodology

We use six IPUMS-I datasets: Morocco 1982, Morocco 1994, Morocco 2004, Spain 1991, Spain 2001, and the recently released Spain 2011. This paper is exploratory and focuses on descriptive statistics. Since we are particularly interested in early marriage and childbearing, we focus on the age group 20-24 for females and 25-29 for males. The generations of migrants are separated into first, 1.5 (those who arrived in Spain at less than 16 years of age), and second generations. We operationalize Moroccans in Spain as individuals born in Spain or Morocco, with at least one parent born in Morocco. Coresidence with spouse and child are used as proxies for marriage and childbearing.

Preliminary Findings

Figure 1 consists of three population pyramids from Morocco and Spain, showing that both countries are rapidly aging. Morocco remains to be a younger country compared to Spain. Due to lower fertility and longer life expectancy, Spain's bulk of population lies between 35 to 55 years of age. The abundance of working age population in Morocco conveniently serves the need of Spain's dwindling work force.

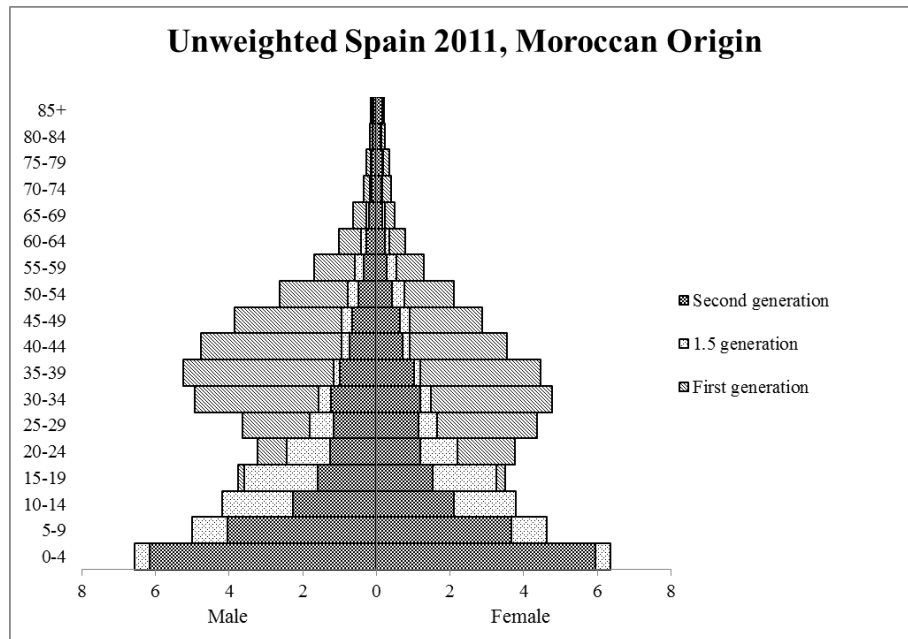
Figure 1. Population pyramids of Morocco and Spain by year



Source: IPUMS-I

Within the group of individuals of Moroccan origin in Spain (born in Morocco or have at least one Moroccan parent), first generation is comprised of young to middle aged adults, while 1.5 and second generations are mostly children or teenagers, showing that mass migration of Moroccans is a phenomenon of recent decades, when return migration is not taken into account. There are slightly more first generation male migrants than female. Due to issues with weight in the Spain 2011 data, we present the population pyramid as unweighted.

Figure 2. Unweighted population pyramid of Moroccans in Spain in 2011



Source: IPUMS-I

We compare the percentage of individuals living with spouse and living with child by sex with the two most recent censuses of Morocco and Spain in Table 1. Since men tend to marry and have children later, we compare women aged 20 to 24 with men aged 25 to 29. Table 1 shows that more women and men are married and have children in Morocco 2004 compared to the general population of Spain 2011. For Spain, the rates of spousal and child coresidence from 20-24 to 25-29 increases drastically for both sexes, hence male 25-29 shows far higher rates than female 20-24. First generation migrants are more likely to live with spouse and child than people of their country of origin, due to family migration and family reunification schemes. The 1.5 generation exhibits patterns more similar to those of their country of origin. Second generation migrants with both parents born in Morocco are less likely to live with spouse and child compared to first and 1.5 generations, but are more likely to do so than the general Spanish population. Interestingly, with one parent being not of Moroccan origin, the rate of spousal and child coresidence drops significantly to lower or equal to the Spanish general population.

Further investigation of Moroccan migrant composition is pending to uncover the nuance between those who migrate and those who do not. The key of migrant behavior lies in the factor of who they are in the first place. Since we do not have other indicators of social class such as previous profession or income in home country, and we do not details on from which part of Morocco migrants came from census data, we will rely heavily on educational attainment as a measurement of migrant resources. We will specifically look at the educational attainment of first generation Moroccan migrants in Spain in 2011 and the average of Morocco in 2004.

Table 1. Percentage of individuals living with spouse and living with child by sex, country, generation, and parental origin

Census	Generation	Parents	Group	Living with Spouse	Living with Child	
Morocco 2004			Female 20-24	31.9	27.2	
			Male 25-29	27.9	21.1	
Spain 2011	General population		Female 20-24	8.9	5.2	
			Male 25-29	20.9	7.5	
	First generation		Female 20-24	67.1	47.9	
			Male 25-29	39.2	21.5	
	1.5 generation		Female 20-24	31.0	22.2	
			Male 25-29	33.6	23.1	
	Second generation	Both parents born in Morocco		Female 20-24	22.1	10.5
				Male 25-29	17.2	10.9
		Only mother born in Morocco		Female 20-24	4.4	5.4
				Male 25-29	11.1	3.9
Only father born in Morocco		Female 20-24	7.1	7.6		
		Male 25-29	8.8	3.4		

Source: IPUMS-I and INE Spain 2011 data

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