

Union patterns of migrants and migrants' children according
to origin of spouses and its impact on their fertility

Jean Louis Rallu

INED

IMISCOE CROSS-CLUSTER THEORY CONFERENCE

Interethnic Relations: Multidisciplinary Approaches

May 13-15, 2009

Lisbon, Portugal

Union patterns of migrants and migrants' children according to origin of spouses and its impact on their fertility

Jean Louis Rallu
INED

Abstract:

This paper analyzes the origin of spouses/partners and fertility of migrants and second generation according to whether spouses are migrants of same origin or else. Migrants have been disaggregated by age and marital status at arrival and second generation by origin of both parents. Logistic regressions show individual, familial and social factors associated with the origin/(choice) of spouses. Mixed marriage rates and migrants' and 2nd generation TFR are not enough to provide a full view of inter-ethnic relations and integration. Disaggregation of data according to relevant variables show the specifics of various types of mixed or ethnic marriages/unions with their effects on fertility and enable precise analysis of the patterns of migrants' integration or the lack of it.

In France, some migrants' origins show little change between migrants' and 2nd generation's marriage patterns : second generation Turks, Moroccans and Africans (who received their parents' mother tongue) are more likely to marry with migrants and their integration on the local marriage market appears to be very slow. However, cohabitation is the main type of mixed unions. Sub-groups inside the various origins tend to maintain higher fertility levels : when their spouses are migrants from the same origin, second generation females' fertility remains quasi similar with that of migrants who married persons of same origin.

1. Introduction

African migration to France is a several decades old phenomenon, starting after WW2 and taking speed in the 1960s and 1970s. This long time span and the permanent settlement of migrants in the frame of family reunification result in a substantial 'second generation'¹ (France-born children of migrants) who already reach mid adult ages. Mixed marriages of migrants and France-born Europeans have been considered, rightfully or not, a major factor of integration and have drawn attention of researchers from the late 1970s. However, it is often heard that now many mixed marriages of migrants are actually with second generation whenever statistics do not enable separate them from France-born Europeans. Significant numbers of France-born migrants' children would marry migrants originating from their parents' countries of birth. This is said to be a factor of continuing migration flows and the construction of minorities.

Although several studies show that second generation's fertility is close to national level, similar concerns are directed at migrant's and second generation's fertility. However, these studies consider the second generation as a whole and the various ethnic components of the second generation are most often not separated due to small numbers (Toulemon 2003).

The question is thus: are migrants' marriage pattern and fertility behaviour factors of integration of migrant communities or do they mostly participate in the construction of ethnic minorities. The answer is both. Most approaches consider migrants and second generation as

¹ We shall mostly use 'second generation' for France-born children of migrants.

homogenous whereas it will appear that they consist of very different sub-groups with specific demographic behaviour. Data of the 1999 Family History Survey ('Enquete sur l'Histoire des Familles' – EHF) in France enable us to compare marriage patterns and fertility behaviour of migrants and second generation and reveal interesting sub groups in migrants communities, presenting new aspects of integration, transnationalism and segmented acculturation/integration.

This paper studies the origin of migrants' and second generation's spouses by age and marital status at arrival in France according to the number of foreign born parents for second generation: children of two migrants or of mixed marriages. In the second section, trends in migrants and second generations' TFR are assessed. Fertility behaviour is also analyzed with regards to age groups and origin of spouses using the average number of children already born. We shall consider five areas of origin: the three Maghreb countries separately (Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia), Turkey and sub-Saharan Africa as a whole. Although there are certainly differences between sub-Saharan countries, small sample size does not allow estimating significantly different behaviours. Results for Tunisians are also based on small numbers and affected by random variations. However, they are usually significantly different from Algerians and Moroccans.

2. Data and methodology

2.1. Data

The EHF associated with the 1999 census of population in France interviewed males and females aged 18-64 about their marriage and fertility biography (Lefevre, Filhon, 2005). It includes information on birth place and citizenship of interviewees and birth place of both his/her parents and spouses. According to INSEE (National Statistics Office), a migrant is a foreign-born foreign citizen. This enables to separate former 'colons' from non European migrants. A section of the questionnaire collected information on the languages their parents spoke to interviewees and the languages interviewees spoke to their children. This information is used to separate children of former 'colons' from children of non European migrants. Thus, the 'second generation' consists of France-born persons whose at least one parent is foreign-born and who received the national language of his/her migrant parent(s). Citizenship of parents would certainly have been preferable but it was not collected by the survey. As most probably no 'colon' spoke Arab or Berber to his/her children, the second generation should not include children of 'colons'. However, we may lose children whose parents did not speak their national/ethnic language to their children who may also be among the most integrated to the French or more generally Western society. Data do not enable us to estimate this bias. We know that 10% to 15% of North African parents did not transmit their language to their children. For Africans², the proportion is higher (40%). Although most probably interviewees more often received their parents' mother tongues than they transmitted them to their children, there is a risk that we lose part of the most integrated migrant communities and focus on the least integrated. Those who transmit their mother tongue may do so because they are less fluent in French (a factor of lower integration) or because they have greater attachment to their national or cultural values. The role of this bias will be mentioned in the text when applicable.

² In this text, we use 'Africans' for 'sub-Saharan Africans'.

In summary, we know if an interviewee belongs to the second generation and if both his/her parents are foreign-born migrants. We also know the country of birth of his/her spouse³. However, for France-born spouses, we cannot know if they belong to the second generation as we lack information on spouses' parents. Thus, we cannot assess the extent of intra-community marriages, but we can assess the extent of marriages with migrants from the same community. The result will be a minimum level of communitarism as regards union formation.

Marital status of migrants at arrival in France is derived from information on year of arrival and year of first union/marriage⁴. We consider the interviewee arrived married or 'in union' if his/her year of arrival is higher or equal to his/her year of beginning of union. We shall separate between legally married people and cohabitants as there are significant differences in spouses' origin according to this variable.

2.2. Methodology

Migrants and second generation have been disaggregated by relevant and significant variables to explain differences in origin of spouses/partners. Migrants have been disaggregated by age and marital status at arrival. Second generation has been disaggregated by origin of parents: both migrant, father only and mother only migrant. Second generation has been compared to migrants who arrived single. It would have been preferable to compare with migrants who arrived before 18, but the small numbers cause more random variations. Factors of the choice of spouses disaggregated by origin of the interviewees will be analyzed using logistic regressions.

For fertility, we use TFR because small numbers do not allow consider ASFR by birth place of migrants or origin for second generation. However, it is possible to study with significant differences (except for Tunisians whose sample is too small), the average number of children already born to migrants and second generation by age groups disaggregated by origin of spouses and marital status at arrival for migrants. Thus, for fertility analysis, migrants have been separated in three groups: those already in union at arrival – almost all of them had a spouse/partner of their own country of origin- and those who arrived still single, the latter have been separated between those who have spouses/partners born in their own country of birth and those whose spouses/partners were born elsewhere – the latter mostly include France-born spouses/partners. Second generation is divided into two groups according to birth place of spouses, like for migrants. Other groupings could have been done by age at arrival or origin of parents, but it appeared that differences were not significant between such subgroups. We shall not compare fertility of married and cohabitants as the latter mostly have France-born partners whereas the former have mostly migrant partners and this covers most of fertility differentials, and anyway, numbers are too small to cross-classify marital status by origin of spouses/partners.

³ Spouse's origin is only known for the current spouse. This represents a bias as the current spouse may be of a different origin from the first/previous spouse(s). It may have been preferable to limit analysis to persons still in their first union. However, the current spouse represents better the current situation of integration on the marriage market. Using information on people in the first union increases the proportion of foreign-born spouses by 1 to 3 percentage points, as second marriages are a little more frequently with France-born people.

⁴ We use year of beginning of union when it is earlier than marriage, which is rarely the case as pre-marital cohabitation is not frequent in migrants' countries of origin.

3. Origin of spouses

3.1 Migrants

Most women who arrived already 'married' had a spouse born in their country of origin: around 90% for Maghreb and 99% for Turks, but only 77% for Africans (Table 1). Figures are around 10 percentage points lower for males, except for Africans whose 80% of spouses (higher than for females) were born in sub-Saharan Africa. It should be noted that, although most of spouses of other origins were born in France, 5% of male and 3% of female interviewees' spouses were born in a third country. This includes unions between Maghrebins or Africans of different countries inside Maghreb or sub-Saharan Africa.

Women who arrived single have much less frequently spouses born in their country of birth, mostly for those who arrived before age 18. Only around two thirds of Algerian and Moroccan females who arrived single married a male migrant from their country of origin. The figures are still lower for Africans (59%), but it is much higher for Turks (91%). The latter however, have a lower pool of second generation as possible partners as Turkish migration is more recent. Males have less often migrant spouses than women, except for Moroccans and Africans. Thus, males show more access to the local marriage market (including 'second generation'). Among those who arrived single, those who arrived before 18 have always much less frequently migrants spouses/partners than those who arrived at an older age and this applies to males and females as well.

Cohabitation appears profoundly different from marriage as regards the origin of spouses. Whereas figures for married people who arrived single at age 18 or older are just 1 to 3 percentage points higher than for all unions⁵, only a little more than 50% of males who arrived in similar situation cohabit with a migrant of same origin, except for Turks (83%). But this is not true of women. As regards migrants who arrived before age 18, mostly for males, the situation is still more contrasted. Cohabitant partners are much less often migrants from the same origin than married spouses, with respectively 41%, 26%, 48% and 58% of Algerian, Moroccan, African and Turk females in this situation (against 63%, 68%, 55% and 95% for married females). Only a small minority of Maghrebin and Turk males who arrived before 18 cohabit with a partner of same origin (less than 20%), but it reaches 36% for Africans.

Thus, schooling in France (for those who arrived before 18) appears to have extended the marriage market through more contacts with native population for married people, except married Moroccan and Turk females as well as African females for whom differences are not significant. But it applies to cohabitants of both sexes. However, cohabitation does not increase the proportion of non migrant partners for females who arrived from age 18. Thus, the role of legal marriage alone does not determine the origin of spouses. - However, let's remind that it is not possible to know if the spouse is a second generation or a European French.

3.2. Second generation

The origin of spouses of migrants' children varies strongly with origin of parents. Children whose both parents originate from the same country and secondarily those whose fathers are

⁵ This small gap is due to the higher frequency of marriage than cohabitation.

migrants⁶ tend to marry migrants from the same country whereas it is much less frequent when only mothers are migrants (table 2 and figures 1a and 1b). Male children whose mothers only are migrants almost never have migrant spouses/partners whereas about 25% of those whose both parents are Maghrebin migrants have migrant spouses. Figures are still higher for Africans and Turks (43% and 89%). Whenever part of France-born spouses may be second generation, it appears that male children of migrants integrate rapidly on the local marriage market. 'Second generation' females are less integrated on the local marriage market, with around 50% of Maghrebin and Turk females whose both parents are migrants having a migrant spouse of same origin. However, the proportions are lower for children of mixed marriages. Second generation Algerian females show a very regular pattern with 41% of those whose both parents are migrants having Algerian migrant spouses, but only 24% for those whose fathers only are migrants and 11% for those whose mothers only are migrants. However, whereas less than half of male children of both parents African migrants have spouses/partners who are migrants of sub-African origin, 80% of females are in this situation. Let's remind that second generation Africans are a more selected population who was spoken their parents' mother tongue. However, this reminds us of several highly mediated cases of forced marriage of France-born African females.

For Maghrebins, the total second generation is quite similar to those whose both parents are migrants because mixed marriages were not frequent among migrants. For Africans, whose migrants were much more often in mixed marriages (whose children are less likely to marry migrants), the overall second generation is rather different from children whose both parents are migrants who show the highest proportion – after Turks - of unions with migrants.

Change between migrants who arrived single and the second generation altogether shows a rather weak opening to the local marriage market (whenever it includes second generation). France-born Moroccan females are only 22% less often 'married' with migrants than migrant females themselves. Change reaches 42% for Algerian females. However, there is little change for Turks and France-born African females have more often migrant spouses than African female migrants. These trends are much below those observed for males, with second generation males being at least 50% less often married with migrants than their fathers, except for Africans and Turks.

Change for females is still less when we consider legal marriage and females whose both parents are migrants, with 64.2% of France-born Moroccan females of migrant couples being married to migrants which is nearly the same as for migrants (66.6%). For Algerian women as well, there is a strong reduction of the difference between second generation and migrants when similar sub groups are considered. And the trend for African females goes strongly in the opposite direction to integration on the local marriage market.

Thus, most of the overall change in union patterns, mostly for females, is due to children of mixed couples and mostly to cohabitation. Cohabitants have rarely migrant partners for Maghrebin males and females as well, but it is still the case of more than 40% of Africans of both sexes. When one parent is not a migrant, mostly the father, then cohabitation with migrants rarely occurs. This was already the case for spouses of male children whose one parent only is a migrant, but not for married females.

⁶ The other parent may be born in France (most often the cases) or in a third country.

Comparatively to an independence model, with the low proportions of migrants in France (each of these group represent about 1% of France total population), most marriages should occur with France-born people. 60% to 70% of migrants who arrived single are in union with migrants of same origin and one third of male children of migrants and 50% to 60% of female children of migrants are in the same situation. Cohabitants are the only one to integrate more rapidly on the local marriage market, with most often less than 10% having migrant partners. This is altogether a rather disappointing result. Of course, the marriage market is not homogenous and social: education, employment, occupation..., as well as local: residential, components are important factors that segment the marriage market into well separated sectors. However, integration of migrant communities appears very slow. Whenever, it is not possible to estimate the development of communitarism (marriages with 'second generation' ethnic partners), it is clear that marriages with migrants represent an important part of marriages of both migrants and their children and that it probably exists a transnational marriage market, although it is not possible to know if marriage are arranged before migration of the spouse. However, it is not all migrants who experience such separation, but only part of them mostly for males, and there is still more opening on the local marriage market for children whose families allow cohabitation or who engage in cohabitation.

3.3. Factors associated with origin of spouses

The 'choice' of a spouse/partner is linked to various factors that reflect the individual characteristics as well as the social environment of people. This has already been widely studied as regards general population, but little attention has been paid to migrants. Logistic regressions show factors associated with the origin of spouses⁷, rather than the choice of spouse/partner properly. We have studied factors associated with the fact of having a France-born⁸ spouse/partner, against having a spouse born in one of the countries under study – this covers most of the time a migrant of the same country of origin as the interviewee's. Analysis using France-born spouses and migrant spouses from the same country only shows similar results but differences are less significant. As factors of union are very different for males and females, we have done analysis separately for each sex. Migrants and second generation have also been considered separately.

Age and year of arrival – that would translate changes in time and between cohorts – are not significant (table 3). Significant variables that translate individual characteristics are sex, country of birth for migrants (or country of birth of parents for second generation), marital status (legally married/cohabitant), diploma and economic activity status. Social context variables that are significantly associated with the origin of spouses are whether interviewee's mother is working (including as family helper), the size of family (0-1-2, or more than 2 children), spouse's occupation and area of residence⁹. Activity status of the interviewee for females can be a consequence of the origin of spouses, as more traditional people, more likely to be found among migrants, can request that their wife stays home. The occupation of the

⁷ Age at arrival for migrants was not significant and has been dropped from models, probably because its effect was taken by other variables, such as diploma and because of effects in opposite direction for married and cohabitant women. The number of migrant parents for second generation could not be included in models because of many categories having no case: children of mixed marriage rarely marry and still more cohabit with migrants.

⁸ We include in this category all countries that are not countries of origin of migrants studied in this paper. This consists mostly of France-born people plus a few other Europeans and Americans. For easier readability we call them 'France-born'.

⁹ We use a typology of residential areas has been done by INSEE (Tabard,)

spouse may also translate his/her educational and social characteristics that are linked with the fact of being a migrant of certain origin. They, however, reflect his/her social status.

As expected, from above findings (3.1 and 3.2), marital status has a strong significant effect, still stronger for second generation: married interviewees are less likely to have France-born partners than cohabitants. Individual characteristics: diploma and economic activity have low significant effects. Diploma is only significant for female migrants, showing that a low diploma halves chances of having a France-born male spouse/partner. And for second generation males, being employed raises chances of having a France-born spouse/partner. Thus, diploma and economic activity help integrate the local marriage market. However, it is surprising that diploma and activity status have no similar effects for second generation females, as if the origin of their spouses does not depend on their individual characteristics, but entirely on the social/familial context where they live. The size of the family that can translate the status of mother and integration of the family to local fertility standards is strongly associated with having a France-born partner for second generation females. For male migrants, mother's non employment decreases chances of having a France-born spouse/partner. Thus, traditional fertility behaviour and gender roles appear to be associated with traditional marriage of daughters. When the spouse/partner of a male migrant is a France-born person, she is significantly more often an employee or in intermediate occupations: these would be the occupational groups that are more likely to marry migrants. Spouses/partners of male migrants are less likely to be students and non working France-born women. Partners of female migrants are only significantly more likely to be in intermediate occupations and this also applies to second generation females' spouses/partners.

The social environment as translated by the area of residence is strongly associated with having a France-born spouse/partner for migrants and second generation females. Migrants living in rural areas or small towns have more often France-born spouses due probably to the lack of opportunities to marry other migrants as these areas have usually low proportions of migrant population. The effect is similar for both sexes. Migrants living in poor industrial areas with high unemployment have lower chances to have France-born partners, more markedly for females. This also applies to second generation females. These areas have large migrant population which makes easier to marry a migrant and they are also those where segregation and communautarism are more likely to develop.

The country of origin shows that Turks migrants are significantly the least likely to marry France-born people. African males are on a par with Turk males, comparatively to Algerians (reference). For second generation, African females are the least likely to have France-born spouses/partners. It is noticeable to see that Moroccans are significantly different from Algerians for the second generation whereas they were not so for migrants. Second generation Moroccan males have more frequently France-born spouses than Algerians (reference) whereas it is the contrary for females. This could reveal different integration patterns and lower integration of the former. Differences would be consistent with the use of marriage to help males migrate from Morocco to France, a widely acknowledged practice.

The most striking result, beside the important difference between marriage and cohabitation, is the limited role of individual characteristics on the 'choice' or origin of spouses, mostly for second generation females, whereas familial and social environment have strong effects. Traditional behaviours as regards family norms of fertility and work of women are associated with traditional marriage of daughters and translate a form of communautarism – eventually with the use of marriage to help new migrants to migrate. Results for second generation

African females, considering that there may be a non negligible selection of more traditionalist families, are consistent with the concerns raised by the frequency of arranged marriages and traditional sexual mutilation in these families as reported by women and human rights organizations.

4. Fertility

4.1. Trends in TFR

Comparing migrants' fertility with the national average is difficult because it needs to take into account fertility before and after migration as migrants may arrive with children born overseas potentially reducing their fertility after migration (Tavan 2005). However, fertility of migrants while they are in France does not necessarily decline after migration, because some migrants may have delayed fertility to migrate and recover after migration (Toulemon 2003, 2004). To give a global comparison, we include fertility of migrants before and after migration. This is also preferable to compare migrants' and second generation's fertility.

4.1.1. Migrants

In the first half of the 1970s, Algerian, Moroccan and Turk migrants' TFR was high (5.5). Algerian migrants' fertility declined first and rapidly, reaching 4.0 in the early 1980s and 2.7 in the late 1980s (figure 2). Moroccan migrants' TFR declined later and more slowly but it becomes similar to Algerians by the early 1990s. In the 1990s, Algerians and Moroccans have similar TFR (oscillating between 2.5 and 2.7); Tunisians have higher TFR (3.2). In 1997-1998, all, including Turks are between 2.7 and 3.0. African migrants have constant TFR around 3.0 all over the period studied. The different timings of fertility decline of Maghrebin migrants contrast with quasi simultaneous fertility decline in Maghreb in the 1970s (Ouadah Bedidi, Vallin 2000). In the mid 1980s, TFR was 6.2, 5.2 and 4.7 respectively in Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia. Migrants from these countries in France had lower TFR, by 3 points for Algerians and by 1 point for Moroccans and Tunisians. Algerians have seen the quickest adoption of lower fertility, unless it is the result of a more selective migration. Altogether, changes in fertility of migrants are difficult to interpret as they reflect not only changes in countries of origin, because migrants are a selected population, but also changes in migrant communities after migration and as such are related to duration in country – of migrants as well as for the community altogether as this can influence fertility behaviour -, migration patterns and fertility patterns prior to migration. This has been widely analyzed (Toulemon 2004), but it is not possible to carry such analysis by country of origin due to small numbers. Stabilization or slight increases in TFR in the late 1990s can reflect increases in proportion of recent migrants, the fact that migration has become less selective, or changes in the migration/fertility relationship pattern or a combination of those and data do not enable us to analyze it. TFR of Maghrebin migrants in France at the end of the 1990s is close to TFRs of their countries of origin.

4.1.2. Second generation

TFR of the second generation can only be calculated from the mid 1980s when numbers are larger and all ages are represented. Second generation Algerians' TFR was then 2.9 and it declined rapidly to around or even below 2.0 in some years in the 1990s. For France-born Moroccans, TFR oscillates between 2.5 and 2.0. For Turks and Tunisians, small numbers allow us to calculate only TFR for 1995-1998, with 2.4 for the former and 1.9 for the latter.

Africans show the lowest TFR among second generation, declining from 2.5 to 1.7. This is probably due to higher proportion of mixed marriages as soon as the migrants' generation. Women with two migrant parents being in lower proportion than for other ethnic groups of the second generation and these women are more likely to have France-born partners and lower fertility (see 4.2.1).

It appears that some sub groups of the second generation according to country of origin have fertility significantly different from the national average and that differences were more important in the past. Moroccan and Turk second generation females have fertility still above replacement level whereas Africans are close to the national average in 1998. The gaps between migrants and second generation vary also greatly with 0.5 to 0.7 point for Algerians and Moroccans, and 1.5 for Africans who show stable fertility for migrants whereas second generation has the lowest and declining TFR. There is also a role of the origin of spouses as it will appear in the next section.

4.2. Children ever born of migrants and second generation

Figures present average number of children by age groups for women in unions according to their origin: Algeria, Morocco, Africa and Turkey (figures 3a, b, c, d). Figure 4 presents fertility of Algerian males. Figures present also the national average for comparison.

4.2.1. Female fertility

Two groups of curves clearly appear: those representing women whose spouse is a migrant from their own country of birth and others (figure 3). Women who arrived in union with spouses born in their own country of birth have the highest fertility for all origins. It should be reminded that births before migration are included. In older birth cohorts (ages 45 and above) the average number of children is quite high, reaching 5.5 for Algerians and Moroccans. This is three children more than the national average and Turks and Africans have two children more. This is rather surprising considering that migrants are selected people who could have lower fertility and who spent part of their reproductive life in a low fertility country. At ages 35-44, the gap is rather similar (despite random variations at 35-39 for Turks and Africans) except for Algerians whose fertility declined first (see 4.1.1). At ages 25-34, these women have a little more than one child above national average, except for Algerians and Moroccans aged 25-29.

For Algerians, migrant women who arrived single and married a migrant from their own country have average numbers of children somewhat below those who arrived married in older birth cohorts, but for younger women (ages 25-34), the difference is small. It would have been expected that these men and women migrated to have a different life style which could result in lower fertility. The smaller gap in young birth cohorts could translate the fact that migration has become less selective for women who arrived single.

It is surprising to see that the next highest fertility is that of second generation females who married a migrant from their country of origin. At ages 30-39¹⁰, they are quasi similar to migrants who arrived single. In strong contrast, women who married/cohabit with men who are not born in their country of origin (mostly France-born men) have much lower fertility with not much difference whether they are migrants or children of migrants. For Algerians,

¹⁰ At ages above 40, second generation's fertility is affected by random variations due to small numbers.

the average number of children of these women is below the national average from age 30. At younger ages however, they are clearly above national average, maybe partly because France-born spouses/partners include more and more second generation.

This pattern appears for all origins of women. However, Moroccans draw special attention with second generation females married to migrants having higher fertility than migrants who arrived single and having, for the younger ones (aged below 35), nearly the same fertility as migrants who arrived already married. Second generation African females are also just below but still very close to migrants who arrived single for the number of children already born, and second generation Turks are not significantly different from migrants.

Altogether, the main factor of the number of children of migrant and second generation females is the origin of their spouses. The migration status: being a migrant or being born in France has only marginal impact. Thus, having a migrant spouse from the same country of origin totally obliterates the potential fertility reduction associated with being born in France. Daughters of migrants return to the fertility behaviour of their mothers if they marry a migrant. In other words, fertility is decided by the generational migration level of men, not of women. For Moroccans, second generation women who marry migrants have even higher fertility than migrants who marry a migrant after migration, as if the marriage of second generation women with Morocco-born migrants was associated with more traditional fertility behaviours than between individuals who migrated separately.

4.2.2. Male fertility

The role of the origin of men in fertility behaviour as it has appeared leads us to analyze briefly male fertility.

Differences in the average number of children for males according to migration status and origin of spouses are much smaller than for females. Like females, male migrants who arrived already in union have the highest number of children, with random variations at older ages, probably because many males of the first cohorts of migrants had a very disrupted marital life due to long separation before family reunification (figure 4). For migrants who arrived single, there is also not much difference in fertility whether their spouses/partners were born in Algeria or elsewhere and they have less children than the national average. Second generation Algerian males below 40 years whose spouses/partners are migrants have fertility similar to those whose spouses/partners are of another origin and not much above the national average¹¹. We also checked that the fertility of France-born females (with both France-born parents) who married Moroccan or Algerian migrants was not significantly different from national average. Both results show that fertility is not decided by the origin of males, but is specific of some types of unions.

Female migrants and second generation whose spouses/partners are migrants from their country of origin have high fertility. But second generation males who marry a migrant do not have necessarily high fertility. Certain type of marriage appears to be followed by traditionally high fertility behaviour for women. For second generation females, having migrant partners of same origin may reflect a lack of integration, arranged marriages or personal choices of a traditional way of life. All these situations are in different ways

¹¹ Results are similar for Moroccans but they are affected by more random variations and have not been presented.

associated with communitarism, either as a choice, a result of family pressure or of difficulties to integrate.

Finally, it should be noted that, according to these findings, second generation Moroccan females who married migrants may end up having higher completed fertility than Morocco's national average. However, it would be necessary to have information on the regions of origin¹² of spouses to further assess this fact as there are large differences by regions in Morocco and this is reflected at both rural and urban levels (Mghari 1997).

5. Conclusion

Although data do not cover all intra-community marriages, analysis of unions of migrants and second generation provides important information on mingling of migrations' communities, integration and trans-nationalism. Most migrants marry between themselves and their children also most often marry with migrants of the same origin. Schooling in France for migrants who arrived before 18 and country of birth of parents for second generation (whether both or only one of their parents was born in France) enlarges the marriage market and are factors of more frequent marriages with France-born people (including second generation). However, cohabitation is the major way migrants and second generation use for partnering outside their community of origin. Altogether, decline in unions with migrants (as a minimum measure of communitarism) between the first and second generation is very limited, specially for Moroccans and Turks, and there is even increase for sub-Saharan Africans. Integration on the local marriage market appears to be very slow. Second generation Turks, Moroccans and Africans (who received their parents' mother tongue) are more likely to marry with migrants, eventually in arranged marriages to allow more migrants to have access to residence in France or in the frame of traditionalist behaviour.

Factors associated with unions with France-born persons are mostly related to familial (mother's employment and family size) and social environment (types of areas of residence), not much to individual characteristics (educational level and employment status), showing the role of community pressure, often in the frame of segregationist areas of residence.

As regards fertility, the fact of being France-born female children of migrants is obliterated by the origin of spouses. When their spouses are migrants from the same origin, second generation females' fertility remains quasi similar to that of migrants who married persons of same origin after migration, if not higher for Moroccans and Turks.

Thus, families with low fertility and whose mothers work, as well as those whose children cohabit, see more frequently their children marrying/partnering with France-born persons and consequently they will have lower fertility than those who marry migrants. The sequence of traditional gender role and high fertility leading to traditional marriage and high fertility of children appears clearly as an inter-generational phenomenon at the basis of communitarism.

Integration levels appear much contrasted between sub-groups of migrants. Transnationalism takes sometimes the form of the 'Maghreb village' with mostly connections to regions of origin for marriages and development of communitarism while others integrate through Western style of unions on the local marriage market. Segmented assimilation has already

¹² Information on sub-national region of origin is not available in the EHF.

been found to be important in the US (Portes and al. 2005, Rumbaut, 2005) with clear effect on fertility (Reanne, Heuveline 2005) and it exists also in France with the same aspects. However, there should be a concern in France on integration of the second generation as far as it is translated by the very slow decline altogether in unions with migrants of the same origin between migrants and the second generation and the problem is clearly traceable to residence patterns that are also linked to other well acknowledged aspects of low integration such as security, gender roles and women empowerment.

References:

Lefèvre C., A. Filhon, 2005, *Histoires de Familles, Histoires Familiales*, INED, Cahier N° 156, Paris, 641 p..

Mghari Mohamed, 1997, Niveaux et variations de la fécondité au Maroc, in CERED, *Population et Développement au Maroc*, CERED, Rabat, pp. 27-35.

Ouadah-Bedidi Z., Vallin J., 2000, Maghreb: la chute irrésistible de la fécondité, *Population et Société* N°359, juillet-aout 2000, INED, Paris.

Portes Alexandro, Fernandez-Kelly P., Haller W., 2005, Segmented assimilation on the ground: The new second generation in early adulthood, *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28:6, pp. 1000-1040.

Reanne Frank, Patrick Heuveline, 2005, [A cross-over in Mexican and Mexican-American fertility rates](#), *Demographic Research*, vol. 12-4.

Rumbaut Ruben G., 2005, Turning points in the transition to adulthood: Determinants of educational attainment, incarceration and early childbearing among children of immigrants, *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28:6, pp. 1000-1040.

Tavan Chloé, 2005, Les calendriers de constitution de la famille: quelles différences entre les immigrés et l'ensemble de la population?, in Lefèvre C., A. Filhon, 2005, *Histoires de Familles, Histoires Familiales*, INED, Cahier N° 156, Paris, pp. 443-460.

Toulemon L. 2004, La fécondité des immigrées: nouvelles données, nouvelle approche. *Population et Société* N°400, avril 2004, INED, Paris

Toulemon L. 2003, La fécondité en France depuis 25 ans, Rapport au Haut Conseil de la population et de la famille (HCPF), Paris, 2003.

Table 1: Proportion of migrants whose spouses/partners were born in their own country of birth (%) by sex, marital status, age at arrival in France and types of union (France, EHF 1999).

status at arrival	Males					Females				
	Algeria	Morocco	Tunisia	Africa	Turkey	Algeria	Morocco	Tunisia	Africa	Turkey
	in union									
in union	75.1	79.0	92.4	80.1	90.4	88.2	89.0	94.1	76.5	99.1
single < 18	45.8	57.4	19.8	39.2	81.5	57.1	58.7	40.1	52.3	92.8
single >= 18	61.7	71.0	52.8	63.5	77.6	74.3	65.9	73.5	60.5	88.9
single all	55.8	67.9	43.7	59.8	79.5	66.1	62.7	62.2	58.5	91.2
all migrants	60.0	70.5	47.2	62.5	83.7	74.5	74.4	75.0	63.6	94.6
	married									
in union	75.7	79.5	92.4	80.0	91.4	89.8	88.2	97.6	75.8	99.3
single < 18	54.6	71.3	23.1	42.6	84.5	62.6	68.2	40.3	55.2	94.9
single >= 18	63.2	72.9	55.8	66.7	77.0	72.9	65.4	74.8	56.5	87.6
single all	60.2	72.6	47.4	64.2	80.7	68.0	66.6	63.5	56.2	92.1
all migrants	64.1	74.4	51.3	67.1	85.0	76.8	76.9	76.9	62.8	95.2
	cohabitants									
in union	47.4	62.2		100.0	69.5	80.2	99.0	80.4	82.5	95.3
single < 18	13.9	17.8	7.5	36.1	19.5	41.1	25.9	39.3	47.7	57.5
single >= 18	53.7	56.2	33.7	54.4	82.8	78.2	68.1	67.6	71.2	100.0
single all	36.1	40.6	23.9	49.7	65.5	60.6	46.1	57.1	63.8	80.9
all migrants	36.5	41.9	23.9	49.8	66.5	66.2	58.6	66.9	65.9	85.7

Table 2: Proportion of second generation whose spouses/partners were born in the country of birth of their own parents (%) by number of migrant parents, sex, type of union compared with migrants who arrived single (France, 1999 EHF).

	Males					Females				
	Algeria	Morocco	Tunisia	Africa	Turkey	Algeria	Morocco	Tunisia	Africa	Turkey
	all unions									
Both parents	24.6	23.9	11.7	24.4	85.6	40.8	51.8	48.6	48.6	80.2
father only	17.4	0.0	0.0	0.8	0.0	24.0	18.5	39.8	3.5	0.0
mother only	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	11.3	33.8	78.9	2.5	0.0
Total 2nd G	23.9	18.7	10.9	3.5	65.9	38.1	49.0	50.3	11.5	66.9
Migrants who arrived single	55.8	67.9	43.7	59.8	79.5	66.1	62.7	62.2	58.5	91.2
	married									
Both parents	32.1	44.8	22.5	11.3	85.6	52.6	64.2	56.6	63.5	81.1
father only	24.9	0.0	0.0	1.7	0.0	37.2	21.9	46.4	1.7	0.0
mother only	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	12.4	47.7	100.0	5.0	0.0
total 2nd G	31.5	33.3	22.5	2.3	69.3	49.9	61.0	60.3	16.0	67.5
Migrants who arrived single	60.2	72.6	47.4	64.2	80.7	68.0	66.6	63.5	56.2	92.1
	cohabitants									
both parents	6.7	0.0	0.0	28.8	0.0	9.5	3.8	0.0	28.9	0.0
father only	7.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	10.1	0.0	33.8	5.2	0.0
mother only	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	9.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
total 2nd G	6.8	0.0	0.0	4.5	0.0	9.6	3.4	15.7	6.7	0.0
Migrants who arrived single	36.1	40.6	23.9	49.7	65.5	60.6	46.1	57.1	63.8	80.9

Table 3: Odds ratios of having a spouse/partner born in France or in a country other than Maghreb, Sub-Saharan Africa and Turkey for male and female migrants and second generation (France, 1999 EHF)

		male migrants	female migrants	2nd G males	2nd G females
intercept		0.5867 **	-0.3367 *	0.5436	0.3533
country of birth	Morocco	0.5601	0.6327	2.0676 **	0.7465 **
	Tunisia	1.4978 **	0.6705		0.4545
	sub-Saharan Africa	0.3227 **	0.7228 *	0.4022 **	0.0905 **
	Turkey	0.3241 *	0.1289 ***	0.0327	0.1619
	Algeria (ref.)	1	1	1	1
marital status	Married	0.3002 ***	0.4430 ***	0.1513 ***	0.0828 ***
	Cohabitants (ref.)	1	1	1	1
mother's work	no	0.3935 **			
	yes (ref.)	1			
nb of children of parents	<= 3				2.4085 *
	> 3 (ref.)				1
economic activity	employed			2.4444 *	
	no (ref.)			1	
diploma	1ary or less	0.5648	0.5308 **		
	junior 2ary	0.5932	0.7145		
	high school (ref.)	1	1		
spouse's occupation	managerial/self employed	1.2378	1.4581		0.9148
	Professionals	3.7040	1.7667		1.0964
	intermediate occ.	6.0995 ***	2.3613 **		3.0075 ***
	Employees	4.3215 ***	1.7205		1.3797
	students/no work	0.8728 **	0.9750		0.2697 *
	Ns	0.4111 ***	0.8082		0.5223
area of residence	production workers (ref.)	1	1		1
	Rural, small towns	2.4613 **	2.6621 ***		0.8157
	urban/admin. Centers	1.0366	1.1589		0.6915
	middle industrial areas	0.9129	0.9073		0.6309
	mid class./Paris suburbs	0.7724	0.7671		0.9623
	Large urban, poor/unempl.	0.6313 *	0.5317 ***		0.4040 **
	Tertiary/West Paris	0.5822	0.8900		0.5831
lower industrial areas (ref.)	1	1		1	
-2LL		689.28	265.04	208.0000	680.3700
N		666	344	239	652

***: significant at 1 p.1000; ** significant at 1% ; significant at 5%

Figure 1 a : Proportion of 'second generation' males whose spouses/partners were born in the country of birth of their own parents, compared with migrants who arrived single.

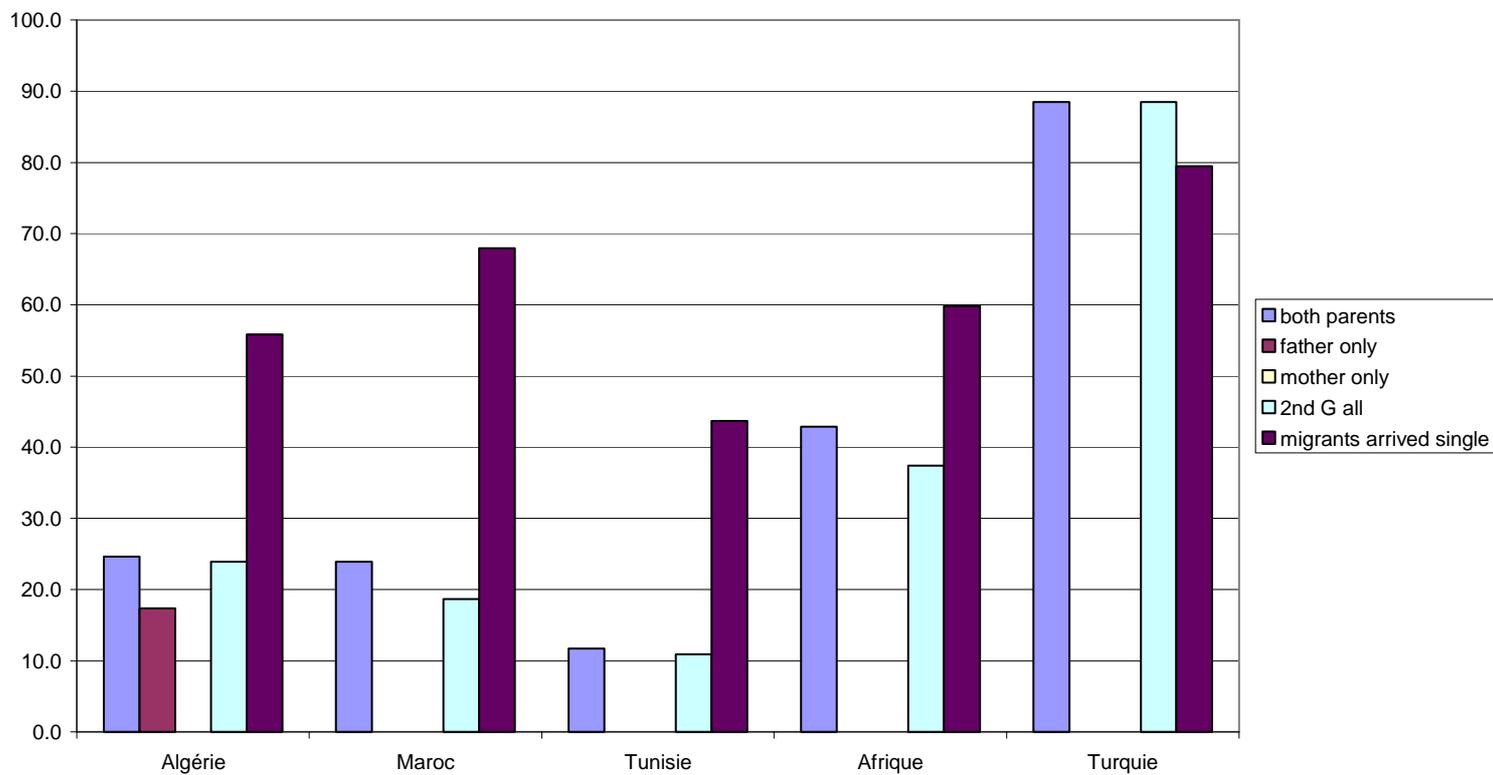


Figure 1 b : Proportion of 'second generation' females whose spouses/partners were born in the country of birth of their own parents, compared with migrants who arrived single.

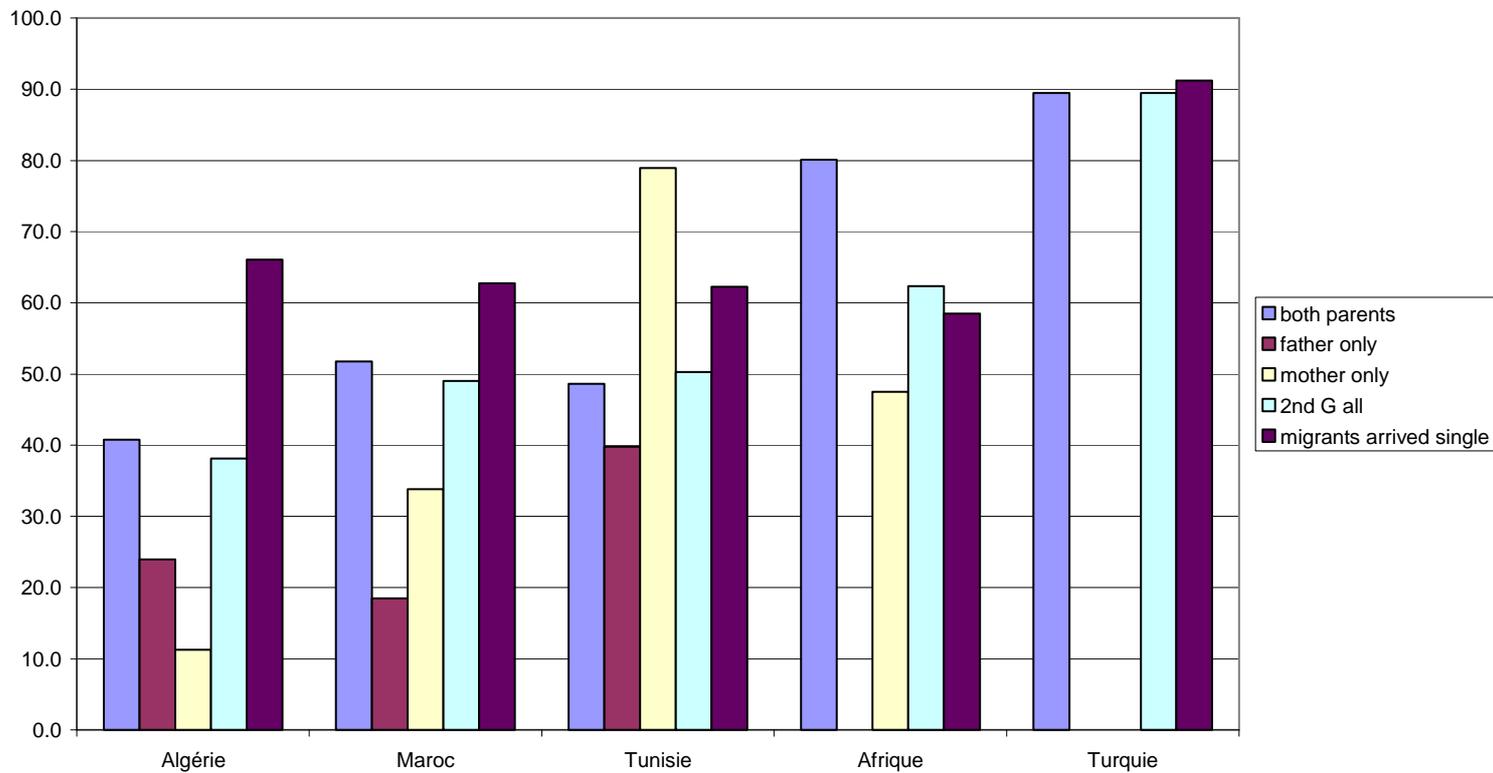


Figure 2: TFR of migrants and 'second generation' in France by country of origin

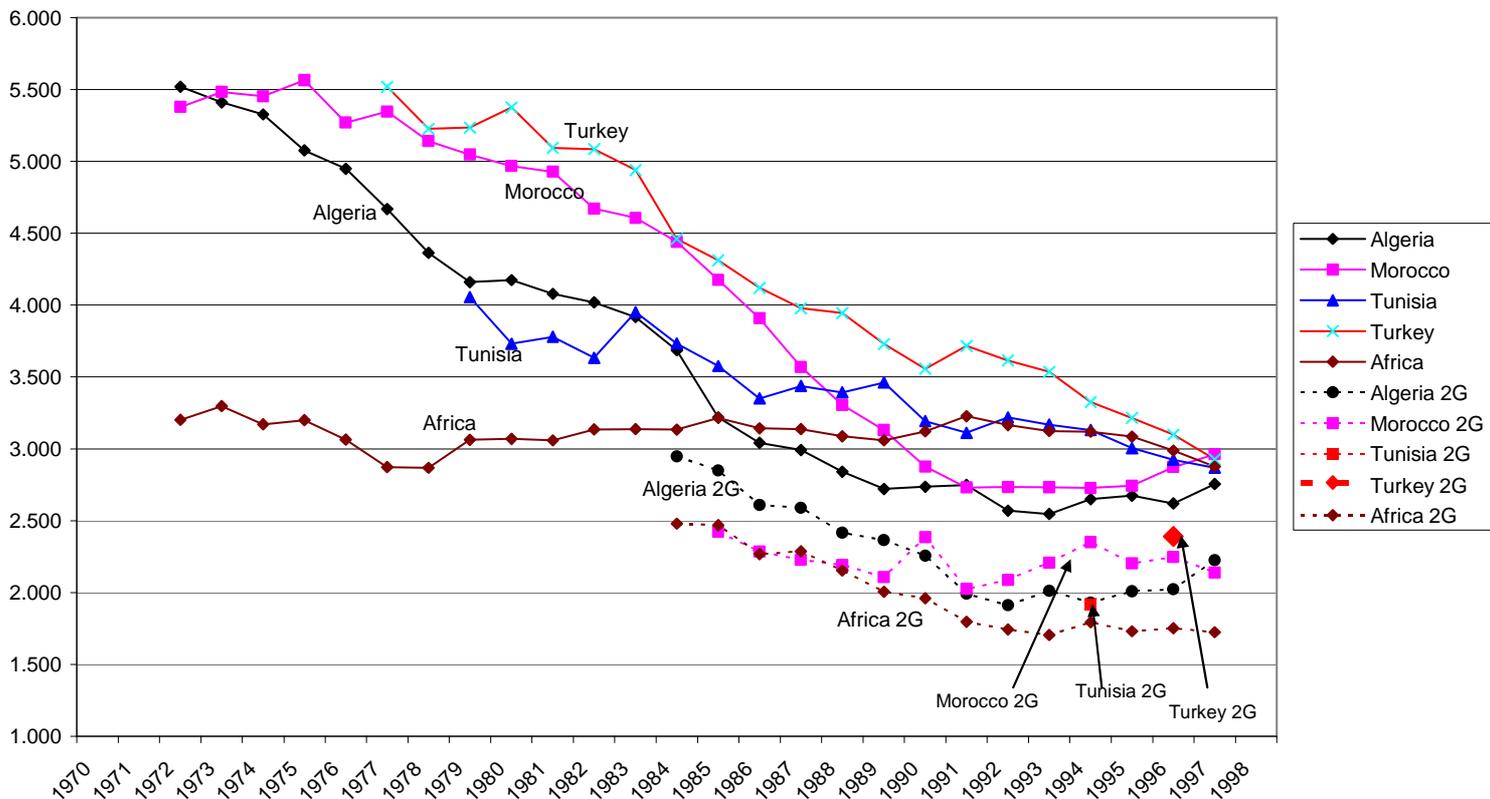


Figure 3 a : Mean number of children by age, birth place (migrants/2nd generation), marital status at arrival for migrants and birth place of spouse of Algerian-origin females with partners

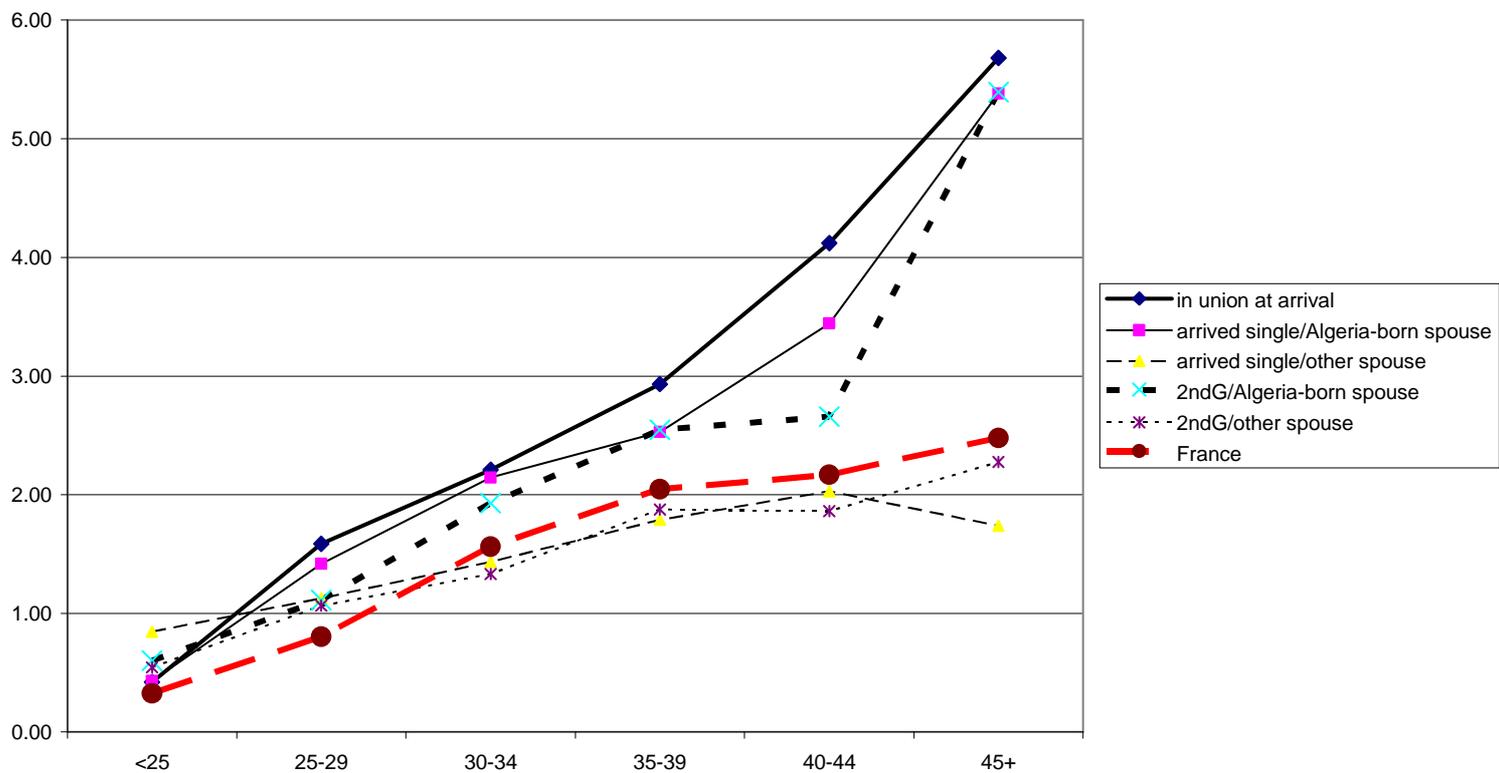


Figure 3b : Mean number of children by age, birth place (migrants/2nd generation), marital status at arrival and birth place of spouse of Moroccan-origin females with partners

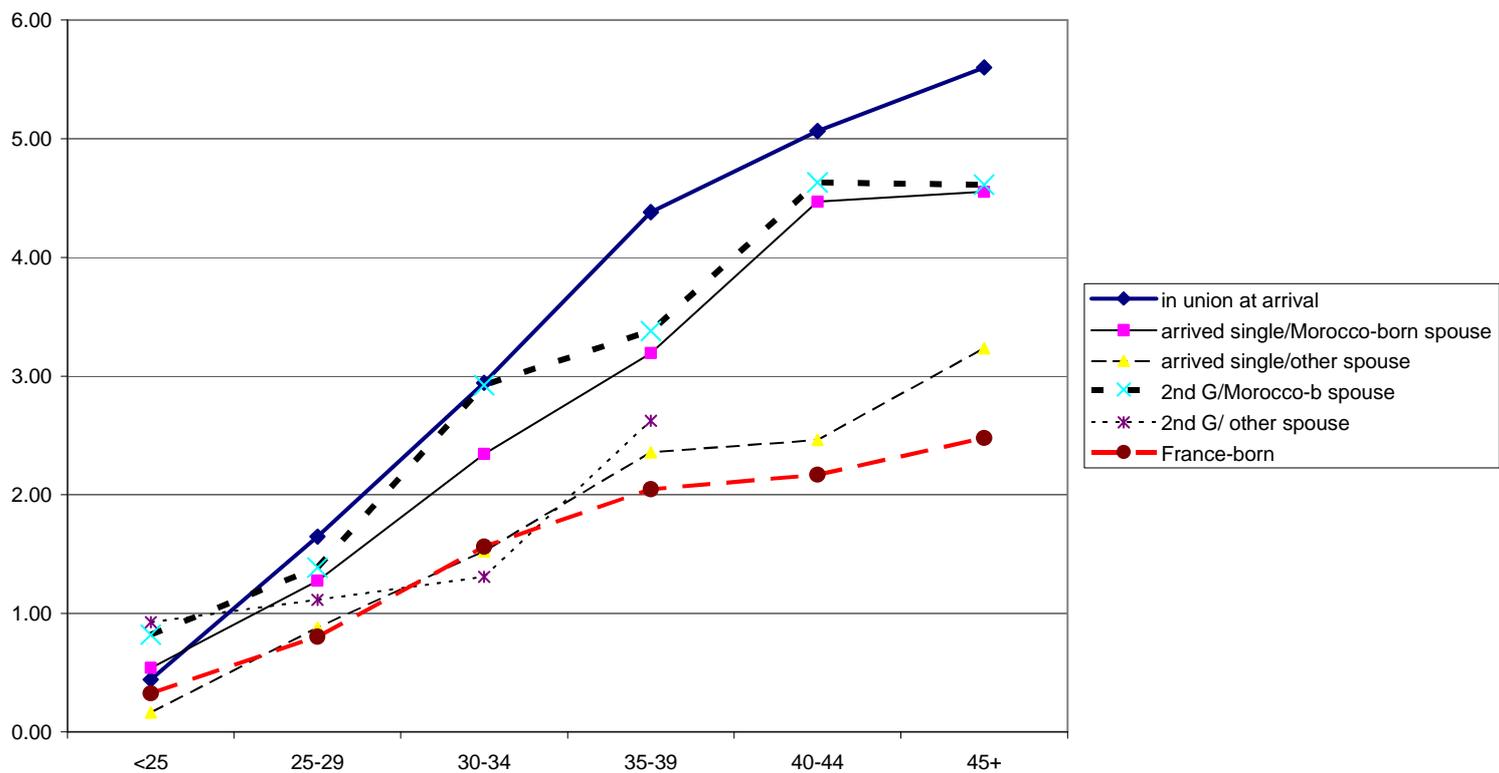


Figure 3 c : Mean number of children by age, birth place (migrants/2nd generation), marital status at arrival for migrants and birth place of spouse of sub-Saharan African-origin females with partners

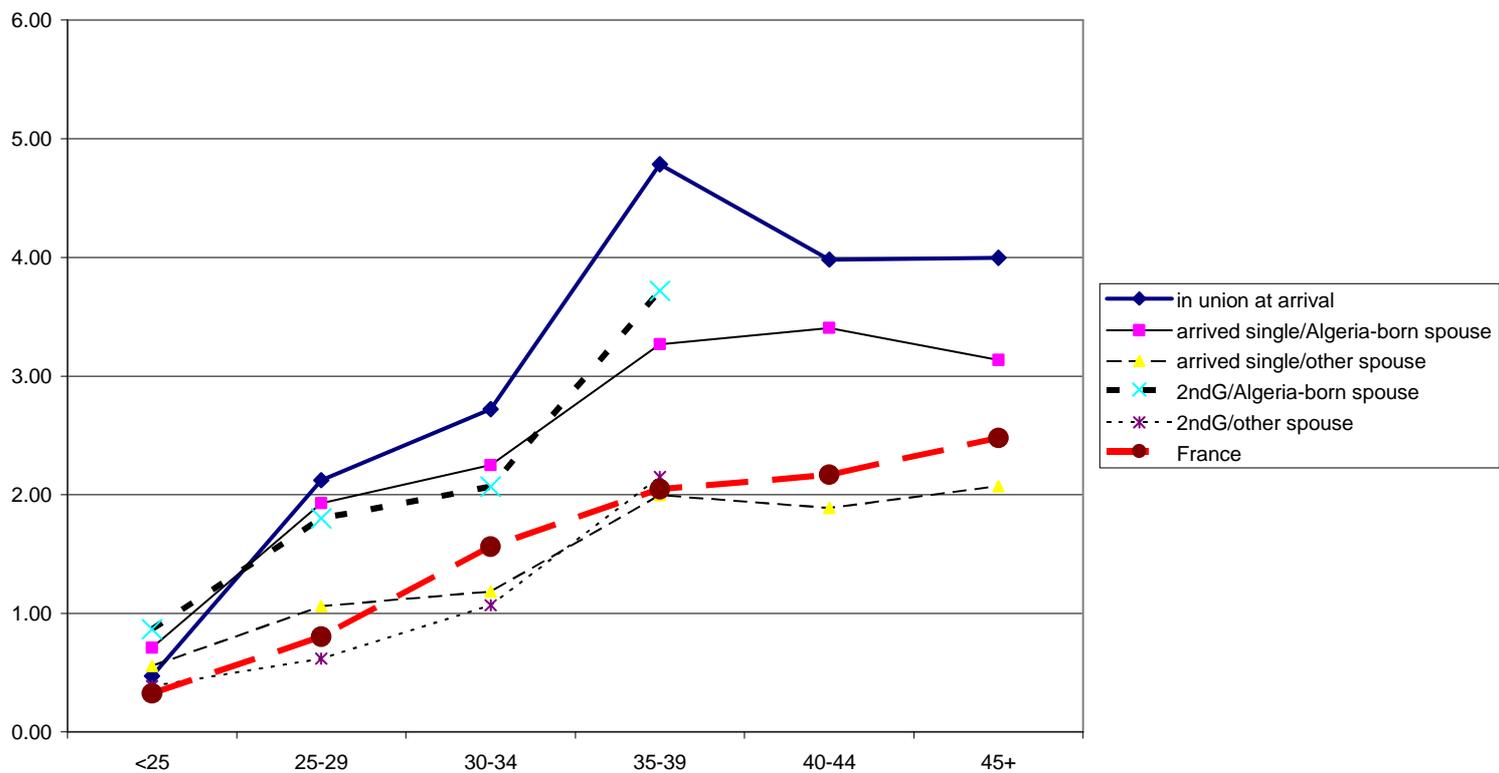


Figure 3 d : Mean number of children by age, birth place (migrants/2nd generation), marital status at arrival for migrants and birth place of spouse of Turk-origin females with partners

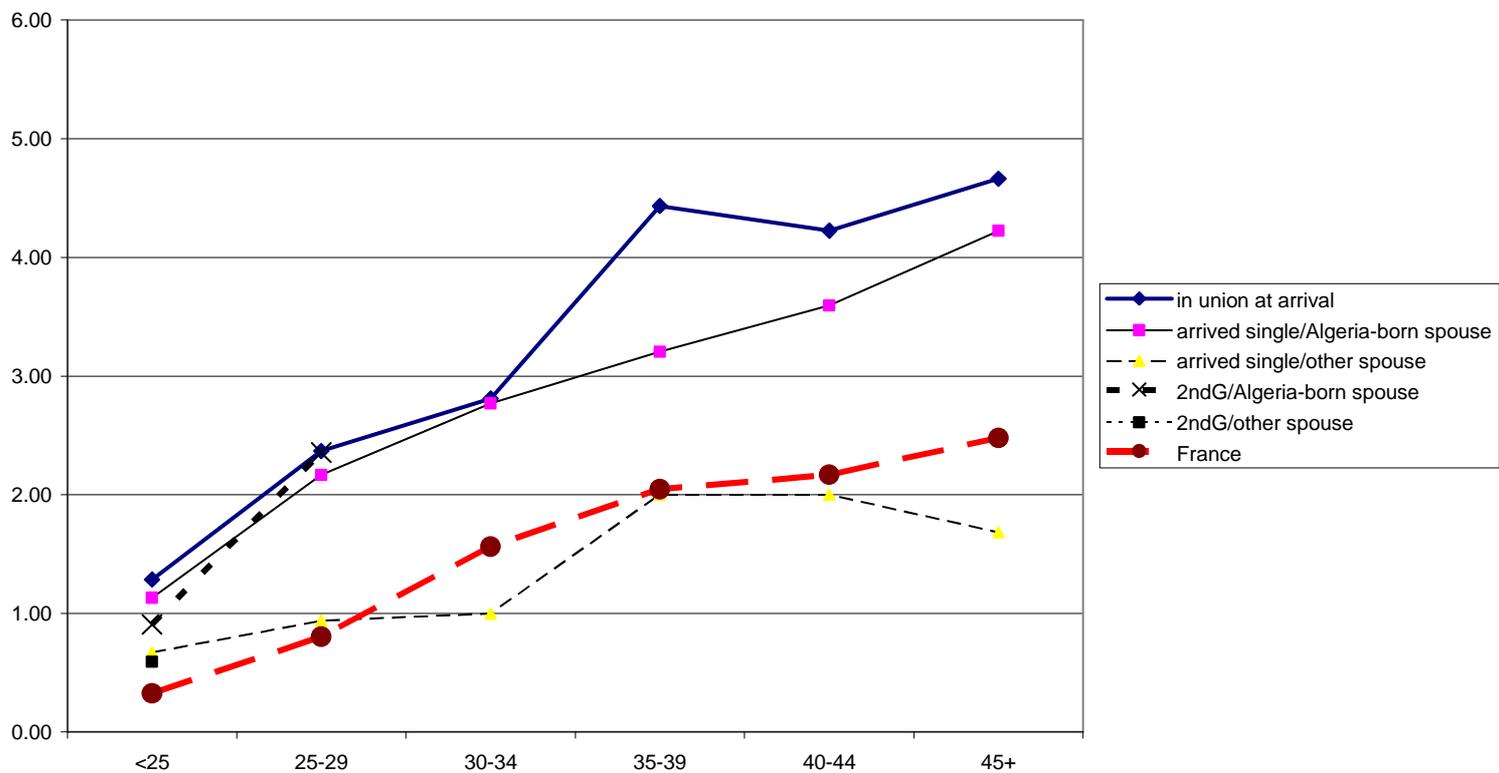


Figure 4 : Mean number of children by age, birth place (migrants/2nd generation), marital status at arrival for migrants and birth place of spouse of Algerian-origin males with partners

