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J. Lievens

UNIVERSITEIT GENT
Department of Population Studies

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Interface Demography, Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Pleinlaan 2, B-1050 Brussels, Belgium
Tel: 32-2-629.20.40 Fax: 32-2-629.24.20 E-mail: esvbalck@vnet3.vub.ac.be
Website: <http://www.vub.ac.be/DEMO>

Vakgroep Bevolkingswetenschappen, Universiteit Gent, Sint-Pietersnieuwstraat 49, B-9000 Gent, Belgium
Tel: 32-9-264.42.41 Fax: 32-9-264.42.94 E-mail: sandy.vanlaer@rug.ac.be
Website: <http://allserv.rug.ac.be/~jlievens>

The Third Wave of Immigration from Turkey and Morocco: Determinants and Characteristics

John Lievens¹

1. Introduction

This paper addresses the question of which factors are responsible for the continuing immigration flow from Turkey and Morocco to Belgium, despite a restrictive immigration policy introduced in the 1970's specifically aimed at prohibiting further immigration from these countries. We demonstrate that the root causes of this unanticipated phenomenon are to be sought in the partner selection of the children of immigrants. Analysis of the correlates of partner selection show that a very large, and still growing proportion of these immigrants' children choose a marriage partner from their country of origin (an 'import partner'). Furthermore it is found that marrying such a partner is not necessarily an act of traditional behaviour. From these observations it can be inferred that family-forming immigration from Turkey and Morocco will continue in the near future.

Although this paper deals with the specific situation of migration from Turkey and Morocco to Belgium, the insights it yields can contribute to a more thorough understanding of the dynamics of family-forming migration in general. The importance of the latter is especially crucial for those migration systems that are characterised by restrictive regulations on the part of the receiving country, allowing new immigration only in the context of a marriage, and where immigrant communities are characterised by a recent migration history and maintain strong bonds with their communities of origin.

In the first section, we provide a historical sketch of migration from Turkey and Morocco to Belgium. Next, we identify the conditions necessary for a system of family-forming migration to exist and assess how these are met in the case studied here. In what follows, we concentrate on the most important condition for understanding current and future developments of family-forming migration: partner selection. After outlining marriage patterns in Turkey and Morocco and in the Belgian immigrant communities, we present the results of our empirical analyses. There we discuss trends in partner selection and the effects of some of the correlates of partner selection.

2. The three waves of Turkish and Moroccan immigration to Belgium

The bulk of immigration from Turkey and Morocco to Western Europe started in the early 1960's. It was initiated by the governments of the receiving countries in an attempt to resolve the shortage of local labourers in specific sectors of the economy, and was fully supported by the governments of the sending countries. The latter were motivated by the possibilities emigration opened for easing unemployment in specific areas and for giving new impulses to the local economy through remittances. Although both governments and the immigrants themselves initially emphasised the temporary character of the stay of the 'guestworkers', it soon turned into a permanent settlement. This evolution became consolidated with the reunification of the (mostly male) immigrant labourers with their families.

The number of residents of Turkish or Moroccan nationality in Belgium in 1961 was negligible². By 1991, however, the two nationalities numbered a quarter of a million³. Together they account for

¹ Department of Population Studies and Social Science Research Methods. University of Ghent, St.-Pietersnieuwstraat 49, 9000 Gent, Belgium. email: John.Lievens@rug.ac.be

² Just 320 persons of Turkish and 461 of Moroccan nationality (Nationaal Instituut voor de Statistiek, 1966, p. 38).

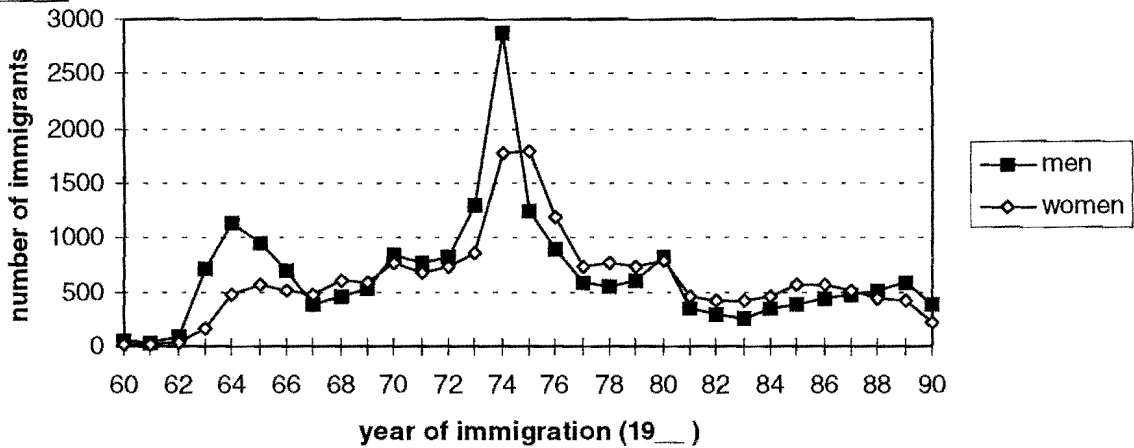
³ 84,935 Turks and 141,660 Moroccans (Nationaal Instituut voor de Statistiek, 1992, p. 137).

almost three-quarters of the foreigners from non-European countries and 2.3% of the total population.

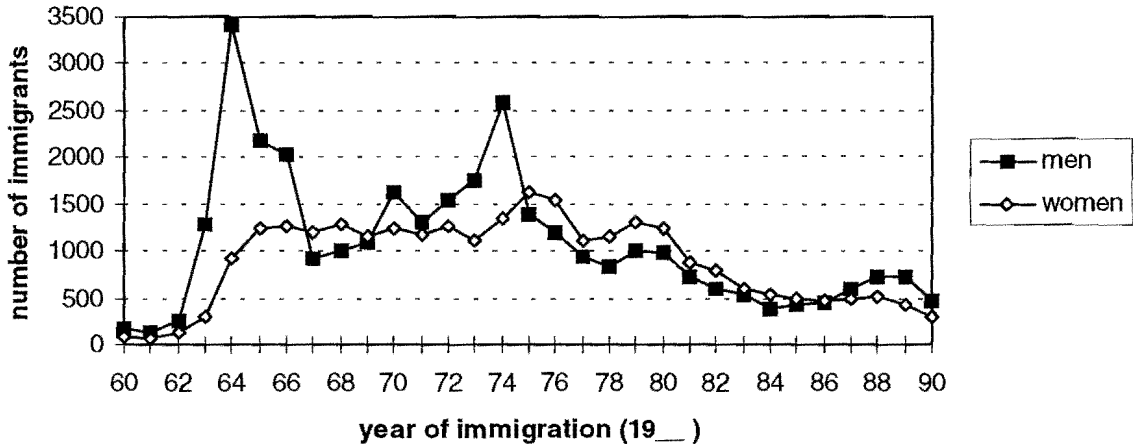
When we look at the evolution of the number of immigrants from Turkey (figure 1a) and Morocco (figure 1b) two peaks can be noticed, which are more marked for men than for women. The first peak reflects the initial start of labour migration and the second is caused by a rush just before the immigration halt was introduced. When the evolution of the number of immigrants is combined with the evolution of immigration policy, the relative importance of three successive - but partially overlapping - waves becomes apparent. These waves are not so much defined by the number of immigrants, as by a different composition reflecting mainly changes in immigration policy. The first wave consists predominantly of male labour immigrants. It starts in the beginning of the 1960's and ends in the middle of the 1970's when the immigration halt drastically curbs further labour migration. Family reunification - the second wave - accounts for part of the immigration of the first period and for most of the immigration occurring from the middle to the end of the 1970's. The third wave starts in the early 1980's - when the means for family reunification are largely exhausted - and consists primarily of persons coming to Belgium in the context of a marriage, the only remaining option for legal immigration. Although the number of immigrants who entered in the most recent wave is not as high as in the previous ones, it can be noted that marriages still cause a substantial inflow. This point becomes even clearer when one takes into account the substantial underestimation of the number of immigrations in the two last years, caused by the recent increase in the number of marriages of persons of Turkish and Moroccan origin as the second generation reaches marriageable age and the delay that frequently occurs between marriage and migration.

Figure 1: Distribution of Turkish and Moroccan immigrants by year of immigration and sex⁴

a) Turks



b) Moroccans



⁴ These figures refer to immigrants recorded in the 1991 census of Belgium (see below for more information on the dataset).

3. Conditions for a system of family-forming migration

Although we focus on just one of the elements of family-forming migration (partner selection), this element is embedded in a larger framework. The framework used here, is consistent with the notion advanced by Massey et al. that different causes of migration can operate simultaneously on different levels (Massey et al., 1993, p. 455).

More specifically, we argue that a system of family-forming migration under a restrictive immigration policy cannot exist unless conditions on three levels are fulfilled. These conditions should result in a system characterised by a demand for marriage partners from the country of origin, a supply of potential partners, and a channel through which demand and supply are mediated.

3.1. Macro level

A first condition is situated on the macro level, where factors have to be operative that result in emigration pressure in the sending countries. Without this, it can hardly be expected that large-scale migration in the context of a marriage can occur. In this paper, we leave the specific conditions underlying the emigration pressure aside and take the operation of these macro structural forces as given. That such migration pressure still occurs from traditional sending countries to Western Europe is confirmed by the Council of Europe (Council of Europe, 1993, p. 14). Martin (1991, p. 94) even estimates that migration pressure from Turkey to Germany is now substantially larger than it was in the peak period of labour migration.

3.2. Meso level

3.2.1. Migrant networks

In order to link the demand for and the supply of marriage partners from the countries of origin, mediating factors have to be operative on the meso level. This condition implies the active operation of networks between immigrants and the communities of origin.

The notion that migrant networks are crucial in understanding the continuation of migration even when the economic impetus for migration is weakened or when immigration policy becomes more restrictive, and the notion that migrant networks are responsible for the creation of 'transplanted communities' are now firmly embedded in migration research (see Boyd, 1989; Massey et al., 1993; Böcker, 1994b; Gurak & Caces, 1992).

As was the case for all Western European countries, migration from Turkey and Morocco to Belgium was and still is strongly influenced by the operation of migrant networks and chain migration. According to Wilpert (1992, p. 184-185) the operation and structure of migrant networks are strongly dependent on prevailing migration policy. This certainly applies to labour migration from Turkey and Morocco to Belgium. First, the governments of the sending countries favoured rural regions in particular for emigration. Because the formation of migrant networks is facilitated through the existence of strong community ties prior to migration, which is more prevalent in rural areas (Böcker, 1994b, p. 11-12), this gave way to the formation of migrant networks. Second, the system of nominative recruitment of workers allowed already established immigrants to favour relatives or persons from the same region of origin, giving impetus to the active use of migrant networks to make new immigrations possible. From the very beginning of migration from Turkey and Morocco to Belgium, migrant networks were the vehicle for chain migration.

Research on the regions of origin of Turkish and Moroccan immigrants in Flanders and Brussels and on their settlement patterns, clearly illustrates the effects of chain migration (Surkyn & Reniers, 1997). The distribution of Turkish and Moroccan immigrants by region of origin is far from uniform.

The great majority originate from rural areas; Turkish immigrants from Anatolian provinces and Moroccan immigrants from the Eastern Rif area. Furthermore, within these regions substantial differences occur, reflecting the active recruitment efforts that were often directed to specific areas. The settlement pattern of the immigrants in Belgium is also far from even. Settlement patterns are strongly associated with patterns of departure. As a result, strong concentrations of persons from the same regions of origin can be observed in Belgian localities. Parallel concentration of regions of origin and destination was further reinforced by family reunification.

The immigrant communities maintain strong ties with the communities of origin, both by mail and by frequent travel to their community of origin in holiday periods. The existence of these bonds used to enable potential labour emigrants to draw on personal connections to facilitate migration. Now they provide the means for family-forming migration. Only through the strong bonds between immigrants and relatives and acquaintances in the regions of origin is it possible to arrange marriages over the borders (Surkyn & Reniers, 1997).

3.2.2. Value sets

Parallel concentration by region of origin and region of destination has led to the formation of transplanted communities that are able to uphold social, cultural and normative structures imported from the region of origin, including strong community and kin involvement. Dumon (1989, p. 256) found several indications of strengthening rather than mere maintenance of kinship ties and cultivation of imported value systems through migration. Kagitçibasi (1987, p. 102) explained this by an identity crisis resulting from conflicting value systems between the society of origin and the host society.

Research on the changes in value systems induced by migration indicates that values do change, but that changes are restricted at first to values concerning the more pragmatic areas of existence. The set of 'core values' - under which marriage patterns consistently fall - is maintained and stays firmly anchored in immigrant communities. This has been found in various situations, including migration from India and Pakistan to Canada (Wakil et al., 1981), and from Greece (Schultz, 1981) and Laos (Meredith & Rowe, 1986) to the United States. In all these instances the immigrant community concerned shares substantial characteristics with the immigrant communities in Belgium, such as strengthened kinship and community involvement after migration as a means to preserve their own identity. In a recent survey on value shifts in the immigrant communities in Belgium, Lesthaeghe and Surkyn (1997) find a similar pattern of differential adaptation, which they call 'heteropraxis'. Between generations, they find changes in values concerning the personal domain, but not in those concerning community ties or extended family relations. Because marriage patterns belong to the latter (see below), this implies that in immigrant communities in Belgium too, traditional marriage patterns are preserved.

The maintenance of part of the imported cultural patterns could be attributed to structural conditions. Nauck (1988, 1989) interprets changes in value systems in immigrant communities as resulting from a shift in opportunity structures originating from migration itself, rather than resulting from contact with a foreign culture. By the extension of their opportunity structure immigrants recalculate expected returns of different lines of action and value systems and choose those - whether from the culture of origin or from the receiving country - providing the highest expected return. In close relation to this, Portes and Böröcz (1989, p. 615-620) argue that modalities of adaptation are contingent upon structural conditions of migration and settlement. As possible structural factors they identify the conditions of exit, class origins and the context of reception. Portes (1995) adds another important structural factor affecting the adaptation processes of the second generation in particular. He argues that assimilation to the surrounding culture can result in downward social mobility and alienation from mainstream culture when the immigrant community is embedded in the underclass culture of the inner city, consisting often of former immigrant waves that failed in reaching upward social mobility. 'Under these circumstances, embedding the adaptation of second-generation youth within the networks of ethnic community may not be a

symptom of escapism, [...] but a rational strategy for capitalising on otherwise unavailable material and moral resources' (p. 274).

Furthermore, immigrant communities in Belgium originated several decades ago and have developed their culture on the basis of the patterns prevailing in the countries of origin in the past. In their striving to establish a cultural identity in an immigrant situation they have elaborated upon these 'old' patterns, while culture in the regions of origin has developed at a different pace and possibly in a different direction. This could explain the observation made by Timmermans (1994) that Turkish immigrants from Emirdag (from where a large proportion of the Turkish immigrants in Belgium originated) are sometimes looked upon as old-fashioned when they visit Emirdag.

3.3. Micro level

The final condition that needs to be present for a system of family-forming migration is situated on the micro level. Quite obviously such a system can exist only when there is a demand for marriage partners from the country of origin.

Whereas macro structural factors and network connections between migrants and non-migrants are here considered as given, we now turn to the conditions on the micro level, which form the main concern of this paper. Because the effects of macro-structural factors and network connections can be assumed stable for the near future, insight in the characteristics of partner selection is of particular relevance for the immediate development of migration from Turkey and Morocco to Belgium. In this paper we only discuss one side of the story of family-forming migration (the demand side). In a forthcoming analysis, we will elaborate on the supply side.

Before starting with the actual analysis, we give a brief overview of marriage patterns in the two immigrant communities in Belgium. Because these cannot be considered apart from the situation and evolution in the countries of origin, we shall start with the latter.

4. Former research on marriage patterns

Our discussion is based on patterns prevailing in the 1970's and 1980's, the central period covered by the subsequent analyses.

4.1 Marriage patterns in Turkey and Morocco

Despite differences in social organisation between Turkey and Morocco, marriage patterns in the two countries show some strong resemblance. Changes in marriage patterns are, however, occurring at different paces. The changes are most pronounced in the more westernised segments (particularly in urban regions), where more emphasis is laid upon individual responsibility. In the more traditional segments (mostly rural regions) traditional patterns with a strong emphasis on respect for authority and for the honour of the family still prevail. (see Kulu-Glasgow, 1993, p. 66 for Turkey, and Jamous (1981) for Morocco; for an overview of traditional marriage patterns, see Timmermans (1994) and Gokalp (1989) for Turkey, and Jamous (1981) for the Rif area in Morocco).

A first common characteristic is the central place marriage takes in social life. Marriage is virtually universal, especially in Turkey. As late as the early 1990's, the percentage of women between the ages of 30 and 34 that were unmarried amounted to only 4.3% in Turkey (Ministry of Health, 1994, p. 60) and to 13.9% in Morocco (Azemat et al., 1993, p. 63), with the lowest percentages found in rural regions.

Marriage commonly occurs at a young age, especially for women. The retrospectively reported median age at first marriage for individuals between 25 and 49 years old for Turkish women in 1993

was 19 years (Ministry of Health, 1994, p.62) and 23 years for men (1988: Kulu-Glasgow, 1993, p. 66). For Moroccan women (in 1992) this was 18.8 years⁵ (Azemat et al., 1993, p. 67). However, a substantial increase in the age at first marriage, especially pronounced in Morocco, can be noted. Although Morocco showed a younger marriage pattern than Turkey thirty years ago, it has now passed Turkey. The youngest cohort in Morocco married at a significantly higher age than in Turkey (Lodewijckx et al., 1997).

Of crucial importance for understanding the process of family formation, is the notion that individual interests are still often subordinate to group or family interests. A central element in this respect is the preservation of the honour of the family. The family honour is especially threatened by women, and more importantly by young women. From puberty, a girl's conduct is subjected to strong social control. From then on, she is strictly separated from the opposite sex and her life is regulated by strict rules imposed by her father. His harshness is motivated by his responsibility for preserving the honour of his children, and in this way preserving the honour of his household and family. The worst violation to this honour would be a daughter who is not a virgin at marriage.

This results in a strong influence of the parents (especially of fathers) on the partner selection of their children. Because the major concern of parents is the respectability of the (family of the) marriage candidate, marriages between relatives (particularly cousins) and arranged marriages occur frequently. In a survey conducted in 1988 (Kulu-Glasgow, 1993, p. 66-68) the percentage of marriages between relatives in Turkey was estimated at 20% (80% of which between cousins). Although an evolution is noticeable, especially in the more westernised regions, in the direction of giving more participation in partner selection to children, the influence of the parents remains very high, and is respected by their children. In most cases parents propose a marriage candidate they can approve of to their daughter. The daughter can then make the final decision. According to the same survey 64% of all marriages in Turkey were established in this way, whereas in only 7% of the marriages the future bride was not consulted. In the remaining 29%, the final decision was made by the partners themselves. Apart from regional differences, a pronounced effect of the educational level of women is also noticeable. In more westernised segments and at higher educational levels, the odds of the woman participating actively in selecting a partner are higher.

Value systems concerning marriage behaviour and marriage patterns are thus changing, especially in urban regions. But, as Timmermans notes, this does not imply that traditional patterns are totally abandoned by more 'modern' couples. Most of the couples in the metropolitan areas of Turkey maintain a division of worlds between men and women, even when the wife works outside the house. Although such couples allow their children more freedom in selecting a partner, standards with reference to parental influence on the selection of partners for their children, and especially virginity are kept high (Timmermans, 1994; see also Kagitçibasi, 1987, p. 201).

4.2. Marriage patterns in the immigrant communities

We can now turn to the specific characteristics of marriage patterns and partner selection in the immigrant communities in Western Europe, drawing principally on data from Belgium and the Netherlands.

Several anthropological studies conducted in the Netherlands (De Vries, 1987; Holzhaus, 1991; Van der Hoek & Kret, 1992; Van Schelven, 1987) and in Belgium (Callaerts, 1997) indicate an upholding of traditional patterns imported from the cultures of origin. These authors consistently find a central preoccupation of unmarried girls with the choice of a suitable marriage partner, and the importance the large majority attach to virginity before marrying. They also find that although sons are allowed a greater degree of freedom than in the communities of origin, daughters are often subjected to even stricter limitations. The strong social control exerted on girls is often motivated by the perceived threats of the surrounding dominant culture. Further, it is found that although an evolution is

⁵ Median age at marriage for Moroccan men is not available.

noticeable in the direction of allowing a larger degree of participation in selecting a marriage partner, most of the parents retain a high degree of influence. Daughters often have to resort to indirect ways to accomplish their own marriage plans, but the majority accept the role of their parents. Although men are less inclined to avoid conflict, they also tend to respect the opinion of the parents. Last but not least, parents and children most often share a preference for a marriage partner from the same region of origin, for such a partner is considered to provide the best guarantee for a fit of ideas and customs. Accordingly, interethnic marriages are rejected in most cases by the parents and are considered impossible by their daughters. The strong aversion against an interethnic marriage for women also has a religious origin. Islam does not allow marriages of a Muslim woman to a non-Muslim man, for the children that come from the marriage are considered lost for Islam (De Vries, 1987, p. 146).

In a recent survey in the Belgian immigrant population, a growing participation in selecting a marriage partner is observed (Lodewijckx et al., 1997). This evolution is especially marked for Moroccans. For half of the marriages of ever-married Moroccan women between the ages of 20 and 24, the partners themselves took the initiative. For ever-married Turkish women in the same age the figure was 29%. Although this points to a growing active participation in the selection of a marriage partner, it has to be noted that in most of these marriages, the couple's initiative was accompanied by the consent of the parents. The majority of young unmarried women think they should choose a partner themselves but should ask for the advice of their parents. It is also found that differences in participation according to age largely vanish when controls are introduced for other correlates of partner selection. The most important predictor for a Moroccan woman's participation in selecting a marriage partner is educational attainment; for Turkish women it is the occupational prestige of the father (next to an effect of educational attainment and region of origin).

In the same survey, the differences in age at first marriage between age groups is also analysed. Although an increase in the age at first marriage is observed for the younger cohorts (most noticeably for Moroccans), the increase is less marked than in the countries of origin. Furthermore, median age at first marriage is lower in the immigrant communities than in the countries of origin. This is attributed to the rural origin of immigrants and to the bias introduced by the presence of immigrant brides. Educational attainment was found to be the most important predictor of marrying at a later age (Lodewijckx et al., 1997). In a Dutch survey the same difference in age at first marriage between the immigrant communities and the countries of origin was found (Esveldt & Kulu-Glasgow, 1994, p. 62-63).

The existence of network connections between migrants and non-migrants is - as has been discussed earlier - a crucial element in the existence of a system of family-forming migration. Non-migrants make use of these networks to exert pressure on the emigrated members of the family or community abroad (Böcker, 1994a, p.97). In particular, they seek financial support and assistance in making migration possible for other members of the non-migrant community. As immigration can only take place nowadays through marriage, they seek marriage partners among the children of emigrants for their own children. As a result, immigrant parents of marriageable daughters find themselves in a strengthened bargaining position on the marriage market (Böcker, 1994a, p. 99; Gitmez & Wilpert, 1987, p. 95). Due to a strong feeling of commitment to the community of origin and in view of the preference of parents for partners from their own region of origin, parents frequently give in to these pressures. Immigrants often feel obliged to fulfil the wishes of members of the non-migrant community, especially if they are indebted to them because they received support to make their own migration plans possible. If migrant families have no marriageable children, they are expected to help by providing aid to persons who come to Western Europe (whether as a tourist or illegally) to search for a marriage partner themselves (Böcker, 1994a, p.97).

More and more, however, parents of marriageable children feel reluctant to fulfil the wishes of non-migrants. This reluctance can be motivated by several factors. First, they may want to give more say to their children. Some parents do this out of fear that their daughter will run away if they impose a husband. Brouwer et al. (1992, p. 58) note in this respect that the obligation to marry a particular man is rarely the underlying cause, but often the stated reason for leaving the parents. Second, they are afraid that marriage with a partner from the country of origin will end in divorce because of

differences in culture (see for instance Schoorl & Van De Klundert, 1994, p. 18). Third, they fear that the marriage candidate is only interested in a residence permit. According to Esveldt et al. (1995, p. 175) this worry also has another effect. They explain the higher proportion of arranged marriages and marriages between relatives in Dutch immigrant communities as compared to the countries of origin partly (next to their rural origin) from this concern. Keeping the marriage in the family is considered as the best guarantee for both the respectability and honesty of motivation to marry.

The dilemma confronting immigrant parents with marriageable children, is that they are not able (or willing) to fulfil all the wishes of the non-migrants, but that not fulfilling their wishes is interpreted as a sign that they do not consider themselves members of the community of origin any more; whereas they feel strongly connected. This often results in avoiding contact with members of the community of origin. (Böcker, 1994a, p. 97).

Marriage patterns and migrant networks are connected in a dynamic whole. On the one hand, family-forming migration affirms traditional marriage patterns and strengthens bonds between migrants and non-migrants and becomes what Bensalah calls 'liens entre deux mondes' (1994). On the other hand, when it involves the marriage of a woman from the immigrant community with a man from the country of origin it runs counter to central elements of the traditional value system, in which it is the bride not the groom who moves to the place where in-laws live. Marriages with men from the country of origin in other words put great strain on traditional patriarchal and patrilocal value systems. In our own analysis on differences in characteristics between couples with two partners from the immigrant community and couples with an import partner (Lievens, 1997) we found that patrilocal traditions are kept high after migration, although violated through migration. For recently married couples we more specifically found that almost no couples with an immigrant bridegroom lived in with the parents, in contrast to other types of couples (immigrant bride, couples with both partners from the immigrant community).

5. Hypotheses

From earlier survey research on changes in family-forming behaviour and value systems in the two immigrant communities in Belgium, the impression rose that men married a partner from the country of origin for other reasons than women. The impression was that women with more 'modern' characteristics had the highest probability of being married to such a partner, whereas this probability was highest for the least 'modern' men. Insufficient data, however, were available to test this proposition.

The proposition is consistent with results from many anthropological studies in the Netherlands (see especially Holzhaus, 1991 and De Vries, 1987). These found that men who were married to a partner from the country of origin often mentioned as the most important reason that women from the immigrant community were too modern and behaved too freely. Women often gave as most important reason that men from the immigrant community were too traditional, did not have a good education and were often out of work.

Elaborating on this, we expect to find differential effects of the determinants of partner selection according to sex. More particularly, we expect to find a higher probability of being married to an import partner for women with more 'modern' characteristics and for men with the least 'modern' characteristics.

Although we stated earlier that traditional marriage patterns will be maintained by immigrants, this does not contradict the idea that they may evolve - especially among the second generation. A commonly held proposition (especially in the Dutch literature) in this respect is that marrying an import partner is an element of traditional behaviour that will lose its importance as more children of immigrants start marrying. In this line of thinking it is assumed that - through contact with Western value systems - the preference for an ethnically homogenous marriage will increasingly be met by a partner from the immigrant community rather than an import partner (see for instance

Esveldt et al., 1995, p. 209; Böcker, 1994a, p.104). Results from survey research in the Netherlands seem to confirm this proposition (Esveldt et al., 1995), but these results are based on a very low number of already married children of immigrants. From the discussion on the evolution of value sets, however, it follows that the unilinear assimilation of the second generation underlying this proposition is not realistic.

In line with the propositions on adaptation processes in immigrant communities, we want to take as a starting point that an open view should be kept on the evolution of value systems in general, and of values concerning marriage patterns in particular, because of the different paths adaptation can take. More specifically, we suppose that no clear indication will be found of a unilinear assimilation of the second generation.

6. Analysis of partner selection

Our analysis of partner selection in the Belgian immigrant communities consists of three parts. First, we consider the distribution of type of partner. This enables us to establish and interpret differences between Turks and Moroccans, and between the sexes. We then examine the trend in partner selection, which makes it possible to verify whether marrying a partner from the country of origin is fading out. Finally, we elaborate the effects of some of the determinants of partner selection. This enables us to confront the hypothesis of differential motivations for marrying an import partner by sex and to test whether the proposition of assimilation theory holds. To start, we give some basic information on the dataset used and on the operationalisation of partner selection.

6.1. Methodology

6.1.1. Dataset

Our data come from the 1991 Belgian census. The structure of these data was modified to make an analysis on the level of the couple possible. The dataset contains information on all couples for which at least one partner had Turkish or Moroccan nationality (or had this nationality at time of birth, or whose mother had Turkey or Morocco as main place of residence at time of birth), was at least 18 years old on 31/12/90, and migrated prior to marriage (see below) in the period 1960 to 1990.

The exhaustive coverage provided by the census is a great advantage for analysing immigrant and other minority groups. However, the number and range of the variables available is limited.

6.1.2. Operationalisation of partner selection

We restrict the analysis of partner selection to those members of the immigrant community who were in a position to marry a partner from the country of origin. We therefore call them 'potential importers'. They are defined as those persons of Turkish or Moroccan origin who were born in Belgium or migrated to Belgium at least two years before they married.

A potential importer can marry one of three different kinds of partners:

- *a partner from the immigrant community*
This is a partner who meets the same conditions as a potential importer.
- *an import partner*
This is a partner from the country of origin, and is most strictly defined as a person who immigrates in the same year as the marriage. In most cases, however, the import partner does not arrive until some time after the marriage. This category, therefore, includes in addition those who immigrated within two years of marrying⁶.
- *a Belgian or Western European partner*
This is a partner with Belgian or another Western European nationality⁷.

6.2. Distribution of partner type

Table 1 shows the distribution of potential importers by partner type.

Table 1: Distribution of potential importers by partner type, sex and immigrant community

type of partner	Turks		Moroccans	
	men	women	men	women
<i>Belgian/West.Europ.</i>	515 (7.0%)	186 (3.8%)	2225 (19.9%)	771 (9.9%)
<i>immigrant community</i>	1353 (18.3%)	1356 (27.5%)	2569 (23.0%)	2600 (33.3%)
<i>import</i>	5510 (74.7%)	3392 (68.7%)	6380 (57.1%)	4431 (56.8%)
<i>total</i>	7378 (100%)	4934 (100%)	11174 (100%)	7802 (100%)

A first conclusion that can be drawn concerns the higher number of male than female potential importers. This difference is attributable to differences in migration history between the sexes. Female potential importers in Belgium immigrated almost entirely in the context of family reunification provisions (as children of immigrants) or were born in Belgium. The group of male potential importers consists in addition of labour immigrants who were unmarried at the time of immigration. The larger number of Moroccan potential importers merely reflects the larger number of Moroccan immigrants in Belgium in general.

The preference of Turkish potential importers for a partner from Turkey is enormous. A large majority of both male and female potential importers marry a partner from the country of origin, with a slightly higher preference among male (74.7%) than among female (68.7%) potential importers. Whereas Turkish men and women are almost unanimous in their preference for an import partner, a significant difference can be noticed in the type of local partner chosen. Almost all female Turkish potential importers with such a partner married a partner from the immigrant community (87.9%). The number of mixed marriage is very low (12.1%). The reason can be found - as noted earlier - in the strong resentment against mixed marriages in Islamic culture. That this resentment is less severe towards men comes out clearly from the distribution of male potential importers who choose a local partner. Although a large majority of them choose a wife from the immigrant community (72.4%) a considerable portion chooses for a mixed marriage (27.6%).

⁶ This has also been observed in the Netherlands, where this category was extended in the same way as here (see Esveldt et al., 1995, p. 169; De Beer et al., 1991, p. 39; De Beer & Noordam, 1992, p. 8). It, however, implies that most of the recently married couples with an import partner are dropped from the analysis, because the import partner has not yet arrived in Belgium at the moment of the census. To include these couples nevertheless, this category is extended with all potential importers who married after 1987 and for whom no information is available on their marriage partner. We can be quite certain that these individuals are married to an import partner.

⁷ A small number of naturalised immigrants is included in this category.

The same distribution is noticeable for potential importers of Moroccan origin. The majority choose a partner from the country of origin (57.1% for male and 56.8% for female potential importers) and amongst those who choose a local partner, the proportion that chooses a Belgian or Western European partner is higher for male (46.4%) than for female (22.9%) potential importers.

Despite similarities between the two immigrant populations, major points of difference can be observed. First, the preference for an import partner is substantially higher for Turkish than for Moroccan potential importers, with the largest difference found for men (17.6 percentage points). This difference can be explained by different kinds of structures situated on the meso level. The strength of community involvement, as well as the strength of network connections between migrants and non-migrants, has been shown to be stronger in the Turkish than in the Moroccan immigrant population (see Lesthaeghe and Surkyn, 1997; and Surkyn & Reniers, 1997, who also advance several complementary explanations of this difference). Higher community involvement of Turks has also been found in other destination countries (see Tribalat, 1995 for France; and Brouwer et al., 1992, p. 152 for the Netherlands).

Second, the preference for a Western European partner is larger for Moroccan than for Turkish potential importers, with the largest difference among men (12.9 percentage points). The reason behind this difference must, in our view, be situated on the micro level. Immigrants and their children of Moroccan origin tend to be more oriented toward Belgium than those of Turkish origin (Lesthaeghe & Surkyn, 1997).

The same picture was found in a recent survey in the Netherlands (Esveldt et al., 1995, p. 174). For Turks who married after immigration 7% chooses a Dutch partner, 17% a partner from the immigrant community and 74% an import partner. For Moroccans these percentages are 15%, 25% and 56%. Unfortunately the results were not broken down by sex, so the sex differentials we found cannot be compared.

6.3. Trends in partner selection

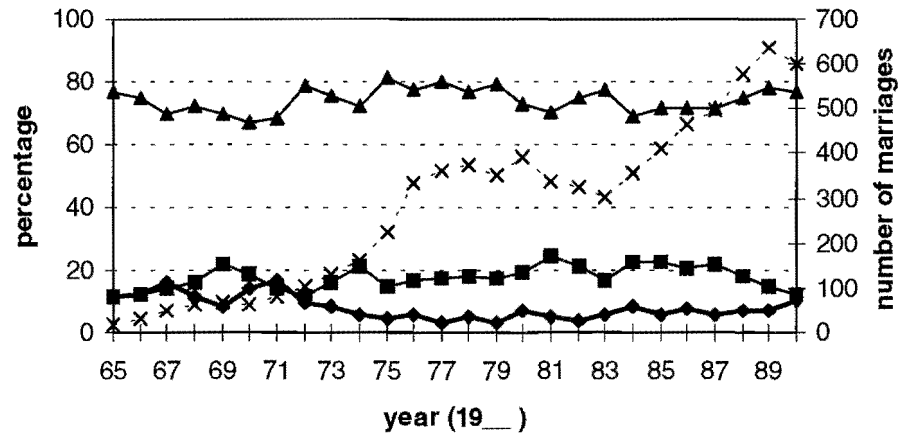
The distribution of potential importers by the type of marriage partner is a summary of events from the past. Taking only this distribution into account, the underlying evolution is ignored and the full dynamics of family-forming migration are missed. In order to examine the evolution of partner selection, figure 2 shows for each of the four subpopulations (Turkish and Moroccan men and women) the distribution of potential importers by partner type in each year (left Y-axis). To give an idea of the total number of marriages on which the percentages are based, these are also included in the figure (dotted lines, right Y-axis).

The evolution of the total number of marriages shows the recent character of marriages of potential importers. Male potential importers start marrying from the middle of the 1960's and their female counterparts from the beginning of the 1970's. Furthermore, a substantial increase in the yearly number of marriages of potential importers is not noticeable for male potential importers until the second half of the 1970's, and for female potential importers not until the second half of the 1980's. The difference between men and women in the starting point of marriages of potential importers can be understood from differences in migration history. In contrast to men no substantial number of adult unmarried women immigrated. Because of this, marriages of male potential importers start from the moment labour migration has reached cruising speed, whereas marriages of female potential importers start when the children of immigrants have reached marriageable age.

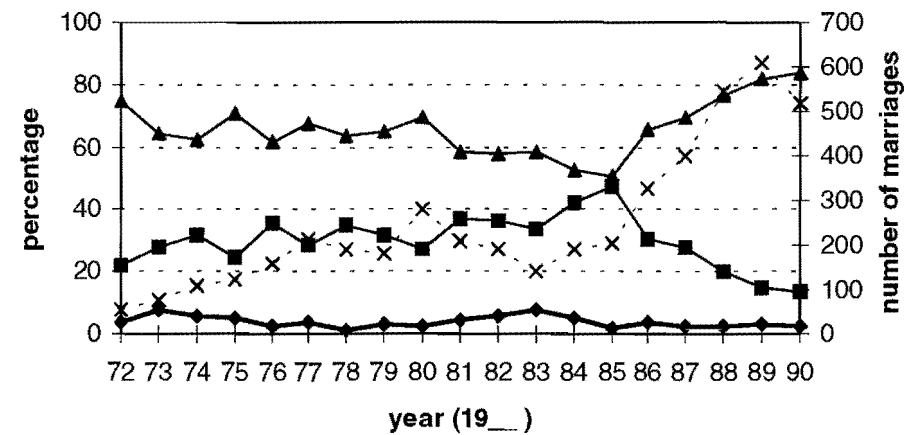
The most stable pattern over time is found among Turkish men. Their preference for an import partner lies between 70 and 80 percent during the whole period, whereas their preference for a partner from the immigrant community varies between 12 and 24 percent. For female Turkish potential importers a substantial increase in the preference for an import partner is noticeable in the most recent period. The proportion of marriages with a partner from the immigrant community decreases in the same period.

Figure 2: Evolution of partner selection (and the number of marriages of potential importers)

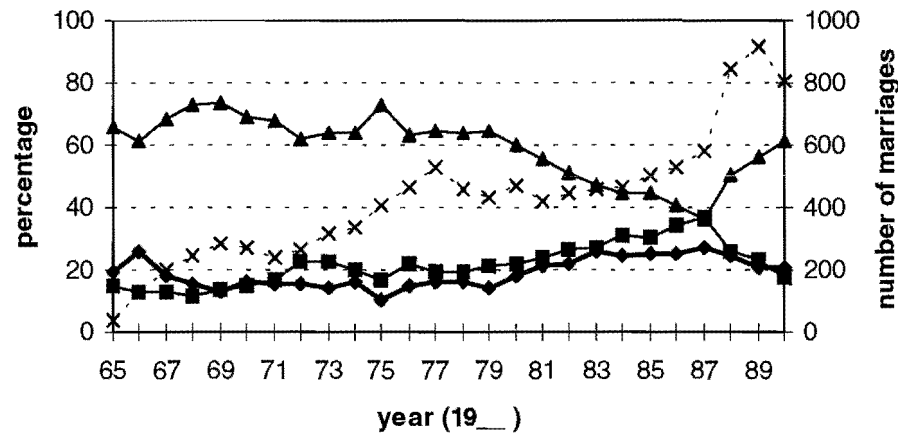
a) Turkish men



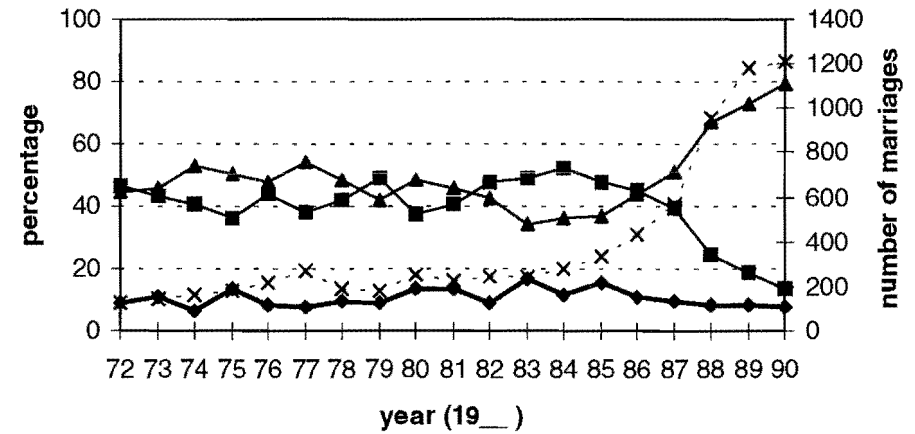
b) Turkish women



c) Moroccan men



d) Moroccan women



Legend

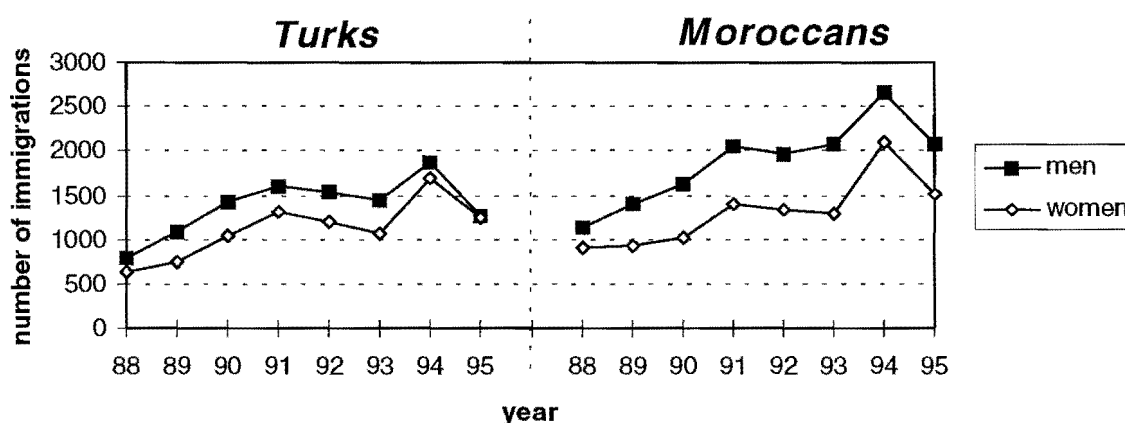
left Y-axis : —▲— import —■— immig.comm. —◆— Belg./W.Eur. right Y-axis :x..... number of marriages

A similar evolution can be noted in the figures for Moroccan men and women. For all four subpopulations, the proportion of marriages of potential importers with an import partner is substantially larger than the proportion married to a partner from the immigrant community in 1990.

In conclusion, we can state that marrying a partner from the country of origin is certainly not fading out. On the contrary, a very substantial increase in the preference for an import partner is observed in the most recent period. Turkish men are an exception, but their preference for a bride from Turkey remains consistently high.

From the combination of the large and/or increasing preference for an import partner, the increasing number of marriages of potential importers in the most recent period, and the fact that the immigration of an import partner often occurs a year or two after the marriage, we can expect a substantial increase in the number of new immigrant brides and grooms from 1988 on. Because the increase in the preference for an import partner is most pronounced for female potential importers, it can furthermore be expected that the number of immigrant bridegrooms will exceed that of brides. Immigration statistics for the period 1988 to 1995 largely confirm both propositions (figure 3).

Figure 3: Number of immigrations from Turkey and Morocco in the period 1988 to 1995



Source: Nationaal Instituut voor de Statistiek

6.4. Determinants of partner selection

In the foregoing, attention was paid to the distribution and evolution of partner selection of Turkish and Moroccan potential importers. In this section we try to illuminate the operation of some of the determinants of partner selection. Our major concern here is to find out more about the underlying causes of partner selection and especially to find a beginning of an explanation for the high and/or increasing preference for a partner from the country of origin.

Because the main issue of the paper is family-forming migration, we shall deal only with the choice between an import partner and a partner from the immigrant community⁸. We thereby effectively suppose that a Belgian or Western European partner is not considered an alternative for an import partner.

As noted earlier, we have to limit the determinants analysed, because of restrictions in the dataset. The determinants are migrant generation, age at marriage and educational attainment.

⁸ The results of a multilevel analysis on the choice between a Western European partner and a partner from the immigrant community will be presented at the EAPS-conference in June later this year. More information on the single-level analysis can be found in Lievens (1997).

Migrant generation

In view of the importance of value sets for the choice of a particular type of marriage partner and the influence of socialisation processes on the development of such value sets, we distinguish between migrant generations on the basis of the moment in the socialisation process a person arrived in Belgium.

Three generations are distinguished. The first generation consists of persons who were socialised in Turkey or Morocco (immigrated at age 15 or older). These persons came to Belgium under family reunification provisions or as unmarried male labour immigrants. The middle generation consists of those who were socialised partly in the country of origin and partly in Belgium (immigrated between the ages of 6 and 14). We define the second generation here as those who were socialised primarily in Belgium (born in Belgium or immigrated before the age of 6).

This variable measures the probability that a person during crucial phases of the socialisation process was subjected almost exclusively to the Turkish or Moroccan value system (first generation), or also to the influences of Western society (second generation).

Age at marriage

As we discussed earlier, parents play a crucial role in the decision making process of partner selection, but the intensity of their influence may vary. No direct information on parental influence is available in the dataset. For this reason we use age at marriage as an indicator of the degree of influence of the parents. This seems quite plausible, the more so because the data of a recent survey on value shifts in Belgian immigrant communities show that the degree to which a woman has an influence on the partner selection increases with age at marriage (Lodewijckx et al, 1997).

Because we are not primarily interested in absolute age at marriage, but want a variable measuring whether the marriage took place at a young, 'normal' or older age, we opt for a categorical variable. The definition of what is 'young', 'normal' or 'older' depends on the immigrant population and on sex. Table 2 summarises the definitions.

Table 2: Limits for age at marriage

categories	Turks		Moroccans	
	men	women	men	women
<i>at young age</i>	-19	-17	-23	-19
<i>at 'normal' age</i>	20-23	18-21	24-28	20-23
<i>at older age</i>	24+	22+	29+	24+

Educational attainment

As was noted earlier, important differences in marriage patterns were found according to educational attainment. As indicator we use the highest diploma obtained (wherever it was obtained). Four categories are distinguished: no diploma, diploma of primary education (normally obtained at age 12), secondary education (normally at age 18) and higher education⁹ (normally in the early twenties).

Other potential predictors

Two other variables were considered for inclusion in the model, of which age was the first. Age could give information on the effects of belonging to a specific birth cohort. The second was the period of immigration, which could provide insight in the effects of the type of immigration. The high correlation of these variables with migrant generation necessitated a selection, however.

⁹ Due to the very low number of Turkish women with higher education diploma, the categories secondary and higher education are combined into a single category for this subpopulation.

Migrant generation was given priority, because it facilitates testing predictions derived from assimilation theory.

One exception was made for age. We excluded the youngest age group (younger than 25 years old for Moroccan men, and younger than 21 years old for the three other subpopulations) because the large majority of them was not yet married. Those already married are exceptional in that they, per definition, married at a young age. In this age group we found an exceptional high proportion that married an import partner¹⁰. Although the youngest age groups maintained in the analysis (25 to 29 years for Moroccan men and 21 to 25 years for Moroccan women and Turkish men and women), may also be characterised by a certain degree of selectivity, it has to be noted that more than three quarters of this age group was already married. We therefore expect any bias to be small. Furthermore we control for age at marriage in the analysis.

6.4.1. Analysis

The purpose of the analysis is to estimate the size and the direction of the (possibly combined) impact of the three predicting variables on the choice of an import partner versus a partner from the immigrant community. Logit-analysis was used.

In table 3 the result of the model selection is given for each subpopulation. Effects marked with ‘*’ are included in the model. All the direct effects (not mentioned in the table) are included in all models. Information on the model fit is given on the bottom line.

Table 3: Interaction effects included in the selected model, for each subpopulation

effect	Turks		Moroccans	
	men	women	men	women
<i>generation * age at marriage</i>	*		*	*
<i>generation * diploma</i>	*		*	*
<i>age at marriage * diploma</i>		*		*
L^2	14,88	19,30	18,71	13,56
(probability)	(0.67)	(0.25)	(0.41)	(0.26)

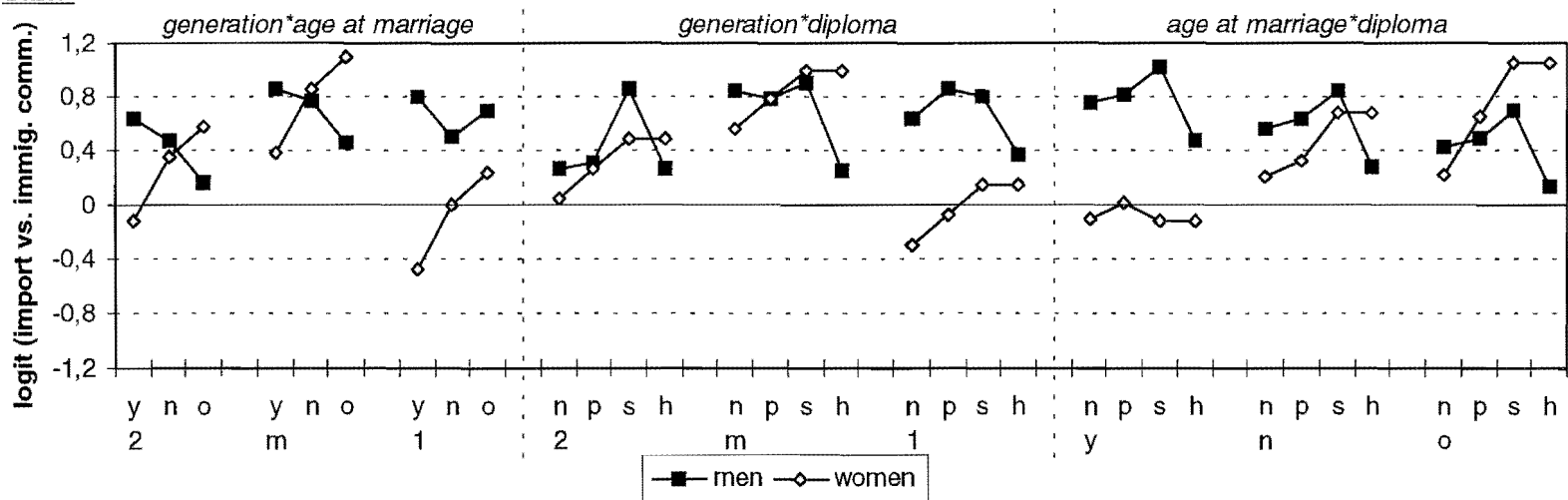
Figure 4 summarises the results of the analysis. On the X-axis all possible combinations of the categories of the predictors are given. The Y-axis represents the absolute impact for each of these combinations, the impact of the predictor not mentioned in the combined effect kept constant. Values larger than zero indicate a higher probability of being married to an import partner than being married to a partner from the immigrant community.

Although logits establish the size and direction of different effects, they cannot easily be interpreted. We therefore converted eye-catching effects into partial odds ratios for the following discussion.

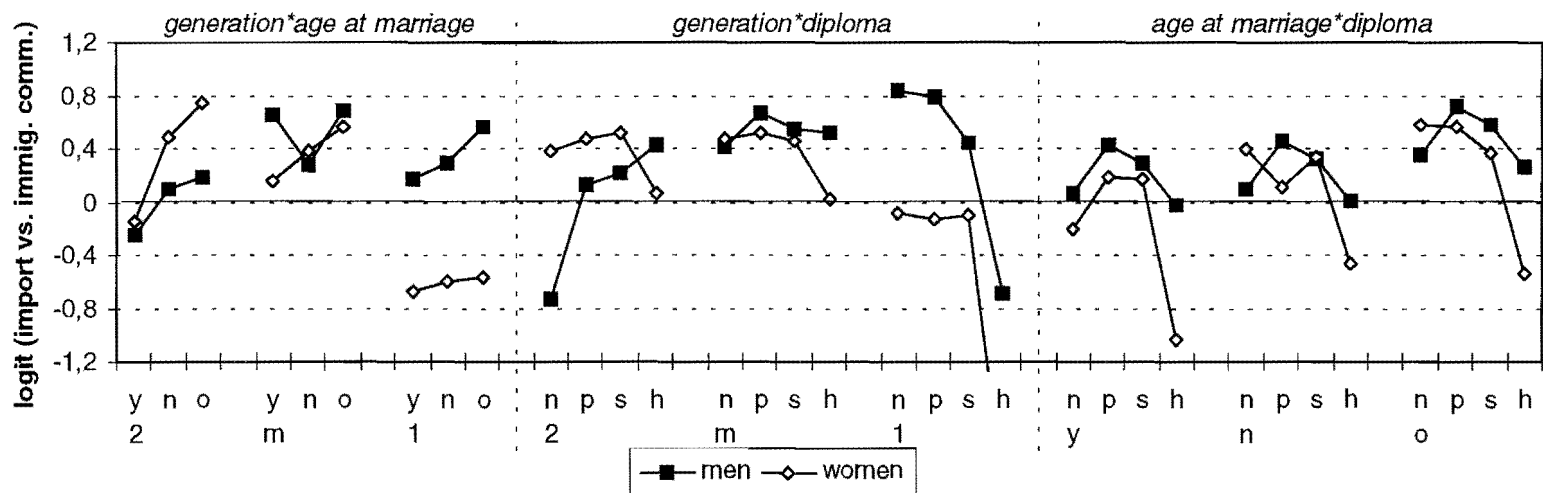
¹⁰ Because of the exceptional character of the youngest cohort, we reproduced the subfigures of figure 2 without this cohort. The only change that occurred was a substantial decline in the total number of marriages. The distribution of the different types of partners remained the same, indicating that the recent increase in the preference for an import partner for three of the four subpopulations is not attributable to the exceptional partner selection of the youngest cohort.

Figure 4: Partner selection of potential importers: Logits by interaction effect

a) Turks



b) Moroccans¹¹



variable	category	code	variable	category	code	variable	category	code
migrant generation	2 nd generation	2	age at marriage	at young age	y	diploma	no diploma	n
	middle generation	m		at 'normal' age	n		primary education	p
	1 st generation	1		at older age	o		secondary education	s
						higher education	h	

¹¹ For Moroccan women, the logit of the combination first generation and higher education amounts to -2,2 (not reproduced in the figure for presentational purposes).

Turks (figure 4a)

As follows from the left (and middle) subfigure, only a slight impact of migrant generation on the partner selection of men is noticeable. The lines for the first and middle generations are situated at approximately the same level. Only for the second generation is a lower probability of being married to an import partner noticeable. The difference is not large however: in terms of partial odds ratios, the odds that a man from the second generation is married to an import partner (versus a partner from the immigrant community)¹² are only 76% as high as those for first and middle generation men. For women on the other hand, migrant generation has a substantial impact. Women from the middle generation have the highest probability of being married to an import partner, whereas those from the first generation have the lowest probability. Second generation women have a chance of being married to an import groom only 59% as high as women from the middle generation.

The observed difference between the middle and the second generation could be interpreted as resulting from a moving away from traditional standards, in a sense predicted by assimilation theories. However it has to be noted that the vast majority of the second generation still choose an import partner. Only Turkish women who married at a young age, have a slightly higher chance of being married to a partner from the immigrant community. The difference could also be explained from an opportunistic stand. It may be that members of the middle generation, who lived in Turkey or Morocco as a child or an adolescent, were engaged in friendship relations there that for some of them ended up in a marriage. Moreover, it seems reasonable to suppose that for some of them marriage arrangements were made by their parents before emigration.

If the 'assimilation'-thesis holds, the first generation should have a higher probability of being married to an import partner than the middle generation. This is not the case. The reason should, however, be sought in the different meaning a partner from the immigrant community has for the first than for the middle generation. For the middle generation a local partner really is a local one, who has resided for some time in Belgium or was born there. Local and import partners are distinct alternatives for the middle generation.

For first generation potential importers who came to Belgium under family reunification provisions, most often no 'real' local partners were available at the time they reached marriageable age. The potential 'local' partners they met were, just like themselves, recent immigrants. Because of the strong clustering of immigrants from the same region of origin or kin (see above), the chance that they met a person they already knew before migrating, of for whom marriage arrangements were already made, is large. The difference between an import and a local partner was thus blurred, increasing the probability of being married to a 'local' partner. Because first generation female potential importers all came to Belgium under family reunification provisions this is most noticeable for them. For first generation male potential importers the effect is counteracted by the presence of a group of labour immigrants who were unmarried at the time of migration. They have a higher probability of being married to an import partner. Because of the sex-selective character of labour migration, they were confronted with a distorted marriage market, marked by a shortage of women. The majority of them had no other possibility than marrying an import partner.

The rest of our discussion is restricted to the middle and second generation.

If age at marriage (left subfigure) is considered as an indicator of the degree of freedom in the partner selection, the odds of being married to an import partner are lowered for men who enjoy more freedom, whereas for women who enjoy more freedom the odds are raised. The odds of being married to an import partner for men who married at an older age are only 67% as for men who married young. In sharp contrast, for women the odds of being married to an import partner are twice as high if they married at an older age than if they married young.

¹² As 'a partner from the immigrant community' is always the reference category, the 'versus (...)'-statement will from now on be omitted.

This result confirms the expected different motivations for marrying an import partner between the sexes. It indicates that the marriage of a man to an import partner is motivated out of traditionalism, whereas women do so to accomplish their own agenda.

As can be noted in the middle subfigure, the critical point of the effect of educational attainment for male potential importers is the attainment of a higher education diploma. This is most clearly seen for the middle generation: the odds of being married to an import partner stay constant up to secondary education, and drop sharply (to a half as much) for men with the highest educational level. The second generation shows a peculiar pattern. Here, the odds of being married to an import partner are twice as high for persons with a secondary education diploma than for persons with a lower or a higher educational level. The peculiar thing, however, is not the higher chance for persons with secondary education, but the lower chance for persons with a lower diploma. Because the second generation has followed school entirely in Belgium (where secondary education is the norm), these lowest two categories must be rather special. The reason why they have a lower probability of being married to an import partner than those with secondary education remains unexplained.

Again in sharp contrast to men, the odds of being married to an import partner increases with educational attainment¹³ among women. The odds of being married to an import partner for women with a secondary or higher education diploma is half as much as for women without.

The effect of educational attainment on partner selection again points to different motivations for marrying an import partner according to sex. For women, the highest chance of being married to an import partner is found among those with the most modern characteristics, for men amongst those with the least modern characteristics.

Moroccans (figure 4b)

The impact of migrant generation on partner selection (left and middle subfigure) for Moroccan potential importers follows the same lines as the effects found for the Turks. The same explanations that were advanced there then hold also for Moroccans, with one exception. The probability that a second generation female potential importer is married to an import partner is not lower for second generation women than for those from the middle generation. For Moroccan women, no evidence is found for the proposition that differentials in partner selection according to migrant generation point in the direction of a traditionalistic element in marrying an import partner. For men, on the other hand, firmer indication is found. The odds for Moroccan second generation male potential importers of being married to an import partner are 59% as high as those for the middle generation.

For both male and female Moroccan potential importers the chance of being married to an import partner increases with increasing levels of freedom in the partner selection (left subfigure). The only exception are male potential importers of the middle generation. For Moroccan potential importers no evidence is found for a different motivation for marrying an import partner according to sex. In contrast to the patterns found for Turkish men, those for Moroccan men do not indicate a traditionalistic motivation underlying marriage to an import partner.

The effect of educational attainment on the partner selection of Moroccan female potential importers are contrary to those found for Turkish female potential importers. The probability of being married to an import partner is reduced by the attainment of a higher education diploma but no difference is found between the lower diplomas. This effect is contrary to the effect found for age at marriage. Here the most modern women choose the least for an import partner. For men, a strong interaction

¹³ Because the categories secondary and higher education were combined for Turkish women, the logits for these categories were set equal to these of the combined category. Because of the important difference between secondary and higher education, we also looked at the bivariate relationship between partner selection and educational attainment. In this exercise we found that Turkish women with a higher education diploma had a lower odds of being married to an import partner than their counterparts with a secondary education diploma.

effect between migrant generation and educational attainment is noticeable. For the middle generation potential importers no differentials are found, whereas a strong effect is found for the second generation. For second generation male potential importers with a higher education diploma, the odds of being married to an import partner are three times higher than for those without a diploma.

6.5. Conclusion

Our analysis of the distribution of partner type has revealed substantial differences between Turks and Moroccans in their preference for an import partner. This difference was explained by differences in the strength of migrant networks.

From the analysis of the trends of partner selection we see that marrying an import partner is certainly not a phenomenon that is fading out. On the contrary, in the most recent period we found a very large and even (except for Turkish men) increasing preference for such a partner. This result strongly contradicts the proposition that as the second generation starts to marry, the preference for an import partner declines.

Results from the logit analysis cannot always be interpreted in a straightforward manner. Still, a general picture can be drawn that allows insight in the underlying causes of marrying an import partner. The most interesting results were found for the second and the middle generation. In view of the very specific characteristics and circumstances of the first generation, this is not a surprise.

The assumption that different motivations between men and women underlie the choice for a partner from the country of origin, was confirmed only in the Turkish population. There we found that men with the least modern characteristics (in terms of age at marriage and educational attainment) have the highest chance of being married to an import partner. For Turkish women the opposite was found. The picture for the Moroccan population is more confused. For middle generation men so good as no effects were found, whereas the pattern found for the second generation is in accordance with what we found for Turkish women. For Moroccan women the chance of being married to an import partner appears to increase with the degree of freedom in partner selection, but to decrease with educational attainment.

From this it can be concluded that the choice between an import partner and a partner from the immigrant community in the Turkish population is situated along a traditionalism-modernism axis, whereas in the Moroccan population other (probably socio-economic) motives dominate.

In the second hypothesis we argued that an open view should be kept for the different paths adaptation can take. The effects we found in the analysis of the determinants of partner selection indicate that this was a correct assumption. Although we found (except for Moroccan women) lower odds for being married to an import partner for the second generation than for the middle generation, we also found that the majority of the second generation is married to such a partner and - more importantly - that marrying an import partner cannot be interpreted as just an element of traditionalism. This strongly contradicts the position assimilation theory takes.

7. Discussion

The completeness of the dataset used here - especially with respect to the second generation - enabled us to reach a more complete picture of partner selection in immigrant communities than would be possible through survey research. It allowed us to get an accurate picture of partner selection and to shed light on the operation of some of the determinants of partner selection, contributing to a more thorough insight into the dynamics of partner selection and marriage patterns in immigrant communities.

The picture drawn, however, remains a general picture. The character of the dataset used does not allow insights in the actual underlying motivations for an individual to marry an import partner. Relevant in this respect is to note that both 'traditional' and 'modern' motivations can underlie the motivation to marry such a partner (Buijs & Nelissen, 1994, p. 191). This could partly explain the ambiguous results of the analysis of the determinants of partner selection, especially for Moroccan women. Furthermore - as follows from the discussion of adaptation processes - specific structural conditions exerting influence on immigrants lives, combined with characteristics of the culture of origin, can result in an enhanced involvement with the immigrant community and/or the community of origin. This notion puts emphasis on the main deficiency of the analyses performed here.

The parallel concentration of communities of emigration and of settlement in Belgium, means that structural conditions cannot be assumed to be constant over all of the segments of immigrant populations. Furthermore, because 'the village social structure itself shapes the type of social networks that emerge' (Wilpert, 1992, p. 182), immigrant communities are differentiated according to imported cultures. When this is combined with the observation that the operation of migrant networks contributes to the reproduction of institutions from the region of origin in the receiving country (Wilpert, 1992, p. 186) and that this leads to a fragmentation of the immigrant population (Gitmez & Wilpert, 1987, p. 96), we can hardly think of the Turkish and the Moroccan immigrant communities as homogeneous entities. To achieve a more thorough insight in the dynamics underlying the choice for an import partner, a context-sensitive approach therefore seems necessary. This should take into account differences in the specific regions (instead of nations or large regions) of origin as well as differences in the place of settlement. Such a context-sensitive approach would be consistent with the notion advanced by the migration systems approach that migration systems should not be interpreted in terms of flows between compartmentalised nation-states but as part of a global system in which official and unofficial actors act (Portes & Böröcz, 1989). It should furthermore acknowledge that women from the countries of origin marrying an immigrant can also be doing this in order to accomplish their own plans. Too often in research on marriage patterns in immigrant communities, such women are looked on as a passive and docile mass. Boulahbel-Villac (1994) indicates in the case of Algerian migration to France, and Tamim (1994) in the case of rural to urban migration in Morocco, that this is not necessarily the case. When these women have the choice between a candidate of wealthier descent from their own country and an at first sight less advantageous candidate in France or a Moroccan city, they will often choose for the latter. Boulahbel-Villac (1994, p. 50) argues that these women use traditional marriage traditions in order to satisfy their craving for modernity and for a more equal relationship between husband and wife. They do so by influencing - in an indirect way and by staying in the lines of tradition - the decision made by their parents. Tradition in this sense becomes a pathway to modernity. Of course, the motivations of immigrant bridegrooms marrying brides from the immigrant community should also be considered.

Despite these shortcomings, our analyses clearly demonstrate that a decline in the preference for an import partner is not very likely to occur in the immediate future. Family-forming migration will thus further influence the structure of the immigrant populations. Mechanisms of selectivity at both ends of the migration story will continue to operate and will even be reinforced through the marriages with partners from the regions of origin (Böcker, 1994a, p. 104; Surkyn & Reniers, 1997). Moreover, such marriages affirm bonds between migrants and non-migrants, clearing the way for further pressure exerted by non-migrants on migrants to help candidates for migration realise their plans. It is especially the recently immigrated members of the immigrant communities who are most willing to fulfil the wishes of non-migrants (Böcker, 1994a, p. 100). Family-forming migration can in this way change the outlook of immigrant communities, and contribute to the self-perpetuating character of migration.

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