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Migration in the Brussels Capital Region and its hinterland

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Migration in the Brussels Capital Region and its hinterland

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Abstract

This paper presents the recent evolution of migration in the Brussels Capital Region (BCR) and its hinterland. Particular attention is being paid to (1) the role of internal and international migration in the inner and outer city municipalities of the BCR, (2) the migration movements within & across boundaries of the Brussels migration basin, and (3) the relationship between migration and the prices of property. Furthermore, migration flows are analysed in function of individual household positions (LIPRO) and age.

Acknowledgements

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Introduction

Since the population maximum in 1968 (1,079,181 inhabitants), the Brussels Capital Region (BCR) lost over 120,000 persons. This trend stopped in the early 90s. After more than two decades of decrease, the BCR population began to stabilize around 950,000. In 1994 and 1996 there was even a slight population increase. Migration has been the most important determinant in the evolution of the population in the BCR in the past decades. Especially suburbanization was responsible for high population loss. The recent population stabilization needs an explanation: is it the outflow of population that has significantly decreased or is a reurbanization process taking place? There are signs of an increasing popularity of living in the central city (for instance in the ' Saint-Géry' area) among highly educated young adults (Criekingen, 1996), but the question is whether such a gentrification tendency is strong enough to counteract the suburbanization trend.

In this paper, the recent demographic trends are investigated in more detail. First we look at the recent evolution of net migration in the BCR and the role of

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international migration in the capital. Second, movements between the BCR and its hinterland, and the relation between migration and the prices on the housing market are studied. Finally, migration movements are decomposed by age and LIPRO household position. The inclusion of the last covariate has become possible as a result of an anonymous data matching between the population register and the 1991 census.

The migration balance of the Brussels Capital Region during the past decades is characterized by major cyclic changes

The migration balance or net migration¹ of the Brussels Capital Region shows a distinctly cyclical pattern over time (Figure 1): large outflows in 1971, 1984 and 1994² are alternated by much smaller ones in 1977 and 1991³. In the literature, these undulations are often linked to the economic cycle (e.g. Bootsma, 1998). It is argued that in times of economic recession, households postpone the purchase of a house in the (expensive) suburbs because of lower available incomes. Also the amount of new construction, the price of new homes and the mortgage rate can be mentioned as economic variables that influence the probability of making the move from renter to owner (Clark and Dieleman, 1996). As households prolong their stay in the cheaper rented sector, migration out of the city drops and suburbanization becomes less pronounced.

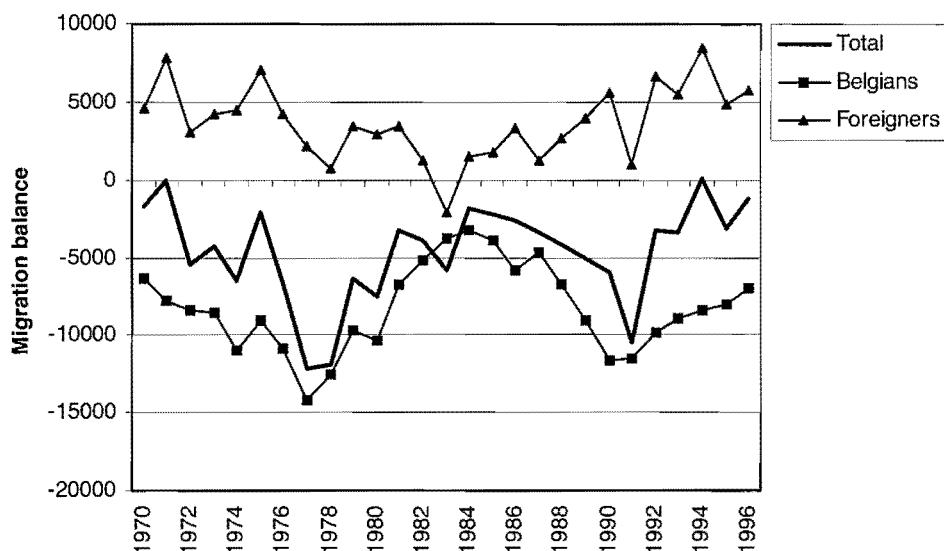
The decomposition of the (total) migration balance into a migration balance of Belgians and of foreigners shows a more detailed picture (Figure 1). The migration balance of Belgians is the most determining component of total net migration, especially between 1976 and 1991. The migration balance of foreigners, on the other hand, is mostly of a smaller magnitude and also has another general cyclic pattern than that of Belgians: only one low (in 1984) and two highs (in 1971 and 1994). The evolution between 1990-91 and 1996 is of particular interest, since it is the first time in more than two decades that the migration balance of Belgians and of foreigners both experience an upward trend. Therefore, this stage will be studied in more detail later on. In order to avoid the net migration outlier of 1991 (see footnote 3) and to smooth the data, the averages will be compared in the subsequent sections for the periods 1988-1990 and 1994-1996.

¹ Immigration minus emigration

² In 1971 and 1994, the migration balance was positive (respectively +13 and +87 in absolute numbers).

³ The net migration dip of 1991 is largely due to a clean-up of the place of residence of foreigners at the moment of the 1991 census.

Figure 1: Migration balance of the Brussels Capital Region by nationality, 1970-96 (absolute numbers). *Source:* NIS – Register.



The evolution of the net migration rate between 1988-90 and 1994-96: a closer look

In Table 1, the total net migration rate of individual municipalities is subdivided into the net migration rate relative to other municipalities of the Brussels Capital Region, the net migration rate relative to municipalities outside the Region⁴ and the international net migration rate. Also, in order to make a distinction between the old core municipalities of the city and the others, the 19 municipalities of the Brussels Capital Region (Map 1) are aggregated into respectively the inner and the outer city⁵. Based on this more detailed information, the following main points emerge:

- The recent trend towards a less negative total net migration rate of the Brussels Capital Region is for the largest part due to a higher international net migration rate. Also the net migration rate relative to municipalities outside the BCR

⁴ The net migration rate relative to municipalities outside the Brussels Capital Region can be considered as a measure of suburbanisation, since the majority of movements occur between the central city and its suburban municipalities.

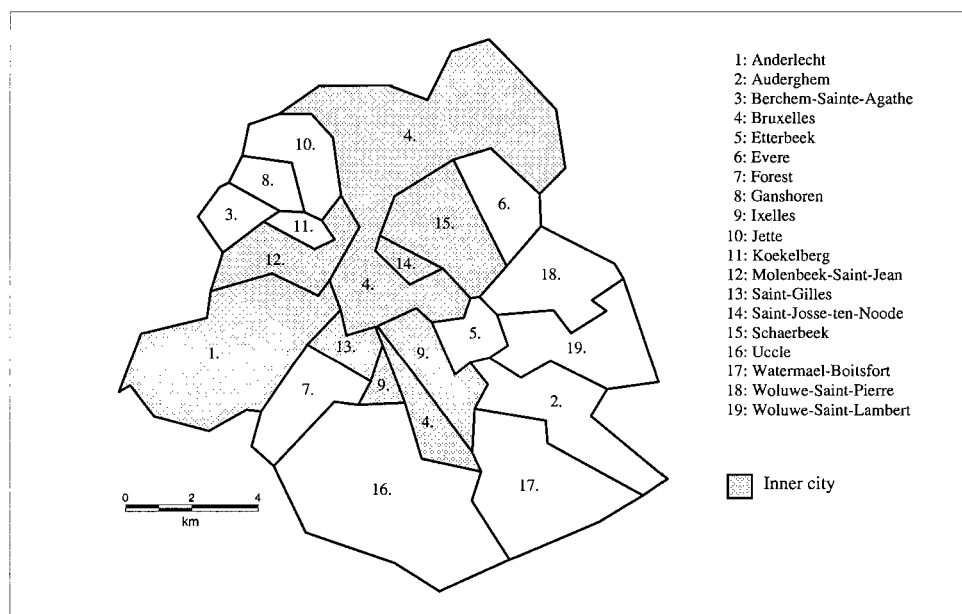
⁵ Municipalities of the *inner city* are: Bruxelles, Anderlecht, Ixelles, Molenbeek-Saint-Jean, Saint-Gilles, Saint-Josse-ten-Noode and Schaerbeek (marked with * in Tables 1 and 2). The other 12 municipalities are part of the *outer city*.

experienced an upward trend but remained negative (-8.0‰ in 1994-96 compared to -9.5‰ in 1988-90).

Table 1: Components of the average annual total net migration rate in the Brussels Capital Region, 1988-1990 and 1994-96. *Source:* NIS – Register.

	Net migration rate (‰) relative to other municipalities of the BCR		Net migration rate (‰) relative to municipalities outside the BCR		International net migration rate (‰)		Total net migration rate (‰)	
	1988-90	1994-96	1988-90	1994-96	1988-90	1994-96	1988-90	1994-96
Brussels Capital Region	-	-	-9.5	-8.0	4.3	6.5	-5.3	-1.5
Inner city*	-1.9	-5.2	-8.0	-7.1	5.3	9.0	-4.6	-3.3
Outer city	2.4	6.5	-11.5	-9.2	3.0	3.4	-6.2	0.7
Evere	7.7	14.3	-16.0	-7.5	1.5	5.2	-6.9	12.0
Watermael-Boitsfort	2.9	9.3	-10.0	-5.6	2.8	2.6	-4.3	6.3
Berchem-Sainte-Agathe	10.4	16.8	-11.4	-13.3	-1.5	0.2	-2.5	3.7
Uccle	0.6	7.6	-10.9	-8.2	4.4	4.0	-6.0	3.3
Jette	9.2	14.1	-12.3	-13.0	3.1	1.7	0.1	2.8
Auderghem	5.0	9.0	-12.4	-10.0	2.9	2.4	-4.5	1.4
Molenbeek-Saint-Jean*	7.0	1.3	-11.9	-8.9	2.9	6.9	-2.0	-0.8
Schaerbeek*	-0.3	-3.5	-8.5	-8.1	4.9	10.8	-3.8	-0.8
Ganshoren	10.8	12.0	-11.9	-12.6	-0.6	-0.8	-1.7	-1.3
Woluwe-Saint-Pierre	-2.4	2.6	-11.1	-8.0	4.6	4.1	-8.9	-1.4
Saint-Gilles*	-10.8	-13.2	-4.7	-2.7	12.6	13.2	-2.8	-2.6
Woluwe-Saint-Lambert	-1.4	2.5	-11.3	-8.5	3.9	3.2	-8.8	-2.8
Forest	2.4	3.2	-13.4	-10.6	0.8	4.2	-10.2	-3.3
Saint-Josse-ten-Noode*	-6.9	-18.7	-6.2	-2.8	15.1	17.6	1.9	-3.9
Anderlecht*	4.3	4.5	-10.2	-12.5	-2.2	4.0	-8.0	-4.0
Etterbeek	-8.8	-4.7	-9.1	-5.5	6.3	5.4	-11.7	-4.8
Ixelles*	-15.6	-14.1	-5.1	-0.5	12.9	9.7	-7.8	-4.9
Bruxelles*	-0.6	-6.5	-7.0	-7.4	3.5	8.7	-4.0	-5.2
Koekelberg	9.3	-0.3	-6.1	-12.9	0.5	5.4	3.7	-7.8

Map 1: Municipalities of the Brussels Capital Region.



- The subdivision into the inner and the outer city shows that the less negative total net migration rate of the Brussels Capital Region is mainly the result of the evolution in the outer city. Here, the total net migration rate became slightly positive (+0.7‰) in 1994-96. Most of that increase was caused by a higher intake from other municipalities of the Region.
- The significant increase of the international migration balance in the Brussels Capital Region occurred almost entirely in the inner city. The balance in these older core municipalities nearly doubled from +5.3‰ in 1988-90 to +9.0‰ in 1994-96. The total net migration rate, however, remained at about the same level because most of the gain from foreign migration was lost to a higher outflow towards other municipalities of the Brussels Capital Region.
- In 1994-96, the total net migration rate was positive in 5 municipalities (Evere, Watermael-Boitsfort, Berchem-Sainte-Agathe, Uccle, Jette and Auderghem), all located in the outer city. The same municipalities also experienced the sharpest increase in total net migration rate between 1988-90 and 1994-96. Only in Bruxelles, Saint-Josse-ten-Noode and Koekelberg, the total net migration rate decreased. The evolution of Koekelberg is remarkable: in 1988-90 it still had the highest total net migration rate of all municipalities (+3.7‰), whereas in 1994-96 it fell to the lowest total net migration rate (-7.8‰), despite the significant increase in its the international migration balance.
- The highest increase of foreign net migration occurred in the inner city (Bruxelles, Molenbeek-Saint-Jean, Schaerbeek) and in other municipalities (Anderlecht, Forest) that already have an important spatial concentration of foreigners, particularly Turks and Moroccans. As shown in Table 2, the rise of the international migration balance in these municipalities was mainly the result of a higher number of Turkish and Moroccan immigrants. Also the migration balance of the 'other' group of nationals was higher in the inner city (16% more immigrants; 11% less emigrants).
- In the outer city, the inflow of EU-citizens increased between 1988-90 and 1994-96 (Table 2). But because of an even higher outflow, the net balance in absolute numbers was lower in 1994-96 than in 1988-90. So the reinforcement of the international functions of Brussels after the expansion of the European Community to 15 member states in 1992 did not lead to a higher net settlement of EU nationals in the following few years.

The general conclusion to be drawn is that the recent tendency towards a smaller population loss in the Brussels Capital Region is mainly the result of a higher inflow of foreigners from abroad, especially Turks and Moroccans, in the inner city municipalities. In addition, there is a net movement from inner city to outer city municipalities.

Table 2: Evolution of foreign immigration and emigration (absolute numbers) between 1988-90 (index=1) and 1994-96, by nationality. *Source:* NIS – Register.

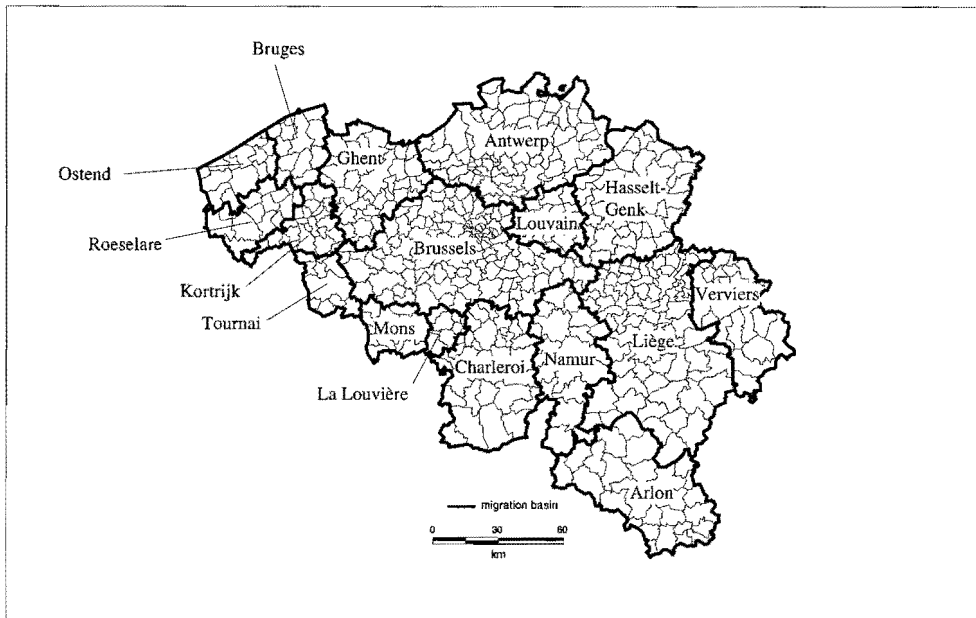
	Belgians		EU-citizens		Turks/Moroccans		Others		Total	
	inflow	outflow	inflow	outflow	inflow	outflow	inflow	outflow	inflow	outflow
Brussels Capital Region	0.94	0.90	1.19	1.31	1.61	0.96	1.15	1.02	1.17	1.07
Inner city*	0.92	0.83	1.15	1.30	1.80	1.02	1.16	0.89	1.19	1.02
Outer city	0.96	0.98	1.24	1.33	1.06	0.80	1.13	1.13	1.14	1.14
Anderlecht*	0.97	0.71	1.26	0.77	2.10	1.18	2.03	0.98	1.40	0.79
Auderghem	1.07	1.18	1.27	1.14	1.53	1.18	1.44	1.81	1.31	1.41
Berchem-Sainte-Agathe	1.08	0.96	1.02	1.23	1.23	2.13	1.89	0.63	1.29	0.98
Bruxelles*	0.90	0.65	1.30	1.46	1.48	1.00	1.11	0.86	1.18	0.95
Etterbeek	0.97	0.85	1.53	1.32	0.54	0.57	0.72	1.03	0.99	1.05
Evere	1.43	0.75	1.04	0.77	1.11	0.54	1.44	1.45	1.26	0.88
Forest	1.00	0.97	1.06	0.88	1.53	1.24	1.18	0.73	1.14	0.90
Ganshoren	0.99	1.03	1.23	1.35	0.55	0.53	1.47	1.14	1.08	1.10
Ixelles*	0.88	0.99	1.09	1.39	0.84	0.68	0.84	0.91	0.96	1.07
Jette	0.92	0.97	1.08	1.09	0.96	0.88	0.73	0.93	0.86	0.98
Koekelberg	1.19	0.98	1.95	1.58	2.04	1.00	1.91	1.47	1.72	1.22
Molenbeek-Saint-Jean*	1.08	1.34	1.34	2.15	2.47	2.22	2.68	0.71	1.76	1.50
Saint-Gilles*	0.92	0.99	0.97	1.35	2.25	0.95	1.31	0.90	1.10	1.14
Saint-Josse-ten-Noode*	0.90	1.01	1.07	1.10	1.50	0.85	0.81	0.99	1.11	1.02
Schaerbeek*	0.88	0.92	1.19	1.07	2.62	0.98	2.05	0.83	1.49	0.96
Uccle	0.91	1.15	1.08	1.37	0.93	0.52	1.10	0.78	1.05	1.09
Watermael-Boitsfort	0.92	0.87	1.38	1.51	0.95	2.40	1.19	1.43	1.19	1.25
Woluwe-Saint-Lambert	0.86	0.97	1.46	1.66	1.39	0.81	1.25	1.46	1.26	1.36
Woluwe-Saint-Pierre	0.81	0.88	1.29	1.58	1.27	0.90	1.29	1.28	1.19	1.27

Migration in the Brussels migration basin: filling up the gaps

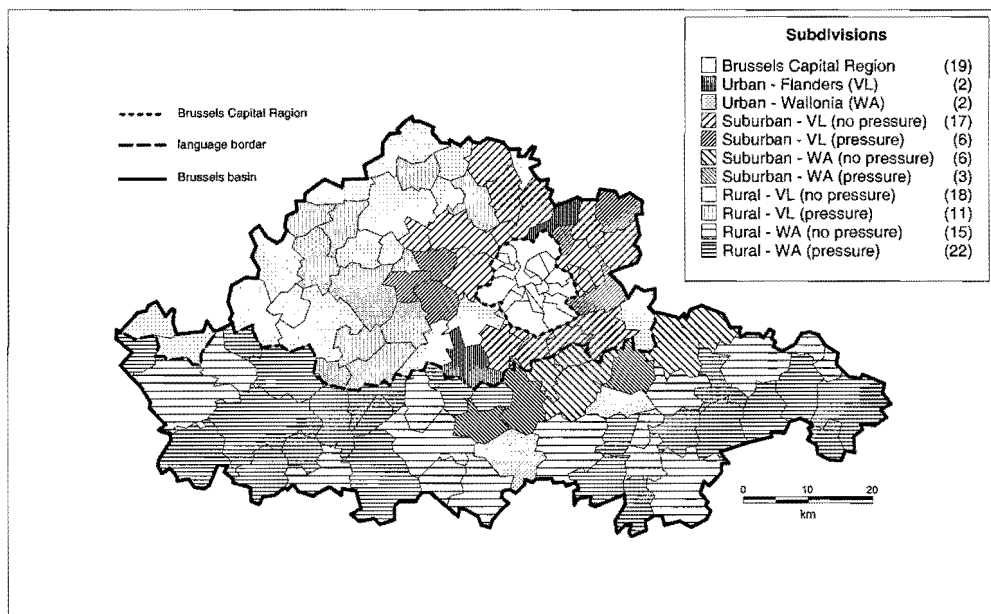
Introduction: the Brussels migration basin

In order to study internal migration within Belgium, a new spatial classification was developed (Willaert, 1999a and 1999b). First, a delineation of ‘migration basins’ was carried out (Map 2). Migration basins are defined as spheres of influence of regional cities regarding residential mobility between municipalities. In other words, every municipality that belongs to migration basin x has a higher exchange of internal migrants within that basin x compared to any other basin y . Next, a distinction within migration basins was made between municipalities with household characteristics that are typically urban, suburban or rural. Finally, suburban and rural municipalities were classified into a ‘pressure zone’ if they are situated above the median for both (a) the total migration balance in 1993-1996, and (b) the increase of this migration balance between 1981-84 and 1993-96. In this paper, an additional distinction is made between Flemish and Walloon municipalities. The resulting Brussels migration basin consists of a total of 11 subdivisions (Map 3).

Map 2: Belgian migration basins (Willaert, 1999a)



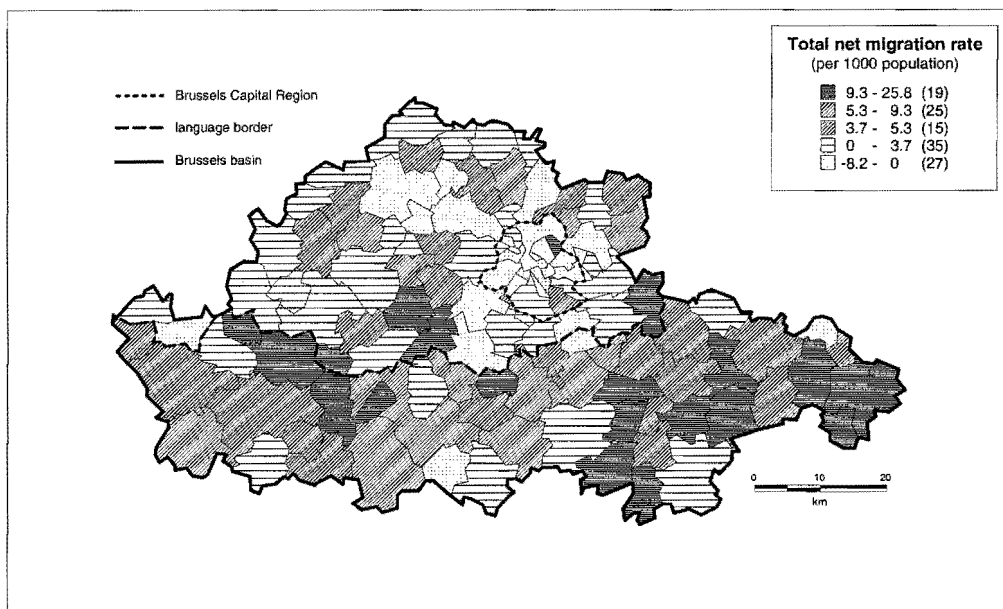
Map 3: Subdivisions within the Brussels migration basin.



Total net migration in the Brussels basin: more and more people live farther away from the city

The evolution of the total net migration rate in the Brussels migration basin between 1981-84 and 1993-96 shows a clear pattern of rurbanization: municipalities that belong to the pressure zone are often rural and their location is at a considerable distance from the Brussels Capital Region. Two groups of municipalities can be mentioned: (1) an eastern group along the axis Wavre-Hannut, and (2) a western group along the axis Gooik-Ath. Most neighbouring municipalities of the Brussels Capital Region do not fulfil the two criteria defining the pressure zone. They can be considered as nearly saturated with respect to internal mobility (De Lannoy *et al.*, 1999). On the map of the total net migration rate in the Brussels migration basin in the 1994-96 period, an identical pattern appears (Map 4). Municipalities with the highest total net migration rate are located in the southeast (e.g. Orp-Gauche, Incourt, Huldenberg, Villers-la-Ville) and the southwest (e.g. Lessines, Silly, Gooik, Braine-le-Château) of the basin, whereas municipalities close to the Brussels Capital Region have a low or even a negative rate.

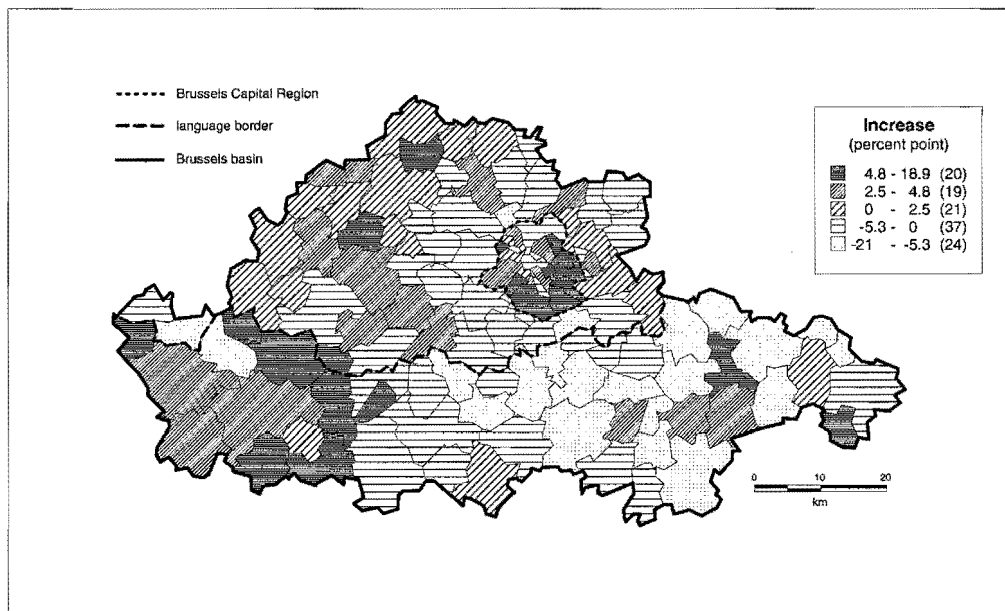
Map 4: Average annual total net migration rate for municipalities in the Brussels migration basin, 1994-96. *Source:* NIS – Register.



The increase of the total net migration rate between 1988-90 and 1994-96 shows a different spatial pattern (Map 5). At the end of this period of a less pronounced suburbanization (see above), half of the municipalities of the

Brussels migration basin had a lower total net migration rate. Especially the Walloon municipalities in the southeast experienced a significant decrease. An increase, on the other hand, occurred in the southwest and the (north)west of the basin. There was also a higher immigration pressure in a few municipalities close to the Brussels Capital Region (e.g. Vilvoorde, Kraainem, Merchtem, Tervuren, Huldenberg).

Map 5: Increase in average annual total net migration rate for municipalities in the Brussels migration basin between 1988-90 and 1994-96. *Source:* NIS – Register.



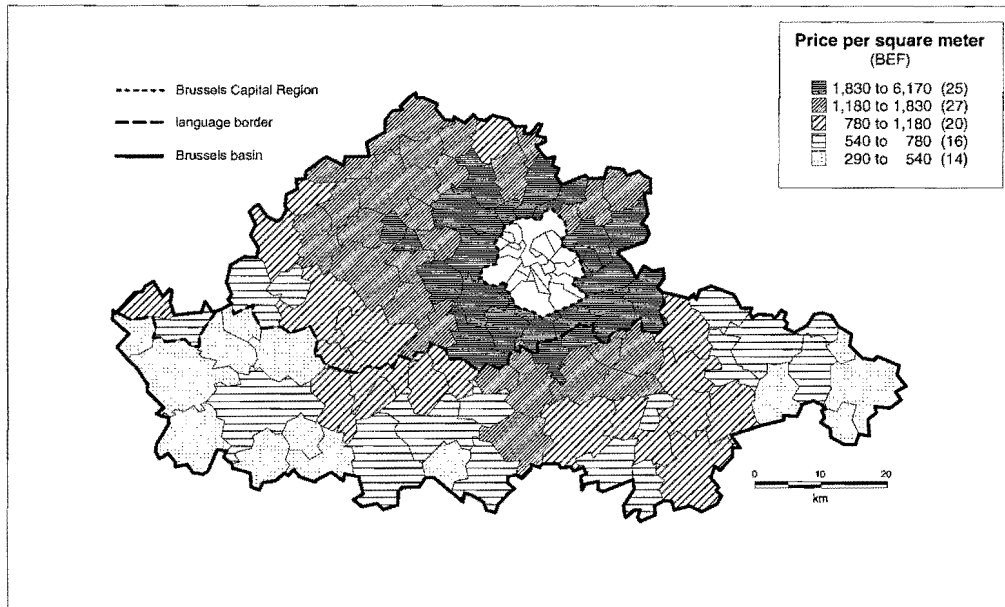
Migration pressure vs. price of building plots and houses

The evolution of migration pressure can be related to the prices of property and building plots. Since 1985, the price of building plots in Belgium has been systematically increasing. This increase accelerated after 1996: the share of the building plot in the total construction cost of new houses rose from 25% in 1996 to 32% in 1998 (KBC, 2000). At the moment, the highest prices in the Brussels basin can be found in the Brussels Capital Region (with prices per m² of up to 24,000 BEF in Woluwe-Saint-Pierre)⁶ and the municipalities in the immediate surroundings of the Region (e.g. Kraainem, Wezembeek-Oppem, Wemmel, Zaventem) (Map 6). These prices reflect the scarcity of building plots and the

⁶ Because of the small number of sold building plots, the plot price in the municipalities of the Brussels Capital Region has not been mapped.

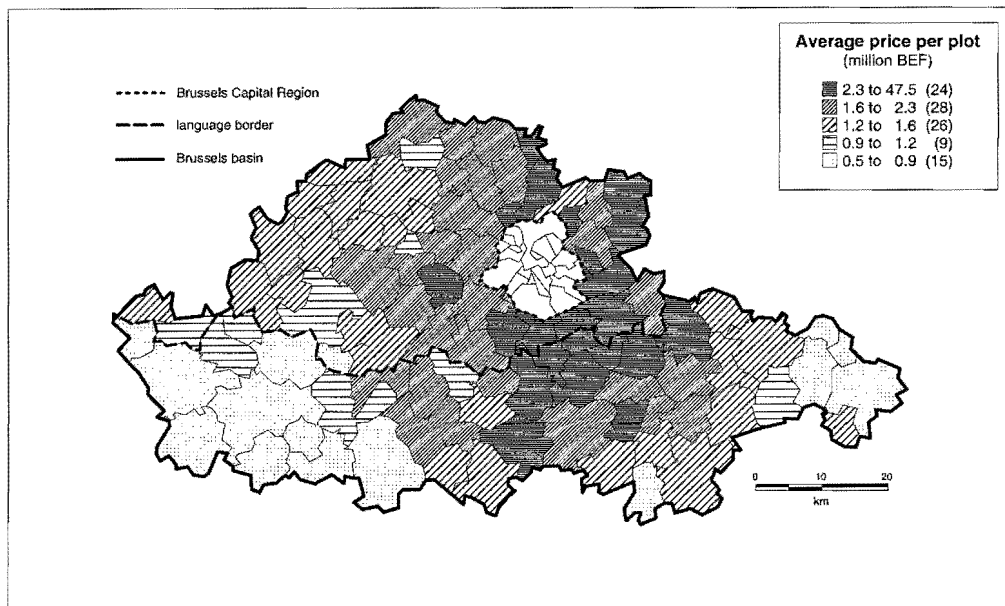
Map 6: Price of building plots (per m²), 1997.

Source: NIS - Financial Statistics.



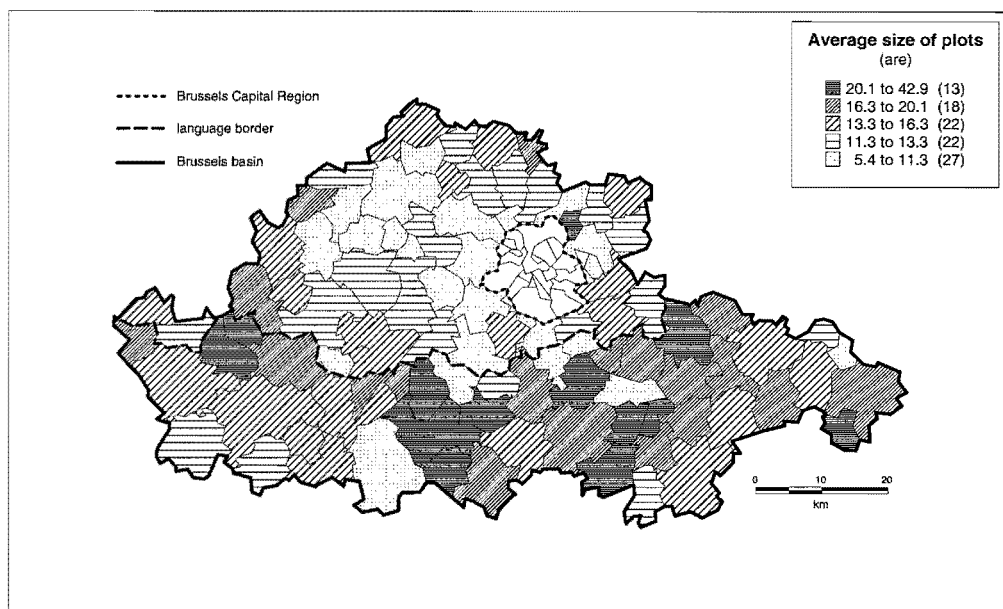
Map 7: Average price per building plot, 1997.

Source: NIS - Financial Statistics.



Map 8: Average size per building plot, 1997

Source: NIS - Financial Statistics.



resulting strong competition on the housing market. The spatial distribution of the average price per plot (Map 7) differs slightly from that of the price per square meter. Outside Brussels, the zone with the highest price level extends for a greater part into Wallonia. This can be explained by the larger size of the plots in the more rural Walloon municipalities of the basin (Map 8).

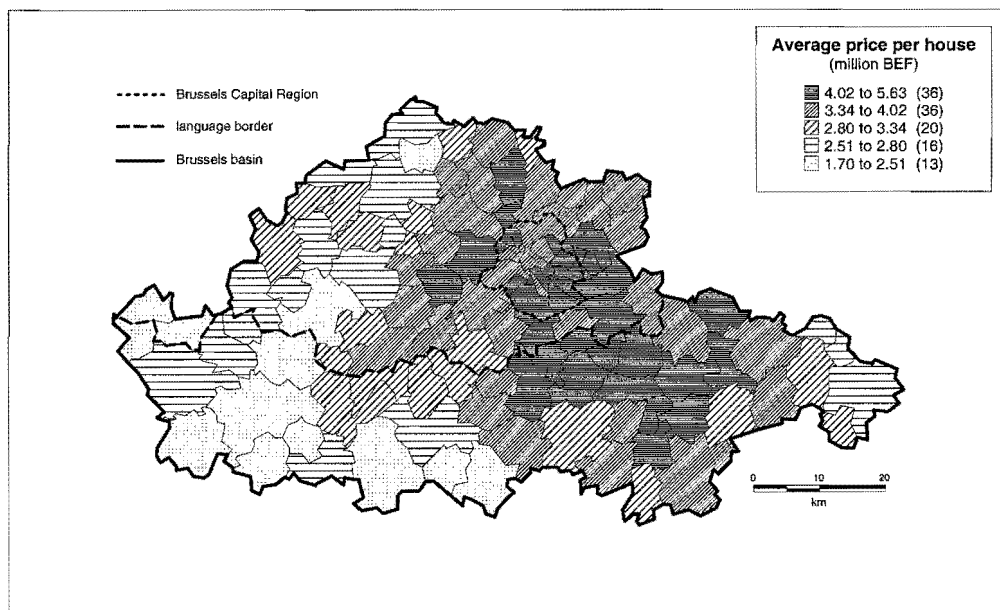
In the Flemish part of the basin, the rising prices are partly the result of speculation concerning the 'Ruimtelijk Structuurplan Vlaanderen' (RSV) (KBC, 2000). This area-planning project, approved by the Flemish Government in 1997, freezes the available building space to that recorded in the regional plans of 1992. Although the estimated demographic need for new houses mentioned in the RSV seems quite high (400,000 between 1997 and 2007), the available building plots in some parts of Flanders will be totally used in the near future. According to Saey *et al.* (1999), this will be the case in several municipalities of the province of Flemish Brabant (near Louvain, and south and east from the Brussels Capital Region) by the year 2008. In the densely built Walloon municipalities close to the Brussels Capital Region, the same evolution can be expected. In the rural municipalities further away from the city, more building plots are available. However, the recent area-planning project for Wallonia (SDER - Schéma de Développement de l'Espace Régional) will impose several

restrictions on house construction in these rural villages. Building along roads, for example, will only be tolerated to a minimal extent.

Despite the historically low interest rates, the construction of new houses in Flanders has been decreasing sharply after 1995. In the province of Flemish Brabant, for instance, the number of newly constructed houses in 1998 was almost 40% lower than in 1991 (Ministerie van de Vlaamse Gemeenschap, 1999). Instead, more and more households buy a house on the secondary market. Although the price in real terms almost doubled since 1985, buying an existing house is still relatively cheap compared to the construction of a new house (KBC, 2000). The spatial distribution of the average price of houses on the secondary market (Map 9) corresponds for a great deal to that of the average price per building plot (Map 7). Two additional remarks have to be made: (1) In the Brussels Capital Region, the price in the inner city is at a lower level than in the outer city. (2) The municipalities with the cheapest houses on the secondary market are located in the northwest and southwest of the basin. Exactly these municipalities experienced the highest increase in their total net migration rate

Map 9: Average price of houses on the secondary market, 1997

Source: NIS - Financial Statistics.



between 1988-90 and 1994-96. Conclusion: the price of the housing market can be considered as an important factor affecting the decision to move to a specific municipality in that period. Another observation is that the areas with the highest price level in 1997 also experienced the highest increase over the last 10 years,

and that these areas are more and more located at a considerable distance from the central city (De Decker, 1999). This again is an indication that suburban living occurs at increasing distances away from the city.

Migration within the Brussels migration basin

The migrations between the subdivisions of the Brussels migration basin themselves give a better insight into the interaction of the Brussels Capital Region and its hinterland and the movements between suburban and rural areas. From Tables 3 and 4, the following main conclusions can be drawn:

- The number of migrations between Flemish and Walloon subdivisions is, in general, very low. Thus, the language border can also be considered as a 'migration border' (see also Grimmeau, 1992). Most exchanges occur between the Flemish and the Walloon suburbs. Also, migrants move in general more from Flanders to Wallonia than in the opposite direction.
- The net migration rate of the Brussels Capital Region is only positive relative to the Walloon municipalities outside the Brussels migration basin. The Flemish urban area (Halle and Vilvoorde) loses migrants to all subdivisions (especially to municipalities outside the basin), except to the Brussels Capital Region and the Flemish suburbs without migration pressure. The Walloon urban area (Nivelles and Louvain-la-Neuve), on the contrary, has a positive net settlement with respect to most subdivisions.
- The suburban areas have a positive net migration rate relative to the Brussels Region, but lose migrants to rural areas. Since several suburban municipalities are almost saturated and too expensive for households with an average income, migration to rural municipalities will undoubtedly become more and more important. This again confirms previous observations of an intensifying suburbanization (see above).
- The Walloon rural municipalities have a higher migration surplus relative to the Brussels Capital Region than the Flemish rural municipalities. This expresses the higher preference of the (mostly french-speaking) migrants that move out of Brussels to settle in a french-speaking region.
- In general there is a net flow from subdivisions that do not belong to the pressure zone to subdivisions that belong to the pressure zone. The total net migration rate in the pressure zone, which already experienced a significant upward trend since the beginning of the 80s, thus keeps increasing.

Table 3: Flux of migrants between (A) subdivisions of the Brussels migration basin, and (B) outside the basin, cumulated numbers for 1994-96

from:	to:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	Total	
A:	1: Brussels Capital Region		3417	2131	21864	3205	5878	4089	6287	1800	4841	7142	10957	17998	89609	
	2: Urban - Flanders (VL)	2005		34	2059	539	42	102	945	479	187	542	1862	304	9100	
	3: Urban - Wallonia (WA)	1849	19		131	13	597	1035	33	7	1654	1204	138	2325	9005	
	4: Suburban - VL (no pressure)	14224	2349	320		2777	1571	848	3799	1883	682	924	7441	1740	38558	
	5: Suburban - VL (pressure)	1853	472	38	2214		152	58	673	1061	75	90	2220	240	9146	
	6: Suburban - WA (no pressure)	4110	40	844	836	81		2162	99	16	1173	1174	472	1481	12488	
	7: Suburban - WA (pressure)	2558	40	1209	440	43	1798		108	12	1540	1422	209	1498	10877	
	8: Rural - VL (no pressure)	3969	927	58	3082	673	149	133			6686	735	883	10174	825	28294
	9: Rural - VL (pressure)	969	289	18	1168	870	12	38	6262		56	386	2463	153	12684	
	10: Rural - WA (no pressure)	2927	102	1438	351	46	795	1028	494	47		4700	682	6691	19301	
	11: Rural - WA (pressure)	3877	284	1084	411	76	627	984	706	314	4070		767	8362	21562	
B:	12: Outside basin - VL	10402	1239	177	5451	1655	612	234	9347	2325	580	737		7291	40050	
	13: Outside basin - WA	18013	229	2341	1256	167	1190	1322	709	98	5436	7891	8344		46996	
	Total	66756	9407	9692	39263	10145	13423	12033	29462	14728	21029	27095	45729	48908	347670	

Table 4: Average annual net migration per 1000 population of subdivision i, relative to subdivision j, 1994-96

i:	j:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	Total
A:	1: Brussels Capital Region		-0.50	-0.10	-2.68	-0.47	-0.62	-0.54	-0.81	-0.29	-0.67	-1.15	-0.19	0.01	-8.02
	2: Urban - Flanders (VL)	7.04		-0.07	1.45	-0.33	-0.01	-0.31	-0.09	-0.95	-0.42	-1.29	-3.10	-0.37	1.53
	3: Urban - Wallonia (WA)	1.92	0.10		1.29	0.17	1.68	1.19	0.17	0.07	-1.47	-0.82	0.27	0.11	4.68
	4: Suburban - VL (no pressure)	8.05	-0.31	-0.20		-0.59	-0.77	-0.43	-0.76	-0.75	-0.35	-0.54	-2.10	-0.51	0.74
	5: Suburban - VL (pressure)	6.03	0.30	-0.11	2.51		-0.32	-0.07	0.00	-0.85	-0.13	-0.06	-2.52	-0.33	4.46
	6: Suburban - WA (no pressure)	6.76	0.01	-0.94	2.81	0.27		-1.39	0.19	-0.02	-1.45	-2.09	0.54	-1.11	3.58
	7: Suburban - WA (pressure)	7.36	0.30	-0.84	1.96	0.07	1.75		0.12	0.12	-2.46	-2.11	0.12	-0.85	5.56
	8: Rural - VL (no pressure)	2.17	0.02	-0.02	0.67	0.00	-0.05	-0.02		-0.40	-0.23	-0.17	-0.77	-0.11	1.09
	9: Rural - VL (pressure)	1.91	0.44	-0.03	1.64	0.44	0.01	-0.06	0.98		-0.02	-0.17	-0.32	-0.13	4.70
	10: Rural - WA (no pressure)	4.58	0.20	0.52	0.79	0.07	0.91	1.23	0.58	-1.05		-1.51	-0.24	-3.01	3.07
	11: Rural - WA (pressure)	5.24	0.41	0.19	0.82	0.02	0.88	0.70	0.28	-0.51	1.01		-0.05	-0.76	8.25
B:	12: Outside basin - VL	0.04	0.04	0.00	0.13	0.04	-0.01	0.00	0.06	-0.47	0.01	0.00		0.07	-0.09
	13: Outside basin - WA	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.06	0.01	0.04	0.02	0.01	-0.07	0.15	0.06	-0.13		0.16

Migration by LIPRO household position and age: migration in the life course perspective

Introduction: mobility and the life course

The relationship between mobility, age, tenure and housing choice is integrated in the concept of the life course. This concept suggests that households pass through a series of stages in the life cycle. Stages of the life cycle – leaving home, living together with a partner, getting married, having children, getting divorced, changing jobs, the death of the partner – are characterized by different housing needs. A move between two stages of the life cycle, will then most likely result in a housing need that is out of balance. The birth of a child, for instance, can provide much impetus to move from a small rented apartment to a larger single-family dwelling. The life cycle thus runs parallel with a ‘housing career’ (see Clark and Dieleman, 1996). The by far highest mobility of young adults (18-28 years) must be seen in this respect: in this short time period, several processes of household formation and expansion take place that are accompanied by changing housing needs and preferences.

The data: matching between the population register and the 1991 census

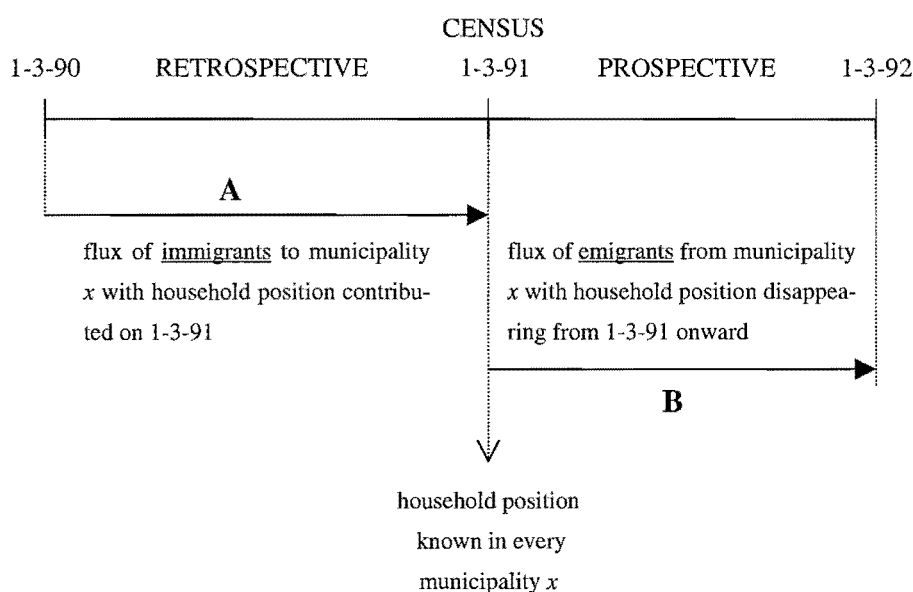
The study of mobility in relation to the life course is carried out by inspecting immigration and emigration for different household positions (child, single, married or unmarried, with or without children, single parent, etc.). The use of household positions has become possible as a result of an anonymous data matching between the population register and the 1991 census. With that statistical matching, it is possible to extract the migration history between 1-3-1989 and 1-3-1993 for every person present at the time of the census⁷.

An important drawback of the matching is that the household position is only known at one moment (the 1991 census). In the instance of migration in the year before the census, the household position is only known at arrival. And in the instance of migration in the year after the census, the household position is only known at departure. Because of this, the calculation of a migration balance poses some difficulties. Also, a large share of the migrations in certain age groups will be accompanied by a change in household position. However, since the household position is only known at one moment, we miss all information related to changes in household position. Furthermore, the subdivision by age is slightly inaccurate since age is usually calculated at the moment of migration,

⁷ More information about the statistical matching can be found in Willaert (2000) and in Deboosere & Gadeyne (2000).

whereas the household position is measured at the time of the census. Taking the age at the moment of the census, as we do, is thus an additional approximation.

Figure 2: Scheme used for the calculation of migration balances with the matched database population register – census



By following the approach in Figure 2, many meaningful things can still be said. As the scheme indicates, we know which household position the immigrants in the year before the census contribute to a certain municipality (line A), and for the year after the census, which household positions disappear in the same municipality by emigration (line B). The same reasoning also applies to the socio-economic and the housing related variables of the census.

LIPRO classification

In this paper, the LIPRO classification is used to situate the position of every individual in a household type. LIPRO (Lifestyle PROjections) has 11 individual household positions (Van Imhoff and Keilman, 1991):

- 1) CMAR: Child of MARried couple
- 2) CUNM: Child with UNMarried couple
- 3) C1PA: Child in a 1 Parent household
- 4) SING: SINGles
- 5) MAR0: MARried, 0 children
- 6) MAR+: MARried, plus children

- 7) UNM0: UNMarried, 0 children
- 8) UNM+: UNMarried, plus children
- 9) H1PA: Head of a 1 Parent household
- 10) NFR: Non-Family Related
- 11) OTHR: OTHeRs (persons in collective households: prisons, hospitals, homes of the elderly)

Tables 5 gives the population distribution of the Brussels Capital Region by age and LIPRO household position at the 1991 census.

Table 5: Population of the Brussels Capital Region by LIPRO household position and age, 1-3-1991 (Deboosere *et al.*, 1997)

age	CMAR	CUNM	C1PA	SING	MAR0	MAR+	UNM0	UNM+	H1PA	NFR	OTHR	total
0-4	44824	4112	9171							1010	437	59554
5-9	41056	1927	9926							488	367	53764
10-14	39580	1457	11133	70					2	411	418	53071
15-19	35777	984	12908	1958	383	302	231	64	77	942	763	54389
20-24	26442	303	10235	15415	4445	4904	2364	961	1077	1224	1610	68980
25-29	10257	73	4291	27260	9502	19418	3373	2485	3358	653	1474	82144
30-34	3307	33	1933	21559	5915	31382	1754	2917	5618	315	1040	75773
35-39	1388	8	1222	16434	4072	34035	1144	2187	6567	213	807	68077
40-44	799	8	1089	14916	4778	31971	1100	1414	7162	133	713	64083
45-49	342	6	751	12401	6981	24295	1032	717	5425	122	700	52772
50-54	152	5	527	11994	11853	19806	972	342	3774	117	785	50327
55-59	63	4	437	12798	18724	14792	901	215	2814	216	960	51924
60-64	14	2	255	14798	23765	8934	851	99	2164	308	1160	52350
65-69	4		129	17383	25703	4694	874	48	1602	366	1481	52284
70-74			25	14008	16114	1831	594	28	948	335	1286	35169
75-79			3	16900	12862	1035	480	10	898	387	2136	34711
80-84				14158	6539	395	302	6	693	409	2895	25397
85-89				7734	2102	108	134	10	417	333	2814	13652
90-94				2429	343	25	25	1	166	197	1407	4593
95+				491	19	1	5		32	49	434	1031
total	204005	8922	64035	222706	154100	197928	16136	11504	42794	8228	23687	954045

Migration by LIPRO household position and age in the Brussels Capital Region⁸

a) Who moves to Brussels?

Table 6 gives the distribution of the internal immigrations (in absolute numbers) by household position and age at arrival in the Brussels Capital Region⁹. This table can also be calculated in relative terms (per 1000 population) (Table 7). In Table 7, values in cells with a population lower than 20 can be considered as inaccurate and are therefore put between brackets. Cells with a population larger

⁸ Migrations between municipalities of the Brussels Capital Region have been excluded.

⁹ The migration movements of children aged between 0 and 1 years are excluded (see Willaert, 2000).

than 20 but without migration get a minus sign. Based on these two tables we can conclude that:

- One out of four immigrants are singles in the age group 20 to 29 years. The concentration of high schools/universities and employment opportunities in Brussels obviously attracts many students and singles that are at the beginning of their careers. Also, the specific urban facilities (café and restaurant sector, entertainment, culture) and the composition of the housing stock (many one-bed-

Table 6: Inflow of household positions by immigration into the Brussels Capital Region, by age and LIPRO household position on 1-3-1991

age	CMAR	CUNM	C1PA	SING	MAR0	MAR+	UNM0	UNM+	H1PA	NFR	OTHR	total
1-4	341	72	256							16	8	693
5-9	255	64	260							15	8	602
10-14	208	49	222	1						11	5	496
15-19	168	32	238	298	33	15	47	8	6	35	39	919
20-24	115	6	128	2033	559	139	387	71	52	53	121	3664
25-29	44	1	30	1982	786	343	336	96	132	29	61	3840
30-34	26	3	14	794	199	302	86	90	175	14	31	1734
35-39	7		13	478	62	249	48	61	141	9	24	1092
40-44	4		16	357	58	179	35	37	120	5	13	824
45-49	1	1	7	238	59	99	29	16	57	7	14	528
50-54			3	176	68	55	20	3	24	5	21	375
55-59			5	128	67	32	13	1	16	7	24	293
60-64			1	103	92	24	6	1	9	6	18	260
65-69			1	117	90	10	9	1	13	5	36	282
70-74				55	65	4	5		9	4	38	180
75-79				57	41	1	6		3	6	58	172
80-84				60	31		4			15	70	180
85-89				25	11			1		9	60	106
90-94				8	1		1		1	6	25	42
95+										1	7	8
total	1169	228	1194	6910	2222	1452	1032	386	758	258	681	16290

Table 7: Inflow of household positions by immigration into the Brussels Capital Region (per 1000 population), by age and LIPRO household position on 1-3-1991

age	CMAR	CUNM	C1PA	SING	MAR0	MAR+	UNM0	UNM+	H1PA	NFR	OTHR	total
1-4	9.6	24.6	34.9							23.2	27.3	14.8
5-9	6.2	33.2	26.2							30.7	21.8	11.2
10-14	5.3	33.6	19.9	14.3						26.8	12.0	9.3
15-19	4.7	32.5	18.4	152.2	86.2	49.7	203.5	125.0	77.9	37.2	51.1	16.9
20-24	4.3	19.8	12.5	131.9	125.8	28.3	163.7	73.9	48.3	43.3	75.2	53.1
25-29	4.3	13.7	7.0	72.7	82.7	17.7	99.6	38.6	39.3	44.4	41.4	46.7
30-34	7.9	90.9	7.2	36.8	33.6	9.6	49.0	30.9	31.1	44.4	29.8	22.9
35-39	5.0		10.6	29.1	15.2	7.3	42.0	27.9	21.5	42.3	29.7	16.0
40-44	5.0		14.7	23.9	12.1	5.6	31.8	26.2	16.8	37.6	18.2	12.9
45-49	2.9	(166.7)	9.3	19.2	8.5	4.1	28.1	22.3	10.5	57.4	20.0	10.0
50-54	-		5.7	14.7	5.7	2.8	20.6	8.8	6.4	42.7	26.8	7.5
55-59	-		11.4	10.0	3.6	2.2	14.4	4.7	5.7	32.4	25.0	5.6
60-64			3.9	7.0	3.9	2.7	7.1	10.1	4.2	19.5	15.5	5.0
65-69			7.8	6.7	3.5	2.1	10.3	20.8	8.1	13.7	24.3	5.4
70-74			-	3.9	4.0	2.2	8.4	-	9.5	11.9	29.5	5.1
75-79				3.4	3.2	1.0	12.5		3.3	15.5	27.2	5.0
80-84				4.2	4.7	-	13.2		-	36.7	24.2	7.1
85-89				3.2	5.2	-	-	(100.0)	-	27.0	21.3	7.8
90-94				3.3	2.9	-	40.0		6.0	30.5	17.8	9.1
95+				-					-	20.4	16.1	7.8
total	6.0	29.5	19.2	31.0	14.4	7.3	64.0	33.6	17.7	32.6	28.9	17.3

bedroom apartments) can have an important pull-effect for young people and starters on the housing market.

- In relative terms, unmarried young couples without children have the highest immigration. The absence of children contributes to the decision to live in the city. Also the lower income, life style characteristics and the availability of cheap apartments are possible explanations of this moving to the city. Another observation is that highly educated people start their adult life near the universities or other institutions of higher education. In that respect, the neighbourhood of the Avenue Louise in Ixelles can be mentioned (De Lannoy *et al.*, 1999).
- In absolute numbers, married couples and their children (MAR+ and CMAR) are the second largest group that immigrate into Brussels. However, in relative terms they have the lowest rates compared to other households in the same age groups. The limited number of adapted housing is one of the main reasons for the unattractivity of the city for households with children. According to a recent study in Louvain, the lack of affordable single-family dwellings with 3 or 4 bedrooms is the most important stumbling block to live in the city (Tratsaert, 1999).
- Children of one parent households and children of unmarried couples have a much higher immigration rate than children of married couples. This is in agreement with the over-representation of one parent households and young children (0-9 years) of unmarried couples in the Brussels Capital Region (Deboosere *et al.*, 1997).
- At older ages, two small immigration peaks are visible: one of married couples without children at the retirement age (only in absolute numbers), and one of the household positions NFR and OTHR at ages 70 to 89 (e.g. moves to homes of the elderly).

b) Who moves out of Brussels?

The same tables can now be calculated for the emigration of household positions out of Brussels (Tables 8 and 9).

- Married couples with children emigrate the most: more than 11,000 individuals belonging to the positions MAR+ and CMAR leave the Brussels Capital Region in the year after the census. Combined with a low immigration, this results in a high net loss (see below).
- Household positions that have the highest immigration rate (singles, unmarried couples, the non-family related category) also have the highest emigration rate. These types of households are thus the most mobile in terms of residential relocation. The higher mobility in comparison with, for example, married

couples can be related to the tenure status: about 70% of the married couples in the 30-34 age group is owner of a house or apartment, compared to only 30% for the other household positions (Deboosere *et al.*, 1997).

Table 8: Outflow of household positions by emigration out of the Brussels Capital Region, by age and LIPRO household position on 1-3-1991

age	CMAR	CUNM	C1PA	SING	MAR0	MAR+	UNM0	UNM+	H1PA	NFR	OTHR	total
0-4	1624	166	400							29	30	2249
5-9	1098	95	453							25	26	1697
10-14	787	76	391	3						21	27	1305
15-19	636	46	390	146	22	9	17	5	5	50	48	1374
20-24	745	10	329	1044	344	291	167	61	58	61	84	3194
25-29	416	2	160	1495	813	1280	225	164	211	26	67	4859
30-34	106	3	48	952	345	1461	107	184	277	20	51	3554
35-39	36		40	598	158	1045	49	118	238	8	31	2321
40-44	20		19	445	122	658	44	58	203	6	17	1592
45-49	11		4	325	164	371	34	15	123	7	21	1075
50-54	1		11	265	228	249	27	8	55	4	19	867
55-59			5	264	357	194	27	5	37	5	17	911
60-64			1	260	388	109	20	2	26	14	21	841
65-69				248	306	60	11		18	10	17	670
70-74				148	125	8	5		10	6	18	320
75-79				194	89	5	7		6	12	20	333
80-84				211	60	2	2		7	5	22	309
85-89				140	15	1	1		1	6	21	185
90-94				49	2				1	3	5	60
95+				3							3	6
total	5480	398	2251	6790	3538	5743	743	620	1276	318	565	27722

Table 9: Outflow of household positions by emigration out of the Brussels Capital Region (per 1000 population), by age and LIPRO household position on 1-3-1991

age	CMAR	CUNM	C1PA	SING	MAR0	MAR+	UNM0	UNM+	H1PA	NFR	OTHR	total
1-4	45.7	56.7	54.5							42.1	102.4	48.1
5-9	26.7	49.3	45.6							51.2	70.8	31.6
10-14	19.9	52.2	35.1	42.9						51.1	64.6	24.6
15-19	17.8	46.7	30.2	74.6	57.4	29.8	73.6	78.1	64.9	53.1	62.9	25.3
20-24	28.2	33.0	32.1	67.7	77.4	59.3	70.6	63.5	53.9	49.8	52.2	46.3
25-29	40.6	27.4	37.3	54.8	85.6	65.9	66.7	66.0	62.8	39.8	45.5	59.2
30-34	32.1	90.9	24.8	44.2	58.3	46.6	61.0	63.1	49.3	63.5	49.0	46.9
35-39	25.9		32.7	36.4	38.8	30.7	42.8	54.0	36.2	37.6	38.4	34.1
40-44	25.0		17.4	29.8	25.5	20.6	40.0	41.0	28.3	45.1	23.8	24.8
45-49	32.2		5.3	26.2	23.5	15.3	32.9	20.9	22.7	57.4	30.0	20.4
50-54	6.6		20.9	22.1	19.2	12.6	27.8	23.4	14.6	34.2	24.2	17.2
55-59	-		11.4	20.6	19.1	13.1	30.0	23.3	13.1	23.1	17.7	17.5
60-64			3.9	17.6	16.3	12.2	23.5	20.2	12.0	45.5	18.1	16.1
65-69			-	14.3	11.9	12.8	12.6	-	11.2	27.3	11.5	12.8
70-74			-	10.6	7.8	4.4	8.4	-	10.5	17.9	14.0	9.1
75-79				11.5	6.9	4.8	14.6		6.7	31.0	9.4	9.6
80-84				14.9	9.2	5.1	6.6		10.1	12.2	7.6	12.2
85-89				18.1	7.1	9.3	7.5		2.4	18.0	7.5	13.6
90-94				20.2	5.8	-	-		6.0	15.2	3.6	13.1
95+				6.1					-	-	6.9	5.8
total	28.1	51.4	36.2	30.5	23.0	29.0	46.0	53.9	29.8	40.2	24.0	29.5

- The emigration of children of married couples is highest at the age between 1 and 4 year and decreases at older ages. However, after the age of 19, the number of emigrations increases again. This involves emigrations of children that are accompanied by a change in household position after migration (home leavers who become singles, will cohabit or are getting married).
- The emigration of young children (0-9 years) of unmarried couples and one parent households is twice as high as the immigration. Despite their strong over-representation in the Brussels Capital Region, they experience a net outward movement (see below).

c) Migration balance

The difference between immigrations and emigrations is the migration balance (Tables 10 and 11). From these tables, the following conclusions can be drawn:

- The Brussels Capital Region has a global negative migration balance (-11,400 individuals, or -12‰). Only the 20-24 and the 95+ age groups have a positive migration balance. The high net loss at ages 1-9 and 30-39 reveals the massive outflow of couples with children to suburban and rural municipalities (see Figure 3).
- Three household positions have a positive migration balance: singles, unmarried couples without children, and the ‘other’ category. Especially the singles and unmarried couples without children between the age of 19 and 29 have the largest net settlement. Specific subgroups such as young singles or

Table 10: Net migration of the Brussels Capital Region, by LIPRO household position and age on 1-3-1991

age	CMAR	CUNM	C1PA	SING	MAR0	MAR+	UNM0	UNM+	H1PA	NFR	OTHR	total
1-4	-1283	-94	-144							-13	-22	-1556
5-9	-843	-31	-193							-10	-18	-1095
10-14	-579	-27	-169	-2						-10	-22	-809
15-19	-468	-14	-152	152	11	6	30	3	1	-15	-9	-455
20-24	-630	-4	-201	989	215	-152	220	10	-6	-8	37	470
25-29	-372	-1	-130	487	-27	-937	111	-68	-79	3	-6	-1019
30-34	-80	0	-34	-158	-146	-1159	-21	-94	-102	-6	-20	-1820
35-39	-29		-27	-120	-96	-796	-1	-57	-97	1	-7	-1229
40-44	-16		-3	-88	-64	-479	-9	-21	-83	-1	-4	-768
45-49	-10	1	3	-87	-105	-272	-5	1	-66	0	-7	-547
50-54	-1		-8	-89	-160	-194	-7	-5	-31	1	2	-492
55-59			0	-136	-290	-162	-14	-4	-21	2	7	-618
60-64			0	-157	-296	-85	-14	-1	-17	-8	-3	-581
65-69			1	-131	-216	-50	-2	1	-5	-5	19	-388
70-74				-93	-60	-4	0		-1	-2	20	-140
75-79				-137	-48	-4	-1		-3	-6	38	-161
80-84				-151	-29	-2	2		-7	10	48	-129
85-89				-115	-4	-1	-1	1	-1	3	39	-79
90-94				-41	-1		1		0	3	20	-18
95+				-3						1	4	2
total	-4311	-170	-1057	120	-1316	-4291	289	-234	-518	-60	116	-11432

Table 11: Net migration rate (%) of the Brussels Capital Region, by LIPRO household position and age on 1-3-1991

age	CMAR	CUNM	C1PA	SING	MARO	MAR+	UNMO	UNM+	H1PA	NFR	OTHR	total
1-4	-36.1	-32.1	-19.6							-18.9	-75.1	-33.3
5-9	-20.5	-16.1	-19.4							-20.5	-49.0	-20.4
10-14	-14.6	-18.5	-15.2	-28.6						-24.3	-52.6	-15.2
15-19	-13.1	-14.2	-11.8	77.6	28.7	19.9	129.9	46.9	13.0	-15.9	-11.8	-8.4
20-24	-23.8	-13.2	-19.6	64.2	48.4	-31.0	93.1	10.4	-5.6	-6.5	23.0	6.8
25-29	-36.3	-13.7	-30.3	17.9	-2.8	-48.3	32.9	-27.4	-23.5	4.6	-4.1	-12.4
30-34	-24.2		-17.6	-7.3	-24.7	-36.9	-12.0	-32.2	-18.2	-19.0	-19.2	-24.0
35-39	-20.9		-22.1	-7.3	-23.6	-23.4	-0.9	-26.1	-14.8	4.7	-8.7	-18.1
40-44	-20.0		-2.8	-5.9	-13.4	-15.0	-8.2	-14.9	-11.6	-7.5	-5.6	-12.0
45-49	-29.2	(166.7)	4.0	-7.0	-15.0	-11.2	-4.8	1.4	-12.2	0.0	-10.0	-10.4
50-54	-6.6		-15.2	-7.4	-13.5	-9.8	-7.2	-14.6	-8.2	8.5	2.5	-9.8
55-59	-		0.0	-10.6	-15.5	-11.0	-15.5	-18.6	-7.5	9.3	7.3	-11.9
60-64			0.0	-10.6	-12.5	-9.5	-16.5	-10.1	-7.9	-26.0	-2.6	-11.1
65-69			7.8	-7.5	-8.4	-10.7	-2.3	20.8	-3.1	-13.7	12.8	-7.4
70-74			-	-6.6	-3.7	-2.2	0.0	-	-1.1	-6.0	15.6	-4.0
75-79				-8.1	-3.7	-3.9	-2.1	-	-3.3	-15.5	17.8	-4.6
80-84				-10.7	-4.4	-5.1	6.6	-	-10.1	24.4	16.6	-5.1
85-89				-14.9	-1.9	-9.3	-7.5	(100.0)	-2.4	9.0	13.9	-5.8
90-94				-16.9	-2.9	-	40.0	-	0.0	15.2	14.2	-3.9
95+				-6.1	-	-	-	-	-	20.4	9.2	1.9
total	-22.1	-22.0	-17.0	0.5	-8.5	-21.7	17.9	-20.3	-12.1	-7.6	4.9	-12.1

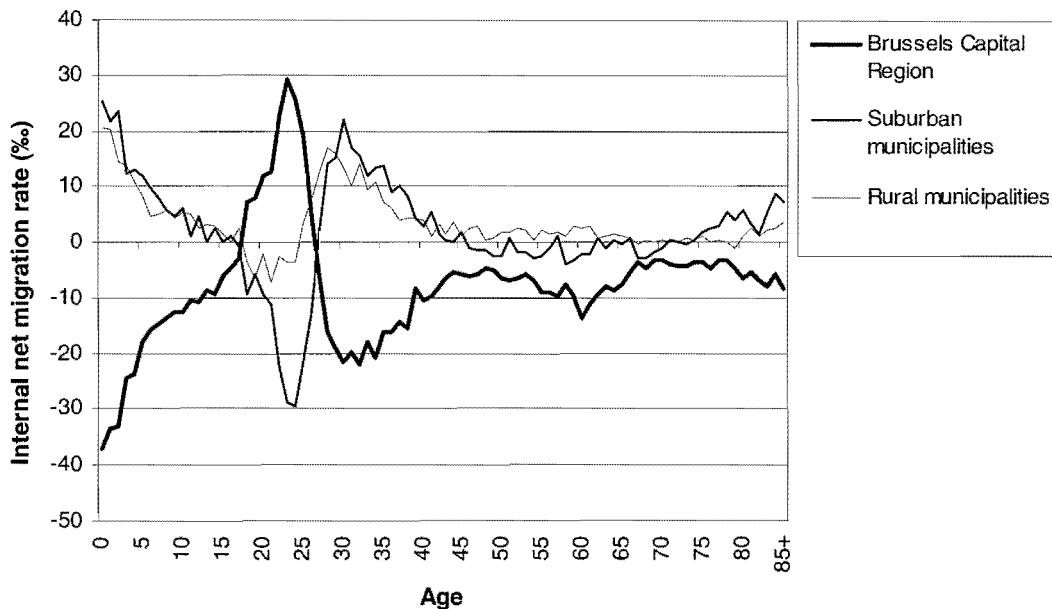
childless households are thus clearly attracted by living in the city. But once they grow older and enter into the subsequent stages of the life cycle, they also leave the city.

- All household positions of children have a negative net migration rate. It is remarkable that the rates for children of one parent households and for children of unmarried couples are of the same magnitude as the rate for children of married couples. One parent households thus also suburbanize, despite their strong over-representation in the Brussels Capital Region.

Net migration by age in the Brussels migration basin

Figure 3 gives the internal net migration rate by age for the Brussels Capital Region and the suburban and rural municipalities of the Brussels migration basin. The graph for the Brussels Capital Region summarizes the relation between mobility and the life course. Only young adults between the age of 18 and 26-28 years have a net settlement in the city. At every other age, the migration balance is negative. Young children have the most negative rates, followed by adults in their early thirties. At older ages, two net migration dips are visible: one around the retirement age (predominantly migration to the Flemish coast, see Willaert, 1999c), and one in the 70+ age group.

Figure 3: Average annual internal net migration rate by age for the Brussels Capital Region and the suburban and rural municipalities of the Brussels migration basin, 1994-96. *Source:* NIS - Register



The profile of net migration in the suburban municipalities is just the opposite of that of the Brussels Capital Region: only between the age of 18 and 26-28 a high net loss occurs. Children and adults below the age of 40-45 have a positive migration balance. This suburbanization is most intense in the age ranges 0-5 and 30-35 years (coupled migration). The net migration profile of the rural municipalities equals that of the suburbs. The only large difference is a much less negative net migration rate in the 18-28 age group.

Conclusion

Although there is an increasing popularity of living in the central city for specific population subgroups (for example highly educated young singles and dual-earners without children), there are no signs of a reurbanization process in Brussels. The recent trend toward a less negative total net migration rate of the Brussel Capital Region was mainly the result of a higher inflow of foreigners, especially Turks and Moroccans. The positive migration balance of the outer city since 1994 was caused by a higher intake from other municipalities of the Region.

The evolution of the total net migration rate in the Brussels migration basin over the last 15 years shows a clear pattern of spreading suburbanization and rurbanization. This rurbanization has major consequences: an increased home-work commuting resulting in more traffic jams; a negative impact on spatial use (for instance ribbon development) and on the natural resources (for instance a higher recreation pressure); a decreasing profitability of the public transport system (as a result of scattered housing); social, fiscal and financial weakening of the city; and a social segregation between inner and outer city.

Most neighbouring municipalities of the Brussels Capital Region are nearly saturated. The availability of building plots is low. As a result of this scarcity, the competition on the housing market is strong and prices are high. In the next ten years, the building space in several municipalities will be totally used. The evolution of net migration between 1988-90 and 1994-96, with a decreasing net migration in municipalities with a high price level, shows that the prices on the housing market are an important factor in the decision to move farther away from the city.

The migrations by LIPRO household position and age follow for the largest part the story of the life cycle and the parallel housing careers: young adults leave home, settle in the city for a few years, and suburbanize after having children and more income to buy a single-family dwelling. Since the 60s, however, this classic picture has become more complex. As a combination of continuously decreasing fertility and an extending lifespan, the average family size has become considerably smaller. Moreover, new values and expectations with respect to marriage, alternative relationships such as unmarried cohabitation have become more widespread. Data from the 1991 census show that these new relationships are predominantly phases of city living (Deboosere *et al.*, 1997). Migration by household position confirms that unmarried couples without children are attracted by the Brussels Capital Region. This does not hold true for one parent households: children of one parent households have a negative migration balance in all age groups.

The general conclusion is that suburbanization remains the most dominant trend. This is confirmed by an extensive study in The Netherlands as well: despite major structural demographic changes in the past decades (such as an important increase in the number of singles), there are no signs that city living has become more popular in a cultural way (Bootsma, 1998). It is clear that more adapted housing for families with children and starters on the housing market is urgently needed to stop the continuous suburbanization. The recent area-planning projects of Flanders and Wallonia recognize these needs and provide several policy instruments to restrict suburbanization.

Finally, we need to stress that the data in this paper relate to persons and not to households. This is important, since a net migration loss of individuals can

imply a net settlement of households. In the Brussels Capital Region, for instance, the number of dwellings (per definition equal to the number of households) between the census of 1981 and that of 1991 increased by 1.5 percent, although there was a population loss of 4.3 percent in the same period (Deboosere *et al.*, 1997). The ongoing research at the Interface Demography will provide more detail about this.

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