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ABSTRACT

The present research focuses on the responses given by 1,988 women belonging to the 1941-50 generation who lived in Andalusia or Catalonia in 1991. These generations were chosen because they were the most numerous within the abundant immigration flow to Catalonia during the 1960's. The basic aim is to analyze differences in migrant and non migrant fertility calendar and intensity. Demographic behaviour analytic variables are: instruction level, habitat, marital endogamy or exogamy, depending on the place of birth of the other member of the couple or union, and labour force participation. Marital status when migrating, as well as the changes migration produced in their labour itinerary, have also been considered for migrant women. This should allow to control possible influences, such as social class, in post-migratory demographic behaviour.

RESUMEN

La presente investigación hace referencia a la experiencia migratoria, laboral y demográfica de la generación femenina nacida entre 1941 y 1950, principal protagonista de la segunda oleada immigratoria a Cataluña, acontecida en torno a los años 1960. El principal objetivo es analizar el comportamiento diferencial entre migrantes y no migrantes en relación al calendario e intensidad de la fecundidad. Para ello se ha escogido la población femenina nacida entre 1941 y 1950 que residian en Cataluña o Andalucia en 1991. Las variables analíticas que se han tenido en cuenta para analizar el comportamiento demográfico hacen referencia al nivel de instrucción, al tipo de hábitat, a la endogamia o exogamia del matrimonio según el lugar de nacimiento del conyuge o pareja y a la intensidad laboral. Además, sólo para el colectivo de mujeres migrantes, se tendrá en cuenta el estado matrimonial en el momento de la migración y el itinerario laboral dibujado por esta. Con ello se pretende controlar otras instancias determinantes de un comportamiento demográfico diferencial, como por ejemplo clase social, que puedan perturbar el análisis de la relación entre el hecho migratorio y el comportamiento demográfico posterior.

RÉSUMÉ

Cette rechere fait référence à l'expérience migratoire, laborale et démographique de la génération féminine de 1941-1950, principal protagoniste de la deuxième grande vague migratoire qu'a connu la Catalogne durant les années 1960. Nous examinons le comportement de fécondité (calendrier et intensité) différenciel des migrants et non-migrants. Pour ce faire, nous avons choisi la population féminine née entre 1941 et 1950 qui, en 1991, résidait en Catalogne ou en Andalousie. Les variables analytiques dont nous avons tenu compte pour étudier le comportement démographique sont le niveau d'instruction, le type d'habitat, l'endogamie ou l'exogamie des mariages selon le lieu de naissance du conjoint, et l'intensité laborale. De plus, pour le collectif des femmes migrantes, nous tenons compte de l'étape du cycle de vie où se trouvent ces femmes au moment de la migration, ainsi que de leur itinéraire laboral produit par la migration. Ce faisant, nous voulons controler les autres facteurs qui déterminent le comportement démographique différenciel (comme la classe sociale) qui puissent perturber l'analyse de la relation entre le fait de migrer et le comportement démographique ultérieur.

RESUM

La present recerca fa referència a l'experiència migratòria, laboral i demogràfica de la generació femenina de 1941-1950, principal protagonista del segon gran allau immigratori produït a Catalunya els anys 1960. Es tracta d'esbrinar el comportament diferencial entre migrants i no migrants en relació al calendari i a la intensitat de la fecunditat. Per això s'ha agafat la població femenina nascuda entre 1941 i 1950 que el 1991 residia a Catalunya o a Andalusia. Les variables analítiques que s'han tingut en compte per estudiar el comportament demogràfic fan referència al nivell d'instrucció, al tipus d'hàbitat, a la endogàmia o exogàmia del matrimoni segons el lloc de naixement del cònjuge o parella i a la intensitat laboral. A més, concretament pel col.lectiu de dones migrants, es tindrà en compte l'etapa del cicle vital en el què es trobaven en el moment de la migració, així com l'itinerari laboral dibuixat per la migració. Amb això, es pretén controlar altres instàncies determinants d'un comportament demogràfic diferencial per exemple la classe social- que puguin perturbar l'anàlisi de la relació del fet migratori i el comportament demogràfic posterior.

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ANDALUSIAN FEMALE MIGRATION TO CATALONIA AND DEMOGRAPHIC BEHAVIOUR

1. Introduction

The present research carried out at the Centre d'Estudis Demogràfics[1] is based on the analysis of data extracted from the 1991 Spanish Socio-Demographic Survey[2] conducted by the INE (Spanish National Statistical Institute). This is the first Spanish source of information allowing to combine family, migratory, labour and education biographies, permitting to acquire a general knowledge of the individual migratory experiences.

Spanish internal migration has been one of the most frequently studied subjects in applied social studies. Most of these studies took a qualitative approach or were based on migration balances which, as it is known, do not allow to gain an in-depth knowledge of migrants general socio-demographic characteristics. In addition, the latter techniques do neither allow to examine the interrelation between migration and other demographic phenomena such as nuptiality, or fertility nor to study its impact on the labour and demographic biographies. Therefore, the importance of this Socio-Demographic Survey mainly lies on the fact that it is the first source that allows to study the interrelation between migration and other demographic and social phenomena.

Even though differential migrant and non-migrant demographic behaviour has been quite a polemic topic in Catalonia, its analysis has been very scarce. Despite that academics have focused the debate about differential demographic

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[1] This research has been financed by the CIRIT, Generalitat de Catalunya.

[2] This survey gives biographic information on nuptiality, fertility, migration, labour, and education of 160.000 people over 10 years old in 1991.

behaviour on the divergence between migrant and non migrant behaviour, they have not paid much attention to other social factors that can influence as much differential behaviour.

The present research focuses on the responses given by 1,988 women belonging to the 1941-50 generation who lived in Andalusia or Catalonia in 1991. These generations were chosen because they were the most numerous within the abundant immigration flow to Catalonia during the 1960's. Demographic behaviour analytic variables are: instruction level, habitat, marital endogamy or exogamy, depending on the place of birth of the other member of the couple or union, and labour force participation.

Life cycle stage in which migrant women moved, as well as the changes migration produced in their labour itinerary, have also been considered. This should allow to control possible influences, such as social class, in post-migratory demographic behaviour.

2. Hypotheses

Hypotheses have been formulated with the intent to focus down the object of research, leaving however enough place to establish the basis for future investigation.

1. Andalusian migrant women will have fertility levels between those of Catalonia and Andalusia. This hypothesis is based both on historical fertility differences between the two communities and on references to differential migrant and non migrant demographic behaviour which consider that migrant populations have a fertility level between that of the origin and that of the destination community.

2. There will not be large differences in nuptiality patterns as, within the Spanish context, both regions have historically had similarly early and intense rates.

3. Differences in demographic behaviour between the Andalusian migrant women and the Catalan origin ones will be based on the diverse social patterns of

both populations rather than migration influence.

4. Those Andalusian women who have worked in the labour force in Catalonia will marry for the first time later and will have lower fertility levels.

5. Mixed couples (woman born in Andalusia married to a man born in another community) will have a fertility levels between that of couples and unions where both partners are Andalusians (maximum level) and that of couples where they are both Catalans by birth (minimum level).

3. Variables and statistical treatment

3.1. Population studied

As stated in the introduction, this generation (1941-50) was chosen because it is the most numerous one in the 1960's migration flows. In addition, in 1991, they were between 41 and 50 years old, and therefore, they had almost finished their nuptiality and fertility life cycles, and had already been through the first stages in the labour market insertion. In consequence, they seemed to be the most adequate for the aims we had in this research.

Informants have been divided into four groups, according to their origin and their mobility patterns. There are two immobile groups, one of Andalusian and the other of Catalan women, who have never left their Community of origin. The two mobile groups are formed by Andalusian women that resided in Catalonia in 1991, and by non-Andalusian women who had migrated to Catalonia and were residing there in 1991. Some restrictions have been introduced to facilitate the determination of the year of migration. Andalusian migrants have been defined as those who went directly from Andalusia to Catalonia and have never returned. The "other migrants" group is formed by women from origins other than Andalusia, who have not been in Andalusia, and, once they entered Catalonia, have not left it. However, these restrictions do not affect the results as they include nearly 90% of all migrants to Catalonia.

These four groups have been chosen with the aim to simplify the study in such a way as to keep the analytical richness, and therefore to be able to find out

which are the key variables explaining differential demographic behaviour. Hence, both of the following aspects are analysed: internal category homogeneity, and differential behaviour between migrant and non-migrant collectives.

Finally, it is noteworthy to state that although Andalusia was not the most out migratory Spanish region in the 1960's, it was amongst those regions who were, and, on the other hand, it had Catalonia as its main destination point.

3.2. Dependent variables

Mean age at first union: both marriage and stable unions are included.

Nuptiality intensity: percentage of women ever married or in a stable union, before or during 1991.

Mean age at first child: only consanguineous children are included.

Fertility intensity: consanguineous children, mean number.

3.3. Independent variables

* *Instruction level*: it has been broken down into six categories: illiterate, without studies, uncompleted primary schooling, with finished primary school, with concluded secondary school, and university graduate. However, it was sometimes necessary to group this variable in a smaller number of categories.

* *Labour force participation*: only two categories have been built: women who have had a job (in their own business, working for others, or helping relatives), and women who have not had it.

* *Birth habitat*: Spanish Socio-Demographic Survey data only allow to create the four following categories: municipalities with less than 5,000 inhabitants, between 5,000-20,000 inhabitants, between 20,000-100,000 inhabitants and with more than 100,0000 inhabitants.

* *Residential habitat*: the categories are the same as in the former variable.

* *Habitat change*: this variable has been reduced to two categories (rural and urban) with the aim to make the results of analysis of its relevance in

demographic variables easier to comprehend. Therefore, there is only a division point: 20,000 inhabitant municipalities. In consequence, four categories have been stablished combining the two possible origins with the two possible destinations: rural/rural, rural/urban, urban/rural, urban/urban.

* *Marriage type:* As the two categories (endogamic and exogamic marriages) have been analysed for the four existing subpopulations, this variable has been analysed in eight groups. However, Spanish Socio-Demographic Survey data raise a problem for this kind of analysis, since it does not state the exact origin of the interviewee's spouse or partner when he or she is not from the same community. This is specially problematic in the present study when analysing exogamous Andalusian marriage, as the husbands or partners' exact origin is not stated, and hence, it is not known if they are from Catalonia or from another Spanish region. The only information given is whether both partners are from the same community.

* *Family life cycle stage or marital status when migrating:* this stage considers the migrant's marital status a year after the movement was made. Despite its relevance for understanding future differential demographic behaviour, this variable is not often taken into consideration in migration research. Its use could resolve interpretative problems such as the confusion, due to extensive use of cross-sectional data, between what is known in specialised literature as the event (short term consequences) and the status (long term ones). Marriage is a good example of the implications of this confusion. The fact that it is generally believed that single women migrate more than those who are married is the consequence of not taking into account the fact that women that are going to get married are normally classified as single.[3] In this study, there will only be two categories: not married nor in a stable union a year after the migration took place, and married or cohabiting at that time. Generally, this variable has only considered women over 18 when migrating.

* *Labour itinerary linked to migration:* this is a similar case to the last defined variable except that the change is considered during three years before and after migration. Four categories have been built: active before and after migrating, active before but inactive after, inactive before but active after, and, finally, inactive before and after migrating. Again, most times, only women over 18

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[3] MULDER, C. & WAGNER, M. (1993).

when migrating have been considered.

3.4. Statistical methodology

As the results are based on sample data, it has been necessary to use the following statistical tools:

Proportion comparison tests for independent variables, and contingency tables with their correspondent chi-square test, have been introduced for the qualitative variables.

In general, independent data mean comparison has been used. However, when two means have to be compared a t-student test has been applied, where as the analysis of variance has been used where more than two means were compared. In this last case, we have applied a Tukey test to compare each group. To study the influence of two independent variables on a dependant one we have introduced a two way analysis of the variance.

For comparing two variances, both for our own analysis and to verify homesticity, we used a Fisher test of variance comparison.

Proportion comparison tests for independent data and contingency tables with their correspondent chi-square test have been introduced for the qualitative variables.

4. Results

The first results analysed are the social profile of the four studied collectives. This will be done through the following independent variables: instruction level, birth habitat, residence habitat, change in habitat, marriage type, and labour force participation intensity. For the two migrant groups we will also use the following variables: the family life cycle stage when migrating, and the labour itinerary in relation to migration. We will try to show internal homogeneity or heterogeneity within the groups as well as differences and similarities between them.

The next step will be to analyse the four groups' demographic behaviour both through fertility and nuptiality intensity and through the analysis of the mean age at which women married or joined, and had their first child.

Finally, we will treat nuptiality and fertility behaviour in relation to the population's social differentiation. In the first place we will analyse the population under study as a whole and then we will introduce demographic behaviour analysis in relation not only to the social variables we have selected but also to migration condition. In this last part we will analyse as well reproductive behaviour of the two migrant groups in relation to their life cycle stage and labour condition when migrating. Therefore, after examining nuptiality and reproductive behaviour differentiating the social component social from differential behaviour we will analyse the effect of migration in the change of demographic behaviour controlling for social heterogeneity in each group, life cycle stage in the moment of migration and labour itinerary drawn by migration.

4.1. Socio-structural profile of the four collectives

4.1.1. Instruction level

As it can be observed in chart 1, women in the four collectives present considerably heterogeneous instruction levels. The most educated are Catalan women, followed by other migrants, by immobile Andalusian, and finally by Andalusian migrants. The percentage of women who are illiterate or have no studies by contrast to those who have secondary education or are university graduates can be used as an example. A 19% of immobile Andalusian, 16% of Andalusian migrants, 6% of other migrants and 1% of Catalan women belong to the first category. On the contrary, 39% of Catalan women, 20% of other migrants, 10% of Andalusian immobile and 9% of Andalusian migrants possed secondary or university education.

The two Andalusian populations have been compared between each other with the intent to clarify whether there has been a selectivity process. The results show that their profile is quite similar, though the two extreme categories are less present in the migrant collective. However, it must be emphasised that these differences are minimum compared to those existing between the Andalusian migrants and Catalan women. Only 7% of the latter have not finished primary

Chart 1. Socio-demographic profile of women belonging to the 1941-50 generation, interveiwed in 1991 (in percentages)

	Non migrants		Migrants	
	Andalusian residents	Catalan residents	Andalusian migrants to Catalonia	Other Spanish migrants to Catalonia
Instruction Level				
Illiterate	8.6	0.9	4.1	2.6
Without studies	10.1	0.1	12.3	3.1
Uncompleted primary schooling	31.6	7.0	36.3	23.3
Primary schooling	40.0	53.4	38.0	51.1
Secondary schooling	6.1	27.5	8.8	12.9
Universitiy Graduate	3.6	11.1	0.5	7.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Birth habitat				
Less than 5,000	21.2	24.6	28.5	43.3
5,000-20,000	29.0	15.4	34.0	18.8
20,000-100,000	22.0	13.6	18.8	24.6
More than 100,000	27.9	46.5	18.8	13.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Residance habitat				
Less than 5,000	13.6	15.0	9.1	5.5
5,000-20,000	22.4	16.8	12.5	17.2
20,000-100,000	25.7	17.6	32.7	22.7
More than 100,000	38.3	50.7	45.8	54.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Habitat change				
Rural/Rural	33.4	27.0	13.0	17.0
Rural/Urban	16.8	12.9	49.4	45.0
Urban/ Rural	2.6	4.8	8.5	5.7
Urban/Urban	47.2	55.3	29.0	32.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Occupational intensity				
Have worked at some time	67.8	88.2	82.4	86.3
Have never worked	32.2	11.8	17.6	13.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Nuptial intensity and type of marriage				
Single	6.8	7.6	4.9	4.7
Endogamic	89.1	69.5	57.0	35.5
Mixed	4.1	22.9	38.1	59.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: SOLSONA, M; AJENJO, M; TREVINO, R & JIMENEZ, E (1995): *Immigració femenina, integració laboral i comportament demogràfic a Catalunya,* Reseach Report done for the CIRIT (CS93-9.914). Tables 1 to 6.

schooling, while 4 out of every 10 Andalusian migrant women fall into this category.

Finally it must be indicated that three quarters of other immigrants, in comparison with only half of Andalusian migrants, have finished primary schooling.

4.1.2. Birth habitat

Divergence between Andalusian's birth habitat and that of immobile Catalan women can be also seen in chart 1. These are firstly due to two very different municipal structures, with much larger villages in Andalusia than in Catalonia. That is to say, the Catalan municipal structure is much more polarised, with many more small and large municipalities than middle size ones. As it will be seen later in this and other sections, migrants that outmigrated to other Spanish communities went from very specific origins other very specific habitat destinations. The following data can illustrate this. While 60% of Catalan women were born in nucleus over 20,000 inhabitants, only half of non-migratory Andalusian women came from the same size municipalities. Above all, however, it should be emphasised that the number of women born in Catalan cities with more than 100,000 inhabitants is a 67% higher than those born in Andalusian cities of the same size.

Despite the importance of the former data, attention should also be drawn on the differences between non-migrant and migrant women from Andalusia. These differences are quite substantial and lead to the conclusion that there is a strong selectivity process. This can be observed in the following data: 28% of migrant and 21% of non-migrant Andalusian women were born in villages under 5,000 inhabitants, while the percentage of those born in cities of 100,000 and over is, respectively, 19% and 28%.

Other migrants' birth place is even more rural: 43% of them were born in municipalities of less than 5,000 inhabitants.

4.1.3. Present residence habitat

Due to intensive rural out migration through out all the Spanish territory, differences in the present residence habitat are relatively small, and therefore, all four migrant collectives reflect the present territorial imbalanced population distribution. In consequence, with regard to the former variable, there is an increase in the presence of large cities and a reduction of that of smaller villages.

This is specially true for migrant women. The tendency can be seen in chart 1.

It is important to keep in mind that Catalan born women have also changed their residence habitat. While around 25% of these women were born in municipalities of less than 5,000 inhabitants, in 1991 only 14% lived in them. However, it must be stressed again that the contrast between the birth and residence habitats is much stronger for the migrant than for Catalan origin women. While 30% of migrant women were born in the smallest size municipalities, only 9% of them lived there in 1991. Moreover, only 6% of other migrant women lived in them at the reference date, even though 43% of them had been born there. On the contrary, in 1991 more than half of the latter lived in municipalities with more than 100,000 inhabitants, while it was the birth habitat for only 13% of them. Again, the pattern followed by Andalusian migrant women is similar, but less extreme. The percentages for these are 46% versus 19%, respectively. Most Andalusian migrant women (78%), and 77% of other migrant women, live in cities with more than 20,000 inhabitants. Therefore, it can be concluded that immigrants reside in Barcelona's metropolitan periphery, fact highlighted in specialised literature.

Finally, it should be emphasised that Catalan origin women, and those who migrated have quite a similar residence habitat though it is slightly more urban for the latter.

4.1.4. Habitat change

As it can be seen in chart 1 nearly half of the Andalusian migrant women have changed from a rural to an urban place of residence. However, this statement should be examined more deeply as it is built on two main suppositions. It either implies that Andalusian interior migration has been largely insignificant, or that there has not been a change of municipality size. According to the following data, it is the latter supposition that may be assumed: only 17% of immobile Andalusian women of the same generations as the ones we are studying, have undergone a change from a rural to an urban habitat; rural-rural movements represent 33% and urban-urban, 47%.

As for the present research, only 9% of the migrant Andalusian women have undertaken an urban-rural movement, less than those who have moved from a rural to a rural area (13%). Urban-urban percentages (29%) are considered to be affected by category definition which adapts much better to Andalusian size municipalities than to Catalan ones.

4.1.5. Labour force participation

Major labour force participation differences are found between non migrant Andalusian women and the rest of groups (see chart 1). While only 68% of the non migrant Andalusian women have had, through out their lives, a paid job, the percentage rises to 88% in the case of Catalan born women. However, even though the percentage of single women is higher in the Andalusian non migrant group than in the migrant one, the level of occupation is a 15% higher for migrant women. It can therefore be concluded that migration has favoured labour force integration.

4.1.6. Marriage type

Given that fertility decisions are not taken at an individual level, and considering the diverse regional fertility levels throughout the country, marriage endogamy should explain to a large extent some of the fertility differences observed.

Before analysing marriage endogamy, the level of celibacy should be accounted for. In general, these generations have low celibacy. In the 1960's, years with specially high nuptiality and fertility cross-sectional rates, these women were at the age of union formation. As shown by chart 1, even though both immobile women groups have a low celibacy level (7%), the two mobile collectivities have even lower rates, reaching only 5%. Therefore, it would be interesting to further investigate whether it is a consequence of the access to two marital markets, one at the original community and the other at the destination one, or if it is the result of a selection process at the origin. While this cannot be analysed with the present data, it can be stated that there are many more differences in marriage intensity between the two Andalusian groups than between the two immobile collectives.

The percentage of endogamic marriages and stable unions between Andalusian migrants is 60% and 37% between the rest of migrants. From what is known for the whole population, it is quite probable that many of the rest of Andalusian migrants (40%) have formed a union with men of an origin other than Catalan. Therefore, it the number of women in mixed marriages or unions with Catalan men should be very scarce. However, as it has been stated, this cannot be known for certain. The extraordinary amount of endogamic unions can be due to two possible factors, or can be supposed that a combination of both. It could either point out to family migration, or to the existence of endogamic

nuptiality enclaves in Catalonia. In fact, the latter is the most probable due to the large social differences between Catalan and Andalusian populations.

4.1.7. Marital status when migrating

As it has been said, in the present research, marital status has been analysed a year after the migration took place to try to eliminate the short term consequences of migration. Life cycle stage will be considered both through age at the time of migrating and through marital status a year after migration.

In chart 2 it can be seen that for the generation we are analysing, Andalusian women's mean age at migration is 17 years old. That means that they were, in average, two years younger than the rest of migrating women. The standard deviation, in both cases, is small, though slightly higher for non Andalusian migrants (8.6 years) than for Andalusian ones (6.9). While more than one third of Andalusian women arrived between the age of 15 and 19, and 59% of them between 15 and 24, the percentages for other migrant women in those same age groups are quite lower (28% and 54% respectively).

Andalusian girls who arrived before the age of 10 represented a 15% of the total Andalusian migrant women. In future analyses, it would be interesting to compare differential demographic behaviours between these younger groups of migrants and that of those migrating at an older age, and see the influence of time on behavioural changes. Finally, it should also be noticed that while women who arrived to Catalonia when they were over 25 years old formed only 9% of Andalusian migrant women, they represented a 19% of the other migrants category.

As it can be seen in chart 2, a total of 31% Andalusian migrant women were, or had been married, or in a stable union, at least once before migrating. When only women over 18 when migrating are taken into account, this percentage increases to 69%. Other migrants have a similar distribution, though slightly deviated by a relatively higher marriage age.

In conclusion, specially in the case of Andalusian migrant women, these first results seem to suggest that it is a type of migration where women migrate as either part of their family of origin, in the early stages of their lives, or as a member of their own new family, in the first stages of their new family's life cycle.

Another characteristic that should be highlighted is that celibacy for

Chart 2. Migratory profile of women belonging to the 1941-50 generation, interveiwed in 1991 (in percentages)

	Andalusian	Non Andalusian
Age at the moment of migration		
0-14	32.1	26.8
15-24	59.0	54.6
25 or more	8.8	17.9
Mean Age	16.7	18.7
Standard deviation	6.9	8.6
Stage in the life cycle a year after migration		
For women at all ages		
Married at some time	31.5	36.0
Single	63.6	59.3
Presently single	4.9	4.7
Total	100.0	100.0
For women over 17		
Married at some time	69.3	63.7
Single	28.0	31.6
Presently single	2.7	4.7
Total	100.0	100.0
Labour Itinerary		
For women at all ages		
No /No	38.5	34.2
No/Yes	30.3	28.1
Yes/No	2.5	9.3
Yes/Yes	28.7	28.0
Total	100.0	100.0
For women over 17		
No /No	41.9	27.1
No/Yes	12.7	20.4
Yes/No	4.3	17.0
Yes/Yes	41.1	35.5
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: SOLSONA, M; AJENJO, M; TREVIÑO, R & JIMENEZ, E (1995): *Immigració femenina, integració laboral i comportament demogràfic a Catalunya* Research Report done for the CIRIT (CS93-9.914). Tables 7 to 9.

those women that migrated over the age of 17 is higher for non Andalusian migrants than for those coming from that community. However, the opposite occurs when the whole population is analysed. When the whole female Andalusian migrant collective is taken into account, celibacy reaches a 4.9%, while it is only a 2.7% for women over 17 at the time of migrating. Though this emphasises the relevance of the access to two marriage markets, as it has been

formerly explained, this does not seem too applicable to this case due to population residential segmentation.

4.1.8. Labour itinerary

Labour itinerary in relation to migration examines if women had been active at some time during the period between the year of migration and three years before and if they were active between the year of migration and three years after. It is a basic variable for analysing the nature of women migration as well as the short term impact of migration itself on integration into the labour force.

While only 31% of Andalusian migrant women were active before migrating, the percentage rises to 45% for those older than 17 at the moment of migration. Three years after the migration took place, only approximately 10% of women in both groups had become inactive.

The percentages for other migrants are 37% and 52% respectively. Three years after the migration took place, 25% of the former and 32% of the latter had become inactive. It is therefore interesting to stress the fact that although activity percentages before migration are lower for Andalusian women, migration produces a smaller impact on the active women's labour condition.

However, migration had an important impact for those Andalusian women who were inactive before migrating (69%). A 44% out of them had become active after three years. Nonetheless, for those women that migrated over the age of 17 (54% of the total) and were therefore less young, the incorporation to active life was not as frequent. As it has been stated above, it should also be taken into account that there is also a certain amount of women of these ages who migrated accompanying their partners. The percentage of those older women who became active after three years in Catalonia was only a 23%.

Migration's positive effect on non Andalusian migrants is also important. Out of those who were inactive before migrating (63%), 46% had become active three years after the movement took place. As for the 48% inactive women who migrated when they were older than 17, 43% changed into active after having spent three years in Catalonia. As Andalusian female migrants enter the labour market to a lower extent, the hypothesis that there are a grater amount of Andalusian women who move as part of a couple or a family than in other migrant groups could be confirmed. Another important conclusion that can be drawn is that Andalusian migrants moved at an older age.

Despite what has been just explained, in comparison Andalusian migrant women gain more with migration. At the end of those three years 59% of those migrant women were active, while only 57% of the other migrant women had this condition. The relative increase in the number of active women who migrated over the age of 17 is also grater for those coming from Andalusia (18%) as opposed to only 6% for other migrants. Nevertheless, the final percentage (56%) is higher for the latter than for Andalusian women (54%).

In summary, the distribution of the four itineraries is quite similar. The major difference is that the number of Andalusian women who were active before migrating and had changed this condition after the move is less numerous than in the other collectives, and those who have never been active are more abundant. However, the most numerous labour itinerary in both migrant collectivities is non active/non active, followed by non active/active, closely followed by active/active, which means that the numerically less important is the active/non active itinerary (see chart 2).

However, for women over 17 years old, the two migrant itineraries have divergent distributions. Differences in the number of women in the non active/non active itinerary and the active/non active one increase though in opposite senses. The most numerous itinerary for Andalusian migrants is non active/non active, closely followed by active/active. The other itineraries active/non active (4%) and non active/active (13%) are much less significant. However, for the other migrants all itineraries have much more similar values (see chart 2).

In conclusion, these results confirm, once more, the idea that Andalusian female migration is more of a family or couple migration rather than a labour one. This latter characteristic applies more to the other female migrant groups.

4.2. Demographic behaviour: nuptiality and fertility in the four collectives

The first noticeable result of chart 3 is that Andalusian migrant women **marry** one year **before**. Cross-section regional studies on Spain have distinguished two basic areas. On the one hand, there is the central area with late nuptiality, and on the other, the periphery with earlier ages at marriage. Therefore, it is quite normal to find out that non migrant Andalusian women and Catalan non migrant women have a similar age at marriage. However, what seems to be an

interesting discovery is that Andalusian migrant women have an even earlier age at marriage or union constitution, in comparison to the non migrant collectives. In consequence, migration seems to have precipitated their constitution of the first stage of the family life cycle. The heterogeneity in origin of other migrants does not allow to produce any firm conclusion of the impact of migration on their age at marriage or union formation. Yet from what is known for society in general, it can supposed that they should also have an earlier age at marriage or union constitution than the rest of the women of the region of origin as most probably many of them come from regions with relatively late nuptiality. Hence, migration would advance nuptial age in all migrants.

Chart 3. Nuptiality and fertility calendar and intensity of women belonging to the 1941-50 generation, interviewed in 1991

	Nuptiality		Fertility	
	Mean age at first marriage	Married at some time	Mean age at first child	TFR
Andalusian residents	23.9	93.2	25.4	2.9
Catalan residents	23.6	92.4	25.8	2.0
Andalusian migrants to Catalonia	22.7	95.1	24.7	2.6
Other Spanish migrants to Catalonia	24.0	95.3	26.3	2.2

Source: SOLSONA, M; AJENJO, M; TREVIÑO, R & JIMENEZ, E (1995): *Immigració femenina, integració laboral i comportament demogràfic a Catalunya* Research Report done for the CIRIT (CS93-9.914). Table 10.

As it can be seen in chart 3, Andalusian migrants also advance their **fertility mean age**. The difference between them and Andalusian non migrant women is, in this case, slightly less than one year. Here again differences between Andalusian migrants and the rest of the collectives is significant, though the differences between the other three groups are not. The fact that the advancement in nuptiality is higher than that of fertility means that migration favours a longer period of empty nest between family formation and the birth of the first child.

Nuptiality intensity was already analysed in the former section when the type of marriage or union constitution was analysed. It was concluded that Andalusian migrants had a higher intensity than non migrant Andalusian women.

Fertility intensity has been analysed through the construction of generation total fertility rates (TFR). These have shown interesting results that are presented in chart 3. Due to regional fertility differences, the lowest TFR is 2 children per women for non migrant Catalan women, followed by 2.2 children per women for

non Andalusian migrant women and by 2.6 children per women for Andalusian migrants. Finally, would come no migrant Andalusian women with 2.9 children per women. All differences are significant except that of Andalusian migrants with the Andalusian population as a whole. This is a noticeable result as this does not only mean that Andalusian migrants have a very similar fertility level to Andalusian non migrant women, but it also leads to the conclusion that the differences are not significant enough to allow to say that they are different.

Given that the non Andalusian migrant women have a much more rural birth origin and the results of the comparison between fertility levels of Andalusian migrants and that of other migrants, it could be possible to reach the conclusion that regional patterns are more relevant than habitat. However, a deeper analysis should be carried out to be able to confirm this supposition, as it is possible that other factors such as social integration or marriage endogamy are affecting the results.

In conclusion, it should be emphasised that although migration advances nuptiality, it does not reduce fertility.

4.3. Social differentiation of demographic behaviour

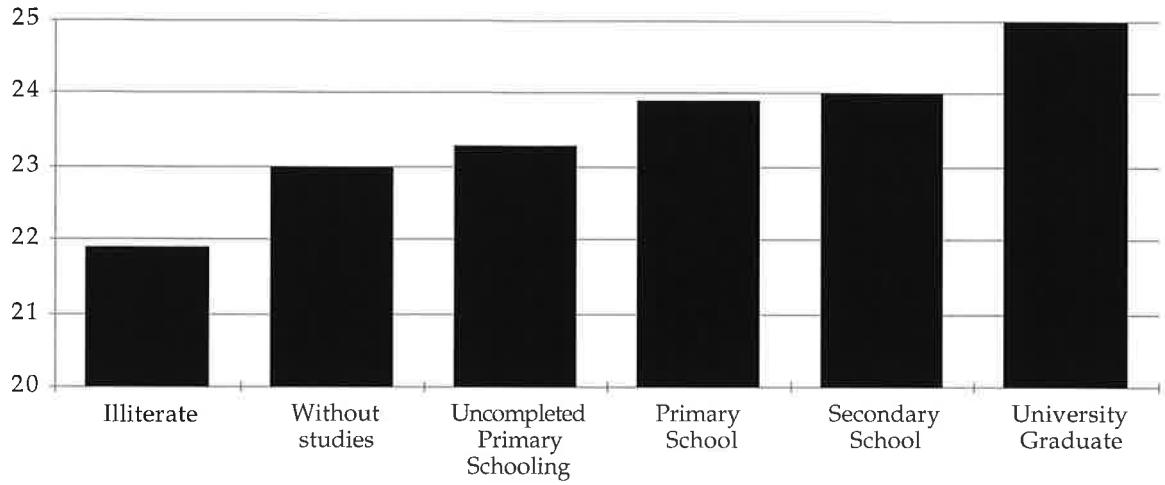
Here, different social variables have been analysed to show how they determine demographic behaviour. Therefore, differential demographic behaviour is analysed through the variables that have been used to describe the socio-structural profile of the four collectives studied.

4.3.1. Instruction level and demographic behaviour

As it can be seen in graph 1 the main result of the analysis is that there is a positive relationship between the instruction level and the **age at marriage**. That is to say that the higher the level of instruction reached, the higher the age at marriage. For example, in average, illiterate women are 22 years old when marring or formating a union, while women with university studies[4] are 25. Nevertheless, not all differences between the six instruction groups are significant, though they are for the most extreme. They are both statistically different between them and with regard to the other collectivities.

[4] University students should finish their studies at the age of 23.

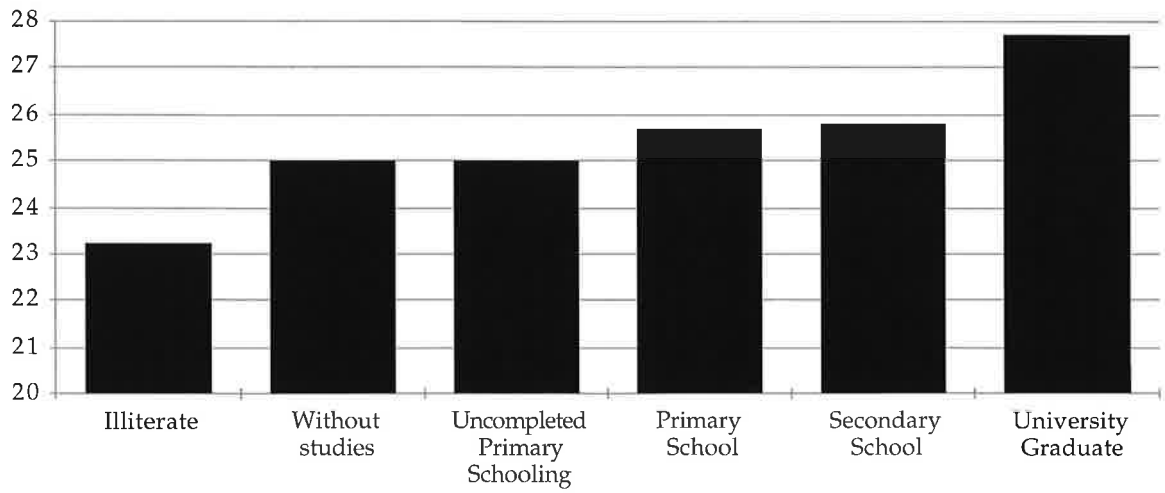
Graph 1. Mean age at first marriage by Instruction level of women belonging to the 1941-50 generation, interviewed in 1991



Source: SOLSONA, M; AJENJO, M; TREVINO, R & JIMENEZ, E (1995): *Immigració femenina, integració laboral i comportament demogràfic a Catalunya* Research Report done for the CIRIT. (CS93-9.914). Graph 9.

The instruction level and **the mean age at first child** have also got a positive relationship which is shown in graph 2. The difference in age at the first child between illiterate and those women with university education is, in this case, of 5 years. As differences here are smaller, only differences between these extreme groups are significant. Nothing can be affirmed about the other collectives.

Graph 2. Mean age at first child by level of studies of women belonging to the 1941-50 generation, interviewed in 1991

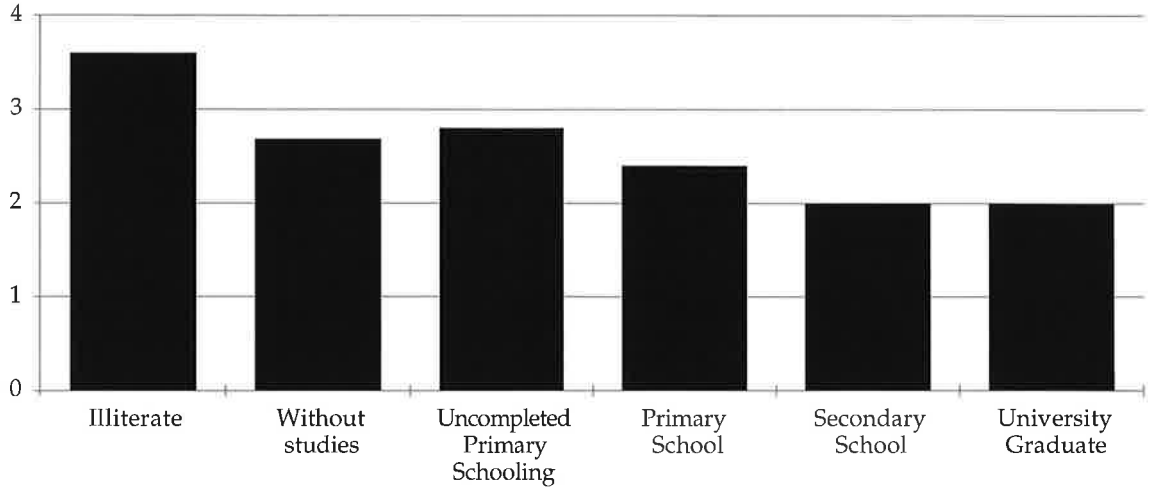


Source: SOLSONA, M; AJENJO, M; TREVINO, R & JIMENEZ, E (1995): *Immigració femenina, integració laboral i comportament demogràfic a Catalunya* Research Report done for the CIRIT. (CS93-9.914). Graph 10.

Total fertility rates who are represented in graph 3 are quite more divergent. While illiterate women have a TFR of 3.6, those women without studies or

which have not completed primary schooling have 2.8 children per woman, those with primary schooling have 2.4, and finally women with university and secondary studies, clearly have lower fertility rates, as they have 2.0 children per woman.

Graph 3. Total Fertility rate by level of studies of women belonging to the 1941-50 generation, interviewed in 1991



Source: SOLSONA, M; AJENJO, M; TREVIÑO, R & JIMENEZ, E (1995): *Immigració femenina, integració laboral i comportament demogràfic a Catalunya* Research Report done for the CIRIT. (CS93-9.914). Graph 11.

4.3.2. Change in habitat and demographic behaviour

The most important result in relation to this variable is that nuptiality and fertility differences are not significant enough to make the comparison relevant. The results do not vary depending on the habitat variable chosen whether it is birth, residence or change of habitat.

4.3.3. Labour intensity and demographic behaviour

Chart 4 shows that differences in nuptiality and fertility mean age between those women who have been employed and those who have not, are not extremely high, but significant enough. Women that have never worked advance their nuptial and reproductive cycle in approximately half a year. However, major differences between those two subpopulations are found in fertility intensity which is half a child higher for those women who have never been employed.

4.3.4. Type of marriage or cohabitation and demographic behaviour

Although there are slight differences in the mean age at which Andalusian

migrant women married or formed an endogamic or exogamic union they are not large enough to be significant. On the other hand, it should also be stated that there no fertility intensity differences found (see chart 5).

Chart 4. Nuptiality and fertility by labour intensity of women belonging to the 1941-50 generation, interviewed in 1991

	Nuptiality	Fertility	
	Mean age at first marriage	Mean age at first child	TFR
Have worked at some time	23.8	25.6	2.4
Have never worked	23.3	25.0	2.8

Source: SOLSONA, M; AJENJO, M; TREVIÑO, R & JIMENEZ, E (1995): *Immigració femenina, integració laboral i comportament demogràfic a Catalunya* Research Report done for the CIRIT. (CS93-9.914). Table 14.

Chart 5. Nuptiality and fertility by type of marriage of Andalusian migrant women belonging to the 1941-50 generation, interviewed in 1991

	Nuptiality	Fertility	
	Mean age at first marriage	Mean age at first child	TFR
Endogamic marriage	22.4	24.4	2.8
Mixed marriage	23.1	25.1	2.7

Source: SOLSONA, M; AJENJO, M; TREVIÑO, R & JIMENEZ, E (1995): *Immigració femenina, integració laboral i comportament demogràfic a Catalunya* Research Report done for the CIRIT. (CS93-9.914). Table 15.

Once again the way in which the Socio-Demographic Survey collected the information prevented us from obtaining more accurate information.

4.3.5. Marital status when migrating and demographic behaviour

The first conclusion that can be obtained from the comparison between conjugal status at the moment of migration and demographic behaviour is that migration seems to have a short term impact on the age at which these women form a couple and have their first child, which tends to accelerate events. As an example we can state that women who were married when migrating got married and had their first child slightly more than one year before than those who migrated being single. Results can be seen in chart 6.

Having an earlier mean age at union formation and at the birth of the first child did not result in a higher fertility intensity for women who were already married when migrating. Therefore, there are no significant differences between fertility intensity of the two collectivities. It is however interesting to note that these women have a more disperse behaviour in relation to the mean number of

children than those who migrated single. This means that while married women have a more extreme behaviour, they either have a large number of children or very few, single women behave in a way much more similar to the mean (the p-value for the variance comparison test is 0.023). It is difficult to interpret these results. However, they suggest that single women belong to a more homogeneous social group and have been through a higher process of selection, as there is probably a high proportion of married women who have migrated following their husbands.

Chart 6. Nuptiality and fertility of Andalusian migrant women ever married belonging to the 1941-50 generation, interviewed in 1991

	Nuptiality	Fertility	
	Mean age at first marriage	Mean age at first child	TFR
Have migrated single	23.1	25.1	2.7
Have migrated married	21.9	23.8	2.9

Source: SOLSONA, M; AJENJO, M; TREVINO, R & JIMENEZ, E (1995): *Immigració femenina, integració laboral i comportament demogràfic a Catalunya* Research Report done for the CIRIT. (CS93-9.914). Table 16.

4.3.6. Labour itinerary and demographic behaviour

In this case only women who were over 18 when migrating were selected, as it is quite improbable that younger women would have worked before migrating.

As it can be seen in chart 7, differences in both nuptial and reproductive mean ages are too small to be significant. Therefore, it can be said that the labour itinerary does not seem to affect the age at which migrants marry or join, nor produces variations in the age at which they have their first child.

Chart 7. Nuptiality and fertility of Andalusian migrant women by labour itinerary of women belonging to the 1941-50 generation, interviewed in 1991

	Nuptiality		Fertility	
	Mean age at first marriage	Married at some time	Mean age at first child	TFR
No/ No	22.3	100.0	24.2	2.9
No/ Yes	22.9	89.9	24.0	2.1
Yes/ No	23.5	100.0	23.9	1.9
Yes/ Yes	23.2	92.5	25.5	2.6

Source: SOLSONA, M; AJENJO, M; TREVINO, R & JIMENEZ, E (1995): *Immigració femenina, integració laboral i comportament demogràfic a Catalunya* Research Report done for the CIRIT. (CS93-9.914). Table 17.

However, nuptial and fertility intensity is affected by the labour itinerary

discribed by migration. Women who did not search a job up to three years after migration, had a higher marriage intensity than those who did. In fact, within the sampled women, all of those that were not active immediately after migration have married, while single women are a 10% between those who had an employment. Therefore, it can be stated that having been employed or not after migration seems to have had a greater effect on union formation intensity than having had an employment before migrating.

In relation to fertility intensity, there are only significant differences between those women who were inactive during the period around their migration and those in which migration has involved a change in their labour status (no/yes and yes/no). Women who were inactive before and after migration have the highest fertility level. Data seem to indicate that those groups where migration does not seem to have had an effect on the labour status are similar between them, while the collectivities in which migration has had an effect, also seem to be similar. However, statistical differences are not large enough to assert this tendency.

Therefore, it can be stated that nuptial and fertility differences are only significant for some collectivities. This is probably not so much due to the impact of migration on the labour itinerary but to the fact that women of the different groups are socially different. Therefore the discriminating fact is not the labour itinerary but labour intensity. The basic variable in this hypothesis would then be labour intensity, independently from the moment in which the woman has been employed. In consequence, the new hypothesis would be that the higher the fertility and nuptiality levels, the lower the level of activity, independently from whether women have migrated or not.

4.4. Social differentiation and migratory condition determination in demographic behaviour

In this last part, we will refer to demographic behaviour differences depending on both the migratory condition and the independent variables used to describe the social profile of the four female subpopulations we have analysed. The basic aims are to discover which factors are most discriminatory of differential demographic behaviour, and to analyse the direction in which these social variables affect demographic behaviour in each of the four female subpopulations.

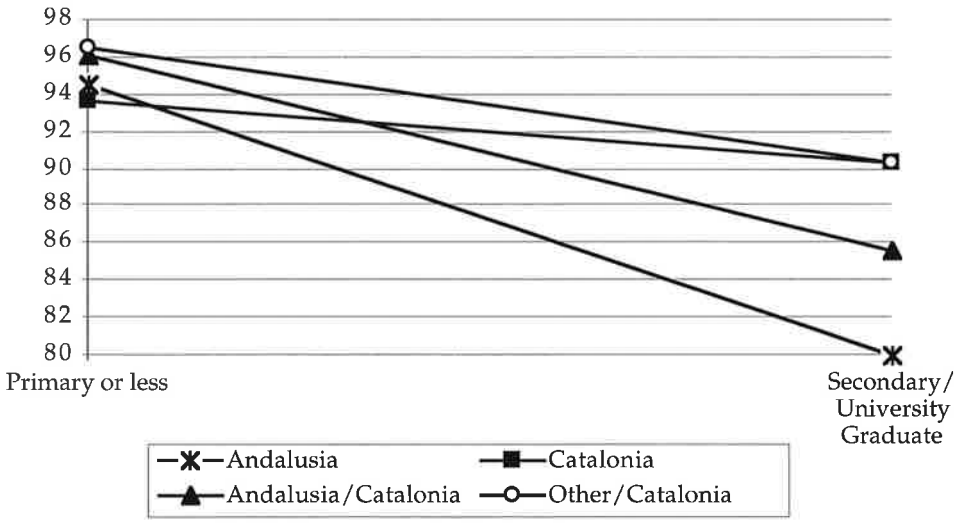
4.4.1. Migratory condition, level of instruction and demographic behaviour

Due to the relevance of this variable in previous analyses, it has been decided to analyse it in greater detail. Therefore, our aim here is to analyse its effect on each of the demographic components separately.

Differences in **nuptial intensity** measured as the percentage of women that have once been married, depending on their migratory condition and their level of instruction, show that the higher the level of instruction the lower the nuptial intensity is. These results have been widely obtained in other specialised literature. This fact is generally used as an indicator that women act as supply in the marriage market.

Despite the fact this relation is applicable to all migrant groups, the link is much clearer when they are classified in only two instruction categories: those who have primary schooling as a maximum level of instruction, and those who have reached a higher one.

Graph 4. Nuptiality intensity by level of studies and migratory itinerary of women belonging to the 1941-50 generation, interviewed in 1991



Source: SOLSONA, M; AJENJO, M; TREVIÑO, R & JIMENEZ, E (1995): *Immigració femenina, integració laboral i comportament demogràfic a Catalunya* Research Report done for the CIRIT. (CS93-9.914). Graph 12.

If the two categories in each group are linked by a line as shown in graph 4, we can see that the slope of the two Andalusian lines are quite similar. Differences in nuptial intensity between the two instruction categories are much higher than for the Catalan groups. This is due to the fact that Catalan women with a low level of education have a lower nuptiality intensity than the rest of female subpopulations with a low level of education. Therefore, their nuptiality intensity is much nearer to that of women with higher education. Other non

Andalusian female migrant have an intermediate position.

Apart from the instruction level, there are other obvious variables that define marriage market subpopulations. In this sense it should be stated that market segments to which, for example, Catalan non migrant women have access are not only defined by variables such as social category but also by factors such as migratory condition. This is to say it is quite probable that Catalan and Andalusian women with the same level of instruction will not have probably belonged to the same marriage market segment. Therefore, differences in the influence of the instruction level in the mean age at nuptiality should not mean that the Catalan nuptial market is less segmented; it rather indicates that there are other variables that influence as much.

Instruction level has been divided into four categories (illiterate, without studies or with uncompleted primary schooling, with completed primary schooling, with completed secondary schooling or university graduate) to have a better in-depth view of its effect on **the mean age at nuptiality.**

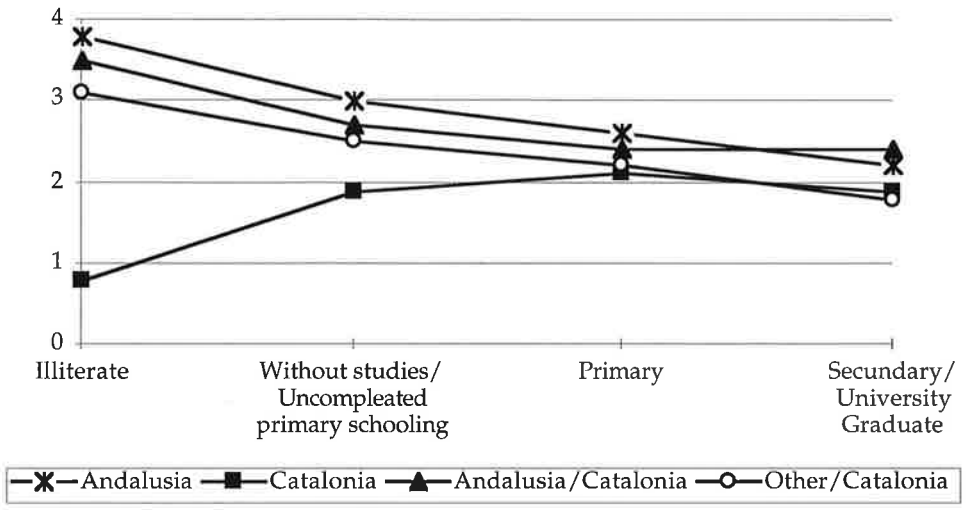
Statistical analysis of the relation between the mean age at marriage, level of instruction and survey subpopulation, clearly shows that the two variables are influential enough as to condition the marriage mean age. However, the interaction between the two variables is not significant enough, and therefore, we can not state that there are differences in behaviour between the survey population groups. Therefore, we can not say that each population subgroup follows its own particular model. What can be deduced from data is that independently from the migratory itinerary, the relationship between the instruction level and nuptiality is positive. The higher the level of instruction is the higher the age at first marriage or union. The only exception are illiterate Catalan women that have a much later age at nuptiality. However, the low number of women in this group makes the result of the comparison not significant.

For **fertility intensity** analysis, the instruction level variable has been divided in the following categories: illiterate; without studies or with uncompleted primary schooling; primary school completed; and finally, with finished secondary or university studies.

It should firstly be noted, as shown in graph 5, that Andalusian non migrant women have the maximum level of variability in the number of children by level of instruction. If illiterate women have 3.8 children per women, those who

have finished university studies have only 2.2. The range within Catalan non migrant women is much lower.

Graph 5. TFR by level of studies and migratory itinerary of studies of women belonging to the 1941-50 generation, interviewed in 1991



Source: SOLSONA, M; AJENJO, M; TREVINO, R & JIMENEZ, E (1995): *Immigració femenina, integració laboral i comportament demogràfic a Catalunya* Research Report done for the CIRIT. (CS93-9.914). Graph 13.

On their part, Andalusian migrant women have a lower level of variability than the other Andalusian women. All migrant women that have not at least finished secondary schooling have a lower fertility level than the non migrant Andalusian women. However, those migrants who have finished secondary schooling, have a slightly higher fertility level than those who have remain in their original community.

The analysis shows the existence of two different fertility models. The first model could be called the 'classical' model where there is a negative relationship between the level of fertility and that of instruction. The second model, which is 'atypical', as there is no linear relationship between the two variables, is clearly followed by Catalan non migrant women. Women who have the highest fertility levels are those with an intermediate level of education, while the lowest levels are found within the women with extreme levels of education.

These two models do not show up clearly in the interaction analysis. However, it gives a p-value (0.051), so near to the significance level that we do not think we are totally mistaken when we speak about the existence of the two models. It is probable that the two models are the result of the two different ways in which fertility levels have descended. While high social categories started the descent in the Andalusian migrant population, for Catalan women it was low

social groups who did it. However, we must also take into account that these generations were those that had a maximum fertility level of this century.

Results concerning **mean age at the birth of the first child** depending on the migratory condition and the instruction level show that only extreme groups seem to be different, while the middle ones seem to be similar among them. Therefore, we established three groups: illiterate; with university studies; and an intermidiate group made up of all the rest.

Differences in the age at the first child depending on the level of instruction are most acute between Andalusian migrant women.

Non migrant Andalusian women and the two migrant groups seem to have a positive relationship between the calendar of the first child birth and the instruction level. However, Catalonia follows another model. It is women with an intermediate level of education that have their first child at a youngest age; illiterate and women with university studies have their first child nearly two years later, at the age of 28. The existence of two models, that already appeared for the TFR, has been ratified this time by the statistical test, as it sais that these interactions cannot be rejected (p-value=0.006).

Andalusian illiterate migrant women and those Andalusian migrant women with university studies have their first child at an older age than those who did not migrate. However, those Andalusian migrant women with an intermediate level of education had their first child at a lower age than those who stayed in Andalusia.

Finally, it must be said that the largest differences between the four studied groups are between the age at which illiterate women had their first child.

4.4.2. Marital status, migratory itinerary and demographic behaviour

Married migrant women who arrived in Catalonia after the age of 17 show differences in fertility intensity, age at first union and first birth, both by the stage in the family life cycle at which they migrated and migrant origin.

Those women who were single a year after migration, married later than those who were married when they moved. As shown in chart 8 those Andalusian women who migrated being single, married in average a year later, while those migrants from other origins delayed marriage for two years. Therefore, the latter have a similar behaviour to non migrant Catalan women.

Chart 8. Fertility and nupciality by marital status when migrating of women belonging to the 1941-50 generation, interviewed in 1991

	Have migrated married	Have migrated single
Mean age at first union		
Andalusia/Catalonia	22.1	23.4
Other/Catalonia	24.4	26.6
Mean age at first child		
Andalusia/Catalonia	24.0	26.4
Other/Catalonia	26.0	28.3
TFR		
Andalusia/Catalonia	2.8	2.4
Other/Catalonia	2.3	2.1

Source: SOLSONA, M; AJENJO, M; TREVIÑO, R & JIMENEZ, E (1995): *Immigració femenina, integració laboral i comportament demogràfic a Catalunya* Research Report done for the CIRIT. (CS93-9.914). Tables 22 to 24.

Results in chart 8 show that women who were single when migrating had their first child, in average, about 2 years later than those that were already married when migrating. It should also be stated that differences in age at first child between those women coming from Andalusia and those from other origins are the same for those who migrated being single and those who were married. Therefore, those Andalusian migrants who were single, married at the same age as those who came from other origins and had already married when migrating. In short, the place of origin and life cycle stage when migrating are basic variables in determining differential demographic behaviour of migrants.

Chart 8 shows that women who were single when migrating have a lower fertility intensity than those who were already married. Andalusian migrant women have a higher number of children than those coming from other areas. Nevertheless, differences in demographic behaviour depending on the moment of migration are larger between Andalusian women (0.4 children of difference between those who migrated single and those who had already married) than between other migrants (0.2 children per women).

Finally we should say that differences in fertility intensity between the two migrant groups are much higher between married than between single migrants. We have formulated three hypothesis that are not exclusive which could explain these results. Firstly, married migrants could have had children before migrating.

Secondly, there could be a higher rate of selection between single migrants than between married ones, as single women seem to have been through a social structure selection in the origin. And finally, the third hypothesis would be that single women, who migrated younger, would have had a longer period of residence in Catalonia and this could have had the effect to diminish differences between the two communities of origin through a process of addaption to the reproductive normes of the destination society.

4.4.3. Migratory condition, type of union and demographic behaviour

To analyse these variables we only used the following three subgroups: Catalan non migrant women, Andalusian migrants, and non migrant Andalusian women. Marriage types were divided into endogamic (man and woman from the same community) and mixed marriages (woman from Andalusia and man from another one).

We have already pointed out that studies on the 1960's nuptiality trends have, said that, within the spanish context, both the Catalan and the Andalusian communities have early mean age at first marriage, and therefore there should not be many differences between the six groups in chart 9. The only statistically significant differences are between endogamic married Andalusian migrants, all Catalan groups and endogamic Andalusian marriages. The difference is that endogamic married Andalusian migrants had married before than the three other groups. If endogamicly married non migrant Andalusian women married at the age of 24, migrant Andalusian women who had endogamic marriages married at the age of 22. Most of these women were probably already married when migrating, so migration would have probably accelerated marriage or union formation. Finally, it should be said that there does not seem to be great calendar differences among the other groups.

As it can be seen in chart 9, statistical differences in the mean age of women at the birth of their first child are found also between the latter groups mentioned. Those migrants with endogamic marriages have their first child a year before, at the age of 24, than those women with endogamic marriages that stayed in Andalusia. The conclusion is therefore that migration advances the events that regulate the family calendar.

Differences in fertility intensity were not confirmed (see chart 9). Our hypothesis says that the maximum difference in the number of children would be between endogamicly married Catalan women and endogamicly married

Andalusian non migrant women. The marriage type, both within migrants and non migrant women, would cause differential demographic behaviour. However, the data indicate that there are no significant differences by the type of marriage. The only significant ones are between Catalan endogamic and mixed marriages, and the other four Andalusian groups. Mixed married migrants have a similar number of children than the rest of migrants and Andalusian non migrant. In conclusion, the importance of the place of origin overrules any differences found by type of marriage.

Chart 9. Fertility and nupciality by type of marriage of women belonging to the 1941-50 generation, interviewed in 1991

	Endogamic	Mixed
Mean age at first union		
Catalonia	23.4	24.5
Andalusia/Catalonia	22.4	23.1
Andalusia	23.8	23.3
Mean age at first child		
Catalonia	23.4	24.5
Andalusia/Catalonia	22.4	23.1
Andalusia	23.8	23.3
TFR		
Catalonia	2.2	2.1
Andalusia/Catalonia	2.8	2.7
Andalusia	3.1	2.9

Source: SOLSONA, M; AJENJO, M; TREVIÑO, R & JIMENEZ, E (1995): *Immigració femenina, integració laboral i comportament demogràfic a Catalunya* Research Report done for the CIRIT. (CS93-9.914). Tables 25 to 27.

5. Summary and conclusions

The first general conclusion that can be drawn from these results is that we have to reject the idea that migrants undergo a process of assimilation of the destination population's behaviour. Therefore, we must reject the idea that acculturation is part of the migrating process. In our case, the classical hypothesis that migrants nuptial and reproductive behaviour is between that of the origin

population and that of the destination one must be rejected.

In the following paragraphs we will go back to our hypothesis and see whether we can accept or must reject them in the light of our results.

First Hypothesis

1. Andalusian migrant women will have fertility levels between those of Catalonia and Andalusia. This hypothesis is based both on historical fertility differences between the two communities and on references to differential migrant and non migrant demographic behaviour which consider that migrant populations have a fertility level between that of the origin and that of the destination community.

In the first place, we should say that the research team was probably influenced by social beliefs and was not critical enough of them. In the second place, Andalusian migrant fertility intensity was much more similar to that of non mobile Andalusians than to Catalan origin women. The mean age at the birth of the first child is a year younger for Andalusian migrant women than for any other group. In this sense, it is also noteworthy the fact that the two non migrant groups have a similar behaviour. Migration seems to have accelerated the family life cycle key events.

Second Hypothesis

2. There will not be large differences in nuptiality patterns as, within the Spanish context, both regions have historically had similarly early and intense rates.

Migration also seems to advance one year Andalusian's nuptial calendar. Therefore, fertility and nuptiality are both advanced one year through migration. On the other hand, migration also increases the probability of marriage. The percentage of married women among migrants (Andalusian or from another origin) is higher than in the Catalan and Andalusian populations.

Third hypothesis

3. Differences between the Andalusian migrant women and the Catalan origin one will be based on the diverse social patterns of both populations rather than migration influence.

Even though the instruction level is one of the variables that we have studied

in grater depth, the results do not to enable us to accept this hypothesis. This variable does not seem to discriminate different demographic behaviours within the Catalan women. However, it clearly influences the Andalusian migrant and non migrant populations. Those with a higher instruction level have less children. The lowest fertility level of Andalusian women corresponds to a medium fertility level in the Catalan population. Therefore, differences in fertility level among Catalan and Andalusian women with the same instruction level increase as the level of instruction gets lower.

Fourth hypothesis

4. Those women who have been in the Catalan labour force will marry for the first time later and will have lower fertility levels.

Results force us to introduce some variations to this hypothesis. Fertility is lower for those Andalusian migrants who have been active in some period of their lives, though this also happens for non migrant Andalusian women. However, this does neither apply to Catalan non migrant women nor to the other migrant group. The same happens with nuptiality. Therefore, as activity levels are lower within the non migrant Andalusian women, we can say that migration seems to increase the probability to become active for those women who migrate.

Fifth hypothesis

5. Mixed couples (woman born in Andalusia married to a man born in another community) will have a fertility levels between that of couples and unions where both partners are Andalusians (maximum level) and that of couples where they are both Catalans by birth (minimum level).

This hypothesis must be also rejected. We can take non migrant women as an example. While Andalusian women had on average 2.9 children, Catalan women had 2 children. Fertility of those Andalusian migrant women married with an Andalusian man is 2.8 children and that of Andalusian migrant women married to other origin men is 2.7. Therefore, fertility levels of all Andalusian migrants is quite similar to the non migrant women of the same origin. It would be interesting however to see which is the behaviour within the second generation, that is within the daughters of migrant women.

Finally, we think it would be interesting to carry on with this type of research as we finally have an adequate source of information as well as good computer packages that allow to treat it. Therefore, we would like to finish by raising some questions with which we have been confronted during this research and could lead us to further research on this subject in the future.

Do mixed marriages between a Catalan woman and a man from another region have a more similar fertility level to Catalan endogamic marriages than mixed marriages between an Andalusian woman and a non Andalusian man? How are decisions taken within the couple in fertility matters? Who has the last word in this subject?

Does the first generation of non Andalusian migrant women, which have a smaller number of endogamic marriages, have fertility levels closer to those of Catalan women?

Is the instruction level a proximate variable which allows to know which of the women who were married when migrating become active after a period of residence in Catalonia? Does the fact of having had children before migration have an effect on the way in which other independent variables affect labour force integration?

Can the fact of having been active before migrating explain to a certain extent labour integration after migration?

Is there any relationship between the change in marital status due to migration and the change in labour status?

Is it possible to distinguish between a negative short term effect of migration in female labour activity and a positive long term effect?

Even though these questions were raised during the process of data analysis, we were not able to answer all of them as our data source does not provide information on several aspects that we needed to know to be able to approach these questions.

Do mixed marriages where the woman is from Catalonia and the man from another region have a more similar fertility level to Catalan endogamic marriages than those marriages where it is the woman who is from another region which is not Catalonia and the man is Catalan?

When push factors are the strongest, do changes in female labour status due to migration increase? Is the relationship the other way round for male population?

These questions can only be answered with the design of a new survey with the specific aim to answer them.

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