

Partner Choice and Marriage Among Migrants: The Integration Process of Migrants in the Port-City of Antwerp from a Life Course Perspective

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1. Introduction

“This multicultural approach, saying that we simply live side by side and live happily with each other has failed. Utterly Failed.”

- Angela Merkel, October 2010

“Our system of integration is working increasingly badly, because we have too many foreigners on our territory and we can no longer manage to find them accommodation, a job, a school”

- Nicolas Sarkozy, March 2012

Migration and integration are political topics which increasingly stir up feelings in Western Europe. In 2010 the German chancellor Angela Merkel claimed that Germany’s attempts to create a multicultural society have utterly failed and she claimed that a new approach towards the integration of newcomers is needed. Henceforth, migrants have to learn the German language, marriage migration and forced marriages are no longer acceptable and girls from migrant families are expected to participate in school outings, like their German classmates. With the help of resolute legislation, high criminality rates among migrants have to be lowered in order to avoid that some neighborhoods turn into no-go-areas for the police (Schrader, 2010). Merkel’s utterances gained approval from a wide range of politicians from several European countries.

More recently, the integration debate has received attention in France when Nicolas Sarkozy claimed in his presidential election campaign that integration policy is failing because simply too many migrants are arriving in France each year. In order to provide newcomers with education, employment and housing, it is necessary to halve the number of immigrants each year. Moreover, welfare benefits should only be available for those immigrants who reside ten years or longer in France and who have worked for at least five years. Finally, Sarkozy pointed his finger at the Jewish and Muslim community in France as he stated that kosher and halal products should be labeled appropriately because consumers might be unwilling to consume food which is prepared according to Jewish or Islamic law (Chrisafis, 2012).

These are just two examples that illustrate the integration debate in Western Europe. Participants in that debate implicitly or explicitly claim that immigration waves after WWII have changed Europe completely. Migrants are perceived as a threat and their integration process is claimed to be highly problematic, while, on the one hand, claims are made that immigrants lack efforts to become part of the receiving society, on the other hand failing integration is believed to be a product of a weak or non-existing integration policy.

2. Integration in the nineteenth and twentieth century

The contemporary debate on integration has urged historians to investigate how the integration of migrants in Western Europe took place prior to World War II (Bade, 2003; Lucassen, 2005; Lucassen, Feldman & Oltmer, 2006; Lucassen & Lucassen, 2011). Although it was only in the 1960s that Europe transformed from a typical net-emigration into a net-immigration region, Northwestern European societies started to receive more and more international migrants from countries like Italy and Poland as early as the nineteenth century. Contrary to the latest waves of immigrants and the transatlantic movement towards America, nineteenth and early twentieth century migration waves towards Western Europe are not part of the collective memory (Lucassen, 2005:13). As a consequence, immigration and integration are regarded as completely new challenges in Europe. There is, however, reason enough to believe that immigration is a constituent feature of Western European history and that integration in the past caused, like today, all kind of challenges (Bade et al., 2011; Hoerder, 2002).

Already during the *Ancien Régime*, the integration of both internal and international migration was hampered, as the protectionist guild system controlled to a large degree the access to the urban labor market. In order to perform a trade, one had to be a burgher of the city and a member of the guild. For migrants there existed all kind of restrictions on the obtainment of these privileges. As a consequence, migrants encountered integration problems upon arrival in the urban society and that is why many decided to leave the city again after a short stay in order to try their luck elsewhere (Lee, 1999; Lucassen, 2006b). Later, during the nineteenth century, in the age of nationalism, when guilds had been abolished, integration was also no self-evident process. Criminality, alcohol abuse, prostitution, births out of wedlock, infanticide and suicide - all seem to have occurred more often among migrants than among natives (Bouman & Bouman, 1995; Chevalier, 1984; Moch, 2003; Winter, 2009). Moreover, migrants tended to cluster in penurious, overcrowded neighborhoods, with poor living conditions (Lawton & Lee, 2002). The adherents of the *Chicago School of Sociology* perceive the lack of a social network as ultimate determinant for all problems related to migration. Many of the urban in-migrants were of rural origin and their movement towards a faceless urban society, was supposed to have had an disrupting effect. In the absence of family, friends and acquaintances, migrants who got into trouble were seduced to deviant behavior. And if we may believe sociologists like Bouman & Bouman (1955), many rural-to-urban migrants ran into difficulties upon arrival in the city:

“In a sense rural-to-urban migrants encountered the same problems of adaption as international migrants who settled abroad. One never ducks out of a familiar environment with impunity; one did not leave the group one was part of without inner uncertainty. Moving to the city meant for many

villagers a step into the unknown, especially in previous centuries in which every unforeseen setback could end in misery in the absence of social security... One moved often without any savings; took possession of a humble dwelling with a minimum of household goods; and had to discover whether there was any kind of job to find. Especially in the early period of adaption, poverty hit hard. The unskilled laborer had to accept the lowest paid, the dirtiest or the most dangerous job or he had to be willing to act as a strikebreaker. ... Only exceptionally the newly settled working class family experienced the favorable situation of swiftly obtained employment, good health, a moderate dwelling and the continuity of moral and religious traditions.” (Bouman & Bouman, 1955: 31-32)¹

The image of the integration process of nineteenth and early twentieth century migrants has been re-adjusted during the last decades. Problems of adaption are now believed to have been smaller among long-distance migrants and among stayers (Sewell, 1985; Lucassen, 2006c; Moch, 2003). This has to do with processes of selection. Long-distance migrants and stayers had more human capital at their disposal compared to short-distance migrants and leavers. Thanks to their schooling and work experience, these specific groups of migrants performed well at the labor market. Lucassen (2004) reached, for example, the conclusion that German stayers in Rotterdam reached even higher social positions than the average native inhabitant of that Dutch port city. This study and comparable research on stayers and long-distance migrants (Sewell, 1985; Jackson, 1997) have made necessary adaptations in the view on nineteenth and early twentieth century integration. However, this more positive picture of integration can also be put into question. First of all, were stayers a small minority among the waves of migrants. Five out of six migrants left Rotterdam within a year and other port cities experienced equally high turnovers of migrants (Lawton & Lee, 2002; Lesger, Lucassen & Schrover, 2002). Like stayers, long distance migrants were also a minority. In the nineteenth and early twentieth century the majority of newcomers in the city originated from the hinterland (Moch, 2003). This implies that the more rosy picture of integration concerns only a small minority of all migrants. In order to get a better insight into the integration process of migrants in the past, stayers, leavers, short and long distance migrants all need to be incorporated in one analysis. Moreover, it is necessary to follow these migrants during (a part of) their life course, otherwise it is hard to reach well-grounded conclusion about their fate.

At this moment, few studies exist in which the integration process of different types of migrants during the nineteenth century is analyzed from a life-course perspective (Wingens et al., 2011). For that time period, this has to do with a shortage of longitudinal sources on the micro-level and the way in which information from these sources is organized. First of all, only a few countries disposed of passive registration systems in the form of population registers. Belgium was the first country in which the keeping up-to-date of a nation-wide population register became compulsory by the

¹ Translated from the Dutch by the authors themselves.

government. During the nineteenth century only Italy (Kertzer & Hogan, 1985) and the Netherlands introduced a comparable nation-wide system (Van Baelen, 2007). Elsewhere in Europe, some longitudinal registration systems for smaller geographic entities were established, like the Roteman's registration system in Stockholm (Geschwind & Fogelvik, 2002). Migration research elsewhere in Europe is based on less appropriate sources, like censuses and the vital registration of births, marriages and death. Working with this type of sources implies that they are very limited in their observations of temporary migrants. However, even for the permanent migrants many events stay unobserved, since only at a restricted number of moments during the life course socio-economic and demographic information about these persons is obtained.

Nevertheless, for those regions with a population register, studies on migrants' integration from a life course perspective are also scarce. There is a practical reason for this. Until recently, historical demographers had to travel from one city archive to the other in order to follow migrants through time and space which is for large numbers of migrants simply not attainable. The construction of large historical demographic databases like the Historical Sample of the Netherlands (HSN), The Determinants of the Settlement Process of Immigrants in the Netherlands (DVI) and the Antwerp COR* Database, enable scholars to follow the traces of these migrants from within their office. From now on, (parts of) the life course of migrants can be 'reconstructed' and studied with the help of these extensive databases.

3. Theoretical Framework: Partner Choice and Marriage among Migrants

Partner choice and marriage timing are used as indicators of the socio-cultural integration process of migrants in both past and contemporary societies. When it comes to partner choice the principle question is to which degree migrants marry natives (Gordon, 1964; Blau, 1977; Hooghiemstra, 2001; Hwang et al., 1997; Schrover, 2005; Van de Putte, 2003). Mixed marriages are considered a result and a further stimulus for the integration process (Schrover, 2005). Exogamous marriages (here: with a native) prove that migrants are integrated to a certain degree. After all, high percentages of exogamous marriages assume that important intimate relations exist between migrants and natives and that both groups perceive each other as social equals (Kalmijn, 1998). Marrying a native stimulates the integration process of the migrant even further as this, amongst other things, leads to an extension of the social network of natives. Moreover, it is likely that a marriage with a native improves the language skills of the migrants and the children of the couple.

A short review of the literature on nuptiality among migrants in the past, makes clear that although a considerable proportion of immigrants in European cities married, the number of marriages between migrants and natives was limited (Rutten, 2005; Schrover, 2002; Van de Putte, 2003). At the

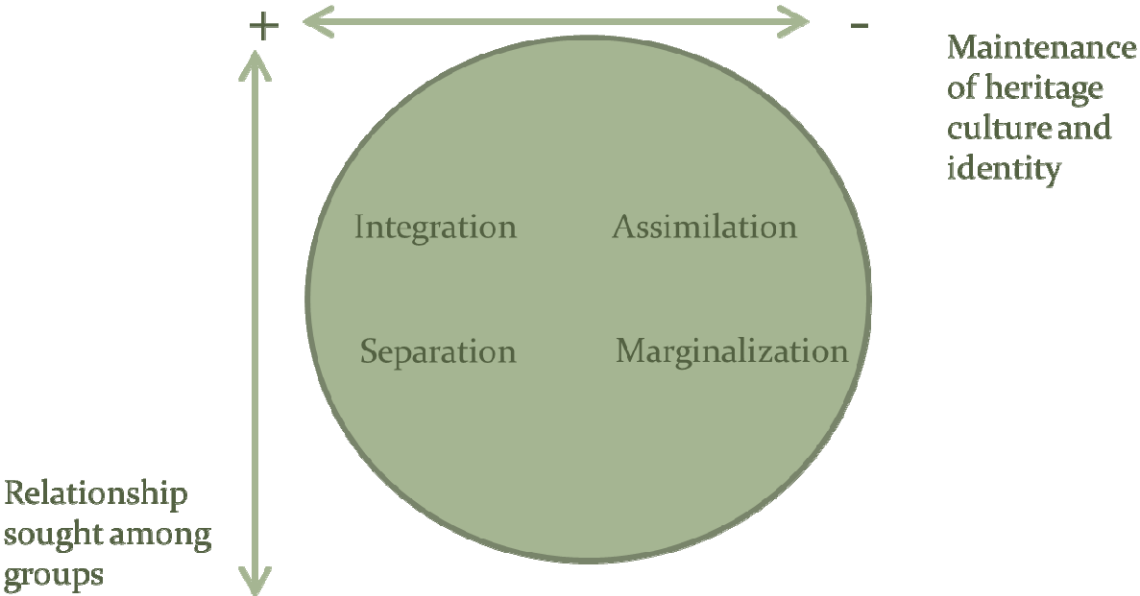
beginning of the nineteenth century, for example, only 21% of German women in Amsterdam married to a native husband from Amsterdam. Amsterdam-born men highly preferred native Amsterdam women (De Vries, 2007). It seems that mixed marriages were rather exceptional, because natives and migrants tried to evade each other in daily life. Both social groups competed with each other on the labor and housing markets, which caused hostility. Moreover, most of the migrants had a rural background and city dwellers were prejudiced against rural dwellers and *vice versa*. Furthermore, it was not uncommon that migrants practiced another religion and marrying someone with a different faith was taboo (Van de Putte, 2003). Language and other cultural differences could equally act as obstacles for natives and migrants to enter intimate relationships. Finally, in the nineteenth century most people married within their own social class. Differences in social class between migrants and natives, could therefore also give rise to a segregated marriage market. Industrialization and modernization did not terminate geographic homogamy on the marriage market. However the degree of homogamy differed among social groups. In the Flemish cities of Ghent, Leuven and Aalst, rural migrants and migrants from the lower social classes, had less chances of marrying with a native bride (Van de Putte, 2005).

Next to partner selection, marriage timing is also considered as an indicator of integration. Many historical studies show that migrants used to marry later and less than natives (Lee, 1999; Lynch, 1999; Kok, 2006; Moreels & Matthijs, 2011). This is often ascribed to the problems migrants encountered upon arrival in an alien environment. Amongst other things, language problems and the absence of a social network, could hinder migrants from finding a suitable marriage partner (Van Poppel, 1992). Apart from finding the right partner, one had to dispose of sufficient financial means in order to set up an independent household after the wedding. It took the couples-to-be often years to save enough money and to find an appropriate accommodation. Again, the situation for migrants was more complicated, as they first had to integrate at the labor market and had less people who could help them with their search for a decent and affordable dwelling. Moreover, a considerable proportion of the migrants arrived at an advanced age in the city, which meant that they had already a time-lag compared to natives. Recently, Moreels and Matthijs (2011) showed that due to heavy urban in-migration, the mean age at first marriage increased in Antwerp in the course of the nineteenth century. This happened at a time when due to the gradual disappearance of the Western European marriage pattern, elsewhere in Flanders mean ages at first marriage were in decline. This is a first indication that for migrants in Antwerp the process of adaption was challenging.

Cross-cultural psychological approaches can also shed interesting light on partner choices and marriage choices among migrants, since scholars in this field have richly contributed to the question how individuals after migration adapt to the new environment they settle in. According to John Berry

(1997) there are four types of acculturation strategies, namely assimilation, separation, integration and marginalization which follow from two fundamental preferences among migrants: (1) whether they aspire cultural maintenance or not and (2) whether they are willing to mingle with other cultural groups, especially natives (see figure 1). Migrants can choose to give up their own cultural identity and to mingle with natives. This strategy is known as *assimilation*. If migrants, by contrast, wish to preserve their own culture, and avoid interaction with other groups, we can talk about *separation*. *Integration* occurs if there is an interest in cultural maintenance, but exchange with other groups takes place. Finally *marginalization*, occurs when migrants do not strive for cultural maintenance, but at the same time do not mingle with other groups.

Figure 1. Acculturation Attitudes of Immigrant Groups (Berry, 1997).



We believed that partner and marriage choices reflect to a certain degree acculturation strategies. Migrants who marry natives seem to strive for *assimilation*. After all the fact that they marry someone outside their own group, makes it very assumable that they are open to mingle with natives and that cultural maintenance is not their highest aim. Otherwise they would have married somebody within their own group. Migrants who do marry migrants with the same geographic and cultural background seem to practice *separation*. They have their most important and intimate relations with people within their own group and cultural maintenance is important to them. Migrants who marry to migrants with another cultural and geographic background experience *integration*. These people do have intensive contact with people outside their own group, but cultural differences might hinder them from marrying natives. At the same time, the fact that they have intensive contacts with people from other groups, decreases their likelihood of marrying

another migrant with the same cultural background. Finally, it can be argued that migrants who stay against their will over longer periods of time single, experience *marginalization*. Little interest in the own cultural background may keep these migrants away from members of their own group, while they do not manage to set up intensive relations with natives and other groups of migrants (most likely because of exclusion and discrimination).

4. Research Questions and Hypotheses

In this paper, we aim to study the integration process of migrants by looking at partner choice and marriage timing from a life course perspective. To boot, we consider factors that can facilitate or hamper integration. To this end, we make a distinction between several forms of integration, based on Berry's acculturation scheme (1997). In other words, we do not only look at the marriage timing for migrants that marry locals (assimilation), but we are also interested in migrants that marry endogamous with migrants that have the same geographical and cultural background (separation), as well as in migrants that marry migrants from a different origin (integration). Censored individuals are those that remain single (marginalization). From this point of view, marriage in itself (irrespective of the origin of the partner) is seen as evidence of social integration. In other words, we consider social integration to be a prerequisite to meeting a partner. Based on these ideas, our main research question is as follows: are there differences in marriage timing between migrants that marry endogamous or migrants that marry exogamous (both with a native or with another migrant)? Furthermore, we wonder which factors can explain these differences. Do different groups of migrants have higher chances of getting married (endogamous or exogamous)? We check whether social class, age at migration, gender, country of origin, distance to origin, rural-urban differences, literacy and period play a role in this story. We wonder which effect these covariates have on the incidence of and endogamous marriage in the presence of the exogamous marriages (with a native or with another migrant) as competing events and vice versa. How these covariates are associated with the independent variables are discussed in the paragraph that deals with the data.

5. Historical Context

During the nineteenth century Antwerp transformed from a medium-sized textile center into a world port. In a time when Belgium's industrialization gained momentum, Antwerp textile industry vanished completely. This was the direct result of a lack of investments, through which Antwerp technically started to lag behind other textile cities, like Ghent (Lis, 1986). However, the fall of the textile industry did not cause a long-term economic crisis, since port-related jobs were growing swiftly. Under the ideals of the French revolution, Antwerp's port, which had been kept closed for more than two centuries by the Northern Netherlands, was re-opened at the end of the eighteenth

century. In the following decades Antwerp developed into the most important port-city of the Southern Netherlands and under Belgian rule a competitive rivalry with the less than a hundred kilometer north situated Dutch port city of Rotterdam started. The expansion of Antwerp's port was impressive. Already in 1840, less than half a century after its re-opening, Antwerp had become the twelfth largest port in the world measured by incoming cargo (Greefs, 2008).

Table 1. Migration in Antwerp, 1806-1890 (annual averages).

| Period | Immigration | Net-Migration | Gross Mobility |
|-----------|-------------|---------------|----------------|
| 1806-1815 | 2.160 | -77 | 4,397 |
| 1816-1820 | 1.614 | 445 | 2,783 |
| 1821-1829 | 2.285 | 1.296 | 3,274 |
| 1830-1846 | 1.830 | 254 | 3,406 |
| 1847-1856 | 4.445 | 737 | 8,153 |
| 1857-1866 | 6.300 | 1.505 | 11,096 |
| 1866-1880 | 8.480 | 2.076 | 14,885 |
| 1880-1890 | 12.841 | 2.408 | 23,273 |

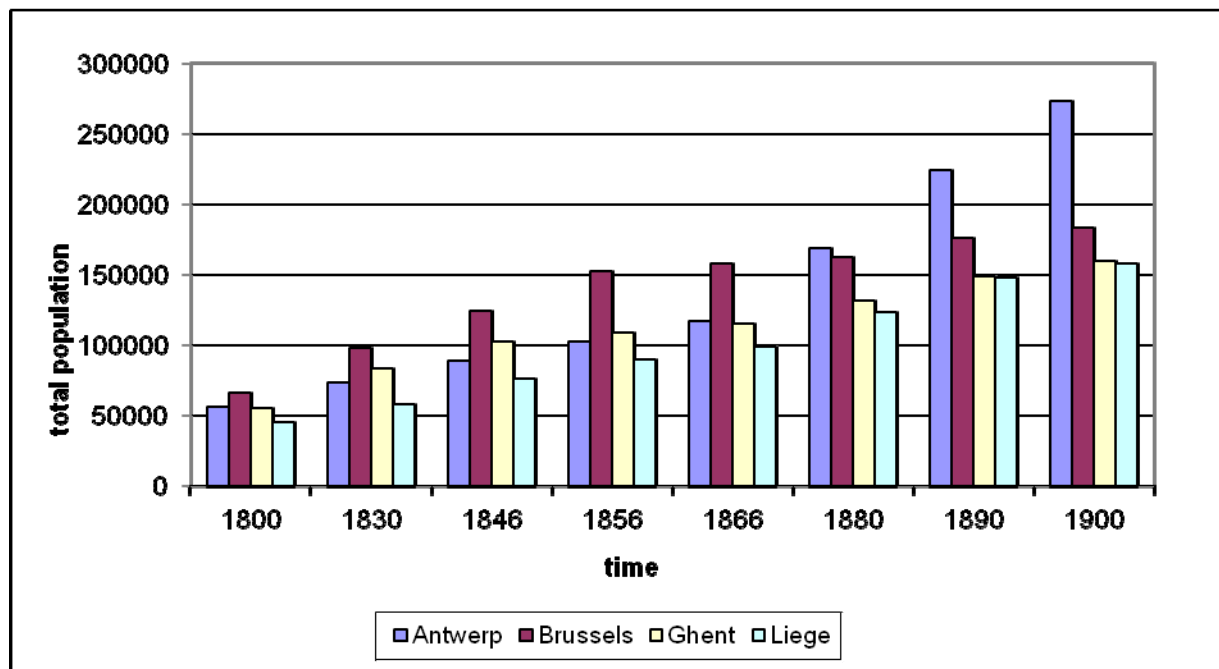
Source: Anne Winter (2009). *Migrants and Urban Change: Newcomers to Antwerp, 1760-1860*. London: Pickeering & Chatto, p.60.

Economic and demographic expansion went hand in hand. Due to a declining mortality, Western Europe experienced during the nineteenth century the largest population expansion in its history. In Antwerp natural population increase was reinforced by strong urban in-migration. Especially in the latter part of the nineteenth century, urban in-migration increased massively. Whereas on average between 1830 and 1846 – the period after the collapse of the textile industry – yearly some 1,830 migrants arrived in Antwerp, this figure rose to 12,841 in the period 1880-1890 (see table 1). Rising urban in-migration was on the one hand a result of crops failure and agricultural crises in the Flemish countryside, on the other it was a reaction to the growing demand for laborers in the city on the Scheldt (Winter, 2009). As a result of these developments, Antwerp became in the course of the nineteenth century the largest city of Belgium. Its total population grew from 55,925 inhabitants in 1800 to 272,831 in 1900. According to Jaap Kruithof (1964), between 57 and 72% of the population growth can be ascribed to urban in-migration.

Antwerp's 19th century urban in-migration can be characterized by following features. First, most urban in-migrants were short distance migrants who originated from the city's direct hinterland: the province of Antwerp. Foreign migrants originated mostly from the Netherlands and Germany (De Munck, Greefs & Winter, 2010). Not only the number of urban in-migrants grew in the course of the

nineteenth century, but also the area of recruitment was extended. Between 1796 and 1855 the average distance between Antwerp and the migrant's place of birth increased from 61 to 131 kilometers (Winter 2009, 107). Striking is also the fact that short and long distance migrants settled separately. That is at least what we conclude from table 2. That table is based on the 1900-census and divides the population of Antwerp and its suburbs into three categories: (1) born in the same municipality (2) born in another Belgian municipality and (3) born abroad.

Figure 2. The Total Population of the Four Largest Belgian Cities during the 19th Century



Source: Kruithof, J. (1964). 'De Demografische ontwikkeling in de XIXde eeuw'. In: Genootschap voor Antwerpse Geschiedenis, *Bouwstoffen voor de geschiedenis van Antwerpen in de XIXde eeuw* (Pp. 508-543). Antwerp: Anversois, p.510

Table 2 makes clear that migrants made up a considerable part of the population of Antwerp and its suburbs and that only a minority of the migrants were of foreign descent. It is remarkable that the proportion of international migrants in the city of Antwerp was considerably higher than in the city's suburbs, while the proportion of internal migrants was lower in the city than in its suburbs. This makes it assumable that international migrants had a profile which differed completely from that of the internal migrants. Whereas the majority of internal migrants originated from the countryside, international migrants were probably mostly recruited from the urban environment. Their preference for the city of Antwerp above semi-rural municipalities like Hoboken and Deurne strengthens this idea. Moreover, this settlement pattern presumes, that international migrants were wealthier than internal migrants. After all, in the city of Antwerp housing was many times more expansive than in the suburbs. This settlement pattern is in line with earlier findings. Lis (1986)

demonstrated for example that the majority of rural migrants in Antwerp lived in misery, while Greefs (2008), on the other hand, showed that the re-opening of the port went hand in hand with the settlement of a new wealthy trade elite, largely of foreign descent.

Table 2. Origin of Antwerp's Population in 1900 According to Birth Municipality (%)

| | % born in the same municipality | % born in another Belgian municipality | % born abroad |
|-------------------|--|---|----------------------|
| Antwerpen | 56,7 | 33,1 | 10,2 |
| Hoboken | 51,3 | 45,9 | 2,8 |
| Wilryck | 59,7 | 39,2 | 1,1 |
| Berchem | 37,9 | 57,1 | 5,0 |
| Borgerhout | 45,1 | 51,1 | 3,7 |
| Deurne | 50,5 | 47,4 | 2,1 |
| Merxem | 47,8 | 47,2 | 5,0 |
| Eeckeren | 62,1 | 34,6 | 3,3 |

Source: Recensement Général du 31 décembre 1900

Another important feature of the migration pattern of Antwerp is the high total mobility of migrants. Similar to other European and American cities, the largest part of the Antwerp in-migrants left the city within three months (Darroch, 1981; Moch, 2003; Thernstrom, 1973; Winter, 2009). There are several reasons for this. First of all, Antwerp was a place where many migrants from Central Europe took a ship to America. These migrants had not the intention to stay any longer in the city on the Scheldt. The same goes for most of the life cycle servants and apprentices. They only settled for a limited amount of time in Antwerp in order to save money and acquire skills. Subsequently, they moved back to where they came from or tried their luck elsewhere. A considerable part of the agricultural migrants also returned after having saved some money in the industry or the port. Upon return these peasants invested their savings in agriculture. They stayed on the countryside until they encountered financial problems once again (Klep, 1981; Hochstadt, 2002). High mobility reflected also trouble on the urban labor market. Only a minority of the labor force was from January till December employed in the port (Winter, 2009). Unemployment is therefore another reason why many urban in-migrants left Antwerp after a few weeks or months of settlement. Problems at the housing market were still another reason for the high mobility. Due to high natural population growth and high rates of urban in-migration, the pressure on the housing market increase in the course of the nineteenth century. The fact that Antwerp was a military stronghold, caused also trouble on the housing market. For that reason the city of Antwerp could not be extended outside its ramparts till 1860. As a consequence population pressure reached a maximum during the 1850s.

Most of the migrants arrived early in their life (60% of the males and 62% of the females arrived between age 16 and 30) and most of them were single (Winter, 2009). Many of them were life cycle servants and apprentices, who wanted learn a trade. Furthermore, Antwerp attracted more male than female labor migrants, because port labor is physically demanding. Especially among the international migrants, women were underrepresented. Females dominated, by contrast, the short-distant migration from Antwerp's hinterland (De Munck, Greefs & Winter, 2010).

6. Data

To analyze the research questions we have put forward, we use data from the Antwerp COR*-database (Van Baelen, 2007; Matthijs & Moreels, 2010). The data has been collected by employees of the research group Family and Population at the Centre of Sociological Research of the Catholic University of Leuven between 2003 and 2010. The COR*-database contains a representative letter-sample of the population living in the district of Antwerp between 1846 and 1920 and is based on the population registers and the vital registration of births, marriages and deaths. Geographically, the database encompasses both the city of Antwerp, as well as the surrounding semi-rural and rural municipalities of the entire Antwerp district. Personal, demographic and social-economic details were gathered from those population registers and vital registration of births, marriages and deaths for individuals whose last name starts with the letter-combination 'Cor'. In addition to this, the same information has been gathered for live-in family member with a different surname (partners, uncles, aunts, nephews, nieces, etc.). After the cleaning and linking of the dataset, the dataset comprises 33.583 life courses, of which 17.2% (N: 5777) are completed. In other words, we have the ability to follow roughly 6000 individuals from cradle to grave. The high proportions of incomplete life courses is due to migration and the large amount of people that were still alive at the opening of the new population register in 1920. No data has been collected after that date for practical reasons concerning privacy legislation.

Figure 3. Antwerp District



Source: Matthijs, K. & Moreels, S. (2010). The Antwerp Cor*Database: A Unique Flemish Source for Historical Demographic Data.

The choice for a letter sample is based on several motives. First of all, this approach is rewarding in facilitating the search of individuals from various sources in different municipalities. This is especially true for the retracing of migrants. Selecting the same letter-sample in the different sources over the municipalities increases the odds of selecting those migrants significantly. A second advantage of a letter sample lies in the higher probability of selecting relatives. Ideally, this enables us not only to study family relations within a household, but also family members that live elsewhere.

The choice for family names that start with Cor* is well-considered. First, it has been proven that this group of individuals is distributed evenly across Flanders. Moreover, this group is representative for the 19th century Flemish population from a social-demographic point of view. With regard to linguistic variation, tests were carried out to examine whether or not this letter sample exempted too many foreign migrants. This was not the case seeing that Dutch and German migrants are well represented in the data, as well as migrants from different countries and continents. The majority, however, originated from European countries. In total, the Cor*-database comprises 2.472 international migrants.

The database we have used in order to answer our research questions, contains both internal and international migrants that live in the city of Antwerp and its suburbs Hoboken, Merksem, Wilrijk, Berchem, Borgerhout and Deurne. We consider migrants those individuals that were not born in Antwerp or the suburbs mentioned before, but have settled in the area between 1846 and 1920. Of all these migrants, we selected migrants that were single at the time of migration. Subsequently, following events and accompanying details about these migrants have been sorted out of the sources. Thus, we created a database with following information: birth, immigration, first marriage, emigration and death. Moreover, we calculated the dates on which the migrant was respectively 16 and 50 years old and included them as events, provided that the migrant indeed reached these years and was still living in the Antwerp area at those ages.

By means of the above-mentioned data we created an episode-table for a total of 1847 individuals, of which 904 are men and 939 are women. 391 migrants in the episode-table are foreign 1452 are born on Belgian territory. Among the international migrants, men are in the majority (224 men vs. 167 women). For the national migrants, on the other hand, women are more well-presented (680 men vs. 772 women). Among the long-distance migrants, 704 individuals are men, whilst 714 are women (total: 1418). Short-distance migrants constituted a minority, of which 200 were men and 225 were women (total: 425). In other words, men and women are relatively equally distributed among the different migrant groups.

From the migrants that established themselves in Antwerp, 671 arrived as a child (i.e. younger than 16), 671). In all probability, these people accompanied their parents. 922 moved to Antwerp between the ages of 16 and 30, whilst 222 only migrated to Antwerp after their 30s. In other words, it is clear that the migrating population settled in Antwerp at quite a young age.

To the episodes tables following details were added: name, last name, sex, place of birth, date of birth, age at arrival, literacy and profession. When the migrant was married during his stay in Antwerp, the same information was added for the partner. Due to the fact that the majority of migrants left Antwerp within the year, it is not surprising that the number of registered marriages is very limited. In total, there are 302 migrants of the 1844 that are married. Only 14 married a fellow-villager, whilst 95 married a migrant from a different geographical background and 74 migrants married a local.

The selected information was used to create following variables that are used as covariates in our analysis.

Age at migration: age at migration influences the chances of getting married. In this regard, the assimilation theory states that the degree of integration is higher for migrants that have migrated at an early age (Gordon, 1964, Hwang et al., 1997). In terms of effects, we expect the effect to be larger for those migrants that married a native than for migrants that married another migrant, especially for those marrying a migrant from the same birth town. The variable was construed as a categorical variable with three categories (migration < 16 years old, migration between 16 and 30 years old and migration > 30 years old).

Social class: from a competition hypothesis point-of-view, a higher social class is positively related to higher chances to get married (Elder, 1969; Kalmijn, 1994, Mare, 1991) because a higher social position goes hand in hand with bargaining power. Partner choice is in this case determined economically and can be associated with the idea that the marriage market is characterized by competition for scarce resources. Moreover, the occupational structure of the higher classes enable those individuals to have more contact with the autochthonous population, which could lead to an increase exogamous marriages. The social class variable, based on occupational titles, was transformed from standardized HISCO-codes (Van Leeuwen et al., 2002) into a meaningful class-scheme, the SOCPO-classification, which is based on the concept of 'social power' (Van de Putte & Miles, 2005). Due to the small sample size, this class scheme was dichotomized into a variable that distinguishes between the lower classes (unschooled, semi-schooled and schooled workers) and the higher classes (middle class and elite).

Gender: the development of the harbor of Antwerp led to an enormous demand for physically strong laborers with a lot of stamina. As a consequence, 19th century Antwerp attracted a lot of male migrants (Lis, 1986; Winter, 2009). A skewed gender ratio could mean that men had to look further than women to find a partner (Blau, 1977). We expect a difference in effect between endogamous and exogamous marriages, at which men will have higher odds of ending up marrying exogamous and women to marry endogamous. On the other hand, it might be possible that men have a higher possibility to engage in any kind of marriage, since they have less isolated occupations. Women's occupations were confined to occupations, such as household servants. These isolated occupations could make it difficult for women to build up a social network and find a potential spouse. There are indications this was especially the case by the end of the nineteenth century, due to the centralization and specialization of factory labor and with the rise of the male breadwinner model (Van Haute, 2002).

Origin migrant (country and distance): as stated before, international migration was characterized in the second part of the nineteenth century by a higher social class and better integration (Lucassen, 2005). We distinguished between national migrants (Belgium) and international migrants (originating from other countries than Belgium). We expect for international migrants to have a higher probability to marry and that the effect is stronger regarding exogamous marriages. On the other side, we do not want to overestimate the effect of country of origin, because the overrepresentation of long-distance migrants in that group (Moch, 2003). Therefore, we also constructed a variable which measures long-distance migration. According to Moch (2003) a distance of 20 kilometers was considered short-time migration. Longer distances than those 20 kilometers were considered long-distance migration. By controlling for both country of origin and the distance of migration, we should be able to get a more refined image.

Rural-urban differences: following the ideas of Bouman & Bouman (1955), we will check whether migrants that came from the country side to the Antwerp area had lower chances of integrating by marriage. A lack of a social network is considered the largest cause. We expect no difference in the effect between exogamous and endogamous marriages.

Literacy: rising levels of literacy and geographical mobility seem to have been interrelated in the past (Heffernan, 1989). We include literacy because it can be seen as an indicator of standard-of-living, as an example of the possibility to invest in long-term determinants of well-being (Nicholas & Nicholas, 1992). Besides this, literacy is also related to schooling and points to human capital. Moreover, literacy might also be a necessary condition of entry or to acceptance within a certain social milieu (Bonnieil & Rostental, 1999). Since all these aspects are favorable traits on the marriage market, we expect migrants that marry that marry exogamous have higher odds of being literate. We expect the largest effect in the group that married exogamous with a local.

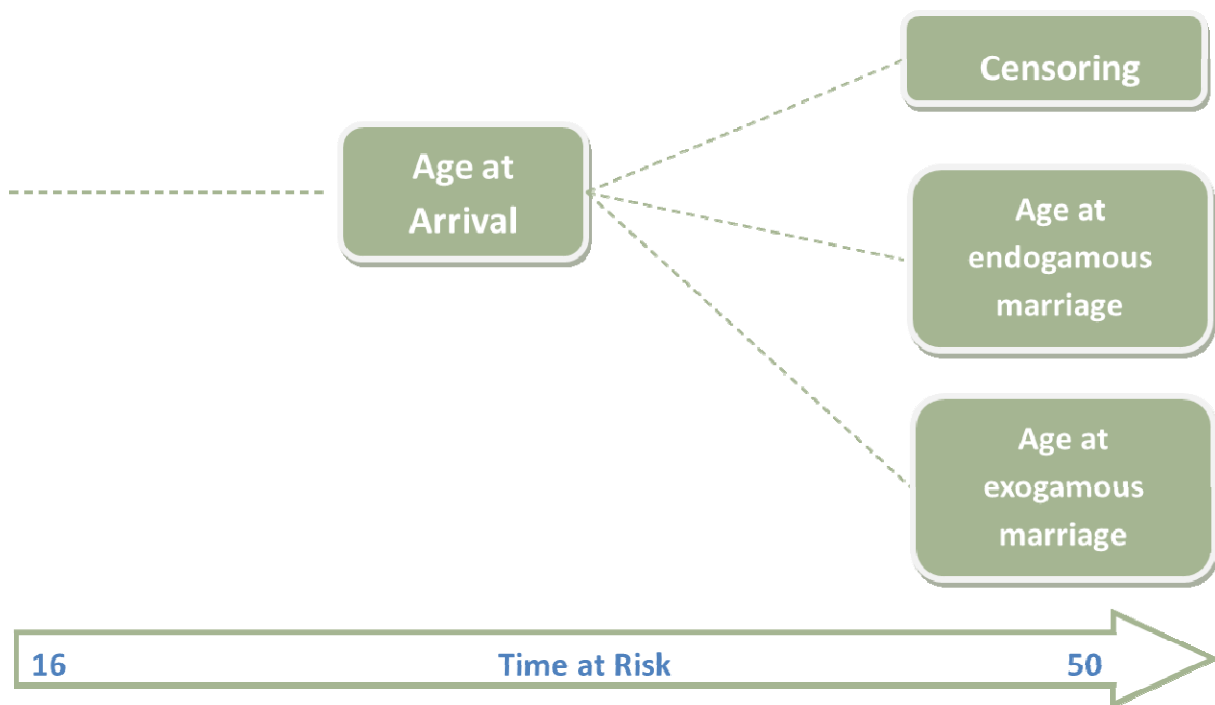
Period: the period under investigation is 1803 until 1922. Antwerp was characterized by continuity, both with regard to population growth and immigration, as well as with the expansion of the harbor. A few important breaking points during that period are the fall of ramparts in 1860 and WWI (1914-1918). The fall of the ramparts is important because it decreased the pressure and competition on the housing market (Lis, 1977), whereby negative feelings towards migrants possibly demised. Because we only have date of birth at our disposal, we created birth cohorts based on the tipping points when the subjects of research reached marital age (16 years old). The variable that was constructed consisted originally out

of three categories (1803-1944; 1945-1903; 1904-1922), but since the cross tables of the last period and marital status resulted in empty cells, we dichotomized the variable in a period before 1845 and a period after 1845.

7. Competing Risks Event History Analysis

Generally, partner choice and marital timing are studied independently in integration studies. Amongst other things, this has to do with the fact that one needs longitudinal data in order to study marriage timing, whilst partner choice can be studied using cross-sectional data. By means of a competing risks regression we intent in studying both indicators at the same time. Competing risks analysis is used in a situation where the individual is exposed to more than one event. In this case, we consider the competing risks on marrying endogamous and exogamous (with a migrant or with a native) from a longitudinal perspective (see conceptual model in figure 4).

Figure 4. Conceptual model



When stating that an event is ‘competitive’, we refer to the fact that only one event (endogamous or exogamous marriage) can occur first. The estimation of our postulated model via well-known and popular Cox regression (Cox, 1972) is not sufficient in the presence of competing events because the cause-specific Cox models considers the competing risk we are interested in as censored observations. A second shortcoming is that the cause-specific hazard offers no direct interpretation in terms of survival chances (Kim, 2007). An adaption of the Cox models is possible, but is very time

consuming and demands a specially adapted interpretation. Fine and Gray (1999) have developed a semi-parametric method that estimates cumulative incidence functions, based on the proportional hazards models. The use of these functions explicitly enables us to study a competing risks situation, but is interpretatively closely related to the hazard and survivor functions. The use of this method of analysis allows us to study the different paths to integration and the factors that contribute in a way that is both easy to interpret and that permits the inclusion of various covariates in the analyses (Cleves et al., 2010).

Cumulative incidence is defined as the cumulative probability that an event X has taken place in the presence of competing or alternative events. Mathematically, it can be represented as follows:

$$F_k(t) = \Pr(\text{failure time } T \leq t, \text{ cause} = k) = \int_0^t S(u) \lambda_k(u) du$$

This expression shows that the cumulative incidence of an event k is a function of the non-occurrence of the alternative event (S(u)) until time t and the cause-specific hazard of the central event ($\lambda_k(u)$) at that moment. At each moment are these K cumulative incidence functions (CIF) added to the probability of the non-occurrence of an alternative event (Dignam & Kocherginsky, 2008).

We wonder if different groups of migrants have different acculturation strategies, measured by marriage type (based on Berry's acculturation scheme, 1997). The events are continually examined in the presence of the other options as competitive events. For now we concentrate on a few individual characteristics of the migrants: his or her age at migration, their social class, gender, rural-urban differences, country of origin, short vs. long distance migration and birth cohort. In a next step, we would like to investigate some (macro)-variables, such as some characteristics of the marriage market (e.g. sex ratio, percentage singles), neighborhood characteristics (e.g. level of segregation) and family structure characteristics (e.g. living alone or with parent, older brother and sisters). These issues cannot be investigated in a case-study of Antwerp because we do not have enough neighborhoods or areas to justify a multilevel-analyses. In the context of multilevel analyses where the sample size of the level two units is inevitably small, the maximum likelihood estimation which relies on large sample (asymptotic) theory produces biased estimates (Ploubidis et al., 2012).

8. Results

Table 3 shows the descriptive results of the explanatory variables for each group of migrant marriages. Only migrants that were single at the moment of migration were considered in our analysis. We regard the period between 16 and 50 years old as the period at risk. In other words, we

assume that migrants will not marry before the age of 16. Likewise, we assume that migrants who are still single at the age of 50, will remain single for the remainder of their days (permanent celibacy). A first striking observation based on these descriptives is that the bulk of the migrants remain single throughout their stay, namely 89.7%. Only a small percentage of the migrants contract a marriage with either another migrant from the same birth village (0.8%), with another migrant (5.1%) or with a local (4%). For 6.4% of these migrants it is known that they marry, but we have no information about their spouse. At first glance, this points to large barriers for migrants to integrate and is in line with earlier research (Bouman & Bouman, 1955; Chevalier, 1984; Moch, 2003; Winter, 2009).

In reality, however, we are probably underestimating the proportion of migrants ever marrying. In addition to the fact that they may have been married elsewhere, this can be attributed for the greater part to the problem of false long-term survivors. Although the Belgian government insisted that migrants not only registered in the town or city where they settled, but also when they left, this hardly ever happened (Alter, Devos & Kvetko, 2009). In a study on Verviers, Alter (1988) found that about 20% of the migrants left Verviers without this being reported in the county register. There are indications that in a big city like Antwerp, because of the magnitude of migration, registration of leaving the city was even worse. For event history analysis, this is problematic, because migrants that have left the city of Antwerp a long time ago, are included in the analysis, although they weren't at risk in Antwerp anymore. As a consequence, the time at risk of these migrants is overestimated and the risk of getting married is smaller in our analysis than it would have been in reality. To control for this problem, we have to check whether or not migrants were still in the city at the moment of the opening of a new population register based on census information. When an individual is absent from this new population register, we can estimate, via imputation techniques, a date of departure between the last registered date that the migrant was present and the opening of the new register. As a result, the event history analysis can be refined in a significant way. The problem of false long-time survivors is complex and we have not finished tackling this problem. Our analyses are not corrected for long term survivors as of yet, which can lead to biased survival curves and presumably biased regression coefficients. Thus, we need to be aware of the underestimation of the risk of getting married in our interpretation of the results. However, preliminary analysis that compares three methods of imputing missing dates, shows that survival curves are indeed susceptible to an overestimation of the time at risk. Coefficients and significance levels are also influenced, but not in a dramatic way (Schumacher, research report) .

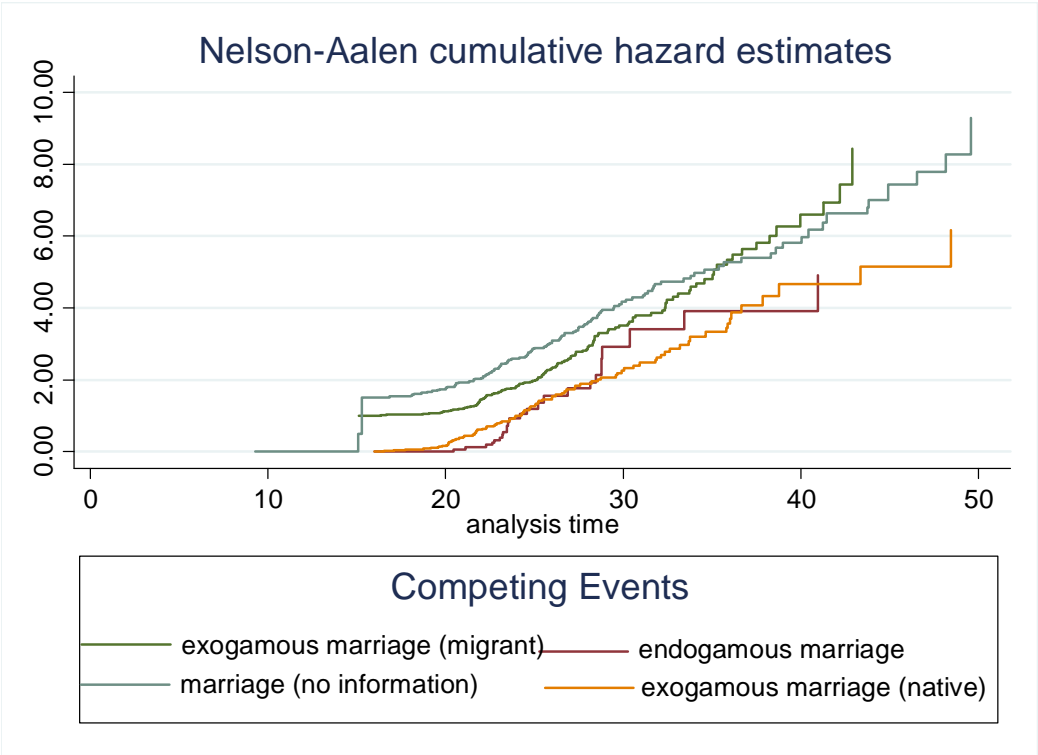
Table 3. Descriptive statistics of the variables

| | Single | | Endogamous Marriage | | Exogamous Marriage (migrant) | | Exogamous Marriage (local) | | Other | | Total | |
|----------------------|--------|---------|---------------------|---------|------------------------------|---------|----------------------------|---------|-------|---------|-------|---------|
| | N | Valid % | N | Valid % | N | Valid % | N | Valid % | N | Valid % | N | Valid % |
| Age at arrival | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <16 years old | 597 | 39,3 | 2 | 16,7 | 17 | 18,3 | 30 | 40,5 | 25 | 21,2 | 671 | 37 |
| 16-30 years old | 728 | 48 | 9 | 75 | 64 | 68,8 | 39 | 52,7 | 82 | 69,5 | 922 | 50,8 |
| >30 years old | 193 | 12,7 | 1 | 8,3 | 12 | 12,9 | 5 | 6,8 | 11 | 9,3 | 222 | 12,2 |
| total | 1518 | | 12 | | 93 | | 74 | | 118 | | 1815 | |
| missing | 28 | | 2 | | 2 | | 0 | | 1 | | 33 | |
| Social class | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| lower classes | 633 | 73,9 | 9 | 30 | 55 | 82,1 | 37 | 77,1 | 65 | 77,4 | 799 | 75 |
| middle class + elite | 223 | 26,1 | 1 | 10 | 12 | 17,9 | 11 | 22,9 | 19 | 22,6 | 266 | 25 |
| total | 856 | | 10 | | 67 | | 48 | | 84 | | 1065 | |
| missing | 690 | | 4 | | 28 | | 26 | | 35 | | 783 | |
| gender | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| male | 762 | 49,4 | 7 | 50 | 45 | 47,4 | 38 | 51,4 | 52 | 43,7 | 904 | 49,1 |
| female | 779 | 50,6 | 7 | 50 | 50 | 52,6 | 36 | 48,6 | 67 | 56,3 | 939 | 50,9 |
| total | 1541 | | 14 | | 95 | | 74 | | 119 | | 1843 | |
| missing | 5 | | 0 | | 0 | | 0 | | 0 | | 5 | |
| literacy | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| illiterate | 1445 | 93,5 | 9 | 64,3 | 42 | 44,2 | 28 | 37,8 | 111 | 93,3 | 1635 | 88,5 |
| literate | 100 | 6,5 | 5 | 35,7 | 53 | 55,8 | 46 | 62,2 | 8 | 6,7 | 212 | 11,5 |
| total | 1545 | | 14 | | 95 | | 74 | | 119 | | 1847 | |
| missing | 1 | | 0 | | 0 | | 0 | | 0 | | 1 | |
| country of origin | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| international | 358 | 23,2 | 0 | 0 | 8 | 8,4 | 8 | 10,8 | 18 | 15,1 | 392 | 21,2 |
| national | 1187 | 76,8 | 14 | 100 | 87 | 91,6 | 66 | 89,2 | 101 | 84,9 | 1455 | 78,8 |
| total | 1545 | | 14 | | 95 | | 74 | | 119 | | 1847 | |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------------------|------|------|----|------|----|------|----|------|-----|------|------|------|
| missing | 1 | | 0 | | 0 | | 0 | | 0 | | 1 | |
| distance | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| short distance migration | 326 | 21,1 | 6 | 42,9 | 31 | 32,6 | 27 | 36,5 | 35 | 24,9 | 425 | 23 |
| long distance migration | 1220 | 78,9 | 8 | 57,1 | 64 | 67,4 | 47 | 63,5 | 84 | 70,6 | 1423 | 77 |
| total | 1546 | | 14 | | 95 | | 74 | | 119 | | 1848 | |
| missing | 0 | | 0 | | 0 | | 0 | | 0 | | 0 | |
| rural-urban differences | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| rural | 876 | 57,2 | 7 | 50 | 70 | 73,7 | 42 | 56,8 | 79 | 66,4 | 1074 | 58,6 |
| urban | 656 | 42,8 | 7 | 50 | 25 | 26,3 | 32 | 43,2 | 40 | 33,6 | 760 | 41,4 |
| total | 1532 | | 14 | | 95 | | 74 | | 119 | | 1834 | |
| missing | 14 | | 0 | | 0 | | 0 | | 0 | | 14 | |
| birth cohort | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1801-1845 | 173 | 11,2 | 0 | 0 | 6 | 6,3 | 5 | 6,8 | 4 | 3,4 | 188 | 10,2 |
| 1846-1922 | 1372 | 88,8 | 14 | 100 | 89 | 93,7 | 69 | 93,2 | 115 | 96,6 | 1659 | 89,8 |
| total | 1545 | | 14 | | 95 | | 74 | | 119 | | 1847 | |
| missing | 1 | | 0 | | 0 | | 0 | | 0 | | 1 | |

The non-parametric descriptive Nelson-Aalen estimates confirm the first impression that the hazard of our different types of marriages is very low. We need to keep in mind the underestimation of migration due to the problem of false long-term survivors. We chose Nelson-Aalen estimates because it estimates the cumulative hazard, which suits the study of marriages intuitively better than the survivor function. Moreover, Nelson-Aalen estimates are proven superior when estimating the cumulative hazard function in small samples (Cleves et al., 2010). Figure 5 gives us an idea about the timing of marriage, for each of the subgroups. All these marriages have a relatively low risk of getting married. From all these marriage, the cumulative proportion attaining the first marriage was the highest for migrants marrying exogamous with another migrant from another birth village. From Berry’s (1997) perspective, these migrants could be considered as integrated. These people have contact with other groups, but cultural differences and lack of contact might hinder them from marrying natives. These migrants also seem to get married somewhat earlier and later than those that marry endogamous or with a local, although the differences in timing remain small.

Figure 5. Nelson- Aalen Cumulative Hazard Estimates for the Competing Events



In a competing risk setting, however, the complement of the Kaplan-Meier overestimates the true failure probability whereas the cumulative incidence function is the appropriate quantity to use.

Thus, in the final part of the analysis, we turn to the multivariate analysis of the data. By using competing risks models, where the cumulative incidence functions are calculated, we were able to study the marital behavior of different groups of migrant for both endogamous as well as exogamous (other migrant and local) marriages. The cumulative incidence function (CIF) is defined as the cumulative probability that the event of interest has occurred in the presence of alternative events. The interpretation of the CIF's is equivalent to that of the survivor function ($= 1 - \text{probability of event}$). The analysis provides us with subhazard ratio's, which are the exponentiated regression coefficients. A test of the proportionality assumption, a required assumption of both Cox regression and competing risks regression, will be performed for each covariate using the time-dependent covariate option and the time expression. If the subhazard ratio changes over time for any given covariate, then this covariate is said to interact with time, so adding a $X \cdot \text{time}$ interaction term provides a better fitting model and fixes the problem of non-proportionality. When these time-varying covariates were not significant and thus did not violate the proportionality assumption, they were dropped from the model for the sake of a more parsimonious model. We did not, however, not turn to a more parsimonious model that only include predictors that are statistically significant at the $p < 0,05$ or even stricter criteria, because the potential for residual confounding in such models is significant (Vittinghof et al., 2005).

Table 4. Subhazard Ratio's for the Competing Risks of Getting Married (Endogamous, Exogamous(migrant), Exogamous(local)).

| covariates | 1. Endogamous Marriage | | | 2. Exogamous Marriage (migrant) | | | 3. Exogamous Marriage (local) | | |
|--|------------------------|-------|------|---------------------------------|-------|------|-------------------------------|-------|------|
| | SHR | S.E. | Sig. | SHR | S.E. | Sig. | SHR | S.E. | Sig. |
| age at arrival (ref: < 16 yo) | | | | | | | | | |
| 16-30 years old | | | | 0,025 | 0,045 | * | 0,009 | 0,170 | ** |
| >30 years old | | | | 0,001 | 0,003 | ** | 0,001 | 0,000 | *** |
| social class (ref: lower class) | | | | | | | | | |
| middle class + elite | 0,510 | 0,305 | | 0,867 | 0,213 | | 1,330 | 0,415 | |
| gender (ref: male) | | | | | | | | | |
| female | 0,370 | 0,213 | * | 0,857 | 0,190 | | 0,801 | 0,227 | |
| literacy (ref: illiterate) | | | | | | | | | |
| literate | 1,624 | 1,262 | * | 1,055 | 1,100 | | 8,470 | 0,466 | *** |
| country of origin (ref: int.) | | | | | | | | | |
| national | | | | 0,045 | 0,988 | | 1,279 | 0,500 | |
| distance (ref: short dist.) | | | | | | | | | |
| long distance migration | 0,238 | 0,109 | ** | 0,932 | 0,243 | | 0,819 | 0,239 | |
| rural-urban diff. (ref: rural) | | | | | | | | | |
| urban | 0,987 | 0,987 | | 0,893 | 0,206 | | 0,996 | 0,008 | |
| birth cohort (ref: 1801-45) | | | | | | | | | |
| 1846-1922 | | | | 0,745 | 1,502 | *** | 2,084 | 1,066 | |
| tvc | | | | | | | | | |
| Age at arrival (ref: < 16 yo) | | | | | | | | | |
| 16-30 years old | | | | 1,164 | 0,824 | ** | 1,157 | | |
| >30 years old | | | | 1,286 | 0,113 | ** | 1,272 | 0,085 | * |
| literacy (ref: illiterate) | | | | | | | | 0,105 | ** |
| literate | | | | 1,074 | 0,041 | * | | | |
| country of origin (ref: int.) | | | | | | | | | |
| national | | | | 1,155 | 0,101 | | | | |
| Log pseudolikelihood | -116.82 | | | -551.12 | | | -332.51 | | |
| Wald Chi² - test | | | *** | | | *** | | | *** |

Significance Level: * < 0,05 ** < 0,01 *** < 0,001

Note: variables in tv equation interacted with _t

Table 4 shows the results for the competing risks regression. In the first model, we investigated how characteristics of the migrant influenced the incidence of marrying endogamous, which we defined as a migrant marrying a migrant from the same village (separation strategy), taking the alternative events explicitly in account in the regression. Age at arrival, country of origin and birth cohort were taken out of the analysis as a consequence of a lack of variation. All these migrants were between

15-30 years old, originated from within Belgium and were born after 1846. Hence, analysis with these covariates was impossible. The small N (=19 failures) does not seem to be much of a problem for overfitting, since only 5 variables were added to our analysis, which is well within the range of the rule of thumb for model inclusion (N/5). For the remaining covariates, no violations against the proportionality assumption was ascertained. The results indicate that for migrants that married individuals from their own village, whom we consider practicing a separation-strategy of acculturation, gender, literacy and distance to origin seemed to be of importance. The incidence of marrying a fellow-villager is 63% higher for men, which could be in line with the social isolation theory, which states that women have lower odds of building up a social network and thus have fewer opportunities to ever marry. In line with our expectations, literacy is positively related to the incidence of an endogamous marriage. The incidence is two times higher for individuals that are literate. Long distance migration is negatively related to endogamous marriages. The incidence of marrying endogamous is 75% higher for short-distance migrants, which is not that surprising given the fact that contact between short-distance migrants and the home town was a lot easier.

The second model investigates the link between the covariates and the incidence of marrying exogamous with a migrant from a different town, explicitly taking the alternative events into account. We consider these migrant to apply an integration strategy. These people have contact with other groups, but cultural differences and lack of contact might hinder them from marrying natives, i.e. integration according to Berry (1997). To account for the violation of the proportionality assumption for age at arrival, literacy and country of origin, time-varying covariates were added for those variables. In this model age at arrival seemed to be associated with the odds of getting married. Compared to migrants that moved to Antwerp older then 16, migrants that moved to the city as a child, have almost twice the incidence of getting married to another migrant. These results are in line with Graaf & Kalmijn's (2003) reasoning that marriage in itself is evidence of social integration. Birth cohort also played a role in this model. Migrants that have been married after the fall of the ramparts, had a 25% lower incidence of marrying a migrant from a different geographical background.

Age at arrival and literacy seem to be two important variables in explaining the incidence of getting married to a local. We consider migrants that marry a local, as migrants that strive for assimilation. They marry with someone from outside their group, which is a consequence of openness towards other groups and that cultural maintenance is not their highest priority. Time-varying covariates were added for age at arrival to account for the non-proportionality of the variable. As a result, we find the same age effect for migrants marrying other migrants as for migrants marrying locals, but more pronounced. This is in line with the assimilation these that argues that integration is higher for

those individuals that migrated at an earlier age. As expected, the effect of literacy on marrying a local is enormous. Individuals that are literate have an incidence that is eight times higher than illiterates. This is consistent with the contact theory or an exchange theory approach.

Model 4 (not included in the output) models the results for the migrants that marry but for whom we do not have any information on the spouse. The reason we included them separately was to take them into account as competing events rather than to treat them as censored. Since we do not have any information regarding the spouse, interpretation of these results is meaningless for our purposes.

9. Conclusion

The goal of this paper was to gain insight in the different strategies migrants used to integrate. Based on Berry's acculturation scheme (1997), we distinguished four strategies. First, we connected individuals that never marry to the concept of marginalization. Marginalization occurs when migrants show little interest in the own cultural background, which may result in little interaction with member of their own group. If this is combined with a lack of contact with other migrants or the local population (because of exclusion or discrimination) nor in any other group, chances are big this person is not going to get married in this city. Second, we consider individuals that marry migrants from the same village to practice separation. They interact within their own group and maintenance of their heritage culture is important to them. Third, migrants that marry with migrants from a different background are connected to the concept of integration. This group of migrants has intensive contact with people outside their own group, but cultural differences hinder them from marrying locals. Finally, we discern a group of migrants that marry natives, which we connected to assimilation. They marry a local, which indicates that they interact with other groups and that cultural maintenance is not their highest aim. In addition to partner choice, we also looked at marriage timing from a longitudinal perspective. By then considering different individual characteristics of the migrant, we ended up with a refined image of how and to what extend integration by means of marriage was accomplished in a modernizing context among different groups of migrants.

Antwerp lends itself perfectly to study the research questions we have put forward. On the one hand because this harbor city was characterized by a fast urbanization, an exponential population growth and a very large influx of different groups of migrants throughout the entire 19th century. On the other hand, we have for this city the COR*-database at our disposal, which comprises of socio-demographic information for migrants (among others), which allows us to study migration history in detail.

We can conclude that age at arrival is one of the most important determinants in the integration of migrants. Both for migrants that marry another migrant (from a different background) and migrants that marry a local, age at arrival influences the incidence of getting married. Migrants that have moved to Antwerp after the age of 16, and even more so after the age of 30, have almost halved their chances of getting married, irrespective of the origin of the partner. Unfortunately, a lack of variation does not allow us to test the effect of age at arrival on migrants that married endogamous. Literacy, as expected, also had an overall positive effect on the chances of getting married, except for exogamous marriages with another migrant). Also in line with our expectations, this effect was bigger for migrants that married a local. For endogamous marriages, women seem to have lower opportunities to marry. This could be in line with the social isolation theory. However, the incidence of marrying exogamous is not different for men and women. Finally, birth cohort seems to matter in the exogamous marriages with a migrant from a different background. Migrants that have been married after the fall of the ramparts, had a 25% lower incidence of marrying a migrant from a different geographical background. This could point to the fact that negative feelings between migrants and natives were diminished due to a declining pressure and competition on the housing market. Although we see a positive effect from the later birth cohort for migrants that marry a local, it might be just a coincidence since the effect is not significant. To sum up, from our analysis we can conclude that men, people who are literate and short distance migrants were more likely to adopt a separation approach. Migrants that arrived at a younger age and migrants that were born after 1845 seemed to have embraced a more integration-oriented attitude. Finally, migrants that arrived at a young age and literate seemed to have it easier to completely assimilate into the host society. In general, these results are more or less in the line of our expectations.

This study of immigrant strategies regarding partner selection outcomes has tried to improve on previous research in a number of ways. We have combined the principles of two classic research stances, namely the study of marriage timing and the study of partner selection outcomes. We also included several migrant characteristics in order to see which groups of migrants were more successful with regard to the different acculturation outcomes (marginalization, separation, integration, assimilation), measured by marriage outcomes and the timing thereof. With a competing risks approach, we have tried to gain a better insight in the different strategies different migrant groups used to integrate in a host society. In other words, in contrast to many integration studies that focus solely on marrying a local, we consider marriage in itself as evidence of social integration.

Besides this theoretical and methodological refinement, we would like to point to some important issues that have yet to be dealt with in a later version of this paper. The problem of false long-time survivors is severe, to the extent that both survival curves and coefficients are susceptible to the

overestimation of the time at risk. The problem seems to be worse for the interpretation of the survival curves than for the coefficients and significant levels. Nevertheless, a next version needs to impute the dates of departure based on information from population registers. Only that way, we can judge the effect of the false long-time survivors. Another point of consideration is the further refinement of the model. I like to add some macro-variables based on characteristics of the neighborhood or of the marriage market and/or family structure characteristics. Unfortunately, these issues cannot be included in a case-study of Antwerp for two reasons. First, our proportion of migrants ever marrying is far too small to ever justify the inclusion of that many variables, especially in the case of endogamous marriage. Second, we do not have enough neighborhoods or areas to defend the choice for multilevel analyses. Currently, we are looking into the option of including Rotterdam or Stockholm. Both these cities are harbor cities with a large influx of migrants throughout the nineteenth century and where life-course information is available in their databases.

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