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Building Families in a Migration Context. Romanians in Spain 2000-2011

Manuela A. FERNÁNDEZ-BORRERO[1], Pablo ÁLVAREZ-PÉREZ[2],
Octavio VÁZQUEZ-AGUADO[3]

Abstract

This article presents an analytical approach to the reality of couples with children born in Spain who descend from at least one Romanian parent. It was carried out with the official data included in the Childbirth Statistical Bulletin of the National Statistics Institute. The Romanian community represents the largest contingent of foreign residents in Spain, showing a steady growth since 2000 to the present. For this reason, it is important to learn about the processes of settlement and integration of this population. Romanian immigrants in Spain are usually young people who also marry young people (especially if it's between people of the same nationality) and who reside mainly in Madrid, Valencia, Andalusia and Catalonia. The results show that Romanian-only couples reveal different patterns from couples with only one Romanian member.

Keywords: intermarriage; Romanian couples; mixed couples; Romanian children; immigration.

Introduction

Throughout the 21st century, and until the onset of the economic crisis of 2008, there was a large influx of immigrants from a wide variety of nationalities in Spain. As a consequence, Spain became a country of immigration and a multicultural and multiethnic territory that should address the challenges entailed by this new reality. Tamanes, Pajares, Perez & Debasa (2008) argue that, according

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to United Nations figures, Spain is the second country in the world in accepting immigrants since 2000. This migratory phenomenon had consequences in the societies of origin and destination.

Romanian immigrants have decisively contributed to this transformation. They represent a very high number of foreigners in several Spanish regions and constitute the largest group of foreigners in Spain, even above Moroccans (Domingo, 2008). This fact is related to the opening of the Schengen area for Romanians in 2002, which became an important stimulus for international emigration in Romania. The situation intensified in 2007, after the entry of Romania in the EU, and even more so in late 2008, after the lifting of the moratorium imposed on Romanians and Bulgarians to the free movement of workers. But we cannot forget that, in the case of Spain, there was also a very marked economic development that required large amounts of labor that only immigration could provide. These data support the transnational migration theory whereby, when the number of network connections in an area source reaches a critical threshold, migration becomes self-perpetuating because each immigrant reduces the future immigration costs of his/her friends and family (Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino & Taylor, 1993).

According Bondoc, Popescu and Ungureanu (2010) there have been three routes and three different stages that explain Romanian emigration: (1) in a first stage (1990-1995) Romanians migrated to Israel, Turkey, Italy, Hungary and Germany; (2) in a second stage (1996-2001) they are incorporated as destination countries such as Canada and Spain; 3) in the third stage (from 2002) migrations concentrated in Spain and Italy, which have become their preferred destinations within the European Union. In fact, by the end of 2010, there were twice as many Romanians in the EU-25 as in 2006.

In the case of Spain, official figures from the Municipal Census (National Statistics Institute, hereinafter INE) show a large increase in the presence of foreign population in Spain from 2000 to 2011. The Romanian-born population has contributed substantially to this increase: from just over 6,400 Romanians in 2000 to exceed 860,000 in 2011; that is, from less than 1% of total foreign population to above 11% in 2011. It is important to note that these figures are usually higher than those offered by the Permanent Immigration Observatory-OPI (Department of Immigration and Emigration of the Ministry and employment and Social Security of Spain) on resident foreigners (who have a registration certificate or a valid residence card) for the same period. This is so because unlike in other European countries, all immigrants can register in Spain immediately after arrival, whether they enter the country legally or illegally. *Figure 1* and *Table 1* show the growth of Romanian population in Spain in this period.

Table 1. Romanian population on overall figures

	% over Registered Foreigners	Interannual Difference	Iinterannual Increase	% Romanian Residents over Total Residents	Annual Absolute Romanian Variation	Percentage Increase
2000	0.69%			1.23%	5901	116.12%
2001	2.31%	25231	394%	2.24%	13873	126.31%
2002	3.40%	35638	113%	2.55%	8849	35.60%
2003	5.16%	70068	104%	3.32%	20983	62.25%
2004	6.85%	70613	51%	4.22%	28684	52.45%
2005	8.51%	109406	53%	7.01%	108762	130.45%
2006	9.82%	89793	28%	6.99%	19191	9.99%
2007	11.66%	119860	29%	15.18%	392564	185.76%
2008	13.89%	204787	39%	16.07%	114955	19.04%
2009	14.14%	67086	9%	15.69%	32844	4.57%
2010	14.46%	32343	4%	17.06%	88.994	11.84%
2011	15.05%	34472	4%	17.38%	71.844	8.55%
Total	11.01%			12.28%		

Source: Municipal Census (INE) and Statistics of Foreigners with registration certificate or a valid residence card (Permanent Immigration Observatory).

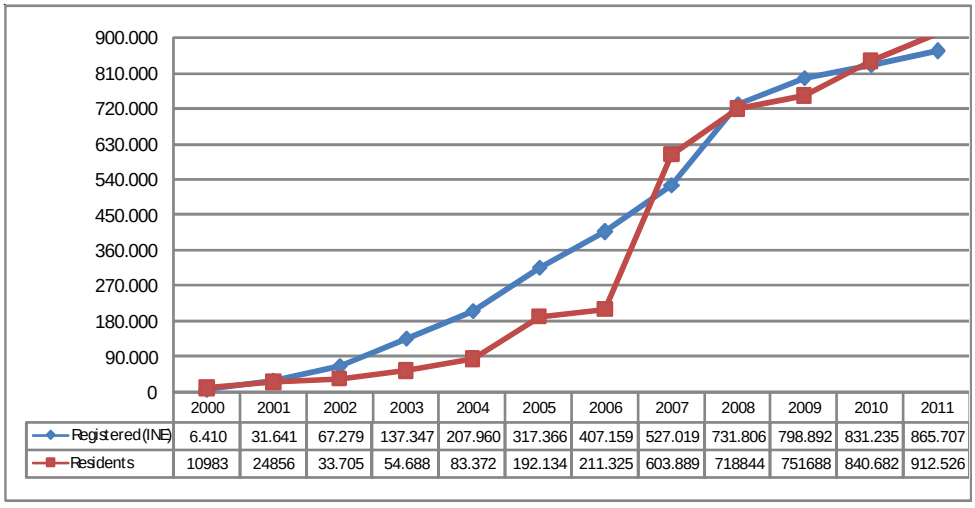


Figure 1. Foreigners in Spain (registered and residents 2000-2011).

Source: Municipal Census (INE) and Statistics of Foreigners with registration certificate or a valid residence card (Permanent Immigration Observatory).

Among the Romanian resident population, the presence of males is higher than of women. From 2000 to 2003, males account for over 60% of Romanian residents in Spain. Since 2004, however, the percentage difference between the sexes decreases progressively. This gender distribution of Romanian presence in Spain is far from Romanian global official figures for emigrants, where the female percentage is higher than 60% (*Table 2*).

Table 2. Romanian Emigration by Main Destinations

	Total	Women	Men	Spain	Canada	Germany	Italy	USA	Others
2005	10938	62.42%	37.58%	1.27%	11.15%	20.08%	24.97%	15.35%	27.18%
2006	14197	62.38%	37.62%	2.32%	11.66%	21.91%	23.90%	13.96%	26.25%
2007	8830	65.03%	34.97%	1.56%	20.24%	21.54%	15.87%	17.38%	23.41%
2008	8739	64.88%	35.12%	2.72%	19.89%	20.46%	12.56%	18.21%	26.16%
2009	10211	63.10%	36.90%	5.36%	20.03%	18.98%	9.64%	17.56%	28.44%
2010	7906	63.10%	36.90%	11.16%	10.85%	17.70%	10.68%	13.74%	35.88%

Source: Romanian National Institute of Statistics. 2011.

Since 2008, with the onset of the economic crisis, although the absolute data of Romanian population continues to increase, the annual increase was drastically reduced. According to Tamanes, Pajares, Perez & Debasa (2008) the two most important factors influencing in this change are job destruction in Spain associated with the socioeconomic crisis (which adds to the difficulty of finding a new job) and the rise of job opportunities in Romania linked to higher wages that facilitate return. Moreover, in 2011 and due to the economic crisis and the incessant flows of Romanians (registered 865.707) in Spain, the country adopted a temporary measure restricting the right to employment for Romanians migrating to Spain from that date (Marcu 2013). This decision does not affect the self-employed or those who collect unemployment benefits, but it does affect those who are just registered in Spain.

The importance of the Romanian community in Spain has led to various studies that examined their processes of migration and social integration. Pajares (2004) shows that Romanian women are mainly inserted as domestic service although many of them later work as shop assistants or in the hotel industry. The sector with the highest initial insertion of men was construction or other unskilled jobs, but there are also many who work as specialists in various companies (especially metal), truck drivers, etc. The fact that most Romanian immigrants arrived in Spain illegally led them to low-skilled jobs and delayed their incorporation to high-skilled ones (Pajares Tamanes.. Perez & Debasa, 2008).

There are also approaches to the study of social networks. An example is the study by Aparicio & Lathes (2005), which shows that the Romanian collective did not have many relatives in Spain. Also, whereas the relatives of Romanian

immigrants in Spain are mainly spouses, other groups show higher percentages for siblings. The data show that 17% of Romanian immigrants had maintained contact with relatives living in Spain before arrival; and 46.6% with friends. In general, they tend to relate more to their countrymen but explicitly affirm that it is not by their own choice, but is conditioned by their place of work and neighborhood.

A more specific characterization of the Romanian population in Spain is offered by the National Immigrant Survey (NIS) conducted in 2007.[4] The micro analysis of survey data estimated a total amount of 447.521 Romanian people, 47.77% of which are immigrants in households with couples and children. Of all the Romanian immigrants who live in households where at least one member is Romanian (with couples and children), 12.4% do it in Hispanic-foreign households, 81.91% in same-origin homes (Romanian) and the rest in foreign homes of different nationalities. The average number of people living in these households is 5 members. The mean age of the main person in households with a Romanian member is 36.49 years versus 45.12 of the main person in non-Romanians households. There are virtually no people over 50 years (5%) among immigrants from Romania, while 80% are less than 40.

The Romanian population in Spain counts 79.1% of people with secondary education (16% higher than the average EU immigrants and 24.4% higher than the total group of immigrants). However, the percentage of individuals who hold a university degree is lower than in other groups. Other data show that 65.7% claim to have been influenced by some Romanian acquaintance in their choice of Spain as a destination, and around 85% had someone to turn to at their arrival in Spain.

51% of male Romanian immigrants and 48.4% of women entered Spain while engaged or married, while 29.2% of the Romanian sample were men without a partner versus a 23% of women. A male 17.1% and a female 20.9% have started a relationship after migration. The higher standards of inbreeding occur among men from Romania, Ecuador and Bolivia (around 90% of married) and women from Romania and Bolivia (over 85%). Sanchez (2010) reports data from IPD-2007 showing that the lowest levels of exogamy are found among Moroccans and Romanians. Her study found that the propensity of Romanian women to marry a Spanish men is 2.3 times higher than that of Romanian men to marry Spanish women. Also, Romanian women marry at an earlier age than Spanish women.

[4] The research population of this survey is persons born outside of Spain who, at the time it was conducted, were 16 years old or more and had resided in Spain for more than a year or intend to do so. It includes aspects related to sociodemographic characteristics, living conditions, housing, homes and employment, migration experience, relations with their countries of origin, etc.

A study by Navas, López-Rodríguez & Square (2013) aiming to understand the factors that influence how immigrants face their migration process in the host country compared three groups of different nationalities; Moroccan, Ecuadorian and Romanian. The study concludes that Romanians keep less customs from their country of origin, perceive Spaniards as warmer, and consider that intergroup relationship is harmonious. Ingroup identification predicts cultural maintenance along with the nature of contact with Spaniards. However, when adapting to the host society, the warmth perceived in Spaniards and the nature of contact with them has more weight.

In her HIJAI (*Hijos Jóvenes y Adolescentes Inmigrantes*, Immigrant Children and Teenagers) and study on second generation, Gualda (2010) mentions that the Romanian group analyzed shows clear links with the host society and identifies with Spaniards remarkably while some perceive a strong rejection (especially women) and distance related to certain elements of identification such as religion. Regarding mixed couples with at least one Romanian parent and children of Spanish nationality, Tamanes. Pajares, Perez & Debasa (2008) indicate that Romanians are the immigrant collective who married at a younger age.

A fertility study conducted in Spain by Luque & Well-Cavanillas (2009) describes a pattern of differential fertility showing that the fertility of foreign women is higher than that of Spanish women. A higher fertility level is present in foreign women under 30 whereas Spaniards reach their fertility peak after that age. However, Domingo's demographic approach on migrants—and more specifically, Romanians (2008)—shows that since the nineties, birth rates among Romanian immigrants are low, not being very different from the ones in neighboring countries and very similar to the Spanish.

Published studies on Romanian immigration in Spain usually cover social and professional integration, the sociodemographic and social networks Romanian immigrants and statistical approaches. However, no study has been conducted so far on the reality of families in which one of its adult members is Romanian while the other is from a different nationality, and families where both spouses are Romanian but whose offspring is Spanish, despite the fact that one of the key features of this group is the importance of the family and their tendency to migration networks (Ferrero, 2004).

This is a matter of special interest to the extent that it clearly influences the processes of social inclusion in countries of emigration. Building a family with a person of a different nationality and/or having children in the country to which they emigrate, represents a challenge to the limits of the group to which a person belongs. In the first case, it tests the acceptability of a different person into the group. In the second case, minors socialize in the mixed environment of a primary family context and a secondary context in which they are located (school, friends,

the media), which leads to identity negotiation processes where the coexistence of both referents is not always easy.

These family groups are formed within "a space of cultural hybridity that is particularly active and complex and that involves the subject in dynamics involving processes of negotiation and accommodation of different cultural backgrounds" (Rodriguez, 2004: 114)[5]. They involve an intimate, allegedly long-term relationship that can be used to analyze how individuals cross the limits imposed by diverse identity groups and how subjects belonging to different groups are perceived as equals (Kalmijn, 1998). The consequences are twofold: a tendency to diminish the cultural distinctions that primarily affect future generations and a decrease in stereotypes, negative attitudes, and prejudices against other groups (Albert and Masanet 2008). These consequences do not only affect the adults in the family, but also spread with their offspring in the future. In fact, Rodriguez (2004b) clearly argues that the education of the children of mixed marriages and couples becomes the ideal space in which to negotiate adaptation strategies; ie, whether children are ascribed largely to the culture of one of their progenitors, or the family produces a "synthesis" of both cultures that allows the individual to face the demands of the context.

The present article analyzes data on the sociodemographic characteristics of couples with at least one Romanian member who have a Spanish child (born in Spain) as it compares three types of couples: those composed by two Romanian citizens, couples including a Spanish citizen and a Romanian one, and couples including a Romanian citizen and a foreign citizen of a third nationality. The data were obtained from the Statistical Birth Bulletin of the Spanish National Statistics Institute of the Spanish Civil Registry, which is the body responsible for keeping the records of all newborns in Spain after their inscription.

Methodology

The study addressed in this work ranges from 2000 to 2011. For each of these years, the Spanish National Institute of Statistics (henceforward SNIS) prepares an annual microdata report of all newborns, including information about parents and delivery conditions. The data from the SNIS was used in our study to generated two different databases for two tie periods: one for the years 2000-2006 and another for the period 2007-2011. This division was forced by a change in the registration of birth data by the SNIS, which became more complex by increasing and changing the variables from the year 2007. These two databases were depurated by excluding all the newborns whose parents were not included in the three groups mentioned above. The items were the nationalities of parents were

[5] Translated from the original in Spanish.

not recorded were eliminated, and the variables containing such value were reconsidered as omissions. Subsequently, we unified both databases into a single one for the whole study period (2000-2011). This unified database contained all variables fully matching in content as well as those in which recoding allowed binding similar variables between 2000-2006 and 2007-2011.

The variables studied are: place of registration of the child (city, province and autonomous community), birth year (recorded from 2000 to 2011), age of mother and father at the time of delivery (quantitative and ordinal-interval), if the mother is married or not (if so, the number of years married and the age of the mother at the time of marriage), the number of living newborns in previous deliveries, profession of the mother and the father, and the nationalities of both of them. Also, to enable comparisons between the different types of couples studied, specific variables were created that generated the groups shown in Table 3, where groups 1 and 3 show the highest and lowest possible level of disaggregation in types of couples respectively. Group 2 is the subject of analysis in this paper, and includes couples where at least one of the members is of Romanian nationality and couples where both members are Romanians.

Table 3. Classification by Type of Partners for Analysis

Group 1	Frecuency	%	Group 2	Frecuency	%	Group 3	Frecuency	%
Romanian Mother with Foreign Father of a third Nationality	3187	0.3	Romanian – other ationality	5489	0.6	One Romania n Parent	22634	2.3
Romanian Father with Foreign Mother of a third Nationality	2302	0.2						
Romanian Mother with Spanish Father	12132	1.2	Romanian-Spanish	17145	1.8			
Romanian Father with Spanish Mother	5013	0.5						
Both Romanian Progenitors	70838	7.3	Both Romanians	70838	7.3	Both Romania ns	70838	7.3
Spanish Mother with Foreign Father	143941	14.8	Spaniard/For eigner	332094	34.1	None Romania n	881145	90.4
Spanish Father with Foreign Mother	188153	19.3						
Both Foreigners	549051	56.3	Both Foreigners	549051	56.3			
Total	974617	100	Total	974617	100	Total	974617	100

Source: by the Authors from INE microdata files

The analyses conducted show descriptive results that allow making a general approach and comparisons of groups of established couples. Also performing associations, correlations and relationships between the variables studied to avoid misinterpretations resulting from very large sample sizes, where small differences between observed and expected frequencies can lead to erroneous significant differences, we chose to bring the value of size to effect significant tests using Cohen d statistic, which basically consists in standardizing the difference between two means compared.

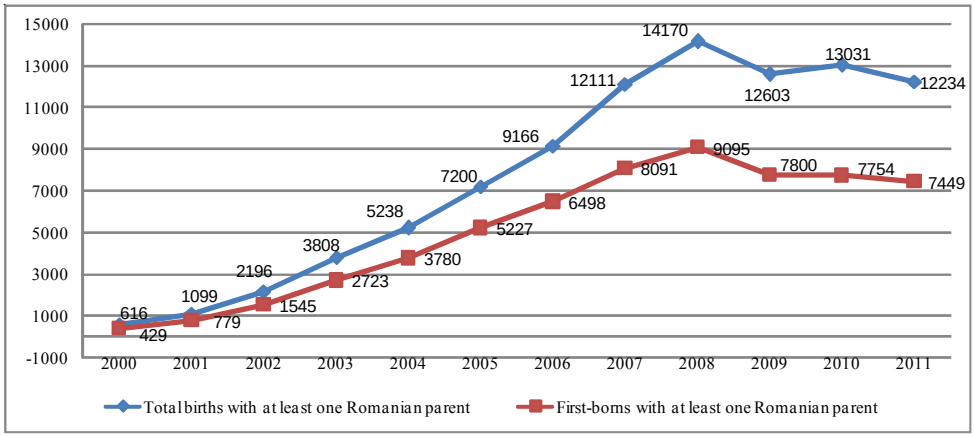
The statistical analyses conducted allowed us to establish a general approach to the characteristics shown by the members of the couples under study. Similarly, the associations, correlations and statistical relationships established define similarities and differences among the different couples analyzed. When working with very large samples, as in our case, it is common that all the correlations and associations between the variables are statistically significant. To correct that error, we used Cohen's *d* statistic, which allows standardizing the difference between two compared means and corrects the effect of sample size in significant tests.

Results

Global approach to the characteristics of couples with at least one foreign member who have children born in Spain

The total aggregate number of children born to couples with at least one Romanian parent is 93.472, which is the 1.69% of all births recorded in Spain since 2000-2011. Children with at least one Romanian parent in Spain represent 9.6% of all births registered with at least one foreign parent. Of this percentage, 7.3% are born to couples in which both parents are Romanian and the remaining 2.3% to couples in which one of the parents is Romanian. Generally, the children of couples with at least one Romanian parent have been gaining presence in Spain with time. In 2000, 616 births were recorded whereas the figure totaled 12234 in 2011 (*Figure 2*), representing an absolute difference of 11618 births and an increase of 18.9%. The increase occurring in 2008 is especially remarkable, and was mainly due to an increase in the coupling of two Romanian partners. The highest registration numbers (newborn inscription record) were recorded in the Autonomous Communities of Madrid, Valencia, Andalusia, Catalonia and Castilla La Mancha, as shown in *Table 4*:

Figure 2. Births registered in Spain for couples with at least one Romanian parent.



Source: by the authors from the Statistical Birth Bulletin 2000-2011

Table 4. Geographical Distribution of Birth Inscriptions by type of couple

				Distribution by Areas		% over the Total of Mixed Couples in Each Community	
CCAA	One Romanian	Both Romanian	Total Mixed	One Romanian	Both Romanian	One Romanian	Both Romanian
Andalusia	3448	8256	108737	15.23%	11.65%	3.17%	7.59%
Aragon	1137	4743	26812	5.02%	6.70%	4.24%	17.69%
Asturias	181	473	7690	0.80%	0.67%	2.35%	6.15%
Balearic Isalands	409	932	37000	1.81%	1.32%	1.11%	2.52%
Valencian C.	3897	12312	113382	17.22%	17.38%	3.44%	10.86%
Canary Islands	314	328	40507	1.39%	0.46%	0.78%	0.81%
Cantabria	180	446	6081	0.80%	0.63%	2.96%	7.33%
Castilla La Mancha	1981	8596	34015	8.75%	12.13%	5.82%	25.27%
Castilla y León	729	2234	26401	3.22%	3.15%	2.76%	8.46%
Catalonia	3044	8308	227092	13.45%	11.73%	1.34%	3.66%
Ceuta and Melilla	12	2	16841	0.05%	0.00%	0.07%	0.01%
Extremadura	268	786	7901	1.18%	1.11%	3.39%	9.95%
Galicia	332	488	19030	1.47%	0.69%	1.74%	2.56%
Madrid	5369	18936	211067	23.72%	26.73%	2.54%	8.97%
Murcia	628	885	43484	2.77%	1.25%	1.44%	2.04%
Navarra	151	575	13591	0.67%	0.81%	1.11%	4.23%
Basque Country	336	1553	25379	1.48%	2.19%	1.32%	6.12%
Rioja La	218	985	8603	0.96%	1.39%	2.53%	11.45%
TOTAL	22634	70838	974617	100.00%	100.00%	2.32%	7.27%

**The sum of one Romanian and two Romanians gives the total percentage of couples with at least one Romanian parent.*

The gender distribution is equitable; mothers account for 52% whereas fathers 48% of the total. The average maternal age in couples with at least one Romanian parent is 26.7 years, with an average age of 30.3 years for fathers. These ages are lower than the ages of other mixed couples, where the average maternal age is 29 and the average paternal age is 33.6 years.

There are significant differences in the ages of mothers in both groups (t = 126.39, p <.001) (with and without the presence of at least one Romanian partner, with a difference of 2.37 points between the means, the Romanians being the youngest), but the calculated effect size indicates that the differences are small (d = .41). The same results are obtained with paternal age, the differences in age groups showing significativity (t = 150.35, p <.001), but with a small effect size close to a medium effect (d = .47). If we consider a largest breakdown of groups as previously described in the methodology, the lowest maternal age is shown in couple with no Romanian members and couples with a Romanian father and a foreign non-Romanian mother (see *Table 4*). The average paternal age is higher than the average of mothers in all groups, except the group of couples formed by a Romanian father and a Spanish mother, where women have a slightly higher average age.

Table 5. Basic statistics by type of partner (rated one)

	Mean Age Mother	Mean Age Father	With Previous Children (%)	Mean Previous Children	Married Mothers	Age at Marriage	Years of Marriage
Romanian Mother with Foreign Father	26.64	32.44	54.70	1.35	26.77	25.23	2.66
Romanian Mother with Spanish Father	27.01	35.34	62.10	1.30	36.73	25.73	2.21
Romanian Father with Foreign mother	27.61	29.29	57.30	1.41	32.11	25.23	2.69
Romanian Father with Spanish Mother	29.14	28.78	67.60	1.43	44.19	27.48	2.57
Both Romanians	26.46	29.48	59.00	1.40	63.14	22.82	4.24
Spanish Mother with Foreign Father	30.53	32.82	73.50	1.50	58.38	27.42	3.65
Spanish Father with Foreign Mother	30.00	35.63	74.50	1.57	55.90	26.75	3.71
Both Foreigners	28.38	33.06	74.10	1.66	65.97	23.23	5.15
Total	28.85	33.26	72.9	1.60	62.20	24.42	4.60

Source: by the Authors

Previous children born alive

56.1% of couples with at least one Romanian parent have previous children versus 71.3% of non-Romanian couples. *Table 5* shows that previous childbirth percentages of couples with a Romanian parent are lower than for other couples.

There is a statistically significant association, but with a very small contingency coefficient (.10).

As for the average number of previous children (*Table 5*), the mean of couples with at least one Romanian parent is 1.39, while non-Romanians record a mean of 1.62. There is a wide range in the values of this variable, with high peaks in almost all groups (more than 7 children as maximum levels and up to a total of 14 children in extreme cases). The maximum value that occupies the 75 percentile of all groups is two previous children.

If you perform a joint analysis of pooled maternal age intervals and the average number of previous children comparing only the nationality of the mother, the results shows that Romanian mothers have a slightly higher average than Spanish mothers in all groups of age, except for those over 40 years, where the average of Spanish women is higher than the average of Romanians. Up to 20 years of age, the highest average is recorded for couples where both members are Romanian. From 21 to 35 years, the highest average occurs in couples with no Romanian or Spanish parents.

Marital status of mothers

The marital status of mothers was another variable analyzed in this study. 60% of the couples with at least one of the two members of Romanian nationality are married when both members are Romanians. Table 4 shows the distribution of this variable according to the different options of couples, with remarkable percentages of couples in which both are Romanians (63.14%) and couples in which both are foreigners (neither Romanian nor Spanish 65.97%). In contrast, higher averages are recorded for unmaried Romanian mothers with a foreign citizen of a third nationality (26.77%). When one of the parents is Spanish, the married/unmarried distribution is more equitable. Most married mothers (around 90%) have married only once regardless of the group they belong to.

As for the age of marriage of mothers, the overall mean of the sample is 24.42 years. The wives of couples with at least one Romanian member marry somewhat younger than the average (23.31 years), whereas those in which neither member is Romanian, do so at 24.52 years. There are significant differences between these groups according to the mean comparison test ($t = 56.36$, $p < .001$), which shows that the higher age corresponds to couples with no Romanian member; but the estimated effect size ($d = .22$) indicates that these differences are minimal.

Table 5 also shows the average ages at the time of marriage for all groups, which shows the highest average in Spanish women who marry a person from another nationality (Romanian or other) whereas the lowest average age is found in couples in which both members are Romanians (22.82). It is important to note that there are large deviations in this variable, since the minimum age is about 11-

12 years and the maximum between 43 and 53 years. Although the legal age for marriage in Spain is 14 years, many non-Spaniards were able to marry in their home countries, where there is no such age restriction, and gave birth to a baby in Spain, or even got married in Spain under the national law of their choice (art. 50 Civil Code).[6] Of the total sample, there are six married minors under 11 in couples where both are foreigners (4 from Morocco, 1 from Senegal and 1 from Ecuador), 162 children under 12, and over 800 of 13 years of age. Of this total, 19 wives are Romanian minors who got married at 12 years, and 39 minors who married at 13.

The analysis of variance (ANOVA) of the mean age of marriage among the various groups shows multiple differences among groups, with the following subsets formed by: (1) both members are Romanians and both are foreigners, (2) Romanian mothers married to Spaniards or members from a different nationality and Romanian fathers married to foreign mothers, (3) Spanish mothers married to foreign and Romanian fathers and (4) Spanish fathers married to foreign mothers. Although the differences between different subsets formed are limited, they are statistically significant.

Regarding the years of marriage previous to giving birth to the child whose data are recorded, the overall sample average is 4.60 years, a figure exceeded by couples in which both members are foreigners of a third nationality with a mean of 5.15 years, followed by two-Romanian partners with 4.24 years. In couples with one Romanian member, the average decreases (Table 5).

Professions of both parents

This global approach is completed with an analysis of the data available for the profession of both parents. The data of the profession of the mother (excluding those cases in which there is no record, which is 23.5%) showed statistically significant association (contingency coefficient of 0.307. P <.001). Engagement in household chores has a greater presence when both members are foreigners, followed by couples with a Romanian wife and couples with two Romanian members. The distribution within each group, the service sector also highlights for those couples with one Romanian parent. The highest percentages of unskilled workers are shown in Romanian females coupled with Romanian males. Also, it is noteworthy that the presence of technical professionals is 10.76% for Spanish mothers coupled with foreign fathers, while for the rest of the couples, the average ranges between 1.30% and 7.28% within its distribution.

The distribution in the professions of fathers is different from mothers in each type of couple. The largest difference is shown in the percentage of household tasks where males do not reach the minimum 2% against females, who reach

[6] Article 50, ch.3 of the Spanish Civil Code reads: "If both parties are foreigners, their marriage may be celebrated in Spain in accordance with the manner prescribed for Spaniards or in accordance with the personal law of any of them."

23.24%. Males show the highest percentages in the service sector, artisanry, manufacturing, construction and mining, production work and unskilled transports. The latter exceeds 22% when both members of the couple are Romanians. Fathers and mothers coincide in showing significant percentages of workers in the service sector and an average presence as unskilled workers.

The characteristics of couples with at least one Romanian member who have Spanish descendants

After this global characterization, this section shows the comparative analysis conducted for groups of Romanian parents in Spain with a more aggregate level and more complex analyses. The following comparisons are made according to the following categories of couples: Romanian-Spanish couples, Romanian-foreign (non Spanish) couples and couples where both members are Romanians. In some of the results, comparisons are made between couples with only one Romanian partner (grouping the first two categories above) with couples where both partners are Romanians.

Firstly, it must be noted that Romanian women with Spanish descendants bore children to Romanian citizens mainly, and to a lesser degree, to Spanish and finally to men from other countries such as Morocco, Ecuador, Bulgaria and Colombia as major groups for a total of 100 different nationalities. By contrast, Romanians males have children with Romanian and Spanish women, but also with women from Ecuador, Moldova, Morocco and Colombia for a total of 79 nationalities.

In all three groups, women show a lower average age than men (26.46 years for mothers in couples where both are Romanians versus 29.48 years for fathers; 27.05 years for mothers and 31.12 years for fathers in couples with one Romanian member and a member from a different nationality; and 27.63 years for mothers and 33.42 years for fathers of Romanian-Spanish couples). The youngest parents in these groups are found in couples where both are Romanians whereas the oldest occur in Romanian-Spanish couples. The distribution by age group (*Table 6*) shows greater presence of female minors in all groups (highlighting couples where both members are Romanians). The majority in all cases is shown for the middle-aged (26-35 years). Parents in Romanian-Spanish couples show a higher presence than the rest in the older age groups.

Table 6. Distribution by Age and Number of Previous Children

	Distribution by Age (%)						Average Number of Previous Children		
	Romanian -Spanish		Romanian-Other Nationalities		Both Romanian		Romanian-Spanish	Romanian-Other	Both Romanian
Age	Mother	Father	Mother	Father	Mother	Father			
Minors	1.5	0.2	1.8	0.3	3.0	0.7	1.07	1.05	1.13
18-25	38.3	15.2	41.2	19.6	41.7	21.9	1.18	1.18	1.26
26-35	49.5	49.7	48.8	57.2	50.2	64.7	1.34	1.40	1.41
36 and over	10.7	34.8	8.2	22.8	5.2	12.6	1.70	1.81	1.71
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	1.32	1.36	1.37

Source: by the Authors

Maternal age shows statistically significant differences between the three groups compared, but effect sizes indicate that these differences are minimal (d = .10 among couples with only one Romanian parent, d = .11 between both-Romanian and couples with a member from another nationality (not Spanish) and d = .22 between both-Romanian and Romanian-Spanish couples).

There are also significant differences in paternal age (F = 2987.92, p <.001) with the most relevant and significant effect size (d = .67) the ones occurring between both-Romanian and Romanian-Spanish couples. The latter show older ages, especially when the father – rather than the mother – is of Spanish nationality.

Previous children born alive

The percentage of the total sample of couples with previous children born alive is 72.9%. This percentage is much higher than the 52.96% for couples formed by a Romanian and a person from a different nationality (1.37 children on average); the 56.87% for Romanian-Spanish couples (1.33 children on average) and the 56.14% for both-Romanian partners (1.40 children on average). The average number of previous children does not differ among types of couples.

The average age of mothers with previous children is higher in all the groups than the age of mothers who do not have previous children, the highest mean showing for mothers in Romanian-Spanish couples (28.09 years). As the age of the mother increases, so does the average number of previous children. Also, the age of childless mothers is lower than the age of mothers with children (*Table 6*).

The average number of previous children considering the maternal age (in intervals) is higher in couples with two Romanian member at all ages, except for the age group between 36 and over. The most relevant differences occur in the range from 18 to 25 years. Making a General Linear Model including maternal

age (range) and the type of partner as independent variables and the number of previous children as a dependent variable shows that the corrected model is significant and explains only 39% of the variance in the number of previous children (F (52415) = 194.55. p <.001). The main effects of maternal age (F (52415) = 311.93. p <.001) and the type of partner (F (52415) = 12.09. p <.001) are significant, but the interaction effect is not.

There are differences in the type of partner between Romanian-Spanish couples and the other two types, but effect sizes indicate that they are practically nonexistent. Mother age groups show significant differences in the number of children that widen among the groups in the higher age ranges.

Multiple linear regressions were made on each type of couples with children considering their civil status (married/unmarried). The linear regression of married couples with children was estimated including paternal and maternal age, the age at marriage and number of years married on the average number of children. Then we tested the hypothesis that these predictor variables are positively related to the previous children of each of the possible couples.

The Romanian-Spanish couples show that the right model incorporates the mother's age and years of marriage (F (3791) = 135.58. p <.001), with an R2 value of .66, indicating that the variability of the number of previous children is explained by the mother's age (43) and years married (23). The age slope of mothers β = .16. t (3791) = 9.76. p <0.001 was statistically significant and so was the slope of married years (β = 0.16. t (3791) = 9.70. p <.001). Therefore, it is accepted that there is a linear relationship between these variables and the number of previous children. The analysis of residues showed that our data fitted well to the assumptions of the linear regression model.

In Romanian couples with one member of a different nationality the variables included are, in order of successive steps, the years of marriage (β = .50, t (842) = 15.32. p <.001) and the age of marriage (β = .15, t (842) = 4.52. p <.001), but the latter does not bring big changes in the total explained variance of only 22% (R2 of .22). The model is significant for the linear relationship between these variables and the number of previous children (F (842) = 117.57. p <.001). Moreover, in these couples, the age of the mother is excluded from the model, but it may be the effect of collinearity with maternal age at marriage.

The largest explained variance of the dependent variable is found in couples where both members are Romanians, including the years of marriage of mothers and paternal age in the model, but the latter does not bring any change in R2, so we preferred a simple linear regression model that is significant (F (25107) = 2386.79. p <.001) with R2 of .87 and where years of marriage are linearly related with previous children in a significant way (β = .30, t (25107) = 48.85. p <.001), (R2 of .87).

These analyses indicate that the years of marriage is a variable of great importance in relation to the number of previous children of married women, especially in couples where both members are Romanians. This variable acquires the total weight of the explanatory model (87%) and is also important in couples with a Romanian and a foreign member of a third nationality. None of the variables analyzed in the variance of the average number of children has great weight in the Spanish-Romanian couples.

Age is the key variable in models for unmarried mothers; however, it only explains 36% of the variance in the number of previous children in couples where both members are Romanians, 59% in Romanian-Spanish couples, and increases to account for 80% for Romanian partners with partners of a third nationality.

Among couples with previous children, there are significant differences in the average number of children between married and unmarried women in Romanian-Romanian couples and couples with a Romanian member and a member from a third nationality. However, although significant, these are not relevant differences. The General Linear Model made with the type of couple and the marital status in relation to the average number of previous children explains only 3% of the variance in the average number of children.

Marital Status of Mothers

60.03% of Romanian women with a Romanian partner are married. This percentage is 34.65% for Romanian-Spanish couples, and 27.53% for Romanians whose partner is from third nationality. For all groups, it is the first marriage in over 89% of cases.

The average age of married mothers is significantly different and higher than the age of unmarried mothers in all types of couples (*Table 7*). These are mean differences (according to effect sizes calculated with Cohen *d*) in couples of Romanian and foreigners of a third nationality ($t(2963) = 12.09$, $p < .001$, $d = .35$) and Romanian-Spanish couples ($t(13469) = 24.85$, $p < .001$, $d = .38$). Most significant differences are found Romanian-Romanian couples ($t(53814) = 24.85$, $p < .001$, $d = .52$).

Table 7. Descriptive and Regression Analyses by Type of Partner

		Romanian-Spanish	Romanian-Other	Both Romanians
Age of the Mother	Married	M= 29.06; SD=5.24	M= 28.45; SD=5.15	M= 27.52; SD=4.75
	Unmarried	M= 26.87; SD=5.93	M= 26.51; SD=5.64	M= 24.88; SD=5.58
Mother's Age at Marriage		M= 26.28; SD= 5.15	M= 25.33; SD= 5.08	M=22.82; SD= 4.18
Regression of mother's age and Age at Marriage with Years of Marraige		F (5938)= 17459.79 ; p<.001 R^2=.75 β=.86. t(5938)=132.14, p<.001	F (1509)=2659.92 ; p<.001 R^2= .64 β=.80. t(1509)=51.57, p<.001	F(42519)=24324.5; p<.001 R^2=.35 β=.60. t(42519)=9.76, p<.001
Years of Marriage		M= 2.32; SD= 2.67	M= 2.67; SD= 3.22	M= 4.24; SD= 3.99
Regression of mother's age with Age at Marriage		F (5938)= 84437.71; p<.001 R^2=.97 (.08 y .89 Mother's Age: β=1.90, t(5938)=399.39, p<.001 Age at Marriage: β= -1.87, t(5938)= -393.76, p<.001	F (1509)= 31351.60; p<.001 R^2= .98 (.11 y .87) Mother's Age: β=1.56, t(1509)=238.46, p<.001 Age at Marriage: β=-1.55, t(1509)= -236.45, p<.001	F(42519)= 346779.42; p<.001 R^2=.98 (.30 y .68) Mother's Age: β=1.18, t (42519)=1550.27. p<.001 Age at Marriage: β= -1.03. t(42519)= -1364.75, p<.001
Correlations with Years of Marriage		Mother's Age: R (5938)=.28, p<.01 Age at Marriage: r(5938)= -.23, p<.01	Mother's Age: R (1509)=.33, p<.01 Age at Marriage: r(1509)= - .30, p<.01	Mother's Age: r(42519)=.55, p<.01 Age at Marriage: r(42519)=-.33, p<.01

Source: by the Authors

The average maternal age at marriage is 24.42 years for the total sample, but it is lower in couples where both members are Romanian and somewhat higher for the rest of couples. Women in couples where both members are Romanian are the youngest to marry. The General Linear Model made with the type of partner over the age of marriage (once these differences were observed) explains 68% of the variance in the age of marriage. As there is no equality of variances (1345.29, p <.001), we used the Brown-Forythe statistic to detect possible differences between the mothers of the three groups at the time of marriage. These differences are significant (d = .60) between couples with two Romanian members (the youngest, M = 22.82, SD = 4.18) and couples with a Romanian member and a member from a different nationality (M = 25.38, SD = 5.09) and high (d =. 80) with Romanian-Spanish couples (M = 26.28, SD = 5.15). The differences are minimal for mixed couples with a single Romanian parent.

The Linear Regression analysis was performed with "age at marriage" as the criterion variable (or dependent) and with the average ages of mothers and fathers as predictor variables. This analysis shows that there is some collinearity between the mean ages of mothers and fathers; that is, that there is some interdependence between both. The simple regression model of the maternal age at the time of delivery in relation to age at marriage, shows a significant linear relationship in all groups (*Table 7*). However, this ratio is lower in couples with two Romanian members (35% of explained variance compared to over 60% in the other types of couples). The R2 value coincides with the Pearson correlation in this type of analysis, so that the average age at marriage and the average maternal age at the time of delivery are directly and significantly correlated.

The average age at marriage of mothers with previous children compared to unmarried mothers shows no relevant differences in either group. In terms of years of marriage, there are significant differences between mothers with and without previous children. These differences are significant in the group where both members are Romanian ($t = 67.26$, $p < .001$, $d = .63$), medium in couples with a Romanian member and a member from a different nationality ($t = 10.28$, $p < .001$, $d = .52$) and minimal in Romanian-Spanish couples ($t = 9.69$, $p < .001$, $d = .24$). Couples without previous children were married for fewer years.

As there is no equality of variances ($BF = 1161.97$, $p < .001$), we used the Brown-Forsythe statistic, which shows differences in the number of the mothers' years of marriage in the three groups studied. The effect size test indicates that these differences are moderate between couples with two Romanian members and couples with a Romanian member and a member from a different nationality ($d = .40$) and with Romanian-Spanish couples ($d = .50$). The difference is almost negligible among mixed pairs.

The multiple linear regression analysis including years of marriage as criterion and maternal/paternal age and the age at marriage in each type of couples as predictors, shows the exclusion of paternal age in models in all couples. The maternal age and maternal age at marriage remain in the model, the latter being the largest contributor to the total determination coefficient with over 95% of the variance explained (by checking the simple regression model with only this last variable, the total variance explained in relation with the years of marriage of mothers descends in all cases). Although this relationship occurs, the correlations of each variable with the years of marriage are significant but with low values in the Pearson correlation coefficient, beating only the 0.5 in the correlation of maternal age at marriage with the years of marriage of mothers. In addition, the correlations of maternal age at marriage with maternal years of marriage are minimal and inverse (*Table 7*).

Professions of parents

Finally, we analyze the occupation of parents excluding cases answering "no record" (23.6% for maternal profession and 24.9% for paternal profession).

Table 8. Distribution by Major Occupations in Each Type of Couple (Mother and Father)

	Romanian-Spanish		Romanian-Other		Both Romanians	
	Mother	Father	Mother	Father	Mother	Father
Artisans and skilled workers in manufacturing, construction and mining	1.23%	16.49%	0.89%	16.41%	1.49%	20.68%
Administrative employees	8.92%	4.32%	7.37%	4.30%	5.83%	2.85%
Operators of plant and machinery	0.61%	9.23%	0.53%	8.75%	0.80%	9.15%
Senior Management of Public Administrations and Companies	1.26%	3.89%	1.61%	3.89%	1.23%	2.01%
Housework	42.98%	0.61%	41.52%	1.04%	44.90%	1.12%
Technical and scientific professionals and intellectuals	3.01%	3.78%	2.87%	3.79%	2.40%	2.60%
Técnicos y profesionales de apoyo	2.07%	3.50%	2.10%	3.13%	1.53%	2.13%
Production workers, equipment conductors and transport drivers	1.45%	16.60%	1.08%	14.02%	1.40%	17.23%
Workers in the primary sector	2.04%	6.54%	1.47%	5.47%	2.49%	7.34%
Service workers	21.04%	17.74%	20.91%	18.78%	15.61%	9.71%
Unskilled workers	9.38%	10.76%	13.44%	16.11%	18.21%	22.97%
Others	6.01%	6.54%	6.21%	4.30%	4.11%	2.21%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Source: by the Authors

The distribution of professions has been established by maintaining the highest percentages and unifying the minimum ones (less than 3% in either group) in the option "others" including: merchants and vendors, students, retirees and pensioners, armed forces, technical professionals and related workers. The occupational distribution of the parents of each type of couple is shown in *Table 8*, noting gender distribution associated with different professions, where mothers predominate in household chores (bonding the highest percentage in all groups), while fathers stand in artisans, construction workers, production workers and transport. Both men and women show a significant percentage in the service sector and unskilled workers. In relation to the latter group, the highest percentages are shown for couples where both members are Romanian (highlighting the percentage of fathers, which is the highest in all its distribution 22.97%). In the service sector, the mothers of the three groups outweigh fathers, but in this case, fathers in groups where both members are Romanian show the lowest percentage of all the compared ones.

Discussion and conclusions

The Romanian population in Spain has experienced a considerable increase in the last decade and is currently the group of foreigners with the largest presence. This fact has a clear impact on two demographic phenomena related to the vital processes of subjects and in which immigration begins to play an important role in Spain: the possibility of establishing a family, by marriage or not, and the growth of this family with the presence of new children.

The results have shown that, when analyzing the groups with the highest possible level of detail (eight types of couples) there are no significant differences (although some are statistically significant) in any of the variables analyzed.

However, the results of the most disaggregated analysis in the three main types of couples under investigation (Romanian-Spanish, Romanian-third nationality and both-Romanian) show that mothers are younger than fathers in all cases. As for the type of couples, those formed by two Romanians are the youngest, whereas Romanian-Spanish couples are the oldest. These young ages reveal the existence of a low average age in the Romanian migrant population, which are basically individuals in the middle of working age. There are no significant differences in the maternal ages of these couples, although mothers with previous children are older than mothers without them in a different and significant way, and so are married mothers when compared to unmarried ones. Paternal age shows differences between couples with two Romanian members and Romanian-Spanish couples (the latter being higher).

Couples with two Romanian members show the highest percentage of marriages and even double other couples. Also, they marry at a younger age and have been married for a longer time when they have a child (compared with Romanian-Spanish couples, who are the ones who have been married for a shortest time before childbirth). The age of marriage is significantly different and lower in couples with two Romanian members when compared with the other two types of couple, while mixed couples do not differ between them. The same applies to the mothers' years of marriage. This might be explained by the fact that Romanians who marry abroad tend to reproduce marriage patterns typical in the society of origin, where the population marry younger. On the contrary, a mixed marriage implies not only a challenge to the limits of group membership, but also the acquisition of more flexible family patterns in which marriage, if it occurs, is delayed. In addition, building a mixed marriage usually involves a deeper knowledge, which also takes a longer time.

There are no differences in the age at marriage between mothers with and without previous children in any of the couples, but these differences do occur in the years of marriage. Mothers without previous children are those who had been married for a shorter period (these differences are notable in couples where both

members are Romanian). That is, the years of marriage and the number of previous children are associated variables.

The highest average age at the time of marriage is found in Spanish mothers who start a family with people from a different nationality (Romanian or other), and this may be related to the Spanish socio-cultural and working reality today. This reality includes difficulties for economic emancipation and values related to family formation that are not associated so directly with marriage as could happen in previous historical moments.

The fact that couples with two Romanian members show higher percentages of marriage than those where only one of the two parents is Romanian may reflect a tendency to reproduce cultural patterns of Romanian origin in the country of emigration, and the presence of a larger endogamous network of social support. As if marrying outside the group meant losing the assurance of belonging to the group of origin. If, somehow, individuals exercise their freedom by marrying someone who does not belong in their group, they would lose the natural support of their peer group. Although different authors suggest the idea that the younger generations of foreigners are more exogamous (Albert & Masanet, 2008), the reality of Romanians does not seem to follow this pattern, since most marry another Romanian and, those who do marry other nationalities, show a higher average age.

The results show that Romanians are a foreign group with a high tendency to endogamy, perhaps due to the geographical proximity between Romania and Spain and the fact that Romanian migration to this country is a recent phenomenon (Sanchez, 2010). Furthermore, cultural and linguistic proximity play a major role in maintaining contacts, social networking circles and the nuptial market or coupling.

The age at marriage correlates with age of mothers in all couples except in those with two Romanian members, where this correlation is minimal perhaps because, as noted above, women marry younger and also show the youngest average age. The female age of marriage age is an important variable linearly related to the years of marriage, with an inverse correlation, since those who married older (as is logical) had been married for a shorter time.

The three types of couples analyzed in depth are well below average in having children. Either because of a short time of settlement in Spain, because of the idea of return and temporary migration-labor that many may have in their life project or, as a reflection of what happens in the society to which they emigrate, the age to have children is significantly delayed. This fact may also be related to a possible reduction of the stock of immigrants due to the growing economic problems in Spain. Among those with older children, couples with two Romanian members show the highest mean, although there are not significant differences in this variable among types of couples. This phenomenon may be due to family

reunification where the nuclear family of the migrants gets installed with them in the country of emigration, where after some time, they decide to expand the family.

Results show that there are not significant differences in the number of children in relation with the civil status of their parents in any of the couples.

The years of marriage is a variable of great importance in relation to the number of previous children of married women, especially in couples where both members are Romanian, where it acquires the total weight of the explanatory model (87%). This variable is also relevant in Romanian-Spanish couples.

In short, the possibility for a large number of Romanian citizens to emigrate to Spain, get married or not, and have children or not in the place of migration is influenced by: 1) membership in the European Union, which makes movements among countries and temporary transfers easier, 2) the current difficult economic circumstances in Spain, especially restricting jobs in construction and services sectors in which many people of these nationalities were employed, and 3) the development and work opportunities in Romania that can stimulate the options of individual and family return (Markova. 2008).

This study provides relevant information on the Romanian population in Spain as well as a comparative approach to the types of Romanian couples with children registered in Spain. There are limitations associated with the availability of statistical data that would allow a deeper approach, while the influence of the existing methodological break reduces the number of continuous variables.

The future lines of our research team intend to build on the comparative analysis of the different groups of foreigners with a relevant presence in Spain, using databases constructed from official statistics. We aim to go deeper into the study of Romanians in comparison with other groups of foreigners migrated to Spain. Likewise, we intend to advance in the conceptualization of the reality of mixed marriages and couples in Spain.

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