



FOREIGN MIGRATION AND NEW COUPLES IN SPAIN¹: HETEROSEXUAL AND HOMOSEXUAL NUPTIALITY AND GENDER IMBALANCE IN THE NEW CENTURY

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Abstract

People are going all around to live in new countries. Sometimes, the reason is marriage. They do a migration because they will get married with someone living in another country. This feature facilitates residence as integration, specially when the couple living in that country has the nationality of the country. There was an enormous gender imbalance in nuptiality when one of the persons of the couple is from outside the European Union, in recent years. But in the last years, homosexual marriages have narrowed the gap. In any case, an exogamic pattern is not frequent. This possibility is practically nearly absent. It is nice to say that people choose each other in a freedom situation. But, really sociologists have proved that there are social factors that conditioned unions. New data about homosexual marriage is available now. There is a new technical problem because both persons are of the same sex but nevertheless, some indicators can be calculated. Tendencies are inverse that heterosexual marriages. More men than women are marrying with a foreign person. Homosexual and heterosexual marriages do not arrive to a compensation. But opposite tendencies narrowed the gap between both groups. There is no matter of love in this paper. Public data from INE shows distribution of marriage when at least one member of the couple is a foreign person. Rate by sex and origin (continents) are calculated and indicates a great gender imbalance, reduced because homosexual marriages between men are more frequent than between women. Nevertheless, preferences are not free and not equal for men and women. Women have more possibilities than men in heterosexual marriages, but men in homosexual. In summary, the gender imbalance is narrowed now.

Keywords: Marriages Foreigners; Homosexual; Heterosexual; Gender gap; Spain

Introduction

Nuptiality is not a central item in Migration Research now. In the past years, especially for American countries, many scholars were very interested in marriages of immigrants, especially those marriages involving exchanges between different communities; that is, mixed marriages (DA ORDEN, 2000; KATUS et alii, 2000, MONSMA et alii 2004).

On the other side, sociologists have demonstrated a long time ago that people do not choose their partner in a free way, and recent studies reinforce this idea. Social factors condition the election of partners, marriages or cohabitation partners. The Endogamy pattern has the highest frequency and any other combination or option is not as important as marriage between equals (GIRARD, 1984).

For a long time, social studies have also considered place of origin and cultural background in marriage patterns for immigrant people. In general, as it is the case for social

¹ This paper was presented in the European Population Conference 2008; 9-12 July, Barcelona, Spain. You can find it in <<http://epc2008.princeton.edu/abstractViewer.aspx?submissionId=80162>>

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classes, the Endogamy pattern is the first option. After two or more generations, when they are not immigrants any more but descendants of people who came from abroad, open elections become more common and “normal”.

Literature has studied marriages in immigrant communities in new countries, in America as elsewhere. Family formation (nuptiality, but also fertility) is rather similar in immigrants living in Europe and in America. Demographic patterns tend to be closer when time has passed after arrival (CLIQUET, 1998). Spanish immigrants in Argentina tried to get married to people from the same village or region of origins, not only from the same country, as well as to people from other European origins. All of them show a close pattern of marriage in the first half of the XX Century (DA ORDEN 2000; MASID, 2004). Thence, we can say that the Endogamy pattern was the norm and people choose their equals as couple (SARRIBLE, 2007, 2008). In immigrant communities, the main factor was origin, in the past.

Nowadays, nuptiality is growing up in Spain, as is natality or total increase, because of the newly arrived people, which are mostly young. This paper is only about nuptiality because there are official data in Spain, as in many countries. These data are rather complete. Unions are not as well registered as marriages. Cohabitation may be interesting, but if we have no figures, it is difficult to make a proper analysis. Registration is not complete and it is not available.

There is yet another important reason which has played a role in the decision to consider just nuptiality: the definition of one of the models as Interest Pattern (SARRIBLE, 2008). Nuptiality has the advantage that, when marrying, the foreign member of the couple can regularize his situation in the country. The Instituto Nacional de Estadística (INE) has data of the period beginning in 2000. As data are presented, we shall study marriages with at least one member from a foreign country. We recognize that this is a first approximation to this item. Other studies focused on American people show that American women are preferred by Spanish men, but American men do not have the same opportunities to marry Spanish women (SARRIBLE, 2007).

INE has recently published new data about marriages in the last years. We can find homosexual and heterosexual marriages. Data are not strictly equivalent because in the case of homosexual marriages there are just a few figures from only two years, so there are not the same categories of origins. Spaniards are not differentiated. Only Europeans as a whole are considered. This matter is a new challenge not only as a new treatment or methodological approach, but also as a new phenomenon to bring under consideration.

We cannot separate migration from nuptiality. However, we cannot really know whether migration precedes marriage or people are living in the country of destiny when they meet each other. Thus, the purpose of this paper is not the relation between nuptiality and spatial mobility. We are interested in knowing the frequency of couples with at least one foreign member, their distribution by continent of origin, secular trends of males and females and the differences between them and between heterosexual and homosexual marriages.

Can we speak about *Gender Imbalance* in this matter? We think so. Foreign women get married more frequently than foreign men do. We can consider also that European males choose women from outside the European Union more frequently than European women do, and that they do the same with men as well. People are chosen and choose in a different way depending on whether they are males or females, because their expectations and needs are not the same. For the last years, we can also bring under consideration the type of marriage (heterosexual or homosexual). The elections people make can be different because of the sexual preferences in the couple.

In previous research about Nuptiality of foreign people in Spain, three patterns have been considered, two of which having been already mentioned above. The first option is called the "Interest pattern", and the second the "Endogamy pattern". In the first, one member is from outside the European Union and the other is from the European Union. We do not consider love. In fact, love has still not been a sociological issue up to date (perhaps it will be considered in the future, but not nowadays). That does not mean that people do not have nice feelings for each other.

In the Interest pattern, we consider nuptiality as a strategy to live in the destiny country in legal conditions from the point of view of foreign people. Foreign people can have a special interest in marrying European Union people if they have chosen to live in this area, and so do some people of the European Union who may want or need to marry people coming from abroad (SARRIBLE, 2008). Type of marriage (heterosexual or homosexual) is not considered differently and the Patterns are applied in both categories (SARRIBLE, 2008). We do not know the reasons why people in Spain choose a foreign person to marry and we are not interested in that particular matter. This work is about nuptiality with foreign people and they are the core of the study.

The second option is the Endogamy pattern. Research on the past receiving societies shows that people marry in close communities. This strategy also exists in Spain and it is becoming more frequent as time passes. Normally, people choose the first option, the "Interest pattern" to stay. However, when they have been living in the country for a while and they do not need to normalize their legal situation, then they can choose in a more free way: they usually choose between "equals".

Secular trends support growing and decreasing of this two patterns in heterosexual marriages. Marriages with European Union people are more frequent in the first years upon arrival. On the contrary, as time passes by, the Endogamy pattern grows. The generalization proposed here considers that people choose other people to get married to with similar or equal origins when they do not need a marriage to regularize their situation. Studies mentioned above about former immigrant communities show that the Endogamy pattern has been the main option for immigrants. Homosexual marriages may show some similarities about patterns and some differences in tendencies, but we have not been able to observe real changes through long periods of time. Until today, scholars have not had the opportunity or the interest to study patterns in homosexual marriages in the countries where they are legal.

The frequency of Interest and Endogamy patterns lets us consider that marriage is a rational choice, a little different from the market rules of the Classical Social Science. If a

person from abroad “needs” to regularize his situation or just wants to come to Europe, marrying a person from the European Union can be a rational strategy. As time passes and foreign people have the opportunity to regularize their situation, the preference becomes to engage with people of the same origin. This was the option of migrants in the past, as literature has shown. Nowadays, different measures and treatment do not grant residence to all the people who want to immigrate to the European Union or to other countries.

New data about homosexual marriages are available now. There is a new technical problem because both partners are of the same sex but, nevertheless, some indicators can be calculated. Unfortunately, we do not have data on population to make a ratio. People are not counting in different groups because of their sexual preferences. Tendencies are inverse than in heterosexual marriages. More men than women are marrying with a foreign person. Homosexual and heterosexual marriages are not counterbalanced. But opposite tendencies narrow the gap between both groups. As in the case of heterosexual marriages, both men and women are more frequently from Europe or America. Other origins are really reduced. The proportions of both sexes that are currently marrying foreign people are more balanced now than could be expected before, for a real unforeseen reason.

Marriages between Foreign People or with just one Spaniard: Last Trends

In any case, neither in heterosexual nor in homosexual marriages does the Exogamic pattern exist. The Exogamic option of marriage, in this study, is the election between two people coming from outside the European Union and from different continents. The real free option, where there is no interest, no equality patterns, no similar community of origins, is exceptional in Spain today. When foreign communities are very large and heterogeneous, marriage tends to be homogeneous. It is a guaranty of duration and stability. Sharing activities and friends is easier when both members of the couple are of the same origin or from a similar one, as has been shown in other studies (BOZON; HÉRAN, 2006).

Women from America have more frequent marriages with Spanish men than women from other origins. Half the marriages involving foreign women were with an American one in 2000, and almost two thirds in 2004. Same secular trends are true for men: American men begin with just one fourth of the marriages in 2000 and finish with half the total marriages of foreign men in 2004. Women from America have more opportunities than men of the same origin to marry in Spain in the period. In 2000, American women married in a proportion of near 90% with European men. Nevertheless, this proportion falls to two thirds in 2005. For the Endogamy pattern, they married with similar men in 11% of the cases in the first year considered, and in 33% of the cases, four years later. The addition of European and American men represents more than 99% of the marriages for American women (SARRIBLE, 2007).

For American men, trends are similar, but proportions, however, are lower. In 2000, American men got married to European women in 75% of the cases, while in 2004 they did so in less than 50 % of the cases. Marriages with women from the same origins rise from 25% to

53.2%, from 2000 to 2004. For the last option, the Exogamic pattern, men are similar to women: there is not a real option of free election. If they are not equals or not interested, they do not get married. The addition of European and American couples represents more than 99.5% of the total marriages of American men. So, practically, other options do not exist.

The pattern of heterosexual marriages in the period between 2000 and 2004 shows a progression in the tendency of moving from the Interest pattern to the marriage between equals (Endogamic pattern). In any case, European men seem more opened in their elections, while European women seem more endogamic.

In the case of the women from America, which have particularly been focused in the study, differences depending on nationality may be remarkable. While women from Ecuador increasingly tend to marry men from their country, Brazilian women keep marrying European men in a more or less constant way. These are the two ends in the patterns which may be differentiated when considering categories smaller than continents: it can be observed that tendencies are not monolithic inside them (SARRIBLE, 2007).

This paper presents a first attempt at calculating the indicators, analyzing and comparing the two currently existing categories of marriage in Spain in the cases where at least one member of the couple is not Spanish. These data in Spain are so new, and there is so little of them published (just covering a period of one year and a half), that it also represents a first approach to the study of nuptiality from a specific point of view: marriages with foreign people, considered alongside in both heterosexual and homosexual marriages, in order to being able to set some parallels between them. In this framework, a hypothesis is proposed for corroboration: *the gender gap observed in the marriages with foreign participants up to 2004, whose main cause was that foreign women got married more frequently than foreign men in Spain, is being narrowed by the consideration of marriages between people of the same sex.* If heterosexual marriages incorporated more women, homosexual marriages do otherwise and incorporate more men, just because men-men marriages are more frequent and, furthermore, they count for two each: each marriage incorporates two people of the same sex instead of one.

As data are concerned, one of the differences with former studies, which were based upon the period 2000-2004, lays in the fact that the figures about people who marry another person of the same sex do not distinguish Spaniards from the whole of all Europeans. That poses an extra difficulty in the data discussion and treatment. Obviously, according to the condition specified by INE, *at least one of the members of the couple must be a foreigner.* Therefore, we cannot know how many Spaniards got married under this category. That's why this work is defined as an approach to the matter.

Nevertheless, the available data, scarce as they might seem, will allow for the verification of the narrowing of the distance of the gap between foreign men and women getting married in Spain thanks to homosexual marriages. When it comes to heterosexual marriages, they are more frequent when the woman is foreigner, not the man. But in the case of

homosexual marriages the case is just the contrary. That's why the gender imbalance of former years may be reduced due to the contribution of homosexual marriages involving foreigners.

To allow for the corroboration of the hypothesis, several indicators have been calculated, as shown in the Tables below. Firstly, the distribution of the sum of marriages involving at least one foreign member is calculated, both for homosexual and heterosexual unions during the two years with available data: 2005 and 2006. The estimated index of masculinity refers to the foreign population participating in marriages which took place in Spain during these years, thence the existence of differences in the heterosexual marriages too.

Secondly, a comparison is established between the total amount of homosexual marriages celebrated in Spain, and those which involve a foreigner, separated by sex. In the third place, a comparison is also set between the amount of marriages with at least one foreign member of the couple, and the total amount of marriages celebrated in Spain. That comparison is set bringing under consideration data from the previous period, when only heterosexual marriages were recorded. In the fourth place, the distribution of the members of the couple by continents of origins is calculated, depending on whether they are heterosexual or homosexual. The point is to investigate if selections depend on the type of marriage and on the sex of the person.

In the last part, the extension of each of the proposed patterns in both kinds of marriage for 2006 is calculated (Endogamy, Interest, and Exogamy). We cannot be conclusive, for only the data of a single year are considered. Therefore, the search for alternative ways of dealing with the data and elaborating indicators is encouraged, in order to establish new parallels between the two kinds of marriage.

Table 1: Marriages of foreign people, Spain 2005-06

Distribution of marriages between heterosexuals and homosexuals and masculinity index, Spain 2005³-06				
1. Distribution between Heterosexual and Homosexual marriages, Spain 2005-06				
Marriages	MEN		WOMEN	
	2005	2006	2005	2006
Heterosexual	98.4	94.2	99.7	98.9
Homosexual	1.6	5.8	0.3	1.1
2. Homosexual, heterosexual and all marriages: masculinity index in marriages				
	2005	2006		
Heterosexual	76.3	77.4		
Homosexual	365.2	427.1		
All marriages	77.3	81.2		

SOURCE: www.ine.es

³ NOTES Homosexual marriages in year 2005 have only been celebrated after July the 3rd, the date they were accepted by law.

Table 1 shows the calculations concerning the distribution of marriages including at least one foreign member in the couple into heterosexual and homosexual, for the only two years of which data are available. Both for males and females, an increasing trend in homosexual marriages may be observed. In both years, there is a larger amount of men homosexual marriages than of women. If we consider that homosexual marriages of 2005 only belong to the second half of the year, we can conclude that they actually represent double the amount reflected in the Table if we only brought under consideration the same period of time for heterosexual marriages as well. Then, the proportion would be 3.2 (1.6×2) for men and 0.6 (0.3×2) for women. Even in that case, the increase between 2005 and 2006 is corroborated. Said increase, regarding the new proportions calculated, would be 81% for men and 83% for women, close to one another.

The masculinity index for foreigners in both kinds of marriage has also been calculated. That indicator makes it possible to know the male/female ratio in each of the cases discussed. In the case of heterosexual marriages, as well as in the figures for all marriages, in 2005 there were approximately three marriages involving an immigrant male for each four marriages involving an immigrant female. That is what we meant when we formerly mentioned the Gender gap above: there are more foreign women than foreign men who get married in Spain. In the figures for all marriages involving foreign members, there would be eight men for each ten women, thus reducing the Gender gap.

In contrast, when it comes to homosexual marriages, the masculinity index clearly goes beyond 100 (which represents equilibrium between both sexes). There would be between 3 and 4 male marriages for each female marriage. The imbalance between men and women increases from 2005 to 2006. That implies a larger proportion of foreign men getting married than of foreign females, regarding marriages between people of the same sex. That is, the trend opposite to the one shown in the case of heterosexuals. The existence of this new kind of marriage contributes to reducing the Gender gap affecting the foreigners involved in marriages celebrated in Spain, thus affirming the proposed hypothesis.

The masculinity index of all marriages expresses the numeric preponderance of heterosexual marriages. At the same time, it shows an increasing trend in the masculinity index, as has already been mentioned. It means that, due to the celebration of homosexual marriages, the amount of foreign men affected by marriage may become slightly closer to the amount of foreign women in the same situation. The increasing trend in all three masculinity index is clear. In all three categories, the number of foreign men getting married increases above the number of women. In the case of homosexuals, the increase is even higher, existing more than four male marriages for each female marriage. The lesser increase is shown in heterosexual marriages, because of the raising of the Endogamy pattern. The increase in the figures for all marriages answers, mostly, to the raise of male homosexual marriages.

Table 2: Homosexual marriages in Spain, 2005-06

Proportion of homosexual marriages concerning foreigners in Spain, 2005-06 by sex		
	2005	2006
males	27.8	35.7
females	19.4	19.1

SOURCE: www.ine.es

In Table 2, the proportion by sex between all homosexual marriages in Spain and those concerning foreigners has been calculated for the two years with available data. A raising trend is verified in the proportion of homosexual marriages with at least a foreign male, passing from a bit more than one for each four to a bit more than one for each three the next year, 2006. In contrast, the stability in the proportion of homosexual marriages affecting foreign women is opposite to the trend in the case of men. Even a slight decrease might be noticed, though not really significant.

Table 3: Marrying with foreigners, Spain, 2001-04

Proportions of foreign marriages⁴ in all of Spain, 2001-2004*	
Year	Proportion
2001	6.8
2002	8.7
2003	12.3
2004	14.3

SOURCE: www.ine.es

In Table 3, the proportion of foreign marriages in all marriages celebrated in Spain has been calculated for each year in the period 2001 to 2004, as a complement to the preceding Table⁵. It may be observed that the proportions concerning foreign people increase from one year to the next. That increase may be due to two reasons mainly, according to the distributions of the two models analyzed (Endogamy and Interest). In the first place, more Spaniards marry foreigners (Interest pattern). In the second place, the increase of marriages between foreigners of the same origins has to be considered (Endogamy pattern). Studies carried out for the period have proved that this second type of marriages is the one that increases the most, when both members of the couple are foreigners (SARRIBLE, 2007; 2008).

According to the considerations of Andorka, who relates Fertility to migrations, an especially decreasing effect produced by migration would not have been proved. That effect, as a hypothesis, would refer to the time needed for getting adapted to the new context, which would cause to have fewer children, or less time to have children, in front of other priorities such as the integration in the new society (ANDORKA, 1978). If we considered the formation of couples as the step prior to the arrival of descendants, moving to a new society may delay some marriages, as well as some other unions. The time spent from the moment of arrival could

⁴ NOTE Only marriages are brought under consideration, not people; Only the period of heterosexual marriages has been considered.

⁵ Given the fact that these events concern two people of different sex, only the events are considered, and their proportion regarding all marriages celebrated. That is why the calculation has been interrupted in 2004. For the following two years, look at the preceding Table, only for homosexual marriages.

contribute to the increase of the endogamic marriages between available single immigrants. This one can be a possible explanation for the increase observed.

Heterosexual and homosexual marriages in Spain: an initial comparison

Searching for studies about homosexual marriages, we find moral reflections or laws and norms about countries that have admitted this new type of legal union. As homosexual marriages are not expected to have their own children, perhaps demographers are not so interested in them. But, if we consider marriage can be a reason to migrate, to change the country and to live in another one, perhaps homosexual marriages can be interesting or at least can be brought under consideration for new Policies. We do not know how this new type of legal unions can affect the future of population and change demographic trends or phenomena.

Table 4 shows the distribution of heterosexual marriages with at least one foreign member by continents of origins. Spaniards have a category of their own in order to differentiate them from the whole of Europe. It has been deemed necessary to include them in this Table in order to make it possible to study their relative weight in the total figures. It has to be noted that the rest of Europeans are foreigners as well. A first look at Table 4 would point out the remarkable differences existing between men and women. In 2005, half the women involved in a marriage with at least one foreign member come from Europe. Spanish women are a constant item in the two years. They are included in the European category (though they *are not* foreigners). Next, women coming from America add up to two of each five marriages considered. In the case of women, the rest of continents of origin have almost no relevance.

Table 4: Heterosexual marriages in Spain, 2005-06

Distribution of marriages by continent of origin of the bride, 2005-06						
YEAR	Europe	Spain *	Africa	America	Asia	Others
2005	50.8	29.5	5.6	42	1.5	0.1
2006	52.5	29.5	5.5	40.6	1.4	0
Distribution of marriages by continent of origin of the groom, 2005-06						
YEAR	Europe	Spain⁶	Africa	America	Asia	Others
2005	64.8	46.2	9.3	24.1	1.7	0.1
2006	65.1	45.5	9.3	23.4	2	0.2

SOURCE: www.ine.es

As far as men are concerned, the trends are similar to those of women, even though the proportions differ widely. In 2006, there are more European men getting married than the previous year. The Spaniards remain in a similar proportion, as it happened with women. There exists, as with females, a change in the proportions where an increase in the Europeans is compensated by a slight decrease in the people coming from America. The rest of the proportions are reduced and remain stable in both years.

⁶ Of the marriages with European men and women, the proportion of Spaniards is calculated.

We should wonder if in the marriages and in the way of choosing⁷ a partner, women and men coming from America and from the rest of Europe constitute equivalent groups, close to each other or even interchangeable within a limited frame, which does not happen with other origins.

In Table 5, the same calculation as in the preceding Table has been done, but for homosexual marriages. In this case, there is an additional difficulty, for the events involved do not suppose the union between two people of different sexes. Until demonstrated otherwise, we should not assume that marriages between men may be or should be similar to those between women. To that extent, two different sections have been made from the available data. In Table 5.1, the distribution of the marriages between men by origins has been calculated, and in Table 5.2 the same has been done for marriages between women. Categories of origin are continents in all cases. Spaniards cannot be differentiated here because there are no data for this particular item. Nevertheless, the requirement of at least one member of the couple being foreign is always met.

In the case of the treatment of the data on homosexual marriages, a methodological problem has arisen when trying to calculate the same indicators as for heterosexual marriages. When we dealt with the latter kind of marriage, the distribution of men and women was evident. But, when we dealt with homosexual marriages, we found people of the same sex in both columns. Estimations are even harder to make because it is impossible to know which member of the couple is Spanish. There is just one certainty which can be held: that the case of two Spanish people marrying is not possible, for it would have not been registered in these data.

Formerly, it had been observed that for heterosexual marriages the proportion of Spanish men marrying a foreign woman is approximately 50% more than that of Spanish women marrying a foreign man. The solution given by INE when both spouses are of the same sex is to numerate them. The resulting distribution in categories has been respected, for it is impossible to proceed otherwise or to find another way of treating them. We expect that in the future Spaniards will be differentiated in order to be capable of making the same comparisons we did in the case of marriages between people of different sexes.

Table 5.1: Homosexual marriages in Spain: Grooms, 2005-06

HOMOSEXUAL MARRIAGES in Spain⁸						
Men who marry do so with other men from different origins						
Distribution of the marriage depending on the origin of one of the spouses						
Spouse 1						
YEAR	Europe	Africa	America	Asia	Others	TOTAL
2005	32.5	5.2	58.7	2.4	1.2	100
2006	41	2	54.4	2.1	0.5	100
Spouse 2						
YEAR	Europe	Africa	America	Asia	Others	TOTAL
2005	84.1	0.8	14.7	0.4	0	100
2006	81.2	0.6	17.6	0.5	0.1	100

SOURCE: www.ine.es

⁷ *Choosing* is a traditional way of speaking. Here, we mean a freely made union, and so is presupposed, and, thence, the word is used to designate the making of a couple.

⁸ NOTE. There are no data concerning Spaniards in homosexual marriages.

In Table 5.1, the distribution of the spouses by origins has been calculated for men in Spain in 2005 and 2006, in the case of the marriages with at least one foreign participant. We can observe that in 2005, when considering Spouse 1, in almost three out of every five marriages he is American. This is the most frequent origin, far above any other proportion. The next year, 2006, the ratio is a bit lower. But, in contrast, if Spouse 1 is from Europe, the proportion in 2005 is a third of the overall. The next year, it increases remarkably. Following what happened in heterosexual marriages, a decrease in American spouses means an increase in European ones. In this case, we could say that the man who chooses his partner from America or from Europe compensates the fall of the first origin with a rise in the second, be it in homosexual or in heterosexual marriages, between the years 2005 and 2006. If we go on discussing the distribution of Spouse 1, we can affirm that the relative weight of Africa is more than halved between 2005 and 2006, while the decrease of Asia is smaller. These two origins are not significant, and show low proportions compared to Europe and America.

We cannot find the pattern that differentiates the distribution of Spouse 1 and Spouse 2, for they are both of the same sex. We do not know what is the reason or the way to decide in which category they are registered. That makes it impossible to distinguish them as separate groups, and to interpret the differences. In the case of the distribution by origins of Spouse 2, most of the registers are for Europeans: they are beyond four of each five cases in the two years. Then follows America, and the rest of the origins are set at about 1%. In this case, and without knowing the reason why, it is Europe that decreases, and America increases its proportion. We can only keep the same explanation as for the former cases, which would then point to a similitude between origins in certain cases.

Table 5.2 shows the marriages between women. The problem concerning the classification of Spouse 1 and 2 arises again: there is not a known criterion to distinguish them. In the first distribution, which corresponds to Spouse 1, America is the origin that concentrates a larger proportion, with three out of every five cases, both in 2005 and in 2006. Europe is in the second place and, as happened before, keeps on increasing, though this time not only causing America to decrease, but also Africa and Asia. The participation of these two latter continents, although already pretty low, is further diminished. In the distribution of Spouse 2, Europe is again the first place as in men marriages, with at least seven out of every ten cases, and descending from one year to the next. America compensates then what Europe loses. As is the case of men, its participation is increased when Europe's falls. In the case of Africa, it keeps its low level of participation, whereas for Asia, it only appears in the second year.

Table 5.2: Homosexual Marriages in Spain: Brides, 2005-06

Women who marry do so with women of different origins
Distribution of the marriages depending on the origin of one of the spouses

Spouse 1						
YEAR	Europe	Africa	America	Asia	Others	TOTAL
2005	34.8	2.9	60.9	1.4	0	100
2006	38.2	2	59	0.8	0	100

Spouse 2						
YEAR	Europe	Africa	America	Asia	Others	TOTAL
2005	73.9	2.9	23.2	0	0	100
2006	71.7	2.8	25.1	0.4	0	100

NOTE. There are no data concerning Spaniards in homosexual marriages

SOURCE: www.ine.es

To summarize this particular crossing of spouses and origins in the case of homosexual marriages with at least a foreign participant in Spain between 2005 and 2006, we could say that:

- America and Europe are the most probable origins for either of the two spouses;
- We do not know the criteria used in the distribution of Spouse 1 and 2, but certain regularities are found both in the cases of men and women;
- In the case of Spouse 1, the highest origin is America. In the case of Spouse 2, it is Europe. This is valid for marriages between people of both sexes;
- Any slight increase or decrease in any of these two origins is compensated by the opposite effect in the other, in most cases. It could be said that these two origins are interchangeable. This was also stated in the case of heterosexual marriages;
- Neither Africa nor Asia are significant origins.

Concluding, both for men and women, the most usual union is between Europeans and Americans.

The Three Relation Patterns for the couple: Endogamy, Interest and Exogamy

In the first paper on nuptiality in the foreign population in Spain, the study was carried out by sexes, and it did not pose great difficulties. In this paper, we have innovated. The proposal that corresponded to data published for heterosexual marriages, the only available up to 2004, is not satisfactory when trying to study the distribution according to the three patterns proposed (Endogamy, Interest and Exogamy) if we wish to set a comparison between the two types of marriage. We have looked for a solution that served for the two categories of marriage, in a way that, despite the differences, would pose certain uniformity, thus allowing for the said comparison. The reading of Table 6 (1 for homosexuals and 2 for heterosexuals) is easier in the case of marriages between people of the same sex. Nevertheless, it has the advantage of being useful for both categories. That is why the comparisons and contrasts which can be established

spring out immediately. We begin with homosexual marriages because we think that it facilitates the discussion of the other Table⁹.

Table 6: Extension of Endogamy, Interest and Exogamy Patterns in 2006
6.1 Homosexual Marriages

1.1 MEN			
Pattern	Combination	Proportion	Subtotal
ENDOLOGY	Europe/Europe	26	
	America/America	3.4	
	Africa/Africa	0.1	
	Asia/Asia	0.1	
	ENDOLOGY PATTERN subtotal		29.6
INTEREST	Europe/America	14.2	
	America/Europe	50.9	
	Subtotal		65.1
	Europe/Africa	0.4	
	Africa/Europe	1.9	
	Subtotal		2.3
	Europe/Asia	0.4	
	Asia/Europe	2	
	Subtotal		2.4
	INTEREST PATTERN subtotal		69.8
	EXOLOGY = cases left		0.6
	TOTAL three patterns		100
1.2 WOMEN			
Pattern	Combination	Proportion	Subtotal
ENDOLOGY	Europe/Europe	17.9	
	America/America	7.2	
	Africa/Africa	0.8	
	Asia/Asia	0	
	ENDOLOGY PATTERN subtotal		25.9
INTEREST	Europe/America	17.9	
	America/Europe	51.8	
	Subtotal		69.7
	Europe/Africa	2	
	Africa/Europe	1.2	
	Subtotal		3.2
	Europe/Asia	0.8	
	Asia/Europe	0	
	Subtotal		0.8
	INTEREST PATTERN subtotal		73.7
	EXOLOGY = cases left		0.4
	TOTAL three patterns		100

NOTES: Only 2006 has been considered because it is the only complete year, up to date.

SOURCE: www.ine.es

In Table 6.1, the distribution of homosexual marriages according to the combinations of origins of each spouse is shown. The Table begins with men because figures are larger. As described in the presentation, they are classified in three patterns. Endogamy represents any continental origin, given the fact that both members of the couple belong to it. Interest

⁹ The order of the presentation has been inversed due to the motives pointed out.

represents any combination between Europe and another continent. Exogamy is the combination of different origins which do not include Europe. With these three patterns, the possible combinations between origins of the participants are exhausted.

The results will be discussed firstly by patterns (subtotals in the Table), because the specific importance of each of them is to be marked. In homosexual marriages, both between men and between women, the so called Interest pattern is the most frequent one. That means that the proportion of marriages between an European person and a foreign one is the largest. The Endogamy pattern is similar both in males and in females, even though it is a bit higher in the former, where the sum of all options gets close to three out of every ten cases, while in the latter it only represents a quarter of all cases. The Exogamy option is almost non-existent, balancing between 0.6% in men and 0.4% in women. With few variations in the two more frequent patterns, distribution is similar for both sexes.

Those marriages where one of the members of the couple is European are the most frequent ones, for they add the combination of Europe and America (Interest) to the Endogamic option for Europeans. The former adds up to almost two of each three cases (65.1%), and the latter adds up to 26%. Therefore, the total for the addition of these two options is 91.1% of all possible combinations.

For women, the combination of the Interest pattern between Europe and America is even more frequent (69.7%), but it is not so for Europe Endogamic pattern option (17.9%), setting then the overall to 87.6%. Proportions of endogamic marriages and homosexuals from Africa and Asia are extremely low, for any kind of homosexual marriage.

As a way to summarize Table 6.1 about Homosexual marriages in 2006, we could state that:

- The Interest pattern, with the combination of America and Europe, represents by itself almost two of each three marriages celebrated in 2006 between people of the same sex, both for men and for women, though it is a bit higher for women;
- The sum of all possible combinations between people from Europe and America represents around nine of each ten cases for men, and a slightly lower proportion for women;
- There could be, according to the trends observed from one year to another in the preceding Table, some kind of substitution effect between these two origins.

The distribution of heterosexual marriages according to the three patterns is shown on Table 6.2. Due to its extension, it is divided into two parts, the first one corresponding to the patterns applied to men, and the second one applied to women. Evidently, the amount of endogamic marriages must be the same for both cases, as a man and a woman of the same origin are being united. What changes is the proportion in regard of the whole amount of marriages concerning men or women, thence the disagreement in the proportions.

In the case of heterosexual marriages, the trends observed in former studies (Sarrible, 2008) are confirmed. In the case of men, endogamic marriages constitute more than 50% of the cases, and interest marriages get to 44.4% of the distribution. The Exogamic pattern only rises to 0.5% of the overall. If these heterosexual marriages are compared to homosexual ones

concerning men, they coincide in the extension of the two main patterns and in the almost absence of exogamic marriages. They differ in the importance of Endogamy compared to Interest. It could be stated that heterosexual male immigrants have had several years of adaptation and show an increasing trend towards endogamic marriage. If this trend is confirmed, the same could happen with homosexual marriages between men in the next following years.

Table 6: Extension of Endogamy, Interest and Exogamy Patterns in 2006

6.2.1 Heterosexual Marriages: Men

1. MEN			
Pattern	Combination¹⁰	Proportion	Subtotal
ENDO GAMY	Europe/Europe	39.1	
	America/America	13.3	
	Africa/Africa	2.3	
	Asia/Asia	0.4	
	ENDO GAMY subtotal		
INTEREST	Europe/America	38.4	
	Europe/Africa	4.6	
	Europe/Asia	1.4	
	INTEREST subtotal		
EXO GAMY	Africa/America + Asia	0.3	
	America/ Africa + Asia	0.1	
	Asia/ Africa + America	0.1	
	EXO GAMY subtotal		
TOTAL three patterns			100

SOURCE: www.ine.es

Table 6: Extension of Endogamy, Interest and Exogamy Patterns in 2006

6.2.2 Heterosexual Marriages: Women

2. WOMEN			
Pattern	Combination	Proportion	Subtotal
ENDO GAMY	Europe/Europe	46.8	
	America/America	15.9	
	Africa/Africa	2.7	
	Asia/Asia	0.5	
	ENDO GAMY subtotal		
INTEREST	Europe/America	19.9	
	Europe/Africa	11.2	
	Europe/Asia	2.4	
	INTEREST subtotal		
EXO GAMY	Africa/America + Asia	0.2	
	America/ Africa + Asia	0.4	
	Asia/ Africa + America	0	
	EXO GAMY subtotal		
TOTAL three patterns			100

SOURCE: www.ine.es

¹⁰ Combinations have been arranged according to their quantitative relevance.

Heterosexual marriage, from the female partner point of view, shows more radical trends. Almost two out of every three marriages are endogamic, and just one is interested. The Exogamy pattern is almost non-existent, as in homosexual marriages and in male heterosexual marriages. As has already been said, women tend to marry less to foreigners. Smaller amounts of marriages with foreigners provoke that the same amount of endogamic marriages as men represents, in contrast, a larger proportion. European ones are almost 50% of the total and American ones 15.9%. African and Asian Endogamic marriages are scarce, as in all other cases. The more frequent Interest pattern is the combination between Europe and America, which represents around one of each five marriages.

Conclusions

In this paper, the similarities between homosexual and heterosexual marriages have been marked in the cases where at least one of the members of the couple is a foreigner, regarding the only years with available data right now, which are 2005 and 2006. Two prior studies had already been made, for the period between 2000 and 2004. In them, three patterns of relation for couples were analyzed, but only heterosexual marriages existed. It had already been observed that people getting married in Spain did so more frequently with a European partner in the first stages (obviously, more so with Spaniards). Later on, if they were American, they rather marry people of the same origin. Africa and Asia do not have such a high weight in either the Interest or the Endogamy patterns.

The hypothesis is confirmed: *the gender gap observed in the marriages with foreign participants up to 2004, whose main cause was that foreign women got married more frequently than foreign men in Spain, is being narrowed by the consideration of marriages between people of the same sex.* Homosexual marriages are more frequent between men. In heterosexual marriages, more foreign women are concerned. So as we have opposite trends, the gap is narrowed in this last two years, when both types of marriages have been legal in Spain.

About the future, a new question can appear. If the gender gap is narrowed because homosexual male marriages are more frequent than homosexual female marriages, what about the trends that go from the Interest Pattern to the Endogamy pattern? If foreigners marry between them, a new factor to narrow the gap must be considered. We can observe it in the next years, when more data will be published and a longer period can be considered.

When it comes to discussing homosexual marriages, there are some common items. First of all, the more frequent patterns turn out to be the same again: Endogamy and Interest. Secondly, the proportion of marriages with people from America is also the highest one. In the third place, when one of the combinations of American/American or European/American decrease, the other one increases. It looks as a replacement effect in which Europe substitutes America and vice versa, even though it is still of small proportions. Only people from America

and Europe show a high-rate Endogamy pattern. They are also the ones to get more easily mixed with one another in the two categories of marriage.

New data on homosexual marriages has posed a challenge. It is necessary to innovate. The old techniques and solutions are no longer useful, because we do not have people of different sexes in the couple any more. The proposal of this paper is nothing but a practical solution to a particular problem arisen from the way data are published and from what they suppose in innovation. The way of presenting the patterns has been changed in order to observe the technical differences which appear with the union of people of the same sex.

As for the future, if homosexual marriages follow the trends shown from 2000 by heterosexual marriages, whenever at least one of the members of the couple is foreigner, then endogamic patterns will increase for Americans and Europeans. If the opposite effect is true, observed in increases and decreases in two consecutive years for the people from these two continents, there could be a certain and yet incipient replacement effect.

I hope new proposals will appear, for this is just a first attempt, a first approach regarding the data available.

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