
**The Contribution of Mothers of Foreign Descent to Total Fertility: the Recent Recovery of Period
Fertility in the Flemish Region of Belgium**

Lisa Van Landschoot¹

Jan Van Bavel²

Helga A.G. de Valk^{1,3}

Contact details:

Lisa Van Landschoot

Address: Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Interface Demography; Pleinlaan 2, 1030 Brussels (Belgium)

Phone: +322 614 81 36

Email: Lisa.Van.Landschoot@vub.ac.be

¹ Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Interface Demography

² University of Leuven, Centre for Sociological Research: Jan.VanBavel@soc.kuleuven.be

³ Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute: valk@nidi.nl

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Abstract

Since the early 21st century, the total period fertility started to increase in Europe. Although this might indicate the end of postponement of childbearing, it can just as well be related to the changed ethnic composition of the population. In this paper we question to what extent the migrant population, i.e. mothers of foreign descent contributed to the recent (2001/2008) recovery of period fertility in the Flemish region of Belgium. We use data from the Flemish Family and Child Care Agency for calculating the births of different nationality groups. We furthermore propose a method to indirectly assess the impact of births to women of foreign descent on age-specific and total fertility. Overall we find that women of foreign descent are increasingly important for the number of babies born in the Flemish region between 2001 and 2008 (from 16 to 20 percent of births are to women of foreign descent). Our results indicate that women of foreign descent nevertheless have a limited impact on the total fertility. The total period fertility in Flanders would have been only slightly lower and using our estimation method, fertility would have recovered also without women of foreign descent.

1. Introduction

In the 1990s, the drastic postponement of parenthood resulted in an era of “lowest low fertility”, primarily in Southern, Central and Eastern Europe (Kohler, Billari, & Ortega, 2002). After decades of fertility decline, Goldstein, Sobotka, & Jasilioniene (2009) recently observed a revival of the fertility rates in most European countries marking the end of the lowest-low fertility era. This revival has also been observed in Belgium: since the beginning of the 21st century, the Period Total Fertility Rate (PTFR) increased from 1.67 in 2000 to 1.85 in 2008. In the Flemish region, e.g. the Dutch speaking part of Belgium, the fertility increase was even larger from 1.57 (2000) to 1.82 (2008) (Statistics Belgium, 2012).

Although in the literature the end of postponement has been suggested to be responsible for this recent change in fertility in Europe (Sobotka, 2008), a second explanation has also been brought up. Several authors have linked the recent fertility revival to international migration (Goldstein et al., 2009). The latter has become an important factor of demographic change and in many European countries, migration has been the main reason for population growth since the late 1990s (Sobotka, 2008). Migrant women from several non-Western countries are typically found to have higher fertility levels than native European women and may thus have an impact on the period fertility in Europe (Fokkema, De Valk, De Beer, & Van Duin, 2008; Sobotka, 2008). In this article we empirically explore to what extent births to women of foreign descent are responsible for the recent recovery of the period total fertility rates in the Flemish region of Belgium. We do so by applying two complementary strategies. First, we analyze how the number of births evolved between 2001 and 2008 for the different nationality – and origin groups living in Flanders. Second, we introduce an approach to indirectly assess the impact of births to women of foreign descent on the age-specific and total fertility rates.

2. Belgian and Flemish migration context

The migration history to Belgium has a long tradition and migrants come from a wide range of origins. Like many other Western European countries, Belgium recruited guest workers to take up jobs in the industry after World War Two. Many of these migrants came from Southern Europe and the Mediterranean region and were originally mainly men who afterwards rejoined their families. Union and family formation remains important for these groups also today. In addition, migration to Belgium comprises a substantial share of migrants from the former colony Congo as well as migrants who seek refuge. A typical feature of migration to Belgium is, furthermore, the substantially high and

stable inflow of European migrants. This migration history is reflected in the residing migrant population in the country. For the Flemish (northern) region of Belgium we find a large share of European migrants among the foreign population in particular from France, Italy and The Netherlands. Migrants from Turkey and Morocco are the largest non-Western group in the Flemish region (Centrum voor gelijkheid van kansen en voor racismebestrijding, 2012).

Belgian Statistics use the person's current nationality to distinguish between migrants and non-migrants (natives). For the purpose of our study we need to distinguish between women of native and foreign descent and following the official statistics we find that between 2001 and 2006 the share of women with a European nationality increases while the share of those with a Turkish or Moroccan nationality decreases. In 2001, slightly more than 3 million women were living in Flanders, of which 11,406 had a foreign nationality. Among the latter group, 40% were French, Italian or Dutch and 23% Turkish or Moroccan. These percentages evolved to 42% and 15% respectively out of the in total 151,626 women with foreign nationality in the Flemish region in 2006 (for more detailed annual information per group see appendix Table A).

The share of foreigners with Turkish or Moroccan rapidly decreases over the reported period as a result of the fact that many among them acquired Belgian nationality. Contrary to the situation in other European countries, where conditions to acquire nationality were tightened, the naturalization procedure in Belgium is relatively liberal and is also perceived as a way to facilitate integration of foreigners into society (Foblets & Loones, 2006). In 2000 a law was approved that facilitated the procedure as well as the required conditions (De Hart & Van Oers, 2001).

There are four ways in which persons of at least 18 years can obtain Belgian nationality. First, Belgian nationality can be acquired by declaration. Belgian nationality can secondly be acquired via naturalization to persons who are not born in Belgium, who do not have at least one parent with Belgian nationality or never lived in Belgium while growing up but have had their main residence in Belgium since three years before the request. Receiving nationality by option is the third possibility. The fourth possibility to obtain the Belgian nationality at adult age is through marriage with a Belgian citizen. Several additional restrictions in terms of age and residence apply for each of these ways of getting Belgian nationality. In all four cases the children of the adult who receives Belgian nationality will automatically do so too. Given the fact that multiple nationality is allowed in Belgium, these children often retain their original nationality (Belgische Federale Overheidsdiensten, 2012). Nevertheless, once having the Belgian nationality the person is no longer in the foreign population statistics but included in the population with Belgian nationality.

3. Migration and fertility

The impact of migration on fertility and how migrants contribute to the aggregate fertility rates has been studied among others by Sobotka (2008). He found that migrants' fertility is generally higher than the fertility levels of the native population and that their share in the total number of births has increased, but that the net effect of the higher fertility on the period fertility remains small. The period total fertility in the country of residence would have been between 0.05 and 0.10 lower in the absence of immigration (see also Héran & Pison, 2007).

In this article we take a more inclusive focus on the contribution of women of migrant origin and cover all those of foreign descent. These are women who never had the Belgian nationality (thus had a foreign nationality at the time of birth of their child) and, women who acquired the Belgian nationality before the birth of their child. It is precisely this latter group that is barely examined in relation with the recovery of the fertility even though they might add to fertility levels but are included among native women. It can however be assumed that this group resemble much more the fertility behavior of women of foreign nationality. Therefore we make a more fine grained distinction here between (a) women who had Belgian nationality (native Belgian women), (b) women of foreign origin who acquired Belgian nationality afterwards, and (c) women with a foreign nationality.

4. Data and Methods

We aim to calculate age-specific fertility rates by original nationality, rather than by her nationality at the time of having a child in Belgium. While we do have the information needed on the number of births by original nationality, we lack data with sufficient detail for the population at risk, i.e. for the denominator of the fertility rates. Given these limitations we use two different methods to analyze the contribution of women of foreign descent. First, we analyze how the number of births evolved between 2001 and 2008 for the different nationalities and how their share in the total number of births changed during the research period. Second, we follow an approach suggested by Van Bavel & Bastiaenssen (2006) to indirectly estimate the impact of the population of foreign descent on fertility trends.

For the nominators of age-specific fertility rates, we take the number of births by original nationality of the mother. These are acquired from the Ikaros-database¹ compiled by Kind & Gezin, the official Flemish Family and Child Care Agency. Since 1998, they register key information on every birth or adoption and since their records are linked with births registered in the official national population

¹ Ikaros is the abbreviation of Geïntigreerd Kíndactiviteiten en Regio Ondersteuningssysteem.

register, the database covers all births officially registered in the Flemish region (Van Bavel & Bastiaenssen, 2006).

For the denominator, there is no information from Statistics Belgium on original nationality. We therefore have to assess the impact of the women who acquired Belgian nationality on the overall fertility trend indirectly.

In order to do so, we compare fertility rates calculated in the conventional way² with virtual fertility rates, i.e. fertility rates that would have been observed if the population who acquired the Belgian nationality would still have been present in the population with Belgian nationality but would not have given birth to any children. If the virtual fertility rate resembles the actual rates, we may conclude that the observed recovery of fertility is not entirely due to the population who obtained the Belgian nationality.

The fertility rates for women with Belgian nationality are calculated as follows:

$$\text{Age-specific fertility of Belgian women} = \frac{\text{Number of births to native women at age } x}{\text{Number of Belgian women at age } x} + \frac{\text{Number of births to women who acquired Belgian nationality at age } x}{\text{Number of Belgian women at age } x} \quad (1)$$

This group includes those who had the Belgian nationality at the time of their birth (native Belgian women) and women who acquired the Belgian nationality afterwards. Our data do not allow splitting up the denominator into these two groups, but we can distinguish between the two groups of births in the nominators. We will therefore calculate virtual fertility rates by just disregarding the numbers of births to women who acquired Belgian nationality, i.e. the nominator of the last term in equation (1), and compare these with the observed rates from Belgian women.

5. Results

Table 1 gives a first overview of the evolution of the absolute number and proportion of births for native Belgian women, women who acquired Belgian nationality and women with foreign nationality

² Table 2 indicates that even though we use two different data recourses for calculating the fertility rates, our results differ negligibly from the calculations of Statistics Belgium.

by region of origin (EU27³, Western non-EU27⁴ and non-Western⁵) in the Flemish region between 2001 and 2008. We see a different evolution between the native Belgian women and the women of foreign descent: whereas the relative share of births to native Belgian women declined between 2001 and 2008 (from 84% to 80%), the relative importance of births to women of foreign descent increased by 2.5% among women who obtained Belgian nationality and 2.1% for those of foreign nationality. The distinction by region of (original) nationalities of the mothers shows the particular importance of women with a(n) (original) non-Western nationality in the observed increase. These findings suggest that women of foreign descent do contribute to the recovery of the fertility rates in the studied period.

[Table 1 about here]

Table 2 indicates the revival of the period fertility in the Flemish region. The Period Total Fertility Rate (PTFR) increased for the total female population with 0.29 children between 2001 (1.52) and 2008 (1.81).

[Table 2 about here]

Nevertheless, a distinction between women with Belgian and those with foreign nationality (Table 2) shows that the latter have overall higher fertility rates. This holds for the age-specific fertility rates in each of the years too (Figure 1). Furthermore, the figure shows that women of foreign nationality start childbearing at younger ages. When looking at the patterns over time the PTFR of native women increased constantly with overall 0.28 children, while it declined with 0.01 children for

³ EU27: Bulgaria, Cyprus, Denmark, Germany, Estonia, Finland, France, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, the Netherlands, Austria, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Czech Republic, the United Kingdom, Sweden.

⁴ Western non-EU27: Albania, Australia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Canada, the United States of America, Gibraltar, Iceland, Japan, Yugoslavia, Kosovo, Croatia, Macedonia, Moldova, Monaco, New Zealand, Norway, Ukraine, Russia, San Marino, Serbia/Montenegro, Belarus, Switzerland.

⁵ Non-Western: All other countries

women with foreign nationality were the decrease of 0.10 between 2007 and 2008 was preceded with an increase of 0.19 children from 2.93 in 2001 to 3.12 in 2004. Nevertheless, the impact of women with foreign nationality on the PTFR is rather limited and would have been about one tenth of a child lower without women of foreign nationality (see last row and column of Table 2).

[Figure 1 about here]

Given the limitations of the population at risk for calculating the age-specific and total fertility rates, we calculated virtual fertility rates (Figure 2) and compared them to the actual rates. Assuming that women who acquired the Belgian nationality did not have any children between 2001 and 2008, the part contributed by native Belgian women is more or less similar to the evolution of the age-specific fertility rates of women with Belgian nationality (native and nationality acquisition together) and increased between 2001 and 2008. So, the revival of the PTFR in the Flemish region can be partly explained by the increased fertility of native Belgian women and in particular for those of 30 years and over.

[Figure 2 about here]

6. Summary and conclusions

In this paper we addressed for the Flemish region of Belgium the extent to which births of women of foreign descent were responsible for the recent recovery of period total fertility rates. We did so by expanding our view to women of foreign descent, including women who have foreign nationality but also those who acquired Belgian nationality before giving birth. The latter group is in other studies often assigned to the native population. Given the fact that a distinction between the original – and current nationality of the mother is only possible for the nominators, we proposed two complementary analytical strategies. First, we analyzed how the relative weight in the total number of births to different nationality – and origin groups changed between 2001 and 2008. Our results indicated that the share of births of native women decreased with about 4%. Women who acquired Belgian nationality and those of foreign nationality equally contributed to the increase but especially women with a(n) (original) non-Western nationality were responsible for this upraise.

Second, we used an approach to indirectly assess the impact of births to women of foreign descent by calculating virtual fertility rates indicating the fertility rates that would have been observed if the population that acquired Belgian nationality would still be present in the population with Belgian nationality but would not have given birth to any children in the concerned research period.

These analyses showed a revival of the period total fertility rates (PTFR) in the Flemish region of Belgium between 2001 and 2008. The PTFR went from 1.52 in 2001 to 1.81 in 2008 for the total female population. A distinction between the women with Belgian nationality and women with foreign nationality emphasized a recovery of the PTFR among the women with Belgian nationality despite the overall higher PTFR for women with foreign nationality. The PTFR would have been only about one tenth of a child lower without women with foreign nationality. We were especially interested in the role of women who acquired Belgian nationality for the increased fertility among the women with Belgian nationality. Our analyses showed that, even if women who acquired Belgian nationality did not give birth to any children in the studied period, the contribution of the native Belgian women to the fertility rates is more or less similar to the evolution of the fertility rates of women with Belgian nationality. The recovery of the period fertility in the Flemish region can thus to a substantial part be explained by an increased fertility of native Belgian women and in particular by an increased fertility of those who are 30 years or older.

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8. Tables and Figures

Table 1. Absolute number and proportion of births in the Flemish region by current nationality, 2001-2008.

Nationality			Year								2008-2001
			2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	
BELGIAN		# births	52,070	52,477	52,909	54,968	56,346	57,368	57,838	59,681	+7,611
		% of total	87.9%	87.7%	87.4%	87.0%	87.3%	86.6%	85.9%	85.8%	-2.1%
Of which: - Native		# births	49,755	49,831	49,871	51,631	52,657	53,462	53,704	55,339	+5,584
		% of total	84.0%	83.3%	82.4%	81.7%	81.5%	80.7%	79.8%	79.6%	-4.4%
- Acquired		# births	2,315	2,646	3,038	3,337	3,689	3,906	4,134	4,342	+2,027
		% of total	3.9%	4.4%	5.0%	5.3%	5.7%	5.9%	6.1%	6.2%	+2.5%
EU27		# births	337	359	333	348	359	410	393	398	+61
		% of total	0.6%	0.6%	0.6%	0.6%	0.6%	0.6%	0.6%	0.6%	0.0%
Western non-EU27		# births	79	92	130	140	192	178	234	290	+211
		% of total	0.1%	0.2%	0.2%	0.2%	0.3%	0.3%	0.9%	0.4%	+0.3%
Non-Western		# births	1,899	2,195	2,575	2,849	3,138	3,318	3,507	3,654	+1,755
		% of total	3.2%	3.7%	4.3%	4.5%	4.9%	5.0%	5.2%	5.3%	+2.1%
FOREIGN		# births	7,178	7,343	7,598	8,201	8,225	8,854	9,460	9,863	+2,685
		% of total	12.1%	12.3%	12.6%	13.0%	12.7%	13.4%	14.1%	14.2%	+2.1%
EU27		# births	2,110	2,263	2,364	2,527	2,554	2,719	2,907	3,071	+961
		% of total	3.6%	3.8%	3.9%	4.0%	4.0%	4.1%	4.3%	4.4%	+0.8%
Western non-EU27		# births	1,072	1,052	1,009	1,044	1,038	1,081	1,186	1,169	+97
		% of total	1.8%	1.8%	1.7%	1.7%	1.6%	1.6%	1.8%	1.7%	-0.1%
Non-Western		# births	3,901	3,942	4,116	4,489	4,468	4,814	5,055	5,224	+1,323
		% of total	6.6%	6.6%	6.8%	7.1%	6.9%	7.3%	7.5%	7.5%	+0.9%
Others		# births	95	86	109	141	165	240	312	399	+304
		% of total	0.2%	0.1%	0.2%	0.2%	0.3%	0.4%	0.5%	0.6%	+0.4%
TOTAL		Total # births	59,248	59,820	60,507	63,169	64,571	66,222	67,298	69,544	+10,296

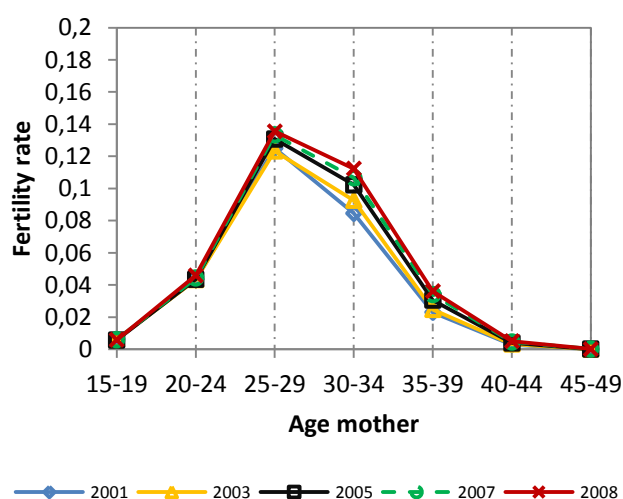
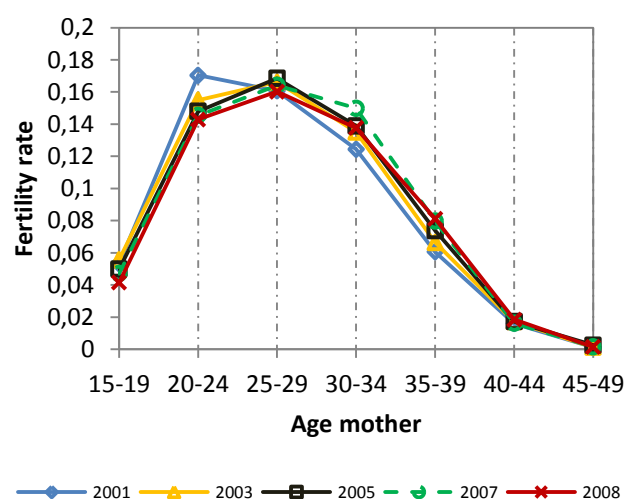
Source: Kind & Gezin, *Ikaros*. Authors' calculations

Table 2. Period total fertility rates in the Flemish region by nationality, 2001-2008^{6,7}

Nationality	Year								Differences 2008-2001
	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	
(1) Belgian	1.43	1.45	1.47	1.54	1.59	1.62	1.65	1.71	+0.28
(2) Foreign	2.93	2.95	2.99	3.12	3.00	3.02	3.02	2.92	-0.01
(3) Total population	1.52	1.54	1.56	1.64	1.68	1.72	1.75	1.81	+0.29
PTFR*	1.56	1.56	1.58	1.65	1.70	1.74	1.77	1.82	+0.26
(3) – (1)	0.09	0.09	0.09	0.10	0.09	0.10	0.10	0.10	+0.01

Source: Kind & Gezin, *Ikaros* and Statistics Belgium. Authors' calculations.

* PTFR calculated by Statistics Belgium.

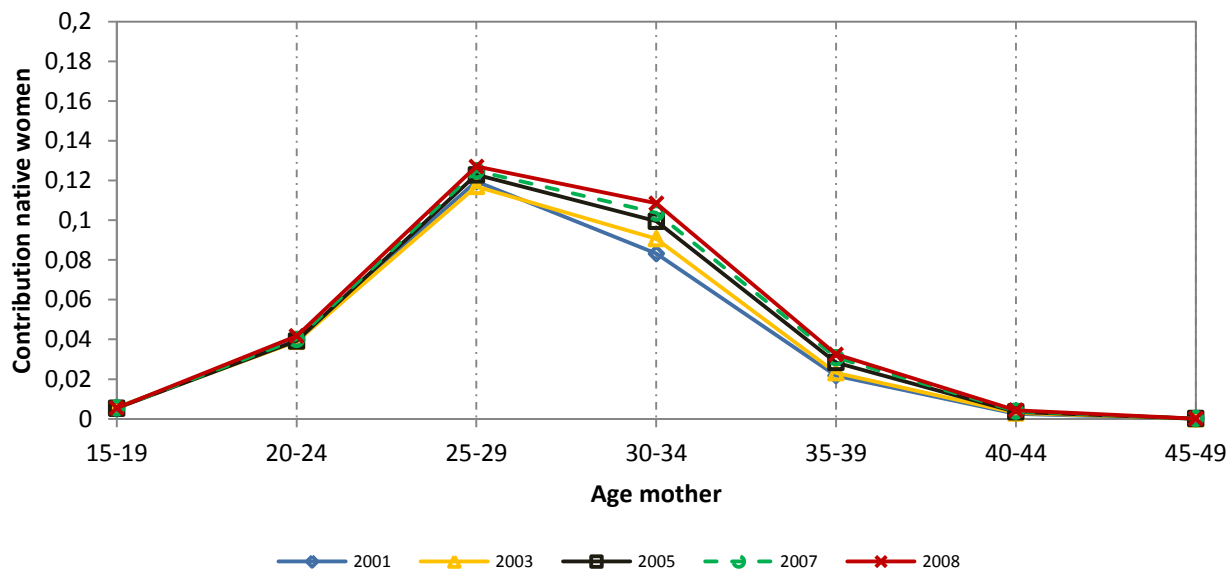
Figure 1. Age-specific fertility rates in the Flemish region, 2001-2008**Figure 1a. Belgian nationality****Figure 1b. Foreign nationality**

Source: Kind & Gezin, *Ikaros* and Statistics Belgium. Authors' calculations.

⁶ The stillborn babies and the adopted children are not included in the analyses.

⁷ The births of the women who had originally the Belgian nationality, but acquired another nationality before the birth of their child are not included in the analyses.

Figure 2. Contribution of native Belgian women to the age-specific fertility rates of the total Belgian nationality in the Flemish region, 2001-2008



Source: Kind & Gezin, *Ikaros* and Statistics Belgium. Authors' calculations

9. Appendix

Table A. Female population in the Flemish Region by nationality, 2001-2009

Nationality	Year								
	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007*	2008*	2009*
Total female population	3,017,612	3,027,715	3,038,995	3,049,384	3,063,336	3,081,104	.	3,121,644	3,144,708
Belgian nationality	2,844,206	2,897,253	2,905,912	2,911,702	2,920,466	2,929,478	.	2,950,805	2,962,895
Foreign nationality	133,406	130,462	133,083	137,682	142,870	151,626	.	170,839	181,813
<i>% Foreign population in total female population</i>	4.4%	4.3%	4.4%	4.5%	4.7%	4.9%	.	5.5%	5.8%
<i>Foreign nationality: Important countries of origin</i>									
<i>France</i>	8,367	8,468	8,547	8,593	8,743	8,872	.	.	.
<i>Italy</i>	10,193	10,071	10,009	9,809	9,722	9,623	.	.	.
<i>The Netherlands</i>	34,685	36,329	38,193	40,059	41,949	44,404	.	.	.
Total	53,245	54,868	56,749	58,461	60,414	62,899	.	.	.
% within foreign population	39.9%	42.1%	42.6%	42.5%	42.3%	41.5%	.	.	.
<i>Turkey</i>	14,133	11,009	10,286	10,038	9,708	9,657	.	.	.
<i>Morocco</i>	17,099	13,640	12,608	12,650	12,795	12,839	.	.	.
Total	31,232	24,649	22,894	22,688	22,503	22,496	.	.	.
% within foreign population	23.4%	18.9%	17.2%	16.5%	15.8%	14.8%	.	.	.

Source: (Nationaal Instituut voor de Statistiek, 2000, 2003a, 2003b; Algemene Directie Statistiek en Economische Informatie, 2004; FOD Economie Algemene Directie Statistiek en Economische Informatie, 2007, 2008; FOD Economie K.M.O. Middenstand en Energie, 2012)

*No data available.