

Interuniversity Papers in Demography



On the Selectivity and Internal Dynamics of Labour Migration Processes: A Cross-Cultural Analysis of Turkish and Moroccan Migration to Belgium

Georges Reniers

UNIVERSITEIT GENT
Department of Population Studies

IPD-Working Paper 1997-7

Paper presented at the European Association for Population Studies (EAPS)
International Conference. European Population: Variations on Common Themes,
Cracow, Poland, June 1997

Interface Demography, Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Pleinlaan 2, B-1050 Brussels, Belgium

Tel: 32-2-629.20.40

Fax: 32-2-629.24.20

E-mail: esvbalck@vub.ac.be

Website: <http://www.vub.ac.be/DEMO>

Vakgroep Bevolkingswetenschappen, Universiteit Gent, Sint-Pietersnieuwstraat 49, B-9000 Gent, Belgium

Tel: 32-9-264.42.41

Fax: 32-9-264.42.94

E-mail: sandy.vanlaer@rug.ac.be

Website: <http://allserv.rug.ac.be/~jlievens>

On the Selectivity and Internal Dynamics of Labour Migration Processes: a Cross-cultural Analysis of Turkish and Moroccan Migration to Belgium¹.

Georges Reniers, Department of Population Studies, University of Ghent

Migration theorists are, I hope, joined in their pursuit to explain migration. They are, on the other hand, divided by their choice of the level on which explanations of migration and migration flows are to be situated. 'Neo-classical economists', dual labour market or world system theorists usually focus on structural differences or relationships between sending and receiving areas and as such often ignore the micro-level decision-making processes. An exception are the neo-classical economic models. But even here, in as far as individual behaviour is considered, it is usually limited to the making of rational choices in order to maximise benefits. Often international wage differentials are seen as the main factor determining individual migration decisions. There are many examples, however, where regional variations in the movement of people cannot simply be explained by variations in wage levels or perceived wage levels.

The 'new economics of migration' (Massey, et. al. 1993) and network theory rescale the level of analysis to that of the family and its immediate environment. In these approaches households are to be seen as the units in which migration decisions are taken and through which migration processes are mediated and channelled. An important contribution of network theories lies in their power to explain how regional concentrations in emigration and settlement patterns arise, how migration flows tend to continue even after the economic or demographic incentives that originally caused them have disappeared, or why migration flows tend to deal particularly well with restrictive migration policies. Recent European migration history supplies us with some excellent examples of this last. Since restrictive policies limited migration to spouses, networks of connections are the necessary link between sending and receiving countries to assist and guide intercontinental marriages, and therefore migrations.

Network theories do not, however, explain the origins of migration flows. Some authors have argued, therefore, for a systems approach to migration (see Boyd, 1989; Kritiz & Zlotnik, 1992; Gurak & Caces, 1992; and Massey et. al., 1993), an attempt to integrate explanatory factors operating on a variety of levels. Historically generated demographic, economic, political and social conditions in, and interactions between sending and receiving countries are often seen to be the root causes of migration flows. These conditions trickle down to the level of the family or household where the final decisions to migrate are made, thereby taking into account the opportunities and perceived social and physical costs of migrations.

Empirically, the difficulty of choosing a particular level of analysis remains. On the one extreme micro descriptions of migration decision-making processes are given; on the other, effects of

structural conditions in sending and receiving areas are compared. This research report attempts to overcome this discord through the introduction of the concept of selectivity. The idea of selectivity within migration research is not new (see for example Lee, 1966: 56-57), but it is seen most often as an outcome of migration processes that can be generalised in one way or the other. Here it is used as an analytical tool. Its function is like that of a crowbar creating space between micro and macro approaches. The empirical operationalisation of the concept of selectivity can be compared to that of a black box approach. The inputs are migration policies, the characteristics of the potential countries and regions of origin and destination, and the characteristics of potential migrants themselves. Within the box, individuals and households take migration decisions, influenced by a variety of factors operating at a variety of levels. The outputs are the migrants, their characteristics and their settlement patterns. Ideally, a comparison of the input and output (which gives an indication of the selection) at different stages of migration processes sheds light on the factors that steer migration flows and factors active in the migration decision-making process. The different phases of the migratory process considered here are labour migration, the phase of family reunification and the phase of family forming migration (the migration of immigrant brides and immigrant grooms under highly restrictive migration policies). These are the three partially overlapping phases of migration characteristic for most of the post-war migration flows to Western Europe. In the analysis that follows, selection will be considered with respect to migrant characteristics (i.e. region of origin and educational level of migrants) and as far as possible to selection effects of migratory channels (i.e. official recruitment programmes and migration through network connections). As will be clear, the selection of immigrants on different characteristics or through different channels demands an integration of explanations at a variety of levels. Historical and socio-economic factors need to be invoked to explain variations in the regional origin of migrants. Additionally, the concept of networks is important for explaining subregional concentrations in emigration and settlement patterns and the selection of migrant brides and bridegrooms.

In an earlier article on Turkish and Moroccan migration to Belgium (Surkyn & Reniers, 1997) we found considerable evidence that the Turkish migration was much more homogeneous than the Moroccan. In a sense this finding is curious because both groups of migrants arrived in the same period of high labour demand in Western Europe and they gained access to Belgian society under similar circumstances and the same legal conditions. In addition, Turkey and Morocco share a number of broad cultural features that are widespread in the Eastern and Southern part of the Mediterranean region (religion, marriage and family traditions). Most Belgians cannot easily distinguish Turks from Moroccans. More than once newspaper articles informing us about some characteristic of the Turkish community in Belgium have been accompanied by a picture of Moroccans or vice versa. Turks and Moroccans may not be happy with these mistakes; from a scientific point of view, however, the existence of several points of resemblance is an advantage. Since the legal context and some of the background characteristics are the same, we can compare

two distinct migration systems controlling for the political context and some of the migrant characteristics.

Our earlier research (Surkyn and Reniers, 1997), was based on data from two fertility and demographic surveys carried out among Turkish and Moroccan woman living in Flanders and Brussels in 1991 and 1992². The data used here come from surveys on the Migration History and Social Mobility (MHSM) carried out among Turkish and Moroccan men living in Belgium³. These data have many advantages compared to those used before. Most importantly, labour migration to Belgium was an affair of men. In the earlier research we used the characteristics of women and assumed that the same tendencies were to be found in their male counterparts. This shortcoming is overcome in the present paper. Secondly the women's survey had fewer questions on migration history than the survey of men. Thirdly, the women's survey was restricted to Flanders and Brussels while the men's survey covered the whole country and the sample size was approximately twice as large. A more detailed description of the data and variables used are given in the annexe.

In the following paragraphs I shall focus on the socio-economic and politico-historical context in which labour migration from both countries developed. Special attention will be paid to the contribution of these contextualities for the composition and characteristics of the migrant group - still- living in Belgium. In a second part, a logit analysis will be presented in which the selectivity with respect to educational level is analysed.

The Involvement of History

In explaining migration trends, one necessarily has to deal with the socio-historical and political context. Consequently this paper does not come without an historical overview. However, I shall give only a brief summary of the circumstances under which the emigration started as far as necessary for understanding the processes of selection. A more complete picture of Turkish and Moroccan emigration to Belgium and neighbouring countries can be reconstructed from Haex (1972), Paine (1974), Bossard & Bonnet (1975), Moulart (1975), Seddon (1979), Bossard (1979), Belguendouz (1987), Sertel (1987), Keyder & Aksu-Koç (1988), Martin (1991), Obdeijn (1993), den Exter (1993), De Mas (1995), Surkyn & Reniers (1997). These texts are also the basic sources for the following paragraphs. Where necessary, the account will be illustrated with results from the MHSM-surveys.

Phases of Migration and Migration Types

The starting point of Turkish and Moroccan labour migration is to be situated in the early sixties and was confirmed a few years later by bilateral agreements between the governments concerned. Following the German model, the labour migration was initially conceived as being temporary and rotational: contingents of labour migrants were supposed to return home after the expiration of their contract to be replaced by a new group. This has been the case only for a minority, however. The system quickly evolved into one of circular migration or successive migrations with a temporary character. It was not only the migrants themselves who initiated the departure from the rotational guest-worker system. The employers also preferred renewing the contracts of workers whom they already knew and who had built up some experience in their company. One of the characteristics of the guest-worker system in Belgium was that it was mainly an affair of men. The wives and children initially remained at home and expected the definitive return of their husband or father. The family or household project hiding behind the migration motives was more prevalent for Turks than for Moroccans: almost 75% of the Turkish labour migrants were married at the time of their migration, whereas this figure was below 50% for Moroccans. The regional variations in this percentage are higher for Moroccans than for Turks: immigrants from the agricultural areas in Morocco were almost twice as often married at the moment of their migration than those coming from the more urbanised regions (MHSM-surveys). From these figures, we may conclude that Moroccan migration tended to have a more individualistic character for immigrants with an urban origin, but just as is the case for the Turks, is to be understood as a household project for most immigrants from the countryside.

The definitive settlement of migrant workers has often been described as a defensive reaction on the part of the migrants in order not to lose their entitlement to work in Western Europe. Following the declining economic conjuncture, the governments of most receiving countries adopted restrictive migration policies in 1967 and 1974. The migrants for their part were keen to respond to this altered legal context by turning their temporary settlement into a permanent one that was to be confirmed by the migration of the family they had initially left behind. This is the beginning of a phase in European migration history characterised by family reunification. Later, when even more restrictive migration policies limited the migration to political refugees and to spouses of those with a legal residence permit, family-forming (or marriage) migration became dominant. The latter is highly dependent on strong relationships and solidarity patterns between the sending and receiving communities. In this context, it is highly interesting to note that this migration form is more common among Turks than among Moroccans. This conclusion can be drawn from the relatively higher immigration figures for Turks than Moroccans in the most recent period. Lievens (1997:10) has estimated that the proportion of marriages involving a partner from the country of origin is about 20 percentage-points higher for Turks than for Moroccans. This observation becomes even more interesting when one takes into account that these differences in marriage patterns cannot be ascribed solely to different marriage traditions within the two communities (see for example Tribalat,

1995: 58-60). This may lead us to conclude that Turkish immigrants are more solidly embedded in relationships with the community of origin.

Official and Unofficial Migration

One of the major subjects for debate in historical overviews of migration flows is the relative magnitude of official (legal), unofficial (legal) and illegal migration. In the bilateral agreements the governments specified conditions under which potential migrants could apply for work and residence permits. Both nominative and anonymous recruitment were common practice. Anonymous recruitment in contingents presupposed the co-operation of the Turkish Employment Service (TES)⁴ or the Moroccan government: the number and qualifications of the desired migrant workers were transmitted to these institutions, which were then responsible for the selection and recruitment of the migrants. In exceptional cases, delegations of European enterprises went to the emigration countries themselves to assist the selection procedures. For Belgium, however, this was the case only for the mining federation (FEDERCHAR). The system of anonymous recruitment was important only in the first years of labour migration. Later, it proved too inflexible to respond quickly to developments in the demand for foreign labour. Official emigration through the recruitment offices in the sending countries was further discouraged by the enormous waiting lists and the accompanying bribery. Nominative recruitment and immigration with tourist passports thus increased significantly over time. Nominative recruitment often occurred through the mediation of earlier migrants who passed the names of friends and family members to their employers, who, in their turn invited them to work in Belgium. Tinneman (1994:64-65) also reports the existence of a system of brokers who were paid to deliver new migrants to potential employers. Other migrants undertook the adventure on their own strength, and once in Belgium they tried, whether or not with the help of friends or relatives to get a job and a permanent residence permit. In periods of labour shortage the Belgian government made no problem of breaking the law to regularise the status of these 'tourists'. In 1967 and 1974 however, the residence regulations were again strictly applied and many immigrants with expired tourist visas remained clandestinely.

It is difficult to quantify the relative magnitudes of official and unofficial migration within the Turkish and Moroccan migration. It is nonetheless possible to formulate some well-founded conjectures. In the MHSM-surveys, more than 10% of the Turkish labour migrants still living in Belgium reported they were selected through the anonymous recruitment system via waiting lists. For the Moroccans that figure was only 3,5%. Nominative recruitment was almost equally important in the two migrant groups, but almost 80% of the Moroccan and 64% of Turkish labour migrants said they had not had any idea of the job they were going to carry out in Belgium. These figures confirm that parallel recruitment channels were of considerable importance for the immigration of Turks and particularly for Moroccans. All other sources I could consult that report on this issue, suggest that Turkish migration was slightly more organised and was mediated by official institutions to a higher degree.

Taking into account the collective memory of both populations, this is not all that strange. The colonisation of Morocco surely reduced the social distance of Europe (for example through the language), and some regions of the country already had a history of migration to France and Spain. For Turkey, the contacts with Europe were limited to those with Germany during the World War and these did not have very positive outcomes. As such, the perceived risks of informal or unofficial migration were probably smaller for Moroccans than for Turks. Unofficial migration was not only more common practice for Moroccans; their project also more often had an individual character as well. While 52% of Turkish labour migrants stated they had received help (in finding a job or a place to live, financial aid, help with administrative problems) from established migrants on their arrival, this was the case for only 35% of the Moroccan labour migrants.

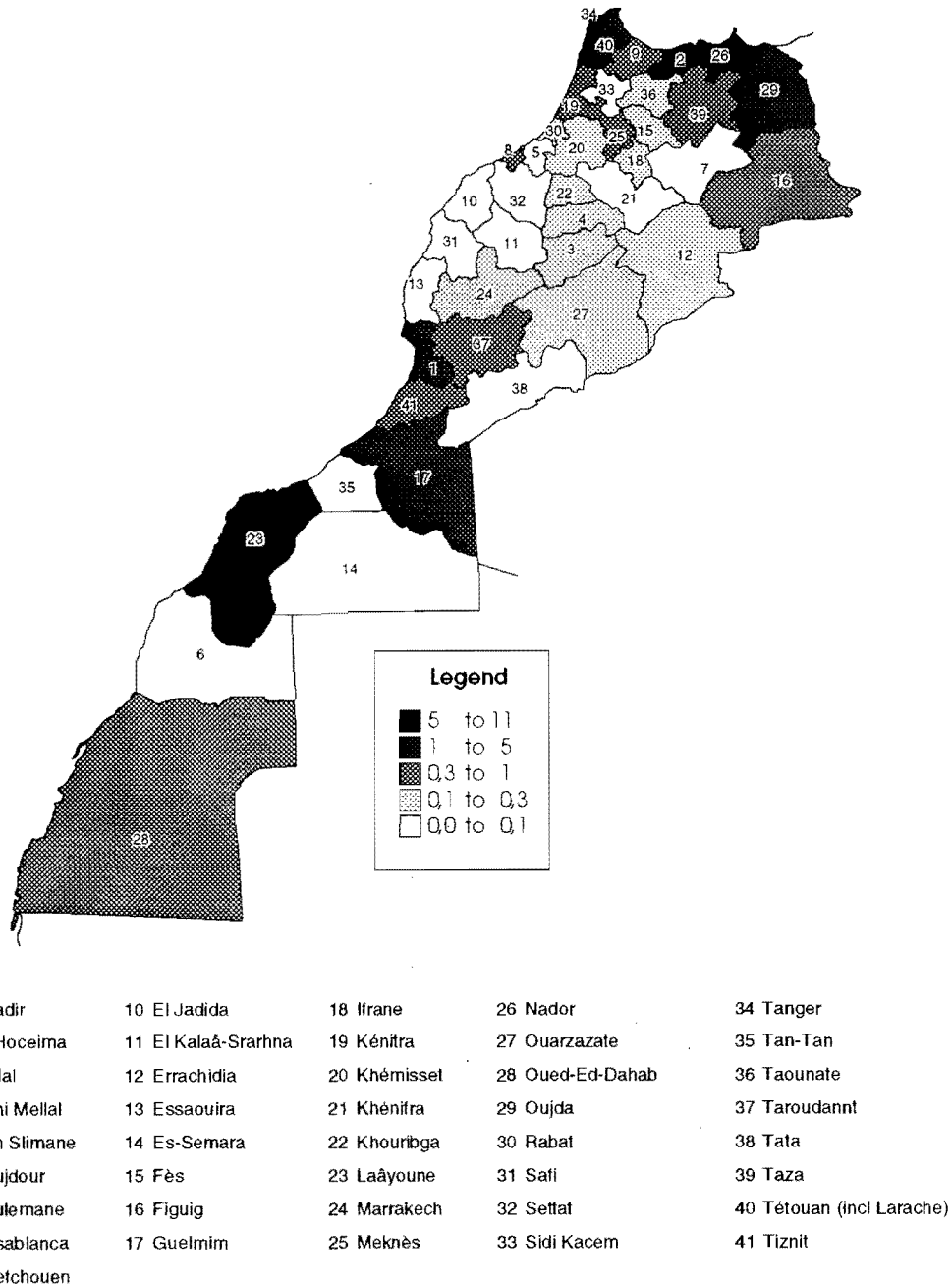
From the foregoing paragraphs it should be clear that membership of migrant networks was an important asset for potential migrants; certainly this was the case from the moment the waiting lists of the recruitment offices became extensive and waiting periods extended. How the different migration channels influenced migrant characteristics is difficult to estimate. However, many authors state that the training and professional experience of official immigrants was generally better than that of unofficial migrants since they had been selected to have at least minimal qualifications. On the other hand, there are examples where the governments of the sending countries tried to limit the emigration of skilled workers in order to protect their own pool of qualified workers for the internal labour market. Because the emigration of experienced miners from the region of Zonguldak in Turkey tended to threaten local production for example, the government restricted their emigration (Martin, 1991: 54). Other steps taken by the Turkish government included the imposition of age limits for potential migrants and measures in favour of emigration from the less developed areas in the east. It cannot be denied that the latter decision was also inspired by politics. The Moroccan government too quickly recognised the possibilities migration policy could have in terms of relieving political tensions. As such emigration from the notoriously turbulent and underdeveloped Rif area⁵ was promoted.

Patterns of Migration and Regional Differentiation

Although the Rif (the provinces of Nador and Al Hoceima - see map 1) was historically not the first region to participate in the labour migration to Western Europe, it became one of the most important emigration areas in Morocco. According to census data the proportion of the active male population of Nador living abroad reached almost 50% in 1971 (Bossard, 1979: 78). The Rif not only accounts for a large number the Moroccan immigrants in Belgium, it also had a distinctive pattern in terms of the destination countries. Whereas for other regions of Morocco, France accommodated three quarters of the emigrants, it received only one third of the Berber emigrants from the North. Given the colonial history of the North this is comprehensible: most of the northern provinces of Morocco were never part of the French protectorate, and migration to France was, therefore, not obvious.

Spain, the occupying power until 1956, was not an alternative either since it was an emigration country itself until the seventies. Bossard (1979: 64) notes that German companies had many contacts with Spanish entrepreneurs active in the iron ore industry in the north of Morocco, and that this was one important channel directing migration flows to northern Europe. Most emigrants from this region live in Germany, Holland, Belgium and, of course, also in France. In the 1970s, about 13% of the emigrants from the province of Nador lived in Belgium (Bossard, 1979: 22). In the most recent period, a large number have also emigrated to Spain and Italy.

Map 1: Over and under-representation of the provinces of origin of the Moroccan immigrants in Belgium*



Sources: data on migrants, MHSM-surveys; data on the total population by province (in 1971), Direction de la Statistique, Rabat.

* the black provinces are more than five times over-represented in the migration to Belgium; the white provinces are more than ten times under-represented in the migration to Belgium

High emigration figures were not a new phenomenon for the region. Seasonal migration to the vineyards of French *colons* in the west of Algeria was already a substantial element in the survival strategy of north-eastern Moroccans at the end of the 19th century. The combination of an unpredictable climate with a relatively dense population was also a reason for Rifians to fight in the Spanish civil war or with the allied army in WWII to earn an additional income. When the emigration possibilities to Algeria declined through its independence and border conflicts with Morocco, the migration flows almost immediately changed direction to the north. In the MHSM-survey, more than 40% of the Moroccans living in Belgium reported having passed their youth in one of the two provinces of the Rif. Almost all the immigrants from this region speak Tarifit (one of the Berber variants of Morocco) and more than two thirds of them were born in the countryside or in a small village. Immigrants from the other northern provinces (Tanger, Tetouan, Oujda) much more frequently report an urban origin (less than 30% was born in a small village or in the countryside) and only a minority of them are Berbers. The genuine urban emigration from Tanger is not all that curious because it is since long a province with a highly international orientation. For a long time it was a free trade zone with an important international harbour. Together with the Rif, the Northern Arab provinces account for 80% of the Moroccan migration to Belgium.

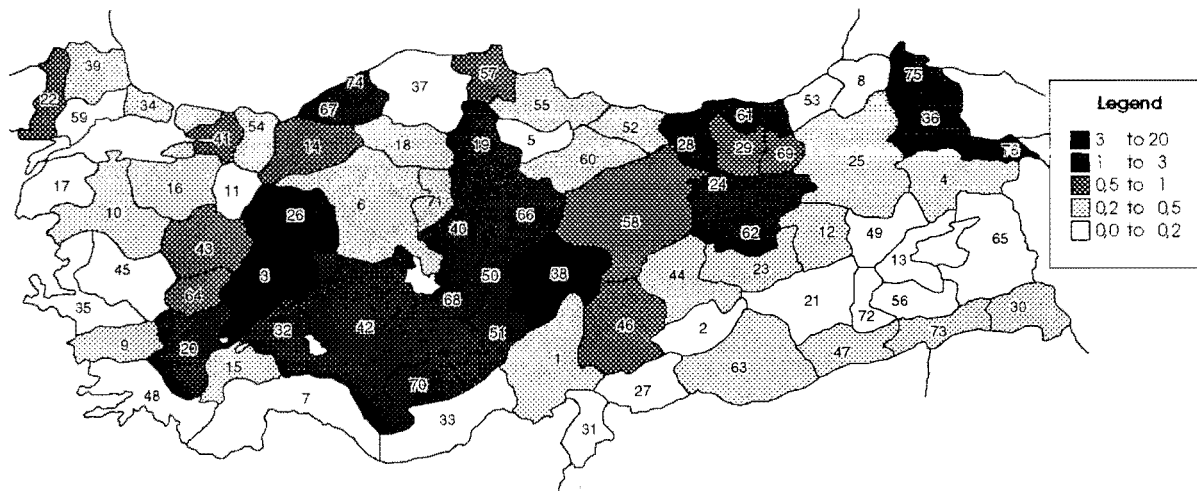
Another prominent emigration area is that of the Souss valley between the High and Anti Atlas (provinces of Agadir, Taroudannt ad Tiznit -see map). Already before WWII there was a significant - and sometimes forced- labour migration from this densely populated area to France. This was also the first area involved in the international labour recruitment of the sixties. Emigration from the economic and cultural centres of the country (the Golden Triangle) and the Atlantic coast started later and was less extensive. The rest of the country was only marginally involved in migration to Europe. In the analysis that follows all these provinces are grouped in one region (Golden Triangle and Periphery). The migrants from these provinces are very heterogeneous both ethnically (about half of them are Berber) and in terms of rural-urban origin. Taken together, the whole region accounts for 20% of the Moroccan immigrants living in Belgium.

Whereas in the discussion on emigration pressures in rural areas of Morocco, demographic factors are often cited as the root causes of migration, the literature concerned with Turkish emigration presents the economic policy of the fifties as one of the main elements causing an important emigration from agricultural areas⁶. A surplus of manual labour in the countryside was the indirect result of serious (Marshall-Aid funded) investments in agriculture. The consequence was a significant rural-urban migration to small urban centres within the same region and to one of the larger metropolitan areas in the west and the centre of the country (Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir). The husband often migrated alone and the rest of the household stayed in the countryside to cultivate family-owned property. Because of their marginal position within the cities internal migrants were easily mobilised for a second -international- migration. In the MHSM-surveys we find this two-step

migration pattern reported by one fifth of the Turkish migrants. About 50% of those who left from one of the metropolitan areas had migrated internally before coming to Belgium. The Moroccans more often departed directly from their place of birth but they had a more extensive history of international migration before entering Belgium. Almost a quarter of the first generation migrants had worked in another country before Belgium. These countries were, not surprisingly, France, Algeria, Spain and Germany. The comparable figure for Turks is only 8%.

Turkish migrants mainly originate from a cluster of Central Anatolian provinces (see map 2). The East is involved in the emigration only to a lesser extent since the recruitment offices for labour migrants were initially situated in the west and the centre of the country. Compared to the Moroccan migrants, the Turks are much more homogeneous in terms of the degree of urbanisation of their places of origin. Nearly 60% of the first generation Turkish migrants living in Belgium were born in the countryside or in a small village and this figure does not vary much between the regions. As far as could be tested in the MHSM-surveys, the ethnic composition of the migrant groups did not vary very much according to the region of origin⁷. Sub-regional variations in ethnic composition do exist however (cfr. infra)

Map 2: Over and under-representation of the provinces of origin of the Turkish immigrants in Belgium*



01 Adana	11 Bilecik	21 Diyarbakir	31 Hatay	41 Kocaeli	51 Nigde	61 Trabzon	71 Kirikkale
02 Adiyaman	12 Bingöl	22 Edime	32 Isparta	42 Konya	52 Ordu	62 Tunceli	72 Batman
03 Afyon	13 Bitlis	23 Elazig	33 İçel	43 Kütahya	53 Rize	63 Sanli Urfa	73 Sirkak
04 Agri	14 Bolu	24 Erzincan	34 İstanbul	44 Malatya	54 Sakarya	64 Usak	74 Bartin
05 Amasya	15 Burdur	25 Erzurum	35 Izmir	45 Manisa	55 Samsun	65 Van	75 Ardahan
06 Ankara	16 Bursa	26 Eskisehir	36 Kars	46 K. Maras	56 Siirt	66 Yozgat	76 Igdir
07 Antalya	17 Canakkale	27 Gaziantep	37 Kastamonu	47 Mardin	57 Sinop	67 Zonguldak	
08 Artvin	18 Cankiri	28 Giresun	38 Kayseri	48 Mugla	58 Sivas	68 Aksaray	
09 Aydin	19 Corum	29 Gümüşhanev	39 Kirklareli	49 Mus	59 Tekirdag	69 Bayburt	
10 Balikesir	20 Denizli	30 Hakkari	40 Kirsehir	50 Nevsehir	60 Tokat	70 Karaman	

Sources: data on migrants, MHSM-surveys; data on the total population by province (in 1970), State Institute of Statistics, Ankara.

* the black provinces are more than three times over-represented in the migration to Belgium; the white provinces are more than five times under-represented in the migration to Belgium

Just as was the case for the Moroccan migration, a few provinces predominated in the Turkish migration to Belgium. Afyon is the Turkish equivalent of Nador: almost one third of the Turkish immigrants originate from that province and in particular from the district of Emirdag. Just as is the case for Nador, there are strong sub-regional concentrations in the emigration to Belgium. They are to be explained by the combined effect of the composition of the population in these areas and to the channelling or modelling of the migration by networks. A lot of Turkish emigration areas consist of ethnically homogeneous clusters of inhabitants and villages. Once some inhabitants from these communities migrated, they constituted a crucial connection for others to follow. These networks become particularly necessary when immigration possibilities were restricted by the receiving countries. As a consequence one village, or a part of it can become almost completely involved in the emigration while another community or a neighbouring village remains untouched (Wilpert, 1992; den Exter and Kutlu, 1993).

Complementary to these distinctive emigration patterns are the settlement patterns in the countries of reception. A curious aspect of the latter is that some of the emigrating communities show a tendency to reconstruct themselves within the country of destination in such a way that we can speak of transplanted communities (Surkyn & Reniers, 1997: 52-53). Within the Turkish community in Belgium, some areas are even known by the name of the place from which the immigrants originate. Den Exter & Kutlu (1993: 28) cite the example of a district in Schaarbeek (Brussels) which is called the 'Firikli mahallesi' (Firikli district; a sub-district of Emirdag). These communities maintain strong bonds with the mirror communities in the region or origin and as such facilitate transnational marriages and new migrations. On an aggregate level⁸ we observe communities of Riffans in Antwerp. Immigrants from the Northern Arab provinces of Morocco are over-represented in Brussels. Turkish migrants from the provinces of Afyon and Eskishehir are well represented in Brussels and Ghent. Migrants from the other Central and Eastern Anatolian provinces went mainly to Limburg and Antwerp. Immigrants from the west of Turkey and the from the Golden Triangle and the Periphery of Morocco, however, are spread over the whole country.

The insights from this historical overview will be integrated later. At this point we simply note that both migration systems are characterised by strong regional and sub-regional concentrations in the emigration to Belgium. This is to be seen as the result of the specific socio-historical conditions under which the migrations system developed. They have been reinforced, however, by the restrictive migration policies on the part of the receiving country and the accompanying dominance of network mediated migration. The two migration systems need to be distinguished, however, on several characteristics: Moroccan emigration is more diversified in term of rural/urban origins, the ethnic composition of the migrant group and the marital status of early labour migrants. In the next section we shall see how the more heterogeneous composition of the Moroccan migrant group is also reproduced in the selection of the migrants with respect to their educational attainment.

Selection with respect to Educational Attainment.

To obtain more insights in the selection processes, the characteristics of migrants need to be compared with those of non-migrants. To do this we need to combine data from different sources. We compare the characteristics of the migrants in Belgium (MHSM-surveys) with information on the reference population that did not migrate, available from the household records of the Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS) held in Turkey (1992) and Morocco (1993). The main objective here is to compare the educational attainment of migrants and non-migrants for different periods or stages in the migration process, controlling for age and region of origin. For this goal a logit model was fitted with educational level as the factor to be predicted. Migration period and type, and region of origin are the main predictors. Since educational attainment is generally lower for older people than for younger, age is also included in the model as a control variable. As such we can investigate for each age category whether labour migrants from a particular region are better educated than the reference population that did not migrate. By distinguishing different types of migration (early labour migrants, late labour migrants, family reunifiers and migrant bridegrooms) we develop further insights in the structure and evolution of migration processes. A summary of the variables used and the logit models specified can be found in the annexe.

The possibilities for comparisons based on the combination of the different data sources available are, however, limited and biased. First of all the analysis is limited to information common to the four data-sets: in this case educational attainment, region of origin or residence and age. The main variable missing in this analysis is an indicator of the rural-urban characteristics of the region of origin or residence. Although this information is available in both the MHSM-surveys and DHS-data, we do not have any certainty that the questions were operationalised in the same manner. Where necessary, additional information on the rural/urban origin of specific categories of migrants will be given. Secondly, the fieldwork methods may result in a bias that is difficult to quantify. In the MHSM surveys for example the information came from the respondents themselves; in the household records of the DHS data, on the contrary, one person supplied information on age and educational attainment for the rest of the household. To cope with this problem, the categories of the educational attainment variable were kept very broad with clear cutting points (see annexe). Thirdly, the best way to compare the regional origin of migrants and non migrants would be to take the region of residence at the age of 15 as a reference point, because this is most probably the region in which most of the socialisation took place. Unfortunately only the actual place of residence is known for the household records of the DHS data. This information is therefore compared with the latest place of residence in Turkey and Morocco for the migrants in the MHSM surveys.

Before turning to the detailed results of the logit analysis we should look briefly at the distribution of the first generation Turkish and Moroccan immigrants in Belgium by educational attainment (table1).

Table 1: Percentage distribution of first generation Turkish and Moroccan migrants in Belgium by educational level

	Lower Secondary Educ	Primary Education	No Diploma
Turks	33,0	52,8	14,1
Moroccans	22,8	21,5	55,7

In general Turkish migrants are better educated than Moroccans. More than 50% of the latter did not have any educational qualification on entering Belgium. These figures are, however, not controlled for age. In addition, they do not give any indication of the selection within both migration systems.

The results of the analysis indicate first that the educational attainment of migrants and non-migrants varies importantly with age: the younger, the better educated. Since this is nothing more than common sense, these results need not be discussed further here. For Turks, the evolution over the different birth cohorts tends to vary with the region of origin or residence as well: the most important improvements in terms of educational attainment were made in the provinces of Afyon and Eskishehir, followed by the rest of the Central Anatolian provinces and Eastern Turkey. This interaction too is not relevant for the present discussion.

The most important effect we must consider is the effect of migration type, since it is this variable that distinguishes between characteristics of migrants and non-migrants. In the following tables we can compare for each type of migration the percentage with a particular diploma with the comparable percentage in the non-migrant population in Turkey and Morocco. All these figures are controlled for the possible effects of age and region of origin⁹.

Table 2: Percentage distribution (net %) of Turkish and Moroccan immigrants by educational, nationality and migration type

	Turkey			Morocco		
	Secondary	Primary	No Dip	Secondary	Primary	No Dip
Family forming	45	50	5	40	24	35
Family reunification	57	40	3	19	34	47
Late labour	39	51	10	27	25	48
Early Labour	25	65	11	14	27	59
Non migrants	24	63	13	26	17	57

N.B. 'net-%' refers to the percentage distribution after neutralising the effect of the other variables in the model

First of all we can refer to the fact that Morocco has experienced a more unequal development and modernisation. This can be seen in the more polarised figures of educational attainment for non-migrants in Morocco.

Comparing the early labour immigrants with the reference non-migrant population in Turkey we do not notice any significant differences. Since the procedure of model selection did not suggest any

interaction with the region of residence or origin, this observation holds equally for immigrants from all the different regions. For early labour immigrants we can thus conclude that they are pretty representative in terms of educational attainment for their reference population in Turkey (taking into account possible differences in age structure). The second cohort of labour immigrants, those who came after 1972, are apparently better educated. This is certainly true if we consider the proportion with secondary education (39%). Strange, however, is the almost consistent number of migrants without a diploma. Compared with the first cohort of labour migrants the second cohort is thus characterised by a certain polarisation in terms of its composition. The distinction between early and late labour migration made here is significant because of a parallel difference between formal and informal migration. Since unofficial or network-mediated migration became the dominant pattern after the initial period of labour migration; the cohort of late labour migrants reflects the selective effect of network-mediated migration. The selective effect of unofficial migration thus seems to have worked in two directions: on the one hand it is responsible for a stabilisation of the proportion of non-educated migrants, on the other hand it is also responsible for an increased educational attainment of the later cohort of labour migrants. The migration of teachers, Imam's and civil servants sent out by the Turkish government, however, also contributed to the high proportion of late labour migrants with secondary education.

Turks who came to Belgium through family reunification are the best educated group of all. At this point it must also be noted that this category covers only those who came to Belgium at the age of 16 or older. This might blur the results in a certain way since those who left school earlier might also have immigrated earlier and would then not be represented in these figures. These figures are nevertheless consistent with an earlier stated idea (Surkyn & Reniers, 1997: 67) that the emigration of the father alters both the economic situation of the household and the aspirations for the educational attainment of the children. Our last category -the immigrant bridegrooms- are relatively well educated, but still slightly less educated than the family reunifying immigrants.

When we consider the results for the Moroccan immigrants, a slightly different and more complicated picture appears. In general, members of the first cohort of labour immigrants were not as educated as the reference population of non-migrants. The second cohort, however, (those who arrived after 1965) were significantly better educated than non-migrants of similar age in Morocco. Those who came to Belgium within the framework of family reunification were again less educated, a pattern that is almost the opposite of that we saw among Turks. The characteristics of migrants who could apply for permanent residence status through a marriage are again somewhat different for Turks than for Moroccans. While the Turkish immigrant bridegrooms have tended to be slightly less educated than the reuniting family members of labour immigrants, the Moroccan migrant bridegrooms can be seen as the best educated immigrant subgroup of all. Probable explanations for this difference are a higher proportion of endogamous or kin marriages within the Turkish community and a higher proportion of interethnic marriages among Moroccans marriages (Lievens,

1997: 10). It is also known that it is the relatively better educated immigrants who are most involved in interethnic marriages. Kin marriages, on the contrary, are more common in rural areas where educational attainment is generally lower. Furthermore, in a system of arranged marriages the non-existence of a blood relationship is often compensated by better characteristics of the future groom¹⁰. Therefore the differences in the selection of migrant bridegrooms in terms of educational level suggest differences in the operation of networks and marriage patterns in a migratory situation.

We have kept our overview of differences in educational level by migration type and period for Moroccans very concise so far because the educational attainment of the different migrant types also tended to vary with the region of origin and needs to be elaborated in an interaction effect (see table 3). Morocco's unequal modernisation is again visible in the distinctive levels of educational attainment of non- migrants in the three different regions considered. The Northern provinces are clearly the least developed. Among them, the more urbanised Northern Arab provinces show a slightly more heterogeneous picture in terms of educational attainment. The provinces of the Golden Triangle and the Periphery are by far the most polarised region. Ideally a distinction should have been made between the metropolitan areas of the Atlantic coast and the old historical centres (Fez, Meknez, Marrakesh) on the one hand, and the periphery of the south (Souss-valley) and east on the other, but the small number of first generation immigrants from these areas did not permit this.

Table 3: Percentage distribution (net-%) of Moroccan immigrants by educational level, migration type and region of origin

	<i>Golden Triangle and Periphery</i>			<i>Northern Arab</i>			<i>Northern Berber (Rif)</i>		
	<i>Secondary</i>	<i>Primary</i>	<i>No Dip</i>	<i>Secondary</i>	<i>Primary</i>	<i>No Dip</i>	<i>Secondary</i>	<i>Primary</i>	<i>No Dip</i>
<i>Migrant bridegrooms</i>	57	33	10	39	25	36	32	19	49
<i>Family reunification</i>	6	62	32	34	24	42	14	30	56
<i>Late labour</i>	53	30	18	35	35	30	5	12	83
<i>Early Labour</i>	9	39	52	23	25	52	9	20	71
<i>Non- migrants</i>	30	17	52	18	15	67	16	20	64

N.B. 'net-%' refers to the percentage distribution after neutralising the effect of the other variables in the model

Considering only the first cohort of labour migrants, some illustrative differences appear. The early labour immigrants from the Eastern Rif and the Golden Triangle/Periphery area are negatively selected with respect to educational level. If it is true that educational attainment is generally higher in urban areas then this is an affirmation of the of the predominantly rural character of the immigration from both regions in the early period of labour migration. The opposite picture is obtained for the Northern Arab provinces. In this relatively highly urbanised region, early labour immigrants were better educated than those who stayed, and this tendency was even reinforced for the cohort of labour immigrants that followed. The divergence in rural-urban origins of migrants is

thus associated with parallel differences in the selection of migrants with respect to educational attainment.

A drastic change in the characteristics of the second cohort of labour immigrants is found for the Golden Triangle and Periphery. The proportion of immigrants with a diploma of secondary education rose from 9% to 53%. This is to be explained partly by the immigration of teachers, imams and civil servants but also by an important shift in the emigration from the countryside to an emigration with an urban origin within this region. The selection of the second cohort of labour migrants from the Northern Arab provinces is also clearly positive: we see a higher percentage of immigrants with secondary education and a lower proportion with no diploma. For the second cohort of labour immigrants from the Rif, on the contrary, the percentage of immigrants without an educational background even increased. Possibly this has to be attributed to an increase in unofficial network-mediated migration from this region.

From areas where a negative selection was common for the first cohort of labour immigrants the selection of immigrants through family reunification shows a more positive pattern. The opposite is observed for the Northern Arab provinces, where, compared to the early labour migrants, the educational attainment of the family reunifiers is stagnating. This is a first indication that a migration pattern in which a married man migrates and the wife and children follow later, is a pattern that is more common for agricultural areas and among less educated migrants.

The regional differences in the educational attainment of important groups are not very easily explained. A common aspect for all regions considered is that this group of immigrants is the best educated of them all. For the Rif this is a very clear. For the immigrants from the more urbanised regions this is less obvious. Perhaps a positive selection of migrant bridegrooms from the more urbanised areas is less visible because the educational attainment of immigrants from these regions is already relatively high.

On the Selectivity and Internal Dynamics of Migration Processes

The foregoing analysis enables us to draw two main conclusions with respect to Turkish and Moroccan migration to Belgium and the selectivity within these migration systems. These will be summarised successively in the following paragraphs. Further, the arguments presented here raise some questions on the effect of selectivity on integration patterns or strategies in the host society. Finally, some methodological and theoretical comments will be made.

'Conservative' versus 'Innovative' Migration

Throughout this account it has become clear that the immigration of two apparently similar groups, under the same legal and historical conditions in the receiving countries has nevertheless developed in quite distinctive ways. Apart from a strong regional concentration in the migration, the Turkish migrants were initially pretty representative of the population from which they were recruited. For the Moroccan migrants the picture is different. The inequality in the sending regions has been reproduced or even reinforced in migration. On all characteristics considered, the composition of the Moroccan immigrant population is more heterogeneous than the Turkish. This was the case for the urban-rural origin of the migrants, their educational attainment, the marital status of the labour migrants at the moment of their departure, and the ethnic composition of the migrant group. We have already alluded to the idea that the Turkish migration can be better understood as a family or household project. The Moroccan migration from the rural areas (the Rif and the early labour migrants from the Golden Triangle/Periphery area) more or less fits within the same framework of orientation. It is a migration system that was, at least in the beginning, characteristic for the German model of the 'guest-worker' system. Labour migration was supposed to be an affair of married men who worked for periods of one or two years in countries with a temporary shortage of manual labourers. The immediate family and the rest of the household stayed in the country of origin to continue with family-orientated production forms. The additional income of the migrant member of the household was seen to be important for the subsistence of the rest of the household, but also for additional investments in the economy of the region of origin. This is a migration system accompanied by a high degree of solidarity over the borders and close contacts between the sending communities and the migrants. (Ab)using a concept of Petersen's typology of migration (1958), we could refer to it as 'conservative migration'. It is a migration form that existed mainly in order to preserve what one had, a migration form that permitted households to live and continue to live within their region of origin. However, history does not always grant our requests: revenues were not high enough to guarantee a satisfying standard of living for the households after a temporary emigration by one of their members, and restrictive migration policies induced defensive reactions on the part of the migrants. Many of them chose for permanent settlement rather than for a definitive return¹¹.

Among the Moroccan migrants, a distinctive subgroup could be identified. They come from more urbanised areas of the North and the Atlantic coast. The majority of them are Arabs or were socialised in an Arab context and they are considerably better educated than the reference groups who did not participate in the migration to Europe. In addition, they were rarely married at the moment of their departure. These characteristics suggest that their migration was stimulated by other motives than those cited for Turks and for migrants from the less urbanised areas of Morocco. For similar reasons we suggested in our earlier publication (Surkyn & Reniers, 1997) that the Moroccan emigration cannot be completely understood as economically motivated labour migration

and should be understood as a form of socio-cultural migration. Additional support for this idea is found in these new research results. Also in the literature reviewing Morocco's most recent migration history, timid attempts can be found to describe it as not driven solely by economic motives (Ageron, 1985; Refass, 1995). Again appropriating a term of Petersen, the socio-cultural migration can be conceived as 'innovative', because it is the outcome of a choice for a different way of life, for a different societal model. Within the context of Morocco's colonial history this is not that curious. Through colonisation, Moroccans have been confronted with another societal model and the choice to migrate is therefore also the choice for a different way of life, a decision to step away from a societal model with the extended household as the organising principle (see for example Boulahbel-Villac, 1994: 46-49). It is not at all surprising that this migration motive is most evident among the more urbanised and better educated. In an agricultural environment, solidarity patterns and traditional forms of social control often offer protection; in an urban setting they restrict individual development. The socio-cultural nature of the migration is thus an obstacle to the development of a migration system that relies heavily on solidarity patterns and family ties. Family forming migration is an example of that. We have already referred to the relatively low proportion of new migrations induced by marriages among Moroccans. With respect to Turkish emigration, other authors have also documented a higher development of social networks, a higher prevalence of consanguineous and arranged marriages, and therefore also a more successful system of migration induced by marriages among migrants with a rural background (Wilpert, 1992; Böcker, 1994).

Of course, socio-cultural or innovative migration also has its economic dimension and cannot be understood solely in ideological terms. The actual and perceived economic risks associated with migration are probably lower for higher educated Moroccans than for higher educated Turks. Because of their knowledge of French, the Moroccans have a real chance that their educational attainment will not be devalued because of ignorance of one of Belgium's official languages. For higher educated Turks this is not the case; since most of them speak neither Dutch nor French at the moment of arrival, their chances of obtaining a job commensurate with their training are low. Furthermore, the Turkish economy might have had more prospects for the better educated in the sixties and seventies than the Moroccan economy. In Morocco, unemployment is highest in urban centres and among the relatively well educated (Lahlou, 1991: 487).

The Reproduction of Selection ...

Throughout this paper arguments have been assembled that support the idea that the initial selection occurring in migration processes models the further evolution of that migration system. This seems to be the case both for the scope of the successive migration phases (certainly under restrictive migration conditions) and for the characteristics or the selection of the migrants involved.

An example of how the initial selection of the migrants influenced the scope or quantity of the migration to follow can be found in the relatively larger amount of new migrations induced by marriages among Turks. This has been interpreted as an outcome of the initial selection of labour migrants for whom the migration is to be understood as an household-related strategy. This strategy is accompanied by solidarity patterns that transcend national borders, patterns that are in their turn a necessary condition for a system of family-forming migration to function properly. For Moroccans the migration more often stood for a break with the society or community they left behind. Consequently these immigrants were not as receptive to functioning as intermediaries for transnational marriages or new migrations.

Several indications have been given that the composition of the initial cohorts of migrants of both nationalities is related to the characteristics of migrants in later phases of migration process. Under the restrictive legal conditions prevailing from the mid-seventies onwards, new migrations became almost completely the legacy of networks or transnational contacts. Consequently, successive migrant flows (late labour migration, family reunification, and family forming migration) became highly dependent on the initial selection within the early labour migration. Of course, economic, political and demographic circumstances continued to influence emigration as well, but here we have mainly been interested in the effects of selection. The existence of networks proves to be important in explaining high concentrations in the regional (and sub-regional) origin of migrants. High concentrations in the emigration zones are found mainly in agricultural areas where group solidarity in general is stronger. But also in terms of the educational attainment of migrants we found a coherence between the characteristics of the pioneering labour migrants and those of subsequent cohorts. These could not always easily be explained, but some patterns could be identified that characterise distinctive logics for regions with an urban emigration as opposed to regions with a mainly rural emigration. Most probably these parallel the distinction made earlier between 'innovative' and 'conservative' migration

... and the Integration in the Host Society

Given the characteristics of the Moroccan immigrant population and the driving forces behind it, it could be assumed that they -or at least one subgroup of them- are better prepared for life within a European context. With respect to several socio-demographic characteristics clear indications have been found that their integration in the Belgian host society is indeed proceeding faster and with greater leaps. These faster changes are however accompanied by more open conflicts within the immigrant community (see Lesthaeghe ed., 1997). Whether more conflicts are also observed with the host society is not yet answered at this stage. It is, however, a possibility that a slow integration pattern that is more embedded within the securing environment of the ethnic community might prove

to be more successful in the long term. If that is the case, the Turkish migrants rather than the Moroccans are advantaged. On the other hand tight social networks and strong solidarity patterns within ethnic communities might simply make conflicts less visible for the outside world, including social scientists. Whatever the outcomes may be, I believe that every discussion on integration should begin with a consideration of the composition of the immigrant and minority communities as well as the driving force behind their migration. Too often, cultural factors are invoked to explain differences in strategies used by minorities. I do not wish to deny the explanatory power of these insights, but just want to add that the initial selection of immigrants because of historical conditions and migration channels plays an important role in determining the composition of migrant groups and as such also the integration strategies used.

Some Final Methodological and Theoretical Considerations

In this paper, I have tried to use one analytical concept -selectivity- to integrate explanations of factors operating on a variety of levels, in order to comprehend migration as a dynamic system. I believe the idea of selection is not only a good empirical tool for obtaining insights into the characteristics of migrants and migrant flows, it is also an important concept for explaining the dynamic of migratory systems. More than once the composition of the initial cohorts of labour migrants has proved to be important in order to comprehend selection effects at later stages of the migration process. Methodologically, however, it is not always an easy task to introduce the concept of selectivity since it requires the combination of information from different sources and such an operation is automatically accompanied by loss of information and biases.

I also hope to have showed that selection within migration flows is not unidirectional. Others have tended to suggest such uniform patterns in the past. Lee (1966: 23), for example, stated that 'the degree of positive selection increases with the difficulty of the intervening obstacles'. He was referring mainly to physical barriers such as the distance and difficulty of the journey, but even when we take political or legal barriers into consideration, this is not the case. Although restrictions on new migrations have increased considerably in the last decades, Turkish migrant bridegrooms, for example, are in general not as well educated as those who came within the framework of family reunification. On the other hand, network theorists have suggested that in a system of network-mediated migration, migration should become progressively less selective in terms of the socio-economic characteristics of the migrants. Because network connections increase the possibilities for migration and reduce the physical and psychic costs of migration, out-migration will systematically 'spread from the middle to the lower segments of the socio-economic hierarchy' (see Massey, et.al., 1993: 461). In the migration histories considered here, the situation seems to be more complex than that. The family reunifiers and migrant bridegrooms for example are generally better educated than their reference population in Turkey and Morocco, and thus show a positive instead of a negative or

neutral selection. This suggests that network connections can indeed be useful for increasing one's possibility of migrating, but that one also has to 'pay' when using them. In a system of migration induced by marriages, the imported groom compensates his in-laws for the migration opportunity by an elevated social status (most often his descent or his educational attainment). Network connections are indeed important cost-reducing factors, particularly within a system of restricted migration possibilities, but the application of these network connections as a means to migrate has to be counterbalanced by the migrants themselves. Most probably the social distance to these network connections (whether they are family, a friend or a village member) plays a role in the degree to which their use of these network connections has to be compensated for, but the selectivity induced by it is surely not unidirectionally negative.

¹ I am very grateful to Hilary Page for the comments and suggestions she made for the realisation of this paper.

² Surveys carried out by the universities of Brussels (VUB) and Gent (UG) with financial support from the Flemish Scientific Research Council, the Federal Department for Scientific and Technical and Cultural Affairs (IUAP-grant 37) and the Research Councils of the two universities.

³ Surveys carried out by the universities of Brussels (VUB), Gent (UG), Liège (ULG) and Louvain-La-Neuve (UCL) with financial support from the same institutions as mentioned in footnote 1.

⁴ A department of the Turkish administration that assisted the international migration of Turks.

⁵ See annexe for a description of the regional classification used in this paper.

⁶ The explanation might be very simple: since the economic policy of the young Moroccan government after independence was mainly directed at sectors or regions with direct and high rates of return on the invested capital (Bossard, 1979: 73), an economic policy for the poorer regions was simply absent.

⁷ Officially accepted political refugees are not in the sample; therefore the number of Kurds is most probably underestimated. Further, information on ethnic origin could only be retrieved through language. A distinction between Sunni and Alevi Muslims could not be made.

⁸ The MHSM-surveys contain more specific data on place of origin, departure and settlement and might be analysed in detail in the future.

⁹ For the sake of the presentation, odds and odds ratios were transformed into net percentages following the method presented in Kaufman & Shervish (1986). The percentages given in the table are those one would obtain when all other effects would be equal.

¹⁰ A detailed analysis of kin and arranged marriages within the immigrant communities in Belgium will be presented at the British Society for Population Studies Annual Conference, to be held in Exeter, 1-3 September 1997.

¹¹ Since there are no reliable figures on the exact number of temporary migrants or migrants who returned definitively, this statement cannot be specified any further.

Annex: The data, variables and logit models specified.

1. The Data:

- **MHSMT:** Migration History and Social Mobility, Turks. A representative national survey among men with Turkish nationality residing in Belgium.

Year of fieldwork: 1994

Subset used in this analysis: men with Turkish nationality between the ages of 20 and 65 in 1993; first generation immigrants (came to Belgium at age 16 or older) coming from provinces with 3 or more representatives in the sample. Since political refugees and migrants who came to Belgium for educational reasons are migrant groups with very specific characteristics they are excluded from the analysis. Subset sample size, N=771.

- **MHSMM:** Migration History and Social Mobility, Moroccans. A representative national survey among men with Moroccan nationality residing in Belgium.

Year of fieldwork: 1995

Subset used in this analysis: same as for MHSMT, subset sample size N=591.

- **DHS-Turkey, Household Records**

Year of Fieldwork: 1993

Subset used in this analysis: men residing in Turkey between the age 20 and 65 in 1993. Only data from provinces that are sufficiently represented in the MHSMT-sample (3 or more immigrants) are considered. Subset sample size, N=6379.

- **DHS-Morocco, Household Records**

Year of Fieldwork: 1992

Subset used in this analysis: same as for DHS-Turkey, subset sample size N=5020.

2. The Variables

- **Age:** since there is a gap of several years between the fieldwork of the DHS and MHMS-surveys, the break points for the age categories in the samples are specified differently.

Categories	MHSMT (1994)	DHS -Turkey (1993)	MHSMM (1995)	DHS-Morocco (1992)
Young	21-31	20-30	22-32	19-29
Midyoung	32-41	31-40	33-42	30-39
Midold	42-51	41-50	43-52	40-49
Old	52-66	51-65	53-67	50-64

- **Region (of origin/residence):**

A. Turkey

Four groups of provinces were considered as specific regions. Only those provinces with a sufficient representation in the sample of the MHSMT were used:

Categories	Description	Provinces, in decending order of importance (in MHSMT)	N in the subsample of MHSMT
Three Metropolitan areas and the Mediterranean coast	The highly urbanised metropolitan areas and the because of tourism and agriculture relatively well developed areas of the south. More than half of the immigrants from this region have known an internal migration before their international migration to Belgium.	Istanbul (40%), Ankara (20%), Izmir, Bursa, Kocaeli (Izmit), Adana, Aydin, Balikesir, Bolu, Edime, Antalya, Kirklareli,	156
Central Anatolia	The provinces of the Central Anatolian plateau and the mining provinces of the Black Sea coast	Kayseri (16%), Konya (16%), Zonguldak, Karaman, Denizli, Yozgac, Aksaray, Corum, Kirsehir, Nevsehir, Samsun, Isparta, Usak, Kutahya, Sinop, Hatay	249
Afyon & Eskişehir	Two Central Anatolian provinces with an important emigration to Belgium. More than half of the migrants from Eskişehir have their origins in Afyon	Afyon (78%) & Eskişehir	255
Eastern Anatolia	A traditionally less developed area of Turkey with some important immigration from Kars and Trabzon.	Trabzon (23%), Giresun (15%), Ardahan (14%), Sivas, Kars, Kahramanmaraş, Erzincan, Tunceli, Gumushane, Malatya, Igdir, Erzurum, Gaziantep, Sanliurfa,	111

B. Morocco

For Morocco, only three regions were specified. Only those provinces with a sufficient representation in the sample of the MHSMM were used:

<i>Categories</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Provinces, in descending order of importance</i>	<i>N in the subsample of MHSMM</i>
Golden Triangle and the Periphery	Heterogeneous area consisting of the highly urbanised metropolitan areas at the Atlantic Coast, the provinces with old cultural centres such as Fez, Meknez and Marrakech, the rural Souss valley (with high emigration figures to France), the Atlas, and the remaining provinces	Casablanca (30%), Meknes, Agadir, Rabat, Fez, Kenitra, Taroudannt, Guelmim, Tiznit, Marrakech, Beni Mellal, Khemisset, Ouarzazate	132
North Arab	The relatively high urbanised provinces to the west of the Rif mountains (land of Jebela), but also the provinces to the south (Taza) and east of the Rif (Oujda)	Tanger (50%), Oujda (32%), Tetouan (incl. Larache), Chefcaououn, Taza	230
North Berber (Rif or Eastern Rif)	The mainly Berber provinces of the Rif with high emigration figures to Belgium	Nador (76%) and Al Hoceima	229

• Migration type:

In the first place we distinguish migrants and non migrants. The data for the non migrants come from the DHS-household records; data for the migrants come from the MHSMT-surveys. Within the group of migrants further distinctions were made on the basis of the migration period and the legal framework under which the migrants applied to gain access to the Belgian territory. The result is a variable with five categories:

<i>Categories</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>N Turks</i>	<i>N Moroccans</i>
Migrant bridegrooms	Those who derive their residence permit from a marriage with someone who is entitled to live in Belgium	MHSM	313	164
Family reunification	Migrants whose residence rights come from direct kinship with another migrant with a permanent residence permit	MHSM	87	91
Late labour migrants	Labour migrants who arrived from: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1973 onwards (Turks) • 1967 onwards (Moroccans) 	MHSM	200	153
Early labour migrants	Labour migrants who arrived <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • before 1973 (Turks) • before 1967 (Moroccans) 	MHSM	171	183
non-migrants	non-migrants (or returned migrants)	DHS	6379	5020

The same categorisation to distinguish early and late labour migrants could not be used for the two nationalities considered. Because the peak of the Moroccan labour migration is to be situated in the mid sixties and that of the Turks in the early seventies, different cutting points had to be imposed in order to avoid many empty cells in the logit analysis that had to follow.

Since no direct questions were asked with respect to the migration modality; this variable is the result of several logical operations. The result is a satisfying, but not perfect variable. Because the migration and employment regulations for foreigners have been altered several times in the last decades and human careers tend to develop along complex lines, sometimes arbitrary decisions had to be taken. Further it was not possible to distinguish the official (legal) migrants from the unofficial (legal) migrants. The latter are those who came to Belgium with no or solely a tourist passport and legalised their permanent residence through a labour contract or a marriage.

- Educational level.

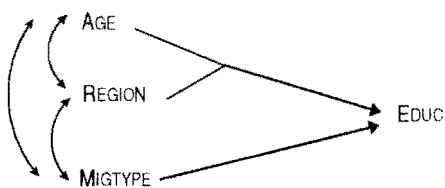
A variable consisting of three categories. Those who solely attended Koranic school are considered to have no diploma. For Turks this is however not very important since very few children only have had Koranic education.

Categories	Description
No Diploma	No schooling, incomplete primary or Koranic education
Primary	Complete Primary education
Secondary	At least lower secondary education (age equivalent: 15 years)

3. The Logit Models Specified:

The logit models here can only be interpreted in terms of statistical prediction; not in term of causal effects. This because the causal sequence for the relationship between education and migration-type goes in the opposite direction than specified here. In a perfect situation migrating or not would be the dependent variable to be explained by factors such as region of origin, educational level, etc. Such an analysis requires, however, not only data for the sending countries but also data on the immigrants in all the receiving countries and these are (and will never be) available. The analysis that is presented here is a short-cut version wherein the causal relationship is apparently turned up side down. What we do, however, is measure the extent that the odds of having a particular educational attainment are significantly different for the various types of first generation immigrants and non-migrants, controlling for possible effects of AGE and REGION. When the results are interpreted in this way a logit analysis is perfectly justifiable.

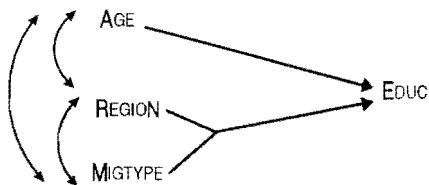
A. Turkey



{ARM, ARE, ME}; Pearson $X^2=66.82$, $df=78$, $p=0,81$

Although this is an overfitted model, both effects (the combined effect of Age and Region and the independent effect of Migtype) were kept in the model: the elimination of one of the two effects would result in an underfitted model.

B. Morocco



{ARM, RME, AE}; Pearson $X^2=49,72$, $df=48$, $p=0,40$

References:

- Ageron, Charles-Robert (1985); *L'Immigration Maghrébine en France: Un Survol Historique*, In: VINGTIEME SIECLE, n° 7, jul-sep, p.59-70.
- Böcker, Anita (1994); *The Study of Migration Networks: the Case of Turkish Migration to Western Europe*, Paper Presented at the Workshop on the Root Causes of International Migration, Luxemburg, Eurostat, 14-16 dec., 28p.
- Bossard, R. (1979); *Une Espace de Migration: les Travailleurs du Rif Oriental (Province de Nador et de l'Europe)*, Montpellier, Laboratoire de Géographie Rurale, Université Paul Valéry, 213 p.
- Bossard, R. & Bonnet, (1975); *Aspects Géographiques de L'Emigration Marocaine vers L'Europe*; In: HOMMES ET MIGRATIONS, n°881, p. 4-17.
- Boulahbel-Villac (1994); *La Famille Intermédiaire: Comportements Familiaux dans en pour l'Immigration* In: Bensalah, Nouzha (e.d.), *FAMILLES TURQUES ET MAGREBINES AUJOURD'HUI*, Louvain-La-Neuve, Academia, p.33-51.
- Boyd, Monica (1989); *Family and Personal Networks in International Migration: Recent Developments and New Agendas*, In: INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION REVIEW, vol. 23, n° 3, p. 638-670.
- Buelguendouz, Abdelkrim (1987); *l'Emigration des Travailleurs Marocains*, In: Agoumy, Taoufik & Bencherifa, Abdellatif (eds.); *LA GRANDE ENCECLOPEDIE DU MAROC*, VOL. 9: GEOGRAPHIE HUMAINE, Rabat, G.E.M., p. 37-64.
- De Mas, Paul (1995); *Dynamique Récente de la Migration Marocaine vers les Pays-Bas: Spécificité Régionale et Réseau Rifain*, In: *LE MAROC ET LA HOLLANDE: UNE APPROCHE COMPARATIVE DES GRANDS INTERETS COMMUNS*, Rabat, Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines - Université Mohammed V, Serie Colloques et Séminaires n° 39, p. 213-228.
- den Exter, Jak (1993); *Regionale Herkomst van Turken in Nederland*, In: MIGRANTENSTUDIES, vol. 9, n°3, p. 18-34.
- den Exter, Jak & Kutlu, Erol (1993) *Emirdağ: Over de Effecten van Migratie op een Turks District*, In MIGRANTENSTUDIES, vol. 9, n°4, p23-33.
- Gurak, Douglas T. & Caces, Fe (1992); *Migration Networks and the Shaping of Migration Systems*, In: Kritz, Mary M; Lim, Lin Lean & Zlotnik, Hania (eds.); *INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION SYSTEMS: A GLOBAL APPROACH*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, p.150-176.
- Haex, J. (1972); *Emigratie van Turkse Arbeiders, 1961-1971*, Leuven, KUL-Sociologisch onderzoeksinstituut, Vreemde Arbeiders n°1, 29 p.
- Kaufman, Robert L. & Schervish, Paul G. (1986); *Using Adjusted Crosstabulations to Interpret Log-Linear Relationships*, In: *AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW*, Vol. 51, October, P. 717-733.
- Keyder, Caglar & Aksu-Koç, Ayhan (1988); *External Labour Migration from Turkey and its Impact: An Evaluation of the Literature*, Ottawa, IDRC-Manuscript Report185e, 166 p.
- Kritz, Mary M. & Zlotnik, Hania (1992); *Global Interactions: Migration Systems, Processes, and Policies*, In: Kritz, Mary M; Lim, Lin Lean & Zlotnik, Hania (eds.); *INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION SYSTEMS: A GLOBAL APPROACH*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, p. 1-16.
- Lahlou, Mehdi (1991); *Chômage et Sous-Emploie, un Phénomène de très Grave Ampleur*, In: Lacoste, C. & Lacoste, Y.; *L'ETAT DU MAGREB*, Paris, Editions La Découverte, p.484-488.
- Lee, Everet S. (1966); *A Theory of Migration*; In: *DEMOGRAPHY*, vol.3, n°1, p. 47-57.
- Lesthaeghe, R (ed.) (1997); *Diversiteit in Sociale verandering: Turkse en Marokkaanse vrouwen in België*, Brussel, VUB-Press, 349 p.
(Also published in: *BEVOLKING EN GEZIN* (Brussel en Den Haag), book supplement 1996).
- Lievens, John (1997); *The Third Wave of Immigration from Turkey and Morocco: Determinants and Characteristics*, Ghent/Brussels, University of Ghent/Free University of Brussels, Interuniversity Papers in Demography, 1997-2, 24p.
- Massey, Douglas S. (et.al.) (1993); *Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal*, In: *POPULATION AND DEVELOPMENT REVIEW*, vol. 19, n° 3, p. 431-466.

Martin, Philip L. (1991) : *The Unfinished Story: Turkish Labour Migration to Western Europe*, International Labour Office, Geneva, 123p.

Moulaert, Frank (1975); *De Gastarbeid in de Europese Gemeenschap*, In: TIJDSCHRIFT VOOR DIPLOMATIE, vol 1, n°9, p. 343-363.

Obdeijn, Herman (1993); *Op Weg naar Werk ver van Huis. Marokkaanse Emigratie in Historisch Perspectief*, In: MIGRANTENSTUDIES, vol. 9, n°4, p. 34-51.

Paine, Suzanne (1974); *Exporting Workers: The Turkish Case*, London , Cambridge University Press, 227p.

Petersen, William (1958); *A General Typology of Migration*, In: AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW, vol. 23, n° 3, P.256-266.

Refass, Mohammed (1995); *Des Motifs de l'Emigration Marocaine Vers l'Europe*, In: LE MAROC ET LA HOLLANDE: UNE APPROCHE COMPARATIVE DES GRANDS INTERETS COMMUNS, Rabat, Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines - Université Mohammed V, Série Colloques et Séminaires n° 39, p. 203-212.

Seddon, David (1979); *Labour Migration and Agricultural Development in Northeast Morocco (1870-1970)*, In: THE MAGREB REVIEW, vol.4, n° 3, p. 69-77.

Sertel, Yildiz (1987); *Nord-Sud: Crise et Immigration (le Cas Turc)*, Paris, Editions Publisud, 285 p.

Surkyn, Johan & Reniers, Georges (1997); *Selecte Gezelschappen: Over de Migratiegeschiedenis en Interne Dynamiek van Migratieprocessen*, In: Lesthaeghe R. ed. (1997), p. 41-72.

Tinneman, Will (1994); *Een Gouden Armband. Een geschiedenis van Mediterrane Immigranten in Nederland (1945-1994)*, Utrecht, Nederlands Centrum Buitenlanders, 445 p.

Tribalat, Michèle; (1995); *Faire France: Une Enquête sur les Immigrés et Leurs Enfants*, Paris, La Découverte, 232p.

Wilpert, Czarina (1992); *The Use of Social Networks in Turkish Migration to Germany*, In: Kritz, Mary M; Lim, Lin Lean & Zlotnik, Hania (eds.); INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION SYSTEMS: A GLOBAL APPROACH, OXFORD, Clarendon Press, p. 177-189.