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Dimensions and Determinants of Integration- related Attitudes among Turkish and Moroccan Men in Belgium

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1. Introduction

The socio-economic integration of immigrants and their later generations is of course of paramount importance both for the ethnic minorities concerned and for the receiving societies. The pace of progress in the domains of education and labour force integration is a matter that requires constant monitoring. But, aside from these aspects, there are other dimensions that warrant attention as well. More specifically, we are referring here to the domains of changing demographic behaviour, to cultural change and to change in the subjective perceptions of their position in society. In this paper we shall examine five dimensions of cultural change that are directly related to the integration process and to the patterns of community reconstruction of the Turkish and Moroccan populations in Belgium.

The structure of the paper is as follows. Firstly, we shall summarize the major differences in the patterns of community reconstruction of these two groups. This will set the stage for the empirical analysis that follows. Secondly, we shall present some background information about the data sources and methodology. Thirdly, we shall present the various cultural dimensions and their measurement. Fourthly, we shall analyse the determinants of these dimensions by means of Lisrel-models. We shall end this contribution by situating these empirical findings in a broader context.

2. Immigration and community reconstruction: the patterns of the Turkish and Moroccan populations in Belgium.

For both communities the story obviously begins in the late 1950s and especially during the 1960s with the arrival of immigrant labour from other than European regions. Already at this initial stage major differences emerged between the Turkish and Moroccan migrants. They pertain to the form of recruitment and to migration motives. At the onset, Turkish labour was recruited via official channels organized by the Belgian Embassy in Ankara, and much of this first flow was directed toward employment in Belgian coal mines. Only thereafter was there a spontaneous migration wave. Turkish emigration was essentially inspired by purely economic motivation and most migrants entertained the notion of a temporary move only. The Moroccan migration, by contrast, was not organised via official recruitment, and cultural and political motives played a more significant role as well (Surkyn & Reniers, 1997; Reniers, 1997). The Moroccan migration originated mainly from the Rif area and a substantial part of this population was of Berber origin. Return migration was less frequently envisaged. As one Berber respondent put it: "it was far more desirable to be a second class citizen in Europe than to remain a second class citizen in Morocco". The differences in orientation with respect to the longer term perspective still show. In the early 1990s, when our first round of surveys among Turkish and Moroccan women indicated a substantially higher percentage of husbands owning land on a house in Turkey than in Morocco.

Much of the 1970s were characterized by the process of family reunification. From then onward, it became clear that there would be no return migration in the foreseeable future and that the "guest worker" era had come to an end. The "multi-cultural society" was emerging as a reality with which all parties concerned had to come to terms with. During this second phase, new differences developed in the patterns of Turkish and Moroccan community reconstruction.

The Turkish communities in Belgium sprung up in a scattered fashion, with many small towns having a Turkish settlement. This was partly related to Turkish employment in the coal mining towns, but since other industries, particularly in Flanders, are scattered, Turkish labourers had found niches in many other towns as well. Most of these settlements are actually "transposed communities" with members originating from the same place in Turkey. The model of chain migration was, and still continues to be fully operative. The family unification policy not only allowed for the arrival of younger brides for those arriving as single labourers, but the later restriction of immigration to reasons of family unification

only stimulated the recruitment of brides and grooms for young Turkish residents who themselves had arrived as accompanying children. In short, the geographical dispersion of transplanted communities, continued chain migration and the use of the marriage market for importing new members became the hallmark of the Turkish migration and of community reconstruction.

The Moroccan migration, by contrast, was much more strongly oriented toward larger urban agglomerations and to Brussels in the first place. With many Moroccans having some notions of French and with the Brussels construction sector providing opportunities, the city became a logical attraction pole to them. But, from the onset, Moroccans did not benefit to the same degree from this cohesive pattern of community reconstruction which is so typical for the Turks. There are several reasons for this. Firstly, there was the older split between Arabs and Berbers. Secondly, the links between the emerging communities in Belgium and those of origin proved to be less enduring. As indicated before, ownership of land and houses in the sending areas is less frequent among Moroccans, but also the recruitment of brides or grooms did not proceed at the same pace (Lesthaeghe and Surkyn, 1995; Reniers and Surkyn, 1997; Lievens, 1997a, 1997b). Furthermore, there was no Moroccan counterpart to the Turkish Diyanet to whom Belgian authorities could turn for the religious and social organization of local communities. The Moroccans had to establish their own "street corner mosques". The Grand Mosque of Brussels, then largely Saudi sponsored, provided financial help along with religious patronage. The influence of the Moroccan state in organizing the expatriate Moroccan communities was therefore much weaker than in the Turkish case, and the Arab speaking functionaries in Brussels did not exactly show a great deal of sympathy for these "illiterate mountain people".

This unfolding of two different patterns continues during the later 1980s and 1990s. The Turkish female immigrants were more rarely illiterate, which they obviously owe to a much longer tradition of female primary schooling than in Morocco, but in addition, all Turks can read Turkish given the adoption of the Latin alphabet. This implies that Turkish newspapers and magazines are directly accessible to the second generation (and so is Turkish TV). The first generation of Moroccan women had much higher proportions of illiterates among them, and subsequently, the second generation could no longer read (or with great difficulty) the Arab script. The two surveys of 1991-1993 among Turkish and Moroccan women in Flanders and Brussels showed for instance that of all women aged 18-49, 54% of Moroccan women read the Belgian media against 25% among the Turkish women. The Moroccan second generation had, furthermore, almost exclusively turned to Belgian

newspapers and magazines (93%), and even the more recently arriving Moroccan women with less than 15 years of residence outpaced their Turkish age mates in this respect (60% against 27%) (Lesthaeghe & Surkyn, 1995).

Contributing to this differentiation is also the different nature of Turkish and Moroccan politics. Turks are accustomed to an open multi-party system. Via Turkish media, most Turks in Belgium follow what is happening at "home" in Turkey and at "home" among other Turkish expatriate communities in the Netherlands or Germany. The rise of the Refah party and its religious appendix, the Milli Görüs, was a matter of open and public debate among them (Manço, 1997). Opposition political parties in Morocco have had, at least until very recently, a much tougher time, and many had no other alternative than to operate in a clandestine fashion. During the 1980s, however, they gained ground in the expatriate Moroccan communities (Dassetto and Bastenier, 1984; Grignard, 1997; Dassetto, 1996; Lesthaeghe, 1998). Along with other counterstream religious movements originating in Egypt or Pakistan for instance, these organisations challenged the authority of the Grand Mosque and its Saoudi backers as merely representing the "corrupt Islam of the rich". These new political-religious movements do not appeal to Moroccan nationalism or Berber identity, as the Milli Görüs or the Türk-Islam Federasyon do to Turkish nationalism. Instead, they are pan-Islamic movements aiming at the reconstruction of a "true Islam" for the whole community of believers. In short, the long tradition of multi-party politics in Turkey did less to fragment Turkish communities and may well have fuelled Turkish nationalism instead, whereas the growth of countercurrent political-religious movements with a clandestine tradition (e.g. Jama'a al-tabligh, al-Tahrir, al-Adl wa'l-Ihsan) may well have led to further fragmentation in the Moroccan communities. To this, we also need to add that the secularized wing of this spectrum is much larger in the Moroccan population. Our survey of 1994-1995 with a national coverage show that 25% of Moroccan men never attend the mosque (not even at special occasions) against 11% of Turkish men. Similar conclusions emerge from other indicators such as the sending of children to Koranic schools or from the proportions who express a negative appreciation of the rising importance of religion in daily life (Lesthaeghe, 1998).

The educational developments in the two groups also followed different paths (Lesthaeghe and Surkyn, 1995; Neels and Stoop, 1998). After finishing primary schooling, Turkish youths (this applies to both sexes) typically move into technical orientations at the secondary level, and largely destine themselves toward blue collar jobs. Much larger segments of the Moroccan "in between"-generation and second generation are opting for

general secondary education and more continue higher education as well. In addition, there has also been a steady student migration flow from Morocco to Belgian francophone universities and "écoles supérieures", and many of these graduates never returned. There was no such student migration from Turkey. The overall outcome is that Moroccans are now outpacing Turks in educational achievement.

Very much the same is happening with respect to the demographic transition. Starting from similar median ages at marriage, the rise in marriage ages among Moroccan women, and especially the second generation, has been far more steep than among the Turkish women. The larger number of younger "imported brides" in the Turkish communities is part of the explanation, but the longer schooling and stronger accentuation of female autonomy among the Moroccan second generation contribute as well (Lesthaeghe & Surkyn, 1995; Janssens, 1997). This results in the fact that Turkish median ages at marriage have risen more slowly in Belgium than in Turkey, whereas the opposite holds for Moroccan women. Similarly, the pace of the fertility decline among Moroccan women in Belgium, although starting from higher levels, is faster than among Turkish women and also faster than in Morocco (Lodewijckx, Page and Schoenmaeckers, 1997; Schoenmaeckers, Lodewijckx and Gadeyne, 1998).

Finally, local employment opportunities are not identical for the two ethnic minorities as a result of their different geographical concentration. Generally speaking, shrinking employment in Belgian classic industrial sectors has hit both communities. But the Moroccan population has benefited much more from the growth of employment in the Brussels region, whereas the closing of the Limburg coal mines and the persistence of high unemployment in this province was very bad news for its large Turkish population and particularly for its second generation.

To sum up, the Turkish pattern of community reconstruction is more autarchic than the Moroccan one. This seems also to be the case in France, and Michèle Tribalat (1995) refers to it as "le repli turque". The result has also been that Turks fall back on their closely knit transplanted communities for solidarity, and manage to solve problems within the confines of their own family networks. The Moroccan pattern is more individualistic and more "Gesellschaftlich". The religious spectrum has fully unfolded and ranges from a sizeable secularized wing to an equally sizeable "integrist" one. The classic patterning of gender roles is under greater strain and problems within families are less likely to be settled.

3. Data sources

Our analyses have been predominantly based on three data sources:

- (i) the two surveys on "Family formation and value orientations" conducted respectively among Turkish and Moroccan women in Flanders and Brussels in 1992-93, and covering a sample size of 1800 respondents.
- (ii) the subsequent surveys of 1994-1996 on "Migration history and social mobility" among Turkish and Moroccan men. These two surveys are representative for the whole of Belgium, and cover 1500 Turkish and 1300 Moroccan respondents.
- (iii) the anonymized individual census records for all Turkish and Moroccan nationals with a legal residence permit in Belgium in 1991.

In the four surveys, Turkish and Moroccan interviewers were used, and among the latter we made sure to have enough Berber-speakers. The questionnaires existed in four languages: Dutch, French, Turkish and Arabic. Among Turks, almost always the Turkish version had been used, whereas many Moroccan interviews seem to have taken place in mixed languages. The response rates among Turks is higher than among Moroccans, which led also to more interviewer fatigue and drop out among the latter. For instance, in the Turkish women survey of 1992 the total non-response was only 15% against 31% in the Moroccan women survey of 1992-93. A sizeable portion of this non-response was due to the absence of the respondent or to the failure to locate her at the address indicated by the National Population Register. The refusal rate was only 5% among Turkish women that could be contacted, and 16% among their Moroccan counterparts. The problem with the Turkish interviews was the difficulty to interview the respondents in privacy: 43% of Turkish women had to be interviewed in the permanent or temporary presence of another adult against 29% of Moroccan women. Turkish men and particularly Moroccan men were more difficult to locate. The overall non-response rate in the Turkish males survey of 1994-95 was 18%; and of those located the refusal rate was 14%. In the Moroccan males survey of 1995-96 the non-response rate rose to 44% and the refusal rate among those contacted was 22%. Non-response and refusal rates were lower in Flanders than in Brussels or Wallonia.

These figures from the field operations are in line with the differences already noted with respect to community cohesion. The lower refusal rates and the greater ease to locate individuals in the Turkish surveys also correspond with the field reports from the interviewers and local organizers. Respondents and interviewers frequently struck a common ground by tracing origins to family or community ties before sitting down to business. Moroccan interviewers, by contrast, were met with much greater suspicion, often had to agree to

interviews being done in cars or another isolated place, and also returned with a higher refusal rate to more sensitive questions (e.g. religious-political affiliation). In general our experience has been that the Turkish population is much more easy to interview than the Belgian population, whereas the reverse holds for the Moroccans, even if interviewers are matched to the respondents in terms of gender and language.

4. The dimensions of integration-related attitudes

The surveys on "Migration history and social mobility" of 1994-96 among Turkish and Moroccan men also contain attitude measurements based on rating and ranking methods. There is a partial overlap with attitude batteries previously used in the surveys of 1992-93 conducted among women. From the batteries used in the 1994-96 surveys, 33 variables were constructed as listed in table 1. The rating method is of the classic Likert type with six response categories ranging from "totally agree" to "totally disagree". All items of this nature were converted into 1-0 dichotomies, with missing values being recoded to zero as well. The scoring on the ranking method is more elaborate since respondents are required to pick one or two items which agree best with their own opinion. Many of these outcomes are recoded to trichotomies (+1,0,-1) depending on whether the choices were being made systematically in one direction (+1) or the opposite direction (-1), or were of a mixed nature or missing altogether (0). In table 1, also the frequencies of responses in categories = 1 are being reported. Of the 33 items, 6 have distributions that are more extreme than a 20-80% split.

All 33 items were first entered into a classic exploratory principal components analysis (PCA). This PCA was performed jointly for Turkish and Moroccan respondents, but the correlation coefficients between the emerging principal components and the items were also calculated for the two groups separately. In this way the extracted dimensions remain identical for both groups, but one can also check whether the single best indicators of each dimension are similar or dissimilar for Turks and Moroccans. Fortunately, it turned out that the factor loadings computed for the two groups separately are very similar to those produced by the joint PCA, so that we can compare Turks and Moroccans on each dimension. The outcomes of this procedure are reported in tables 2 through 6.

The exploratory PCA produced five orthogonal dimensions:

- (i) PC1 has been labeled as "the subjective experience of discrimination" (table 2). Positive scores on PC1 indicate that the respondent is convinced of the existence of systematic discrimination against his own group (5 items), and that Belgian justice does not operate irrespective of the subjects' country of origin (1 item).

| Table 1: Description of the items used in the principal components analysis | | Kind | % code 1 |
|---|---|--------------|----------|
| 1. Ideal marriage partner | - only the person matters, not his religion or nationality (1) - someone who still lives in Morocco/Turkey (-1) - a Moroccan/Turkish man from Belgium; a Muslim (0) | Choice (1/4) | 17 |
| 2. Conformism | I find it important for a girl that she: - has good manners + is obedient (1) - can think for herself + interested in the 'how' and 'why' of things (-1) - mixed/missing (0) | Choice(2/4) | 42 |
| 3. Obedience | - a woman has to obey her husband (TDA, DA, RDA=1); rest (0) | Rating | 25 |
| 4. Talking with unknown men | - a woman can talk with unknown men (TA, A, RA=1); rest (0) | Rating | 33 |
| 5. Retreating when visit unknown men | - when strange men visit, women have to retreat in another room (TDA, DA, RDA=1); rest (0) | Rating | 51 |
| 6. Headscarf | - women have to wear a headscarf in public (TDA, DA, RDA=1); rest (0) | Rating | 47 |
| 7. Role women in society | - women have a role in society, politics and religion (TA, A, RA=1); rest (0) | Rating | 72 |
| 8. Female employment | - women have the right to work outside the home (TA, A, RA=1); rest (0) | Rating | 76 |
| 9. Religion provides comfort | - religion and prayer provide comfort to me in moments of difficulty or sadness (TA, A, RA=1); rest (0) | Rating | 77 |
| 10. Religion protects against evil forces | - I am protected against evil by religion and prayer (TA, A, RA=1); rest (0) | Rating | 80 |
| 11. Belief in evil forces | - sorcery, the evil eye and spirits exist and are completely beyond our control; only people who misbehave themselves run the risk of being hit by these evil forces (1) - sorcery, the evil eye and spirits have no influence on our lives, no matter how one behaves (0) | Choice (1/3) | 49 |
| 12. Postmaterialism | - to give more people more power of expression + free expression of opinion (1) - to maintain order in the country + to control the inflation (-1) - mixed/missing (0) | Choice (2/4) | 26 |
| 13. Influence religion | - influence religion increases + approval; influence declines + disapproval (1) - influence declines + approval; influence increases + disapproval (-1) - mixed/missing (0) | Choice (2/8) | 49 |

| | | | |
|--|--|--------------|----|
| 14. The characteristics of success | - a good diploma + practice and knowledge (1) - family ties + connections (-1) - mixed/missing (0) | Choice (2/6) | 15 |
| 15. Materialism 1 | - a good salary + a job that is not difficult or tiring (1) - a good work situation + a fascinating job (-1) - mixed/missing (0) | Choice (2/4) | 12 |
| 16. Materialism 2 | - good working hours + the chance to earn a bonus (1) - to develop myself + to help other people (-1) - mixed/missing (0) | Choice (2/4) | 10 |
| 17. Interests employees/employees | - what good is for the employers is bad for the employees (TA, A, RA = 1); rest (0) | Rating | 44 |
| 18. The same situation employees/employers | - crisis or no crisis, employees and employers are in the same boat (TA, A, RA = 1); rest (0) | Rating | 56 |
| 19. Company taxes | - the government has to reduce the company taxes (TA, A, RA = 1); rest (0) | Rating | 67 |
| 20. Reorganization of employment | - unemployment can only be solved by the reorganization of employment (TA, A, RA = 1); rest (0) | Rating | 71 |
| 21. Police control | - if something wrong happens. Moroccan/Turkish men are the first to be controlled by the police (TA, A, RA = 1); rest (0) | Rating | 61 |
| 22. Wait | - if we need something from the authorities, we have to wait longer than the Belgians (TA, A, RA = 1); rest (0) | Rating | 48 |
| 23. Victims crisis | - Moroccan/Turkish men are always the first victims in case of crisis in the company (TA, A, RA = 1); rest (0) | Rating | 56 |
| 24. Discrimination at school | - teachers treat Moroccan/Turkish children more severe than Belgian children (TA, A, RA = 1); rest (0) | Rating | 34 |
| 25. Discrimination in shops | - people in shops are more friendly with Belgian customers than with Moroccan/Turkish customers (TA, A, RA = 1); rest (0) | Rating | 33 |
| 26. 1000 fr for a good cause | - centre for the homeless in Belgium (1) - social project in Morocco/Turkey (-1) - community centre for migrants in Belgium + missing (0) | Choice (1/3) | 40 |
| 27. To bury the dead | - an Islamic cemetery in Belgium (1) - transfer to Morocco/Turkey (-1) - no preference + missing (0) | Choice (1/3) | 12 |
| 28. Contact with migrants at work | - a good job is more important than working with other migrants (1) - a job that is also useful in Morocco/Turkey; contact with other migrants is important (0) | Choice (1/3) | 55 |

| | | |
|-------------------------------|--|------------------|
| 29. Sense of powerlessness | - not much influence on life events + live from day to day (1) - normally, I succeed in realize my plans + most of my actions are inspired by a specific goal (-1) - mixed/missing (0) | Choice (2/4) 19 |
| 30. Opportunism | - I can do whatever I want as long as I don't run into problems (1) - there are clear guidelines about good and evil and I will keep to them (0) | Choice (1/2) 23 |
| 31. Different opinions | - in discussions I often have a different opinion than the others (1) - generally there is no difference between my ideas and those of my friends (0) | Choice (1/2) 29 |
| 32. Music | - strictly Turkish/Moroccan music (1) - strictly western music (-1) - mixed/missing (0) | Choice (2/20) 63 |
| 33. Discrimination in Belgium | - There is justice in the Belgian society, whatever the country of origin (1) - The Belgian society discriminates enormous (-1) - There is not more or less discrimination in Belgium than elsewhere (0) | Choice (1/3) 22 |

TA, A, RA = totally agree, agree, rather agree
TDA, DA, RDA = totally disagree, disagree, rather disagree
N = 2748 respondents

- (ii) PC2 corresponds to positive attitudes concerning female emancipation and respect for individuality (table 3). The five best indicators are all directly related to the position of women in general (pro female employment, pro female role in politics and society) or in specific situations (not retreating when visitors arrive, rejecting the scarf, not picking the two conformist items in the socialization values). Three more items are strongly correlated with PC2 as well, and two of them stress the importance of personal characteristics (individuality) over ethnic or social attributes. The last item that equally loads highly on this dimension is Inglehart's index of postmaterialism with choices in favour of "more say in public affairs" and "the protection of freedom of speech".
- (iii) PC3 identifies persons with a strong adherence to expressions of religions and tradition-related conformity (table 4). The functions of religion are strongly valued (2 items), beliefs in evil forces are accentuated, and they welcome an increase of religious influence in daily life, or alternatively, deplore the loss of such influence. Furthermore, the two conformity items of "good manners" and "obedience" are picked jointly in the socialization values battery, and the wearing of the headscarf is desired.
- (iv) PC4 related to the dimension of integration and assimilation by stressing western traits and at the same time by refuting expressions of ethnic allegiance (table 5). Musical preferences, ideal marriage partners for daughters, and the destination of charity are no longer related to ethnicity, and furthermore, expressions of female obedience and religious interference in daily life are refuted.
- (v) PC5, finally, seems to correspond with the expression of a retreat to material advantages and comfort combined with a sense of powerlessness or with a more opportunistic morality (table 6). The two best indicators of PC5 are the systematic picking of the material or physical advantages in job situations over the non-material and intellectually more challenging ones. This is correlated with a more opportunistic outlook and a sense of powerlessness. A high score on PC5 is also associated with the "materialist" pole of the Inglehart index. This dimension seems to capture the retreat to a mere survival strategy, with short term coping ranking far above ambitions in the direction of Maslow's "higher order needs" connected to expressive individualism.

Table 2: Subjective discrimination experience (PC1): single best indicators and their factor loadings, Turkish and Moroccan men

| Item Nr. & definition | Total sample | Turks | Moroccans |
|--|--------------|-------|-----------|
| 22. Wait: longer waiting than Belgians when dealing with authorities (WAIT) | + .70 | + .69 | + .72 |
| 23. Victims crisis: always first victims if crisis (CRIS VICT) | + .69 | + .67 | + .69 |
| 24. Discrimination school: teachers treat migrants' children more severely (DISC SCH) | + .69 | + .68 | + .68 |
| 25. Discrimination shops: shopkeepers more friendly with Belgian customers (DISC SHOP) | + .64 | + .64 | + .64 |
| 21. Police control: if something wrong happens, migrants the first to be checked by police (CONTROL) | + .63 | + .64 | + .66 |
| 33. Discrimination in Belgium: there is justice irrespective of country of origin (NO DISC) | - .45 | - .43 | - .50 |

Table 3: Attitudes toward female emancipation and respect for individuality (PC2): single best indicators and their factor loadings, Turkish and Moroccan men

| Item Nr. & definition | Total sample | Turks | Moroccans |
|---|--------------|-------|-----------|
| 8. Female employment: women have right to work outside home (WOMEN JOB) | + .70 | + .61 | + .73 |
| 7. Role women in society: women have a role in politics, religion & social affairs (ROLE WOM) | + .59 | + .54 | + .61 |
| 5. Retreating when visit unknown man: not necessary (NO RETREAT) | + .54 | + .49 | + .56 |
| 2. Conformism in socialization for girls: good manners + obedience (CONFORM) | - .42 | - .40 | - .41 |
| 6. Headscarf: not needed outside home (NO SHAWL) | + .47 | + .49 | + .51 |
| 7. Contact with other migrants at work: not essential (CONTACT) | + .39 | + .52 | + .37 |
| 12. Postmaterialism: choice for more say + freedom expression (POSTMAT) | + .33 | + .30 | + .31 |
| 1. Ideal marriage partner for daughter: only person counts (PARTNER) | + .23 | + .22 | + .32 |

Table 4: Religious and traditional conformity (PC3): single best indicators and their factor loadings, Turkish and Moroccan men

| Item Nr. & definition | Total sample | Turks | Moroccans |
|---|--------------|-------|-----------|
| 10. Religion & prayer protect against evil forces (PROTECT) | + .80 | + .79 | + .82 |
| 9. Religion provides comfort in moments of difficulty (COMFORT) | + .80 | + .80 | + .81 |
| 11. Belief in evil forces (SUPERSTI) | + .48 | + .45 | + .51 |
| 13. Influence religion increases + approve/decreases + disapprove (PRO RELIG) | + .44 | + .53 | + .34 |
| 2. Conformism in socialization of girls: good manners + obedience (CONFORM) | + .33 | + .30 | + .36 |
| 6. Headscarf: not needed outside home (NO SHAWL) | - .31 | - .35 | - .27 |

Table 5: Integration and assimilation (PC4): single best indicators and their factor loadings, Turkish and Moroccan men

| Item Nr. & definition | Total sample | Turks | Moroccans |
|---|--------------|-------|-----------|
| 32. Music: preference strictly for Turkish/Moroccan music (ETN MUS) | -.57 | -.55 | -.53 |
| 3. Obedience: women need not necessarily obey husbands (NO OBEY) | .46 | .44 | .46 |
| 1. Ideal marriage partner daughter: only person counts (PARTNER) | .43 | .47 | .42 |
| 6. Headscarf: not needed outside home (NO SHAWL) | .35 | .39 | .34 |
| 13. Influence religion increases + approval/decreases + disapproval (PRO RELIG) | -.31 | -.36 | -.25 |
| 26. 1000 F for a good cause: centre for homeless in Belgium (INT 1000) | .32 | .32 | .29 |

Table 6: Orientation toward material comfort, powerlessness, and opportunism (PC5): single best indicators and their factor loadings, Turkish and Moroccan men

| Item Nr. & definition | Total sample | Turks | Moroccans |
|--|--------------|-------|-----------|
| 15. Materialism 1: choice for a good salary + job that is not difficult or tiring (MATJOB1) | .64 | .66 | .63 |
| 16. Materialism 2: choice for good working hours + chance to earn a bonus (MATJOB2) | .62 | .65 | .57 |
| 30. Opportunism: I can do whatever I want, for as long as not running into trouble (OPPORT) | .44 | .43 | .46 |
| 29. Sense of powerlessness: not much influence on life events + live from day to day (POWLESS) | .38 | .36 | .40 |
| 12. Postmaterialism: choice for more say + freedom of expression (POSTMAT) | -.38 | -.36 | -.40 |

Table 7: Comparison of Turkish and Moroccan respondents on 5 dimensions; results according to age group and duration of residence in Belgium (in sigma)

| | Discrimi- nation | Role Women | Relig. Conf. | Int. & Assim | Materialism |
|---|-----------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------|
| A. Group Means | | | | | |
| Turkish men (N=1462) | .08 | .30 | -.02 | -.36 | -.01 |
| Moroccan men (N=1286) | -.09 | -.34 | .03 | .41 | .01 |
| B. Age groups/Dur. of Residence | | | | | |
| B1: 40+/all durations | | | | | |
| Turks (N=435) | .12 | .12 | .16 | -.61 | -.02 |
| Moroccans (N=453) | -.23 | -.68 | .18 | .14 | .17 |
| B2: 30-39/15+ | | | | | |
| Turks (N=293) | -.04 | .21 | -.11 | -.37 | -.06 |
| Moroccans (N=193) | .00 | -.24 | -.17 | .60 | -.08 |
| B3: 30-39/0-14 | | | | | |
| Turks (N=138) | .22 | .55 | -.30 | -.45 | -.16 |
| Moroccans (N=133) | -.15 | -.21 | .09 | .29 | .11 |
| B4: 17-29/0-9 | | | | | |
| Turks (N=143) | .10 | .35 | .02 | -.66 | -.01 |
| Moroccans (N=129) | -.15 | .03 | -.02 | .47 | .05 |
| B5: 17-29/10-19 | | | | | |
| Turks (N=105) | .14 | .30 | -.09 | .01 | -.08 |
| Moroccans (N=84) | .00 | -.38 | -.14 | .31 | -.23 |
| B6: 17-29/20+ or born in Belgium | | | | | |
| Turks (N=306) | .01 | .33 | -.06 | .06 | .12 |
| Moroccans (N=255) | .15 | -.06 | -.03 | .81 | -.20 |
| Eta | | | | | |
| Turks | .07 | .15 | .15 | .30 | .07 |
| Moroccans | .07 | .27 | .13 | .28 | .16 |

As said before, these five principal components are all orthogonal (uncorrelated), and they have a mean of zero and a standard deviation (sigma) of unity. Since the factor loadings of the best indicators are very similar for Turkish and Moroccan men respectively, we can use the five principal components in comparison between the two groups. The first of these comparisons is presented in table 7 where the scores in sigma are being tabulated according to generation, i.e. a combination of age and duration of residence. In section 5, many more determinants will be added.

4.1. Group differences

The differences between Turkish and Moroccan men are negligible for PC3 (religious conformism) and PC5 (materialism). They are small for PC1 (discrimination), but strong for PC2 (female emancipation) and PC4 (integration and assimilation). The considerably more positive evaluation of female roles among Turks is directly related to a major finding in the two earlier surveys among women, where Turkish women showed a much weaker accentuation of modern gender roles and of female emancipation than Moroccan women (Lesthaeghe and Surkyn, 1995, 1997). At this point it was already discovered that Turkish women were significantly more oriented toward a modus vivendi and conflict avoidance in gender and domestic matters, in contrast to Moroccan women who were far more articulating their aspirations in terms of a gender discourse. Evidently, Moroccan men react to this by more strongly stressing the opposite views than their Turkish counterparts. This is again symptomatic of the greater degree of cohesion in the more "Gemeinschaft" oriented format of community reconstruction among Turks, and the stronger accentuation of gender opposition in the more "Gesellschaft"-like development of the Moroccan society in Belgium.

The "repli turque" to which Michèle Tribalat refers is even more evident from the contrast on the dimension of integration and assimilation (PC4). The group means are .77 sigma apart, with Moroccan men scoring on average .41 sigma above and the Turkish men .36 sigma below the overall mean. Turks not only prefer to import more brides and grooms, but they also value working with other Turks and all other matters Turkish to a considerably greater extent. Moroccan men exhibit such nationalistic traits to a lesser extent as we had expected, and are turning toward non-ethnic references instead.

The insignificant difference between the group means of the dimension of religious conformity (PC3) is puzzling at first sight, particularly since the earlier surveys among women revealed a higher degree of religious and traditional conformity among Turkish women (matching their lower scores on female emancipation issues). This contrast is not

mirrored among the male respondents. But the group means hide differences in dispersion. Within the Moroccan community, the secular wing and the "integrist" orientation each represent about a quarter of the male population, whereas these two extremes only represent 10% each in the Turkish community. In other words, around similar means, there is far greater polarization on these issues among Moroccan than among Turkish men (Lesthaeghe, 1998; Manço, 1997). Moreover, the highest degree of loyalty to the mainstream Islam is maintained by the older generations in both communities, and the polarization increases among the younger ones.

4.2. Generation profiles

The generation profiles in table 7 show a number of additional traits. First, the differences between generations within each of the groups (as measured by eta) are strongest for the dimensions that are also the most dissimilar between the two groups (PC4, PC2 and PC3, in that order). Firstly, the scores on the dimension of integration and assimilation (PC4) all increase substantially and almost linearly as one moves from the older pioneer generation to the younger second generation. But it is still remarkable that the Turkish second generation (B6) has scores that are lower on average than those of the older Moroccan men (B1), and that the lowest scores of all are found among younger Turks who recently arrived as adolescents or young adults (B4). Evidently, imported grooms from Turkey maintain a strong identification with everything Turkish, which is much less true for the Moroccan recent arrivals and age mates

The male attitude toward female emancipation (PC2) exhibit a similar generation profile. The oldest generation (B1) has the lowest score in each of the groups, and particularly the older Moroccan men are both vexed and worried about the discourse of their daughters. The second generation (B6) and the more recent arrivals (B4) feel less threatened or are adjusting more quickly. However, in all generations, the male reaction is consistently stronger among Moroccans than Turks.

Religious conformity (PC3) too weakens as one moves away from the oldest generation (B1), but the pattern is less linear and less steep. Especially among the Turks the most secularized group is located in the 30-39 age bracket. In fact, it may well be that a curvilinear pattern is developing in both communities, as the proportion of younger men attracted by the more "integrist" Islamic wing may be on the increase. Among Turkish and Moroccan women such traces of curvilinearity were absent with respect to this dimension

(Lesthaeghe and Surkyn, 1997), and the second generation had by far the lowest scores on religious and traditional conformism.

The generation profiles for the two remaining dimensions (PC1 and PC5) are less regular, and in addition, not similar for Turks and Moroccans. Furthermore, higher scores on PC5, i.e. on materialism and powerlessness, seem to be matched by lower scores on PC1, i.e. the conviction of being treated unfairly. For instance, older Moroccan men exhibit on average the weakest sentiment of being the subject of discrimination, whereas the Moroccan second generation shows the highest scores in this respect (PC1). But the oldest generation of Moroccans has no strong aspirations beyond the material ones (PC5), whereas the Moroccan youngest generation are least willing to retreat to a mere survival or coping strategy. The enhanced sense of being the subject of discrimination among the younger Moroccans may be the result of relative deprivation, given that these young Moroccan men are also moving up faster on the educational scale. High aspirations for upward social mobility would, if frustrated, lead to an enhanced feeling of discrimination.

The generation profile of the materialism dimension (PC5) for Turkish men is almost the reverse of that of Moroccans: the oldest generation of Turks (B1) has a low average score, whereas the second generation (B6) has by far the highest. This indicates that the Turkish second generation, which is most strongly affected by unemployment and by a slower progression in education, is falling back on merely material satisfaction mixed with a sense of powerlessness and opportunistic morality. In this respect the younger Turks are the opposites of their Moroccan age mates. Such a lack of aspirations beyond the material ones among the second generation Turks is again matched by a less pronounced sense of relative deprivation, and probably also as a result of a stronger retreat toward their own community, by a reduced articulation of being discriminated.

5. Multivariate explanatory models

The five dimensions identified in section 4 will now be related to a much larger set of explanatory variables than just the combination of age and duration of residence. We shall first present the methodological choices and then move on to the findings themselves.

5.1. Variables and methods

The general method adopted here is that of structural equations with latent variables, also known as LISREL-modeling (Jöreskog, 1973; Bollen, 1989). First, a distinction is made between variables that are exogenous background characteristics, endogenous intermediate

variables, and one dependent latent variable with its constituting indicators. Table 8 gives an overview of the operational definitions of variables belonging to the first two groups. With the exception of the respondents' education (6 classes), all background and intermediate variables are dummy variables (1-0). But, before specifying these, multiple classification analyses (MCA) were run on all five dependent dimensions using independent variables with many more detailed classes. The dummies used here were constructed subsequently as a simplification using the strongest contrast (optimal cutting points) emerging within each of the categorical predictor variables. Furthermore, we settled for a unique set of dummy variables in all analyses to enhance comparability. Among the background variables, we need three dummy variables to characterize generation (IMP GR, GEN2, GEN1-40+), one dummy to pick up a contrast in region of origin (BERBER for Moroccans and COAST REG for Turks), two dummies to specify the social origin (FA FARM, FA BLUE), and two dummies for current area of residence in Belgium (FLANDERS, WALLONIA).

The intermediate variables belong to two groups. A first set consists of measures of socio-economic position and linguistic adaptation (EDUC through MEDEXPO), and the second set specifies characteristics of religious orientation (NO MOSQ, FUNDAM).

The dependent variables are of the latent type and constructed on the basis of the single best indicators emerging from the exploratory principle component analysis (see tables 2 through 7).

The LISREL-model tested is identical for all five latent dimensions, and the following effects were introduced for estimation:

- (i) associations between all background variables;
- (ii) direct causal effects from all background variables to all intermediate variables and to the dependent latent variable;
- (iii) direct causal effects from all intermediate variables to the dependent latent variable;
- (iv) a cascade of causal effects among intermediate variables, starting from all effects from EDUC at the top to all others further down, then from BEL LANG as the second to all remaining others further down, etc.;
- (v) uncorrelated error terms;

The reported adjusted goodness-of-fit parameters (AGFI), or the agreement between the observed and the implied covariance matrix, all pertain to this model specification. But, as the present model contains too many effects for clear visual presentation, we have only reported those effects with absolute values of .10 or larger. The graphs that follow in the next

Table 8: Operational definitions of background and intermediate variables used in the LISREL-models

| A. Background variables | |
|----------------------------------|--|
| *IMP GR | imported groom = age 17-29 & duration of residence = 0-14 years, versus all other generation groups |
| *GEN2 | second generation = age 17-29 & duration of residence 15+ years or born in Belgium, versus all other generation groups |
| *GEN1-40 y | first generation = age 40+, versus all other generation groups |
| *BERBER | ethnic origin Berber (Moroccan sample) versus Arabic speaking only |
| *COAST REG | area of origin Black Sea coast, Istanbul & Bosphorus, Mediterranean coast versus all other Turkish regions and born in Belgium |
| *FA FARM | social origin father in farming or agricultural labourer versus all other social origins |
| *FA BLUE | social origin father blue collar worker versus all other social origins |
| *FLANDERS | current residence in Flanders versus Brussels and Wallonia |
| *WALLONIA | current residence in Wallonia versus Brussels and Flanders |
| | |
| B. Intermediate variables | |
| *EDUC | highest level of education in 6 groups (0 = never at school to 5 = higher education or university) |
| *BEL LANG | speaking + reading Dutch or French versus all other |
| *JOB WHITE | last or current job respondent = white collar position, versus all other |
| *UNEMPL | has experienced more than 1 year of unemployment, versus no or shorter unemployment |
| *MEDEXPO | reads Belgian newspapers or magazines, versus all other |
| *NO MOSQ | no mosque attendance, versus all other |
| *FUNDAM | attends mosque with integrist tendency or member integrist movement, versus mainstream mosque and no attendance |

section are therefore a simplified version of the models that were in fact estimated. The complete set of parameter estimates is presented in the appendix.

5.2. The within-community determinants: relations between background and intermediate variables

Much of the discussion so far focussed on the differences between the Turkish and Moroccan communities. The LISREL-models, however, are estimated for each of these separately and bring out the effects of the determinants within each community instead. Furthermore, given that the same model has been specified for all dependent latent variables, there cannot be much variation with respect to the effects between background variables and intermediate variables. As a consequence these effects need to be discussed only once, but separately for the Turkish and the Moroccan populations. This shall be done first.

There is of course a classic causal chain that runs from the educational level to the linguistic ability and exposure (BEL LANG, MEDEXPO) and further to the type of employment (JOB WHITE) and the experience of unemployment (UNEMP). This chain is a central one in all research on the socio-economic determinants of integration and in all policy formulation. Here, many results will not come as a surprise. Both among Moroccans and Turks, enhanced education leads to a greater command of one of the Belgian languages (French or Dutch), but the effect is much stronger for Moroccans (.42) than for Turks (.19). This is clearly related to the fact that Moroccans import fewer groomers, and that the latest Moroccan arrivals are already quite fluent in French to start with. As a result, there is a negative effect (-.16) from belonging to the group of recent arrivals among Turks upon the command of a Belgian language, whereas there is no such effect among Moroccan recent immigrants. The linguistic ability (BEL LANG) enhances, together with education, the exposure to Belgian media (MED EXPO), and quite strongly so in both communities (+.43 among Turks, +.49 among Moroccans). Better education, typically achieved by the second generation (GEN 2) and absent in the first generation currently aged 40+ (GEN1 '40+), also enhances the chances of finding employment in the white collar sector, which in its turn reduces the chances of becoming unemployed for longer than one year. Here too, the effects are very similar in both communities. It should be noted, however, that the crucial intermediate variable of education is not only affected by generation, but also negatively influenced by the fathers background prior to emigration in agriculture (FA FARM), and, for the Moroccans, by a Berber background. Among Turks, the regional origin in Turkey is less crucial for educational levels. Also the knowledge of a Belgian language (speaking +

reading) undergoes extra effects not channelled through education: a social origin of fathers in agriculture reduces these abilities and a social background of fathers in blue collar professions increases them.

The effects of the current region of residence on education or on the linguistic ability and Belgian media exposure are negligible. By contrast, current region of residence has an influence on white collar employment and on unemployment. Among Turkish men, residence in Flanders reduces white collar employment and thereby increases unemployment indirectly. But this effect is neutralized by a direct negative path coefficient from residence in Flanders to unemployment. Also among Moroccan men, current residence in Flanders leads directly to less longer duration unemployment. Evidently, the overall lower unemployment rates in Flanders, and the much lower Flemish unemployment rates in industrial sectors in particular, are beneficial to the two immigrant communities. Even the oldest Turkish generation benefits in this respect from their concentration in Flemish towns. It should, however, be noted that the older Turkish mine workers of Limburg were channeled into the pre-pension scheme instead of unemployment and that many of them formally retreated from the labour force.

The second set of intermediate variables is, as already indicated, made up of indicators of religious orientation. Among Turks, there are strong influences stemming from region of current residence, and among Moroccans from generation and Berber-ethnicity. More specifically, secularization among Turks (NO MOSQ) is negatively affected by residence in either Flanders or Wallonia, and must therefore be enhanced by residence in Brussels. Residence in Flanders, as opposed to the two other regions, also reduces adherence to Turkish countercurrent movements (i.e. mainly Milli Görüs and Türk-Islam Federasyon). Hence, loyalty to the Diyanet must be stronger in Flanders than elsewhere. For Moroccans, the current region of residence is less crucial. To them, there are essentially two brakes on secularization: belonging to the older first generation (GEN1 40+) and being of Berber origin. Finally, membership of "integrist" Islamic orientations are on the whole poorly predicted by both background variables and intermediate variables used here. We had expected a positive effect upon such memberships from unemployment and negative effects from education, white collar profession and the two linguistic variables. Such clear-cut effects did not materialize. Hence, a finer comb seems necessary.

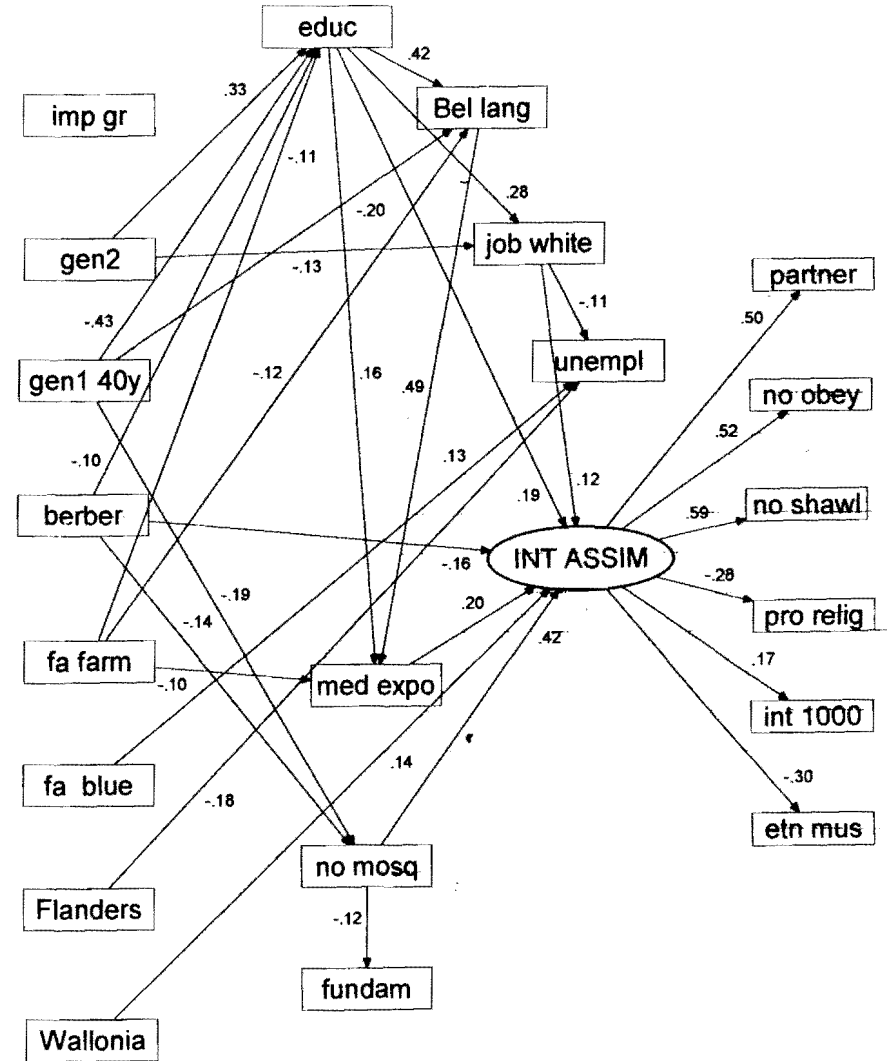
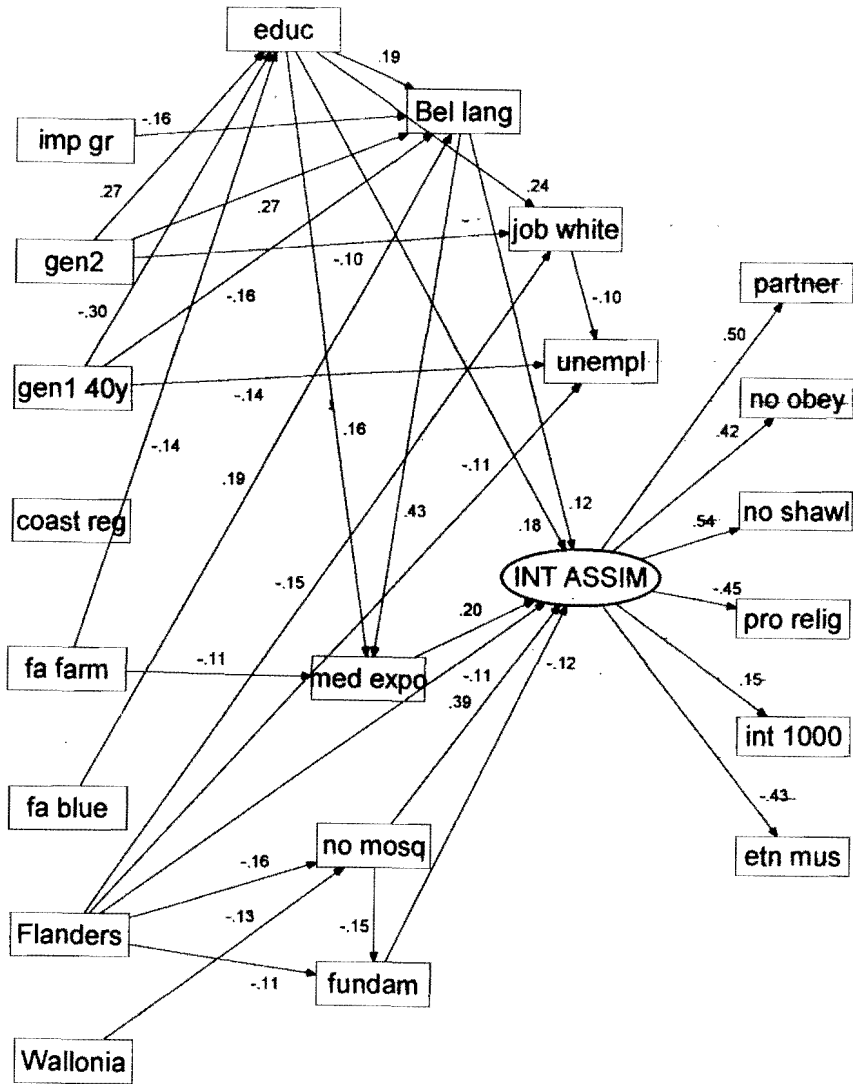
5.3. The within-community determinants of the five latent variables

We shall first discuss the trio "integration/assimilation", "female emancipation and the roles of women", and "religion or tradition-based conformism" since they are three

FIGURES 1 AND 2
 LISREL MODEL FOR THE LATENT DEPENDENT VARIABLE "INTEGRATION & ASSIMILATION"- TURKISH MEN (LEFT) AND MOROCCAN MEN (RIGHT)

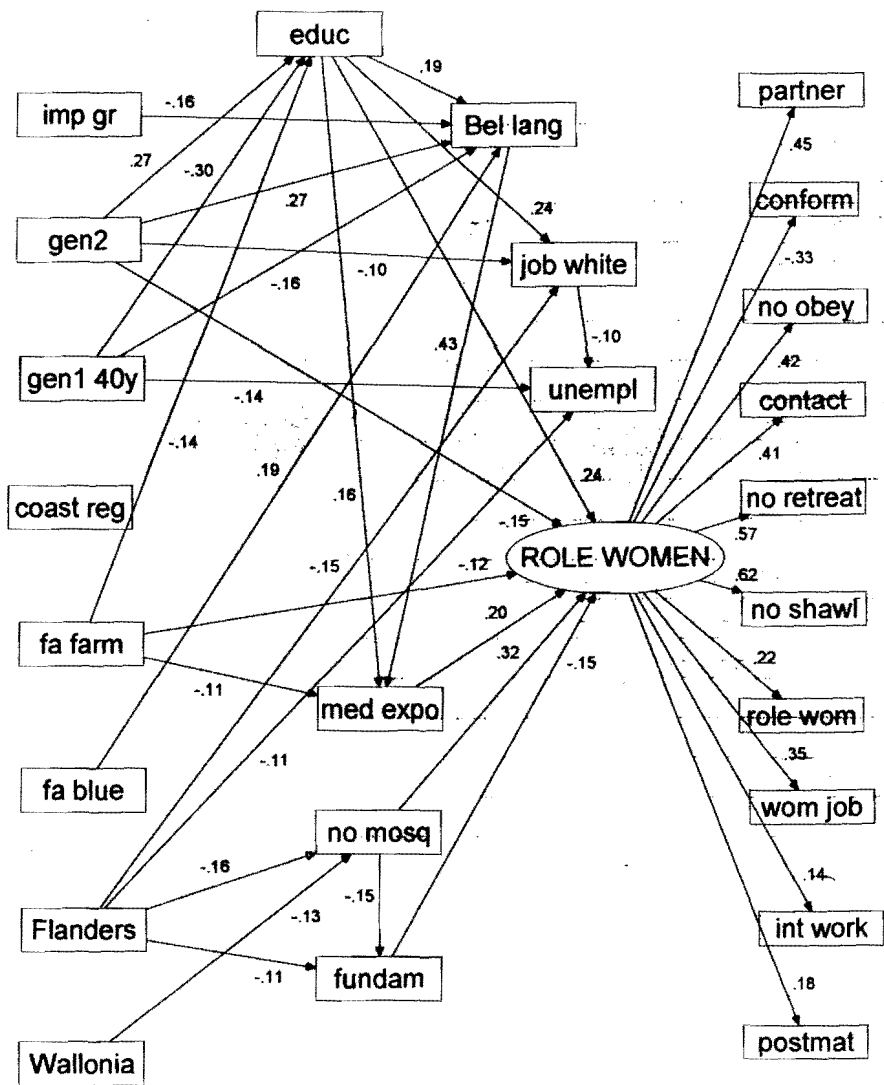
AGFI=.95

AGFI=.95

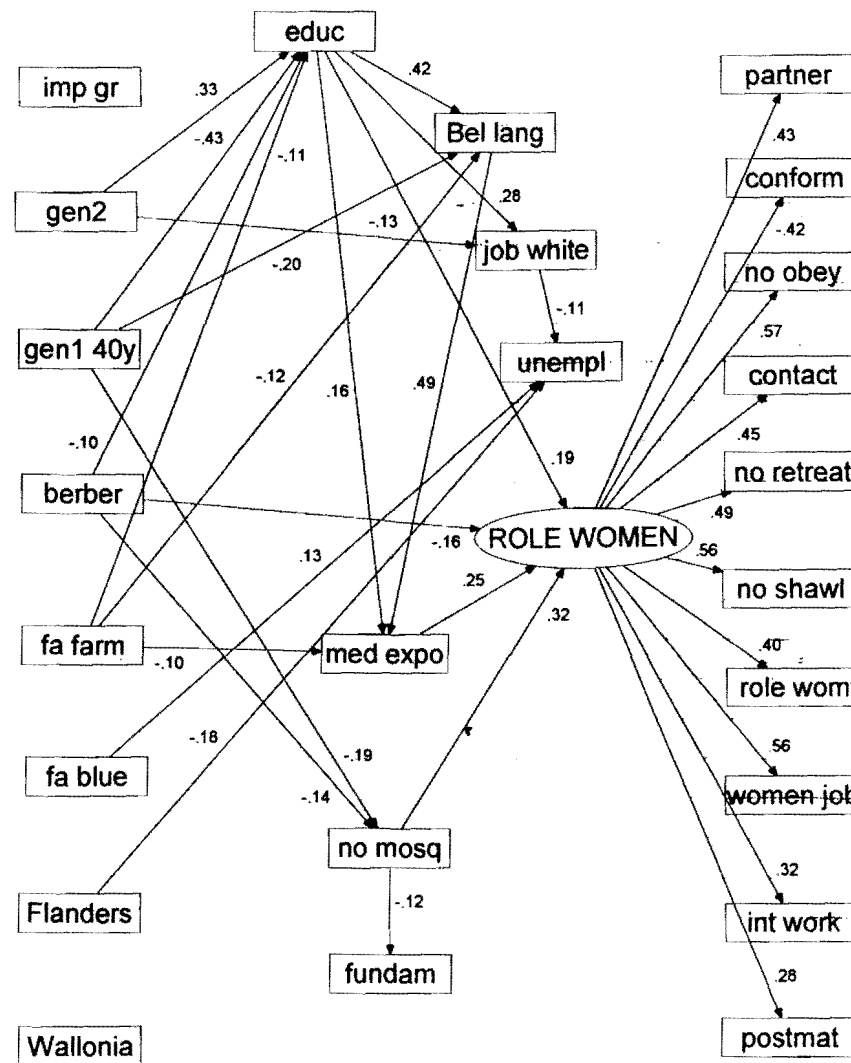


FIGURES 3 AND 4
 LISREL MODEL FOR THE LATENT DEPENDENT VARIABLE "FEMALE EMANCIPATION AND WOMEN'S ROLES - TURKISH MEN (LEFT)
 AND MOROCCAN MEN (RIGHT)

AGFI=.95

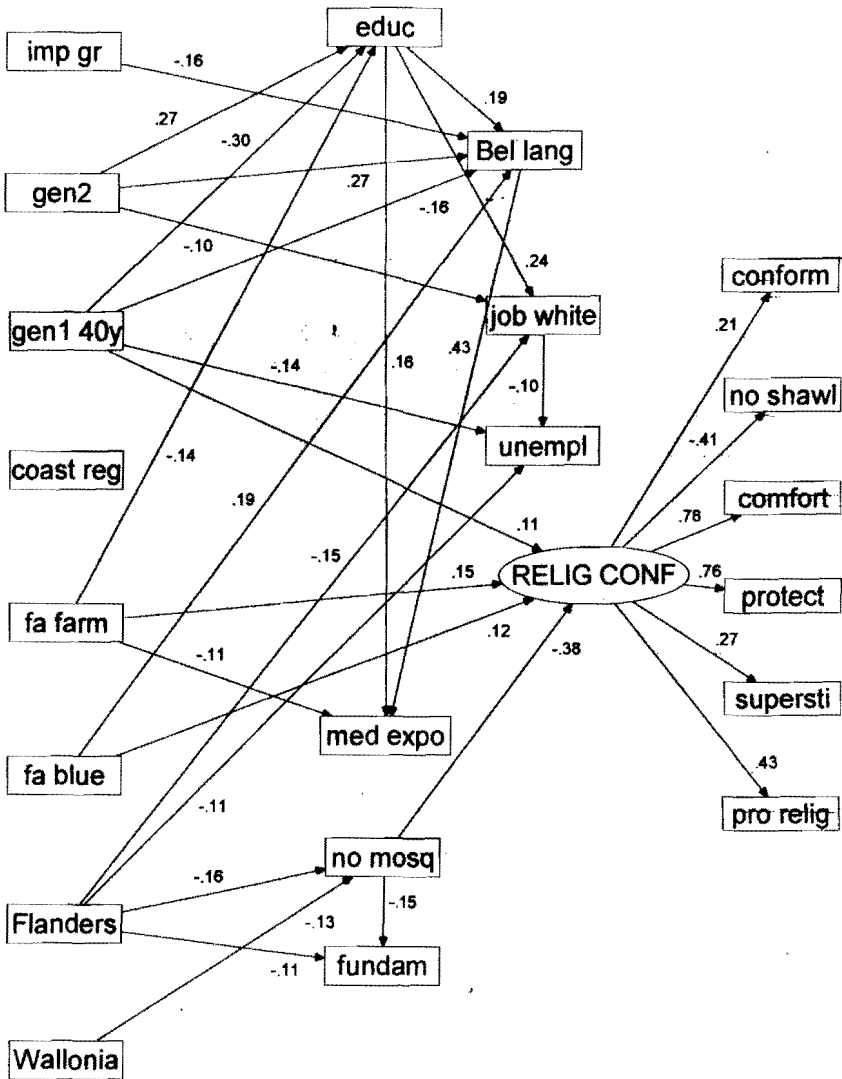


AGFI=.93

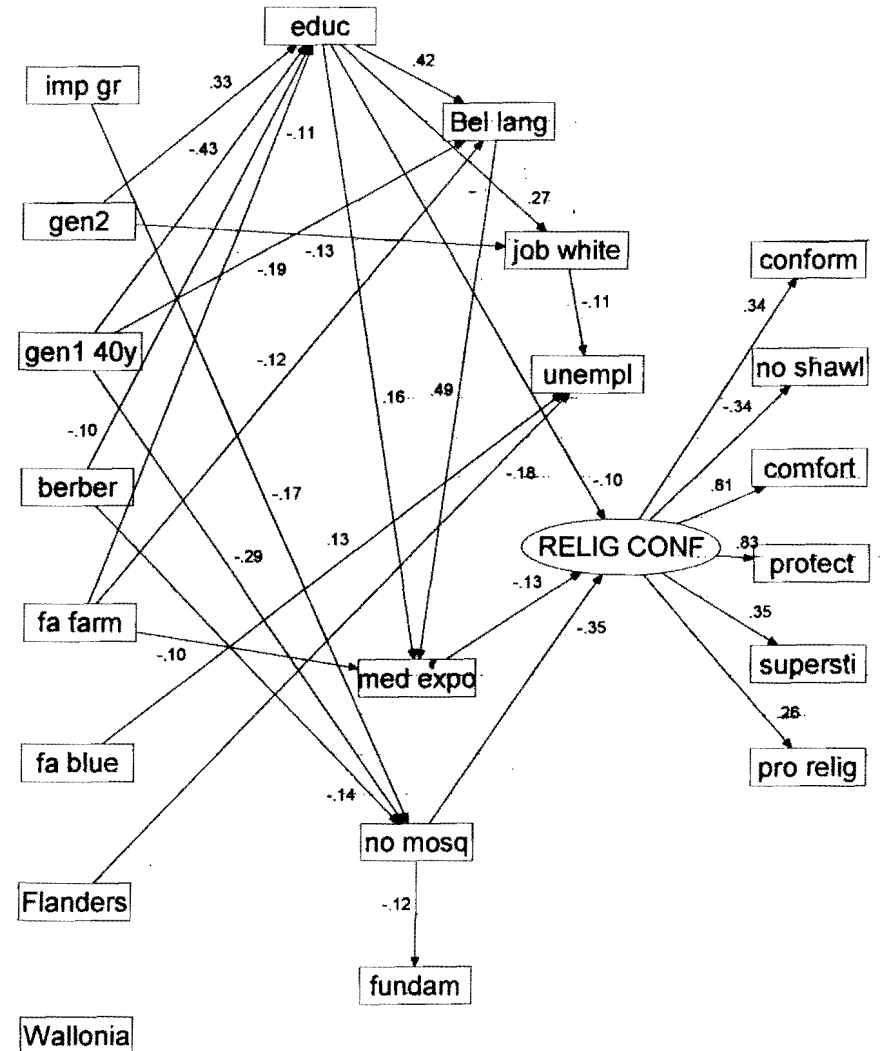


FIGURES 5 AND 6
 LISREL MODEL FOR THE LATENT DEPENDENT VARIABLE "RELIGION AND TRADITION ORIENTED CONFORMITY" - TURKISH MEN (LEFT)
 AND MOROCCAN MEN (RIGHT).

AGFI=.95



AGFI=.94



subdimensions of orientation toward the mores of the host society versus orientation toward ethnic tradition. The other two latent variables, "materialism" and "discrimination", form a pair and are more indicative of the type of reaction shaped by both individual and collective experience of the two communities concerned. This was already evident from our earlier discussion (cf. section 4.2).

The path diagrams (figures 1 to 4) are very similar for the latent variables "integration/assimilation" and "role of women". Firstly, there are two series of important effects on these two dependent variables: a set of effects operating through education and linguistic integration and a set operating via religious orientation. These two sets of effects are quite separate as shown in the previous section 5.2. Secondly, many path coefficients are similar for both communities.

More specifically, education is a crucial intermediate variable for these first two latent dependent variables since it has a strong and positive direct effect and operates via an additional positive effect through linguistic ability and exposure to Belgian media. The other two intermediate variables belonging to the first set, i.e. white collar job and longer duration unemployment, are less relevant. Only among Moroccan men is there a clear positive effect from white collar job on the latent variable "integration /assimilation". The other remarkable feature is the near absence of relevant direct paths originating in the background variables: virtually all their effects pass through education and media exposure. The only exception are a negative direct effect of being of Berber origin among Moroccans, and a direct negative effect of a social origin in agriculture on the role of women among Turks. Except for the absence of a stronger link to unemployment, none of these findings come as a surprise, and essentially show once again the crucial role of education in this process of cultural change.

However, quite independently from the previous mechanism, is the influence operating through the unfolding of the spectrum with respect to religious orientation. In all instances is the path coefficient from secularism (NO MOSQ) the dominant positive one, and among the Turks there is also a significant negative influence originating in the fundamentalist orientation (FUNDAM). Furthermore, the absence of such a negative path among Moroccans is largely due to their high refusal rate and resistance to the question of religious-political orientation (see sections 2 and 3). Since it is highly likely that those Moroccan men with sympathies in the integrist direction refused to reveal their orientation and ended up with missing values (code = 0 for FUNDAM), we are essentially facing a measurement problem here.

With respect to the third latent variable, i.e. religion and tradition-based conformity, there are major differences between Turks and Moroccans (figures 5 and 6). Among Turkish men, the dominant effects all stem from background variables and they are not passing through education, linguistic ability and other socio-economic intermediate variables. In fact, the three positive path coefficients larger than +.10 affecting religious conformism originate in belonging to the older first generation (GEN1 40+), a social origin in agriculture (FA FARM) or in blue collar occupations (FA BLUE). The main negative effect stems, not surprisingly, from secularism (NO MOSQ) which in its turn is influenced by the Flanders + Wallonia versus Brussels contrast (see section 5.2). For Moroccans, the same strongly negative effect of secularism (NO MOSQ) is equally present (but without its connection to region of current residence), but in addition the effects of all background variables are channeled via education, linguistic ability and Belgian media exposure. Higher scores on these three "classic" intermediate variables strongly reduce the scores on the latent dependent variable of religion and tradition-based conformism. Finally, it should be noted again that there is no clear positive effect on conformism originating in the experience of unemployment of one year or longer, nor a clear negative direct effect from being in a white collar position.

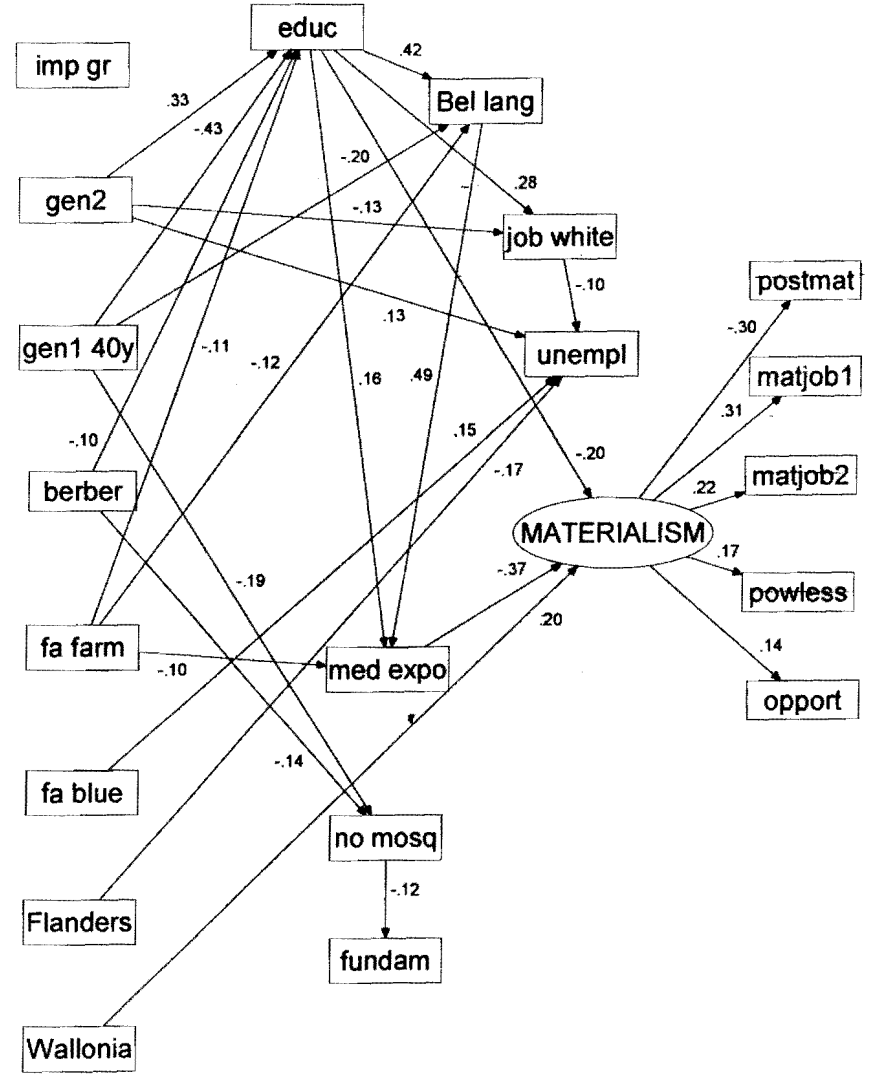
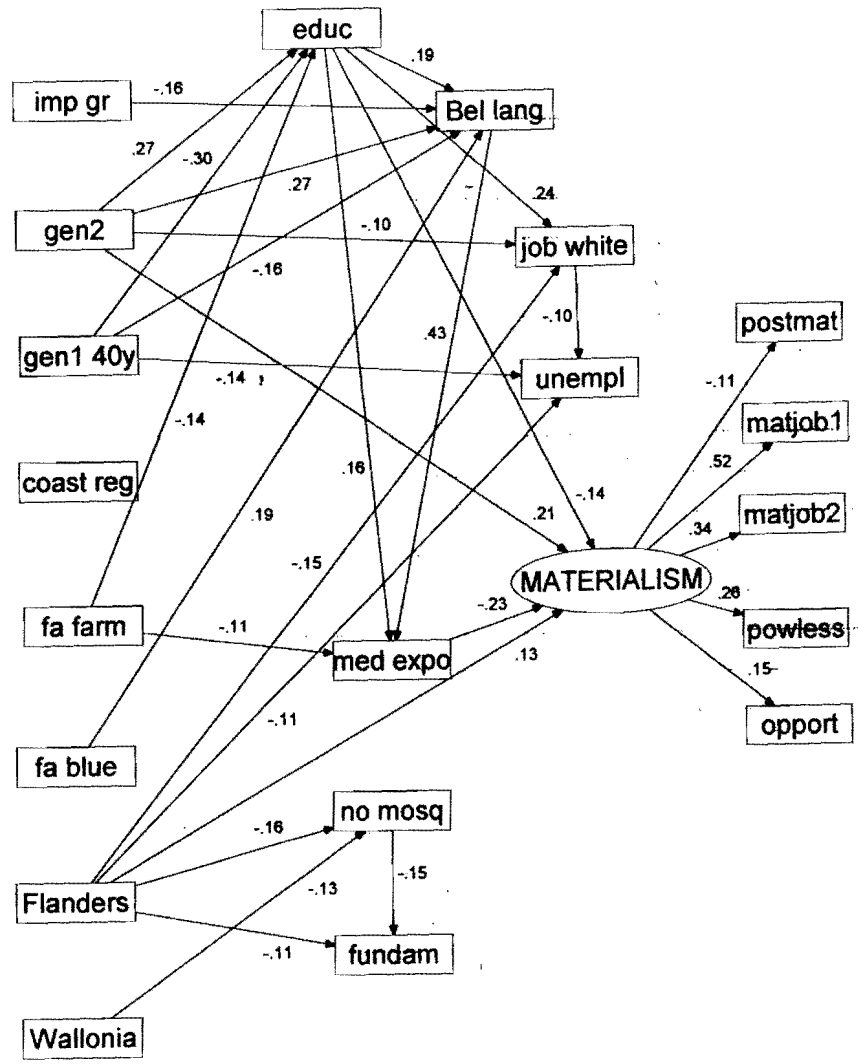
We now turn to the remaining two latent variables "materialism" and "discrimination". The striking features in the four path diagrams for these dependent variables (figures 7 to 10) are (i) the absence of clear effects from the set of religious orientation variables (NO MOSQ and FUNDAM), and even more surprisingly, (ii) the absence of a strong positive effect passing through the unemployment experience. By contrast, there is always a clear direct effect stemming from current region of residence. And, finally, the effects via education and media exposure range from strongly negative to non-relevant.

Focussing on details, a tendency to retreat to materialism and opportunism mixed with a feeling of powerlessness, is clearly reduced by higher education and exposure to Belgian written media for both Turkish and Moroccan men (figures 7 and 8). By contrast, the older first generation of Turks exhibits a stronger tendency to retreat to these values when compared to other Turkish men. Equally noteworthy is that the Flemish Turks but the Walloon Moroccans are also retreating more to such materialist orientations. This could be related to the fact that the Turks are the largest ethnic minority currently still at the lowest levels of the social stratification scale in Flanders, whereas the Moroccans are the largest ethnic group in this position in Wallonia. But this fails to account for the fact that residence in the Brussels region would be associated with a weaker orientation to materialism and opportunism and with a less pronounced sense of powerlessness. If anything, we had

FIGURES 7 AND 8
 LISREL MODEL FOR THE LATENT DEPENDENT VARIABLE "MATERIALISM, POWERLESSNESS AND OPPORTUNISM" -
 TURKISH MEN (LEFT) AND MOROCCAN MEN (RIGHT).

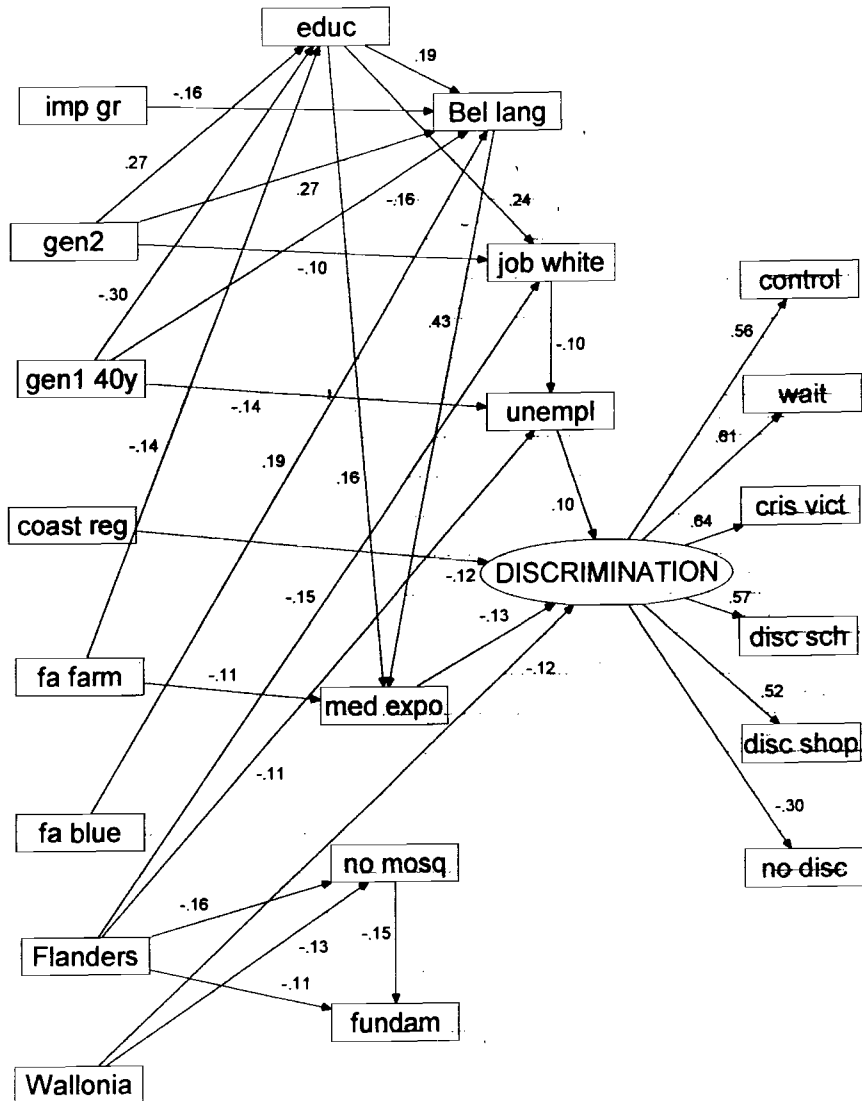
AGFI = .97

AGFI = .97

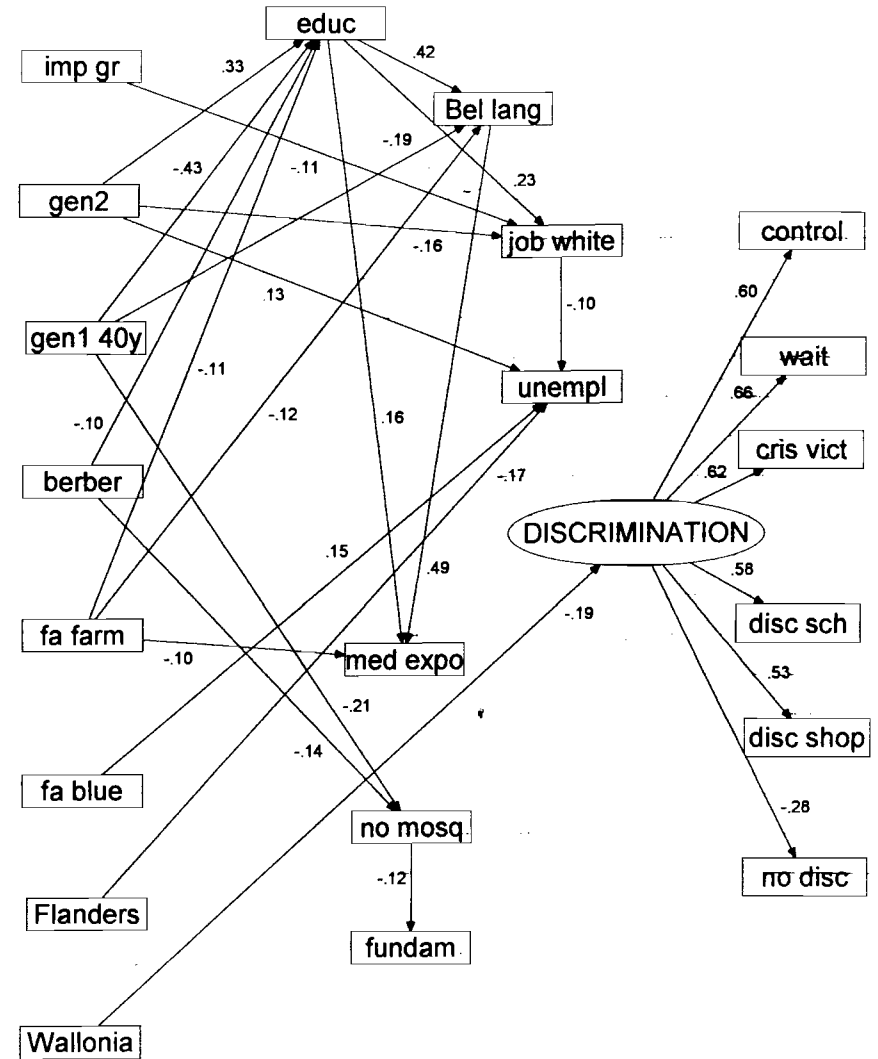


FIGURES 9 AND 10
 LISREL MODEL FOR THE LATENT DEPENDENT VARIABLE "FEELING OF DISCRIMINATION" - TURKISH MEN (LEFT) AND MOROCCAN MEN (RIGHT).

AGFI=.96



AGFI=.96



expected the Brussels situation to enhance such an expression of falling back on merely materialist aspirations.

The last dimension, i.e. the conviction of being the subject of systematic discrimination, proved to be the most difficult one to predict. Even with a much more detailed multiple classification analysis (MCA), the values of R^2 or total variance explained did not exceed .07 for Turks and .10 for Moroccans. As can be seen from figures 9 and 10, no effects with coefficients in excess of .10 are present for Moroccans, except for the clear negative effect stemming directly from residing in Wallonia versus being in Flanders or Brussels. Among Turks, a similar effect emerges. This is consistent with what was found earlier for Moroccan and Turkish women. Also among them, residence in Flanders (as opposed to Brussels only) was associated with an enhanced feeling of being the subject of discrimination.

A finer regional breakdown, as used in the MCA, further supports the interpretation that a stronger feeling of discrimination is associated with residing in areas that have a more prominent presence of right-wing political parties. This applies particularly to Flanders, and especially to the Antwerp region, which have had a continued electoral success of the Vlaams Blok (10-20% of the vote). In Brussels, there have only been short lived increases of right wing votes (e.g. for the FN in Schaarbeek), but in Wallonia such parties have remained completely marginal or disappeared altogether.

Besides these effects of region of current residence, there is also a number of other effects, but only for the Turks. The feeling of being systematically discriminated is enhanced by having experienced a longer period of unemployment. On the other hand, Turks from coastal regions or with more regular Belgian media exposure have a reduced feeling of discrimination.

Finally, it should be noted that the sentiment of being discriminated is not associated in any clear way with the religious orientations (NO MOSQ, FUNDAM). The effects of current region of residence are not channeled through these religious orientation variables either. Hence, the hypothesis that fundamentalism and the feeling of discrimination would be closely associated is not substantiated by our data. We therefore suspect that the rise of integrist orientations also has important roots in the dynamics operating within these communities themselves.

6. Conclusions

The patterns of community reconstruction for the Turkish and Moroccan populations in Belgium are clearly differentiated. The Turks are scattered over many smaller towns, and their typically "transplanted" communities have maintained high degrees of homogeneity and social cohesion. The Moroccans became city dwellers of the larger urban agglomerations with weaker ties to the country of origin, greater fragmentation in terms of religious-political allegiance, and weaker forms of community integration and social control.

In the present analysis we have tried to trace the impact of these developments upon various value orientations that are closely related to the process of integration. More specifically, we have identified two major sets of values orientations. The first set contains three latent dimensions that capture an orientation toward one's own ethnic tradition versus that of the values stressed by the western host society. These three dimensions are

- (i) "integration/assimilation", which essentially measures the weakening strength of ethnic references;
- (ii) "role of women", which focuses more specifically on female emancipation and recognition of individuality;
- (iii) "religious and tradition-based conformism", which captures the strength of religious or traditional beliefs and rules of conduct.

The second set consists of two more latent variables which are more characteristic of the reactions of the Turkish and Moroccan population toward their being a minority.

These reactions take the form of:

- (i) a conviction of being the subject of systematic discrimination;
- (ii) a retreat toward the mere satisfaction of material preoccupations, mixed with a sense of powerlessness and/or justifying an opportunistic outlook and morality.

The determinants of these five latent dependent variables have been organised in a hierarchical fashion with a set of background variables and a set of intermediate variables. The effects of these two series of variables, together with the indicators of the latent variables themselves, were first analysed via a more detailed principle component analysis (PCA) and a multiple classification analysis (MCA). The LISREL-models shown here are merely summarizing the presumed causal structure.

The three latent variables of the first set are influenced through two separate channels. The first channel of influence operates via education and linguistic ability variables associated with the succession of generations. Typically, the second generation reaches higher levels of education, becomes fluent in French or Dutch, and has a greater exposure to Belgian media.

These three intermediate variables have the classic positive influence on orientations stressed by the western host society. It should be noted, however, that the pace of change in these determinants is faster among Moroccans than among Turks, and that this is, inter alia, connected to the high concentration of Moroccans in Brussels, their faster education progression, and also the loss of their ability to read Arabic (particularly among Moroccan second generation women).

The second channel of influence operates via the unfolding of the various religious orientations, ranging from secularization to more fundamentalist orientations. This unfolding, starting since the 1980s, is also connected to the current region of residence (Turks) or to subethnicity and the succession of generations (Moroccans). For Turks, particularly residence in Brussels fosters secularization, which has in its turn the strongest positive effect of moving value orientations in the "western" direction and away from Turkish ethnic identity. Among Moroccans, the belonging to the oldest first generation and/or being of Berber origin act as brakes on secularism, which in itself is equally a forceful predictor of the three latent variables concerned. As expected, religious group membership or mosque affiliations associated with the religious countercurrent have exactly the opposite effect. Note, however, that the latter religious orientation is inadequately captured for the Moroccans since this proved to be a much more sensitive issue for them than for the Turks.

The results of the LISREL-models are less cohesive for the last two latent dependent variables constituting the second set. First, the intermediate variables capturing the religious orientations are no longer clearly associated with "discrimination" or "materialism". This implies, more specifically, that there is no clear connection between the conviction of being victimized by discrimination and the preference for an integrist religious organization.

Another important finding in this respect is that the feeling of discrimination is lowered by current residence in Wallonia. A more detailed MCA with a further breakdown for place of residence further substantiated the connection between the strength of the local right wing vote among Belgians and this feeling of discrimination among Turks and Moroccans. In this respect, the southern part of the country (i.e. Wallonia) with a century long tradition of working class immigration and its absence of a xenophobic right wing vote at present, seems more open to Turkish and Moroccan minorities, despite its desindustrialization and high unemployment over the last two decades. This is a reminder of the fact that the process of integration, and particularly of its cultural and more subjective dimensions is also a function of the attitudes taken by the host society and not solely a function of economic opportunities.

Above all, several findings are completely in line with the differences in community reconstruction between Turks and Moroccans. This emerges quite clearly with respect to the latent variables "integration/assimilation" and "roles of women". As expected, the Turkish communities have maintained a high degree of ethnic identification in their values orientation as well, which continues to support the "repli Turque" syndrome identified by Tribalat (1995). Equally consistent with this finding is that the gender discourse between Turkish men and women is not accentuated, whereas among Moroccans these issues have led to considerable gender opposition.

The bottom line of this general development is that the "repli Turque" may not be propitious for Turkish integration, but it also implies that Turkish communities have maintained a more rigorous social control and social cohesion than Moroccan communities. The direct consequence of this is that Turks tend to solve their own problems, avoid generation and gender conflicts, and have not lost control over their youths to the same degree as the Moroccan communities have.

7. Acknowledgements

The four surveys from which the data are taken were organized jointly by the Vakgroep Bevolkingswetenschappen of the University of Ghent, the Interface Demography of the Vrije Universiteit in Brussels, and the Research Group on Population (GRES-P) of the University of Liège. The surveys were financed by the Interuniversity Attraction Pole 37 of the Federal Services for Scientific, Technical and Cultural Affairs (DWTC) of the Belgian Government. For this particular paper additional funds were made available by the Research Council of the Vrije Universiteit (VUB).

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Discrimination

Table 1: standardized parameters

| | | intermed var | | | | | | | dep var |
|---------------|-----------|--------------|---------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|---------|
| | | educ | Bel lan | job wh | unempl | medexp | no mos | fundam | DISCR |
| exog var | imp gr | | | | | | | | |
| | Moroc | .08 | | -.11 | .08 | | | | |
| | Turk | | -.16 | -.05 | | | | | |
| | gen 2 | | | | | | | | .08 |
| | Moroc | .33 | | -.16 | .13 | | | | |
| | Turk | .27 | .27 | -.10 | | .07 | .09 | | |
| | gen1/40+ | | | | | | | | |
| | Moroc | -.43 | -.19 | -.09 | | | | -.21 | |
| | Turk | -.30 | -.16 | | -.14 | | | | |
| | etn reg | | | | | | | | |
| | Moroc | -.10 | -.08 | | | | | -.14 | |
| | Turk | | | | | | | | -.06 |
| fa farm | | | | | | | | | |
| Moroc | -.11 | -.12 | | | | | -.10 | | |
| Turk | -.14 | -.06 | | | | | -.11 | -.06 | |
| fa blue | | | | | | | | | |
| Moroc | | | | .15 | | | | .09 | |
| Turk | | .19 | | | | | | | |
| Flanders | | | | | | | | | |
| Moroc | | | -.06 | -.17 | -.05 | | .07 | | |
| Turk | | | -.15 | -.11 | | | -.16 | -.11 | |
| Wallonia | | | | | | | | | |
| Moroc | | | -.07 | | | | .08 | -.19 | |
| Turk | .05 | | -.09 | | | | -.13 | -.12 | |
| inter-med var | educ | | | | | | | | |
| | Moroc | | .42 | .23 | | .16 | | .07 | |
| | Turk | | .19 | .24 | | .16 | | | |
| | Bel lang | | | | | | | | |
| | Moroc | | | | | .49 | | | |
| | Turk | | | | -.08 | .43 | | | |
| | job white | | | | | | | | |
| | Moroc | | | | -.10 | .06 | | | -.09 |
| | Turk | | | | -.10 | | | | |
| | unempl | | | | | | | | |
| | Moroc | | | | | | | | |
| | Turk | | | | | | | .09 | .10 |
| med exp | | | | | | | | | |
| Moroc | | | | | | | | | |
| Turk | | | | | | | | -.13 | |
| no mosq | | | | | | | | | |
| Moroc | | .05 | .09 | | | | | -.12 | |
| Turk | | | | | | | | -.15 | |
| fundam | | | | | | | | | |
| Moroc | | | | | | | | .09 | |
| Turk | | | | | | | | | |

all values significant < .05

Positive evaluation of societal female roles

Table 2: standardized parameters

| | | intermed var | | | | | | | dep var |
|---------------|-----------|--------------|---------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|----------|
| | | educ | Bel lan | job wh | unempl | medexp | no mos | fundam | ROLE WOM |
| exog var | imp gr | | | | | | | | |
| | Moroc | .08 | | -.08 | | | | | |
| | Turk | | -.16 | -.05 | | | | | |
| | gen 2 | | | | | | | | |
| | Moroc | .33 | | -.13 | .08 | | | | |
| | Turk | .27 | .27 | -.10 | | .07 | .09 | | -.15 |
| | gen1/40+ | | | | | | | | |
| | Moroc | -.43 | -.20 | | -.09 | | -.19 | | |
| | Turk | -.30 | -.16 | | -.14 | | | | |
| | etn reg | | | | | | | | |
| | Moroc | -.10 | -.09 | | | | -.14 | | -.16 |
| | Turk | | | | | | | -.06 | |
| fa farm | | | | | | | | | |
| Moroc | -.11 | -.12 | | | -.10 | | | | |
| Turk | -.14 | -.06 | | | -.11 | | -.06 | -.12 | |
| fa blue | | | | | | | | | |
| Moroc | | | | .13 | | | | | |
| Turk | | .19 | | | | | | | |
| Flanders | | | | | | | | | |
| Moroc | | | | -.18 | -.05 | | .07 | | |
| Turk | | | -.15 | -.11 | | -.16 | -.11 | | |
| Wallonia | | | | | | | | | |
| Moroc | | | | | | .08 | | .09 | |
| Turk | .05 | | -.09 | | | -.13 | | | |
| inter-med var | educ | | | | | | | | |
| | Moroc | | .42 | .28 | | .16 | | .07 | .19 |
| | Turk | | .19 | .24 | | .16 | | | .24 |
| | Bel lang | | | | | | | | |
| | Moroc | | | | | .49 | | | |
| | Turk | | | | -.08 | .43 | | | |
| | job white | | | | | | | | |
| | Moroc | | | | -.11 | .06 | .08 | | .07 |
| | Turk | | | | -.10 | | | | |
| | unempl | | | | | | | | |
| | Moroc | | | | | | | | |
| | Turk | | | | | | | .09 | |
| | med exp | | | | | | | | |
| | Moroc | | | | | | | | .25 |
| Turk | | | | | | | | .20 | |
| no mosq | | | | | | | | | |
| Moroc | | | | | | | -.12 | .32 | |
| Turk | | | | | | | -.15 | .32 | |
| fundam | | | | | | | | | |
| Moroc | | | | | | | | | |
| Turk | | | | | | | | -.15 | |

all values significant < .05

Relig conformism

Table 3: standardized parameters

| | | intermed var | | | | | | | dep var |
|----------------------|-----------|--------------|---------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------------|
| | | educ | Bel lan | job wh | unempl | medexp | no mos | fundam | REL CONF |
| exog var | imp gr | | | | | | | | |
| | Moroc | .08 | | -.07 | | | | -.17 | |
| | Turk | | -.16 | -.05 | | | | | .08 |
| | gen 2 | | | | | | | | |
| | Moroc | .33 | | -.13 | .08 | | | -.09 | |
| | Turk | .27 | .27 | -.10 | | .07 | | .09 | .08 |
| | gen1/40+ | | | | | | | | |
| | Moroc | -.43 | -.19 | | -.09 | | | -.29 | |
| | Turk | -.30 | -.16 | | -.14 | | | | .11 |
| | etn reg | | | | | | | | |
| | Moroc | -.10 | -.08 | | | | | -.14 | |
| | Turk | | | | | | | -.06 | |
| | fa farm | | | | | | | | |
| | Moroc | -.11 | -.12 | | | | | -.10 | |
| Turk | -.14 | -.06 | | | | | -.11 | -.06 | |
| fa blue | | | | | | | | | |
| Moroc | | | | .13 | | | | | |
| Turk | | .19 | | | | | | .12 | |
| Flanders | | | | | | | | | |
| Moroc | | | -.06 | -.18 | -.05 | | .07 | -.06 | |
| Turk | | | -.15 | -.11 | | | -.16 | -.11 | |
| Wallonia | | | | | | | | | |
| Moroc | | | -.07 | | | | .08 | | |
| Turk | .05 | | -.09 | | | | -.13 | | |
| inter- med var | educ | | | | | | | | |
| | Moroc | | .42 | .27 | | .16 | | .07 | -.10 |
| | Turk | | .19 | .24 | | .16 | | | -.08 |
| | Bel lang | | | | | | | | |
| | Moroc | | | | | .49 | | | |
| | Turk | | | | -.08 | .43 | | | |
| | job white | | | | | | | | |
| | Moroc | | | | -.11 | .06 | | | -.08 |
| | Turk | | | | -.10 | | | | -.09 |
| | unempl | | | | | | | | |
| | Moroc | | | | | | | | |
| | Turk | | | | | | | .09 | |
| | med exp | | | | | | | | |
| | Moroc | | | | | | | | -.13 |
| Turk | | | | | | | | -.07 | |
| no mosq | | | | | | | | | |
| Moroc | | .05 | .08 | | | | -.12 | -.35 | |
| Turk | | | | | | | -.15 | -.38 | |
| fundam | | | | | | | | | |
| Moroc | | | | | | | | | |
| Turk | | | | | | | | .08 | |

all values significant < .05

Integration: assimilation

Table 4: standardized parameters

| exog var | | intermed var | | | | | | | dep var |
|---------------|-----------|--------------|---------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-----------|
| | | educ | Bel lan | job wh | unempl | medexp | no mos | fundam | INT ASSIM |
| exog var | imp gr | | | | | | | | |
| | Moroc | .08 | . | -.08 | . | . | . | . | . |
| | Turk | . | -.16 | -.05 | . | . | . | . | . |
| | gen 2 | | | | | | | | |
| | Moroc | .33 | . | -.13 | .08 | . | . | . | . |
| | Turk | .27 | .27 | -.10 | . | .07 | .09 | . | . |
| | gen1/40+ | | | | | | | | |
| | Moroc | -.43 | -.20 | . | -.09 | . | -.19 | . | . |
| | Turk | -.30 | -.16 | . | -.14 | . | . | . | . |
| | etn reg | | | | | | | | |
| | Moroc | -.10 | -.09 | . | . | . | -.14 | . | -.16 |
| | Turk | . | . | . | . | . | . | -.06 | . |
| | fa farm | | | | | | | | |
| | Moroc | -.11 | -.12 | . | . | -.10 | . | . | . |
| Turk | -.14 | -.06 | . | . | -.11 | . | -.06 | . | |
| fa blue | | | | | | | | | |
| Moroc | . | . | . | .13 | . | . | . | . | |
| Turk | . | .19 | . | . | . | . | . | . | |
| Flanders | | | | | | | | | |
| Moroc | . | . | . | -.18 | -.05 | . | .07 | . | |
| Turk | . | . | -.15 | -.11 | . | -.16 | -.11 | -.11 | |
| Wallonia | | | | | | | | | |
| Moroc | . | . | . | . | . | .08 | . | .14 | |
| Turk | .05 | . | -.09 | . | . | -.13 | . | . | |
| inter-med var | educ | | | | | | | | |
| | Moroc | . | .42 | .28 | . | .16 | . | .07 | .19 |
| | Turk | . | .19 | .24 | . | .16 | . | . | .18 |
| | Bel lang | | | | | | | | |
| | Moroc | . | . | . | . | .49 | . | . | . |
| | Turk | . | . | . | -.08 | .43 | . | . | .12 |
| | job white | | | | | | | | |
| | Moroc | . | . | . | -.11 | .06 | .08 | . | .12 |
| | Turk | . | . | . | -.10 | . | . | . | .07 |
| | unempl | | | | | | | | |
| | Moroc | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| | Turk | . | . | . | . | . | .09 | . | . |
| | med exp | | | | | | | | |
| | Moroc | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | .20 |
| Turk | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | .20 | |
| no mosq | | | | | | | | | |
| Moroc | . | . | . | . | . | . | -.12 | .42 | |
| Turk | . | . | . | . | . | . | -.15 | .39 | |
| fundam | | | | | | | | | |
| Moroc | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | |
| Turk | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | -.12 | |

all values significant < .05

Materialism

Table 5: standardized parameters

| | | intermed var | | | | | | | dep var |
|----------------------|-----------|--------------|---------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|---------|
| | | educ | Bel lan | job wh | unempl | medexp | no mos | fundam | MAT |
| exog var | imp gr | | | | | | | | |
| | Moroc | .08 | | -.08 | .08 | | | | |
| | Turk | | -.16 | -.05 | | | | | |
| | gen 2 | | | | | | | | |
| | Moroc | .33 | | -.13 | .13 | | | | |
| | Turk | .27 | .27 | -.10 | | .07 | .09 | | .21 |
| | gen1/40+ | | | | | | | | |
| | Moroc | -.43 | -.20 | | | | -.19 | | |
| | Turk | -.30 | -.16 | | -.14 | | | | |
| etn reg | | | | | | | | | |
| Moroc | -.10 | -.09 | | | | -.14 | | | |
| Turk | | | | | | | -.06 | | |
| fa farm | | | | | | | | | |
| Moroc | -.11 | -.12 | | | -.10 | | | | |
| Turk | -.14 | -.06 | | | -.11 | | -.06 | | |
| fa blue | | | | | | | | | |
| Moroc | | | | .15 | | | | | |
| Turk | | .19 | | | | | | | |
| Flanders | | | | | | | | | |
| Moroc | | | | -.17 | -.05 | | .07 | | |
| Turk | | | -.15 | -.11 | | -.16 | -.11 | .13 | |
| Wallonia | | | | | | | | | |
| Moroc | | | | | | .08 | | .20 | |
| Turk | .05 | | -.09 | | | -.13 | | | |
| inter- med var | educ | | | | | | | | |
| | Moroc | | .42 | .28 | | .16 | | .07 | -.20 |
| | Turk | | .19 | .24 | | .16 | | | -.14 |
| | Bel lang | | | | | | | | |
| | Moroc | | | | | .49 | | | |
| | Turk | | | | -.08 | .43 | | | |
| | job white | | | | | | | | |
| | Moroc | | | | -.10 | .06 | .08 | | |
| | Turk | | | | -.10 | | | | |
| | unempl | | | | | | | | |
| | Moroc | | | | | | | | |
| | Turk | | | | | | | .09 | |
| | med exp | | | | | | | | |
| Moroc | | | | | | | | -.37 | |
| Turk | | | | | | | | -.23 | |
| no mosq | | | | | | | | | |
| Moroc | | | | | | | -.12 | | |
| Turk | | | | | | | -.15 | | |
| fundam | | | | | | | | | |
| Moroc | | | | | | | | | |
| Turk | | | | | | | | | |

all values significant < .05

