

On the History and Selectivity of Turkish and Moroccan Migration to Belgium¹

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ABSTRACT

The classic image of the labour migrant arriving in Western Europe in the 1960s and 1970s is one of an unskilled individual exchanging a life of work on the land for one of manual labour in industry.

For Turks and Moroccans, in particular, the image of an undifferentiated immigrant labour force is reinforced by the commencement of migration from both countries during the same period of high labour demand, their common religious beliefs and the similar legal frameworks under which they applied to gain access to European society.

This oversimplified image of an uneducated and undifferentiated migrating labour force is challenged in this article through the concept of selectivity. By using a combination of different data sources, a systematic comparison is made of leavers and stayers with respect to their region of origin and educational attainment. The (self-) selection of the immigrants is, in other words, the empirical angle that is chosen to compare and characterize both migration systems.

In bringing selection to the forefront, we explicitly focus on a topic other migration theories often have difficulties incorporating, i.e., explaining why some people in a given country or region migrate and others do not.

While Turkish and Moroccan migration overlap only partly in their nature, variances suggest a different logic underlying each. Two concepts of Petersen (conservative and innovative migration) are borrowed to characterize the two migration systems and to interpret differences observed in the selection of immigrants. The advantage of this typology is that it explicitly accounts for migration motives and migrants' aspirations. This enables us to understand and formulate hypotheses with respect to the further

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evolution of both migration systems under the current context of legally restricted migration opportunities and also helps explain different integration strategies into the host society.

Implicit in this article is a plea for the added value of the empirical operationalization of selectivity in terms of understanding migration systems. However, such an approach requires comparable data on the sending and receiving countries. In this case, data were combined from two national surveys conducted in Belgium between 1994 and 1996, with aggregated data from national statistical institutes of the sending countries, for the analysis of selection with respect to the region of origin. The same survey data were used in combination with the DHS surveys for Morocco (1992) and Turkey (1993) for the analysis of selection with respect to educational level.

INTRODUCTION

Turkish and Moroccan migration to Belgium are classic examples of labour migration that was typical of Western European countries during the 1960s and 1970s. Both migrations occurred during the same period of high labour demand in Western Europe and each gained access to Belgium under similar circumstances and 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). Earlier research indicates that both migration systems tend to follow a different logic or pattern (Surkyn and Reniers, 1997) which is visible in the composition of both migrant groups, thus providing the main reason to question the selection that has taken place in both migration systems.

The idea of selectivity is not new in migration research (Lee, 1966), but it is usually assumed that some selection occurs through an examination of the characteristics of migrants at the place of destination. On the other hand, economic theories of migration fail to explain why some people in a certain country or region emigrate and others do not (Massey et al., 1993). In this article, selection is used as an analytical tool. Through the combination of different data sources, a systematic comparison is made between migrants and non-migrants at different phases of migration from both countries to Belgium. Selection, in other words, is the empirical tool chosen to explore the structure and internal logic of both migration systems. We are therefore less interested in examining the root causes of migration than explaining differences in the composition of migration flows. Eventually, however, the observed differences will help identify factors that steer both migration systems. We make use of two concepts introduced by Petersen (1958): innovative and conservative migration. "Conservative migration is to be seen as a response to a change in conditions, in order to retain what they have had. These migrants move geographically in order to remain where they are in all other respects". Innovative migration, on

the other hand, is described by Petersen (1958: 258) as indicating the movement of people as a means of achieving the new. The advantage of this typology is that it explicitly accounts for migration motives and migrants' aspirations, elements that enable us to understand and formulate hypotheses with respect to the integration strategies followed by both groups.

In this article, selection is considered with respect to the region of origin of the migrants and their educational level. Lee (1966: 21-22) argued that migration tends to take place within well-defined streams, not only because opportunities tend to be highly localized but also because the flow of knowledge back from destination facilitates the passage for later migrants. This is an early formulation of the theory of chain migration and its effect on the composition of migrant groups in terms of their region of origin. In the same article, Lee further states that migration is selective with respect to the qualifications of emigrants because people respond differently to plus and minus factors at origin and destination and have different abilities to cope with the intervening obstacles. Migrants who respond primarily to plus factors at destination tend to be positively selected, and inversely for migrants responding to minus factors at origin. Taking migrants from a given origin together, he argues that selection tends to be bimodal, with a high prevalence of those with relative low and high qualifications and an under-representation of immigrants with average schooling (Lee, 1966: 23). More recently, network theorists have suggested that in a network-mediated system 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 emotional costs of migration, out-migration will systematically "spread from the middle to the lower segments of the socio-economic hierarchy" (Massey et al., 1993: 461).

This article situates Turkish and Moroccan migration in its socio-economic, political and historical context. Special attention is given to the contribution of these contextualities to the composition and characteristics of the migrant group living in Belgium.² We discuss selectivity with respect to region of origin and in terms of educational attainment as well as the underlying dynamics of both migration systems. The data are drawn from two Migration History and Social Mobility (MHSM) surveys carried out among Turkish and Moroccan men living in Belgium.

THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT AND REGIONAL DIFFERENTIATION

While migration trends must be addressed in a socio-historical and political context, only a brief summary of the circumstances under which Turkish and Moroccan emigration to Belgium took place will be given. A more complete

picture can be reconstructed from Haex (1972), Paine (1974), Bossard and Bonnet (1975), Abadan-Unat (1975), Moulaert (1975), Seddon (1979), Bossard (1979), Belguendouz (1987), Sertel (1987), Keyder and Aksu-Koç (1988), Martin (1991), Obdeijn (1993), den Exter (1993), De Mas (1995), and Surkyn and Reniers (1997).

Phases of migration and migration types

Turkish and Moroccan labour migration to Belgium began during the early sixties and was formalized a few years later by bilateral agreements between the governments. Following the German model, immigration was initially conceived as temporary and rotational: contingents of labour migrants were supposed to return home after their contracts expired, to be replaced by new groups. However, this was the case for only a minority of immigrants. The system quickly evolved into circular migration or successive migrations with a temporary character. Not only did the migrants themselves initiate departure from the rotational guest-worker system, but employers preferred renewing the contracts of workers whom they already knew and who had experience in their companies. One characteristic of the guest-worker system in Belgium is that it involved mainly men. Wives and children initially remained home expecting their husband or father to return. A distinction between Turkish and Moroccan migration is that the former was much more a part of a household-related strategy than was the Moroccans: almost 75 per cent of the Turkish labour migrants were married at the time of their migration, compared with less than 45 per cent of the Moroccans. The regional variations in this percentage are also higher for Moroccans than for Turks: immigrants from the countryside in Morocco were almost twice as often married at the time of their migration than those from more urbanized regions. For Turks, the differences in the marital status of the immigrants according to their rural-urban origin are insignificant. We may therefore conclude that Moroccan migration tended to have a more individualistic character for immigrants with an urban origin, but for Turks it 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 so they would not lose their entitlement to work in Western Europe. Following declining economic trends, the governments of most receiving countries adopted restrictive migration policies in 1967 and 1974. Many migrants responded to this altered legal context by turning their temporary settlement into a permanent one, affirmed by the arrival of the family they had initially left behind. This began a phase in European migration history characterized by family reunification. Later, when even more restrictive migration policies limited entry to political refugees and spouses of those with a legal residence permit, family-forming (or marriage) migration became dominant. Given that the settlement of marriages generally requires subtle and complicated

negotiations among Moroccans and Turks, the latter can develop only when strong relationships and solidarity patterns exist between the sending and receiving communities. This applies in particular to cross-border marriages where the stakes are raised and the physical and emotional distance between the families is increased. It is interesting to note that marriage migration is more common among Turks than among Moroccans: the proportion of marriages involving a partner from the country of origin is about 20 percentage points higher for Turks than for Moroccans (Lievens, 1999). Turkish migration also tends to frame more in a household related project, and Turkish migrants maintain tighter relationships with the country of origin.

Official and unofficial migration

A major subject of debate in historical overviews of migration flows is the relative magnitude of official (legal), unofficial (legal), and illegal migration. In bilateral agreements, governments specify the conditions under which potential migrants could apply for work and residence permits. Both nominative and anonymous recruitment were common practice. Anonymous recruitment presupposed the cooperation of the Turkish Employment Service (TES)³ 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 migrants. In exceptional cases, delegations of European enterprises went to the sending countries to assist in selection procedures. For Belgium, 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 demand for foreign labour. Furthermore, the enormous waiting lists and the accompanying bribery discouraged potential candidates for official emigration through the recruitment offices in sending countries. Nominative recruitment and immigration with tourist passports thus increased significantly over time, often occurring through mediation of earlier migrants who passed the names of friends and family members to their employers who, in turn, invited them to work in Belgium. Tinneman (1994: 64-65) 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 and once in Belgium they tried, with or without the help of friends or relatives, to get a job and a permanent residence permit. In periods of labour shortage, the Belgian government did not object to regularizing 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 in the country.

It is difficult to quantify the relative magnitudes of official and unofficial migration from Turkey and Morocco. In the MHSM surveys, about 10 per cent of Turkish labour migrants still living in Belgium reported that they had been selected

through the anonymous recruitment via waiting lists. For Moroccans that figure was only 3.5 per cent. Nominative recruitment was almost equally important in the two migrant groups, but almost 80 per cent of the Moroccan and 64 per cent of Turkish labour migrants said they had no idea which job they would obtain in Belgium. The majority came via parallel recruitment channels. These figures confirm that unofficial migration was important for both groups, particularly Moroccans. Taking into account the collective memory of both populations, this phenomenon is understandable. The colonization of Morocco reduced the social distance of Europe (for example, through language), and some regions of the country already had a history of migration to France and Spain. For Turkey, contacts with Europe had been limited mainly to those with Germany during the Second World War. As such, the perceived risks of informal or unofficial migration were probably lower for Moroccans than for Turks.

Not only was unofficial migration a more common practice for Moroccans, but their projects often had an individual character. We have already referred to the high proportion of bachelors emigrating from Morocco. Turkish migrants more often had connections in Belgium. While 52 per cent of Turkish labour migrants said they had received help from established migrants upon their arrival (in finding a job, a place to live, financial aid or help with administrative problems), this was the case for only 35 per cent of the Moroccan labour migrants.

It is clear that membership in migrant networks was an important asset for potential migrants, even more so with the dominance of unofficial migration. How migration channels influenced migrant characteristics is difficult to estimate although many authors argue that the training and professional experience of official immigrants was generally better than unofficial migrants since official recruitment required at least minimal qualifications. Yet, there are examples where the governments of 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 (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 provinces in the east. The Moroccan government quickly recognized the possibilities that an emigration policy could have in terms of relieving both political and economic tensions by promoting emigration from the notoriously turbulent and underdeveloped Rif region.⁴

Patterns of migration and regional differentiation

Although the Rif (the provinces of Nador and Al Hoceima – see Figure 1a, page 700) was not the first region to participate in labour migration to Western Europe, it became one of the most important emigration areas in Morocco. According to Moroccan census data, the proportion of the active male population

of Nador living abroad reached almost 50 per cent in 1971 (Bossard, 1979: 78). The Rif also has a distinctive pattern in terms of destination countries. Whereas for other regions of Morocco, France took in three-quarters of the emigrants, it received only one-third of the Berber emigrants from the north. Given the north's colonial history, this is understandable: most of the northern provinces of Morocco were never part of the French protectorate, and migration to France was not obvious. Spain, the occupying power until 1956, was not an alternative either, since at that time it was an emigration country. Most emigrants from the north live in Germany, Holland, Belgium and France. In the 1970s, about 13 per cent of the emigrants from the province of Nador lived in Belgium (Bossard, 1979: 22). In the most recent period, a large number have emigrated to Spain and Italy.

High emigration figures were not a new phenomenon for northern Morocco. Seasonal migration to the vineyards of French *colons* in west Algeria was already a substantial element in the survival strategy of north-eastern Moroccans at the end of the nineteenth century. The combination of an unpredictable climate and relatively dense settlement was also a reason for Rifians to fight in the Spanish civil war and with the allied army during the Second World War to earn additional income. When possibilities for emigration to Algeria declined through its war of independence, and subsequent border conflicts with Morocco, migration flows almost immediately changed direction to the north. More than 40 per cent of Moroccans living in Belgium reported having passed their youth in one of the two provinces of the Rif. Almost all immigrants from this region speak Tarifit (one of the Berber variants of Morocco) and more than two-thirds of them grew up in the countryside or in a small town.

Emigration from other northern provinces with a predominantly Arab population (Tanger, Tetouan and Oujda) has also been important: together with the Rif, the northern Arab provinces account for 80 per cent of Moroccan migration to Belgium. These migrants often report an urban origin. Less than 30 per cent were born in a small town or in the countryside and only a minority is Berber. The genuine urban emigration from Tanger is understandable because it has long been a province with an international orientation. For many years it was a free trade zone with an important international harbour.

Another prominent emigration area of Morocco is the Souss-valley between the High and Anti Atlas (provinces of Agadir, Taroudannt ad Tiznit – see Figure 1a). A significant and sometimes forced labour migration occurred from this densely populated area to France before the Second World War. This was also the first area involved in international labour recruitment during the sixties. For these emigrants, Belgium was less important as a destination. Emigration from the economic and cultural centres of the country and the Atlantic coast (the Golden Triangle) began later and was less extensive. The rest of the country is only marginally involved in migration to Europe.

Whereas demographic factors are often cited as the root causes in discussions on emigration pressures in rural areas of Morocco, the literature on Turkish emigration presents the economic policy of the fifties as a main element causing emigration from agricultural areas.⁵ 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 migration to small urban centres within the same region and to one of the larger metropolitan areas in the west or centre of the country (Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir). The husband often migrated alone and the rest of the household stayed in the countryside to cultivate a family-owned farm. Because of their marginal position within the cities, these internal migrants were easily mobilized for a second (international) migration. In the MHSM surveys, this specific two-step migration pattern is reported by one-fifth of first-generation Turkish migrants. About 50 per cent of those who left from one of the metropolitan areas had migrated internally before coming to Belgium. Moroccans more often emigrated directly from their place of birth, but they had a more extensive history of international migration upon entering Belgium. Almost a quarter of first-generation immigrants had worked in another country. Not surprisingly, these countries were France, Algeria, Spain and Germany. The comparable figure for Turks is only 8 per cent.

Turkish migrants originate mainly from a cluster of central Anatolian provinces (Figure 1b, page 701). The east was less involved in emigration because recruitment offices for labour migrants were initially situated in the west and the centre of the country. Compared with Moroccan migrants, regional variation in the degree of urbanization of their places of origin is far less important. Nearly 60 per cent of first-generation Turkish migrants living in Belgium were born in the countryside or in a small town, and this figure does not vary much between the different regions. As far as could be tested in the MHSM surveys, there were also no important regional variations in the ethnic composition of the migrant group.⁶

As in the case of Moroccan migration, a few provinces predominated in Turkish migration to Belgium. Afyon is the Turkish equivalent of Nador: almost one-third of the Turkish immigrants originate from that province and, as is the case for Nador, there are strong subregional concentrations from that area to Belgium (i.e., the district of Emirdag). The regional and subregional concentrations are explained by the channelling of migration through networks. Once inhabitants from a particular village or community migrated, they constituted a crucial connection for others to follow. These networks became particularly important when the receiving countries restricted immigration possibilities. As a consequence, one village, or part of a village, became highly involved in emigration while another community or a neighbouring village remained untouched (Wilpert, 1992; den Exter and Kutlu, 1993).

Complementary to these distinctive emigration patterns are settlement patterns in the receiving countries. Some of the emigrating communities show a tendency to reconstruct themselves within the country of destination in such a way that we refer to them as “transplanted communities” (Surkyn and Reniers, 1997: 52-53). Within the Turkish community in Belgium, some areas are even known by the name of the place whence the immigrants came. den Exter and Kutlu (1993: 28) cite the example of a district in Schaarbeek (Brussels) which is called the “Firikli mahallesi” (Firikli district, a subdistrict of Emirdag). These communities maintain strong bonds with mirror communities in the region of origin and facilitate transnational marriages and new migrations. Detailed information on the villages of origin is not available, but from the MHSM surveys we learn that at a higher level of aggregation, Moroccans from the Rif are over-represented in Antwerp. Immigrants from the northern Arab provinces of Morocco live predominantly in Brussels. Turkish migrants from the provinces of Afyon and Eskishehir live mainly in Brussels and Ghent. Migrants from the other central and eastern Anatolian provinces established themselves in the provinces of Limburg and Antwerp. Immigrants from other areas of Turkey and Morocco are dispersed across the country.

We may therefore conclude that Turkish and Moroccan migrants in Belgium are not at all representative of their countries of origin, at least not in geographical terms. Both migration systems tend to be very selective with respect to the region of origin. Apart from the economic and demographic situations in both countries, this geographical selection has historical and political causes as well. For the Moroccan government, it was a conscious policy choice to relieve political tensions through the stimulation of emigration from the Rif. The reasons why Riffians emigrated mainly to the Benelux and Germany instead of France can be found in the colonial history of the region. Yet, overrepresentation of the central Anatolian provinces to the detriment of provinces in the east of Turkey seems to be a side effect of the centralized administration. Once restrictive immigration policies were implemented in the European countries, network-mediated migration only accentuated the unequal distribution of immigrants in terms of their region of origin.

Apart from this important parallel between Turkish and Moroccan migration to Belgium, we are also able to observe differences. Moroccan migrants are more heterogeneous in terms of the degree of urbanization of their places of origin. Turkish emigration has a much more pronounced rural character and is more solidly embedded in a family or household-related strategy. Turkish migrants in general also tend to maintain closer relationships with their country of origin. It seems that at least some of the Moroccan emigrants fit with a romantic view on emigration, i.e., an individual choosing an uncertain future in an unknown destination. Their migration was less organized, either by officials or by the household. Morocco’s colonial history made the social distance of Europe

smaller for Moroccans than for Turks, thereby rendering such an adventure more feasible or realistic.

SELECTION WITH RESPECT TO EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

To obtain better insight into the dynamics of migration systems, the features of migrants need to be compared with those of non-migrants. To do this we have combined data from different sources. The characteristics of migrants in Belgium (MHSM surveys) are compared with the reference population that did not migrate, available in the household records of the Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS) held in Turkey (DHS-III Turkey, 1992) and Morocco (DHS-II Morocco, 1993).⁷ The main objective is to compare the educational attainment of migrants and non-migrants in different periods or stages of the migration process, controlling for age and region of origin. A logit model was fitted with educational level as the factor to be predicted. Migration period and type, and region of origin are the explanatory variables. Since educational attainment is generally lower for older people, age is also included in the model as a control variable. We can then investigate for each age category whether migrants from a particular region are better educated than the reference population that did not migrate. By comparing the selection at different phases of the migration process (early labour migration, late labour migration, family reunification, and family forming or marriage migration), we develop further insights into the structure and evolution of migration processes. A description of variables used and logit models specified can be found in the Appendix (page 706).

Possibilities for comparison based on the different data sources available are, however, limited and possibly biased. First, the analysis is confined 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 degree of urbanization of the region of origin or residence. Although this information is available in the sources used, we do not have any certainty that the questions were operationalized in the same way. Second, differences in fieldwork methods may result in a bias that is difficult to quantify. In the MHSM surveys, for example, the information came from respondents themselves; in the household records of the DHS, one person supplied information on age and educational attainment for the rest of the household. Finally, the best way to compare the regional origin of migrants and non-migrants would be to take the region of residence at age 15 as a reference point because this is probably the region in which most of the socialization took place. Unfortunately only actual place of residence is known in the household records of the DHS. This information is therefore compared with the latest place of residence in Turkey and Morocco for the migrants in the MHSM surveys.

In relation to the distribution of first-generation Turkish and Moroccan immigrants in Belgium by educational attainment (Table 1, page 705), Turkish migrants, in general, are better educated than Moroccans. More than 50 per cent of the latter did not have any formal educational qualification upon entering Belgium. This variation in educational background is due to differences in scope and timing of the development of a national system of education in the countries of origin. In Turkey, elementary education had already been made compulsory in the 1920s with the foundation of the Turkish Republic, while the development of a national system of education in Morocco began in the 1950s and was characterized by important regional discrepancies (Neels and Stoop, 1998: 6). The figures in Table 1, however, are not controlled for age and do not give any information on the selection of migrants in educational terms.

The logit analyses indicate that educational attainment of both migrants and non-migrants varies importantly with age: the younger are the better educated. Since this is a common trend, these results need not be discussed further. For Turks, the educational attainment of the different birth cohorts varies 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.

The most important effect is that of migration type, since it is this variable that distinguishes between characteristics of migrants and non-migrants. In Figures 2a and 2b (pages 702 and 703), the percentage of each migrant type is compared with the percentage with a particular diploma with the non-migrant population in Turkey and Morocco. These figures are controlled for the possible effects of age and region of origin. Morocco has experienced more unequal development and modernization, which is reflected in the more polarized figures of educational attainment for non-migrants in Morocco.

A comparison of early Turkish labour immigrants with the reference non-migrant population in Turkey (Figure 2a), does not reveal any significant differences. Since the procedure of model selection did not suggest any interaction with region of origin or residence, this observation holds equally for immigrants from all the different regions. For early labour immigrants we can thus conclude that they are representative of their reference population in Turkey in terms of educational attainment. The second cohort of labour immigrants, those who came after 1972, are apparently better educated. This is particularly so if we consider the proportion with secondary education (39 per cent). The number of migrants without a diploma is stable. Compared with the first cohort of labour migrants, composition of the second cohort is thus characterized by a slight polarization. The distinction between early and late labour migration was made in order to gain insight into the selective effect of official and unofficial migration. This, however, remains difficult. Although unofficial and/or

network-mediated immigration became more important in the second stage of labour migration, late labour migrants are not exclusively unofficial migrants. Among late labour migrants are teachers, imams, and civil servants sent out by the Turkish government. This contributes to the relatively high proportion of late labour migrants with secondary education. A cautious conclusion on the selective effect of unofficial migration is that it seems to have worked in two directions. On one hand, it is responsible for a stabilization of the proportion of non-educated migrants; on the other, it is also responsible for an increased educational attainment of the later cohort of labour migrants.

Turks who came to Belgium through family reunification are the better-educated group, although this category covers only those who came to Belgium at age 16 or older.⁸ This might alter the results since those who left school earlier might have immigrated earlier and would then not be represented in these figures. The figures are nevertheless consistent with the notion (Surkyn and Reniers, 1997: 67) that migration of the father changes both the economic situation of the household and the aspirations for educational attainment of the children. Migration of the father guarantees economic independence of the family from the labour of children, enabling them to finish school before starting work.

Our last category, immigrant bridegrooms (family forming migration), are also better qualified than those from a comparable age group and region who did not migrate. It should be noted, however, that the category migrant bridegrooms includes men who married women from the immigrant community as well as those who married Belgian women. Interethnic marriages result in a positive selection with respect to educational attainment (Lievens, 1998). Marriages with women from the immigrant community may have varying effects on the educational level of immigrant bridegrooms. These are often kin marriages; the continuing desire to emigrate places pressure on parents in Europe to have one of their children marry someone from the country of origin, thereby supplying him or her with a residence permit (Böcker, 1994). Relatives are in the best position to exercise this kind of pressure on families in Europe. The practice of kin marriages is generally more common among those with a rural background and a lower educational attainment (Khlat, 1997). On the other hand, migration-inducing marriages may result in a higher educational attainment of the husband where the latter is not a relative. Since potential brides in Western Europe are very much sought after, they are in a position to select candidates with a relatively high social status or educational attainment. On the whole, however, the group of migrant bridegrooms is not as well educated as those who came to Belgium within the framework of family reunification.⁹

The results for Moroccan migrants convey a different and more complicated picture. In general, members of the first cohort of labour migrants were not as well educated as the reference population of non-migrants. However, the

second cohort (those who arrived after 1966) were significantly better educated than non-migrants of similar age in Morocco. Those who came to Belgium within the framework of family reunification more often received primary education, but the proportion with secondary education was again smaller than the compared group that did not migrate. Migrant bridegrooms were also better educated than the reference population. Although this pattern is similar to that of Turks, there is a more marked educational polarization of migrant bridegrooms. Probable explanations for this difference are a higher proportion of endogamous or kin marriages (Reniers, 1998), and a higher proportion of interethnic marriages among Moroccans (Lievens, 1998).

Our overview of differences in educational level by migration type and period for Moroccans has been kept very concise because the educational attainment of the different migrant types tends to vary with the region of origin and needs to be elaborated in an interaction effect (see Figures 3a, 3b and 3c, pages 704 to 705). Morocco's unequal modernization is visible in the distinctive levels of educational attainment of non-migrants from the three different regions considered. The northern provinces (Northern Arab and the Rif) are clearly the least developed. Among them, the more urbanized Northern Arab provinces are slightly more heterogeneous. The provinces of the Golden Triangle and the Periphery are by far the most polarized region. Ideally, the metropolitan areas of the Atlantic coast (Agadir, Casablanca and Rabat) and the old historical centres (Fez, Meknez, Marrakesh) should have been distinguished from the periphery of the south (Souss-valley) and east, but the small number of first-generation immigrants from these areas did not permit this.

Considering early labour migrants, some illustrative differences appear. The early labour immigrants from the Rif and the Golden Triangle/Periphery area are slightly 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 predominantly rural character of migration from both regions in the early period of labour migration. The opposite picture is obtained for the Northern Arab provinces. Early labour immigrants from this region were better educated than those who stayed and more often had an urban origin. This tendency was reinforced for the following cohort of labour migrants. The divergence in the rural-urban origins of migrants is thus associated with parallel differences in the selection of migrants with respect to educational attainment.

A major change in the characteristics of the second cohort of labour migrants is found in the Golden Triangle and Periphery. The proportion of migrants with a secondary education diploma rose from 9 per cent to 53 per cent. Again, this is to be explained partly by the migration of teachers, imams and civil servants, but also by an important shift in emigration from the countryside (Souss-valley) to emigration from cities on the Atlantic Coast and the old historical centres.¹⁰ For the second cohort of labour migrants from the Rif, in contrast, the

percentage of migrants without a formal educational background increased. This could be attributed to an increase in unofficial network-mediated migration from this region. To a certain extent, this pattern is similar to that observed among Turks, though more polarized. The second cohort of Turkish labour migrants is characterized by a stabilization of the proportion of uneducated migrants and a slightly increased percentage with secondary education. For Moroccan migration, this tendency is pushed to an extreme and apparently linked to the degree of urbanization in place of origin. In the wake of the first cohorts of labour migrants came other (unofficial) migrants with a higher educational level and often an urban background. Yet, from the countryside, the selection of the second cohort of (unofficial) labour migrants in terms of educational background continued to be negative.

Compared with late labour migrants, family reunifiers are generally not as well educated. The opposite is observed for Turks and Moroccan immigrants from the rural Rif region. This is the first indication that family reunification is a pattern that is more common for agricultural areas and among less educated families. It also implies that the household project underlying migration is less common among higher educated immigrants with an urban origin. For these, emigration is considered more of an individual project. The educational level of migrant bridegrooms is better than that of non-migrants, even if some important regional variations exist. However, it is difficult to interpret these regional variations since this category combines both immigrants who married Belgian women and those who married women from Moroccan origin already living in Belgium.

CONCLUSIONS

Migrant selection and the dynamic of migration systems

It is often claimed that post-war labour migration to Europe included a majority of migrants with low educational attainment or without any formal schooling. However, the situation is somewhat different when one compares characteristics of migrants with those of non-migrants in their respective countries and regions of origin. Indeed, migrants are generally better educated than non-migrants. This statement needs to be qualified in several ways as different patterns can be observed according to both nationality and region of origin. The often diverging evolution of scope and nature of migration flows that have been observed indicates that migration systems, once launched, develop their own dynamic or logic. Our analysis of selection in educational terms confirms the heterogeneous composition of Moroccan immigrants. Those from the rural Rif and Souss were generally not as well educated as non-migrants. Immigrants from urbanized parts of the country were generally better educated. The evolution of selection throughout the different phases of the migration process

is also more polarized for Moroccans than for Turks. In general, the pioneering labour immigrants cleared the path for other, better educated, immigrants who came through unofficial recruitment channels. In areas where pioneering emigration had a dominantly rural character, selection with respect to educational level continued to be negative. Family reunification is a migration type that is more common for those with a rural background, but family reunifiers are nevertheless somewhat better educated than those whom they joined in the country of destination. The composition of the category of migrant bridegrooms is heterogeneous in itself and requires a more complex analysis and explanation, but it is interesting to note that this new migration modality is more successful among Turks than among Moroccans.

With the exception of selection in regional terms, we have not found any straightforward confirmation for the regularities that Lee (1966) suggests with respect to the selection of immigrants in terms of their qualifications. However, if we assume that the pioneering cohorts of emigrants from rural areas responded mainly to push factors at origin, then this pattern is indeed confirmed for the Moroccans and to a lesser extent for Turks. For the latter, the selection was not explicitly positive. If we assume that Moroccan immigrants from more urbanized areas responded mainly to pull factors, then these results provide support for his hypothesis. Trying to test his third hypothesis, i.e., that on the whole selectivity in terms of educational attainment tends to be bimodal, would probably not make sense because the analysis has shown that a migration system consists of different phases, each characterized by selective effects operating in different directions. No straightforward confirmation could be found for the hypothesis of network-theorists either. They state that in a network-mediated system, migration becomes progressively less selective in terms of the socio-economic characteristics of the migrants. In the migration histories considered here, late labour migrants, family reunifiers and migrant bridegrooms are generally better educated than the pioneering cohorts and their reference populations in Turkey and Morocco, and thus show a positive instead of a negative or neutral selection. This suggests that network connections may be useful for increasing one's possibility of migrating, but that one also has to "pay" for using them. It has already been argued that the complexity of the issue requires a separate analysis, but it seems that in a migration system that induces marriages, the migrating groom compensates his in-laws by an elevated social status (through decent or educational attainment). Network connections are important cost-reducing factors, particularly within a system of restricted migration possibilities, but in the use of these network connections the characteristics of the migrant himself are also evaluated. 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 and therefore the selectivity induced by it is not unidirectionally negative.

“Conservative” versus “innovative” migration

As the analyses demonstrate, the immigration of two apparently similar groups, under the same legal and historical conditions in the receiving country, developed quite distinctively. Apart from a strong regional concentration in migration, Turkish migrants were initially representative of the population from which they were recruited. For Moroccan migrants, the picture is different: the inequality in the sending regions has been reproduced or even reinforced in migration. Considering all characteristics studied, the Moroccan immigrant population is more heterogeneous than the Turkish. This is the case for the degree of urbanization of their places of origin, their educational attainment, the marital status of the labour migrants at time of departure, and the ethnic composition of the migrant group. We have already alluded to the idea that Turkish migration can be better understood as a family or household project. The Moroccan migration from rural areas (the Rif and the Souss-valley) more or less fits within the same framework of orientation. It is a migration system that in the beginning was in compliance with the German ideal of the “guest-worker” system. Labour migration was supposed to involve mainly men who worked for periods of one to two years in countries with a temporary shortage of manual labourers. The immediate family and rest of the household remained in the country of origin to work on the land or to guarantee the continuation of the family business. Additional income from the migrant member of the household was seen to be important not only 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 sending communities and migrants. Using a concept of Petersen’s typology of migration (1958), we refer to it as “conservative migration”. It is a form of migration that permitted households to continue living within their places of origin. However, revenues were not high enough to guarantee satisfying living standards 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 permanent settlement over a non-guaranteed return.

Among Moroccan migrants, a distinctive subgroup can be identified. They come from more urbanized areas of the north and the Atlantic coast. The majority are Arabs or socialized in an Arab context and are considerably better educated than non-migrants. In addition, they were rarely married at time of their departure. These characteristics suggest that their migration was motivated by reasons other than those cited for Turks and for migrants from the less urbanized areas of Morocco. For similar reasons, we have suggested in our research on immigrant women (Surkyn and Reniers, 1997) that Moroccan emigration cannot be completely understood as an economically motivated labour migration and should be seen as a form of socio-cultural migration. Additional support for this idea is found in these new results. In the literature

reviewing Morocco's recent migration history, moderate attempts can be found to describe it as not driven solely by economic motives (Ageron, 1985; Refass, 1995). The desire to be somewhere else, to break with Moroccan society and to escape from the limitations dictated by the group, is a feeling that Bennani-Chraïbi (1994: 159-171) also identified in recent research on youngsters in Morocco. Again appropriating a term of Petersen, this socio-cultural migration can be conceived as "innovative" because it is the outcome of choice for a different way of life, for a different societal model. Through colonization and the continuing influence of the French culture, Moroccans have been confronted with an alternative societal model, making the choice to migrate a choice for a different way of life. Their migration decision may, for example, be dictated by a desire to step away from a societal model with religion or the extended household as the organizing principles (see Boulahbel-Villac, 1994: 46-49 for an illustration). It is not surprising that this migration motive is most obvious among the more urbanized 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. This type of migration motive is an obstacle to the development of a migration system –such as family forming or marriage migration– that relies heavily on solidarity patterns and family ties. We have already referred to the relatively lower proportion of new migrations induced by marriages among Moroccans than among Turks. With respect to Turkish emigration, other authors have also documented a higher development of social networks, and therefore a more successful system of migrations induced by marriages among migrants with a rural background (Wilpert, 1992 and Böcker, 1994).

Innovative migration also has an economic dimension and cannot be understood solely in sociological terms. The actual and perceived economic risks associated with migration are probably lower for more educated Moroccans than for more educated Turks. Through their knowledge of French, Moroccans may have their educational attainment valued since they are not ignorant of one of Belgium's official languages. For better educated Turks, this is not the case: because most of them speak neither Dutch nor French on arrival, their chances of obtaining a job commensurate with their training are low. Furthermore, the Turkish economy might have provided better opportunities for the better educated in the 1960s and 1970s than the Moroccan economy. In Morocco, unemployment is highest in urban centres and among the relatively well-educated (Lahlou, 1991: 487).

Integration in the host society

Given the characteristics of the Moroccan immigrant population and the driving forces behind their emigration, it can be assumed that they (or at least one subgroup) are better prepared for, or have greater ambitions regarding, integration into European society than are the Turks. With respect to several

socio-demographic characteristics, clear indications have been found that their integration into the Belgian host society is proceeding faster. However, these faster changes seem to be accompanied by more open conflicts within the immigrant community (Lesthaeghe, 1997: 37-38). Although serious research still has to be done in this field, it is probable that it may also be a source for more open conflicts with the host society. The path followed by Turkish immigrants in Belgium, i.e., a slower integration or assimilation pattern that is more solidly embedded in the secure environment of the household and ethnic community, might prove to be more successful in the long-term. 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.

NOTES

1. I am grateful to Hilary Page for comments and suggestions she made during the preparation of this article.
2. Two national representative surveys carried out between 1994 and 1996 by the universities of Brussels (VUB), Ghent (UG), Liège (ULG) and Louvain-La-Neuve (UCL). Financial support came 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 universities of Brussels and Ghent. The surveys cover 2,596 respondents (1,462 Turks, 1,134 Moroccans) and the thematic areas of migration history, educational and professional career, other socio-demographic characteristics, and religious and other values and beliefs. Data from these surveys are available from the Department of Population Studies, University of Ghent, Ghent, Belgium (<http://www.psw.rug.ac.be/>).
3. A department of the Turkish administration that assisted the international migration of Turks.
4. See Appendix for a description of the regional classification used.
5. The explanation might be very straightforward: since the economic policy of the Moroccan government after independence was directed mainly 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.
6. Officially accepted political refugees are not included in the sample; the number of Kurds is therefore most probably underestimated. Further, information on ethnicity was restricted to language. A distinction between Sunni and Alevi Muslims could not be made.
7. More details on the DHS Surveys can be found on the web site of Macro International <http://www.macoint.com/dhs/>.
8. Those who migrated before the age of 16 were not considered first-generation immigrants and therefore excluded from the analysis (see Appendix for more details).
9. See Lievens (1998 and 1999) and Reniers (1998) for a discussion of consanguineous and migration-inducing marriages.

10. The proportion of immigrants leaving from a small city or the countryside within this category decreased from 49 per cent (for those who migrated before 1966) to 38 per cent (between 1966 and 1974).

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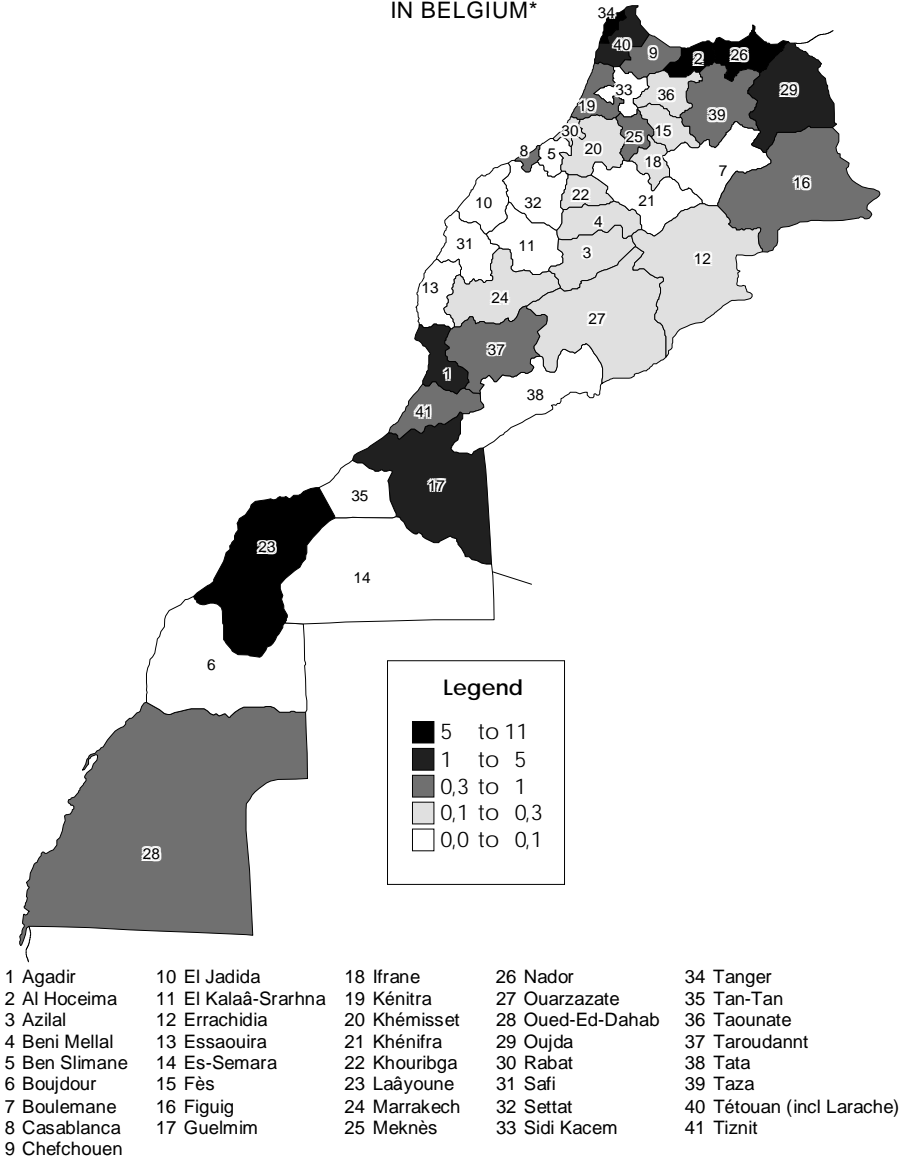
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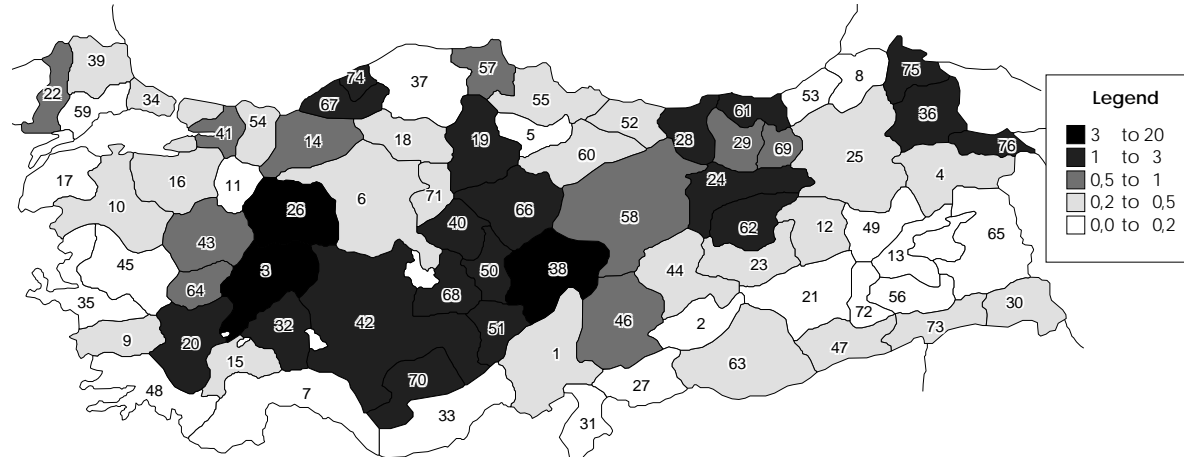
FIGURE 1a
 OVER AND UNDER-REPRESENTATION OF THE PROVINCES
 OF ORIGIN OF MOROCCAN AND WESTERN SAHARAN IMMIGRANTS
 IN BELGIUM*



Source: Data on migrants, MHSM surveys; data on the total population by province (in 1971), Direction de la Statistique, Rabat. * Calculated as the relative share of each province in the migration to Belgium, divided by the relative share of each province in the total population of the country in 1971. 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. Given the low population density in the provinces of Laâyoune and Oued-Ed-Dahab, they indicate a high representation in the migration although the actual number of immigrants coming from these provinces is very small.

FIGURE 1b

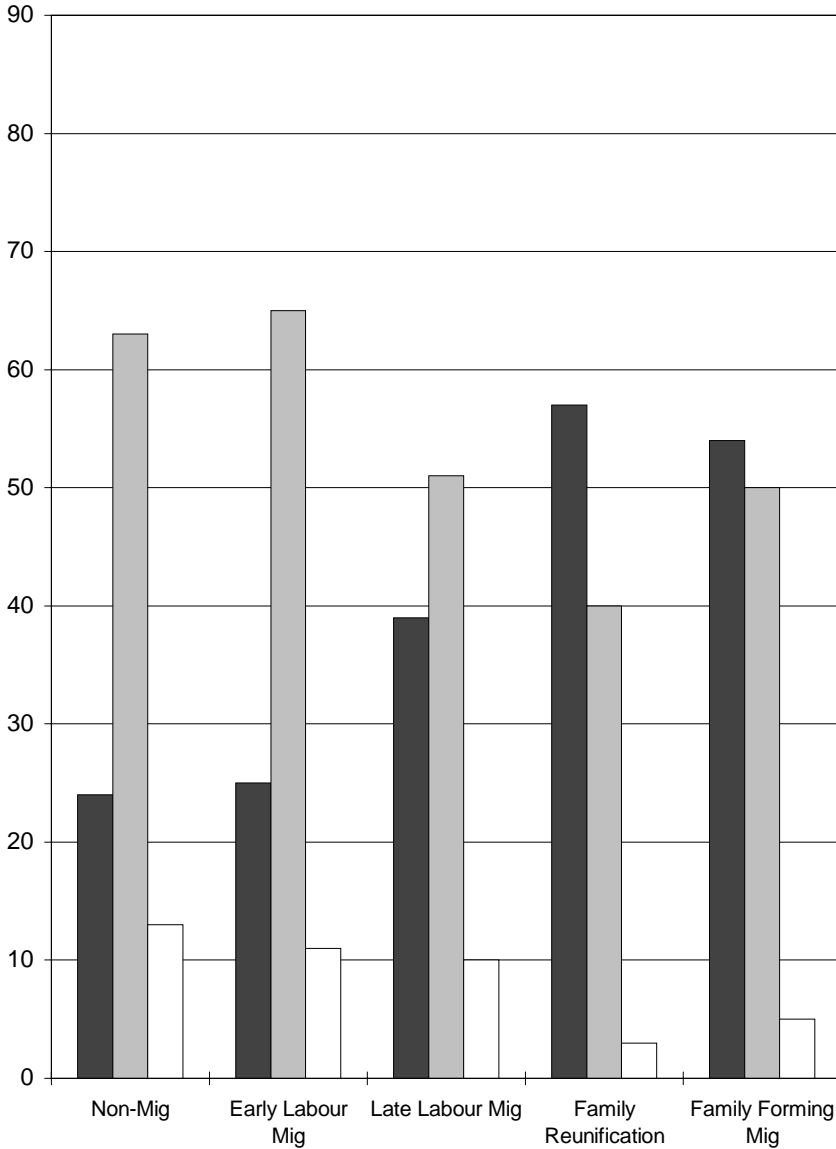
OVER AND UNDER-REPRESENTATION OF THE PROVINCES OF ORIGIN OF MOROCCAN AND WESTERN SAHARAN IMMIGRANTS IN BELGIUM*



01 Adana	11 Bilecik	21 Diyarbakir	31 Hatay	41 Kocaeli	51 Nigde	61 Trabzon	71 Kirikkale
02 Adiyaman	12 Bingöl	22 Edirne	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 Istanbul	44 Malatya	54 Sakarya	64 Usak	74 Bartın
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 Igdır
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 Gümüşhane	39 Kirklareli	49 Mus	59 Tekirdag	69 Bayburt	
10 Balikesir	20 Denizli	30 Hakkari	40 Kirsehir	50 Nevsehir	60 Tokat	70 Karaman	

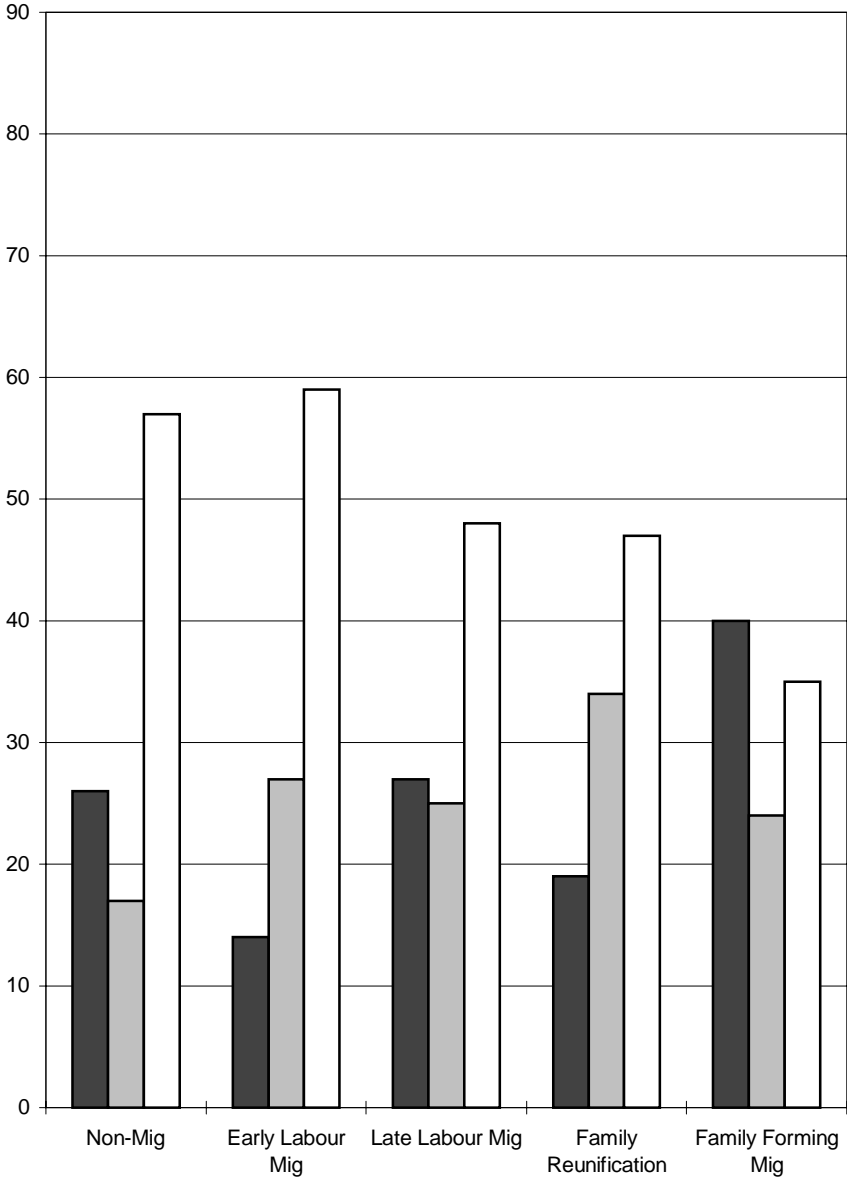
Source: Data on migrants, MHSM surveys; data on the total population by province (in 1970), State Institute of Statistics, Ankara. * Calculated as the relative share of each province in the migration to Belgium, divided by the relative share of each province in the total population of the country in 1970. 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.

FIGURE 2a
 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION (NET %)^a OF TURKISH IMMIGRANTS
 BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL, NATIONALITY AND MIGRATION TYPE



Note: For the sake of the presentation, odds and odds ratio's were transformed into net percentages following the method presented in Kaufman and Schervish (1986).
^a net-% refers to the percentage distribution after neutralizing the effect of the other variables in the model.

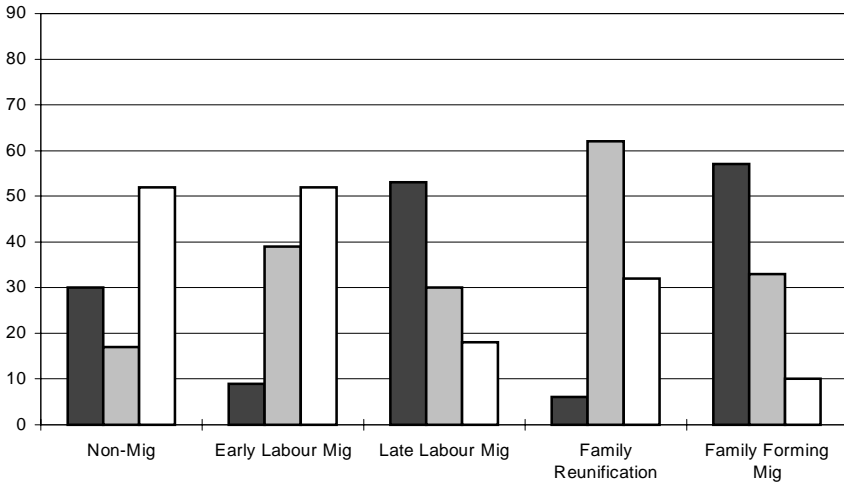
FIGURE 2b
 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION (NET %)^a OF MOROCCAN IMMIGRANTS
 BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL, NATIONALITY AND MIGRATION TYPE



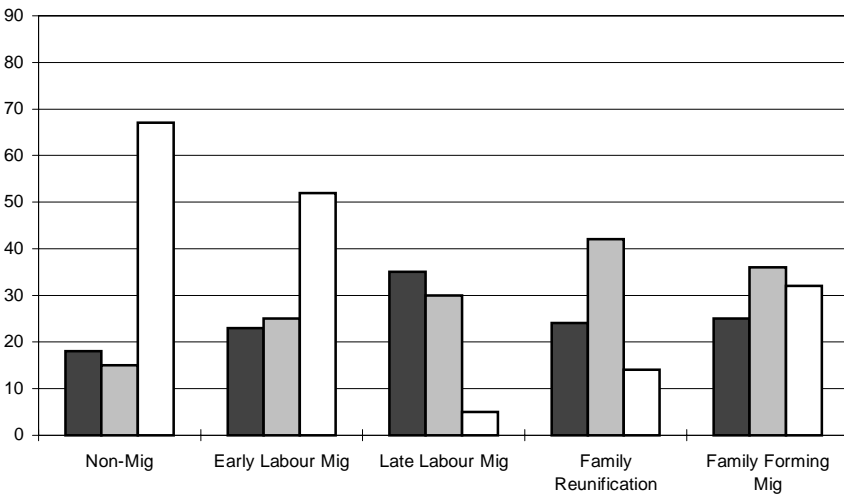
Note: For the sake of the presentation, odds and odds ratio's were transformed into net percentages following the method presented in Kaufman and Schervish (1986).
^a net-% refers to the percentage distribution after neutralizing the effect of the other variables in the model.

FIGURE 3a AND FIGURE 3b
 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION (NET %)^a OF MOROCCAN IMMIGRANTS
 BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL, MIGRATION TYPE AND REGION OF ORIGIN

a) Golden Triangle and Periphery



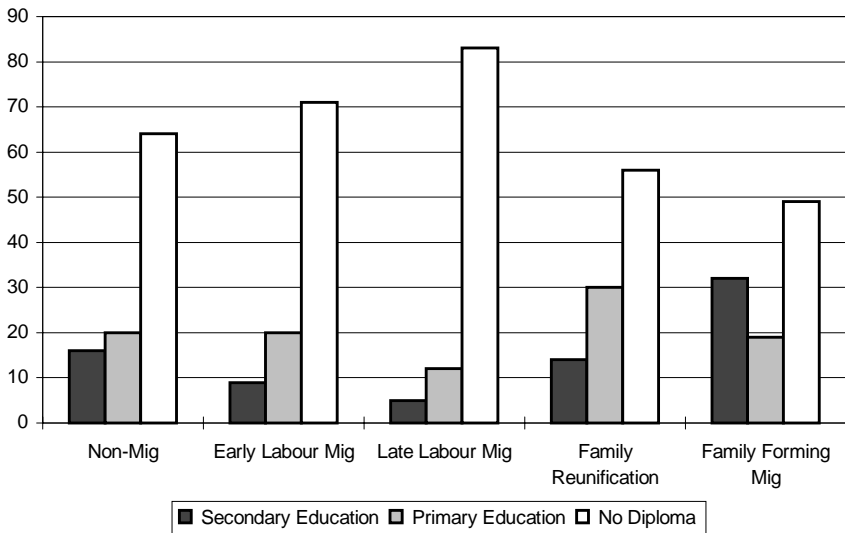
b) Northern Arab Provinces



Note: For the sake of the presentation, odds and odds ratio's were transformed into net percentages following the method presented in Kaufman and Schervish (1986).
^a net-% refers to the percentage distribution after neutralizing the effect of the other variables in the model.

FIGURE 3c
 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION (NET %)^a OF MOROCCAN IMMIGRANTS
 BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL, MIGRATION TYPE AND REGION OF ORIGIN

c) Northern Berber Provinces: the Rif (Al Hoceima and Nador)



Note: For the sake of the presentation, odds and odds ratio's were transformed into net percentages following the method presented in Kaufman and Schervish (1986).
^a net-% refers to the percentage distribution after neutralizing the effect of the other variables in the model.

TABLE 1
 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF FIRST-GENERATION TURKISH
 AND MOROCCAN MIGRANTS IN BELGIUM BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL
 (observed percentages)

	Lower secondary education	Primary education	No diploma
Turks	33.0	58.8	14.1
Moroccans	22.8	21.5	55.7

APPENDIX

THE DATA, VARIABLES AND LOGIT MODELS SPECIFIED

1. The Data:

- MHSM-T: 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) from provinces with three 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. Subset sample size N=771.

- MHSM-M: 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 MHSM-T, 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 for provinces with 3 or more representatives in the MHSM-T sample were used. 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

2.1 Age (A):

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	MHSM-T (1994)	DHS -Turkey (1993)	MHSM-M (1995)	DHS-Morocco (1992)
Young	21-31	20-30	22-32	19-29
Mid-young	32-41	31-40	33-42	30-39
Mid-old	42-51	41-50	43-52	40-49
Old	52-66	51-65	53-67	50-64

2.2 Region of origin or residence (R):

A. Turkey

Four groups of provinces were distinguished. Only those provinces with 3 or more representatives in the sample of the MHSM-T survey were used:

Categories	Description	Provinces, in descending order of importance in the migration to Belgium	N in the subset of MHSM-T
Three Metropolitan areas and the Mediterranean coast	The highly urbanized 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, Edirne, Antalya, Kizilirmaci	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, Yozgat, Aksaray, Corum, Kirsehir, Nevsehir, Samsun, Isparta, Usak, Kutahya, Sinop, Hatay	249
Afyon & Eskisehir	Two central Anatolian provinces with an important emigration to Belgium. More than half of the migrants from Eskisehir have their origins in Afyon	Afyon (78%) & Eskisehir	255
Eastern Anatolia	A traditionally less developed area of Turkey that got only in a later stage involved in the migration to Belgium.	Trabzon (23%), Giresun (15%), Ardahan (14%), Sivas, Kars, Kahramanmaras, Erzincan, Tunceli, Gumushane, Malatya, Igdır, Erzurum, Gaziantep, Sanliurfa	111

B. Morocco

For Morocco, only three regions were specified. Only those provinces with 3 or more representatives in the sample of the MHSM-M survey were used:

Categories	Description	Provinces, in descending order of importance in the migration to Belgium	N in the subset of MHSM-M
Golden Triangle and the Periphery	Heterogeneous area consisting of the highly urbanized 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 of the east and the south	Casablanca (30%), Meknes, Agadir, Rabat, Fez, Kenitra, Taroudannt, Guelmim, Tiznit, Marrakech, Beni Mellal, Khemisset, Ouarzazate	132
Northern Arab provinces	The relatively highly urbanized provinces to the west of the Rif mountains, but also the provinces to the south (Taza) and east of the Rif (Oujda). In all these provinces Arab is spoken as the primary language.	Tanger (50%), Oujda (32%), Tetouan (incl. Larache), Chefchaouen, Taza	230
Northern Berber provinces: the Rif	The mainly Berber provinces of the Rif with high emigration figures to Belgium	Nador (76%) and Al Hoceima	229

2.3 Migration type (M):

In the first place we distinguish migrants from non-migrants. Data for the non-migrants come from the DHS-household records; data for the migrants come from the MHSM 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:

Categories	Description	Source	N Turks	N Moroccans
Family forming migration	This category refers to the migrant bridegrooms, i.e. 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 (official and unofficial) who arrived from: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1973 onwards (Turks) 2 1967 onwards (Moroccans) 	MHSM	200	153
Early labour migrants	Labour migrants (official and unofficial) 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 categorization to distinguish early and late labour migrants could not be used for the two nationalities considered. Because the peak of Moroccan labour migration is 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 analyses.

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 legalized their permanent residence through a labour contract or marriage.

Educational level (E):

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 have had only Koranic education.

Categories	Description
No Diploma	No schooling, incomplete primary or Koranic education
Primary education	Complete primary education
Secondary education	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 is 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 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 presented here is a short-cut version wherein the causal relationship is apparently turned upside 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 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 (A) and region (R) and the independent effect of migration type (M)) 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 $X^2=49,72$, $df=48$, $p=0,40$.

DE L'HISTOIRE ET DE LA SÉLECTIVITÉ DE LA MIGRATION TURQUE ET MAROCAINE VERS LA BELGIQUE

Le cliché classique du migrant arrivant en Europe occidentale dans les années 60 et 70 est celui d'un individu non qualifié qui cherche à troquer son activité rurale pour un travail manuel dans l'industrie.

S'agissant des Turcs et des Marocains en particulier, cette image d'une main-d'œuvre immigrante indifférenciée est renforcée au début de la migration en provenance de ces deux pays par la simultanéité de la demande forte de main-d'œuvre, la communauté de foi religieuse et la similarité des cadres juridiques sur lesquels se fonde leur demande d'accès à la société européenne.

C'est cette image trop réductrice d'une main-d'œuvre migrante non qualifiée et indifférenciée que conteste le présent article en invoquant la notion de migration sélective. En combinant diverses sources de données, il est procédé à une étude comparative systématique de ceux qui partent et de ceux qui restent, en fonction de leur région d'origine et de leur niveau d'instruction. La sélection (ou l'auto-sélection) des immigrants est, en d'autres termes, l'angle empirique qui a été choisi pour comparer et caractériser les deux systèmes de migration.

En plaçant la sélection en pointe de notre étude, nous voulons clairement attirer l'attention sur un aspect que d'autres théories sur la migration ont souvent des difficultés à intégrer, c'est-à-dire sur les raisons expliquant pourquoi certaines personnes d'un pays ou d'une région donnée émigrent pendant que d'autres restent.

La migration turque et la migration marocaine se recoupent seulement en partie par leur nature; l'analyse de ce qui les sépare montre qu'elles obéissent à des logiques différentes. L'étude emprunte deux notions établies par Petersen (migration classique et migration de type nouveau) pour caractériser les deux systèmes de migration et interpréter les différences observées dans la sélection des immigrants. L'avantage de cette typologie est qu'elle tient dûment compte des mobiles migratoires et des aspirations du migrant. Ainsi sommes-nous à même de comprendre, mais aussi de formuler des hypothèses concernant l'évolution future des deux systèmes de migration, compte tenu des limitations juridiques actuellement imposées à la migration. Cet éclairage nous aide aussi à expliquer les différentes stratégies d'intégration dans la société d'accueil.

Le présent article préconise implicitement que l'on prenne en compte l'opérationnalisation empirique de la sélectivité afin de mieux comprendre les systèmes de migration. Cela étant, une telle démarche suppose que l'on dispose de données comparables sur les pays d'envoi et les pays d'accueil. Dans le cas qui nous intéresse, on a combiné les données de deux enquêtes nationales réalisées en Belgique entre 1994 et 1996 avec des données agrégées émanant d'instituts

statistiques nationaux des pays d'envoi pour analyser le mode de sélection fondé sur la région d'origine. On a également combiné ces données d'enquête avec les enquêtes DHS pour le Maroc (1992) et la Turquie (1993) pour analyser le mode de sélection fondé sur le niveau d'instruction.

A PROPÓSITO DE LA HISTORIA Y SELECTIVIDAD DE LAS MIGRACIONES TURCA Y MARROQUÍ A BÉLGICA

La imagen clásica de los migrantes laborales que llegaban a Europa Occidental en los años sesenta y setenta era la de personas incompetentes que pasaban de ser labradores a ser trabajadores manuales en la industria.

Para los turcos y los marroquíes, en particular, la imagen de una fuerza laboral inmigrante no diferenciada se ve reforzada por el inicio de una migración de ambos países durante el mismo período de elevada demanda laboral, por creencias religiosas comunes y por los marcos jurídicos similares a que recurrían para acceder a la sociedad europea.

Esta imagen muy simplificada de la fuerza laboral migrante no educada y poco diferenciada se pone en tela de juicio en este artículo a través del concepto de la selectividad. Para ello se utiliza una combinación de diferentes fuentes de datos y se efectúa una comparación sistemática de los que partían y se quedaban con respecto a su región de origen y a su nivel de educación. La auto-selección de los inmigrantes es, en otras palabras, el ángulo empírico que se utiliza para comparar y caracterizar ambos sistemas de migración.

Al poner la selección en un primer plano, nos concentramos explícitamente en un tema que otras teorías migratorias difícilmente pueden incorporar, es decir, explicar por qué algunas personas de determinado país o región emigran y por qué otras no.

Si bien las migraciones turca y marroquí sólo son parcialmente similares a raíz de su naturaleza, las diferencias sugieren que existe una lógica diferente subyacente en cada una: dos conceptos de Petersen (la migración conservadora e innovadora) se utilizan para caracterizar los dos sistemas migratorios y para interpretar las diferencias observadas en la selección de inmigrantes. La ventaja de esta tipología es que explica explícitamente los motivos de la migración y las aspiraciones de los migrantes. Ello permite comprender y formular hipótesis sobre la futura evolución de los sistemas de migración en el contexto actual de oportunidades migratorias legalmente restringidas y también permite explicar las diferentes estrategias de integración en la sociedad de acogida.

Implícito en este artículo se halla un llamamiento para el valor añadido de la operatividad empírica de la selectividad con objeto de comprender los sistemas migratorios. No obstante, esta perspectiva exige datos comparables sobre los países de envío y acogida. En este caso, se combinaron los datos de dos encuestas nacionales realizadas en Bélgica entre 1994 y 1996, y se incorporaron los datos de los institutos nacionales de estadísticas de los países de envío para el análisis de la selección con respecto a la región de origen. Los mismos datos de la encuesta se utilizaron en la combinación de las encuestas DHS para Marruecos (1992) y Turquía (1993), con miras a analizar la selección con respecto al nivel de educación.