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**TURKISH AND MOROCCAN
NEWCOMERS IN FLANDERS**

2004

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INTRODUCTION

In this paper we will reflect on some issues related to the situation of newly arrived immigrants in well-established migrant communities in Belgium. More specifically we will focus on Turkish newcomers arriving in the established Turkish migrants communities in Belgium. The large majority of newcomers from Turkey enter Belgium because they married someone who is living in Belgium. Marriage has become intensely related with the politics of migration.

In Belgium, the largest communities of residents from outside the EU are the Moroccan and Turkish communities. Although a moratorium on immigration was called in 1974, the Moroccan and Turkish population in Belgium continued to grow steadily. The majority of these newcomers after 1974 came to Belgium on the basis of the 'family reunification' scheme and, particularly in the past decade, the 'family formation' scheme (Surkyn, 1993:23; Lodewijcks, Page en Schoenmaeckers, 1995). Between 1994 and 1998, 75.3% of the Turkish newcomers in Flanders were between 15 and 34 years of age. In 1998, there were 70,701 Turks (7.9% of the total foreign population) living in Belgium (Timmerman, et al., 2000). The majority of these immigrants came from rural areas in Central Anatolia.

1. POPULATION DATA

Labour migration from Turkey to Belgium only truly started in the 1960s. At that time, the diversification of economic activity, particularly in Flanders, led to a new spatial distribution of newcomers. More specifically, the flow of Moroccan and Turkish immigrants was directed towards Flemish cities and the capital Brussels rather than the mining areas in Wallonia. The current distributive pattern of foreigners in Flanders and Brussels confirms this: today, most foreigners live in the large towns within the triangle Brussels-Antwerp-Ghent, in Limburg Province, in towns along the Flemish-Dutch border, and along the axis between Ghent and Kortrijk.

If one analyses the population data, certain observations immediately stand out. Between 1994 and 1998, the annual average number of newcomers to Flanders was 21,387. The majority came from other EU member states (55%). In comparison to their proportion in the foreign population of Flanders, there were relatively few newcomers from Moroccan and Turkish origin (respectively 5% and 6% of the total group). While immigrants from EU countries, Turkey and Morocco make up the largest group of foreign residents, in the observation period there were proportionally

more 'other Europeans' and 'non- Europeans' among the group of newcomers to Flanders and Brussels. In other words, Moroccan and Turkish nationals were underrepresented.

With regards to the geographical distribution of these newcomers, we notice that it corresponds with the location of residing foreigners. The Brussels-Antwerp-Ghent triangle is, as it were, the 'golden' triangle for newcomers. In addition, Limburg province and the Ghent-Kortrijk axis also continue to attract migrants. Most newcomers settle in the larger Flemish towns and in certain municipalities of the Brussels Capital Region (Timmerman et al, 2000). A comparison of data for 1991 and 1998 shows that the geographical distribution of the newcomers remains approximately the same. Even though migrants live in more municipalities than before, the overwhelming majority still lives in the same towns and cities (Grimmeau, 1991 and 1992; Eggerickx et al., 1998, Timmerman et al., 2000).

Among the Turkish newcomers, we notice that the proportion of under-18-year-olds declined sharply during the observation period, while the proportion of adults increased. On this basis, we may conclude that family reunification (with children and spouses) has become less of a factor, while the significance of family formation has increased. Leaving aside EU citizens, as they are not subject to visa restrictions under the European guidelines issued after the Maastricht Treaty of 1991, it appears that marriage has become the principal motivation for immigration.

Over half of the newcomers were aged between 20 and 34. The Moroccan newcomers were, on average, older than those from Turkey. The young age of the Turkish female newcomers was particularly striking. In the Decree of the Flemish Community (1996) ⁽¹⁾ regarding ethnic minority policy, the term 'newcomers' denotes 'family re-unifiers, family formers and asylum-seekers' arriving in Belgium. Although such notions as 'family re-unifiers' and 'family formers' refer to legally regulated immigration (i.e. with a legal residence permit), the definition of the term 'asylum-seeker' remains very vague and open to interpretation. Does it encompass all persons who have applied for asylum, or does it merely apply to those who are at a certain stage of the asylum application procedure? ⁽²⁾

¹ Since 1980, each community (Flemish, Walloon and German-speaking) has been responsible for policymaking in relation to the reception and integration of immigrants. Flemish policy evolved over the past 20 years from a categoric welfare policy (80'5) through an integrated and coordinated migrant policy (early 90'5) to an inclusive and coordinated minority policy (since 1996) (Vogels, 2000).

² Asylum policy remains a national competence. However the Decree of the Flemish Community on ethnic minority policy does cover reception and integration of refugees whose asylum request

2. METHODOLOGY

We conducted our research in three locations: in Flanders/Belgium (the new homeland of the newcomers), in two Turkish emigration areas (Emirdag and Sivas).

In order to acquire insight into the profiles and expectations of newcomers it is necessary to understand the context they left behind. In Turkey we selected Emirdag, a small town in Central-Western Anatolia and Sivas, the capital of the Central-Eastern Anatolian province of the same name.

The majority of Turks living in Belgium originate from the region of Emirdag. Emirdag, a town with approximately 20,000 inhabitants in the Province of Afyon, is situated in an arid and poor area that is strongly affected by emigration. Although Afyon is situated in the Western part of Turkey, the region is considered to be underdeveloped. Contrary to the majority of other regions in Turkey, economic growth has stagnated and the population is growing only slightly. Daily life in Emirdag is closely interwoven with that of the Turkish community in Belgium.

Likewise, many Turks from Sivas found their way to Belgium. The emigration context of Sivas, the other research location in Turkey, is rather different from that of Emirdag. Sivas is a provincial capital in the Central-Eastern part of Turkey, with a population of 250,000. Sivas has a severe continental climate: summers are hot and dry, while winters are very cold (temperatures of -30°C are common) with a lot of snow. Winter can last for up to five months. Although it is a rather big city, there is not much industry. Most people are employed in the service sector.

Sivas, too, has experienced substantial emigration to the large cities in Western Turkey and to Europe. On the other hand, many people from the surrounding villages immigrate to Sivas. Because of this immigration, Sivas is increasingly becoming a rural city. The severe economic crisis that has affected Turkey over the past years is also felt in Sivas. Unemployment among highly educated people has become a serious problem.

Many immigrants who come to Belgium from Sivas belong to a specific ethnic community, namely the Cerkes (³). They see themselves as being rather different than Turks: they say, for example, that they marry later and

has not been definitively rejected.

³ These people arrived in Turkey from Chechnya around 1870. In Turkey, Cerkes are found mostly in Kars, Sivas and Corum.

have fewer children. They intermarry and avoid marriages with other ethnic communities.

In order to gain better insight into the expectations that people in the country of origin have with regard to emigration as well as into the concrete experiences of newcomers in Belgium, we relied on qualitative research methods. More specifically, we applied the techniques of participant observation and in-depth interviewing.

In the emigration areas, we collected our data mainly on the basis of participant observation. Over the years, we conducted several extended field studies in the region of Emirdag (Timmerman, 1999; 2000). During these periods, we stayed with a family who had migrated to Flanders/Belgium some 30 years earlier and who spent their annual holiday in their place of origin. Outside the holiday period, we stayed with a local middle-class family. In Sivas, we stayed with a middle-class family many of whose members were living in Belgium. Besides obtaining information on the basis of participant information, we also conducted interviews with prospective emigrants and with several 'key witnesses'.

In Flanders, we collected our data mainly on the basis of interviews with newcomers and with several 'key witnesses'.

Interviews in Flanders/Belgium and in the emigration areas were conducted on the basis of an open questionnaire, in order to guarantee that all necessary items were discussed. On the other hand, the in-depth interview was not limited to the questionnaire: elements that emerged as relevant in the course of the interview were further elaborated upon.

Before starting with the real interview, the respondent was informed about the aim of the research and it was made clear that the interviewee would remain anonymous. A proper briefing of participants at the start of the interview was necessary in order to overcome potential distrust. First, we collected biographical data on the respondent, their partner, parents and in-laws. Second, we elicited information about how the respondent had arrived in Belgium. Third, questions were asked about the respondents' expectations prior to immigration and how they were confronted with the reality of their new living environment. Finally, the researcher filled in an evaluation form concerning the context of the interview (presence of other persons, the atmosphere during the interview, relevant remarks, place and duration of the interview).

Our respondents had arrived in Belgium up to 2 years before the interview. The majority were not yet fluent enough in Dutch or French to be interviewed in one of these languages. Most of the respondents spoke only their mother tongue. Therefore, it was necessary to work with translators. These had to be

capable of providing more than a literal translation: they were also required to discern the message that the respondent wanted to put across. In other words, they functioned as real researchers.

In preparation of the in-depth interviews, researchers and translators took part in a meeting where they were informed about the aim and the context of the study, and they received adequate interview training.

We noticed some reluctance among prospective emigrants to talk about their intentions in the context of a research project. They were afraid that information they could provide might be used to stop further migration to Belgium. Nevertheless, through our personal contacts, we were able to interview youngsters who were intent on leaving for Belgium as family formers; people, in other words, whose families had arranged a marriage with a relative or an acquaintance.

To recruit our sample in Flanders/Belgium, we collaborated with the centres that organise language and social information courses for newcomers. The coaches of the newcomers selected respondents so that male and female, high and low educated, younger and older newcomers were all represented in the sample. The sample in Flanders consisted of 44 Turkish newcomers, 27 men and 17 women. The interviews were carried out by a researcher and a translator of the same sex as the respondent. The majority of interviews were taken in Antwerp, Ghent, Heusden-Zolder and Genk. Besides the interviews with the newcomers, we also conducted several in-depth interviews with persons who - because of their professional activities - were familiar with the situation of the newcomers.

Generally speaking, all interviews were conducted in a positive atmosphere. In the case of several respondents, the interview provided the first opportunity for a long and 'serious' conversation with an autochthonous Belgian. All written interviews were analysed and interpreted independently by two researchers.

3. RESULTS

3.1. Reception policy

Flanders introduced a 'reception programme for newcomers' in the late 1990s. This programme is not compulsory and offers a language course, a societal orientation course and a job training. It appears that reaching the group of female newcomers is often problematic, though once they have begun a reception programme, they tend to complete it and acquire a

certificate more easily than their male counterparts. Of all newcomers, the least accessible subgroup is that of Turkish women. According to staff at reception facilities, there are a number of obstacles that may prevent them from participating in reception policy. First, they experience strict social control on the part of their families (esp. parents-in-law). The older generation largely decides on the fate of their daughter(s)-in-law. Sometimes religious arguments are used to legitimise the elders' opposition to any participation in reception programmes. Second, the existence of an own network plays an important role among newcomers. Turkish newcomers, for example, tend to settle in neighbourhoods where there is already a relatively strong presence of their own community. As these women are able to use their own language within this community, they feel no need to enrol on a Dutch language course. Even in Heusden-Zolder, where the Turkish community supports reception policy, women are less likely than men to come into contact with the local reception centre.

3.2. Turkish leavers

People continue to migrate to Belgium in the hope of building a better future. In fact, the lure has become even greater as a result of the rosy picture that European Turks paint of Belgium. Yet, a large group of 'Emirdagli' (i.e. inhabitants of Emirdag) regrets this mass emigration from an economic as well as a social perspective. The exodus is detrimental to local investment and it is a disincentive for youngsters to commit themselves to developing the region. The social cost is quite clear to see: many youngsters return home divorced and discouraged after a short 'European adventure', and the proportion of broken families among those who managed to hold out slightly longer is high.

Despite all these critical remarks, a large part of the local population wants to leave for Europe. In the case of the least well-off, there is the lure of more social and economic security, while in the case of the higher skilled, ideological considerations also come into play. The latter experience their native society as too restrictive, both politically and socially, and they assume that such restrictions are non-existent in the "Free West". These findings are in line with some of our previous research results in a Turkish emigration area (Timmerman, 1999; 2000).

As King (1993) points out, migration dynamics are largely determined by the situation in the home country, the perceived 'advantages' of the country of destination and the growing globalisation.

The desire to live in Western Europe is so great that some marriages would appear to have been concluded for opportunistic reasons. Examples that

spring to mind are marriages between partners with a considerable age difference or marriages involving a mentally retarded partner. However, this is not typical for migration, as marriages with partners who are slightly mentally retarded also occur among Turks living in Turkey (Timmerman, 1999).

It emerged from our interviews with prospective emigrants that they considered mastering the language of the host country (Dutch or French) to be important. Men in particular indicated this, but women too found it indispensable, not only for finding work, but also for establishing contacts within Belgian society. Most respondents hoped to be able to take a language course, but there was also interest in vocational training and more general courses. We noticed during interviews at which both prospective partners were present that they had different expectations from marriage and their future life in Belgium. The interviewees were expecting to receive assistance in Belgium from family and/or acquaintances already living there. It is a known phenomenon that marriages between partners who have been raised in Belgium and Turkey respectively often tend to run into trouble during the first years. The differences in background and expectations are the main explanatory factors for these relational problems (Timmerman et al. 1999; Luyckx, 2001).

Although many were very eager to emigrate to Western Europe, few had any concrete notion of the life awaiting them in Belgium (or Flanders). They appeared to be heading for a 'mythical' destination where all their worries would be resolved. Obstacles such as learning a foreign language, non-recognition of degrees, irrelevant work experience and a hostile society were, on the whole, taken lightly. In fact, few gave these obstacles any serious consideration at all. Also, on the basis of earlier fieldwork, we found that in typical emigration areas the negative information coming from immigrants who are already living in Europe is often ignored or even denied (Timmerman, 1999).

3.3. Family formers, family re-unifiers and others

3.3.1 Marriage

Turkish marriages, be it in Turkey or in Belgium, usually follow the 'traditional' pattern, as they refer to a frame of reference that is largely dominated by local customs and folk Islam (f.e. Delaney, 1991). Although there is a lot of variation within these kind of marriage arrangements, there are some core elements that have to be respected. That is to say, the family of the boy proposes to the family of the girl. Marriages are, first and foremost,

the responsibility of the parents. Social control by the Turkish communities plays an important role. . A bride is assumed to be a virgin. Often, the intended partners barely know each other – especially when it concerns marriages between a youngster who is raised in Belgium and the other who is raised in Turkey, or they know each other because they are related

In Belgium, over 60% of Turkish youngsters marry a partner from their own country of origin (Lievens, Reniers, 1997). The option of marriage with a partner from the Turkish community in Flanders/Belgium is often rejected because youngsters from the second/third generation tend to have a bad reputation. There is a feeling within the Turkish community in Flanders/Belgium that many Turkish boys have gone astray and that many Turkish girls are too liberated. In the case of boys, marriage with a Flemish partner is considered to be problematic, while in the case of girls it is more or less taboo.

Youngsters who have grown up in the homeland therefore tend to be preferred as marriage partners: they are assumed to be 'better behaved' and 'more traditional'. It is, after all, a well-documented phenomenon that migrant communities go to great lengths to consolidate in the host country what they regard to be their 'authentic culture'. Meanwhile, though, their country of origin, i.e. Turkey, may have experienced societal developments that affect local sociocultural praxis. Consequently, in our research, newcomers often indicated that they had been shocked by the conservatism of the first-generation community in Flanders/Belgium. Regardless of the backgrounds of the respondents, they all sensed a difference in terms of attitudes, views and sociocultural praxis between the community they had left behind and the immigrant community into which they had been received.

It emerged from the interviews that the context for male and female family formers is quite different. The male family former is unable to fulfil his traditional role, especially in the early stages of marriage, as his partner, who is already familiar with Belgian society, is the breadwinner and maintains all contact with the outside world. In the Turkish community, these tasks are traditionally reserved for the male. In this phase, however, the female partner is the only one possessing the necessary linguistic and social skills. Moreover, the male often has to live with his in-laws. But the male does not assume the typically female role, as this is not prestigious and would cause him to lose his 'masculinity'. This often results in a double workload for the woman and emptiness for the man.

Over half of Flemish-Turkish/Moroccan men choose to marry a girl from their country of origin. Again, the fact that these girls are regarded to be 'better behaved' and 'more traditional' plays a role. Nevertheless, we spoke with female newcomers who had already achieved a degree of independence

in Turkey and who hoped to be able to consolidate this freedom in Europe. However, in the marriages of female family formers, no inversion of the traditional roles occurs. To many respondents, it was self-evident that their husband was the household head and that he bore full financial responsibility. They felt protected in an alien society by their traditional role as a 'housewife'. Nevertheless, a number of female newcomers were prepared to make an effort to integrate formally and informally into Flemish society. Not uncommonly, their partners were supportive of this decision.

What the male considers 'protective', the female often regards as 'domineering'. In other words, much depends here on the perception of the girl who has been given in marriage. Female newcomers who arrive in Belgium through marriage with a Belgian - Turkish man often have no support outside the in-law family and therefore they often experience problems with the social control exerted by the conservative Turkish community (Tribalat, 1995) or with their position as daughter-in-law in a patriarchal context (Hutter 1981; Callaerts, 2000). Again, there is evidence of excesses : in some cases women are abused and confined to their homes, they receive death threats and suffer physical, sexual or psychological violence. There is no doubt that this group of maltreated, confined women exists, but this study has been unable to determine its size. In our population sample, respondents belonging to this group all said explicitly that 'integration programmes' should be made compulsory, as this was a way to break the totalitarian power of their husbands and in-laws. Integration courses could inform women of their rights and duties, and how to call on outside assistance should this be required.

We feel it is important that spouses and in-laws should be involved in integration programmes for female newcomers. In this manner, their protective role is handled positively.

Thus, it is generally assumed that marriage partners from the country of origin are 'better behaved' and 'more traditional'. Yet, in recent years questions have been raised about their sincerity. Too many stories are circulating through the community about men who married a Belgian- Turkish girl in order to obtain a residence permit and who ignored their marital obligations from the moment their residenceship in Belgium was legally assured.

It is noticeable that Belgian- Turkish parents try to protect their daughters from such opportunistic marriages by demanding a substantial dowry. The parents deposit this money until they feel certain about their son-in-law's motives for marriage. However, such a heavy financial burden can prove difficult to bear for the new family, and quite often it is the daughter herself who becomes responsible for repayment either during or after marriage.

It is often hard to distinguish in practice between forced and arranged marriages. This depends entirely on the perception of the daughter who is given in marriage, not on the formal characteristics. We were unable to establish within the limitations of our research what proportion of marriages is forced and may thus be considered a form of human trafficking. Our research data do however suggest that this phenomenon occurs only in small subcultures within the Turkish/Moroccan community. Nevertheless, we would recommend that further research be conducted into criminal activity within the context of Turkish/Moroccan marriages.

3.3.2 Labour

In the lives of newcomers, the aspect of 'labour' is closely linked to the aspect of reception/integration. Unfortunately, the two aspects conflict with one another. In the perception of newcomers –particularly men- finding employment is the main priority upon arrival in Belgium. This is the only possibility for the male to assume the traditional role of breadwinner and to repay the costs of the marriage/dowry and his journey to Belgium. In the case of most men, there is the additional burden of relatives who have stayed behind in the homelands, and who regard the migration of their son as an 'investment' that should pay off quickly. Consequently, these men easily fall prey to unlisted employment, either in the migrant community (hotel, catering, retailing) or in the Flemish community (fruit picking). The problem of unlisted employment is, in other words, no longer restricted to people without a residence permit.

Newcomers experience the language barrier as a serious handicap in their search for suitable work. Our interviews revealed that some newly arrived individuals were actually unaware that the spoken language in Flanders is Dutch rather than French. Furthermore, their degrees are often not recognised in Belgium, which makes them worthless on the labour market. This is doubly frustrating, especially for the high skilled. Likewise, work experience in Turkey is usually deemed irrelevant. Most individuals, especially the low skilled, are very motivated to enrol for vocational training in combination with a language course, insofar as they are able to perform some remunerated labour during this training in order to meet the most urgent financial needs.

We ascertained that female newcomers also want to work, but in their case finding employment is less imperative. They are motivated to find a job, and quite a number of women expressed the wish to enrol for vocational training or more general courses. In other words, they were hoping to realise their

desire for emancipation through migration to Flanders/Belgium and the opportunities that this entails in terms of work and training. On the other hand there are also female newcomers who intend to devote themselves entirely to their role as housewife and who do not consider work outside the home an option.

It emerged from the interviews that the expectations of women with regard to work sometimes clash with the expectations of their husbands. While the male often hopes to marry a 'traditional housewife' by choosing a partner from their country of origin, the female newcomer expects to achieve emancipation by marrying a Belgian - Turkish partner. In other words, the myths that circulate about the two communities are a constant source of conflict between many newly-weds.

Both men and women complain that finding a job in Flanders/Belgium is much harder than they had imagined. Again, this is indicative of a myth in Turkey about employment in Europe. Migrants assume that they will find work immediately, without the required language skills. To many men, this was their biggest disappointment in Flemish/Belgian society, as the failure to find employment had immediate and tangible financial consequences.

3.3.3 Expectations and the 'reception policy' in Flanders

Most newcomers, however, have no specific conception of Belgium and Flanders in particular. They have an image of 'Europe', which is shaped by migrants who return home for their summer holidays. It had become quite clear to the Turkish newcomers participating in our research that this image was a distorted view of the European lifestyle.

Furthermore, newcomers had heard stories about the prevailing Flemish mentality from their prospective spouses. They had been told about positive values such as tolerance, and negative aspects such as individualism. Almost all newcomers spoke positively about the considerable degree of (political) freedom in Belgium. However, they also indicated that they had been warned that the Turkish community in Flanders was quite individualistic and showed little solidarity.

Few newcomers were aware before they left their homelands that Flanders has a reception policy. They had counted mostly on support from their partners and in-laws. Most female newcomers said explicitly that it was up to their partner, who had after all been raised in Flanders, to assist them. This expectation was less outspoken among the male newcomers. They counted on support and solidarity on the part of their community in Belgium, but this expectation was rarely fulfilled.

Both male and female newcomers had a positive attitude towards the official reception policy of the centres visited. Most said they were pleasantly surprised when they were told such facilities existed. Moreover, the courses more than fulfilled their expectations, so that they found it difficult to formulate any points of criticism. Most respondents did however indicate they had intended to start a course in "Dutch as a foreign language" sooner, but that they had lost time because of the existing waiting list. This feeling was even more pronounced among the men, who were for that matter slightly more critical of such courses, as they interfered with their urgent desire to find a job. Many males indicated that they had left their homeland in the hope of finding immediate employment. They therefore felt frustrated first to have to attend 'school', especially without any guarantee of subsequent employment. For newcomers who want to work, it would probably be interesting if the vocational training offered by the employment agency (VDAB) would be combined with a language course and a social orientation programme. Higher-skilled men were also more critical: they felt the courses were not always adapted to their abilities. It was unclear what value added a social orientation programme might represent to them.

Few newcomers are members of Flemish- Turkish associations or clubs. It did however emerge that there was a need in this respect among the newcomers interviewed. The impression was created that the Turkish community, or certain segments of it, may be better organised for the reception of newcomers than the other large ethnic community in Flanders, namely the Moroccan community. Some Turkish organisations even provide Dutch language courses. Associations for women also seem better organised within the Turkish community.

Over half of the respondents had relatives who were already living in Belgium. They all counted on their active assistance in facilitating their 'integration'. In reality, however, most had been disappointed and they complained about a lack of help and interest on the part of the community in the situation of newcomers. They experienced this as a lack of solidarity. Conversely, their community often looks down on newcomers because they come from the 'backward' home country. The newcomer, on the other hand, is often under the impression that time has stood still within the Flemish-Turkish community.

In other words, there is little understanding between the two groups, which is particularly tough on male newcomers. After all, they often find themselves in a precarious economic situation. Moreover, they must often come to terms with the fact that the image of the 'rich migrant' is a myth. Female newcomers, on the other hand, tend to complain about the great loneliness to which they fall prey if they can only fall back on their husband. In this sense,

the reception programme can also fulfil a therapeutic role for many people. After all, it provides an opportunity to come into contact with individuals facing a similar situation.

4. EPILOGUE

'Opposed expectations' run as a thread through this research. They manifest themselves in different aspects of the study.

A first surprise is the small proportion of Turkish and Moroccan immigrants among recent newcomers. The proportion of EU citizens and, even more so, that of 'other Europeans' and non-Europeans is large in comparison to the respective numbers already residing in Belgium. Nevertheless, there is a feeling among many people in Flanders that the country is being inundated with flows of Moroccan and Turkish immigrants. This idea not only exists among ordinary Flemish/Belgian citizens, but it is also manifest in reception policy, in the sense that integration programmes are geared predominantly to these populations.

In reception policy, too, there is evidence of contrasts. Policy is aimed at improving the social, educational and professional abilities of the newcomer. Often, this is precisely what the newcomer is trying to achieve. However, some people within the immigrant community appear not to share this ambition. From the perspective of their concern with consolidating the 'lost authentic culture', they perceive an emancipating reception policy as a threat. Often, newcomers who share the emancipatory intentions of reception policy nevertheless expect other things than what current policy has to offer. Both parties agreed that a satisfactory participation in Belgian society is the ultimate goal, but they differ on how best to achieve this goal. The (male) newcomer sees employment as a necessary condition for all further steps towards full participation. This ambition can easily clash with the actual procedure of the integration programme. After all, it is assumed in current reception policy that the newcomer must first learn the local language, and can only then start thinking about suitable employment.

Also, many prospective emigrants have unrealistic expectations about life in Belgium. They believe that they will be moving to an idyllic place where they will be liberated from all restrictions and injustices that exist in their home country. Their future home will be more modern, freer and wealthier. In short, it will be better. They see their migration as a step towards 'the new'. On the other hand, Turks residing in Belgium choose marriage partners in their land of origin precisely because of a nostalgic longing for 'the familiar'. Many Turkish residents feel not (yet) at ease in Western society and, through

marriage, hope to belong again to the 'lost' culture of their region of origin. What the newcomer is trying to escape from is precisely what the settled immigrant is trying to regain.

After arrival, the disappointment is often great for both parties. Yet, here too perceptions differ. While the newcomer is often shocked by the conservatism of his/her new social environment, the 'settled immigrant' already living in Belgium often looks down on the underdeveloped material situation from which the newcomer has 'escaped'. The newcomer expects respect for what he/she brings along, while the settled foreigner expects gratitude for what he/she has to offer.

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