# Educational Factors in the Economic Integration of the Foreign Population in Belgium 

Serge Feld, Madeleine Nantcho, Sophie Perin<br>Department of Economics<br>University of Liege


#### Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to determine whether there are differences concerning the probability of employment between Belgians and foreigners who have the same characteristics. The paper tries to answer some major questions: for the same gender and qualifications, is there a difference between Belgians and foreigners concerning employment rates and stability? Does the situation of immigrants differ significantly according to the length of residence in Belgium? Can we claim to observe that the higher the level of education, the shorter the employment rate differentials between Belgians and foreigners? Belgium comprises about $9 \%$ of foreigners coming from different countries and at different periods, which is a major characteristic of Belgian immigration. That is why our data covers individuals of about ten nationalities. For each nationality, we distinguish between individuals by their place of birth and, for those born in a foreign country, by their length of residence in Belgium. Our analysis is based on information from the 2001 Belgian census and focuses on the 25 to 44 year-old population. In the first part of the paper, we use different probit models (for each level of education and by gender) to estimate the likelihood of employment and, in a second section, we compute, only for those having a job, the likelihood of permanent employment.


## 1. Introduction

### 1.1 The issue

In all European countries, the situation of populations of foreign origin, whether recent or longer-term immigrants or even foreigners born in the host country, is less favourable than that of nationals in most respects, whatever the socio-economic criteria considered. This is particularly true on the labour market. Foreign labour integration depends, in each country, on the many parameters determined by economic structures and immigration periods. Analysis of economic integration modalities gives a way of identifying the main difficulties as well as the measure of success achieved by this population.
The most profitable method is to track the following phases: education, arrival on the labour market, level of activity as well as under-employment and the working status of each individual. Most researches habitually focus on the particular situation of only one or a small number of immigrant categories. This is because, in most cases, the host countries have taken in flows mainly from a limited number of countries of origin or else because these are new host countries which do not yet have sufficient data on second generations.
As compared with many other host countries, Belgium presents a specific configuration which involves treating this problem as a whole where population categories of foreign origin are concerned.
In the first place, immigration into Belgium dates back to the end of the second World War and, up to 1974, Belgium constantly called on various countries of origin, one after another, to provide this labour supply: Italy, Portugal, Greece and other European countries. Next, recruitment as well as family regrouping spread to Morocco and Turkey as well as other African and Asian countries. Finally, Belgium hosts a large number of workers from neighbouring countries: France, the Netherlands, and Germany. The foreign labour force therefore shows widely differing features as to origin as well as date of settlement in the country and its demographic and socio-economic characteristics, as illustrated in Table I. This analysis will consequently not be confined to treating the totality of immigrants as a single group nor will it focus on a national category considered a priori as "problematic".

In order to fully understand integration trajectories on the labour market, the longitudinal approach is undeniably far richer than the cross-section approach. The latter is obviously easier to carry out since it requires no historical data on the immigrant's trajectory of life. It is the most widely used approach but its limitations become quickly apparent as regards interpretation.
The longitudinal approach relies on more detailed surveys and traces individual profiles for the constitution of families, the whole course of education and access to the labourmarket. These surveys generally deal with well "targeted" populations. The gain in historical depth is sometimes at the expense of the extent of the phenomenon.

Among the most relevant recent researches, the following is of particular interest : in Canada, a longitudinal study, from an migrant sample, on their capacity of insertion on the labour-market (Piché, Renaud and Gingras, 2002) ; in Spain, on the socio-economic situation of various immigrant cohorts on the labour-market (Valverde and Roig, 2004) ; in Switzerland, from a household panel, an analysis of occupational integration according to the country of origin (nationality of parents) and the current nationality (Wanner, 2004). In France, the first longitudinal study examines how far the socio-
occupational origin of immigrants restricts their chances of upward social mobility and measures their occupational itinerary (Dayan, Echardour, Glaude, 1997). Also noted will be the analysis of the influx of foreigners on the labour-market according to national groups and modes of access to the employment market (Léger, 2004). This approach is also illustrated by the measure of into the differing mobility on the labourmarket of various generations of immigrants and persons born in France whose parents are or are not migrants (Meurs, Pailhe, Simon, 2005). In Belgium, the best longitudinal study up to now is certainly that dealing with the extent and determining factors of integration attitudes in Moroccan and Turkish communities (Lesthaeghe, 2000).
A very high number of studies devoted to this issue have endeavoured to illustrate and support some of the theories on integration of foreign populations by sophisticated processing of empiric data. The most frequently proposed models in the United States, i.e. the linear assimilation theory, the theory of segmented assimilation in ethnic communities or that of socio-economic disadvantages are far from achieving consensus. Already, in a neighbouring country such as Canada, their relevance is strongly contested (Boyd, 2002). In Europe, the context of the presence of long-standing foreign communities as well as recent migratory histories supposes relying on other theoretical references.
In the more particular configuration of Belgium, the multiplicity of situation makes it illusory to put forward a general explanation but allows a detailed examination of the diversity of integration trajectories.

### 1.2 The situation in Belgium

In Belgium, as noted in §1.1, recent immigrants are far from representing the majority of the foreign population. The net balance of annual in-flows and out-flows has stood for a fairly long period at an average of 20,000 immigrants (SOPEMI). Age structure, gender and socio-economic characteristics are such that only a small part of these flows constitutes what is commonly called labour migration. The question is hardly to track the present itinerary of new arrivals in the country in their efforts to penetrate the labour-market but rather to follow up the situation of those born in the country and those who have been there for several years.

Table 1 provides information only on the working-age population since only the characteristics of the foreign labour force are here analysed. This manpower represents $8.03 \%$ of the total labour supply in Belgium, a figure slightly lower than that for the total percentage of foreign residents in the country. The 354,262 foreign workers divide into categories of more or less the same size when only the 10 largest national groups are considered ${ }^{1}$. Thus, $30 \%$ of foreign economic active population workers were born in Belgium, those having recently immigrated (under 10 years ago) represent about 34\% and those who arrived over 10 years ago form the remaining $36 \%^{2}$.

[^0]Table 1: 15-74 year-old working population, according to place of birth and date of arrival in Belgium for the 10 main nationalities.

|  | Absolute <br> Numbers | \% |
| :--- | ---: | ---: |
| TOTAL BELGIUM | 4413654 | $\mathbf{1 0 0 . 0 0}$ |
| Belgians | 4059392 | 91.97 |
| Foreigners | 354262 | 8.03 |
| By nationalities : | \% foreigners |  |
| Dutch born in Belgium | 6308 | 1.78 |
| Dutch born abroad, recent immigration (a) | 22052 | 6.22 |
| Dutch born abroad, old immigration (b) | 12398 | 3.50 |
| English born in Belgium | 1198 | 0.34 |
| English born abroad, recent immigration (a) | 5227 | 1.48 |
| English born abroad, old immigration (b) | 2836 | 0.80 |
| French born in Belgium | 5281 | 1.49 |
| French born abroad, recent immigration (a) | 18617 | 5.26 |
| French born abroad, old immigration (b) | 18377 | 5.19 |
| German born in Belgium | 1587 | 0.45 |
| German born abroad, recent immigration (a) | 7016 | 1.98 |
| German born abroad, old immigration (b) | 4388 | 1.24 |
| Greek born in Belgium | 2531 | 0.71 |
| Greek born abroad, recent immigration (a) | 1017 | 0.29 |
| Greek born abroad, old immigration (b) | 2213 | 0.62 |
| Italian born in Belgium | 48236 | 13.62 |
| Italian born abroad, recent immigration (a) | 5428 | 1.53 |
| Italian born abroad, old immigration (b) | 30004 | 8.47 |
| Moroccan born in Belgium | 4086 | 1.15 |
| Moroccan born abroad, recent immigration (a) | 15284 | 4.31 |
| Moroccan born abroad, old immigration (b) | 8173 | 2.31 |
| Portuguese born in Belgium | 771 | 0.22 |
| Portuguese born abroad, recent immigration (a) | 5142 | 1.45 |
| Portuguese born abroad, old immigration (b) | 3664 | 1.03 |
| Spanish born in Belgium | 8028 | 2.27 |
| Spanish born abroad, recent immigration (a) | 2239 | 0.63 |
| Spanish born abroad, old immigration (b) | 8026 | 2.27 |
| Turkish born in Belgium | 1813 | 0.51 |
| Turkish born abroad, recent immigration (a) | 7246 | 2.05 |
| Turkish born abroad, old immigration (b) | 9065 | 1.40 |
| others nationalities and missing |  | 25.44 |
|  | $100 \%$ |  |

Source: GRESP, computed from 2001 census

Of course, these proportions are different for each nationality, reflecting the history and type of settlement in the country. These are the 30 categories analysed in §3, the relationship between level of education and employment being specially stressed.
However, it is also important to look at the relevance, with regard to the results presented in §3, of another mode of division of foreign labour force by distinguishing the three following groups.
The first one, quantitatively important in Belgium, consists of workers from neighbouring countries, countries at a similar or slightly higher level of economic development and which results from the central geographical position of the country, the presence of earlier industrial activity and then of services' sector.

The second group consists of immigration from Southern Europe, as has been seen in varying degrees in other traditionally host countries. The third includes the latest flows from Morocco and Turkey ${ }^{3}$.
Length of stay, gender, national origin and level of education therefore constitute the essential parameters for analysis of these economic integration itineraries.
Education levels, calculated according to the last diploma obtained, show, unsurprisingly, considerable differences among the 10 nationalities considered.
A presentation based simply on the proportions of diploma-holders at successive levels of schooling according to nationality would produce erroneous interpretations since they would be distorted by the age-structure of each group. The indirect standardisation method has therefore been used, allowing the presentation of the comparable data in Table 2 in the form of a comparative coefficient in relation to the total population of Belgium.
The comparative coefficient for Belgium is equal to 1 . In general, noticeably wide differences between the groups can be observed, particularly at primary and higher education levels. This is the case especially for the English, Germans and Dutch who are over-represented at the higher level (2.9, 2.2, 1.8, 1.6 et 1.2 index in comparison with the national standard). The situation is reversed for the Turks, Portuguese, Italians, Greeks and Spanish of whom at least $30 \%$ more than the national standard have only a primary school certificate; Twice more Turks and Portuguese have only a primary school certificate as in the national population, whereas 5 times fewer Turks and less than half of Portuguese and Moroccans have a higher education diploma.

Table 2: Standardised comparative coefficient according to level of education in over18 years population for the $\mathbf{1 0}$ main nationalities

|  | Primary | Junior <br> Secondary | Senior <br> Secondary | Academic or <br> non academic |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Belgium | 1.0 | 1.0 | 1.0 | 1.0 |
| Germany | 0.6 | 0.8 | 0.9 | 1.6 |
| Spain | 1.7 | 1.1 | 0.9 | 0.7 |
| France | 1.1 | 1.1 | 0.9 | 1.0 |
| Greece | 1.8 | 0.9 | 0.8 | 0.8 |
| Italy | 1.8 | 1.3 | 0.9 | 0.4 |
| Morocco | 3.3 | 1.6 | 0.8 | 0.4 |
| Netherlands | 0.6 | 1.0 | 1.1 | 1.2 |
| Portugal | 4.0 | 1.1 | 0.6 | 0.4 |
| United Kingdom | 0.3 | 0.5 | 0.8 | 2.0 |
| Turkey | 5.1 | 1.3 | 0.6 | 0.2 |
| Total foreigners | 1.5 | 1.1 | 0.9 | 0.9 |

## Source: GRESP, computed from 2001 census

Is educational performance a good indicator for insertion onto the labour market? Is it "paying" to have a high level of education and does this advantage have the same importance for all nationalities or is it a greater advantage for some than for others? Are women always in a less favourable situation than men? Does a high level of education attenuate these disparities and is this phenomenon more manifest for certain nationalities?

[^1]In addition, the question arises as to the influence of the geographical area.
A first approach describes the situation as a whole at national level. This type of analysis, which is usual in most researches, runs the risk of masking regional disparities, which can prove considerable in a country with widely differing social and economic structures. If divergent tendencies appear at regional level, the question arises as to the importance to be attached to the characteristics of the local economy and labour market which can, in certain circumstances, play a more decisive role than the foreign workers' differences of national origin.
These questions are here dealt with by measuring two integration indicators :

- firstly, the probability of finding a job;
- secondly, the probability of getting a "good" job, meaning one that offers an open-ended contract.


## 2. Data and methods

The data used in this analysis are taken from the General Census of the population of Belgium, consisting of individual data collected for the socio-economic enquiry by the National Institute of Statistics (NIS) from the whole of the resident population on October $1^{\text {st }} 2001$ in Belgium. This unpublished data was treated and analysed by the University of Liege GRESP team ${ }^{4}$. Further, this information was combined with that collected on a permanent basis in the National Register. Thanks to this crossreferencing, it was possible to find out the date of arrival in Belgium of each immigrant, which was our main concern.
Most research on this issue works out prediction models concerning unemployment rates. The heterogeneous nature of unemployment cannot, however, be reflected in the unemployment rates observed for populations with differing structures. These rates do not enable a clear distinction between two realities.
A high unemployment rate may reflect either a high number of individuals unemployed or a population with a relatively low number of workers in relation to non-workers. Comparison of unemployment rates may then lead to false interpretations. Given the great differences observed between nationalities as to the proportion of workers to nonworkers, it seemed preferable to focus the analysis on employment, thus avoiding this type of distortion.
The indicator used is therefore the employment rate.
Concerning the measuring of employment stability, the single indicator chosen was the length of the labour contract ${ }^{5}$.
A probit model is used in which the dependent variable will be the fact of having or not having employment. The explanatory variables are nationality, distinguishing place of birth (in Belgium or abroad) and specifying, for foreigners born abroad, the length of stay in Belgium (under or over 10 years’ residence).

[^2]The population considered for analysis includes all 25 to 44 year-old (including students) who took part in the census ${ }^{6}$. These individuals were then split into three groups according to: education level ${ }^{7}$, gender and residential region ${ }^{8}$.
The model consequently applies to 18 samples taking into account the three levels of education, two genders and three regions. We effectively chose to distinguish several regressions (one for each level of education and for each gender and each region), rather than integrate these explanatory variables into a single model, given the highly differing behaviour of foreign populations depending on gender, education level and region. This enables the analysis to determine the impact of nationality, other things being equal, on employment rates.
In the second stage of this analysis, a second model is used identifying, for those in employment, under what type of contract they have been engaged. The dependent variable is therefore the type of contract for each individual whole the population considered for analysis includes all 25 to 44 year-old men and women in employment at the time of the census. The explanatory variables and the analysis procedure (in 18 stages) are the same as those for the previous model.
In order to facilitate analysis, these two models were firstly applied to Belgium as a whole without regional distinctions. The next state consisted in distinguishing individuals according to their residential region.

## 3. Results

### 3.1 Probability of employment

The analysis makes abundantly clear that nationality has a major impact on the likelihood of employment. A comparison between two individuals, one a Belgian, one a foreigner, of same gender, residing in the same region and with the same level of education, definitely shows that the probability of employment is markedly different depending on the single criterion of nationality.
Table 3 and 4 show, for each gender, the significance of the variables for each regression. The analysis of results gives the answers to three major questions, developed below.

### 3.1.1 Among the 10 nationalities considered, which are those with a higher level of probability of employment than for Belgians? Do results depend on residential region?

With a few exceptions mainly concerning the male labour force analysed below, the probability of employment for an individual of foreign nationality is lower than that for a Belgian individual. Moreover, the results observed for the whole of Belgium are more

[^3]marked when the analysis is made at regional level, with tendencies even being sometimes reversed in comparison with the data considered at national level.

It can be observed that for manpower with a high level of education, in Belgium as a whole, any foreigner (whether man or woman) has less chance than a Belgian of being employed, all characteristics of age, gender and level of education being equal.

On the other hand, if we distinguish by area of residence, we see that in the Brussels area, the trend is reversed for men of certain nationalities. Highly qualified Englishmen, Germans and Spaniards recently arrived have more chance of finding employment in the capital city than Belgians. And yet individuals of these nationalities born in Belgium or having been residents for over 10 years have less chance of employment than Belgians.
Highly qualified Dutch immigrants, whatever the length of residence, also have a higher probability of employment than Belgians in Brussels.

It is possible that a very good knowledge of English, Dutch, Spanish or German is a highly favourable factor for integration on the labour market in the capital, where many European organisations are based.
In the same line of thought, it can be seen that the Dutch have a better chance of employment in Brussels than Belgians, but in the Flemish region the probability of employment is lower for them than for a Belgian. Their linguistic knowledge could therefore help them on the Brussels market in comparison with Belgian inhabitants of Brussels who do not necessarily speak Dutch, while in Flanders, their linguistic advantage disappears since they have less chance of employment than the Flemish.
These regional results are not confirmed for highly educated women for whom, whatever their nationality, the probability of employment is always lower than that for a woman of Belgian nationality resident in the same region.

As for poorly skilled male manpower, as a whole, the likelihood of employment is higher for certain nationalities than for Belgians. This is the case for recent immigrants of Dutch as well as German and Portuguese nationality.
However, these results are not observed in all areas of residence. It is only when residing in the Flemish region that poorly qualified recent Dutch immigrants have a greater probability of employment than Belgians. For long-term Spanish immigrants with poor education, only those residing in the Walloon region have a better chance of employment than Belgians. It is the same for recent German immigrants and in this single case, this is also confirmed for women.
It is also clear from the regional analysis that for residents of the capital, those who have a better chance of employment than Belgian inhabitants of Brussels are mainly poorly skilled individuals from Mediterranean countries (Italians, Spaniards or Portuguese).
Finally, a result that did not appear clearly for Belgium as a whole, poorly skilled Portuguese immigrants have a greater probability of employment than an individual of Belgian nationality, whatever the residential region.
In the case of the female labour force, it will be noted that the probability of employment for foreign women is always lower than that for Belgians, for all nationalities, all levels of education and in all regions.

Table 3: Odds ratio from probit regression for employment - Men 2001

| Dutch born in Belgium | High education level |  |  |  |  |  | Medium education level |  |  |  |  |  | Low education level |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Brussels |  | Flander |  | Wallonia |  | Brussels |  | Flander |  | Wallonia |  | Brussels |  | Flander |  | Wallonia |  |
|  | $\operatorname{Exp} \beta$ | sign | Exp $\beta$ | sign | Exp $\beta$ | sign | Exp $\beta$ | sign | $\operatorname{Exp} \beta$ | sign | Exp $\beta$ | sign | Exp $\beta$ | sign | $\operatorname{Exp} \beta$ | sign | Exp $\beta$ | signif |
|  | -0.14 | - | -0.19 | * | 0.41 | - | -0.25 | - | -0.04 | - | 0.00 | - | 0.16 | - | -0.10 | * | 0.13 | - |
| Dutch born abroad, recent immigration (a) | 0.21 | * | -0.15 | *** | -0.36 | *** | 0.18 | - | -0.06 | - | 0.06 | - | -0.21 | - | 0.16 | *** | 0.18 | - |
| Dutch born abroad, old immigration (b) | 0.84 | * | -0.30 | *** | -0.02 | - | 5.00 | - | -0.15 | *** | 0.21 | - | -0.32 | - | 0.07 | - | 0.38 | - |
| English born in Belgium | -0.45 | * | -0.48 | * | -0.69 | *** | 0.65 | - | -0.41 | * | -0.19 | - | -0.11 | - | -0.50 | *** | 0.18 | - |
| English born abroad, recent immigration (a) | 0.32 | *** | -0.40 | *** | -0.02 | - | 0.03 | - | -0.69 | *** | -0.01 | - | 0.14 | - | -0.26 | *** | 0.00 | - |
| English born abroad, old immigration (b) | 0.08 | - | -0.46 | *** | 0.06 | - | 0.28 | - | -0.74 | *** | 0.11 | - | -0.40 | - | -0.30 | * | 0.58 | - |
| French born in Belgium | -0.31 | * | 0.14 | - | -0.26 | - | -0.24 | * | -0.75 | *** | -0.35 | *** | -0.34 | *** | -0.51 | *** | -0.50 | *** |
| French born abroad, recent immigration (a) | 0.02 | - | -0.37 | *** | -0.18 | *** | 0.00 | - | -0.49 | * | 0.07 | - | 0.07 | - | -0.26 | *** | -0.02 | - |
| French born abroad, old immigration (b) | -0.16 | - | -0.48 | *** | -0.16 | - | -0.07 | - | -0.34 | *** | -0.08 | - | -0.23 | *** | -0.21 | *** | -0.08 | *** |
| German born in Belgium | -0.32 | - | -0.75 | *** | -0.42 | * | -0.16 | - | -0.34 | * | -0.03 | - | -0.21 | - | -0.50 | *** | -0.09 | - |
| German born abroad, recent immigration (a) | 0.20 | * | -0.37 | *** | -0.09 | - | 0.84 | *** | -0.56 | *** | -0.10 | - | 0.07 | - | -0.29 | * | 0.52 | *** |
| German born abroad, old immigration (b) | 0.26 | - | -0.79 | *** | -0.23 | - | -0.28 | - | -0.45 | *** | -0.17 | - | -0.87 | * | -0.26 | * | 0.46 | *** |
| Greek born in Belgium | -0.18 | - | -0.76 | *** | -0.38 | - | -0.22 | * | -0.60 | *** | -0.42 | *** | -0.18 | * | -0.63 | *** | -0.36 | - |
| Greek born abroad, recent immigration (a) | -0.37 | *** | -0.74 | *** | -1.14 | *** | -0.15 | - | -0.70 | *** | -0.72 | * | -0.01 | - | -0.39 | * | -0.44 | *** |
| Greek born abroad, old immigration (b) | -0.37 | - | -0.76 | * | -0.84 | *** | -0.52 | *** | -0.72 | *** | -0.70 | *** | -0.11 | - | -0.32 | * | -0.44 | *** |
| Italian born in Belgium | -0.12 | - | -0.40 | *** | -0.10 | *** | 0.12 | - | -0.24 | *** | -0.17 | *** | 0.00 | - | -0.32 | *** | -0.08 | *** |
| Italian born abroad, recent immigration (a) | 0.04 | - | -0.78 | *** | -0.58 | *** | 0.06 | - | -0.38 | *** | -0.40 | *** | 0.09 | - | -0.27 | *** | -0.11 | * |
| Italian born abroad, old immigration (b) | -0.23 | - | -0.65 | *** | -0.11 | - | 0.05 | - | -0.35 | *** | -0.23 | *** | 0.12 | * | -0.23 | *** | -0.02 | - |
| Moroccan born in Belgium | -1.25 | *** | -1.03 | *** | -0.98 | *** | -0.81 | *** | -1.31 | *** | -1.04 | *** | -0.73 | *** | -1.11 | *** | -1.05 | *** |
| Moroccan born abroad, recent immigration (a) | -1.28 | *** | -1.33 | *** | -1.83 | *** | -0.63 | *** | -1.06 | *** | -1.26 | *** | -0.24 | *** | -0.58 | *** | -0.63 | *** |
| Moroccan born abroad, old immigration (b) | -0.87 | *** | -0.89 | *** | -1.05 | *** | -0.73 | *** | -1.05 | *** | -0.89 | *** | -0.66 | *** | -0.99 | *** | -0.84 | *** |
| Portuguese born in Belgium | -0.62 | * | -1.33 | *** | -0.40 | - | -0.13 | - | -0.13 | - | 0.46 | - | 0.21 | - | -0.16 | - | -0.07 | - |
| Portuguese born abroad, recent immigration (a) | -0.05 | - | -0.50 | - | -0.84 | *** | 0.09 | - | -0.48 | *** | -0.34 | - | 0.52 | *** | 0.01 | - | 0.36 | *** |
| Portuguese born abroad, old immigration (b) | 0.36 | - | -1.07 | *** | -0.11 | - | 0.24 | - | -0.08 | - | -0.07 | - | 0.31 | *** | 0.34 | * | 0.42 | *** |
| Spanish born in Belgium | -0.17 | * | -0.31 | - | -0.17 | - | 0.08 | - | -0.18 | * | -0.16 | ** | 0.10 | - | -0.03 | - | -0.11 | * |
| Spanish born abroad, recent immigration (a) | 0.27 | * | -0.69 | *** | -0.72 | *** | -0.12 | - | -0.48 | * | -0.70 | * | -0.06 | - | -0.33 | * | -0.03 | - |
| Spanish born abroad, old immigration (b) | -0.11 | - | -0.01 | - | -0.20 | - | 0.43 | *** | -0.27 | * | 0.06 | - | 0.17 | * | -0.30 | *** | 0.23 | *** |
| Turkish born in Belgium | -0.68 | - | -0.97 | * | -1.48 | *** | -0.82 | *** | -1.08 | *** | -1.05 | *** | -0.64 | *** | -1.03 | *** | -0.96 | *** |
| Turkish born abroad, recent immigration (a) | -0.82 | *** | -1.20 | *** | -1.32 | *** | -0.65 | *** | -0.94 | *** | -1.00 | *** | -0.40 | *** | -0.49 | *** | -0.69 | *** |
| Turkish born abroad, old immigration (b) | -0.30 | - | -1.45 | *** | -1.04 | *** | -0.74 | *** | -1.15 | *** | -0.96 | *** | -0.43 | *** | -0.98 | *** | -0.74 | *** |
| $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline \mathrm{R}^{2} \\ \text { Log likelihood } \\ \hline \end{array}$ | 0.052 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | . |  |  |  |  |  |
| Sample | 54 |  | 270 | 517 | 124 | 611 | 326 |  | 336 | 744 | 157 |  | 460 |  | 256 |  | 175 | 198 |

Note: (a) : Under 10 years of residence; (b) : Over 10 years of residence.

* Significant at $5 \%$; *** significant at $1 \%$

Source: GRESP, computed from 2001 census

Table 4: Odds ratio from probit regression for employment - Women 2001

| Dutch born in Belgium | High education level |  |  |  |  |  | Medium education level |  |  |  |  |  | Low education level |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Brussels |  | Flander |  | Wallonia |  | Brussels |  | Flander |  | Wallonia |  | Brussels |  | Flander |  | Wallonia |  |
|  | Exp $\beta$ | sign | Exp $\beta$ | sign | $\operatorname{Exp} \beta$ | sign | Exp $\beta$ | Exp $\beta$ | sign | Exp $\beta$ | Exp $\beta$ | sign | Exp $\beta$ | sign | Exp $\beta$ | sign | Exp $\beta$ | sign |
|  | -0.28 | - | -0.33 | *** | -0.02 | - | 0.01 | - | -0.26 | *** | -0.04 | - | -0.66 | *** | -0.28 | *** | -0.11 | - |
| Dutch born abroad, recent immigration (a) | -0.01 | - | -0.62 | *** | -0.56 | *** | -0.12 | - | -0.35 | *** | -0.03 | - | -0.25 | - | -0.08 | *** | 0.05 | - |
| Dutch born abroad, old immigration (b) | -0.05 | - | -0.46 | *** | -0.27 | - | 0.00 | - | -0.38 | *** | -0.07 | - | 0.05 | - | -0.22 | *** | 0.01 | - |
| Enqlish born in Belqium | 0.78 | - | -0.22 | - | -0.42 | - | -0.01 | - | -0.24 | - | -0.25 | - | 0.16 | - | 0.14 | - | 0.21 | - |
| English born abroad, recent immigration (a) | -0.15 | * | -1.40 | *** | -1.08 | *** | -0.27 | - | -1.07 | *** | -1.03 | *** | 0.26 | - | -0.70 | *** | -0.60 | *** |
| English born abroad, old immigration (b) | -0.10 | - | -0.90 | *** | -0.39 | * | 0.27 | - | -0.76 | *** | -0.42 | * | -0.26 | - | -0.28 | * | -0.06 | - |
| French born in Belqium | -0.09 | - | -0.38 | * | -0.34 | *** | -0.15 | - | -0.43 | *** | -0.36 | *** | -0.14 | - | -0.20 | * | -0.23 | *** |
| French born abroad, recent immigration (a) | -0.53 | *** | -0.99 | *** | -0.59 | ** | -0.31 | *** | -0.62 | *** | -0.23 | *** | -0.11 | - | -0.36 | *** | -0.06 | - |
| French born abroad, old immigration (b) | -0.24 | *** | -0.52 | *** | -0.30 | *** | -0.26 | *** | -0.37 | *** | -0.27 | *** | -0.30 | *** | -0.26 | *** | -0.13 | *** |
| German born in Belgium | -0.33 | - | -0.68 | *** | -0.25 | - | -0.53 | - | -0.30 | - | -0.12 | - | -0.38 | - | -0.01 | - | -0.14 | - |
| German born abroad, recent immigration (a) | -0.11 | - | -1.20 | *** | -0.44 | *** | -0.23 | - | -0.85 | *** | 0.04 | - | 0.18 | - | -0.63 | *** | 0.37 | *** |
| German born abroad, old immigration (b) | 0.09 | - | -0.88 | *** | -0.31 | *** | -0.30 | - | -0.26 | * | 0.11 | - | 0.04 | - | -0.10 | - | 0.31 | *** |
| Greek born in Belgium | -0.54 | *** | -0.60 | * | -0.43 | * | -0.07 | - | -0.26 | - | -0.49 | *** | 0.11 | - | -0.47 | *** | -0.28 | *** |
| Greek born abroad, recent immigration (a) | -0.33 | *** | -1.21 | *** | -1.37 | *** | -0.55 | *** | -0.88 | *** | -1.08 | *** | -0.19 | - | -0.52 | * | -0.64 | * |
| Greek born abroad, old immigration (b) | -0.38 | - | 4.43 | - | -0.67 | * | -0.31 | * | -0.66 | *** | -0.58 | ** | 0.17 | - | -0.50 | ** | -0.08 | - |
| Italian born in Belqium | -0.12 | - | -0.47 | *** | -0.17 | *** | 0.04 | - | -0.40 | *** | -0.32 | *** | 0.06 | - | -0.33 | *** | -0.19 | *** |
| Italian born abroad, recent immigration (a) | -0.42 | *** | -1.04 | *** | -1.01 | *** | -0.29 | *** | -0.61 | *** | -0.80 | *** | -0.18 | * | -0.82 | *** | -0.66 | *** |
| Italian born abroad, old immigration (b) | -0.32 | *** | -0.86 | *** | -0.28 | *** | -0.06 | - | -0.30 | *** | -0.39 | *** | -0.05 | - | -0.50 | *** | -0.32 | *** |
| Moroccan born in Belqium | -0.85 | *** | -1.60 | *** | 4.49 | - | -0.86 | *** | -1.11 | *** | -0.93 | *** | -0.69 | *** | -1.15 | *** | -0.50 | *** |
| Moroccan born abroad, recent immigration (a) | -1.56 | *** | -2.01 | *** | -1.90 | *** | -1.02 | *** | -1.72 | *** | -1.18 | *** | -0.94 | *** | -1.54 | *** | -1.02 | *** |
| Moroccan born abroad, old immigration (b) | -0.76 | *** | -1.30 | *** | -0.78 | *** | -1.16 | *** | -1.55 | *** | -1.07 | *** | -1.34 | *** | -1.70 | *** | -1.44 | *** |
| Portuquese born in Belqium | -0.22 | - | 4.13 | - | -0.39 | - | 0.58 | - | 0.17 | - | -0.05 | - | 0.13 | - | 0.29 | - | 0.31 | - |
| Portuguese born abroad, recent immigration (a) | -0.33 | *** | -1.00 | *** | -0.80 | *** | -0.27 | *** | -0.46 | *** | -0.42 | * | -0.01 | - | -0.23 | *** | 0.10 | - |
| Portuquese born abroad, old immigration (b) | -0.33 | - | -0.70 | * | -0.49 | - | -0.06 | - | -0.24 | - | -0.13 | - | -0.17 | *** | -0.41 | *** | -0.02 | - |
| Spanish born in Belgium | -0.13 | - | -0.29 | * | -0.11 | - | 0.19 | *** | 0.01 | - | -0.04 | - | 0.16 | *** | 0.06 | - | 0.10 | - |
| Spanish born abroad, recent immigration (a) | -0.31 | *** | -0.90 | *** | -0.72 | *** | -0.52 | - | -0.94 | *** | -0.50 | * | -0.01 | - | -0.39 | *** | -0.34 | * |
| Spanish born abroad, old immigration (b) | 0.09 | - | -0.37 | * | -0.04 | - | 0.18 | * | -0.22 | * | -0.09 | - | 0.12 | - | -0.22 | *** | 0.07 | - |
| Turkish born in Belgium | -1.17 | * | -1.60 | - | -1.47 | *** | -1.06 | *** | -1.41 | *** | -1.33 | *** | -0.80 | *** | -1.10 | *** | -1.03 | *** |
| Turkish born abroad, recent immigration (a) | -1.14 | *** | -1.79 | *** | -1.73 | *** | -1.13 | *** | -1.81 | *** | -1.84 | *** | -0.80 | *** | -1.49 | *** | -1.63 | *** |
| Turkish born abroad, old immigration (b) | -0.44 | - | -1.60 | *** | -1.69 | *** | -0.73 | *** | -1.53 | *** | -1.34 | *** | -0.50 | ** | -1.44 | *** | -1.39 | *** |
| $\mathrm{R}^{2}$ <br> Log likelihood |  |  | . |  |  |  | . |  | . |  | . |  | . |  | . |  |  |  |
| Sample | 596 |  | 309 | 640 | 156 | 858 | 30 |  | 318 | 365 | 146 |  | 44 |  | 215 |  | 154 | 10 |

Note: (a) : Under 10 years of residence; (b) : Over 10 years of residence.

* Significant at $5 \%$; *** significant at $1 \%$

Source: GRESP, computed from 2001 census
3.1.2 For the nationalities which have a lower chance of employment than Belgians, can great differences between nationalities be observed? Which ones show a very high employment rate differential in comparison with the Belgian employment rate?

Employment rate varies as a function of education level and differs greatly from one region to another. Table 5 represents the results obtained for Belgian nationals. Whatever the level of education, for men as for woman, the employment rate is highest in Flanders.

Table 5: Prediction of employment-rate for 25-45 year-old Belgian nationals according to area of residence

| Level of <br> education | Men |  |  |  | Women |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Belgium | Brussels | Flander | Wallonia | Belgium | Brussels | Flander | Wallonia |
| High | 95.54 | 90.71 | 96.82 | 94.70 | 90.73 | 87.04 | 92.71 | 88.34 |
| Medium | 92.42 | 81.76 | 94.73 | 88.93 | 76.82 | 69.95 | 81.17 | 68.14 |
| Low | 81.60 | 69.43 | 86.98 | 75.15 | 56.38 | 50.20 | 63.77 | 46.34 |

Source: GRESP, computed from 2001 census

In order to compare the situation of foreigners with that of Belgians, the employmentrate differential must be calculated for each region and each level of education. The question is, then, for a given educational level and a given region, that of the divergence between the probability of employment for a Belgian and for an individual of foreign nationality.

Table 6 shows these differentials for the significant variables.
The greatest employment-rate differential in relation to Belgians is found for individuals of Moroccan and Turk nationality. As expected, it is greater for women than for men and all the more so when immigration is recent or the educational level low.
It can also be seen, at regional level, that the situation of Turks, of either gender, is distinctly less favourable when they reside in the Walloon region, the employment-rate differential being higher than in the other regions.
For Moroccans, it appears that highly or fairly highly skilled men show a smaller differential when residing in Flanders whereas those with a poor level of education show a smaller differential in Wallonia.
For women, the situation is less marked at regional level.
After Moroccans and Turks, the situation of Greeks, whatever their level of education or gender, is the one whose differential is the highest. This employment-rate difference is also greater for those residing in Wallonia.
Finally, we also notice the situation of French nationals born in Belgium (both men and women) for whom the differential in relation to Belgians is very great when the educational level is poor. As for Moroccans and Turks, the divergence is all the wider when they live in the Walloon region. But this is probably a very particular category whose characteristics should not be assimilated to other foreign labour force groups.

Table 6: employment rate differentials in relation to Belgian nationals

|  | high |  |  | MEN |  |  | low |  |  |  | high |  |  | OMEN |  |  | low |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 1 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| Dutch born in Belgium | -2.73 | -1.64 | 3.32 | -9.16 | -0.47 | 0.07 | 7.90 | -2.61 | 5.15 | -7.88 | -6.26 | -0.43 | 0.34 | -9.78 | -2.20 | -48.69 | -17.35 | -9.47 |
| Dutch born abroad, recent immigration (a) | 3.29 | -1.28 | -5.36 | 5.44 | -0.75 | 1.21 | -11.02 | 3.49 | 7.15 | -0.17 | -13.91 | -16.79 | -5.98 | -13.33 | -1.41 | -19.69 | -4.50 | 4.63 |
| Dutch born abroad, old immigration (b) | 8.57 | -2.92 | -0.23 | 22.31 | -1.99 | 3.92 | -17.41 | 1.62 | 13.79 | -1.32 | -9.48 | -6.93 | 0.18 | -14.50 | -3.68 | 3.82 | -13.38 | 0.68 |
| English born in Belgium | -10.72 | -5.47 | -13.16 | 15.03 | -6.44 | -4.40 | -5.86 | -15.56 | 7.11 | 11.64 | -3.80 | -11.73 | -0.74 | -8.64 | -13.82 | 12.42 | 8.21 | 18.00 |
| English born abroad, recent immigration (a) | 4,76 | -4.17 | -0.18 | 0.99 | -13.16 | -0.14 | 6.74 | -7.31 | 0.01 | -4.06 | -43.71 | -38.18 | -14.04 | -47.39 | -57.76 | 20.58 | -42.99 | -47.40 |
| English born abroad, old immigration (b) | 1.43 | -5.08 | 0.70 | 7.90 | -14.44 | 2.20 | -21.74 | -8.47 | 19.28 | -2.62 | -23.48 | -10.66 | 12.49 | -32.23 | -23.85 | -20.67 | -16.88 | -5.49 |
| French born in Belgium | -7.00 | 0.92 | -3.59 | -8.70 | -14.82 | -8.93 | -18.54 | -16.02 | -24.24 | -2.35 | -7.30 | -9.23 | -7.64 | -17.05 | -20.15 | -10.91 | -11.81 | -18.95 |
| French born abroad, recent immigration (a) | 0.41 | -3.80 | -2.43 | -0.13 | -8.16 | 1.50 | 3.28 | -7.13 | -1.04 | -16.72 | -26.78 | -17.91 | -16.34 | -25.73 | -12.80 | -8.50 | -22.36 | -4.83 |
| French born abroad, old immigration (b) | -3.35 | -5.51 | -2.14 | -2.28 | -5.06 | -1.75 | -12.10 | -5.79 | -3.61 | -6.66 | -10.99 | -7.76 | -13.47 | -14.35 | -14.69 | -23.51 | -15.96 | -11.14 |
| German born in Belgium | -7.18 | -10.52 | -6.67 | -5.39 | -5.06 | -0.59 | -11.08 | -15.49 | -4.06 | -9.66 | -15.89 | -6.37 | -29.00 | -11.19 | -6.57 | -29.75 | -0.81 | $-11.61$ |
| German born abroad, recent immigration (a) | 3.22 | -3.82 | -1.12 | 17.40 | -9.69 | -2.35 | 3.31 | -8.26 | 17.62 | -2.90 | -35.39 | -12.28 | -12.21 | -36.74 | 2.21 | 14.41 | -38.51 | 31.30 |
| German born abroad, old immigration (b) | 4.01 | -11.49 | -3.10 | -10.22 | -7.16 | -3.93 | -48.54 | -7.21 | 16.20 | 2.10 | -22.78 | -8.29 | -15.79 | -9.73 | 5.58 | 2.98 | -5.88 | 26.80 |
| Greek born in Belgium | -3.66 | -10.80 | -5.77 | -7.68 | -10.62 | -11.22 | -9.71 | -20.50 | -16.83 | -17.00 | -13.40 | -12.06 | -3.76 | -9.55 | -27.42 | 8.48 | -29.13 | -23.00 |
| Greek born abroad, recent immigration (a) | -8.54 | -10.43 | -27.77 | -5.11 | -13.38 | -22.32 | -0.64 | -11.52 | -20.91 | -9.53 | -35.66 | -51.50 | -29.93 | -38.28 | -60.10 | -14.90 | -32.03 | -49.62 |
| Greek born abroad, old immigration (b) | -8.43 | -10.78 | -17.53 | -20.64 | -13.86 | -21.22 | -5.79 | -9.12 | -20.88 | -11.33 | 7.86 | -20.94 | -16.72 | -27.64 | -33.13 | 13.71 | -30.72 | -6.74 |
| Italian born in Belgium | -2.30 | -4.29 | -1.28 | 3.60 | -3.34 | -3.88 | -0.15 | -9.23 | -3.32 | -3.09 | -9.56 | -4.25 | 1.82 | -15.55 | -17.88 | 4.73 | -20.33 | -16.44 |
| Italian born abroad, recent immigration (a) | 0.71 | -11.21 | -10.21 | 2.03 | -5.89 | -10.53 | 4.23 | -7.45 | -4.96 | -12.62 | -28.85 | -35.20 | -15.27 | -24.96 | -45.73 | -14.26 | -49.94 | -51.41 |
| Italian born abroad, old immigration (b) | -4.79 | -8.47 | -1.38 | 1.47 | -5.18 | -5.51 | 5.65 | -6.47 | -0.74 | -9.07 | -22.06 | -7.24 | -3.09 | -11.32 | -21.78 | -4.00 | -31.06 | -26.76 |
| Moroccan born in Belgium | -41.81 | -17.78 | -22.13 | -34.17 | -34.23 | -35.71 | -40.37 | -41.69 | -52.70 | -29.78 | -52.26 | 13.20 | -47.34 | -49.51 | -52.45 | -50.69 | -66.67 | -40.36 |
| Moroccan born abroad, recent immigration (a) | -42.80 | -27.57 | -56.06 | -25.47 | -24.91 | -45.28 | -12.65 | -18.58 | -30.84 | -61.69 | -68.79 | -72.93 | -55.60 | -75.34 | -64.78 | -65.15 | -81.70 | -71.30 |
| Moroccan born abroad, old immigration (b) | -25.72 | -13.96 | -24.74 | -30.48 | -24.43 | -29.24 | -36.82 | -36.40 | -42.09 | -25.84 | -39.60 | -25.33 | -62.51 | -68.88 | -59.57 | -81.88 | -86.13 | -86.43 |
| Portuguese born in Belgium | -16.45 | -27.66 | -6.31 | -4.58 | -1.61 | 7.28 | 9.82 | -4.32 | -2.91 | -5.90 | 7.86 | -10.75 | 23.51 | 5.13 | -2.63 | 10.47 | 15.82 | 26.79 |
| Portuguese born abroad, recent immigration (a) | -0.86 | -5.84 | -17.66 | 2.91 | -7.81 | -8.78 | 22.16 | 0.17 | 13.24 | -9.50 | -27.23 | -26.22 | -14.13 | -18.35 | -23.33 | -1.12 | -14.03 | 8.40 |
| Portuguese born abroad, old immigration (b) | 5.15 | -19.11 | -1.42 | 6.82 | -0.94 | -1.44 | 14.47 | 6.76 | 15.11 | -9.41 | -16.32 | -14.15 | -3.13 | -8.70 | -6.99 | -13.49 | -25.43 | -1.87 |
| Spanish born in Belgium | -3.56 | -3.04 | -2.23 | 2.44 | -2.43 | -3.79 | 4.97 | -0.82 | -4.91 | -3.51 | -5.33 | -2.58 | 8.82 | 0.28 | -1.93 | 12.86 | 3.57 | 8.20 |
| Spanish born abroad, recent immigration (a) | 4.07 | -9.34 | -13.95 | -4.26 | -7.96 | -21.51 | -3.16 | -9.54 | -1.21 | -8.89 | -23.34 | -23.01 | -28.25 | -40.93 | -28.41 | -0.62 | -23.71 | -27.85 |
| Spanish born abroad, old immigration (b) | -2.06 | -0.07 | -2.66 | 11.29 | -3.85 | 1.17 | 8.18 | -8.41 | 8.78 | 1.99 | -7.23 | -0.79 | 8.54 | -7.91 | -4.71 | 9.24 | -13.37 | 6.20 |
| Turkish born in Belgium | -18.60 | -16.24 | -41.61 | -34.65 | -25.57 | -36.22 | -35.48 | -38.37 | -48.39 | -44.57 | -52.26 | -55.72 | -57.78 | -63.21 | -71.49 | -57.60 | -64.21 | -71.54 |
| Turkish born abroad, recent immigration (a) | -23.66 | -23.02 | -35.03 | -26.58 | -20.65 | -34.04 | -21.91 | -15.35 | -34.02 | -43.09 | -60.40 | -66.69 | -61.11 | -78.17 | -87.48 | -57.34 | -80.11 | -90.73 |
| Turkish born abroad, old immigration (b) | -6.63 | -31.98 | -24.13 | -30.58 | -28.33 | -32.23 | -23.69 | -35.89 | -36.89 | -13.35 | -52.36 | -65.17 | -40.00 | -68.19 | -71.87 | -38.10 | -78.19 | -85.12 |

Note: (a) : Under 10 years of residence ; (b) : Over10 years of residence.
1 - Brussels ; 2 - Flanders ; 3 - Wallonia.
Bold numbers: Significant data at $5 \%$ or at $1 \%$.
Source: GRESP, computed from 2001 census

### 3.1.3 Does a high level of education reduce the differences compared with Belgians ?

For Belgium as a whole, in most cases, the fact of being highly qualified reduces the difference in employment rate between foreign nationals and Belgians.
As can be seen, however, four national groups present the reverse of this tendency.
Firstly, for recent Moroccan and Turkish immigrants, it is clear, on one hand, that the chances of finding employment are always lower than those of a Belgian, whatever the education level; on the other hand, the employment-rate gap in relation to a Belgian is wider as the level of education rises. This is seen only for men. In other words, the more highly skilled a man of Moroccan or Turkish nationality of recent immigration, the lower the probability of employment in relation to a Belgian. Thus, a high level of education increases the employment-rate differences in relation to the situation of a Belgian. Moreover, these results remain constant at regional level.
Next, for Dutch nationals (both men and women) and recent Portuguese immigrants, it is shown that the probability of employment is higher than that of Belgians where the level of education is poor, while as the level of education rises, the trend is reversed and the probability of employment becomes lower than that for Belgians, with an increasing differential corresponding to the higher level of education. In other words, recent Dutch and Portuguese immigrants will have better chances of finding work that requires a poor level of education and their chances will lessen in relation to Belgians for employment requiring higher qualifications.

Finally, in certain cases, the situation with regard to Belgians is less favourable for an average level of education than for a high or low level. This is the case for the old immigration male Greek and Italian population and for Spanish, Greek, Portuguese or English women.

At regional level, it is much harder to make comparisons. Given the non-significance of several nationality variables, the results are less reliable, so impossible to use, which limits comparisons between regions. Thus, in Flanders and in Wallonia, the employment-rate differential increases with the level of education for men from a Mediterranean country (Spain, Italy, Portugal, Greece). But these results cannot be compared with the situation in Brussels where few variables remain significant.

Generally speaking, for foreign women, the differential in relation to Belgians falls as their level of education rises.

### 3.2 Probability of permanent employment

Integration into the labour market is essentially measured on 2 criteria : the probability of employment rather than unemployment, analysed above, and the probability of getting a "good" job, which will be explored here. The idea of a "good» job is ambiguous and difficult to measure. It may be a high level of pay, a steady job, a high grade in the hierarchy, a job in a leading sector, etc.

In this study, the limitations of the census data restrict it to taking as the sole indicator the possession of an open-ended contract ${ }^{9}$
The same probit model was used, firstly for Belgium as a whole and then for the 3 regions. The results obtained and presented in tables 7 and 8 show how far the likelihood of permanent employment for foreigners with a similar level of education depends on their nationality, place of birth, length of residence and gender.

### 3.2.1 Foreigners and the probability of permanent employment

For Belgium as a whole, highly skilled foreigners are, in most cases, less likely than Belgians to obtain permanent employment, with the exception of recent French immigrants and Spanish women born in Belgium, who have more chance of permanent employment than a Belgian of the same gender and level of education.
For foreigners with an average level of education, only male Spaniards born in Belgium and long-term immigrants are more likely to obtain permanent employment than Belgians.
For poorly qualified foreigners, only the following are more likely than Belgians to obtain permanent employment : for men, old immigration Spaniards, and for women, recent German immigrants, old immigration Spaniards and recent Portuguese immigrants. For all other groups, the likelihood of a steady job is lower than that for Belgians of the same educational level.

On the regional level, it is important to note that the differences observed for Belgium as a whole are not confirmed and, in certain cases, are even reversed.
Highly skilled foreigners, among men living in Brussels, Dutch and French immigrants as well as Spaniards born in the country are more likely than Belgians living in Brussels to obtain permanent employment. Foreigners living in Flanders are less likely than Flemish Belgians to obtain permanent employment. In Wallonia recent English and French immigrants are more likely than Walloon Belgians to have a steady job.
Among women, the Dutch and Spaniards born in Belgium and living in Brussels have more chance of permanent employment than Belgians residing in Brussels. In Flanders, only Spanish women born in Belgium are more likely than Belgians to obtain permanent employment. In Wallonia, on the other hand, foreign women are less likely than Belgian nationals to have a steady job.

Among male foreigners with an average level of education and residing in Brussels, only Italian and Portuguese immigrants and Portuguese born in the country are more likely than Brussels residents of Belgian nationality to have permanent employment. In Flanders, only old immigration Spaniards are more likely than nationals to have permanent employment. In Wallonia, old immigration Spaniards, born in the area, are more likely than nationals to have a steady job.
For women, in Brussels, the Spanish born in Belgium are more likely than Belgians to have permanent employment. In Flanders, all foreigners have a lower probability than Belgians. In Wallonia, only German immigrants are more likely than Belgians to have permanent employment.

[^4]Table 7: Odds ratio from probit regression of holding permanent employment - Men 2001

|  | High education level |  |  |  |  |  | Medium education level |  |  |  |  |  | Low education level |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Brussels |  | Flander |  | Wallonia |  | Brussels |  | Flander |  | Wallonia |  | Brussels |  | Flander |  | Wallonia |  |
|  | Exp $\beta$ | signif | Exp $\beta$ | signif | Exp $\beta$ | signif | Exp $\beta$ | signif | Exp $\beta$ | signif | Exp $\beta$ | signif | Exp $\beta$ | signif | Exp $\beta$ | signif | Exp $\beta$ | signif |
| Dutch born in Belgium | -0.05 |  | -0.28 | *** | -0.02 |  | -0.53 | * | -0.31 | *** | -0.27 | * | -0.17 |  | -0.28 | *** | -0.17 |  |
| Dutch born abroad, recent immigration (a) | 0.16 | * | -0.20 | *** | -0.15 |  | -0.48 |  | -0.36 | *** | -0.27 | * | -0.69 | *** | -0.37 | *** | -0.66 | *** |
| Dutch born abroad, old immigration (b) | 0.16 |  | -0.27 | *** | -0.03 |  | 0.23 |  | -0.23 | *** | -0.61 | *** | -0.47 |  | -0.25 | *** | -0.50 | *** |
| English born in Belgium | -0.19 |  | -0.40 | * | 0.04 |  | -0.30 |  | -0.24 |  | -0.38 |  | -0.18 |  | -0.03 |  | -0.16 |  |
| Enqlish born abroad, recent immigration (a) | -0.08 |  | -0.17 | *** | 0.34 | *** | 0.36 |  | -0.43 | *** | -0.11 |  | -0.50 | *** | -0.30 | *** | 0.12 |  |
| Enqlish born abroad, old immigration (b) | -0.03 |  | -0.31 | *** | 0.29 |  | -0.28 |  | -0.29 | * | 0.02 |  | -0.48 |  | -0.45 | *** | -0.18 |  |
| French born in Belgium | -0.16 |  | -0.50 | * | -0.21 |  | -0.35 |  | -0.10 |  | 0.02 |  | -0.11 |  | -0.38 | *** | 0.02 |  |
| French born abroad, recent immigration (a) | 0.26 | *** | -0.04 |  | 0.22 | *** | -0.17 |  | -0.26 | *** | -0.01 |  | -0.21 | *** | -0.18 | *** | 0.06 |  |
| French born abroad, old immigration (b) | -0.14 |  | -0.09 |  | -0.05 |  | -0.05 | *** | -0.16 |  | 0.08 |  | 0.01 |  | 0.09 |  | 0.02 |  |
| German born in Belqium | 0.26 |  | -0.08 |  | -0.16 |  | -0.28 |  | -0.13 |  | -0.12 |  | -0.38 |  | -0.20 |  | -0.15 |  |
| German born abroad, recent immigration (a) | 0.11 |  | 0.00 |  | -0.05 |  | -0.15 |  | 0.00 |  | -0.02 |  | -0.44 | * | -0.03 |  | 0.06 |  |
| German born abroad, old immigration (b) | -0.23 |  | -0.21 |  | 0.06 |  | -0.07 |  | -0.29 | * | 0.12 |  | -0.22 |  | 0.02 |  | 0.15 |  |
| Greek born in Belqium | -0.14 |  | -0.44 |  | -0.19 |  | 0.25 | *** | -0.09 |  | -0.28 | *** | -0.37 | *** | -0.37 | *** | -0.23 | * |
| Greek born abroad, recent immigration (a) | -0.29 | * | -0.30 |  | -0.31 |  | -0.30 | * | -0.95 | *** | -0.66 |  | -0.46 | * | -0.43 | *** | -0.63 | * |
| Greek born abroad, old immigration (b) | -0.44 | * | -0.93 | *** | 0.20 |  | -0.41 | * | -0.46 | *** | -0.62 | *** | -0.33 | *** | -0.56 | *** | -0.17 |  |
| Italian born in Belgium | -0.04 |  | -0.16 |  | -0.02 |  | -0.41 |  | -0.05 |  | 0.00 |  | -0.11 | * | -0.14 | *** | -0.05 | *** |
| Italian born abroad, recent immigration (a) | 0.06 |  | -0.46 | *** | -0.06 |  | 0.02 | * | -0.18 |  | -0.02 |  | -0.12 |  | -0.24 | *** | -0.07 |  |
| Italian born abroad, old immigration (b) | -0.15 |  | -0.21 |  | -0.07 |  | -0.21 |  | -0.23 | *** | 0.01 |  | -0.17 | *** | -0.28 | *** | -0.06 | * |
| Moroccan born in Belgium | 0.12 |  | 0.01 |  | -0.15 |  | -0.15 |  | -0.23 |  | -0.59 | *** | -0.33 | *** | -0.41 | *** | -0.62 | *** |
| Moroccan born abroad, recent immigration (a) | -0.49 | *** | -0.49 | *** | -0.60 | *** | -0.15 | *** | -0.37 | *** | -0.55 | *** | -0.23 | *** | -0.27 | *** | -0.60 | *** |
| Moroccan born abroad, old immigration (b) | -0.22 | * | 0.01 |  | -0.30 |  | -0.29 |  | -0.17 | *** | -0.17 |  | -0.22 | *** | -0.14 | *** | 0.05 |  |
| Portuquese born in Belqium | -0.21 |  | -1.15 | * | -0.82 | *** | 0.04 | * | 0.34 |  | 0.10 |  | 0.00 |  | 0.18 |  | -0.02 |  |
| Portuquese born abroad, recent immigration (a) | -0.34 | * | 0.01 |  | 0.34 |  | 0.74 | *** | -0.22 |  | 0.00 |  | -0.33 | *** | -0.03 |  | 0.31 | *** |
| Portuguese born abroad, old immigration (b) | -0.02 |  | 4.89 |  | -0.03 |  | -0.32 |  | -0.30 |  | 0.08 |  | -0.35 | *** | -0.36 | *** | 0.08 |  |
| Spanish born in Belqium | 0.25 | *** | 0.16 |  | 0.14 |  | -0.10 | * | 0.13 |  | 0.14 | * | -0.04 |  | 0.08 |  | 0.10 |  |
| Spanish born abroad, recent immigration (a) | 0.06 |  | -0.33 | * | 0.02 |  | 0.16 |  | -0.05 |  | -0.73 | * | -0.31 | * | -0.11 |  | 0.43 |  |
| Spanish born abroad, old immigration (b) | -0.06 |  | 0.26 |  | 0.03 |  | -0.07 | * | 0.31 | *** | 0.23 | *** | 0.33 | *** | 0.10 |  | 0.19 | ** |
| Turkish born in Belqium | -0.25 |  | -0.17 |  | -0.58 |  | 0.22 |  | -0.36 | * | 0.08 |  | -0.17 |  | -0.21 |  | -0.43 | * |
| Turkish born abroad, recent immigration (a) | 0.15 |  | -0.42 | *** | -0.47 | *** | -0.17 | * | -0.33 | *** | -0.25 | * | -0.25 | *** | -0.25 | *** | -0.35 | *** |
| Turkish born abroad, old immigration (b) | -0.68 | * | -0.38 |  | -0.85 | * | -0.27 |  | -0.14 |  | -0.05 |  | -0.25 | *** | -0.30 | *** | -0.10 |  |
| $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline \mathrm{R}^{2} \\ \text { Log likelihood } \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 0.0 \\ -299 \\ \hline \end{array}$ |  | $\begin{array}{r} 0.0 \\ -1459 \\ \hline \end{array}$ |  |  |  |  |  | $\begin{array}{r} 0.0 \\ -1781 \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \hline 03 \\ & 62.2 \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ |  | $\begin{aligned} & 02 \\ & 95.5 \end{aligned}$ |  | $\begin{aligned} & 16 \\ & 85.8 \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | 0. | $\begin{aligned} & \hline 05 \\ & 522.9 \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 0.0 \\ -815 \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 03 \\ & 46.4 \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ |
| Sample | 478 | 825 | 260 | 372 | 116 | 381 | 317 | 201 | 138 | 177 | 18 | 339 | 29 | 99 | 220 | 443 | 129 | 665 |

Note: (a) Under 10 years of residence; (b) Over 10 years of residence.

* Significant at 5\%; *** significant at $1 \%$

Source: GRESP, computed from 2001 census

Table 8: Odds ratio from probit regression of holding permanent employment - Women 2001

|  | High education level |  |  |  |  |  | Medium education level |  |  |  |  |  | Low education level |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Brussels |  | Flander |  | Wallonia |  | Brussels |  | Flander |  | Wallonia |  | Brussels |  | Flander |  | Wallonia |  |
|  | Exp $\beta$ | signif | Exp $\beta$ | signif | $\operatorname{Exp} \beta$ | signif | Exp $\beta$ | signif | $\operatorname{Exp} \beta$ | signif | Exp $\beta$ | signif | $\operatorname{Exp} \beta$ | signif | $\operatorname{Exp} \beta$ | signif | Exp $\beta$ | signif |
| Dutch born in Belgium | 0.53 | * | -0.09 |  | -0.13 |  | -0.25 |  | -0.18 | *** | -0.09 |  | -1.60 |  | -0.16 |  | 0.29 |  |
| Dutch born abroad, recent immigration (a) | 0.06 |  | -0.24 | *** | -0.32 | *** | -0.04 |  | -0.22 | *** | -0.44 | *** | 0.30 |  | -0.16 | *** | -0.23 |  |
| Dutch born abroad, old immigration (b) | -0.05 |  | -0.19 | *** | 0.08 |  | -0.52 |  | -0.17 | *** | 0.05 |  | 0.18 |  | -0.24 | *** | -0.03 |  |
| English born in Belgium | 0.06 |  | -0.05 |  | 0.79 |  | -0.50 |  | -0.19 |  | 0.11 |  | 0.32 |  | -0.18 |  | -0.67 |  |
| English born abroad, recent immigration (a) | 0.07 |  | -0.22 | *** | -0.24 |  | -0.09 |  | -0.27 | * | 0.18 |  | 0.05 |  | -0.04 |  | -0.14 |  |
| English born abroad, old immigration (b) | -0.08 |  | -0.25 |  | -0.01 |  | -0.01 |  | -0.43 | *** | -0.04 |  | -0.29 |  | 0.10 |  | -0.49 |  |
| French born in Belgium | -0.11 |  | -0.23 |  | 0.13 |  | -0.06 |  | -0.04 |  | -0.10 |  | -0.12 |  | -0.17 |  | -0.12 |  |
| French born abroad, recent immigration (a) | -0.07 | * | -0.15 | * | 0.04 |  | -0.37 | *** | -0.29 | *** | 0.02 |  | -0.26 | *** | -0.62 | *** | 0.01 |  |
| French born abroad, old immigration (b) | -0.10 |  | -0.19 |  | 0.12 |  | -0.31 | *** | -0.53 | *** | 0.03 |  | -0.07 |  | -0.07 |  | -0.03 |  |
| German born in Belgium | -0.20 |  | -0.33 | *** | 0.11 |  | 0.59 |  | -0.28 |  | 0.16 |  | 0.38 |  | -0.30 |  | 0.55 | * |
| German born abroad, recent immigration (a) | -0.06 |  | -0.37 |  | -0.31 | *** | 0.02 |  | -0.41 | *** | 0.30 | *** | 0.55 | *** | -0.17 |  | 0.26 | *** |
| German born abroad, old immigration (b) | -0.07 |  | -0.20 |  | -0.04 |  | 0.18 |  | 0.28 |  | 0.15 |  | 0.81 |  | -0.23 |  | 0.21 | * |
| Greek born in Belgium | 0.05 |  | 0.04 |  | -0.38 | * | -0.29 | * | -0.45 | *** | -0.32 | * | -0.16 |  | -0.36 |  | -0.28 |  |
| Greek born abroad, recent immigration (a) | -0.30 | * | -0.53 |  | -0.42 |  | -0.62 | * | -0.70 | * | -0.40 |  | -0.24 |  | -0.58 |  | -0.46 |  |
| Greek born abroad, old immigration (b) | -0.69 | *** | -0.07 |  | 0.31 |  | -0.36 |  | -0.48 |  | -0.37 |  | -0.37 | *** | -0.25 |  | -0.71 | *** |
| Italian born in Belgium | 0.01 |  | -0.06 |  | 0.02 |  | -0.12 | *** | -0.20 | *** | -0.03 |  | -0.05 |  | -0.36 | *** | -0.09 | *** |
| Italian born abroad, recent immigration (a) | -0.27 | *** | -0.27 | * | -0.28 |  | -0.52 |  | -0.14 |  | -0.43 | * | -0.12 |  | -0.44 | *** | -0.20 |  |
| Italian born abroad, old immigration (b) | 0.19 |  | -0.03 |  | 0.10 |  | 0.17 |  | -0.26 | *** | -0.04 |  | -0.03 |  | -0.20 | * | -0.07 |  |
| Moroccan born in Belgium | -0.09 |  | -1.53 | * | -0.66 |  | -0.35 | *** | -0.29 |  | -0.91 | * | -0.09 |  | -0.22 |  | 0.08 |  |
| Moroccan born abroad, recent immigration (a) | -0.36 | *** | -0.70 | *** | -0.57 | *** | -0.44 |  | -0.38 | *** | -0.49 | *** | -0.26 | *** | -0.46 | *** | -0.28 | * |
| Moroccan born abroad, old immigration (b) | 0.16 |  | 0.01 |  | 0.23 |  | -0.23 |  | -0.35 | *** | 0.08 |  | -0.20 | * | -0.25 | * | -0.18 |  |
| Portuguese born in Belgium | 0.27 |  | -0.02 |  | 0.15 |  | 0.03 |  | 0.03 |  | 0.15 |  | -0.41 |  | -0.28 |  | -0.29 |  |
| Portuguese born abroad, recent immigration (a) | -0.44 | *** | -0.04 |  | -0.62 | * | -0.01 |  | -0.10 |  | 0.16 |  | 0.05 |  | 0.04 |  | 0.28 | * |
| Portuguese born abroad, old immigration (b) | -0.21 |  | 0.12 |  | -0.09 |  | 0.01 |  | -0.08 |  | 0.27 |  | 0.04 |  | 0.25 |  | 0.14 |  |
| Spanish born in Belgium | 0.23 | *** | 0.42 | *** | 0.10 |  | 0.20 | *** | 0.03 |  | -0.11 |  | 0.11 |  | 0.02 |  | 0.00 |  |
| Spanish born abroad, recent immigration (a) | -0.18 | *** | -0.26 | * | -0.49 | *** | -0.44 | * | -0.18 |  | -0.04 |  | -0.15 |  | -0.18 |  | 0.11 |  |
| Spanish born abroad, old immigration (b) | 0.23 |  | 0.00 |  | -0.21 |  | -0.02 |  | 0.12 |  | -0.21 | * | 0.12 |  | 0.11 |  | 0.23 | * |
| Turkish born in Belgium | -0.98 |  | 4.67 |  | 4.80 |  | -0.39 |  | -0.48 |  | -0.39 |  | 0.52 |  | -0.56 |  | -1.02 |  |
| Turkish born abroad, recent immigration (a) | 0.24 |  | -0.53 | *** | -0.55 |  | -0.16 |  | -0.73 | *** | -0.83 |  | -0.33 | *** | -0.52 | *** | -0.15 |  |
| Turkish born abroad, old immigration (b) | -0.15 |  | -0.72 |  | -1.01 |  | -0.58 | *** | -0.72 | *** | -0.21 |  | -0.33 | *** | -0.63 | *** | -0.33 | * |
| $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline \mathrm{R}^{2} \\ \text { Log likelihood } \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.004 \\ -29501.9 \end{gathered}$ |  | $\begin{gathered} -1.077 \\ -155278.2 \end{gathered}$ |  | $\begin{gathered} 0.258 \\ -58417.5 \end{gathered}$ |  | $\begin{gathered} 0.011 \\ -11561.5 \end{gathered}$ |  | $\begin{gathered} 0.002 \\ -149820.2 \end{gathered}$ |  | $\begin{gathered} 0.001 \\ -62596.8 \end{gathered}$ |  | $\begin{gathered} 0.009 \\ -11756.5 \end{gathered}$ |  | $\begin{gathered} 0.003 \\ -84073.7 \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |  | $\begin{gathered} 0.003 \\ -46102.7 \end{gathered}$ |  |
| Sample | 49.248 |  | 282.589 |  | 136.523 |  | 25.3 |  | 19.601 |  | 254.340 |  | 97.621 |  | 131.411 |  | 68.292 |  |

Note: (a) : No longer than 10 years of residence ; (b) : More than 10 years of residence. * Significant at $5 \%$; *** significant at $1 \%$

Source: GRESP, computed from 2001 census

In the poorly educated category of foreigners, men residing in Brussels or Flanders are all less likely to have permanent employment than Belgians living in the same region. In Wallonia, only recent Portuguese immigrants and old immigration Spaniards are more likely to have a steady job than Belgians.
Among women, German immigrants to Brussels are more likely to have permanent employment than Belgian women living in Brussels. In Flanders, foreigners have less chance of finding a steady job than nationals. In Wallonia, Germans (whatever the place of birth), recent Portuguese immigrants and old immigration Spanish women are more likely to have a steady job than Belgians.

### 3.2.2 Factors influencing the likelihood of permanent employment

Beyond the differences observed between nationalities and regions, the results of the model highlight the fact that the probability of employment for a foreigner as against a Belgian depends not only on nationality and area of residence but also on level of education and, for immigrants, length of residence.
For certain groups of foreigners, among men, a high level of education reduces the disparity with Belgians as to the likelihood of permanent employment, in particular for Dutch and Greek as well as English, French, Italian and Portuguese immigrants. For other groups, however, the disparity with Belgians as to the likelihood of permanent employment is greater for those with a high level of education; this applies to Moroccans and Turks.
Among women, for Dutch and French immigrants as for Italians born in the country, a high level of education increases the likelihood of permanent employment whereas for Moroccan, Italian, Greek and Portuguese immigrants, the probability of permanent employment is higher when the education level is low.

At regional level, comparison of the effects of education level is relatively more difficult owing to the non-significance of certain results.

Whether among men or women, it can be seen that for certain national groups, longterm immigrants are more likely to have permanent employment than recent immigrants.
Dutch, Italian, Turkish, Greek and French men as well as Greek women with a high education level and over 10 years' residence are less likely to have permanent employment whereas Moroccan men and Dutch women with over 10 years' residence are more likely to hold permanent employment.
For foreigners with an average level of education and for all national groups except Turks, the likelihood of stable employment is higher for old than for recent immigration.
In addition, the place of birth influences the probability of having a steady job. For well educated foreigners, the model shows that the likelihood of stable employment is higher for Greeks and Italians born in Belgium than for immigrants of the same nationality. For the Dutch and French, on the other hand, the likelihood of permanent employment is higher for immigrants than for those born in Belgium.
For foreigners with an average level of education, the likelihood of a permanent job remains higher for Greeks and Italians born in Belgium than for immigrants, whereas for the Dutch, Italians and Moroccans, the likelihood of stable employment is higher for immigrants than for those born in Belgium.

Table 9 presents the differentials between Belgians and foreigners for the probability of stable employment. The preceding tables have indicated whether there is a difference of probability between Belgians and foreigners and how far these differences can be explained by the level of qualification, area of residence, nationality, place of birth and length of residence of these foreigners. Table 9 measures the differences between Belgians and foreigners and indicates for which national groups these differences are widest at regional level.

For well-educated men, the results show that for foreigners living in Brussels who are less likely than a Belgian to have steady employment, the divergence is relatively wider between Belgians and old immigration Greeks (-25\%), recent Moroccan immigrants (28\%) and old immigration Turks (-39\%). In Flanders, the divergence is relatively greater between Belgians and old immigration Turks (-46\%) and Portuguese born in the country ( $-57 \%$ ). In Wallonia, it is also the Portuguese born in the country ( $-45 \%$ ), old immigration Turks ( $-46 \%$ ) and recent Moroccan immigrants ( $-33 \%$ ) who have the relatively greatest probability differential as against Belgians.
Spaniards born in Belgium and French immigrants living in Brussels have a probability of stable employment $12 \%$ above that of Belgians. The probability for Dutch immigrants is $8 \%$ higher. The probability of permanent employment for English and French immigrants residing in Wallonia is respectively $15 \%$ and $10 \%$ higher than that for Walloon Belgians.

For foreigners with an average level of education and a lower probability than Belgians, the differential with Belgians is relatively greater for Dutch (-26\%) and Greek immigrants (-22\%) residing in Brussels. In Flanders, the divergence is wider for recent Greek immigrants (-47\%). In Wallonia, it is greater for Moroccans (recent immigrants and those born in Belgium respectively -29\% and -32\%), old immigration Dutch and Greeks (-33\%), and recent Spanish immigrants (-40\%).
The Portuguese and Spanish born in Belgium and living in Brussels have a probability of steady employment respectively $28 \%$ and $8 \%$ above that of Belgians; Spanish immigrants have a $10 \%$ higher probability. In Flanders, old immigration Spaniards have a $12 \%$ higher probability as against Belgians. In Wallonia, Spaniards born in Belgium have a probability of permanent employment $6 \%$ higher than that for Belgians.

For poorly educated foreigners, the probability differentials are greater for recent Dutch immigrants (-39\%), recent English immigrants (-29\%) and recent German immigrants (25\%) residing in Brussels.
In Flanders, the divergence is greater for old immigration Greeks (-28\%), old immigration English (-22\%) and recent Greek immigrants (-21\%). In Wallonia, the differential is greater for Dutch, Greek and Moroccan immigration. They have a probability of stable employment $30 \%$ lower than that for Belgians.
Old immigration Spaniards residing in Brussels have a probability of steady employment $16 \%$ higher than that for Belgians. In Wallonia, recent English and French immigrants have a probability of permanent employment $10 \%$ higher than that for Belgians.

Table 9: Probability differential of permanent employment for foreigners
as compared to Belgians

|  | high |  |  | MEN <br> medium |  |  | low |  |  |  | high |  | WOMEN medium |  |  | low |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 1 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| Dutch born in Belgium | -2.7 | -12.5 | -1.1 | -25.9 | -14.1 | -13.9 | -9.4 | -13.5 | -9.0 | 20.6 | -3.9 | -6.3 | -118 | -8.8 | -5.3 | -81.6 | -8.8 | 18.1 |
| Dutch born abroad, recent immigration (a) | 7.9 | -9.1 | -7.6 | 10.5 | -16.9 | -13.7 | -39.3 | -18.4 | -37.5 | 2.7 | -10.4 | -16.5 | -1.8 | -10.7 | -26.0 | 15.0 | -9.1 | -15.2 |
| Dutch born abroad, old immigration (b) | 8.1 | -12.4 | -1.5 | -15.8 | -10.4 | -33.0 | -26.8 | -11.9 | -28.1 | -2.4 | -8.1 | 3.8 | -26.1 | -8.0 | 2.5 | 9.3 | -14.0 | -2.3 |
| English born in Belgium | -10.3 | -18.8 | 2.1 | 15.8 | -11.0 | -20.2 | -9.9 | -1.1 | -9.0 | 2.7 | -1.9 | 27.9 | -25.4 | -9.1 | 5.9 | 15.9 | -9.9 | -43.7 |
| English born abroad, recent immigration (a) | -4.5 | -7.5 | 14.7 | -14.8 | -20.3 | -5.6 | -28.5 | -14.3 | 5.9 | 3.3 | -9.6 | -12.0 | -3.9 | -13.1 | 9.7 | 2.9 | -2.3 | -9.4 |
| English born abroad, old immigration (b) | -1.6 | -14.4 | 13.0 | -18.6 | -13.2 | 1.1 | -27.0 | -22.1 | -9.7 | -3.8 | -10.8 | -0.6 | -0.6 | -21.8 | -2.3 | -16.2 | 5.2 | -32.6 |
| French born in Belgium | -8.7 | -23.8 | -11.0 | -8.8 | -4.2 | 1.0 | -6.1 | -18.8 | 1.0 | -5.5 | -10.1 | $5 . .8$ | -2.8 | -2.1 | -5.4 | -6.6 | -9.8 | -7.8 |
| French born abroad, recent immigration (a) | 12.6 | -1.8 | 9.8 | -2.5 | -11.6 | -0.5 | -11.5 | -8.6 | 3.0 | -3.5 | -6.2 | 1.8 | -18.1 | -14.4 | 0.8 | -14.5 | -36.2 | 0.4 |
| French born abroad, old immigration (b) | -7.5 | -3.7 | -2.6 | -14.7 | -7.1 | 3.8 | 0.4 | 3.9 | 1.2 | -5.0 | -8.1 | 5.6 | -15.0 | -27.4 | 1.7 | -3.6 | -3.7 | -1.8 |
| German born in Belgium | 12.9 | -3.6 | -7.9 | -7.5 | -5.8 | -5.8 | -21.2 | -9.6 | -8.4 | -9.9 | -15.0 | 5.1 | 21.0 | -13.6 | 8.7 | 18.5 | -17.3 | 32.1 |
| German born abroad, recent immigration (a) | 5.7 | 0.0 | -2.3 | -3.7 | 0.1 | -0.8 | -24.9 | -1.2 | 3.3 | -3.0 | -16.7 | -15.9 | 0.8 | -20.6 | 15.2 | 25.4 | -9.6 | 16.5 |
| German born abroad, old immigration (b) | -12.9 | -9.2 | 2.9 | 11.6 | -13.3 | 5.5 | -12.0 | 0.7 | 7.8 | -3.5 | -8.8 | -2.2 | 7.4 | 11.7 | 7.9 | 33.3 | -13.0 | 13.0 |
| Greek born in Belgium | -7.6 | -20.6 | -9.5 | -16.0 | -3.7 | -14.5 | -20.9 | -17.9 | -12.4 | 2.3 | 1.6 | -19.9 | -14.0 | -23.1 | -18.7 | -8.8 | -21.0 | -18.4 |
| Greek born abroad, recent immigration (a) | -16.3 | -13.8 | -16.3 | -21.9 | -47.4 | -35.7 | -26.1 | -21.2 | -35.7 | -15.0 | -24.9 | -21.7 | -31.9 | -36.7 | -23.5 | -13.4 | -33.9 | -31.0 |
| Greek born abroad, old immigration (b) | -24.9 | -46.3 | 9.1 | -21.9 | -22.0 | -33.4 | -18.2 | -28.2 | -9.3 | -37.0 | -2.9 | 13.3 | -17.6 | -24.3 | -21.9 | -21.2 | -14.3 | -46.5 |
| Italian born in Belgium | -1.9 | -7.0 | -0.9 | 1.0 | -2.2 | -0.2 | -6.1 | -6.5 | -2.7 | 0.3 | -2.6 | 0.7 | -5.7 | -9.9 | -1.9 | -2.7 | -20.7 | -6.0 |
| Italian born abroad, recent immigration (a) | 2.9 | -21.7 | -2.8 | -10.7 | -7.8 | -1.1 | -6.5 | -11.4 | -3.5 | -13.7 | -11.7 | -14.1 | -26.4 | -6.9 | -25.4 | -6.6 | -25.7 | -13.6 |
| Italian born abroad, old immigration (b) | -8.4 | -9.4 | -3.5 | -7.6 | -10.3 | 0.4 | -9.5 | -13.5 | -3.0 | 8.4 | -1.2 | 4.8 | 7.2 | -12.5 | -2.5 | -1.5 | -11.3 | -4.4 |
| Moroccan born in Belgium | 6.2 | 0.3 | -7.7 | -7.6 | -10.4 | -31.9 | -18.4 | -20.0 | -35.2 | -4.3 | -72.8 | -35.4 | -17.3 | -14.2 | -53.3 | -4.8 | -12.3 | 5.2 |
| Moroccan born abroad, recent immigration (a) | -27.9 | -23.3 | -32.7 | -15.3 | -17.0 | -29.3 | -12.7 | -13.0 | -34.5 | -18.5 | -33.7 | -30.3 | -21.8 | -18.9 | -28.7 | -14.4 | -26.6 | -18.4 |
| Moroccan born abroad, old immigration (b) | -12.2 | 0.5 | -15.7 | 1.7 | -7.6 | -8.7 | -12.0 | -6.6 | 2.4 | 7.4 | 0.4 | 10.3 | -11.2 | -17.7 | 4.5 | -11.4 | -14.3 | -12.0 |
| Portuguese born in Belgium | -11.6 | -57.4 | -44.5 | 27.9 | 12.6 | 4.5 | -0.2 | 7.7 | -0.8 | 11.5 | -0.7 | 6.8 | 1.2 | 1.6 | 7.9 | -23.3 | -16.0 | -19.1 |
| Portuguese born abroad, recent immigration (a) | -19.0 | 0.6 | 15.0 | -17.1 | -10.0 | 0.2 | -18.6 | -1.2 | 14.8 | -23.0 | -1.8 | -33.2 | -0.5 | -4.7 | 8.7 | 2.8 | 2.3 | 17.5 |
| Portuguese born abroad, old immigration (b) | -0.8 | 32.5 | -1.5 | -5.3 | -13.6 | 3.7 | -19.7 | -17.8 | 4.3 | -10.3 | 4.8 | -4.3 | 0.5 | -3.9 | 14.1 | 2.3 | 12.7 | 8.8 |
| Spanish born in Belgium | 12.1 | 6.3 | 6.3 | 7.7 | 5.4 | 6.6 | -2.2 | 3.4 | 5.1 | 10.0 | 14.3 | 4.5 | 8.2 | 1.4 | -6.1 | 5.5 | 1.3 | 0.2 |
| Spanish born abroad, recent immigration (a) | 3.1 | -15.3 | 1.0 | -3.5 | -2.0 | -39.5 | -17.2 | -5.2 | 20.0 | -8.8 | -11.4 | -26.0 | -22.1 | -8.6 | -2.0 | -8.3 | -10.1 | 7.2 |
| Spanish born abroad, old immigration (b) | -3.4 | 9.9 | 1.6 | 10.3 | 11.5 | 10.4 | 15.6 | 4.5 | 9.7 | 9.9 | -0.1 | -10.4 | -0.8 | 5.5 | -12.3 | 6.5 | 5.7 | 14.6 |
| Turkish born in Belgium | -14.0 | -7.4 | -31.4 | -8.9 | -16.6 | 3.9 | -9.5 | -9.7 | -24.5 | -52.4 | 31.0 | 40.4 | -19.5 | -24.2 | -22.8 | 24.2 | -32.7 | -63.6 |
| Turkish born abroad, recent immigration (a) | 7.4 | -19.5 | -25.4 | -14.0 | -15.4 | -12.6 | -13.5 | -12.1 | -19.8 | 10.5 | -24.6 | -29.4 | -7.6 | -38.4 | -48.6 | -18.9 | -30.4 | -9.8 |
| Turkish born abroad, old immigration (b) | -39.2 | -17.5 | -46.1 | -10.0 | -6.3 | -2.4 | -13.7 | -14.7 | -5.4 | -7.3 | -34.6 | -54.3 | -29.7 | -37.8 | -12.4 | -18.6 | -37.0 | -22.0 |

Note: (a) Under 10 years of residence; (b) Over 10 years of residence.
1 - Brussels ; 2 - Flanders ; 3 - Wallonia.
Bold numbers: Significant data at $5 \%$ or at $1 \%$.

## Source : GRESP, computed from 2001 census.

Among well-educated women, the greatest divergences are observed between Belgians and old immigration Greeks ( $-37 \%$ ) and recent Portuguese immigrants ( $-23 \%$ ) residing in Brussels. In Flanders, Moroccans born in Belgium and recent immigrants have a probability of permanent employment respectively $73 \%$ and $34 \%$ lower than that of nationals. In Wallonia, Moroccan and Portuguese immigrants have over 30\% less probability of stable employment than Belgians. Spanish immigrants have a probability of $26 \%$ below that for Belgians.
Dutch women born in Belgium have a probability of stable employment 20\% higher than that for Belgians in Brussels. Spanish women living in Brussels and in Flanders have a $10 \%$ higher probability of stable employment.

For foreign women with an average level of education, we see that Greek, Turkish and Spanish immigrants residing in Brussels have the highest differential as against Belgians. In Flanders, the divergence is also wide between Belgians and Turkish and Greek immigrants. In Wallonia, it is recent Dutch, Italian and Moroccan immigrants who are farthest from Belgians in terms of probability of stable employment. Moroccans born in Belgium find it still more difficult to get a steady job, while longstanding immigrants have a probability of permanent employment about 5\% higher than that for Belgians.
For poorly educated men residing in Brussels, it is more difficult for Greek and Turkish immigrants than for Belgian women to find permanent employment. In Flanders, Turkish, French, Moroccan and Italian women are far less likely to have stable employment than Belgians. In Wallonia, it is Greek and Turkish immigrants who are far less likely than Belgians to have permanent employment.

## Conclusion

Belgium is an interesting case-study of the issue of labour market integration for the foreign population.
It constitutes a kind of kaleidoscope combining immigrants with a large diversity of origin, type of migration and modes of settlement over several decades, nationals from neighbouring countries who account for $30 \%$ of foreign manpower, as well as people coming from distant and less developed countries.
It is hardly relevant in this situation to try to confirm overall migration models but rather to determine the specificities of each case, to identify the determining factors and to measure their impact before tracing the general trends that emerge.
The level of education of the foreign population has improved over recent years, but that of the Belgian population has also progressed and the relative variations remain considerable.
When examining the likelihood of employment, it is generally lower for foreigners than for nationals and a high level of education does not substantially improve their situation. The probability of employment for foreign manpower born in Belgium compared with that of immigrants (recent or old immigration) shows few variations.
Concerning the likelihood of permanent employment, a high level of education is generally a favourable factor. The overall situation of foreign women is always lower than that of men whatever the level of education, except for very few groups.
When considering Turkish and Moroccan women, their relative position is hardly better than that for men, even if they have a high level of education.
Finally, it is important to underline wide regional disparities. The economic situation has very different characteristics and another dynamism in Brussels, Flanders and Wallonia. The position of the foreign labour force reflects the regional and local labour market practices. A good economic situation benefits all workers, foreigners as well as nationals. Thus, it is essential to distinguish between groups and sub-groups, to refer to the migratory history of immigrant workers: where did they settle? In which sectors?
In a country in which regional differences are important, in economic structure as well as in social behaviour, political and ideological orientation and language use, a comparative analysis of the integration of the highly varied foreign labour force gives a fertile opportunity for a range of further interpretations.

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[^0]:    1 These 10 nationalities represent somewhat more than $75 \%$ of foreign labour ; the rest is made up of several dozen other nationalities as well as the incomplete or missing data from the census.
    2 The distribution among individuals born in the country and immigrants is obviously very different from that in the foreign population as a whole since only the working-age category is considered here and under-15's do not appear.

[^1]:    3 The real impact of immigration on the total volume of the labour force is under-estimated insofar as all naturalised foreign workers are included in the Belgian worker category. It is impossible, for the time being, in present conditions of data availability, to distinguish between Belgians by birth and those naturalised.

[^2]:    4 The availability of this confidential information and its processing was made possible thanks to a research contract with the SSTC.
    5 A distinction is made between persons engaged on a permanent contract (statutory or open-ended contract) and those engaged on another type of contract (interim, seasonal, temporary, work program, apprenticeship, etc.)

[^3]:    ${ }^{6}$ Missing persons were thus omitted, i.e. persons who did not respond to the census.
    7 For education, the classification used by the LFS was taken. A person with a low level of qualification corresponds to a person with no school certificate or whose highest certificate is that for primary or junior secondary education. A person with an average level of qualification corresponds to a person whose high certificate is that for senior secondary education. Last, a person with a high level of qualification is a person who have done academic studies.
    8 Belgium is a particular case in that the official language is not the same in each region. In Flanders the official language is Flemish, in Wallonia French while in Brussels both Flemish and French are spoken. By distinguishing the three regions in the analysis, we take into account these linguistic differences and the impact they may have on the occupational integration of one or other nationality among foreigners.

[^4]:    9 In Belgium, the census asks no questions on income. From individual data processing, it is not possible to construct a « composite » index to include the type of contract, the grade and occupational status. The choice made here favours the one characteristic of stability, represented by the openended contract. Of course there are cases of badly paid steady jobs and others with good pay but no employment security.

