Transnational families of migrant mothers from Morocco in Spain and their transmission of cultural values

Familias transnacionales de madres migrantes de Marruecos a España y su transmisión de valores culturales

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Abstract

This paper will explore the position of women from Morocco in Spain; it will offer an intergenerational and visual analysis of the transmission of cultural and transnational values and research the role of informal education in transforming, adapting and living such values. We will analyses the coexistence of three generations of mature and young women (mothers and daughters) in Spain from an intergenerational perspective: the women who first migrated to Spain (generation 1.0); their children who were born in Spain (generation 2.0); and those women who migrated to Spain by family regrouping and/or were younger than 15 when they migrated (generation 1.5). The objective of this study is to analyses the influence of transnational networks (between the country of origin and the host country) in their role of maintaining values and cultural practices expressed in both countries. The research analyses the cultural reproductions that take place in the relationships between mothers and their children. Among the ethnographic methodologies used in this study are 'ethnograms' or 'visual diaries' made by these women, especially diaries produced by young Muslim women, which visually illustrate or communicate what a day in their lives is like. These images or photographs, generated by themselves or by their mothers, are valued as basis documents to develop and produce further photographic interviews.

Key words: Cultural (Global) Values, Ethnograms, Formal and non Formal education.

Resumen

Este artículo explorará la posición de la mujer marroquí en España, ofrecerá un análisis intergeneracional y visual de la transmisión de valores culturales y transnacionales e investigará el papel de la educación informal en la transformación, adaptación y vivencia de dichos valores. Analizaremos la coexistencia de tres generaciones mujeres maduras y jóvenes (madres e hijas) en España desde una perspectiva intergeneracional: las mujeres que migraron en primer lugar a España (generación 1.0); sus hijas que nacieron en España (generación 2.0); y aquellas mujeres que migraron a España mediante reagrupamiento familiar o que eran menores de 15 años cuando migraron (generación 1.5). El objetivo de este estudio es analizar la influencia de las redes transnacionales (entre el país de origen y el país de acogida) en su papel de mantener loa valores y las prácticas culturales expresadas en ambos países. La investigación analiza la reproducción cultural que tiene lugar en las relaciones entre las madres y sus hijas. Entre las metodología etnográficas usadas en este estudio se encuentran los "etnogramas" o "diarios visuales" realizados por esas mujeres, especialmente los diarios producidos por jóvenes mujeres musulmanas que ilustran visualmente o comunican como es un día de su vida. Esas imágenes o fotografías, generadas por ellas mismas o por sus madres son apreciables como documentos básicos para desarrollar y producir más entrevistas fotográficas.

Palabras clave: valores culturales (globales), etnogramas, educación formal e informal.

Summary

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Nobody emigrates without the prior claim of a promise. In times past hope was fostered, born by the lure of legend and rumour. The Promised Land, the Arabia Felix, the legendary Atlantis, Eldorado, The New World: behold the magical stories that motivated so many to get underway. Today these have been replaced by high frequency images which, through the media, can reach the remotest villages of the poor world. And whilst the content of the media reality is even more scant than the wonderful legends of the early modern era, its impact, however, is incomparably more powerful. This is especially the case with advertising, which is automatically recognized as a simple system of signs without any real reference in the country of origin, but acquires in the Second and the Third World the character of a true description of a possible way of life. And this largely determines the boundless horizon of expectations associated with immigration.

H. M. Enzensberger, The great migration

1. Introduction

In this paper, our aim is to analyze the relationship between values transmitted by cultural reproduction (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977) in Moroccan families (family habitus) and values taught at schools in formal education in Spain (school habitus). We pay special attention to parents and children views in Moroccan families, because this population represents the second foreign group living in Spain and the first in schools[1]. As Bourdieu demonstrates in their studies, academic success depends on the degree of correspondence between the 'family habitus' and the 'school habitus' required by the educational institution.

We will study the coexistence of different generations of women and their children, specifically mothers and daughters of Moroccan origin in Spain. We will consider their position from an intergenerational perspective, which reflects both the vision of those women who came (generation 1.0) and had their children in Spain (generation 2.0) and that of those women who came to live in Spain as a family unit when they were younger than 15 years old (generation 1.5). We will try to determine the influence of transnational networks in maintaining cultural values and practices between the countries of origin and destination, studying the cultural reproduction that occurs in the mother-child relationship in those families who originally came from Morocco and who are now living in Spain, in Madrid and Almeria. We would also like to understand how education is valued in the context of these transnational families of Moroccan origin in the Regions of Madrid and Andalusia. As a group of immigrant families they constitute, primarily for economic reasons, a major presence, as highlighted by the appointment of Enzensberger.

This study is being conducted in order to highlight the cultural reproduction that occurs in formal education in school, and in the secondary socialization of the destination country, and then to compare it to the cultural reproduction occurring in families linked to the traditions of the Moroccan way of life in a context of non formal primary socialization[2]. We want to reflect on the possibility of building a collection of values that can belong not only in one specific place and in one cultural context, but whose primary function is to be an inclusive school model (Arnaiz, 2003) where learning communities can be developed to enhance education in general for the entire citizenry (Giménez, 2008).

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[1] National Statistics Institute (INE): http://www.ine.es/prensa/np788.pdf

[2] http://www.unesco.org/bpi/pdf/memobpi55_NFE_es.pdf. *Formal and nonformal education* concepts have been taken from Unesco glossary, but in recent documents about Life Long Learning is said *formal, non formal and informal learning*, we prefer these latter concepts. http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2001:0678:FIN:ES:PDF

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2. Methodology

The methodology used was a non-probability sampling snowball. This was sent to some families who then took us to others, following an interpretive descriptive methodology. By collecting information from families, who pass on the values of different cultural references, we have been able to focus on a group of Moroccan families. We did this for several reasons: one of which is quantitative, as they are a group numerically well represented in the context of the Community of Madrid and of Andalusia, where we worked. Their presence is the result of immigration and reveals the economic situation of some families who come to Europe in search of a better future.

The ethnographic methodology used was: a) In-depth interviews, which were recorded, transcribed and analysed in parallel with b) 'ethnograms'[3] or 'visual diaries' that women, or more specifically their children, made to illustrate or convey visually what constituted a day in their lives through the images they generated. These same photographs and written documents end up being a support for photographic interviews (Martínez Pérez, 2008).

In depth interviews allowed us to understand the thoughts of Moroccan mothers who represent expert discourse as cultural (re-)producers. Ethnograms were useful in order to facilitate children's explanations of their cultural learning. An ethnogram is an innovative methodological proposal which integrates images and texts in a diary (Ranera, 2007). We also prepared a meeting for native and immigrant parents (middle aged informants with children) in which they contemplated the issues of having Moroccan children at schools. This last tool is called a 'discussion group' and was designed by Jesús Ibáñez in 1979.

We conducted a total of ten interviews with Moroccan mothers in Spain, five in Madrid and five in Almeria. The latter were in Arabic as they were women of generation 1.0 and they did not feel confident speaking in Spanish. We performed a total of eight 'ethnograms' with the six daughters and two sons of these women. Some of these visual diaries and writings were made in Arabic and later translated for analysis. However, these participants were mostly of generations 1.5 or 2.0 and they were used to Spanish as the language of communication associated with school and formal education, and therefore writing.

3. Theoretical framework

3.1. Values

In accordance with the study *The Spanish Society of 90 and their new values,* involving the values of Spanish children, we can observe that in speaking of values, we live in a society where different cultures interact with immigrant or indigenous dominant culture and those cultures whose information comes to us through technology (e.g. the Internet, newspapers, TV programs). A society in which the events occurring in one part of the globe affect other parts of the world like ripples that spread everywhere and have consequences (Soriano, 2012).

In a globalised society we think about education, specifically in the context of school, as a place of communication between individuals, of meetings, a place for building a community. It is an idea that should not be disappearing from the list of requirements of the education system. Education for life in a global world transcends the boundaries of 'community' beyond the family, region or nation and all agents of socialization are required to meet those identified needs. This is why communities are seen by some authors as multiple, disjointed, provisional and unstable (Torres and Morrow, 2005: 28). Victoria Camps (2008) is more pessimistic when she says that education has lost its way, has fallen into the undefined and has forgotten its fundamental goal: the formation of personality. It requires spatiotemporal training that corresponds mainly to the family, but also to school, the media, and to public space in all its manifestations because we 'need to educate the whole tribe'. And we need to do this chronologically, beginning from before birth and ending with death.

Our question is, in this situation, how can education be best used in order to enable us to project ourselves into a better future? Education should be a means of promoting cooperation and solidarity, of

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[3] Some of the ethnograms have been made by the participants in Arabic and were reviewed at the time of the interview. For these situations we have had the collaboration of the Moroccan sociologist Naima Ejbari, who has undertaken the work of cultural and linguistic translator for people who were unable to speak with sufficient fluency in Spanish

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promoting equality and human rights, and dealing with any form of discrimination and finally a way to promote the values upon which equality and the empowerment of the oppressed are built (Torres, 2001; Soriano, 2012). Rokeach believes that 'value is a type of belief, located in the centre of the whole system of beliefs about how a person should or should not behave, or about the existence of some objective worth or not worth getting' (1973: 19).

In a discussion group with Spanish and migrants parents, there were reasoned concerns raised that young people had lost their sense of values and that we had reached a stage of 'crisis' of values. 'Crisis of values' was identified with 'negation of values' or its absence, but we must not forget, as indicated by Esquivel (2009), that the term crisis means change, and the transition from one situation to another, so that a crisis is a priori a finding, either positive or negative. It does not follow that we live in a society without values, but rather a society that focuses on different values characterized by globalization and migration (Life Skills WHO, 1993).

The values are conceived of as global projects of existence that are shown in the behavior of individuals through the experience of attitudes and conscious and assumed compliance with the rules of conduct (Soriano, Franco and Sleeter, 2011). To successfully integrate and be effective in regulating behavior, the values with which people interact must acquire a personal sense, giving a process of experience and awareness, so as to establish a link between cognitive reflection of the value and a certain emotional charge (Delgado 2005). It is worth noting the importance of the character of the person actively taking part in order to avoid an outcome that feels foreign or is regarded as an imposition. It is imperative to recognize the values of responsibility, solidarity, honesty, integrity etc as important but we concur with Esquivel (2009) when we question what the main feature should be to enable students to recognize the values as their own? Values are certainly important and necessary for life, but what do you need to do to be recognized? Esquivel proposed teaching a 'sample' value. The values are not imposed and people must 'give them a try' as a way of living life, facing situations and behavior. This process is what we call irreplaceable experience or experience (insight), and it is essential in developing the skills associated with global values.

An education focusing on values should not therefore be delivered subject to the same rigid requirements as a syllabus focusing on content. A system should not regulate the personal and social life of the student through an unchangeable system of social customs. It must instead address the process of setting up a personal value system that combines meaning and has been accepted and experienced by the subject (Soriano, Franco and Sleeter, 2011), an integral process both horizontal and vertical. In values education, participants cannot be regarded as recipients but should be seen as protagonists of their own process, since the values they hold are not learned but discovered; they live and are internalized (Cárdenas, 2006). Novo (1996) also suggests that values cannot and should not be taught: values are to be discovered and integrated by teenagers themselves. That is, values education seeks to promote a process of discovery and reflection over which each subject is built. It identifies the values that you want to make your own and serves as a basis for development as human beings, so as to reach a positive coexistence with those around us and be able to exercise active citizenship (Cárdenas, 2006). For this reason, it is essential in a multicultural society characterized by the coexistence of various ethnic and cultural groups to support family-school interaction, native and immigrant families, classrooms liaison support teachers and tutors. For the values that are found in inclusive schools the world over are needed to engage society as a whole.

3.2. Inclusive school for formal and non formal learning

Taking into account formal and non formal education, we can think of a combined model in which the family, as the primary socialization agent, and the school, as secondary socialization agent, are assisted by associations of parents (that we call AMPAS) acting as mediators in informal education. 'The learning communities are school models where families, teachers and agents from community work together to improve the educational quality of the school and environment. Among other things, this type of school parents work in some sort, the school library is driven by all and is open to the neighborhood.' (Giménez, 2008: 75).

According to the Index for Inclusion it is possible to turn a school into a space where all forms of diversity have a place. It is not each student which suits the institution but rather the other way around, the

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school makes an effort to adapt to the reality of each person or group (Booth and Ainscow, 2000)[4]. Inclusive education is an educational model that aims to serve all children equally, adapting learning for all and not just the few, as it does selective school. It is important that all children feel included in the school and classrooms in the same way, without feeling different from others. Inclusion is working from a grouping of male / female students heterogeneously, leading to benefits of academic success for all students / not just the few. It helps to improve the performance of all the students because it provides equal opportunities for success and social inclusion. It is beneficial for all students because it encourages not only equality of opportunity but performance. The formation of heterogeneous groups improves academic performance of our students, provides equal opportunities for success and social inclusion, promotes cooperation in the classroom and competitiveness, leading to the creation of positive relationships where social skills are developed, and ethical values are learned (Include-ED consortium, 2011).

Figure 1. Formal, Informal and Non-formal learning.

Source: Own elaboration.

4. Discourse obtained analysis (Interviews and ethnograms)

Making a general analysis of all interviews and drawing from the following scheme, we see a self-consciousness of the loss of values present in current and future generations. The emphasis placed on values education is devoid of respect and solidarity. Thus, intra-generational educational differences could arise as a result of a generation 'missing values' that were previously projected as required social practices and those customs once gone are lost forever.

**Table 1.** Rules transmited to children and rules considered important by children.

Important rules transmited to children	Order	Rules considered important by children
good manners	1	sense of responsability
sense of responsability	2	obedience
tolerance, respect for others	3	good manners
obedience	4	tolerance, respect for others
self confidence	5	self confidence
hard work	6	economy, save money
economy, save money	7	hard work

Source: VV.AA. (2002). Own translation.

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[4] Booth, T. and Ainscow, M. (2000): *Guía para la evaluación y mejora de la educación inclusiva. Desarrollando el aprendizaje y la participación en las escuelas.* Translated into Spanish by Consorcio Universitario Para la Educación Inclusiva. Universidad Autónoma de Madrid. Original version published by Centre for Studies on Inclusive Education (CSIE), Bristol, UK. See: http://www1.uwe.ac.uk/cahe/edu/research/researchshowcase/inclusion.aspx

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These 'good manners' were to be found in the context of respecting hierarchical figures in authority and age, with a loss of solidarity and compassion for the needy, accompanied by an increased individualism, self-consciousness and egotism. Today's parents were educated about values relating to respect and moral practices such as visiting the sick and helping the needy. However, the children of today lack this educational training learned in an informal field and we now find young people with a considerable capacity for freedom and control with almost no restrictions in place (as Asawer said in her ethnogram).

Figure 2. Analysis based on Douglas, M. (1998) and Ranera, P. (2007).
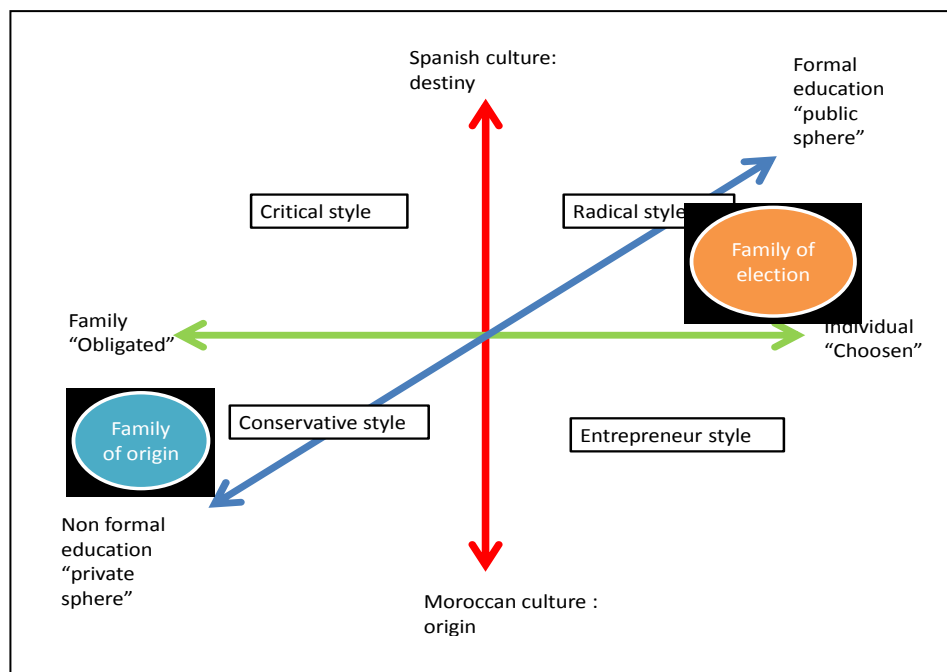
Source: Some concepts are borrowed from Douglas (1998) and Ranera (2007). The analysis is own elaboration.

Learning education is located in the realms of the formal and informal. The concept of 'education' is understood to be everything that shapes thinking in all aspects of an individual, as something complete situated between 'good education', training and employment. Therefore, daily practices such as learning to comb your hair or get dressed, as well as more complex practices from a moral standpoint (how to distinguish between good and evil) are all considered educational practices to be transmitted through both formal institutional mechanisms like school, and informal mechanisms such as family and groups of friends who have some connection to the sphere of 'street'. And that education is a mechanism that guides you and teaches you to understand and behave in all kinds of professional and everyday situations, and we quote:

> Education … education for me, is a … law to educate my children, or a formula,a tradition and education … is … a way to move forward … to study, to know how to eat … like … all … (Latifa)

The social function of these mothers of Moroccan origin is not limited to primary socialization in the context of the nuclear family living in a country other than the one of their birth. The exercise of motherhood in these immigrant families is bound by being the guarantors of maintaining the transmission of a culture in a socio cultural environment not always conducive to this. Mothers of Moroccan origin who have worked with us are responsible for ensuring that the link with their culture of origin, with the Muslim religion, with the extended family and the country from which they came is not broken. Hence, the more

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global values are transmitted by formal education in school, the easier it will be for immigrant groups and the native population to coexist. This will happen if the global values of human rights and respect for difference, operating as a sort of 'universalist' starting point, can facilitate coordination between different forms of socialization. We are currently experiencing a period when part of the immigrant population is returning and we realize that implementation of this view would perhaps have been enough to turn an exclusive school into an inclusive school. This could have avoided conflict arising around the subject of having to adapt to an institution that had no connection with their world view. In this split experience of reality, subjects who cannot stand the psychological pressure tend to leave the host society (which is not hosting) and return to their country of origin.

The maternal role in the socialization of these families has two essential pillars in the transmission of language and religion. In fact, we see in the analysis of primary sources what could be described as 'both': as a mother, mother language, mother religion (Interviews 5, 7). The families live in a secularized society with a Catholic tradition, where religion has ceased to be a fundamental aspect of social life. For the Moroccan born immigrant population in Spain it is difficult to maintain a close link with their 'mother'[5] religion in a country where the secularization process is widely implanted.

Education is viewed as an important element, teaching people to understand and appreciate life and to respect all the social structures that shape it. Education itself is also seen as a value: 'the mother is like a school' (Hafida) one of the interviewees told us. Also, note that with the first generation families there is a very strong link with Morocco, together with the maintenance of lifestyles and habits similar to those of the country of origin, and the use of Arabic and religion. The link evolves in families for generations 1.5. or 2.0. The development remains consistent in values: for families retaining close ties with Morocco the value associated with education is 'obedience'; families in transition talk about 'respect'; completing the cycle with an education in freedom, which we haven't heard in the speeches explicitly.

Table 2. Comparison between three generations.

1.0 generation	1.5 generation	2.0 generation
Education = mother	Education = mother, school (second mother)	Education = media, friends
Local-Morocco	Transition-Spain	Global-World
Past	Present	Future
Islamic school	School + Mosque (Islamic school on Saturdays)	Inclusive School (Arabic lessons)
Value: obedience	Value: respect	Value: freedom
Ethnogram: 'In the name of Allah, today I´ve learned' (Monia)	Interview: Education means respect for all (Khadija) Ethn.: Yousra	Ethogram: Pangea sketch (Rania)

Source: Own elaboration.

Furthermore, television plays a key role in the transmission of educational values. It shows an idealized reality as it should be, always respecting the rules that apply in a given society, and respecting the elements that are not always seen clearly. This is also influenced by the cultural differences between Spain and Morocco. There is the suggestion in Morocco, as in Spain, that practices such as nudity, kissing and swearing, are treated as a taboo and concern the private sphere. Moroccan television focuses on the transmission of values related to everyday life such as the kitchen and communication. It can be seen that television content and its variant for children of Spanish cartoons, provides a mechanism for the informal learning of culture and language, but it never provides a means of learning values, as these can only be learned and taught under the Muslim religion, seen as a 'whole' containing all answers.

Among other activities such as parallel religious training in an Arab mosque, are mechanisms used by some of the participants for their children to build an identity relating to their origins, and to escape from the default identity. As individuals adapt, develop and grow within a Western society, they internalize a culture different from the home culture. Some practices, such as watching TV every day in Spanish and

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[5] In the scheme of contacts between cultures developed by Berry in 1984, when cultural identity is preserved integration occurs, when cultural identity is not preserved it is called adoption or assimilation.

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going to school, help children to socialize and strengthen their identity as a Western citizen, but this is not a matter of global citizenship. The skills families need to be taught have to do with the transmission of practice of what is morally right and to learn to distinguish between good and evil and choose the right path. For the participants, the need to educate their children on values that have to do with respect, obedience, effort, responsibility, decency, good manners, honesty, critical thinking, independence, and respect for their religion, is ultimately a personal choice. More practical knowledge would include household chores. Similar to education, religion looks for that which is self-conscious and self-critical in order to grasp the divine word and this is precisely where some of our participants voiced their own experience of 'intragenerational' differences. Respect, which is the subject of so much talk, is marked by a family hierarchy, where the figures of grandparents and parents are placed at the top of the pyramid. In addition, one of the participants noted the role of gender difference as an identifying factor since although male and female children must both develop specific skills such as following the same religion and adopting good manners, women must also develop some complementary skills and know how to cook and take care of the household chores.

The kind of education that school transmits, in contrast to that taking place in a family that gives the individual a first identity in the world, is a more formal culture, based on standards that are observed so as to play a legitimately accepted role. The loss of knowledge of the family as a socializing agent has been remarkable, as it has been replaced by other agents such as educational institutions and the peer group. This is where the concept of hidden curriculum becomes important because although there are a number of specific skills for which the education system provides a complete training, this is not the case with generic or transversal skills that are in the context of learning developed in the family, peer group and social participation in sports or cultural associations.

> The education system not only transmits and evaluates the learning of the official curriculum, but also conveys, through the interaction of teachers and students, a set of rules and behavioural patterns and relationships important in shaping subsequent attitudes to form a parallel learning (...) a series of concepts and explicit guidelines do not have a decisive influence on the self-assessment of children in the options and attitudes that are taking over their education and in the final results: it is what has been called the hidden curriculum. (Subirats, 1994: 68, in Colectivo Ioé, 2007: 30)

Education is transmitted and learned through various mechanisms, formal and informal, in which we can mark out the family, media and school, and it is a mixture of all these various kinds of mechanisms that can be accessed that provide the training for a complete education. However, it is the family as the primary mechanism that gives identity to individuals. One woman said: 'The mother is a good school if you educate them preparing for a good society. There are some mothers who do not care about their children, they get up and go to school alone, and spend time alone'. Furthermore, the family ceases to be the lead institution in the life of an individual. Peer groups or reference groups where membership is conveyed by access to major television and other types of networks forge an individual's identity and this can lead to a loss of values such as respect, among other things. It is also relevant that a difference is revealed in the perception of the concept of free time between the generations, it is seen as a synonym for leisure. Television and the Internet have become two major sources that affect the livelihood of people and transmit cultural values.

On the other hand, it is important to mention the loss of hope for the future and the amount of effort involved without suffering any personal cost. That is why one considers spending time and effort meditating when one is no longer forced to do anything. This causes a lack of interest in activities such as study, whose remuneration is established long term, or performing household chores where you pay a high price in terms of spending your leisure time in unproductive activities whilst gaining little in the way of personal enjoyment. This is a consequence of the little effort it takes to get things. Besides the loss of important life experience, this gives rise to a loss of authority of the parents over their children. The women interviewed thought about freedom and lack of control by mothers. They spend much of their time at work, and are unable to spend the necessary time with their children. This affects their education and leads to a loss of values, not seen in previous generations. They think that their children belong only to them.

The differences observed in terms of generation (1.5) should be noted. They were born in Morocco and their teaching is to remind them who they are, what their language is, what their practices and their religion are, in order to learn to be 'Muslims'. It is a specific task for the family, for the mothers. Thus, unlike other generations who seek to educate their children so as not to lose their origins, this 1.5 generation are

taught through practices such as attending a mosque and speaking in their native language, which is their second language. Mothers generally seek and want the same for their children, and to educate them under the same moral values, depending on the social context. The end of an education based on religion, signals the achievement of a self-awareness of the reality on one hand, and a more practical knowledge of how to behave on the other.

Educational differences between generations deal with the changes that have occurred in areas such as the symbolic loss of respect and obedience, the figure of the woman as caretaker of the children, husband and home, and the development of a full rationalization that has eliminated placing value on the craft aspect of life. Similarly the role of women today goes far beyond housework and the care of children. That is why a clash of attitudes between mothers and children occurs, especially between women living in different social contexts who were educated to perform different tasks. The relationship between mothers and daughters becomes complex due to the loss of authority and experience of supposed life privilege: 'Earlier, in our time we had two schools: the school and our mother, but for them it is no longer true' (Khadija).

The concept of family also varies from one country to another, establishing two types: an extensive family in Morocco and a nuclear one in Spain. The Western concept of family is limited to nearest kinship, husband and children who live the day to day life together, those who teach moral values. The most extensive family in the case of Morocco includes people with blood ties, but in Spain, migrant families from Morocco have links with other individuals who are without any biological ties such as neighbours and friends. A greater number of people help mothers in an education consisting in 'control and correct behaviour' (Hafida).

Moreover, in both countries the weight falls, relatively speaking, on the mother and ultimately it depends on whether she works for pay outside the home or not; she is responsible for family care: 'the greatest responsibility lies with the mother. Father is always out at works, and the responsibility of educating about values, ethics lies with the mother. The mother can always raise a family, but the problem arises when the mother has to work both in and outside the home and is not necessarily able to educate the children as well, not all can' (Hanna). Therefore, the concept of 'conciliation' is on the mother figure and is present in both cultures as if it were a female responsibility: the summary could be that children belong to mothers, as does the domestic work.

The school in turn, has a clear educational role, for all our participants and this is 'the education par excellence', although it moves in the realms of both formal and informal. The family loses importance, taking second place to the bonding of the peer group. It is 'the institution that helps us educate our children' said Latifa, and that education would only be completed on combining a mixture of the two forces, formal and informal knowledge and incorporating both daily. It is also, 'the second mother for us' (Halima), as the place where children interact more frequently with others, and learn to follow and respect rules. But its relevance is also revealed in the way it involves learning negative behaviors which spread between particular groups and manifests in the loss of respect for authority previously represented by teachers or the downtime use of mobile phones and other gadgets.

In the previous revision of the concept of value, the central question was: how does education relate to the reproduction of gender divisions? (Arnot and Weiner, 1987). One of the fundamental concepts which is most widely used is that of 'play'. Theorists have examined how schooling, through various mechanisms, perpetuates (plays) the class divisions within the workforce. To analyses gender inequality leads to the development of the concept of gender code (MacDonald, 1980). We take this analysis as a starting point for a 'political-economic perspective' (Arnot, 1981), drawing attention to the role of schools in reproducing the social and sexual division of labour within the family and the workplace. What is reproduced is the domain of men over women, obstructing the full access of girls and women to knowledge, resources, self esteem and freedom from fear and shame[6].

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[6] Garcia Suarez et al. (2004: 15) developed the concept of 'gender pedagogic device' as 'any social process through which an individual learns and transforms the gender components of subjectivity'.

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Figure 3. Analysis about socialization in transnational families.
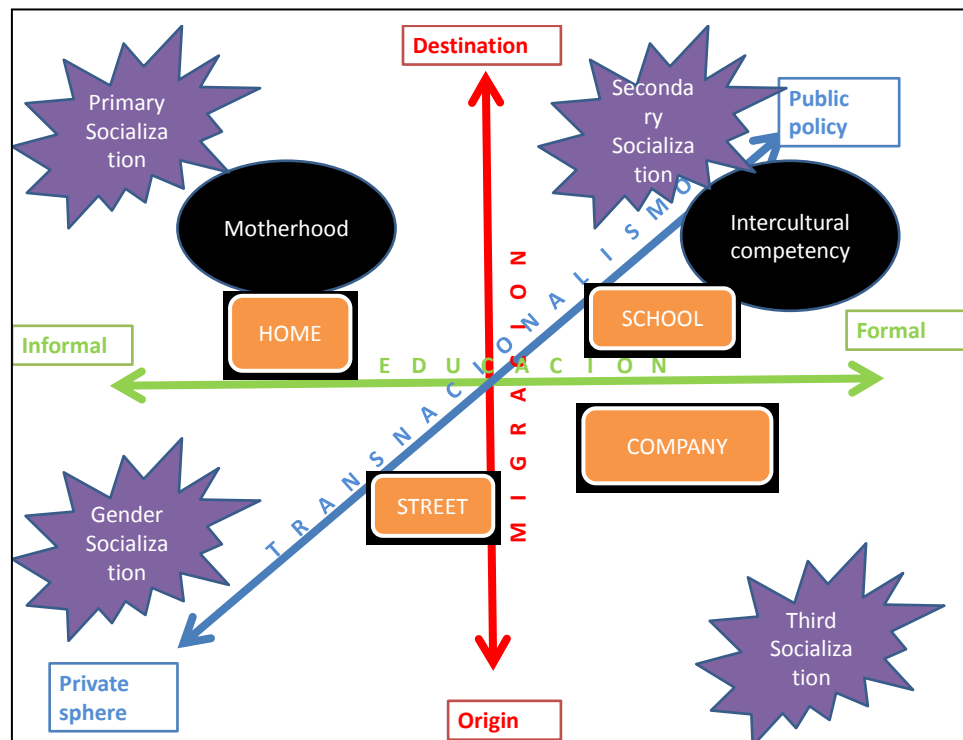
Source: Own elaboration.

This means that arrival in Spain presents migrant girls with enrolment opportunities which they would not have had, had they remained in the country of origin (Ioé, 2003: 97). The results suggest that the occupancy rate of mothers has a decisive influence on the decision to enroll children beyond Secondary school, but does not introduce significant differences by gender of children. (Ioé, 2003: 99). It is also a response worthy of note when a Moroccan mother who lives in a suburb of Madrid with a high density of immigrants chooses a private school for her child for 6 years in order to study with Spanish children. This evidence points to the imbalance, especially in some geographical areas, between public (state) schools, where the sons and daughters of immigrants enroll, and private schools, where the indigenous children study: 'I chose a private school because I want my child to study with Spanish children'. (Ioé, 2003: 107). This lack of balance between the native and immigrant populations in public and private or with charter schools has been addressed in several studies, which highlight the inadequacy of the current compensatory educational programs as well as problems arising from the concentration of students who have very recently enrolled in publicly owned facilities (Blanco, 2002: 307-343).

5. Conclusions

Ultimately, this experience of analyzing what happens within transnational families, leads us to review the validity of the theory of Bernstein. The coexistence of the sons and daughters of transnational families in public school in Spain is confirming the meaning of the interaction between a developed and a restricted code. In Volume I of *Class, Codes and Control* (1973), Bernstein's theory, sociolinguistic codes were applied to a social theory that analyzed the relationship between social classes, family and the reproductive systems of meaning. According to him, there were differences due to social class in the communication codes of the children of the working class and the middle class, differences that reflect the class relations and power in the social division of work, family and schools.

Bernstein, based on empirical research, established the differences between the restricted code of the working class and the code developed for the middle class. Restricted codes are context dependent and particularistic, while non-elaborated codes are context dependent and universalist. The fact that

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educational success requires an elaborate code means that the children of the working class are at a disadvantage with respect to the dominant school code, not that their language is deficient. This same situation is reflected in the current effort of public schools in Spain to attend equally to the children of migrant families who not only have a restricted code in their native language but also in Spanish language and culture. On the other hand, some middle-class families comprising dual income middle-class independent professionals include a significant percentage of EU nationality (most of them mixed couples) parentage and they choose to place their children in public schools. The reason being that there is an assumption that diversity and the pursuit of an education offered that is 'public, secular and with high quality' are values (Field diary entry, 22-3-12).

During the fieldwork with these Moroccan origin mothers, we had a perception that the school did not speak of 'their world' but from the 'world' that their children needed to live in. The rest of the families who choose public school, and will lead to an extension of this study, were of two types: double income mixed couples[7], that is, different nationalities, or both Spanish, middle class, highly qualified professionals. This second type of families choose public school as they value the ethnic diversity present in the school population as well as in society as a whole. More than three decades after, differences between parents' and children's knowledge have increased considerably. This group is aware of the great distance from their home world to arrival, the latter belongs more and more to their children. In our study, school as a social institution has a mediating role that can reduce conflict situations if it is an inclusive school (Arnaiz, 1993). Furthermore, there are associations of parents who are facilitating the integration of foreign children into school through extracurricular activities characteristic of informal learning. In fact, in some places learning communities are coming about where transnational families live with natives.

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[7] Instead of dinkis: Double income no kids. Dema, S. (2006): *Una pareja, dos salarios. El dinero y las relaciones de poder en las parejas de doble ingreso*. Madrid: CIS.

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Annex: Ethnograms descriptions of the transnational family type: 1.0, 1.5 or 2.0 generation.

Monia (1.0 generation)

It is a journal unlike any before, which shows an awareness of her learning through both formal and informal mechanisms, and the implementation of education led by her religious beliefs. From her mother and informal environment she receives an education that teaches values to distinguish between good and evil. On one hand there is a type of counseling based on religion, and on the other there is a more practical

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learning process based on the know-how of things and day to day living. Relevant aspects include the lack of any reference to what you learn informally and to the school. This highlights the lack of importance of this area and the importance given to the moral and practical. Daily, her diary begins, 'In the name of Allah'

Yousra (1.5 generation)

Repeating routines in her diary that are done every day: she rises and goes to school without breakfast, mid-morning comes and she goes to breakfast IES (implies that it is at home). Does not like some teachers, she says her teachers do not like to be asked and she asks. Moreover, she complains that these teachers are not like last year, these (as she said) did not encourage study. She wants to study hard and make a career of teaching. She misses her elementary school teacher. As they approach the Easter holiday, once you finish your exams you go out with friends to look at clothes. When she gets her grades, she is happy because she has passed all her subjects. The first day of vacation she stays overnight at a friend's house and chats with her classmates. For the holiday, her mother goes to Morocco, not being a friend of her mother, she sleeps in the house and goes to the beach and plays volleyball. The first day back from vacation, the teacher throws her out of class for talking to another in Arabic. She is neither aware of what you learn or where you learn.

Rania (2.0 generation)

Rania was born in Spain, her parents came from Morocco and in her ethnogram, she painted something that we called *Pangea* in our analysis. In that sketch, we can see Morocco in the middle of the image and Spain or Almeria on each side of the picture. Some countries or mythical places, from Cuba or Egypt to somewhere called "Disney" are also included. Asturias (one region in the North of Spain) is bigger than Germany or Tunisia. Mallorca is located between Morocco, Japan and 'Disney'. It is interesting for us to analyses the image because we can put together all of the geographical references that the children interviewed have. Her parents speak Arabic between them but not with the girl, who studies English and has her sights set on living somewhere in Europe and only go to Morocco to visit on holidays.

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