Integration and interpersonal relationships of moroccan immigrant students of compulsory secondary education in Andalusia Spain

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Abstract

The current Spanish society is characterized for an a abundance of immigrants and recently for an emerging migration. The importance of the Moroccan community in Andalusia (Spain) encourages us to contribute for their better integration. It is interesting to know the degree of integration in society and interpersonal relationships. We have used a qualitative methodology with quantitative data, carrying out a stratified sampling to study Moroccan students of ESO. Their life has changed significantly in Spain. However, we estimate important to maintaining their customs and traditions, but we are immersed in a constant process of assimilation of cultural and social norms for the host society. The most common problems are the culture collision, language difficulties, family-school relationships and school segregation.

Key words: Immigration, Moroccan, integration, Andalusia.

Resumen

Integración y relaciones interpersonales de los alumnos inmigrantes de origen marroquí de educación secundaria obligatoria en Andalucía España

La actual sociedad española se caracteriza por una fuerte llegada de inmigrantes y, recientemente, por una emergente emigración. La importancia del colectivo marroquí en Andalucía (España) provoca la necesidad de coadyuvar a su mejor integración. Por tanto, es de sumo interés conocer su grado de integración en la sociedad y sus relaciones interpersonales. A través de una metodología cuantitativa con aportaciones cualitativas, se ha realizado un muestreo estratificado para estudiar a los alumnos de origen marroquí de la educación secundaria obligatoria. Su vida ha sufrido importantes cambios tras su traslado a España. No obstante le conceden gran importancia al mantenimiento de sus costumbres y tradiciones, aunque paradójicamente están sumergidos en un constante proceso de asimilación de pautas culturales y sociales de la sociedad de llegada. Los problemas más frecuentes giran en torno al choque cultural, las dificultades idiomáticas, las relaciones familia-escuela y la segregación escolar.

Palabras clave: Inmigración, marroquíes, integración, Andalucía.

INTRODUCTION

The integration of immigrants is an essential element in the policies followed in the European Union, Spain, and in turn, Andalusia. Their different educational systems are seen as settings essential to completing this process. In keeping with this, this study[1] aims to establish the level of integration and cultural identification of students of Moroccan origin in compulsory secondary education (ESO) in the region of Andalusia, as well as their interpersonal relationships, in order to contribute to improving their situation. With this in mind, the starting hypothesis is that knowledge of the interpersonal relationships of students of Moroccan origin in Spain contributes to the development of strategies facilitating these being part of the process of integration in school and in turn in the society of arrival.

Integration is a process of coexistence between different collectives in a given society (Saint-Gerons, 2014), where the legal and effective rights of all people are equal, including the immigrant collective whose members are guaranteed equal opportunities at all levels and services of society (Marcu, 2014).

All members of host societies, as well as those of origin, have a cultural identity that is the result of the acquisition of a series of qualities or characteristics (values, customs, symbols, beliefs, types of behaviour …) based on their belonging to a specific collective. This article agrees with the widely held opinion that there is a strong relationship between cultural identity, culture and belonging to a specific social group (McNiff, 2012; O'Connor y Faas, 2012; Steinbach, 2014; Silver, 2015; Velázquez, 2012), and especially the relationship between individuals and their community of origin for the configuration of their cultural identity. Deep roots in the society of origin (see Table 3) and time of residence in the society of arrival therefore become essential factors in the construction of individual cultural identity (Fuentes, 2014).

In the integration process, the distance of immigrants from their country of birth does not mean that ties of belonging with the community of origin are severed. The evolution or transformation of cultural identity of

individuals occurs in many different forms, and the individual perception of cultural identity takes on a key role (Liberona y Pagnota, 2012).

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In the particular case of the Moroccan immigrant population, research suggests a close relationship is maintained with the society of origin, both in France and Spain, regardless of the number of years spent in the society of arrival. In the case of Andalusia strong interaction with the country of origin is facilitated by the geographical closeness to Morocco, enabling fast affordable travel (Capote, 2011).

There is little international scientific literature on the cultural integration and identification of immigrant students of Moroccan origin. In Holland, research has been carried out by Extra and Yagmur (2010), where it is worth noting the relationship between language and the sociocultural identity of Moroccan and Turkish immigrant students, while there are studies on the socio-affective ties created among students of Moroccan and Romanian origin in Italy (Saint-Blancat y Zaltron, 2013).

In Spain, there are have been several studies on the integration of Moroccan students in secondary education schools (Pamies, 2013; Ruíz y Merino, 2009; Peralta, 2008). On the issue examined in this article it is worth noting the work of Deusdad (2013), with two prior studies on the identity of students of Moroccan origin, but it is apparent that Spanish research on this issue is also limited.

EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM AND MOROCCAN IMMIGRATION IN ANDALUSIA

At present, Spanish society is undergoing a major influx of immigrants, as well as a more recent emerging emigration. These migratory phenomena cannot be understood without taking into account the socio-economic framework of the country. For decades, Spain has needed high demographic levels in order to maintain its high standard of living, and this would have been difficult to attain without the contribution of the immigrant population. Thanks to the widespread social and economic wealth of recent decades Spain has gone from being a territory whose people were often forced to emigrate to becoming a country which welcomed high numbers of immigrants. However, the recent economic crisis has led to extreme changes in migratory flows. Given the aging autochthonous population (Figueroa-Hernández y Pérez-Soto, 2011), the immigrant collective has proved invaluable to well-off Spanish society. The year 2012 ended with

314,358 immigrants, a figure slightly lower than those of 2011 (371,335), 2010 (360,704) and 2009 (392,963). As a new trend, 476,748 people left the country in 2012 to move abroad so that the net migration that year was negative (−162,390) (INE, 2013).

Moroccan immigration in Spain grew noticeably in the early 1970s, especially in cities such as Barcelona, and since then the Moroccan colony has increased steadily. On the eve of Spain's entry to the European Union (EU) (1986), member states pressured the Spanish government for tighter control of migratory flows. Free movement of people between EU countries meant that national borders no longer limited the migration of immigrants wishing to go from one country to another. This led to the adoption of Organic Law 7/1985 of 1 July on the Rights and Freedoms of Foreigners in Spain. This police-based legal disposition also hindered the access of immigrants to basic social services, including education. The regularization process completed in 1991 was followed by a noticeable upward trend of Moroccan population in Spain (López García, 2004), which has gradually increased.

There are 5,467,955 foreigners resident in Spain. Moroccans are the second largest collective (880,789) after that of the Romanians (922,286) (Secretaría General de Inmigración y Emigración as of 31 March 2013). They are mainly employed as non-professional carers (97,285) or agricultural workers (64,819) (Ministerio de Empleo y Seguridad Social. Observatorio Permanente de la Inmigración, 2013).

This phenomenon is also observed in Andalusia. For years the numbers of immigrants from Morocco have been increasing at a higher rate than in the rest of Spain (Bellido, and Andreo, 2004). Andalusian society has ceased to be a source of emigration to become a major recipient of immigrants. This has been accompanied by a series of political, social and cultural changes resulting from a buoyant Spanish economy (Asociación J. William Fulbright, 2005).

Andalusia is one of the regions with the highest number of immigrants. In 1998 it accounted for 1.38% of the total number of immigrants resident in Spain, and in the first quarter of 2013 this figure stood at 12.86% (Ministerio de Empleo y Seguridad Social. Observatorio Permanente de la Inmigración, 2013). The Statistical Yearbook for Andalusia of 2013 includes information which reflects some changes in Andalusian demographics as regards foreign collectives. Thus, in 2012 foreigners in Andalusia were predominantly European (423,286), followed by those from the African

continent (163,192), with Moroccan nationals accounting for the highest percentage (122,380 inhabitants in 2012 and 118,518 in 2011).

The Moroccan immigrant collective has increased greatly in recent years. The Figure 1 below shows the progressive evolution in Andalusia between 1998 and 2013.

Figure 1: Evolution of Moroccan immigrant population in Andalusia
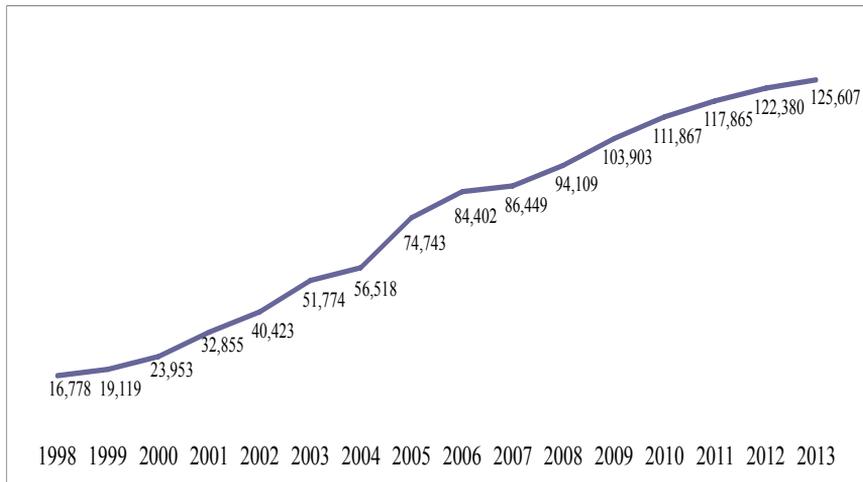
Source: Authors' own based on data obtained from the Institute of Statistics and Cartography of Andalusia (1998-2013)

However, these data refer to Moroccans with residence permits in Andalusia and do not take into account the number of Moroccans in irregular situations (Gallardo y del Coral, 2008), so that it is difficult to offer precise figures.

According to the Institute of Statistics and Cartography of Andalusia the municipal census for 2013 included a total of 125,607 Moroccans resident in Andalusia. In terms of distribution throughout the different Andalusian provinces, the Moroccan immigrant population is found mostly in Almería and Malaga, with 44,439 and 31,877 Moroccan residents respectively. In contrast, the lowest indices are found in Cordoba and Jaén with 3,177 and 6,397 residents (Instituto de Estadística y Cartografía de Andalucía, 2013).

The data provided by the Institute of Statistics and Cartography of Andalusia in relation to sex, nationality and province of residence show that men account for 68.7% of the Moroccan collective in Andalusia, while women make up 31.3% (Instituto de Estadística y Cartografía de Andalu-

cía, 2013). The following Table 1 shows the predominance of men in all Andalusian provinces (Table 1).

Table 1: Moroccan immigrant population residing in Andalusia by provinces, based on gender. Frequencies and percentages. Year 2011

	Frequency			% (In relation to each province)		% (in relation to the Andalusian Community)	
	Women	Men	Total	Women	Men	Women	Men
Almeria	15.304	27.838	43.142	35,5	64,5	33,1	38,9
Cadiz	3.636	4.705	8.341	43,6	56,4	7,8	6,6
Córdoba	1.216	2.054	3.270	37,2	62,8	2,6	2,9
Granada	4.413	6.698	11.111	39,7	60,3	9,5	9,4
Huelva	3.099	4.757	7.856	39,4	60,6	6,7	6,7
Jaen	1.936	3.822	5.758	36,6	66,4	4,2	5,3
Malaga	12.784	16.274	29.058	44	66	27,6	22,7
Seville	3.949	5.380	9.329	42,3	57,6	8,5	7,5
Total	46.337	71.528	117.865	39,3	60,7	100	100

Source: Authors' own based on the data obtained from the Institute of Statistics and Cartography of Andalusia (2013)

However, it should be noted that in recent years a trend has been detected towards the feminization of immigration, beginning with the regularization of 1991. Further exploration of the data for the period 2004-2006 reflected a rapid influx of male Moroccan immigrants into Andalusia. This was far higher than that of women (the figure for male Moroccan immigrants was 20,903, while the process was slower in the case of women, who totalled 6,981). This trend was reversed in the period 2006-2008, where the number of men was 2,878, less than the number of Moroccan women registered in the municipal census of Andalusia, which stood at 6,829 (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2013).

Traditionally, the major concentration of Moroccan nationals in Almería and Malaga was due to the considerable employment offer in intensive agriculture (Carella, 1998), and this can explain the predominance of men. More recently, the work offer in the tourism services sector has led to a greater influx of immigrant women seeking work as domestic employees in Malaga (Consejería de Gobernación. Dirección general de coordinación de políticas migratorias, 2008: 32), specifically in Costa del Sol (Martín y Castaño, 2004).

With regard to the presence of the Moroccan collective in the Andalusian educational system, in the 2010/11 academic year it was the leading

nationality with a total of 25,361 students, 23.3% of the total of foreign students (Instituto de cartografía y estadística de Andalucía, 2013). This is followed by Romanians (12,397), British (9,796), Ecuadorans (5,845) and Argentinians (5,141). The geographical distribution of Moroccan students is not in the least uniform. There is a considerable difference between those matriculated in provinces such as Almería (9,736) and Malaga (5,311) and students matriculated in others such as Cordoba (776) or Jaén (1,133) (Instituto de cartografía y estadística de Andalucía, 2013)

Most of the total Moroccan population matriculated in the Andalusian school system are concentrated in primary education (7,227), followed by children's education (5,503) and compulsory secondary education (ESO) (4,545) (Instituto de cartografía y estadística de Andalucía, 2013).

Immigration provides many different benefits to the receiving country. The arrival of immigrants, mostly young people of working age, to Andalusia gives an important boost to the region's economy, contributing to productivity (Mac-Swiney, 2004), the mean growth of Gross Domestic Product, and considerable contributions to Social Security (El País, 2008).

The Statute of Autonomy of Andalusia (Organic Law 2/2007) guarantees a public education system (arts. 10.3.2. and 21), developed through the Law of Education of Andalusia (Ley 17/2007), organized by the Andalusian Education System and respecting the principles of equality, equity and solidarity (Statute of Autonomy: art. 52). Their universality guarantees free access to education to any person residing in Andalusia. Furthermore, it is stated that the Education Administration is in charge of regulating the general framework for student diversity in schools (Ley de Educación de Andalucía: art. 48.3).

Decree 231/2007 develops Compulsory Secondary Education in Andalusia. This decree stipulates permanent attention to the diversity of students, laying down adaptations to the curriculum taking into account the personal, social and cultural characteristics and possibilities of students.

Since 2001 the Andalusian Regional Government (Junta de Andalucía) has presented different proposals for welcoming and helping immigrants to integrate into their region. These initiatives include three comprehensive plans for immigration, with the 3rd Comprehensive Plan for Immigration in Andalusia Horizon 2016 currently in place. One of the main aims of this plan is the access and integration of immigrants into the Andalusian educational system in equal conditions to the rest of Andalusians. To do this, the teaching methodology proposed is based on respect for diversity, tolerance, participation and solidarity. In fact, the current plan uses three

approaches in working towards the integration of students (Junta de Andalucía, 2014):

a. Welcome and Integration, funding charities for Intercultural Mediation, funding cooperation agreements for Projects of Socio-educational Intervention, providing a Translation Service and supporting Academic Support Programmes.
b. Learning the Spanish language is an essential tool to aid the academic and social integration of immigrant students. The following measures have been implemented:
    *   Temporary classrooms for Language Adaptation, providing a Spanish teaching programme in school hours for any students who have not mastered the language.
    *   Linguistic Support Programmes for Immigrants in after-school activities.
    *   The Virtual Spanish Classroom consisting in distance education under the supervision of a tutor from the school.
c. Programmes for the Maintenance of Cultures of Origin, especially the after-school activities to learn about and disseminate the different cultures existing in the school.

In short, it can be stated that Andalusia has chosen the interculturalist model from the four public policy models relating to the integration of immigrants (exclusionism, assimilationism, multiculturalism and interculturalism) proposed by Bruquetas and Garcés (2007). However, further means and resources are still needed to make this a reality.

Methodology

Firstly, it should be noted that this research is mostly quantitative, with some qualitative contributions, and aims to combine and adapt different methodological approaches within a single study (Pérez Serrano, 2000: 24) in order to obtain as much information as possible by using a wide range of complementary tools for the assessment, analysis, decoding and interpretation of data.

The tools used for data collection were based on documentary research, questionnaires and observation, complemented with open interviews.

The documentary research began with a theoretical analysis and a review of the bibliography, followed by the study of documentation of se-

condary education schools and NGOs working with immigrant collectives, all within Andalusia.

Following a pilot trial, a questionnaire was drawn up to ascertain the views held by male and female students of Moroccan origin regarding academic and social integration in Andalusia. Subsequent data analysis was carried out using SPSS statistics software.

The sample size was calculated using stratified multi-stage cluster sampling. The size of the strata was established using proportional assignment criteria, respecting the quantitative importance of each stratum, and assigning a number of individuals proportional to the size of the sample. According to the data provided by the Department of Education of the Andalusian Regional Government, in the academic year 2008/2009 4,334 students from Morocco were matriculated in public secondary schools in Andalusia. Taking into consideration the total population and in keeping with Sierra Bravo (2008), to ensure a sampling error of ± 3%, there should be 891 individuals in the sample representing this collective.

When using the constant assignment criteria, each of the strata contribute to the sample with a number of individuals equivalent to the size of the stratum in the population. The formula applied is: $n_1 = n. N_1/N$ where $n_1, n_2, n_{3...}, n_8$ are the samples for each of the strata (provinces), n: the representative sample for the population studied, N_1: the respective sizes for the subpopulations in each province and N: the size of the population. The following sample was obtained (Table 2):

Table 2: Moroccan students in ESO in state schools

Province	Matriculated students	Sample by stratum
Almería	1734	357
Cadiz	330	68
Córdoba	102	21
Granada	418	86
Huelva	255	52
Jaén	208	43
Malaga	970	199
Seville	317	65
Total	4334	891

Source: Department of Education of the Andalusian Regional Government

Eighty open interviews were carried out with teachers from the schools attended by the students in the study for a further and more flexible analysis of specific aspects. Finally, observation was used, understood as an

interactive process, requiring participation from the observer with the context under study. This made it possible to learn about the real situation, analysing the subjects of the research in their everyday settings.

Once the questionnaires had been completed by the sample selected the data obtained were interpreted and assessed, using the percentage values obtained. In addition, the chi-squared test was used to gather more detailed and precise information on the differences existing between specific variables that were considered key to the research and the academic level of the subjects surveyed. SPSS 19.0 statistics software was used to apply this test and Pearson's c^2 was used to verify the relation between the frequencies expected and obtained from the variables selected.

Following Martínez Miguélez (2006), the validity of the tools used to collect data focused on the assessment of the questionnaire used by teachers who had previously researched similar topics in three Andalusian universities (University of Cordoba, Pablo de Olavide University and University of Seville). In addition, both face validity and content validity were taken into account through pilot tests and consultation with different specialists, respectively. The triangulation of information obtained from the questionnaires, interviews, and observation and other documentary sources, supported the internal validity of the research.

The reliability of the research was ensured with Cronbach's alpha method, which measures the 'internal consistency of a scale'. SPSS v. 19.0 statistics software was used to calculate this, obtaining a value of 0.865, suggesting high reliability. The questionnaire used can thus be stated to be a reliable tool providing stable and consistent measurements.

Results and interpretation

As regards the analysis of the data obtained, the study includes the comparison of specific variables of particular importance to the research, confirming or refuting the existence of significant differences based on the factors selected.

There is very little variation between the age groups of the sample of students of Moroccan origin matriculated in state secondary education schools in Andalusia: 22.4% are 13 years old or under, 25.8% are 14, 20.1% are 15 and 23.2% are over 15. Accordingly, efforts have been made to ensure a stable gender variable: female students account for 47.0% while male students make up 52.5% of the total.

In terms of the educational level for secondary education (ESO) at the time of completion of the questionnaire, the situation was as follows: 267

students were in first year, 344 in second year, 187 in third year, 85 in fourth year, while 8 did not specify.

In order to ascertain the extent of their attachment to the society of origin they were asked about the importance they attached to maintaining Moroccan customs and traditions. The vast majority (84.5%) provided a positive response, and it also became clear that a high proportion (73.0%) kept in touch with their friends in Morocco (Table 3).

Table 3: Roots in the society of origin

	Maintain customs		Friends in Morocco	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Yes	753	84,5	650	73
No	67	7,5	217	24,4
N/A	71	8	24	2,7
Total	891	100	891	100

Source: Authors' own based on the survey carried out by the authors among immigrant students of Moroccan origin in compulsory secondary education schools in Andalusia.

The analysis of peers -highly influential for teenagers- showed that the students surveyed mainly interacted and were friends with others of Moroccan origin. 66.1% answered that they had a lot of Moroccan friends, 54.8% had Spanish friends, and 38.8% had friends from other countries, represented in the Figure 2.
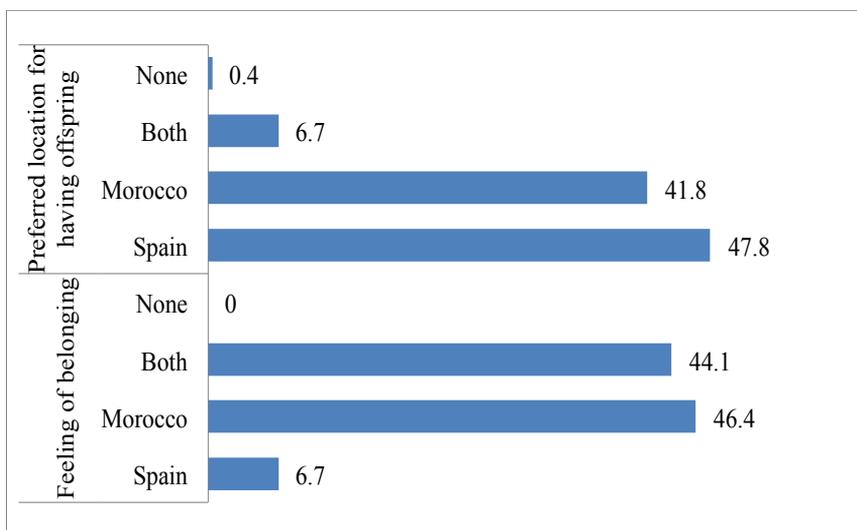
Figure 2: How many of your friends are…?
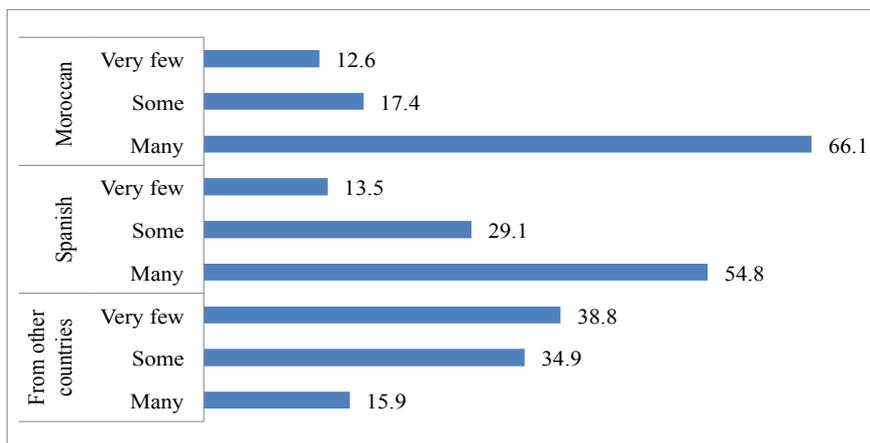
Source: Authors' own based on the survey carried out among immigrant students of Moroccan origin in compulsory secondary education in Andalusia

Although they do not lose touch with their country or identity of origin, many (46.4%) continue to feel more Moroccan than Spanish, closely followed by a group of Moroccans who feel equally Spanish (44.10%). This feeling of belonging among students is also reflected in the related trend regarding what country they would like their children to be born and raised in, with Spain being chosen by 47.8%, ahead of Morocco, chosen by 41.8% as Figure 3 shows.

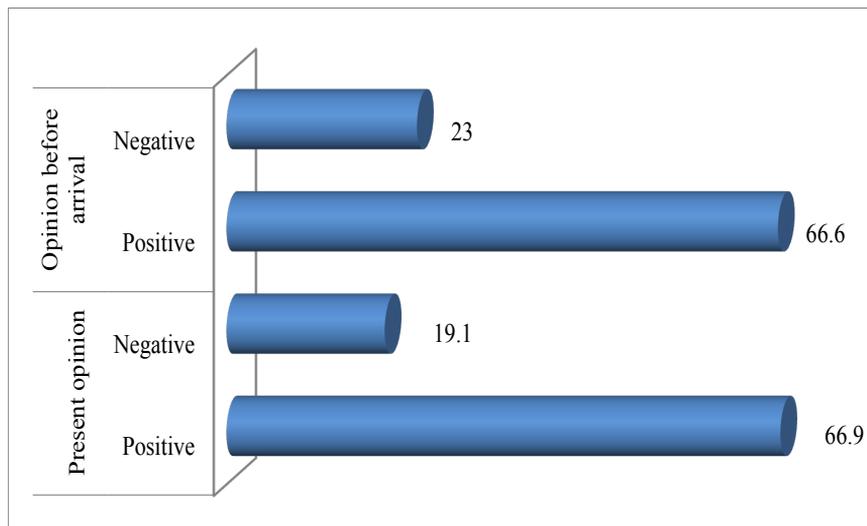Figure 3: Preferred location for having offspring and Feeling of belonging

Source: Authors' own based on the survey carried out among immigrant students of Moroccan origin in compulsory secondary education in Andalusia.

In terms of how students perceived their moving to Spain to live, 66.9% considered this positive, while 19.1% saw it as negative. When this was compared to their current view few changes were observed, as 66.6% continue to see this as positive while 23% do not, as Figure 4 shows.

As regards the feeling of discrimination compared to the treatment of immigrants from other countries, 58.8% claim not to have been differently treated from other immigrant collectives of different nationalities. However, 38.0% state they have been treated differently, while 63.6% feel like foreigners in Spain compared to 33.2% who do not.

Figure 4: Opinion before arrival and at present

Source: Authors' own based on the survey carried out among immigrant students of Moroccan origin in compulsory secondary education in Andalusia

As stated earlier, the chi-squared test was used to verify the existence or absence of major differences between the frequencies obtained and those expected. It should be noted that the selection of variables for analysing the relationship in the three areas under study responded mainly to two criteria:

a. The variables chosen were those clearly focusing on socio-educational aspects.
b. A series of variables were selected with a particularly important relationship with socio-educational variables.

Initially, the null hypothesis is observed between the variable 'Time living in Spain' and 'Do you feel like a foreigner in Spain?' The results obtained, displayed in table 4, clearly show the existence of significant differences between both variables. The chi-square value in this case is 90.554, to which a bilateral significance of 0.000 is associated. Therefore, after setting a significance value of 0.02, it can be stated with a reliability of 98% that there are significant differences between the variables analysed, which means that the null hypothesis is rejected and the alternative is confirmed: the time of residence in Spain influences whether or not they feel like a foreigner in the country.

Table 4: Contingency table for variables How long have you been living in Spain? /How many of your friends are from Spain? How many of your friends are from Morocco? and Do you feel like a foreigner in Spain?

How long have you been living in Spain?		How many of your friends are from Spain?				How many of your friends are from Morocco?				Do you feel like a foreigner in Spain?		
		Very few	Som	Many	Total	Very few	Some	Many	Total	Yes	No	Total
1 year or less	Frequency	17	16	9	42	0	0	42	42	21	21	42
	% of total	2	1,9	1,1	4,9	0	0	5	5	2,5	2,5	4,9
From 2 to 5 Years	Frequency	46	109	51	206	20	20	174	214	182	32	214
	% of total	5,4	12,8	6	24,1	2,4	2	20,6	25	21,4	3,8	25,2
More than 5 years	Frequency	57	122	344	523	56	116	344	516	336	175	511
	% of total	6,7	14,3	40,3	61,2	6,6	13,8	40,8	61,2	39,5	20,6	60,1
Born in Spain	Frequency	0	8	75	83	36	19	16	71	24	59	83
	% of total	0	0,9	8,8	9,7	4,3	2,3	1,9	8,4	2,8	6,9	9,8
Total	Frequency	120	255	479	854	112	155	576	843	563	287	850
	% of total	14,1	29,9	56,1	100	13,3	18,4	68,3	100	66,2	33,8	100

Source: Authors' own based on the survey carried out among immigrant students of Moroccan origin in compulsory secondary education in Andalusia

Subsequently, following the analysis of the table of frequencies observed and expected, it is observed that those surveyed and residing for between 2 and more than 5 years declare themselves to feel like foreigners more often than expected. However, this is not the case with students of Moroccan origin born in Spain. It can therefore be stated that despite having lived in Spain for between 2 and 5 years, or sometimes even longer, they still consider themselves foreigners. In addition, it is observed that the higher the educational level of individuals, the less probability there is of them maintaining family relationships with their spouses.

As in the previous case, the chi-square statistic was applied to the variables extracted from the questions *'Time living in Spain' and 'How many friends are from Morocco?'*. From the data analysis the null hypothesis was ruled out, as the value of chi-square was 143.292, to which a level of bilateral significance of 0.000 was associated, below the level of significance set (0.02), confirming the alternative hypothesis with a reliability of 98%. Therefore, the differences between the number of friends of Moroccan origin and the time they have lived in Spain are significant. Analysis of the comparison table of the frequencies observed and expected shows that, as with the previous analysis, those surveyed and living between 2 and 5 or over 5 years in Spain have many Moroccan friends. In contrast, the observed frequencies were greater than expected for those born in Spain and with very few Moroccan friends.

In addition, the variables *'Time living in Spain' and 'How many friends are from Spain'* were contrasted. The resulting chi-square value for this analysis is 173.919 with a bilateral level of significance of 0.000. Given that the set level of significance is 0.02, the null hypothesis is rejected with a reliability of 98%. Accordingly, the chi-square is significant, confirming the alternative hypothesis that there are notable differences in the number of friends of Spanish origin based on the amount of time the subject has been living in Spain. Analysis of the data resulting from the comparison of observed and expected frequencies again confirms that the time spent living in Spain influences social integration. In this case, it was observed that students who have been living in Spain for over five years and those born in the country tend to have many Spanish friends. In contrast, those who have been living in Spain between 2 and 5 years state they have 'some', and it is deduced that the longer the time spent living in Spain the higher the number of friends of Spanish origin (Table 4).

The contrast of the variables 'How long have you been living in Spain?' and 'In the future would you like to marry a boy or girl of Spanish origin?',

the resulting chi-square is 41.519 and the level of bilateral significance associated is 0.000. Given that the set level of significance is 0.02, the null hypothesis is rejected with a reliability of 98%. Therefore, the existence of significant differences is confirmed between choosing a possible spouse or the time living in Spain.

Examination of the previous Table 5 shows how in the case of individuals living between 2 and 5 years or over 5 years living in Spain the frequencies observed are higher than expected for the options: 'Yes, if they shared my religion' and 'I would prefer a spouse of Moroccan origin'. It should thus be noted that the desire to marry a Muslim increases significantly with the number of years spent living in Spain.

The next study to be carried out was whether there were significant differences between the variables 'How long have you been living in Spain?'. On this occasion the resulting chi-square is 26.195, with a bilateral significance level of 0.000. For a set level of significance of 0.02, the null hypothesis is ruled out with a reliability of 98% and the alternative is confirmed: there are significant differences in terms of their opinion of their new life in Spain and how many years they have been living in Spain. In keeping with this, the table comparing observed and expected frequencies shows that subjects who have been living in Spain for over 5 years and maintain that their life has changed did obtain higher frequencies than expected.

The chi-square for the comparison between the variables *'When you found out you were coming to Spain did you see it as something…?' and 'How do you see it now?'*, is 8.305 and the bilateral significance level is 0.004. With a reliability of 98% and a level of significance of 0.02, the null hypothesis is rejected and the alternative is confirmed: there are significant differences in their opinion of their current life in Spain and that which they held before moving to Spain.

The data in the Table 6 show that those who initially considered the move a positive one continued to do so. In contrast, while the already low 22.1% of students saw emigration as negative, only 7.9% of those surveyed still did so.

Applying the chi-square test to the variables *'Do you feel more Moroccan or Spanish?'* and *'Has your way of living in Spain changed compared to how you lived in Morocco?'*, the resulting value is 15.260, with an associated bilateral significance level of 0.002. Given that the set level of significance is 0.02, the null hypothesis is rejected with a reliability of 98%.

Table 5: Contingency table for variables How long have you been living in Spain? / In the future would you like to marry a boy or girl of Spanish origin? and Has your way of life in Spain changed compared to what it was in Morocco

			In the future would you like to marry a boy or girl of Spanish origin?					Has your way of life in Spain changed compared to what it was in Morocco?		
			I would like very much	Yes, if they shared my religion	I would prefer a spouse of Moroccan origin	I do not care	Total	Yes	No	Total
How long have you been living in Spain?	1 year or less	Frequency	8	12	14	8	42	9	33	42
		% of total	0,9	1,4	1,6	0,9	4,9	1,1	4,1	5,2
	From 2 to 5 Years	Frequency	8	77	95	30	210	124	90	214
		% of total	0,9	9,1	11,2	3,5	24,7	15,5	11,2	26,7
	More than 5 years	Frequency	24	173	175	143	515	268	229	497
		% of total	2,8	20,4	20,6	16,8	60,6	33,5	28,6	62,0
	Born in Spain	Frequency	8	28	20	27	83	16	32	48
		% of total	0,9	3,3	2,4	3,2	9,8	2,0	4,0	6,0
	Total	Frequency	48	290	304	208	850	417	384	801
		% of total	5,6	34,1	35,8	24,5	100	52,1	47,9	100%

Source: Authors' own based on the survey carried out among immigrant students of Moroccan origin in compulsory secondary education in Andalusia

Table 6: Contingency table for variables When you found out you were coming to Spain did you see it as something...? / How do you see it now?

			How do you see it now?		
			Something positive	Something negative	Total
When you found out you were coming to Spain did you see it as something...?	Positive	Frequency	442	142	584
		% of total	58,9	18,9	77,9
	Negative	Frequency	107	59	166
		% of total	14,3	7,9	22,1
	Total	Frequency	549	201	750
		% of total	73,2	26,8	100,0

Source: Authors' own based on the survey carried out among immigrant students of Moroccan origin in compulsory secondary education in Andalusia

Therefore, the alternative hypothesis is accepted: there are significant differences between their opinion that their life has changed following emigration and their feeling of nationality.

The data in Table 7 were analysed to ascertain the significance of the differences between observed and expected frequencies. This confirmed that the subjects felt equally Spanish and Moroccan with greater frequency than expected and that their way of life has changed after living in Spain.

When contrasting the answers to the questions *'Do you feel it is important to maintain your customs and traditions from Morocco?'* and *'How many of your friends are Moroccan?'*, the chi-square value obtained is 19.657 with an associated bilateral level of significance of 0.000. Therefore, with a set level of significance of 0.02, the null hypothesis is rejected with a reliability of 98%, and the alternative hypothesis is accepted: there are significant differences in the number of Moroccan friends and the desire to maintain the customs of their country of origin.

After confirming the existence of significant differences between the comparisons of variables, this significance was analysed. The results of the contingency table showed that the subjects surveyed considering it important to maintain their traditions have many Moroccan friends, with greater frequency than expected (Table 8).

Based on interviews and observation a series of difficulties and problems usually faced by Moroccan immigrants in Andalusian secondary education institutions were detected and are detailed below:

Table 7: Contingency table for the variables Do you feel more Moroccan or Spanish? / Has your way of life changed in Spain compared to how you lived in Morocco?

			Has your way of life changed in Spain compared to how you lived in Morocco?		
			Yes	No	Total
Do you feel more Moroccan or Spanish?	Spanish	Frequency	32	14	46
		% del total	4,0	1,7	5,7
	Moroccan	Frequency	191	206	397
		% del total	23,6	25,4	49,0
	Spanish and Moroccan	Frequency	194	156	350
		% del total	24,0	19,3	43,2
	Other	Frequency	4	13	17
		% del total	0,5	1,6	2,1
	Total	Frequency	421	389	810
		% del total	52,0	48,0	100,0

Source: Authors' own based on the survey carried out among immigrant students of Moroccan origin in compulsory secondary education in Andalusia

Table 8: Contingency table for the variables Do you consider it important to maintain your customs and traditions from Morocco? / How many of your friends are from

			How many of your friends are from Morocco?			
			Very few	Some	Many	Total
Do you consider it important to maintain your customs and traditions from Morocco?	Yes	Frequency	84	131	526	741
		% del total	10,6	16,5	66,3	93,4
	No	Frequency	16	12	24	52
		% del total	2,0	1,5	3,0	6,6
	Total	Frequency	100	143	550	793
		% del total	12,6	18,0	69,4	100,0

Source: Authors' own based on the survey carried out among immigrant students of Moroccan origin in compulsory secondary education in Andalusia

a. Culture clash. They come from a society with very different traditions, culture and religion from those in Andalusia, and it is thus essential to prevent the predictable cultural clash. Therefore, measures include a stipulated period of adaptation to the new educational system. Girls tend to experience greater difficulties when trying to reconcile their

cultural practices, as they are under greater pressure from their family. At this educational level inconveniences such as the use of the hijab and the relationships with male classmates arise. The use of the hijab has strong religious connotations, as well as being a major cultural symbol, and therefore cannot be seen as just another clothing accessory: *'The freedom of girls to use the hijab depends on what type of parents they have'* (I. 67)[2]. Although students are free to use the hijab if they wish it should be noted that students who wear it are treated differently by classmates compared to other female classmates. It is male Moroccan classmates who state they treat them with 'greater respect': *'Let's not kid ourselves, the use of the hijab is much more than a religious issue or custom'* (I. 12).

b.   Language difficulties. In ESO Moroccan students have problems with both language and advanced academic content. Due to the differences between writing and speaking their mother tongue and the language of the receiving country, they experience considerable difficulties when learning the new language, and on occasion *'some students arrive and start off the school year without any Spanish'* (I. 19).

3.   Therefore, younger children tend to experience fewer problems in learning a second language, as well as understanding and assimilating content to integrate and be accepted by classmates, etc. The same difficulties are found in both secondary and primary education, but it is more complicated to start to learn a foreign language at a later stage, and in turn this difficulty reduces their chances of success in the school system (Roca, 2004).

c.   Family-School relationship. Frequent school absenteeism calls for greater awareness among families on the need for education. It is also worth noting the school absenteeism and school failure identified in the area of arrival and the different processes of adaptation usually required (in the area of arrival, low income, etc.).

•   In addition to these obstacles, Moroccan immigrant students also present educational needs stemming from the economic and employment disadvantages of their families on occasion, as well as their housing conditions. Due to the long working hours of parents, many boys and girls have to take care of their siblings, which can sometimes lead to school absenteeism (Fernández, 2005).

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[2] I = interview, followed by the number of the interview carried out.

- In the case of boys this tends to be the result of them trying to earn money, even illegally, while girls stay at home looking after their siblings (Capellán, 2003: 243-244).
- There is very limited participation of immigrant families in the activities held at their children's school, partly due to[3]:
- The tight work schedule of mothers and fathers. Stay-at-home mothers tend to have a limited command of the Spanish language.
- Little tradition of collaboration between family and school, as in the society of origin *'that parents 'have no business' being at the schools'* (I. 30) and this is limited to hours for parent-teacher consultation, start of year meetings and the occasional party.
- Habits and customs acquired earlier tend to perpetuate certain types of behaviour.
- There are different measures aimed at improving the situation, such as schools collaborating with immigrant associations, setting up offices offering basic information on the educational rights of immigrant students, as well as on the school services at their disposal, etc. (Consejo Económico y Social de la Provincia de Jaén, 2006).
- Increasingly, schools like CEIP San José Obrero (Seville) propose to improve the relationship of the family and school settings through the Tutorial Action Plan and Coexistence Plan. To do this, open days, cultural weeks and more meetings are held to provide further information to the families, more flexible consultation hours or even full-time telephone and internet consultations (C.E.I.P. San Jose Obrero, 2013).

d. School segregation. Finally, in addition to the natural concentration of Moroccan immigrants in certain neighbourhoods and in turn, in specific schools, there is also a high dropout rate among the autochthonous students in these schools. Both trends point to an undesirable process of 'ghettoization' and segregation to be avoided: *'some (autochthonous) parents think that in this school their children are going to learn undesirable behaviour, both academic and non-academic'* (I. 72).

BY WAY OF CONCLUSION

The social changes brought about by major migratory movements are unpredictable. History shows that unless the necessary preventive measures

[3] Only 5.2% of parents regularly take part in the school council, 1.3% only go to the school when summoned by the teacher and 11.7% when they themselves consider it necessary (Rascón Gómez, 2006: 168-169).

are taken these situations can give rise to xenophobia and different types of ethnic conflicts. As humans are a species characterized by cultural malleability it is essential to look to education as a great hope, and major lever for change with multiple personal and social facets potentially leading to a desirable constitution of current society and the future. Measures implemented ought to include the promotion and development of values of solidarity in individuals, the encouragement of an appropriate sense of morality and above all the use of reason to combat xenophobic attitudes and feelings.

In Spain and in Andalusia in particular, a modern multicultural society is not only possible, but also largely inevitable. Attention to diversity is one of the major challenges faced by any educational system, and becomes increasingly important in the context of a country where different cultures coexist in many cities and regions. A clear understanding of multicultural education should aim for equal opportunities and possible education for all children and young people. This requires scrupulous respect for all prior learning, essential to the cultural identity of each community and the self-esteem of each of its members.

The efficient integration of Moroccan boys and girls into Andalusian society is determined by the conditions in which many of them arrive and live. Their lack of knowledge of Spanish, their social and economic situation —both in their country of origin and Spain— and in many cases, insufficient schooling, eventually mould a difficult framework for the students. However, even after their school situation is settled, correct integration into Spanish society is still pending.

Before and years after their arrival, most of the students analysed saw their move to Spain as something positive. Those who emigrated still maintain strong ties of friendship with their friends of Moroccan origin. This is not the case of those who were born in Spain. The longer the time spent in Andalusia, the greater the number of Spanish friends. Furthermore, some Moroccan students who have spent some time living in Andalusia have practically renounced their language and culture, and now resemble their Spanish classmates. In contrast, those who have only recently arrived remain very close to their family and cultural tradition, which causes tension and often isolation at school.

Students, especially those living in the receiving country for over five years, state that their life has changed a great deal since their move to Spain. The vast majority understands that their way of life and feelings about their nationality have been modified.

In addition, many of these students attach great importance to maintaining their customs and traditions. There is a significant correlation between those with a high number of Moroccan friends and the greater importance awarded to preserving their customs and traditions. In this regard, many cling to their identity of origin in some way or another, still feeling Moroccan and often considering themselves as foreigners in Spain. With the passing of the years in Spain this situation tends to veer towards the opposite end of the spectrum.

When discussing aspects relating to their own economic and social wellbeing or that of their future offspring they appear to be in favour of 'becoming more Spanish', and when asked about the nationality they would want for their future spouses and children they mostly answer Spanish. However, these wishes are at odds with the difficulties of this sector of the population in obtaining Spanish nationality, as one of the requirements is ten years of legal residence in Spain (Ministerio de Justicia, 2016).

Regarding the controversial issue of the hijab, it is first necessary to prevent limitations to the individual freedom of immigrants due to uses, customs and regulations imposed by the predominant cultural group. All female students should be free to wear or not wear the hijab, but this cannot simply be achieved by eliminating any restrictions imposed by their society of origin. It is much more difficult and must be dealt with in the family and group contexts which on occasion play a decisive role in drastically limiting their relationships with male classmates.

The most frequent problems identified from fieldwork and interviews stem from culture shock, difficulties with the language, family-school relationships and school segregation. The academic actions carried out by the Consejería de Educación of the Junta de Andalucía, the body in charge of education, focus on these. However, in terms of the legal concept of immigration in terms of education, state intervention has placed greater emphasis on guaranteeing the right to education and the strategic and ideological defence of policy of equal opportunities than on setting up a permanent solid framework for action.

Socio-educational intervention is therefore a priority for both immigrant and autochthonous population. Locals are the great forgotten protagonists and have a basic role to play but must be prepared for this by expanding intercultural perspectives, eliminating stereotypes and clichés and favouring adaptation to this new situation.

The socialisation process observed among Moroccan students is greatly influenced by the school, their relationships with teachers and their rela-

tionships with other classmates. The school should be in charge of providing an intercultural education favouring interpersonal relations to create heterogeneous and cohesive groups. Creating an atmosphere of participation and dialogue with room for reflection on the actions and interactions at individual and group level is thus a priority.

A multicultural situation and social diversity ought to prompt responses such as initiatives for intercultural education geared towards preserving the unity and identity of minority groups, while incorporating the concepts of tolerance, respect and integration, but always avoiding cultural assimilation. This type of education ought to start by reviewing school texts, modifying their language, their ethnocentric view and the reflection of double standards; raising awareness among members of the educational community on the need for education on diversity; and improving and adapting the initial and continued training of teachers. An approach to the social reality directly affecting students and the interest of all those within the school institution (state, tutors, teachers, parents…) must also strengthen the quality and equality of the education received by all, favouring training which allows the 'cultural identities' of individuals or social groups to be maintained.

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