

Continuity and change in Moroccan socialization:

A review of the literature on socialization in Morocco and among Moroccan families in the Netherlands.

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General Introduction

Questions that have led this review

The intention behind this literature review was to understand Moroccan socialization by looking at a diversity of contexts. It will review both the literature on socialization patterns in Morocco as well as on socialization patterns of Moroccan migrant families in the Netherlands. This review was conducted from a variety of theoretical perspectives. First, we were interested in a comparative perspective, that is, by juxtaposing what was said in the literature on socialization in Morocco and on Moroccan socialization in the Netherlands. Second, we were interested in the comparison of these contexts from a theoretical perspective on cultural change and stability: the fact that Moroccan socialization is studied by researchers in multiple contexts gives us a unique opportunity to study these phenomena. We believe that it is by looking at a diversity of contexts that we can learn how different patterns 'behave' in different circumstances, how they 'adapt' to specific contextual influences or appear to be more stable or robust across contexts. Third, we wanted to understand what possible changes mean from the perspective of the Moroccan migration process as well as from the perspective of global changes that occur both in Morocco and the Netherlands. As developments in both countries often had similar characteristics we were interested to see whether or not we could distinguish between the impact of both processes. And fourth, we were interested in the question of how Moroccan youth in the Netherlands deal with the different contexts they engage in and what kind of adaptation or balancing strategies they develop. Apart from a comparison of contexts and the question as to how these contexts influence each other, we believe that it is important to focus on what people's strategies are when dealing with the differences between those contexts. Ultimately it is not the differences themselves that matter but rather how (young) people perceive or deal with these differences.

In a more practical sense, our goal is to use the knowledge of these multiple contexts on Moroccan socialization in order to interpret classroom data from our project 'Collaboration in the multi-ethnic classroom' which we are undertaking together with Ed Elbers (University of Utrecht). Our presumption is that the different contexts on Moroccan socialization as well as the strategies applied by Moroccan youth to move between them are relevant for the interpretation of the classroom behaviour of Moroccan youth in the Netherlands. However, we do not see those contexts as revealing a fixed set of cultural patterns, skills and values that students bring into the classroom. We prefer to see them as experiences that are part of a repertoire of skills that migrant children have appropriated or are indirectly familiar with that is only partly reconstructed in specific ways in the context of the classroom (Elbers & De Haan, in press; Elbers & De Haan, 2003, in preparation). In this review we will not deal with the interpretation of these classroom data but deal exclusively with a review of the literature and our interpretation of it, taking the above questions as general guidelines.

The relevance of culture as an explanatory force

As some studies challenge the relevance of the idea of 'culture' when explaining the success or failure at school of minority students (for a review see Eisenhart, 2002) we will argue here why we think the notion of culture still has a role to play in this field. In order to do this, we will present a brief review of the literature that has examined the question of how cultural background or ethnicity might explain differences in success or failure at school.

In the early studies (seventies and early eighties) the dominant idea was that cultural differences between minority students and mainstream students were responsible for minority students not doing as well at school as their mainstream counterparts. The process of adaptation that all students had to undergo when they attended school was seen as being more difficult for minority students as the difference between their home culture and their school culture differed more than was the case for the average white middle class student (e.g. Heath, 1983;

Philips, 1972, 1983). This explanation has been referred to as the discontinuity thesis or cultural difference thesis. Here, culture is seen as the relatively coherent and distinctive cultural patterns are associated with a particular group.

In response to the cultural difference thesis, Ogbu (1987; Ogbu & Simons, 1998) argued that the relative cultural gap between different ethnic minorities could not explain the differences in success at school, since some minorities are more successful than others while the cultural distance between them and the mainstream culture was not evidently different for either of these groups. The nature of the integration process of the minority group is considered in this approach as more important than the cultural distance as such. Ogbu (1991) argues that what is relevant for the success of minorities is 'the type of understanding minorities have of the workings of the larger society and their place as minorities in that working order' (p.8). He argues that it is the frame of reference migrants develop and the place cultural differences have within that frame of reference which is relevant. He focused attention much more on the response migrant groups have to the contact between this group and the guest country instead of to the contact in itself.

Perceived status, patterns of (selective) assimilation and processes of resistance are considered relevant in this respect (Portes, 1995; Gibson, 1997). Here, the reconstruction of cultural differences is stressed and the fact that cultural patterns do not exist as such but are always a reaction (resistance, adaptation) to particular social structures in which minority groups adopt certain positions.

Following the same line of thought, another group of studies focuses on how different identities are (re) constructed in the classroom context. In these identity construction studies, discontinuity is not between the school context and the home context but is between the different identities formed within the school. Cultural backgrounds are translated in terms of identity construction from the point of view that culture is not static but constantly reconstructed in response to specific contextual circumstances. Here, past experiences coming from students home background are relatively unimportant and the re-grouping of school-

related identities is stressed (e.g. Levinson, 1996). In these studies the multiple identity formation and the flexibility people have to move across cultural contexts is focused on (Eisenhart, 2002). Eisenhart uses the term 'cultural productions' to point out that we should not look at cultural identities as given but as ongoing expressions. With the concept of cultural production she stresses the present position between multiple contexts and between ongoing relationships rather than past experiences.

When we consider the different viewpoints on the relevance of the idea of culture to explain why minorities do less well at school, it is clear that there are differences in how the notion of culture is used in each of these views. Whereas the first studies present culture as stable, coherent and resistant across contexts, recent studies see culture as flexible, context-adaptable, multi-sided and momentary. We think that it is possible to do justice to both the resistant and changeable side of the idea of culture when arguing that cultural patterns acquired in past (socialization) contexts take on specific forms in new contexts. Differences between ethnic groups can be seen as the result of the reconstruction of differences developed in other contexts, taking a specific form as a consequence of their reconstruction in the context of formal schooling. Moreover, the context of schooling has itself a solid and compelling structure and differences can be seen as a contestation of that structure (compare Gutierrez's notion of the contestation of the dominant discourse, 1995).

As far as the concept of 'culture' is applied in this review, this viewpoint means that we see the different socialization contexts both as interrelated and as unique. They are interrelated in the sense that we think that (aspects of) past socialization experiences are resistant across (migration) contexts. They are unique in the sense that they are played out in specific circumstances in which all kinds of social interactions and reactions to cultural patterns play a role. What is relevant here is both the reaction of the minority group to the dominant cultural patterns and structural opportunities and adversities as well as the reaction of mainstream society to the strategies the minority group develops. It is the specific

configuration of this complex interaction in particular contexts that is decisive in how differences are framed.

Thematic focus

In our review of the literature we focused on the general notion of socialization to mean all socio-cultural processes that are relevant for child raising practices. In particular we focused on processes of learning and teaching, although teaching is referred to here in the more general meaning of 'guidance' (see Rogoff, 1990), including more tacit forms of guiding a child's general development. Therefore, the review is not confined to the pedagogical domain but includes those cultural domains that underpin, build or relate to the pedagogical domain. The social organization of the communities in which child raising practices take place as well as the social organization of the family were considered as being particularly relevant in addition to the 'actual' pedagogical practices. Moreover, we made a distinction between values on child rearing and child rearing practices as they can differ considerably. Furthermore, we focused on four different aspects of child raising practices that we found useful in order to group the differences we found, partly taking them from the dimensions distinguished in other reviews of differences in child raising practices (Pels, 2000a, p.57-; Haan, de, 1999, p.26-). We distinguish between support structures, control, communication and learning arrangements and, as far as possible, we will group the studies found under these categories. A brief explanation of how we interpret these terms is given at the beginning of the relevant sections.

Moreover, we looked at both the context of the country of origin, in this case Morocco itself, and the country of migration, the Netherlands. In the section on socialization in Morocco we made a distinction between socialization in the family and socialization at school. In the section on socialization after migration, we focus on the relationship between formal and informal socialization as this is a specific point of interest with respect to Moroccan socialization in the migration context.

Another aspect that needs to be mentioned here is that many studies report on processes of change in child raising practices. This is both the case for the studies in the Moroccan context and for the studies in the migration context. For instance, chapter I looks at changes between younger and older generations in Morocco and in chapter II on the migration context, the reader often will find comparisons between the first and second generations. This is illustrative of the dynamic nature of socialization contexts and does justice to the culture concept we proposed. We will deal with the issue of change more systematically in our conclusions.

In the third part of this review, specific attention is given to studies that report on how Moroccan youth react to the different contexts they are confronted with and the strategies they develop to deal with these differences. As mentioned before, we found the literature on this important as we want to stress that it is not just the differences between the different contexts that explain the position of Moroccan youth but their active engagement in these different worlds.

Although we will focus on Moroccan socialization, we will occasionally mention socialization processes of other groups who recently migrated to the Netherlands, in particular people from Turkey. In fact, this is the other important migrant group in the Netherlands if we disregard the groups with colonial ties with the Netherlands, such as people from Surinam and the Antilles. In most cases this serves to portray the contrasts or similarities between the Moroccans and other migrant groups.

Our resources

With respect to socialization patterns in Morocco, we mostly took from anthropological work, focusing on certain aspects such as 'life cycle', 'social relationships', 'traditional education' or more general ethnographic studies. But we were also lucky to find a number of more specialized studies that focused on education (Eickelman, Wagner, Dichter) or on adolescence (Davis & Davis), of which some are more inspired by the field of psychology. With respect to

socialization patterns in the Netherlands, a combination of different kinds of studies was found, mostly conducted by Dutch researchers and carried out from a psychological, pedagogical or sociological perspective. The bulk of the information on Moroccan child-raising practices came from several substantive studies by one of the authors (best documented in Pels, 1991 and Pels 1998) and could therefore be reported on 'first hand'. Given the disciplinary differences, the studies in parts I and II differed considerably with respect to methodology. This complicates the comparison between these two parts. Therefore, we will briefly outline the methodological aspects of the studies that were reviewed so that the sense of where the information comes from is, at least not entirely, lost.

1 Socialization in Morocco

1.1 Introduction

In this part we will first address the cultural practices that, in our view, underpin and inform child rearing practices. We will deal specifically with the social organization in the Moroccan community in general and later focus on the social organization of the family. We believe that these social practices are crucial for understanding the specific nature of child rearing as they deal with the nature of social relationships, the relationship between the self and the other, specific power dynamics and authority relationships relevant for family and community life. As child raising is about how children are integrated in a complex network of social relationships and how they become competent at dealing with that network, these issues are particularly relevant. Some of the same issues are dealt with when we report on the social structure of the family but then on a different scale and domain. Where relevant we will relate those two contexts to each other, for instance in describing the nature of authority relationships. However, in the section on the social organization of the family, more specific issues are dealt with, such as the relationship between adults and children, the network of people who are responsible for raising children and the role of peer group socialization. We then go on to address child raising practices more directly, that is, we explicitly focus on what pedagogical and disciplinary means parents apply to raise their children. Firstly, we focus on the values parents express on child raising, and secondly we focus on practices of child raising. With respect to practices, we deal with support, control, communication and learning arrangements respectively as was mentioned in the general introduction. The last section deals with formal education in Morocco and follows the same structure as the section on family child rearing. We regard both informal and formal education

as relevant since they both continue to be a point of reference in the context of migration.

1.2 Social organization in general

The way communities are socially organized are relevant for the arrangements children are confronted with when they learn to become responsible, full members of those communities. For instance, children might grow up in more child-centred pedagogically constructed environments or in the 'peripheries' of the adult environment. Or children might grow up in relatively closed, family related, social environments or in more open social environments in which they have to deal with a diversity of relationships. The social organization is also significant for the 'self' that children are expected to construct, ranging from, for instance, a self that is relatively autonomous from social networks to one in which social networks are more central in the construction of the self. In this section, we shall describe the aspects of social organization in Morocco that we consider relevant for socialization practices. Our resources vary with respect to the time the data were collected. Therefore, we will mention both aspects of the more 'traditional' Morocco (the oldest source being that of Hart (1976) who conducted his fieldwork between the 1950s and the 1970s) and the 'modernized' Morocco (the most recent study being that of Davis & Davis (1989) who carried out their fieldwork in 1982).

How social structures that describe the organization of the wider community in traditional Morocco are to be characterized has been an issue of debate in anthropology. Joseph & Joseph (1987) claim that two approaches can be found in the ethnographic literature on Morocco: one places the emphasis on the collective aspect of social organization and the other on the fluid, agonistic and individualistic aspect of social organization.

In the collective oriented approach, the idea of a 'segmentary lineage organization' predominates. This approach points to a balanced opposition between discrete and bonded patrilineal corporate groups based on kinship relations. The ethnographers who applied this segmentary model to Moroccan society (e.g.Hart, 1976; Gellner, 1969) have additionally claimed that social bonds are also formed on an ad hoc basis, based on patron-client or friendship ties. In this way, they disclaim that social organization in Morocco equals a 'classic' segmentary model. The idea is that lineage segmentation has to compete with other types of alliances. Hart (1976), who conducted his ethnographic research on the Riffian Aith Waryaghar, states that segments based on kinship relationships are crosscut at important points through all kinds of alliances. He claims that although both principles of the segmentary system (balance and opposition between social segments) are present, the opposition side of it has more weight. For instance, if one's enemy is one's own brother, each brother will look for more allies than his brother has at different social levels. These alliances become a more important principle of social organization than 'the lineage', the blood feud being the central feature of socio-political life in the Rif at that time (Hart, p. 443).¹ Hart calls the social organization of the Aith Waryaghar 'the paradox of a system of disequilibrium in equilibrium, a system where segmental opposition tipped segmental balance, on virtually all levels of the scale ' (p.443).

Ethnographers who describe Morocco in terms of a more individualistic social organization model claim that the idea of segmentation is merely an idiom through which people express idealized social relationships which is not necessarily related to actual social practice. A clear distance is perceived between how the ideology of belonging to a certain tribe or group is presented and what happens in concrete action. They argue that common action on the

¹Marriages were important means of creating those alliances which was the reason why young women sing of their *liff-ino*, meaning 'my beloved' incorporating the word *liff* for alliance (Joseph &

basis of, for instance, tribe membership has proven to be rare or even absent. Rosen (cited in Joseph & Joseph, 1972, p. 227) also concludes that no corporate groups can guarantee the undivided loyalty in common action. Individualistic concerns seem to prevail. C. Geertz (1973, p. 37) stresses that social structures in Morocco consist of mediating relationships among competing individuals. C. Geertz (1968, cited in Dichter (1976)) talks about a significant lack of social boundaries in Morocco, an absence of bounded groups and relates this to the tremendous physical and social mobility that has characterized Morocco for centuries. He characterized the Moroccan as “chameleon like” and fundamentally “contextual”. Both Rosen and C. Geertz describe Moroccan social order as a variable set of social relationships in which individuals negotiate social bonds on an opportunistic ad hoc basis. Social ties are temporary and fit the individual’s needs. Power relationships are used in order to accomplish individual goals. As a result, although people might express collective loyalty to family based communities, in political actions the construction of alliances based on individual needs prevail. Likewise, H. Geertz stresses the uncertainty of loyalty based on family ties and the agonistic nature of relationships (see also below).

We agree with Joseph and Joseph (1987) that both views are not necessarily contradictory. They argue that both systems may co-exist and represent social realities that can be true simultaneously. A kinship system may provide a basis for unification of social groups but this system may, at the same time, be a basis for negotiating individual needs. From their fieldwork in two Berber communities in the Rif, the Aith Waryagahr and the Ibuqquyen, in 1965-1966 Joseph & Joseph (1987) describe the social structure in the Rif as comprising two different poles. Within the life of the Aith Waryagahr and the Ibuqquyen, there is a double pull towards two dissimilar poles. One impulse is toward an ad hoc, individualizing, self-interested, agonistic direction, and the other is toward social unity, collectivism, alliance, and the submergence of the individual to communal interests. These poles are in constant dialectic interplay: ‘there is a notion of

Joseph, 1987,p16).

collective solidarity based on kinship and communal interest but this solidarity is brittle and must constantly be reinforced not only by verbal and written contracts but also by symbolic representations which reaffirm solidarity. Complementary to a collective cord is the potential for discord' (p8). Thus, solidarity must compete constantly with more atomistic and selfish ways of organizing. Although Joseph & Joseph claim that each sign system is double coded, including both union and division, they see this characteristic as redundant in Rifi cultural life.

However, Joseph & Joseph as well as some other sources point to the fact that due to the influence of western societies, the social balance described for traditional Morocco is changing towards more 'atomistic' relationships. For example, Joseph & Joseph (1987) describe that through 'western' influences solidarity relationships have changed between fathers and sons. The possibility of migration and wage labour enable sons to ignore the authority of fathers in, for instance, bride selection. As bride selection was a major source of creating solidarity ties between and within families, these ties were weakened and atomistic tendencies seem to have taken over. They describe that at the time of their fieldwork ('65-66) the double code of solidarity and antagonism was still held in balance but that they could feel this was readily changing. The cultural system, they claim, has been able to survive on its dialectical oppositions. They describe how the capitalistic influences were incongruent with the agonistic solidarity balance as this balance was highly personal compared to the atomistic and impersonal influences of the capitalistic system. That is, at first sight, it might seem that the self-interest side of the balance is congruent with the codes that the capitalistic system pursues. However, the antagonism and the search for the best possible deal for the individual in the traditional system was embedded in a different motive system in which improving personal status was seen in relationship to other status allocation processes such as communal responsibility and reciprocal support (p.22). According to Joseph & Joseph, the capitalistic code does not equal the antagonistic code but is basically atomistic and

impersonal and an attempt to make profit without taking the effects on the wider community into consideration.

Cammeart (1985, p.159) mentions the same wish for autonomy of youth, based on her ethnographic work from the late seventies in Berber communities in Nador (eastern Rif). She describes that the rural youth is still willing to accept the social reality of former generations but that urban youth developed a stronger need for autonomy in, for instance, the selection of their own social networks (friends, marriage) that is, independent from their families. However, Cammeart also mentions the wish of these young people to maintain a good relationship with the family. Dichtner (1976), from his fieldwork on Sefrou in the late sixties also mentions a growing individual consciousness. Davis & Davis (1989) describe the same kind of changes in their study on adolescence in Zawiya, a predominantly Arab speaking community. Under the influence of Western education and other socio-cultural changes, adolescent youth become more aware of the relationship between their own position and that of their community. In addition, social networks of youth become more diverse and sometime place contradictory demands on young people. But, although Davis & Davis describe the same tendency towards autonomy and self-reflectivity, they focus on a Moroccan self, which aims at coping with the complexities of his or her social world. They describe a self that is able to handle support networks and avoid or manage conflicts, in particular between the expectations of their family and their own personal interests. Davis & Davis found that the term 'aql' was used by many young people in Zawiya to express the idea of social sense and to balance between interests in such a way that social relationships, in general and between the generations in particular, are maintained (p.165). This balancing happened despite the differences in educational level between the generations. In this respect the description does not deviate much from the negotiating of social networks and constant tension between solidarity and atomistic tendencies

described by Joseph & Joseph (1987) despite the fact that some two decades separate these studies.

Both in the studies that describe more traditional practices and those that describe more recent ones, the social structure is said to be more momentary, diffuse and dependent on the construction of alliances than on stable, collectively oriented social units. At the same time these elements of social structure are seen as opposing tendencies, which hold each other in balance. This has consequences for the kind of leadership and the role of authorities that fits such a social structure, that is, the leadership roles that apply to the public domain. The studies show that between different segments or alliances, authority or control is divided and momentary. Formal leadership was, in the times until the protectorates, to be fought constantly, that is, few were able to establish hegemony over larger units than a local community (Hart, 1976; Joseph & Joseph, 1987). Alliances were fluid and more temporary aggregations than stable over longer periods. Hart characterizes the political Berber systems as egalitarian. Decision making never rested in the hands of one individual but various egalitarian political systems existed based on cross-election and rotation of leadership. Interestingly, the Riffian groups have most of the time also effectively been outside the control of official, centralized 'state' authorities before the French protectorate (Hart, 1976; Joseph & Joseph, 1987.² Up until more recent periods, the relationship between these groups and central authorities remained tense.

1.3 Social organization of family life

² Another interesting observation in this respect is the fact that leadership in traditional Morocco was not clearly defined according to western perspectives: Eickelman reports that former teachers at the big Mosque in Yusufiya relate with amusement that the French colonial officials were unable to define the 'responsible' leaders of the Mosque (1985, p.86) .

Turning to the social organization of the family, we will focus on the question of how it influences the upbringing of children, and, where relevant, relate the social organization of the family to what was said on social organization in general.

The family among multiple social networks

Hildred Geertz (1979) from her study of family life in Sefrou at the end of the sixties states that it is not simple to identify a clear-cut social unit which is the main body to organize social life. Social networks are complex and different aspects of belonging to a common household (eating, sharing a budget, sleeping) may be shared by a different set of members. She explains this by referring to the fact that family relations are not seen in terms of the conjugal family (man, woman, children) but in terms of unbounded and intertwined networks of kinsmen, affines and even neighbours. She explains that in American culture, family ties, friendship ties and ties of patronage are viewed as qualitatively different. For most Moroccans the ties of patronage and friendship intergrate with family ties and the same norms apply to all of them. She cites a term used by Eickelman 'qaraba', which literally means closeness (p.376) and is used to express all kinds of relationships. The term refers to ties of obligation which are so compelling that they are expressed in the idiom of kinship. On the other hand it must be said that compared to many western communities, the family (extended or nuclear) is an important point of reference or social unit prevailing over the individual as point of reference (Davis & Davis, 1989, p. 65-66). Still, Davis & Davis describe Moroccan family life in terms of ambivalence, expressing the tension between the social norm that relationships are warm and supportive and practice in which expectations of emotional or financial support are not always met (compare the agonistic and fluid character of social structures).

The above means that a child is not exclusively raised by the mother but by a group of women, in which other family members or neighbours may participate, as Cammeart (1985) describes.

According to Cammeart, the adult members of the household represent the authority for the child. Mostly in addition to the parents, patrilinear uncles, aunts and older siblings can act as authority figures. But, as H. Geertz claims, neighbours might also be involved. Children then learn to take advantage of the guidance of multiple social partners and must be flexible in adapting to different authority relationships. For instance, children gradually learn to depend on their older siblings. In yet another stage they learn to become more dependent on older men or women (see e.g. Cammeart, 1985, p156 on how girls become dependent on older women to prepare them for marriage). Becoming familiar with the details of these complex networks and later to function in them as an individual is one of the skills Moroccan youth have to acquire (Davis & Davis, 1989). The fact that children face multiple authority relationships might be related to what was said earlier on the diffuse nature of authority structures in wider social networks, although we were not able to find any information on this in the literature.

Youth and their life spheres

In traditional Moroccan family life, children participate in the world of adults in the sense that no separate children's world is created (Pels, 1991, p.47; Hermans, 1995). Children learn at an early stage to bear responsibility and participate in serious tasks that contribute to the well-being of the family. This is in contrast to the postponed responsibility that characterises children raised in most western families. The 'child world' so typical of western socialization, in which toys, games and fantasy play replace the objects and activities of the adult world, is absent in traditional Moroccan family life.

This does not mean that there is no segregation between adults and children. Age and sex form important markers of social space and are also used to

express hierarchical relations. Older people are to be respected and obeyed by younger people (for sex segregation see the next section). In the family context, this means that parents or other older family members are respected by children. But also, younger siblings are to respect older siblings, especially those nearing adulthood. Thus, in a sense, social distance is created on the basis of age. Modern schooling through which children gained a higher educational status did not change this pattern (Davis & Davis, 1989). This social distance on the basis of age is also partly reflected in the fact that older siblings take over the responsibility for their younger brothers and sisters. Particularly young girls between four and six start to take over responsibility for younger siblings (Davis, 1983). Although younger siblings need to pay respect to their older siblings, these contexts provide them with a different and influential domain of upbringing in which different rules are applied. In this more tolerant environment, children may experiment with and expose activities that are impossible in the more authority based adult-child relationships (see Pels, 1991). Opposite to what happens in the so called 'child world', adults do not invent or create this space or interfere with it frequently.

Davis & Davis (1989) report that they note a growing need for adolescent youth in Zawiya to create their own private world. This is congruent with their finding that adolescence as a distinct life phase is increasingly becoming a social reality under the influence of modern schooling. This might indicate the recognition of youth as a more distinct life phase and thus initiate the creation of what was called a child (or a youth) world.

Segregation of the sexes and authority relations

The strict division between the sexes in Moroccan society is reflected in the patterns of upbringing. Division along gender lines applies to both the public and private domain. Men and women have different tasks and the division of labour is strict. Generally speaking, most studies indicate that the domain of women is the private domain (literally the house or the courtyard) whereas the men's domain is

the public domain, outside the house. Hart (1976) even mentions separate markets for men and women as well as separate times that women use the roads to fetch water. He also mentions the distance between houses as a means to separate the private life of the women from the public (men's) eye. Davis, in her study of women's life in a village in the Gharb (1983), shows that both men and women have private and public as well as informal and formal roles. Interestingly, she shows that certain public roles of women (for example, seers) are only recognized in the women's world and not in the men's. Still, women spend most of their time inside the home and do not have public roles that from the men's perspective are considered as influential. The segregation of the sexes seems to be more crucial and strict in public life where people should avoid contact between unrelated members of the same sex. Geertz, in her study of Sefrou, points to the consequences for both sexes of these rules of avoidance. It does not only mean a lack of freedom for women in the public places, it also limits the freedom of movement of men in the house.

For the socialization of boys and girls, this means that at a relatively early stage boys are inaugurated in the world of men and girls in the world of women. In rural Morocco at the time of Hart's study the segregation was a 'fait accompli' at the age of 12 when the boys started to help their father in the fields and the girls the mother in the home. H. Geertz (1979) reports that in Sefrou boys spend the first four to five years of their lives in the woman's world. Boys from six years on increasingly pass their time outside the house. Boys and men come into the house merely to eat and sleep and spend their time at school, coffee shops, workplaces, the market, the mosque and the street. Boys take more and more distance from the women in the house at maturity, and especially after they have brought a wife to the house (but fathers and sons are also very formal towards each other, even to the point avoiding each other). Girls remain in the sphere of influence of their mother and older sisters and are thus raised in the private domain of the house. Apart from the gender-related socialization for boys and girls at a later stage, the segregation of the sexes and the fact that younger

children are raised in the private domain of the house makes child-raising and control over both young boys and girls a women's affair (see Pels, 2000b; Dwyer, 1978). Interestingly, the male socialization in the public domain is often described as including relational distance between fathers and sons and as mostly influenced by peer relations (Hermans, 1995).

Authority relationships between the sexes are, at least formally or in an ideological sense, clear: women have to pay respect to the men. However, according to Joseph & Joseph (1987) important differences exist between ideology and practice with respect to the authority and dominance of the men in the household. In addition, in the course of marriage, the status relationship between husbands and wives is said to develop into a more egalitarian relationship (Davis, 1983). Further, after menopause (when there is no longer a threat to the family's honour) women gain more freedom and may interact with non-related males in public and this changes their status well. Many authors have also pointed to the power of women, e.g. to influence the men's decisions or through the actual management of important economic activities such as those involved in the organization of marriage parties (Davis, 1983). Moreover, Davis has argued that one cannot compare the status hierarchy between women and men just like that, a woman's status has to be defined in terms of the women's world, given the segregation between the sexes and the fact that a woman can derive status in the women's network independent of the status of her husband. Still, many patterns point to hierarchical relationships between the sexes such as the services women and young girls have to do for men, the differential treatment of boys and girls (the girls being much more restricted in their freedom than boys), the privileges boys have such as, for instance, a room of their own or the right to do fewer household chores than girls. Children learn about these hierarchical relationships and the different treatment of the sexes in the family context.

It is difficult to know from these data if the unstable and negotiable character of authority relationships mentioned for bigger social units applies to status relationships between the sexes. The question would be if it is reasonable to argue that the nature of social relationships and the power dynamics that characterizes it is somehow similar for the social organization of the community in general and the social organization of the family, in particular with respect to the relationships between the sexes. It might seem from the literature that the authority relationships between the sexes in the family context is more strict, that is, non-negotiable. However, we know that this seemingly 'fixed' authority relationship between the sexes applies more to the formal and public domain than to the informal and private domain. In the work of Davis (1983) it becomes clear that part of the hierarchy between the sexes is negotiable and flexible in everyday practice. This would mean that although in the official discourse (and the expression of it in the public domain) the power and hierarchical relationships between the sexes are relatively fixed, in practice the same dynamics are at stake as described for the wider social organization (that is, the negotiable, reversible character of power relations).

1.4 Values and goals related to child rearing

The values and goals for upbringing we found in the literature were mainly related to concepts from Islam. Of course it is the interpretation and meaning these concepts have gained in the Moroccan community that is reflected in the literature and not Islam in any abstract sense. The influence of Islam is said to pervade all domains of life and also includes child raising. Islam, that is, the Koran, the Shari'a and the Hadith, the sayings of the prophet, provide a polar vision on social behaviour. It contains a vision for the 'good life' and rules of conduct revealing what is 'halal' (the lawful) and 'haram' (the forbidden) (Hart, 1976; Pels, 1991).

In contrast to western values of upbringing which centre more on the development of the individual, and the creation of a subjective world, the focus is on the development of conformity to Islamic law, the relationship with God, and living in accordance with the (Islamic) community. The focus is not on the development of an individual consciousness (based on the idea of a separate inner state) but the development of a moral sense (based on a more collective or public idea of consciousness or shame) which enables the individual to act in accordance with the laws and rules of the Islamic community (Pels, 1991; Davis, 1983, p.157).

As in most Islamic cultures, the concept of 'aqil' is the leading concept with respect to developmental goals. The term 'aqil' refers to mind, responsibility, memory and thoughtfulness (Davis & Davis, 1989). It involves a readiness to consider all the consequences of one's actions and to behave as a responsible person, to exhibit 'social sense'. It is the opposite of impulsive, thoughtless, socially irresponsible behaviour, often indicated with the term 'nafs' (see Rosen, 1984). The term 'aqil is closely associated with the concept of 'hasham' translated by shame or modesty (Abu-Lughod, 1986, cited in Davis & Davis). Whereas 'aqil is associated with control of passion and need (in recognition of the ideals of honour) hasham is associated with developing the right perspective on social order and one's own place in it.

Although 'nafs' in itself has no negative connotations, social wisdom is related to the extent to which a person is able to develop 'aqil to control his 'nafs' (Pels, 1991). In fact, developing 'aqil means developing the right balance between individual passions and needs and what is demanded by the social order.

Although showing 'aqil is an obligation of all Muslims, the concept has a different meaning and different implications for different groups depending on age and sex (Pels, 1991; Davis & Davis, 1989).

With respect to age, Davis & Davis (citing Rosen, 1984, 30-34) state that children are conceived as all 'nafs' but capable, through instruction and effort, of gradually acquiring 'aqil. By looking at the meaning of 'aqil for the different age stages, more

can be said about developmental values and norms. However, the different stages of childhood as conceived of in most western cultures, are not that self-evident, at least in traditional Morocco. In their interviews with families in Zawiya, Davis & Davis (1989) noted that all respondents mentioned the stages of baby, boy or girl and married man or woman but that other stages varied. Terms which indicated the stages between baby and boy/girl (such as an equivalent for our term 'toddler') or between childhood and adulthood varied and were mentioned only by smaller numbers of their respondents (p. 51). From their research they concluded that no widely used term existed for the transition from adolescence to adulthood although a variety of terms would indicate physical and behavioural changes that would correspond with the western concept of adolescence³. Physical changes and age were mentioned in addition to behavioural and moral criteria, in particular the acquisition of 'aql'.⁴

Besides 'aql, two other terms were mentioned: 'bulugh', referring to physical maturation, mainly for boys and 'rushd', a term referring to maturity of thought and action particularly in moral and religious matters. All terms refer to a stage of maturity in which a person can be held responsible for his or her actions. 'The successful older adolescent, the one with 'aql, will be aware of how he or she comes across to others, will have a clear conception of how his or her behaviour is judged by the context in which it occurs and by the company a person keeps, and will know how to enlist the support of neighbours and avoid conflict while reconciling often conflicting expectations of family, friends and the larger society' (Davis & Davis, 1989, p.178). Thus, the self that is aimed at in adult life is one that is able to 'navigate' through these conflicting social contexts, exposing the appropriate behaviour in each of them and maintaining the support of social

³ However, they noted that as a consequence of formal education more Western notions of adolescence became influential, especially among educated youth but also for the community in general.

⁴ Although no official period or concept was reserved for adolescence, people indicated the behavior of 'the post pubescent individual' (p.53) in critical terms. Two terms were used most: *Taysh* a term that in Arabic literally means 'reckless' or 'rash' or 'frivolous, confused or helpless' (Wher, 1966, 579 cited by D&D) and the term *khifif* meaning 'light' in the sense of lightheaded.

others. Avoiding conflict between those social contexts and knowing how to behave in each of them is not seen as being disloyal to a so-called 'true' or nuclear self but is seen as a valued skill in particular in the public domain.

If we look at sex differences in the development of 'aql, women are said to be more in need of 'aql than men because of their stronger passions and at the same time they are seen as less able to acquire it. This is said to be related to the greater social responsibility and status of men (Eickelman, 1978, p.132; Rosen, 1984 cited in Pels, 1991, p.47). There are also differences in the period both sexes are expected to reach 'aql. Men are given considerably more time to reach 'aql than women. Boys can be excused for having no sense yet in their late teens while girls are expected to behave responsibly from their primary school years (Davis & Davis, 1989, p.49). Women are also expected to develop less 'aql as they get older, whereas men are expected to develop more. Marriage is seen as ending the development of 'aql for women due to their contact with the other sex and inability to control their passions (Hart, 1976, cited in Pels, 1991). This difference in the development of 'aql is an important reason for the differences between the sexes when it comes to the freedom of movement. With the exception of the youngest children, girls are restricted more in their freedom as they are viewed, in principle, as less capable of controlling their passions. For boys, control of their passion is not only expected in a later stage, the control of their passions seems to be directed to a different domain, i.e. that of their public and religious responsibilities (see Pels, 1991).

The values for upbringing mentioned before imply that development is seen more in terms of conformity with the social order than in terms of individual growth. Respect for older people who are supposed to guide children along the right path is a leading principle for upbringing. They are supposed to give the right example, discipline children and protect them from evil influences (Pels, 1991; Cammeart, 1985, p. 155). It is perhaps not accidental that modelling and disciplining are central 'pedagogical devices' in Islamic educational practice.

1.5 Practices of child rearing

We make a distinction between 1) support structures, 2) means of control, 3) communicative arrangements, and 4) learning arrangements. This is partly based on the pedagogical dimensions of control and support (see e.g. Gerrits, Deković, Groenendaal & Noom, 1996 cited in Pels, 2000a) as well as on the (pedagogical) dimension of instruction (see Pels, 1998). However, in this review these dimensions will, where necessary, be given a different meaning in order to be able to describe Moroccan practices of upbringing. For instance, the term 'responsiveness' (as part of the support dimension) has a different meaning in a community in which no separate child world exists and in which communication patterns are not adapted to a child's communicative needs (for a more extended description of the dimensions see the respective subsections). The term responsiveness as it is used in many pedagogical studies is particularly useful for describing dyadic parent-child relationships in western middle class families. We included the communication dimension as it provides an insight into important cultural differences between child raising practices throughout the world (see Rogoff, 1990). Where possible we will make links with more structural aspects described in the previous sections.

Support structures

Support structures describe the support parents give to the child in the material, social, informational and emotional domains. The nature of support structures is related to how life spheres are constructed or to how networks are built. Support structures differ from learning arrangements in that they are not, in the first place, aimed at introducing the child to new competencies (although as a side effect this may not be excluded). They are perceived here as belonging to the domain of maintaining social relationships and reciprocity. Traditionally, in pedagogy,

support is seen as a unidirectional dimension. However, given the meaning we give this concept here, it has necessarily a mutual character.

Where other studies offer little or no information on this aspect, Davis & Davis (1989) give a detailed picture of the support structures in Zawiya specified per type of relationship.

- Mothers and daughters:

Davis & Davis describe the relationship between mothers and daughters as close and supportive. Daughters have to respect their mothers but they have a warm, openly affective relationship. They are in constant contact, talking frequently while doing their chores. Daughters share intimacies with their mothers and find it hard to be away from their mother for longer periods, even when they grow older. Davis & Davis mention examples in which girls relate how their mothers care for them, worry for them and give them money. It is also clear from these examples that their relationship resembles one of a close female friendship.

- Mothers and sons:

The relationship between mothers and sons is described as close but also, particularly in later life, as characterized by the influence the mother has over her son's affairs. When younger, a mother protects and comforts her son. She would put pressure on others in his favour (such as teachers or his father). In adolescence, they report, the mother is often consulted in matters of spiritual affairs. In adulthood her influence and protection continues, even after the son marries. For instance, she might protect her son against the magical influence of his wife providing him with safe (non-poisoned) food. On the other hand, a son is seen as a fulfilment of a mother's destiny as he protects her from repudiation by her husband and provides the hope for support in old age (as sons traditionally stay in the household of the parents). But the mother also expects emotional support from her sons.

- Fathers and daughters:

The relationship between fathers and daughters is said to be more distant compared to those of mothers and daughters. In infancy, there is more contact

between fathers and daughters, but once a girl is six or seven she is expected to show respect to her father and share less intimacy with him. The father's role is mainly a disciplinary one and a role at a distance. The father has to give permission, for instance, for trips or for buying things but a girl does not share her daily affairs with her father. Also, a girl is likely to do things for her father such as serving meals or bringing water. However, the relative distance does not mean their relationship is not affectionate.

- Fathers and sons:

The father's role in his son's upbringing is distant and reticent compared to that of the mother. Although, as for girls, the contact between fathers and sons is intimate in infancy, the distance starts to grow at the age of circumcision (between three and seven). The father's role is one of a final arbiter of disputes, mostly reacting to a complaint made by the mother. The relationship between fathers and sons is described as emotionally distant, especially after adolescence. For instance, they will not speak about sexuality and the father will not directly educate his son in this matter or others unless public shame forces him to do so.

Control

Disciplining is seen as one of the major tasks of child raising, particularly for the father. Compared to the mother, as has been argued, he has a more distant role with respect to both daughters and sons particularly after the age of seven. As he is considered to be responsible for the family and is the head of the family, he also has a special task with respect to discipline. Discipline and taking distance are seen as being closely related, the latter being necessary for the former. Disciplining is related to the acknowledgement of the authority of older people in the household and becomes more serious with age.

Cammeart (1985), for instance, found parents to be relatively tolerant towards young infants who are readily comforted when they cry (tolerance levels for young boys are especially remarkable). The reason for disciplining is often

showing a lack of respect for parents or older people, and the rejection of their authority. 'A child has to listen and to do what is good' was a statement she frequently came across. In addition, disciplining is related to the maintenance of the family honour and thus has a public dimension. In the girl's case, this is mostly related to her behaviour in public life, in particular with respect to unrelated males. Males are seldom disciplined, but when they are their breaking of the rules has become a public fact and the honour of the family is affected (Davis & Davis, 1989, p.77). Parents are considered responsible for their children's correct behaviour and are looked down upon when they fail to show that responsibility (Davis & Davis, 1989).

As punishment, both parents might strike a child with a hand or belt or simply scold them. Disciplining seems to be based on a form of 'direct' control in which children are taught to take social others into account rather than a sort of system of rules which they have to internalize.

In the eyes of western researchers, disciplinary behaviour on the part of parents was rather arbitrary or inconsistent (Cammaert, 1985; Davis, 1983). This is often ascribed to the concept of shame, in which control is imposed from outside in contrast with the concept of guilt in which control is seen as managed from the inside (individual consciousness) as, for instance, indicated by Davis (1983).

In our view, the disciplinary behaviour observed in Moroccan families should be interpreted in the light of acquiring social sense and the skill of navigating between individual interests and the interests of social others. We consider the contrast between shame and guilt representing external and internal control too bi-polar to explain the differences in disciplining practices of Moroccans and of the white middle classes in western countries. This contrast does not do justice to the concept of 'aql which does imply a sense of an inner self. Neither does it do justice to the balancing aspect of it in which both the interests of others as well as one's own interests should be incorporated. Although we suspect that, when disciplining their children, parents primarily do refer to the interests of others,

their upbringing is finally meant to teach children (an inner sense of) maintaining the balance between self and others.

Communication

In her study of family relations in Sefrou, H. Geertz (1979) observed that communication between adults is relatively open. She mentions that conflicts or differences among members of the family cannot remain unnoticed but are forced out into the open. A serious quarrel, for instance, between sisters-in-law or between husband and wife is encouraged to erupt in the publicity of the family or of the neighbours⁵. Davis (1983) mentions that conflicts between different sexes are less frequently heard than conflicts between members of the same sex (but if it is heard, it is rather loud and violent).

Communication roles between parents and children and between older people and children are strict and reflect the hierarchical relationships in the family. Children should show respect to their parents and older people by waiting until they are spoken to, by not looking them in the eyes, by listening to them, not interrupting them, responding with deference and sometimes also by not talking back or by not addressing them at all (Davis & Davis, 1989). Asking questions or asking for reasons is authority related and can be considered disrespectful. Hart mentions this asymmetric role division between children and adults when he observes that fathers call little children bad names but react furiously if they address the father in the same way. Davis (1983) mentions the differences in communication rules between boys and girls as a girl is taught not to make eye contact when her father has guests whereas a boy is taught to greet the guests (p.23). She also mentions the differences in bodily communication, as girls are expected to show 'hshim' (shame) through bodily modesty (in dress and by

⁵ This does not mean that decisions are not personal, on the contrary, a strong personality can have an immense impact on how decisions turn out. Neither does she want to claim that the regulation of behaviour is entirely subject to explicit social pressure. But, according to H. Geertz, any aspect of social life in Morocco cannot be understood without referring to the role of publicity

expressing deference) and being quiet and boys are expected to show 'hshim' only by quietness (p.156).

These patterns show that children are not given the same rights and status in conversations as adults (Pels, 1991) and that communicational arrangements are highly status dependent.

(Compare also Rogoff, 1990; Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984 on asymmetric communication patterns between parents and children in other communities)

Learning arrangements

A central principle of upbringing: giving the right example is literally given form through modelling and observation. As Cammeart (1985) states, upbringing is mostly tacit, leaving a lot to conscious or non-conscious imitation by the child. Education is not systematic but more situational: words or actions are learned when they are relevant in a certain situation. Hart (1976) notes a similar focus on observation by young children who are constantly in the company of their elders (p. 122).

Davis (1983) mentions that babies are constantly in contact with their mother as they are carried in a cloth sling on her back or, when a little older, on the hips of older sisters. She notes that babies are not given the exclusive attention we are used to in the West but that they are a normal part of the mother's activities. Later in childhood, children are much less protected than is common in the West (except in situations of real danger). As pre-scholars, children are involved in adult work, they do small assignments, and girls more seriously than boys. Davis & Davis (1989) state that girls learn social norms of behaviour as well as household chores from their mother. Modelling is an important principle in the girl's education. Instruction is more tacit and indirect than explicit. It is, for instance, not based on direct (verbal) instruction but more on confronting the girl with an experience or with verbal statements about others (p. 75). With respect to the boy's education, the absence of direct instruction is due to the relative

distance between sons and fathers, but probably also to the different developmental goals for boys, as discussed above.

1.6 Socialization patterns in formal schooling

Formal education in Morocco has long been dominated by Islamic teaching, which had existed for over one thousand years before the French introduced their schools at the beginning of the 20th century. The public educational system that later developed on the basis of these French schools did not result in a substitution of Islamic education, but both forms of education existed and still exist side by side, and serve different objectives. There is no doubt that this is due to the firm base Islamic education has in Moroccan society and to its well developed system of both elementary and higher education. Islamic education still prepares important and influential religious leaders and many judges and teachers (for overviews of the history of Islamic education in Morocco see Pels, 1987a; Eickelman, 1985; Wagner & Lofti, 1980).

Apart from its historical importance, Islamic education has a pedagogical tradition in Morocco and the elementary Islamic school still reached about half of the children who enjoyed a modern education at the end of the eighties and early nineties (Wagner, 1993, p. 42).

Even today, the modern educational system and the Islamic educational system can be considered as partly separate systems with respect to their content and student population. The content of Islamic education is basically the memorization of the Koran, the reading and writing of the holy texts and, in higher forms, of education the interpretation of those texts, grammar and Islamic law. In contrast, the modern system is based on knowledge mostly derived from the natural sciences. With respect to the student population both systems serve: the modern system serves the needs of a more urban, western-oriented class, whereas Islamic elementary education was for a long time the only education available to children from more isolated rural areas. However, there were several

attempts to integrate both forms of education. Elementary Islamic schools were turned into pre-schools in 1968 and as such 'integrated' into the official educational system. Moreover, the recent educational policy is to modernize traditional Islamic schools (for a detailed overview see Pels, 1987a, 1987b).

In present-day Morocco, opinions differ on how the various traditions should be integrated. One opinion is that Islamic education should be part of a secularized modern educational system, the other that Islamic education is to be the principle framework in which modern education is to be incorporated (Pels, 1987b, p. 244).

In order to describe the values, goals and practices of formal Moroccan education it is relevant to mention 'which education?' as Islamic education differs considerably from modern education and the level of education is also significant for the kind of practices detailed in the literature. Furthermore, different historical periods and a process of rapid change are described in the literature. As a result, there is not only one picture of formal Moroccan education but several different ones. In a later section we will bring those pictures together by shedding some light on the question of what influences traditional Islamic education has in other forms of education.

Values and goals in formal education

Without exception, the different studies depict traditional Moroccan Islamic education as focused on memorization and discipline. These pedagogical characteristics can be seen as being closely related to views about knowledge as promoted in Islam, that is, one in which knowledge is seen as permanent and as representing religious truth given in the Koran. The focus on memorization is directly related to the view that the texts in themselves have a beneficial effect on the person learning them. The process of memorizing has a disciplining effect which enables the learner to acquire 'aql. 'Aql, seen as the capacity to act in accordance with social order and control one's nature, is accomplished through the disciplinary process of learning. In Morocco, the discipline of Koranic

memorization is an integral part of 'learning to be human and Muslim' (Eickelman, 1985, p. 63). The acquisition of (religious) knowledge is seen as having a direct impact on moral behaviour (Eickelman, 1978). Having knowledge is regarded as being a step ahead of mere reality, as a higher state of experience (Rosenthal 1970, cited in Dichter, 1976). Having knowledge and possessing the language of the Koran has a purifying effect in itself (Dichter, 1976, p. 101). Therefore, learning, disciplining and socialization are, in general, highly interwoven.

Elementary Islamic education was seen as having a purifying effect on children, as a 'rite the passage' that children must go through rather than as having a direct economic or intellectual effect. Until the present, Islamic education was seen as something that defended Muslim values against the influence of western values.

The fact that elementary Islamic education was turned into pre-school education affirms the idea that it is seen as formative and preconditional education (the formation of character, moral awareness, a spiritual basis for later learning). The spiritual nature of elementary Islamic education together with its focus on memory are still considered by policymakers in modern Morocco as something important (Pels, 1987b, p. 245).

Although we found much less information on the values and goals that support modern education, the studies that deal with modern education in Morocco (Dichter, 1973; Wagner, 1993; Pels, 1987c) still mention the key role of memorization. However, at the same time, the studies report a shift of focus from the importance of (orally) memorizing texts towards an eye for the developmental and learning needs of students and their understanding of what they learn.

Practices: support structures and control

As the information we could find in the literature on support structures was closely linked to what was found on control we will not present it separately.

The following can be said about the relationship between teachers and students and their role in the educational process in traditional Islamic education. The transmission of knowledge in Islamic educational philosophy is to take place through a 'quasi-genealogical chain of authority', which descends from the master to the student (Eickelman, 1978, p. 492). This means that the teacher is an important authority figure that controls (the transmission process of) knowledge to a considerable extent. Likewise, traditional education is described by Wagner (1993) as more teacher-oriented than text-oriented. That is, the basic relationship in education is not between the text and the student (the teacher being the mediator between the text and the student) but between the teacher and the student.

Teachers at Koranic schools were considered authority figures who 'took over' authority from the parents and were given the liberty to take the appropriate disciplinary measures in order to educate children. Their authority is based on their function as transmitter of holy knowledge and the relationships between teachers and students is mostly described as distant, the teachers being inaccessible for students. Dichtner (1973) reports that in modern schools, teacher-student relationships were perceived by the teachers as less focused on authority than previously, although control and discipline were still mentioned by Dichtner as being characteristic for modern primary schools in the seventies.

As was clear from the values and goals mentioned for traditional Islamic education, disciplining is considered part of the learning arrangement. Physical punishment was and sometimes is considered to be an effective means to improve the attention and learning results of students (Eickelman, 1985). In addition, it was seen as a means to evoke respect for the holy Koranic text and the correct citation of it. Disciplining is effected by setting rules rather than through reasoning or negotiation. In secular primary education, corporal punishment was still defended when Dichtner did his fieldwork (1973) in Sefrou although it was officially forbidden under Moroccan law. Also in this context, disciplining through punishment is seen as a necessary condition for effective

learning and is not 'just' a tool to control the students' behaviour. Dichter mentions that teacher control is very dominant and that the teacher frequently disciplines the students by using a ruler.

Communication

Communication patterns in traditional Islamic education are dominated by the authority relationship between teachers and students. Students are not permitted to ask questions and are expected to listen and observe the teacher. However, they are not permitted to be 'passive' observers, as they have to expose their knowledge on a regular basis by showing their slates or shouting out answers. Public exposure of student knowledge is important according to Dichter's (1973) study. However, students have to perform according to fixed procedures set by the teacher. The authority of the teacher is guaranteed in his inaccessibility for the students and communication is one-sided. Both the descriptions of traditional and more modern forms of education show a communication pattern that is teacher-centred and reflects the authority relationship between teachers and students. For instance, both in the descriptions of traditional and modern forms of education, questions are not permitted. However, the description by Dichtner of a modern school gives the impression of more possibilities for students to express themselves.

Learning arrangements

In traditional elementary Koranic schools, the copying and memorization of holy texts is the main goal of education. The emphasis on memorization is particularly high in Morocco compared to other Islamic countries such as Tunisia or Oman (Eickelman, 1985). The lack of the need to understand those texts in the initial phases of Islamic education is considered typical of this traditional elementary education. In traditional education, oral modelling is a central didactic form, more important than, for instance, the copying of texts. The studies that describe this form of education give repeated writing, the 'shouting' of memorized texts in front

of the teacher, the collective presentation of written texts to the teacher as the didactic forms they observed or documented (Pels, 1987b; Eickelman, 1978; Wagner 1993).

Wagner (1993) describes that in elementary Islamic education in the late eighties modern pedagogy (the encouragement of comprehension) and modern contents (the alphabet, arithmetic) were introduced. For instance, Koranic teachers used praise and non-threatening methods for correction. However, Koranic pedagogic techniques such as rote citation, 'chanting in unison' as well as strict obedience are maintained. The Islamic tradition dictates that texts may not be simplified for pedagogical purposes and no additional means for comprehension and memorization are permitted. As the texts to be memorized are in classic Arabic, the texts themselves encourage a practice of not explaining.

In modern secular preschools, education is much more centred around the learning needs of the child and a variety of subjects is introduced. Apart from reading, writing and arithmetic, handicrafts, drawing and painting are taught. Still, traditional techniques such as rote memorization are maintained and children's (creative) expression is rather restricted (e.g. Pels, 1987b).

In traditional higher Islamic education both apprenticeship relations, lesson circles (in which one teacher and several students participate) and peer learning were important educational forms although the latter was not officially recognized (Eickelman, 1985, p. 91). In these lesson circles, the active participation of students was minimized and no checks for understanding were made. Furthermore, only oral transmission of knowledge was regarded as culturally legitimate in the Moroccan context and this continued to be the case after the introduction of written texts. Questions had to be asked in private after the lesson so that the authority of the teacher was not challenged. Eickelman argues that actual learning took place in peer interactions due to the inaccessibility of the teachers. He claims that reading and writing were learned from peers and not from formal education (1985, p 98). Students learned in small literacy circles in which they read and discussed texts and provided training in debating, speaking

and writing (p. 101). Thus, although in the formal view memorization and acceptance of the authority of texts (through the voices of the teachers) was important, in practice the active and critical engagement with texts seemed to be a necessary condition for learning. It must be said, however, that this is particularly true for higher forms of Islamic education. The interpretation of holy texts is seen as the privilege of more advanced students who have already memorized the Koran. 'Explanation was considered a science in itself to be acquired only after years of the advanced study of exegetical literature' (Eickelman, 1985, p.64). Any informal attempt to explain meaning was considered blasphemous.

In practice, interpretation processes of holy texts are important in both the lives of Islamic holy men and students of Koranic texts (Eickelman, 1985). For instance, students learned the meaning of Koranic texts through their use in daily contexts from older men or advanced students who integrated these texts in their discourse.

Dichter (1973) describes primary secular education in Sefrou in the seventies as predominantly a 'theatre'. He argues that performance was more important than learning (in the sense of the actual acquisition of knowledge). He mentions the bidding for turns, the need for students to demonstrate their good answers, the frequent use of the so-called 'chorus and support mode' and the avoidance of situations of public loss of face. Teachers told Dichter in an interview that they could not avoid or reprimand the cheating behaviour of their students, as they could not humiliate them. They preferred students to copy the answer from their peers rather than showing the teacher an incorrect answer.

According to Dichter, the process of learning and understanding is not important - it is the correct display of answers that counts. Students do not ask questions and questions put by the teachers are formulated so as to 'feed the kids the right answer'. Furthermore, he mentions that repetition and copying were the dominant didactic forms.

From Wagner's observations in the eighties of a maths lesson in a primary public school (1993) in Morocco, an image arises of a pedagogy that fosters both learning that is more creative as well as rote learning. Students are asked to write essays, are permitted to express their opinion in class and are expected to solve equations independently. At the same time, collective and individual memorization of texts forms part of the activities. Apart from verbal means, the teacher's strategy also includes demonstrating physical processes (to explain concepts of volume). The same importance placed on performance as presented by Dichter seems to be present here too: the students were eager to demonstrate their knowledge, as they all wanted to expose their knowledge at the same time.

The impact of traditional Islamic education on modern and informal education

Eickelman (1978) sees many similarities between informal socialization practices and formal traditional education. The need for discipline and the relationship between disciplining, learning and the shaping of conduct, the methods of punishment, the authority relationships between teachers and students are characteristic of both domains. He argues that those scholars who had a successful career in formal education were supported in their home environment in which the same pedagogical principles were applied (regular citing, disciplining in cases of error etc.). Similarly, Dichter (1973) observed many similarities between the primary schools he visited in the seventies and traditional Islamic education with respect to 'the shouting of answers, the use of memory, the lack of opportunity for students to ask questions, the seeming stifling of creativity' (p.98).

It seems that, although modern teachers reject traditional forms of education, Islamic education has formed basic patterns of interaction within the educational domain, which are not easily replaced by new ones. In addition, the traditional practice of the taking over authority from parents by teachers still resonates in the interaction between families and schools, or rather in the absence of it. Although attempts were made recently to involve parents more in school matters, they are

rather hesitant to pass the threshold and to enter into what they consider the teachers' responsibilities (Pels, 1991).

2 Socialization after migration

2.1 Introduction

From the early 1960s, Moroccan male 'guest workers', the majority originating from the Northern Rif area, have come to the Netherlands to fill the lower segments of the labour market. Although initially the migrants and the Dutch State considered their stay to be temporary, history has proven otherwise. Most of them have, in fact, sent for their wives and children, and today there are some 295,000 Moroccans living in the Netherlands, 40% of whom are second generation immigrants (CBS, 2003).

The first wave of children who have been (partly) raised in the Netherlands is now reaching adulthood and forming families of their own, mostly with spouses from the country of origin. Although the migrants of the pioneering generation have long been reluctant to accept the permanence of their stay, nowadays the vast majority agrees that the future of their children lies in the Netherlands (Van der Hoek 1994; Pels 1994, 1998).

By definition, migration is a dynamic process. Migrants and their offspring are living in an 'acculturative arena' (Berry, 1995), where the best balance between continuity and change is not easily found. Alongside other domains of life, child rearing becomes more of an experimental task, challenging parents' notions on children and how to raise them properly, and necessitating them to change their *modus operandi* (Bourdieu, 1990).

Given the shift in orientation to a more permanent settlement in the Netherlands, the question as to the effects on the socio-cultural context in which children are raised becomes even more compelling.

In this chapter we first summarize the available empirical evidence on social organization in general and the organization of family life in particular. Next we describe patterns of socialization within the family and, more specifically, how

children are prepared and guided for their entry in and way through the Dutch (elementary) school.

2.2 Social organization of Moroccans in the Netherlands

Since Moroccan migrants started to settle in the Netherlands, there have been several studies of family life and child rearing, conducted among the first pioneering generation as well as among the younger generations. The first (ethnographic) account of Moroccan families and their social organization was presented by Van den Berg-Eldering (1978). She studied a group of families residing in the centre of the Netherlands, the majority originating from rural regions or municipalities in the northern Rif, the minority from urban areas, and mostly in western parts of Morocco. The rural Riffians appeared to have formed communities based mainly on family ties, whereas the migrants from Riffian municipalities had formed communities consisting of both family members and compatriots from the same region of origin. Only the small minority of migrants from urban regions outside the Rif area mixed with a wider circle of compatriots and to some extent they also associated with the native Dutch.

The social organization through collectively oriented units were divided along the patrilinear and regional lines as described for the Riffian area in section 1.2, and seems to have been largely reconstructed after migration. Van den Berg-Eldering (ibid.) was among the first to point out tensions between Moroccan communities and their members as a result of this. So far, these tensions characterize relationships among Moroccans in the Netherlands, especially in the case of migrants inhabiting the same urban districts with compatriots from different regions, and they have had a negative affect on social cohesion within the Moroccan population. Compared to the Turks, who are united by a stronger nationalist pride, cohesion among Moroccans is relatively weak, as Buijs & Nelissen (1994) conclude reviewing the literature regarding the integration of

Moroccans in the Netherlands. They count fewer grassroot organizations and the interlinkage between their organizations is less well developed (Fennema et al., 2000). The weak cohesion among Moroccans is usually ascribed to their fragmented social organization, i.e. the heterogeneity of social bonds that seem to cause the relative isolation of social groups from each other. Our review of the literature points to yet another explanation which may not necessarily be contradictory. The bi-polarity of Moroccan social structure, consisting of agonistic next to collectivistic organizational principles, may have continued to have an influence after migration, resulting in alliances of a rather diffuse and momentary nature.

The fragmentation and fluidity of social organization among Moroccans may have contradictory effects with respect to children's socialization. On the one hand, it may result in a weakening of social support and control, mechanisms that may serve as an important aid to parents and as a protection against the disintegration of youth. On the other hand, it may lead to more openness to society at large and to individualization (Vermeulen & Penninx, 1994), which may also affect family relations and socialization practices. The relatively weak social cohesion among Moroccans appears not to have remained without consequences for the young: they differ from Turkish youth in that they are both more prone to marginalization and to individualization and orientation towards Dutch society (Dagevos, 2001; Phalet et al., 2000). Notably, although best friends are usually co-ethnics, Moroccan youth have more social contacts with the native Dutch than Turkish youth do (Martens & Weijers, 2000; Pels & Dieleman, 2000). We will return to the association between social structure, socialization and the positioning of the offspring of Moroccan migrants in chapter 3.

2.3 Social organization of family life

Parallel to the changes in social organization just described, family structure has also been changing. Whereas the number of children per family has gradually decreased in Morocco (De Valk et al., 2001), the decrease in the number of children in the Netherlands is particularly sharp (Tesser et al., 1999), and, in contrast to their parents, young Moroccans prefer small families (Dagevos, 2001). This is one reason, but there are others, which have fostered the process of family nuclearization in Morocco, and has continued after migration.

Nuclearization of the family

The nuclearization of Moroccan families has continued after migration for two main reasons. Firstly, families and their wider network have been fragmented due to migration. As a result, family members within each household have become more dependent on each other. Secondly, the housing situation in the Netherlands does not allow for (extended) families to live together, nor for sexes to be segregated, or for young and old to live together, to the same extent as used to be common in Morocco (Van den Berg-Eldering, 1978; see also Cammaert, 1985, for the Belgian case).

This does not mean, however, that members of the wider family and of the newly constructed social networks have become irrelevant as co-caretakers of children, as Pels (1998) points out in her recent study of Moroccan families, to which we return later. In particular, the role of the female members in the extended family is not to be underestimated. They are far more important for their practical, emotional and material support than in the case of Dutch parents, who tend to rely more exclusively on their partner for support (see also Pels & Distelbrink, 2000). Moreover, older siblings' contribution to family tasks is also considerable. Older daughters are a great source of support for their mothers, often more than husbands, particularly in first generation households. With sons, they may also be important role models and guides for younger children as far as their educational career is concerned. Moroccan neighbours and friends have lost much of their significance as a source of support as well as their function of

controlling and monitoring children when they are outdoors. They may offer practical support, but a more intensive involvement with family affairs on their part is often received with more ambivalence, for fear of gossip and differences of opinion regarding the upbringing of children. The younger generations especially distance themselves from interference by the more traditional Moroccans in their neighbourhood. Nonetheless, as Pels & Distelbrink (ibid.) have shown, people from outside the family still play a more central role in the Moroccan case than in the Dutch.

Changing relations between the sexes and generations

Generally speaking, the migrants, almost all Muslim by religion, have had to bridge a considerable cultural gap, particularly those who came from rural areas and who had no formal schooling. Initially, the first generation tended to maintain strong links with the country of origin through familial, economic and juridical bonds. As a consequence, rights and duties as circumscribed in Moroccan civil law have long remained the predominant influence (Eldering, 1995). Processes of modernization in the Netherlands have also served as a negative frame of reference. Moroccans, especially first generation Moroccans, tend to refer negatively to the 'freedom' accorded to Dutch women and children, and to consider it incompatible with their Islamic ideals (e.g. van der Lans et al., 2001).

The Moroccan women who migrated in the 1960s and 1970s to join their families came mainly from rural areas and had received little formal education. The majority of these women maintained the traditional gender role and did not get involved in paid employment (Van den Berg-Eldering, 1978; Cammaert, 1985; Pels, 1991). Only the –small fraction of- young women from urban areas and those with a somewhat higher level of education have entered into the labour market. Their tasks as wife and mother remained the first priority and for this

reason they preferred part time jobs (Ankoné & Kaufman, 1984; Bouw & Nelissen, 1986).

All this does not mean, however, that their settling in the Netherlands has been without consequences. The accessibility of the Dutch educational system and the pressure exerted by the Dutch community to comply with compulsory education has resulted in a further increase in the number of females participating in education and eventually in the labour market. Recent studies show that the number of young Moroccan women entering the labour market is on the increase and those women who combine family duties and employment come to be more accepted by their fellow Moroccans (van der Hoek, 1994; Distelbrink et al., 1995; van der Lans et al., 2001). In cases where fathers are ambivalent about or obstruct their daughters' entry into the labour market, girls often receive moral support from their mothers. They are allowed an increasing amount of freedom of movement, provided they maintain the key values of respect, chastity and family honour. These values are highly regarded, but in daily practice they are subject to more flexible interpretations (Feddema, 1992; van der Hoek, 1994; Pels, 1998). Altogether, it is obvious that women, particularly the better educated and employed, have begun to take on new roles and have gained autonomy. Their increasing development and contribution to the family income have enabled them to partake in family decisions from a more equal power base.

Within families of the older and less educated generation, fathers have also had to face the erosion of their male authority. To start with, the authority of the male migrants in many cases was undermined even before they arranged for the reunion of their family. In the father's absence, his wife and children had often gained more independence (Van den Berg-Eldering, 1978; Werdmölder, 1990). Moreover, many of the fathers of the pioneering generation are unemployed nowadays, and are therefore failing in their role as breadwinner. Loss of status also results from the fact that children have responsibilities as interpreters and advocates for their parents in formal contexts, acting as mediators between the family and outside institutions (van der Hoek, 1994; Bouhalhoul & Van der

Zwaard, 1996). This role reversal has been a major impetus for the increasing autonomy of children within the family. Not surprisingly, fathers, and first generation fathers in particular, react by opposing the increasing autonomy and emancipation of their family members. They may, for instance, restrain the freedom of movement of their spouses and children by prohibiting the use of formal childcare or organized leisure activities, provisions that have taken over part of the traditional family's functions in the Netherlands (Kemper, 1996; Pels, 1998). In a similar vein, adolescent Moroccan boys also voice more conservative opinions on the division of roles than their female peers. Whilst they permit themselves all kinds of liberties, their future spouses are supposed to keep their virginity and not be too 'loose', and to support them in their position of family authority (Veenman, 1996). Moreover, the traditional part of the community may apply pressure, for instance, through gossip as one of the most powerful means of social control, to prevent women from emancipating or men from 'becoming a woman' by doing women's work and not enforcing their male authority (Distelbrink et al., 1995).

All in all, the balance of power within the family has changed irrevocably in favour of women and children and it has come to be more akin to the egalitarianism within Dutch families (e.g. Du Bois-Reymond et al., 1994; Doornenbal, 1996; Rispens et al., 1996). As we have shown, this change cannot be attributed solely to the opportunities offered by Dutch society. Factors related to the migration context, such as father's initial absence from their families and the relatively fast pace of children's' acculturation, have also resulted in a decreasing asymmetry in family roles.

Moreover, processes of modernization in Morocco itself do not go unnoticed within the migrant communities. Through transnational communication, more recently facilitated increasingly by internet links, Moroccans in the Netherlands remain in touch with the developments taking place in their country of origin (e.g. Geense, 2001). They tend to attribute the changes they undergo as being the

result of changes in family structure and relations in Morocco rather than to their position as migrants and to acculturation influences (Pels, 1998). We should add to this that migration has not led to a linear change towards more equality of gender roles as it has emerged among the Dutch, neither in practice nor in the ideological sense: only a few families with a higher educational level conform to 'modern' standards of equality with respect to the division of family tasks and power. Many Moroccan mothers turn out even to dominate tasks traditionally appropriated by Moroccan fathers, such as controlling and disciplining the children. In some families, mostly those of the older generation, father's position has become marginal because of the refusal of mothers and children to accept his harsh authoritarianism and accompanying lack of involvement with the children. Rather, the existing role patterns in many families may best be characterized as a 'hidden matriarchy' (see Nauck, 1985, for comparable patterns among Turks in Germany).

The shifting balance of power within the family, as in Morocco, has not been accompanied by a parallel shift in family ideology. Female power is still not publicly acknowledged and the ideology of motherhood and male power is kept firmly alive. Neither Moroccan men or women regard western male-female relations and egalitarian relations between the old and the young as a model worth adopting (Pels, 2000a). As we shall point out below, despite the increasing autonomy of children, the ideology of conformity of the young has not lost much of its significance either.

2.4 Values and goals related to upbringing

Children are socialized through the models, messages and activities offered to them within the family and within informal and formal settings outside the home, e.g. childcare provisions, grassroot organizations, peer groups and schools. Pels (1991) conducted an ethnographic study on the (cognitive) socialization of

Moroccan and Dutch children in the Netherlands. The Moroccan parents, all belonging to the first migration generation, appeared to attach much more value to conformity, compliance with the social order, as a parental goal than to autonomy per se. The reverse was true for the Dutch parents. Again, the concept of 'aql', the ability to balance the requirements of the social order with personal needs, was shown to be central to the Moroccan parents' adult ideals. Therefore they associated 'intelligence' with social sense and social competence and not so much with being smart or cognitively competent (see also Pels 1999, and Rabain-Jamin 1989a, 1989b for comparable findings based on interaction analyses within Maghrebian and French families in France). Pels (ibid.) has shown that these inter-group differences partially, but not wholly, level out when only Moroccan parents with a higher educational level are taken into consideration.

More recently, studies have been conducted on the socialization of children across different age levels that allow for both a comparison with the Dutch, and for a comparison between Moroccan parents of the first migration generation and those grown up (partially) in the Netherlands (Nijsten, 1998; Pels, 1998; Pels, 2000b; Rispens et al., 1996). In the study concerning Moroccans, in-depth research among a small number of families was combined with semi-structured interviews of parents and adolescents within a wider scale of (82) families. In addition to conformity, achievement at school and society turned out to be valued more than autonomy by the Moroccan parents, whereas the reverse pattern was true for the Dutch. Sociability, being agreeable to others, was about equally favoured in both groups. Autonomy goals were valued less, but it was also apparent that they had moved upwards on the Moroccan parental agenda, mainly among the more highly educated and younger generations.

The qualitative data generated in these studies suggest there are important differences in the meaning these goals had for the mothers. Generally speaking, the Moroccan parents' connotations with respect to conformity were more authoritarian. Whereas being well-mannered and considerate were considered

important by both groups, many of the Moroccan parents also regarded unconditional respect, modesty and docility as its key features. These connotations of submissiveness to older people was not found in the Dutch case. Autonomy was associated by the Dutch with initiative, assertiveness, self-determination and independence, whereas the Moroccan parents equated autonomy first and foremost with self-reliance in the functional sense and with social responsibility. Compared to the indigenous mothers, the Moroccan mothers mentioned more interpersonal notions of sociability, such as harmony and loyalty, and less universal notions such as tolerance and justice. Achievement was seen less as a matter of individual interest and as the result of individual choices and capacities, as was the case for the Dutch parents, and it was associated more with collective interests and seen as the result of effort. Only a few Moroccan parents, mainly among the higher educated and younger generations, explicitly recognized the importance of assertiveness and independence for children to be able to function successfully within the Dutch educational system and labour market (Nijsten & Pels, 2000).

Holding conformity in high regard, Moroccan parents in the Netherlands, according to Pels' 1998 study, associate child rearing first and foremost with civilizing their children, i.e. training them for balancing their self-interest and needs with moral and social demands from the social environment. Child rearing concentrates on increasing 'social wisdom' ('*aqil*') in this sense, on disciplining and modelling in line with adult ideals.

The age of 2-3 years is seen as a first developmental milestone in a child's life, because by then they are supposed to have gained enough 'understanding' to be susceptible to the teachings, either in words or actions, of the significant others in their environment. The next important developmental stage is puberty. From the age of 12 through 15, children are expected to know how to behave morally and socially, to be 'responsible' for oneself and others and to be self-reliant. Girls, who are expected to acquire social sense somewhat sooner than boys, should by

then be able to run the household and care for their younger siblings. Boys' contribution to family tasks is usually more optional; it is up to them to decide, especially when they have (older) sisters to attend to these tasks.

Whereas indigenous parents depict adolescence as a separate phase, a 'moratorium' between youth and adulthood, the idea of a hedonist youth phase has not obtained a firm footing among Moroccan parents. Especially those of the pioneering generation fear the influence of the Dutch, which in their eyes are far too permissive with respect to young people and females (see also Van der Hoek 1994; Meijers 1992; Meijers, Van Houten, and Von Meijenfelt 1993). By the age of 18-20 children are expected to have reached adulthood, that is to know how to behave in different circumstances, according to situational demands, and to be fully able to carry the responsibility for themselves and others.

For the first generation of parents the period from 6-7 to puberty initially did not get much weight as a separate stage (Pels 1991). In her more recent study, Pels (1998) observes a reorientation among parents with respect to this stage, in which attending school becomes a major occupation in children's lives. Parents have come to realize that, compared to Morocco, the roles of family members and teachers in the Netherlands with respect to the schooling of children are more fused (see also Nelissen & Bilgin, 1995). The majority believe nowadays that children need attention and support to do well at school, although, as we shall see later, in actual practice their approach may differ widely, depending, for instance, on their own schooling history.

In addition to this, Pels (1998) points to a more general reorientation to child rearing, especially among the higher educated and younger generations: parents have become more aware of their children's psychological needs. In addition to training them to become 'good' adults, i.e. socially wise, they stress the importance of paying attention to their social and emotional needs and the role of parents' active support and guidance to further their social-emotional development. Whereas many first generation parents still believe that their child

rearing tasks, in the sense of civilizing, should ideally be completed at the onset of puberty, the younger parents for this reason regard parenting as never ending.

2.5 Practices of upbringing

In the 1998 Pels study, parents were invited to reflect on their own childhood, which for many was in Morocco. In contrast to most males, many of the mothers werenot allowed to go to school or they were kept at home after some years of elementary schooling. Having reached puberty they, again far more than their male peers, were kept under strict vigilance and were expected to carry out household tasks and rear younger brothers and sisters. The boys' freedom of movement increased considerably with the onset of puberty, but within the family circle both sexes were not really given the freedom to speak up. Parents expected unconditional obedience and respect. For girls this often also meant to 'shame' themselves in their presence, i.e. to behave timidly and modestly and to refrain from any looseness in appearance or expression. Relations were distant, especially with the father, and as a consequence, communication with him was very restricted or did not exist at all. There was hardly any room or even no room at all to express opinions or feelings in the presence of adults. It should be stressed that, nevertheless, many voice their respect for the endeavours of their parents and emphasize the warmth received in the family circle, especially from their mother. Some stated that living in a small village in Morocco is completely different from living in the Netherlands and, consequently, parenting is as well. Parents were too involved in (house)work to pay much attention to individual children: families were large, and living off the land was hard work. And neither were parents the only people responsible: children were looked after by older children, other relatives and the neighbourhood community as a whole. All in all, these retrospective data parallel key features of family organization and child rearing as they appeared in our review of the Moroccan socialization literature, for instance concerning the

involvement of the wider informal network, the segregation of the sexes, authority relationships and communication patterns.

In this section we review the available data on child rearing as it developed after migration to the Netherlands, focusing on the four pedagogical dimensions distinguished in chapter I.

Support structures

According to Pels' first study (1991) conducted among Moroccan families of the pioneering migrant generation, relations with young children are generally affectionate and the mutual character of support has remained alive after migration. Instead of the child-centeredness that is so typical of family relationships among the Dutch, support is geared more to children as a collective, to interdependency and reciprocity. Only the very young are 'spoiled' by being given a lot of personal attention, but as they grow older children are taught to share the attention of parents and significant others as well as to attend to others themselves. With the young, both mothers and fathers are affectionate. Physical and social distance increases with age, especially between fathers and their children. Mothers and sons remain closer, but relations are less friendship-like as in the case of girls.

In her recent study among Moroccan families, Pels (1998) finds a greater diversity of patterns of support, co-varying with the level of education and migration generation of the parents, although interdependency has remained a key feature of family relations. The first generation families, that generally have a more authoritarian notion of conformity, conform most to the picture that was just presented and that has much in common with family relations in Morocco as described by Davis and Davis (1989). Relations are warm but not close in the psychological sense. Mothers and older daughters develop an affectionate bond, but mutual confidentiality meets with certain restraints, especially regarding the domain of sexuality, until daughters are married. Mothers and sons maintain a warm bond too, but sons gradually take more distance and pass more of their

time outside the home. Because generally speaking fathers are less involved with their children of either sex, sons are in practice thrown back more on their own resources and are dependent on the support of persons outside the family, such as their peers. Generally speaking, relations are more open, egalitarian and confidential among the higher educated and younger generations. Although the emotional bond with mothers remains the strongest, relations vary less with respect to children's age and to the gender of parents and children.

Control

Pels' first study (1991) revealed a pattern of control that can be characterized as authoritarian. Should a child misbehave, parents tended to correct children mainly by exerting direct power, through warnings, threats or punishments such as scolding, slapping or withholding privileges. Older siblings, recognized as co-caretakers, may also play a role here. It should be noted, however, that authoritarian relationships appeared not to be all-pervasive in the lives of Moroccan children. Traditionally, Moroccan children spend considerable amounts of their leisure time with siblings and peers, away from the places where the adults congregate and merely, if at all, supervised by them from a distance. Pels' study has pointed out the relatively high measure of freedom young Moroccan children in the Netherlands have among peers. Playing is seen as an occupation for children alone, not for parents to stimulate. Dutch children spend more time monitored by parents or other caretakers, or in organized leisure activities. In this respect the autonomy of Moroccan children greatly surpasses that of Dutch children.

According to the 1998 study, Moroccan parents in the Netherlands make, on average, more use of authoritarian techniques of control than Dutch parents do. However, especially among the higher educated and younger generations 'authoritative' techniques have become part of parents' repertoires: in addition to using direct power, parents control their children through rules, reasoning and even negotiation. It should be noted that within-group diversity is considerable.

Among Moroccan as well as Dutch parents subcategories of rather harsh and rather permissive parents are found, with different types of mixed patterns between both extremes. Again, the span of parental control does not cover every domain of children's lives. Moroccan youth are granted a relatively high degree of responsibility, for instance with regard to caring for younger siblings and helping them with their school chores. Many of them are also expected to be self-reliant when it comes to their educational career, for instance in choosing a secondary school or organising remedial support if necessary (see also Nelissen & Bilgin, 1996; Coenen, 2001; Crul, 2000). Children's autonomy in this functional sense is highest within the pioneering generation, with a relatively low educational level and a lot of children. Within families belonging to the younger generations, with a higher educational level and fewer children, parents' roles become more central. They not only move towards the authoritative pole of control, allowing children to act as co-controllers, but they also tend to monitor them more, thereby curbing their freedom of movement.

After puberty, girls still face the most restrictions in this respect, and they spend much of their leisure time with female family members and friends. Boys are allowed a wider radius of action outside the house. This is considered one of the explanations for the fact that girls, if they are allowed to follow further education, often do better than boys. They spend more time doing their school work. In this way, they escape from the household chores which they perceive as less attractive and less functional in the light of their future aspirations, which encompass both motherhood and participation on the labour market (see also Distelbrink & Pels, 1996).

It may be concluded that the coexistence of conformity and autonomy on the level of parental goals, is reflected in various ways in the controlling practices of the Moroccan parents.⁶ As was the case traditionally, the Moroccan parents also

⁶ This finding, however, appears not to be unique to these parents alone: the indigenous Dutch do not, in practice, restrict themselves to stimulate their children's independence, they also seek to balance it with sociability and a certain degree of conformity (Dieleman, 2000; Nijsten & Pels, 2000).

make their demands depend on the context: whereas conformity is expected within the circle of the family and its informal network, in the public domain different behavioural standards may be advocated, such as assertiveness. All in all, in the post-migration context the opportunities for children to build a flexible behavioural repertoire, enabling them to adapt to different socio-cultural demands in different contexts, have certainly not decreased. We will come back to this aspect of socialization in chapter 3.

Communication

Pels' 1991 study reveals a pattern of communication between parents or other adults and children that has much in common with the pattern described in Part I, which is characterized as essentially asymmetrical. Communication between adults and children is geared to telling children what they should or should not do and to preaching to them. It also has an amusement function: when family members gather, small talk, joking and narration are favourite pastimes in which children may take part. However, children are only seen as serious conversation partners as they grow older and have gained enough 'Aql' to know how to behave in the company of adults. Younger children are allowed access to the circle of adults providing they behave quietly and do not speak up. Communication between parents and children does not have the function of exchanging information and opinions.

In her 1998 study, Pels observes a higher variety of communication patterns compared to the 1991 study. Generally, parents have become more active in communicating with their children. On closer inspection, the nature of interaction and the scale of subjects appears to have become rather diverse. In families belonging to the older generation, parents communicate less frequently with their children, their attitude towards them is less responsive, and they talk more to them than with them, as used to be the case traditionally. Mothers' roles are pivotal and they talk more with daughters than with sons. Within the families of the younger generations, however, gender differences have declined, and the

communication style is more open and allows for exchanges on a more equal basis. Parents within this category have grown to appreciate confidentiality in the communication with their children and they grant them more room to express what they think and feel.

Informal learning arrangements

According to Pels' 1991 study, child rearing is mainly associated with modelling to the female and male ideal image and not with stimulation of the child's individual personality, as in the Dutch case. The main task of parents and other important people in the child's environment is to give the right example and protect it against adverse influences. Observation and imitation count as the most important means of learning socially and morally just behaviour. By gradually taking more part in the activities of the women and men in their environment, children learn to pray and fast and acquire their gender roles; girls learn household and caring skills from their mothers and sisters and boys learn how to behave in public when they accompany their father to the mosque and market. In addition to observation and imitation, children also learn by being told what is good and what is not good, what they should and should not do. This mostly happens with reference to specific occasions, for instance when the child is impolite, or by pointing to good or bad examples of others. Also, stories, fairy tales and parables, often with moral messages, may be used more or less consciously to 'civilize' the child. Compared to the Dutch parents, education by Moroccans is more situational and less direct. Pels (ibid.) concluded from her observations in the natural setting that nonverbal and verbal exchanges in first generation Moroccan families functioned more to amuse, control and preach to children than to directly instruct them and to stimulate their self-expression and exploratory behaviour, as was the case with indigenous mother-child dyads (see also Pels 1999; Rabain-Jamin 1989a, 1989b for Maghrebi families in France and Heath 1983, Ochs and Schieffelin 1984 for comparable cross-cultural and cross-ethnic findings). Education in the home was geared more to civilizing children

than to furthering their verbal and cognitive development. Playing was seen as an occupation for children alone, not for parents to stimulate. Toys and creative materials were hardly ever presented to the children and a reading culture was non-existent. When together, parents and children did not so much occupy themselves with material objects, but passed their time with talk and narration. According to Pels' 1998 study, modelling and situational instruction have remained salient features of child rearing, for instance in fostering socially and morally just behaviour, training for gender roles and initiation in the Islamic religion. However, child rearing appears to have become more of a conscious endeavour, both among first generation families and among the younger generations. In the highly secularized and individualized environment posed by the Dutch, the religious and moral education of children has become less self-evident and this has prompted parents to engage more actively in it. Likewise, the achievement of children in the Dutch schooling system has moved up on the parental agenda, and parents have become more aware of the relevance of their own role in preparing and guiding their children to further their chances of success. In the next section we describe these changes in more detail, with specific reference to the connection between informal learning at home and formal schooling.

Informal learning as connected to formal schooling

Over the past few decades, schools in the Netherlands have increasingly presupposed the cooperation of parents in furthering the educational careers of children (e.g. Van den Brink, 1997). As we have referred to before, parents may widely differ in their views on the role division between family and school. Pels concludes from her 1991 and 1998 studies that Moroccan parents regard the moral development of their children as their central task and therefore they mainly focus on civilizing them. Children's cognitive development is seen primarily as a task for teachers. For this reason they are generally less involved with co-educating their children than Dutch parents, even more so if they only

had limited schooling themselves and consider their intellectual capital as insufficient (see also Van der Hoek 1994; Pels 1994).⁷

Whether and how parents invest in the school achievement of their children, besides other areas of development, may also vary with their relationship to the dominant society and more specifically to school as an institution representing it. According to Ogbu (1978, 1992), minorities may differ in their beliefs about the instrumental and cultural function of schooling. These beliefs are important drives for parental behaviour, for they affect ways of adjusting to and investing in schooling. Moroccan parents are more ambivalent about the integration of their children within Dutch schools than parents of other minority groups (Van der Hoek & Kret 1992; Meijers et al. 1993; Pels 1991). This can partly be explained by pre-migration feelings of distrust towards the formal educational system as it was introduced by the French colonizers. The majority of Moroccans in the Netherlands came from economically poorly developed rural areas in which formal schools are still few and far between. These parents have to hand over their children to an institution that is perceived as more distant from their cultural and religious ideals than formal education in Morocco. They regard school as instrumental to social mobility and as inflicting cultural and religious estrangement (Kemper 1996; Pels 1991). Added to this, as Pels (1991; 1998) has pointed out, Moroccan parents, especially those of the pioneering migration generation, perceive Dutch elementary school as being too permissive, too playful and disappointing in the effort demanded of children to drum knowledge into their heads, resonating key features of education that still exist in Morocco (see 1.6).

As observed by Pels (1998), most Moroccan parents in the Netherlands nowadays aspire both to the maintenance of their culture, language and religion

⁷ Parent involvement, however, is a reciprocal process influenced by parent's initiatives as well as school's effort to involve parents on their own terms (Henderson & Berla 1995). Only recently have Dutch schools started to undertake steps to actively approach migrant parents (e.g. Distelbrink & Pels, 2000), and up to now these parents have had a hard time engaging with institutional agents and gatekeepers as status-equals like the Dutch.

and to their children's' achievement in the Dutch schooling system. The majority worry about the possibility that their children might eventually be excluded from the labour market, but the mothers believe that the only remedy is for them to work harder at school and qualify better than Dutch pupils. In Berry's terms (e.g. 1995), the parents are positively oriented to the (instrumental) integration of their children within Dutch society. However, the educational strategies they employ in furthering their children's achievement and collective identity depend on the typical configuration of parenting goals valued by them, their conceptions of teaching and the role-division between parents and school and the cultural threats they experience. Parents' beliefs and practices turn out to co-vary with educational level and migration generation.

Those of the pioneering generation and especially the poorly educated among them are only recently gradually becoming more aware of the importance or possibilities to actively prepare and support their children. We should keep in mind that for many sending their children to school means a radical change, for which they were not prepared during their own socialization and which they have to cope with by trial and error. They check their children's' work and preach about the importance of effort, but are not able to offer practical support with homework and guidance with choosing schools and school subjects that meet children's' needs and capacities (see also Crul, 2000; Distelbrink & Pels, 2000).

Some of these parents who master the Dutch language fairly well are reached by outside agencies that provide information, advice or instruction to help them to better assist their children with respect to schooling. Most turn out to invest more in the transmission of cultural and religious knowledge and values, which they feel to be under pressure and not supported by school. In their daily parental practice and choice of institutions that offer educational activities outside the home they put more stress on the moral development of their children than on their cognitive development. They more or less implicitly seem to convey the message to beware of Dutch culture. For counter information most of these mothers send their children in their free time to private schools, initiated by

Mosques and other grassroots organizations. The learning activities offered by these schools in many ways resonate the pedagogical practices of elementary Islamic education in Morocco as described by Wagner (1993; see 1.6). The religious and moral development and Arabic language is at the heart of the curriculum, and learning by heart and authoritarian relationships prevail (Pels, 1987d; Pels, forthcoming). Thus Moroccan parents more or less intentionally may stand in the way of their children's integration in the Dutch school system, both by passing on to them their own ambivalence towards (Dutch) secular education and by familiarizing them with an educational model that differs from the one adopted in Dutch schools.

The younger generations and more highly educated people apply a double strategy. Like the other parents, they foster continuity by having their children attend special lessons after regular school hours, but the teaching style and curriculum here are fashioned more after that of the Dutch formal school system. Mastering the Arabic language is at the heart of the curriculum, and the bolstering of their children against cultural influences from the environment seems less of a concern to them. These parents also invest more in their children's educational careers. They send them to formal childcare to further their chances of a smooth transition to elementary school and they intentionally instruct and guide them at home, sometimes with help from external support agencies.

To conclude, mothers' educational practices reflect widely different acculturation attitudes with respect to the formal educational system: in Berry's (1995) terms, from 'separation' in the case of uneducated mothers of the pioneering generation to selective adaptation or 'integration', combining culture maintenance with openness to the schooling context, in the case of the mothers with a higher educational level. In the next chapter we will address the question of how Moroccan youth position themselves in the schooling context, in addition to the context of family and peers.

III: Moroccan youth: dealing with diversity

3.1 Introduction

Although parents remain pivotal in most children's lives, the influence exerted by peers undeniably increases as they grow older. Recent research in the Netherlands has shown that Dutch adolescents have a good relationship with their parents (Van Wel, 1994; Van Wel et al., 2000) and that - although support from peers increases in middle adolescence - support from parents remains stable, resulting in about equal support from parents and peers at around the age of 16-17 (Helser et al., 2000). This is in line with the observation of Maccoby and Martin (1983) that the vast majority of adolescents continue to rely on their parents for support and advice, despite their increasing reliance on peers.

Spencer and Dornbush (1990) have pointed out that minority adolescents in the US, in particular immigrant adolescents, may be more inclined to turn to peers because their parents lack the power and competence to support and guide them in the new society. Peers may thus play a role in furthering acculturation. The relatively weak social cohesion among Moroccans in the Netherlands (see section 2.2) may also heighten the influence of peers and partly account for the rapid pace of individualization among Moroccan adolescents. According to recent survey data, autonomy values are embraced more by the young than by their parents and among Moroccans changes across the generations are most conspicuous in this respect. Young Moroccan women also emancipate at a fast pace compared to other minority groups (Dagevos, 2001).

However, as we have seen, Moroccan adolescents are traditionally expected to acquire a social sense that enables them to 'behave' in different social situations. They may be assumed to acquire such skills more than Dutch adolescents because they are socialized in multiple social contexts, such as those dominated

by peers, by family members and other adults of their in-group and by the Dutch and their institutions.

Whereas the 'acculturation' thesis, proposed by Spencer and Dornbush, would lead to the assumption that the migrant adolescents orient more to peers at the cost of parents, our review of the socialization literature leads to the hypothesis of a more selective social positioning of the adolescents of Moroccan descent, depending on context. We will examine more closely how the adolescents position themselves across the contexts of family, peer group and school.

3.2 Navigating through different contexts

Traditionally, parents are not the only people engaged in child rearing. In addition to other family members and adults living in the vicinity, siblings and peers are recognized as partners in socializing children. As we have referred to before, older siblings are seen as co-caretakers. Along with peers from outside the family, they are acknowledged as important guides and role models as well. Studies among Moroccans in both Morocco and the Netherlands point to a qualitative difference between the socialising role of adults and peers (Davis & Davis, 1989; Pels, 1991; Pels & Nijsten, in press). The peer group offers opportunities to learn and practice what cannot be learned and done in the presence of adults or higher status persons, because of the modesty and respect required in their midst. In interactions with peers, knowledge and abilities are put into practice and tend to pertain to egalitarian relations and self expression. Among migrant families, siblings and peers are also acknowledged for their share in offering practical support with school matters (Crul, 2000; Van der Hoek, 1994; Pels, 1998).

Due to the social distance between the worlds of peers and adults, the socializing role of peers may be substantial. Precisely for this reason peers are both praised and feared for their influence. As Pels (1998) states, Moroccan parents have become more wary of the influence of peers in the Dutch context. Due to the

fragmentation of the informal network of family and friends after migration, social control by the wider community has become less self-evident and children's whereabouts and choice of friends are less easily monitored. Currently, not only the rate of individualization but also that of marginalization and criminality among Moroccan youth is relatively high compared to other minority groups. This may in part be caused by the increased risk of mixing with marginalized peers in the backward urban districts where most Moroccans live (Distelbrink & Pels, 2002).

Therefore, the question of how the 'average' Moroccan adolescent moves between contexts becomes even more compelling. At first sight, when we consider data on the ideals regarding the youth phase cherished by adolescents and their parents, the family picture is one of harmony. Moroccan adolescents, like their parents, view the youth phase first and foremost as a phase that prepares them for adulthood. Based on semi-structured interviews with parents and adolescents from different ethnic groups, Meijers (1992) and Meijers, Van Houten, and Von Meijenfelt (1993) show that Moroccan adolescents, like Turkish adolescents, regard this period as a transitional phase, dominated by their school career and becoming qualified for the labour market. Conversely, indigenous adolescents are mainly interested in the 'here and now' and are preoccupied with social relationships and leisure activities.

Drawing on these data it would be expected that adolescents of Moroccan descent orient themselves and conform more to their parents than indigenous adolescents do, but less to their peers. Recent quantitative acculturation studies among Moroccan, Turkish and indigenous Dutch youth appear to corroborate the first assumption, but not the second. There is ample evidence that the non-indigenous youth strongly orient towards their parents, whereas at the same time they focus, to a considerable extent, on their peers in peer-dominated contexts. The non-indigenous adolescents comply more with mutual dependency between the generations (*Family Integrity*) than indigenous adolescents do (Huiberts et al., 1999; Phalet et al., 2000). The latter authors also show that Moroccan as well as Turkish adolescents value conformity and achievement more and egalitarianism and individualism less than Dutch adolescents. Pels and Nijsten (2000)

compared Moroccan and Turkish adolescents and their mothers with respect to the goals they aspired to for adulthood (based on Pels' 1998 study and a related study by Nijsten (1998) among Turkish families). Both generations hardly differed in their ranking of goals. As it also appears from recent survey data, the value preferences of Moroccan adolescents and their parents are highly correlated, despite the fact that the adolescents cherish individualism far more (Uunk, in press).

Other studies, however, provide evidence of the context-dependence of the preferences and behaviour of non-native adolescents. As stated by Phalet & Andriessen (in press), drawing on quantitative studies aimed at relating acculturation attitudes and psychological development in Moroccan and Turkish youth, 'in the face of competing pressures the optimal person-environment fit requires from minority youth some degree of alternation between cultural maintenance in the family context and cultural adaptation in the school context' (p. 10). They conclude that cultural maintenance in the family context has a supportive impact, as indicated by a positive correlation with psychological well-being and health in minority youth. The importance of adaptation in the school context appears from studies relating cross-cultural openness and social contact to enhanced self-competence and skills (Phalet & Hagendoorn, 1996; see also Ward & Kennedy, 1993). Phalet et al. (2000) have found the adherence of Moroccan and Turkish adolescents to culture maintenance and cultural adaptation to co-vary with the home and school context. Generally, the adolescents aspire to culture maintenance and 'separation' in the family context and to both maintenance and adaptation in the school context. In a quantitative study among Moroccan and Turkish adolescents in multi-ethnic schools, they find this 'integration' mode of acculturation to be positively related to achievement (Phalet & Andriessen, in press).

A recent questionnaire study aimed at relating (identity) development to acculturation and parenting among Moroccan and Turkish adolescents and a Dutch reference group (Pels et al., 2002). Preliminary analyses also point to a

high degree of 'contextual complexity' for the Moroccan and Turkish adolescents. Both within the context of school and of the peer group, they value autonomy (assert yourself and express opinions) more than within the context of the family. Conformity (behave yourself, do what is expected) is valued more in the context of home and school than in the context of the peer group. The Dutch adolescents do not show these value changes across contexts. The Moroccans only differ from the Turks in that they attach less value to conformity in the school context.

In all three contexts the youth identify themselves more as a Moroccan or a Turk than as a Dutch man or woman. Again, we find contextual differences in that the adolescents' co-ethnic identification is greatest within the family context and least within the school context. The reverse pattern is true for 'feeling Dutch'. Both groups differ in that Moroccans feel more Dutch at home than Turks. Phalet & Andriessen (in press) suggest a qualitative difference with respect to ethnic awareness in the Moroccan and Turkish case, in relation to the higher degree of ethnic retention and cohesion in Turkish communities (see also Vermeulen & Penninx, 1994). Whereas Turkish youth resonate with ethnic pride, it takes on a primary meaning of ethnic assertion against negative stereotyping in Moroccan youth. They suffer more than their Turkish peers from stigmatization, one main reason being the high rate of marginalization among them.

Moroccan youngsters tend to rely more on the support of their peers than the indigenous Dutch youth do. This appears from an analysis of questionnaire-data drawn from the child rearing studies mentioned before, on the adolescents' orientation to the support and advice of parents versus peers (Pels & Nijsten, in press). This research also indicates that the orientation of the non-indigenous youth is domain specific: peers are considered to be more important as a source of support than as a source of advice. Whereas the Dutch adolescents lean more on their mothers than on their peers for support in the domains of leisure, social relations and school, in the Moroccan case mothers and friends are perceived as equally supportive. Only in their case, friends outweigh fathers. With respect to school matters, classmates and teachers are regarded as resourceful as friends

and mothers by the Moroccan youth. However, like the Dutch, the Moroccan adolescents tend to orient less towards the information and opinions of friends than to those of their parents. In this respect they are even more parent-centred than the Dutch. One further finding is worth mentioning: for the Moroccan adolescents parent centrism and peer centrism turn out not to be related, whereas the relation is negative in the case of the Dutch, suggesting that the Moroccan youth, in contrast to the Dutch, do not perceive much overlap between the contexts of family and peer group. This dissociation between contexts indicates that the Moroccans tend to perceive the socializing role of adults and peers as qualitatively different. Combined with the high degree of compliance and interdependency advocated with respect to the family context, these results again point to the context-dependence of the positioning of the Moroccan adolescents. This does not exclude, however, that their being part of a minority group does not have consequences. Moroccan youth may perceive a wider breach between the family and public domain than Dutch youth do, and this might cause them to turn more to peers for support. However, we do not have any data to compare Moroccan youth in the Netherlands with youth socialized in Morocco. Therefore it is hard to tell whether the high degree of context-dependence among the migrant youth should be attributed in part to processes of acculturation, in addition to the navigating skills traditionally expected of them. We will return to this in the following section, which examines the positioning of Moroccan adolescents within the school context.

3.3 Balancing in the school context

The peer group has a considerable role to play when it comes to the acceptance or rejection of the authority of the teacher (D'Amato, 1993; Harter, 1996; Wentzel, 1999). This is even more true because students see school as one of the primary settings for their social life (Macías, 1992). According to research into the

perspectives of Dutch students in secondary education, the average student considers social contacts with fellow students to be at least as important a reason to attend school as gaining diplomas. This even applies to students who have difficulty with learning tasks and who find the daily trek to the lessons to be a source of misery. Between the learning domain and the social domain there is, according to Matthijsen (1991), a 'taught tension (...). Students and teachers are constantly out to enlarge their sphere of influence (177)'. In particular, students who attach little extrinsic value to school often feel that they are treated with little respect. They are more focused on the here and now and more on each other than the other students. For them the value of school is determined to a relatively large extent by the success with which they can keep up with people of their age. Therefore, within the context of school, the influence of peers should not be underestimated. Achievement at school means submitting to the school discipline, which may be hard to reconcile with the maintenance of a reputation as an autonomous person among peers. If the peer group holds personal autonomy in higher regard than discipline and effort, students might be lured into resisting the status of dependency presupposed by assertions of teacher authority, and into disengaging from the learning activities for fear of losing face (e.g. D'Amato, 1993; Juvonen & Murdock, 1995). As the latter authors point out, this generally applies less to youth in their pre-puberty than to adolescents, because younger children are, generally, more oriented towards significant adults than to peers.

According to the scholarly literature based on interaction studies in multi-ethnic classrooms, minority students may develop different strategies in such a context, with varying consequences in terms of how they relate to learning. Fordham (1991) has shown that achievement at school may be associated by black American pupils in the US with 'acting white'. As a result, they refrain from working and instead present themselves socially, for instance as a macho and a womanizer. The reverse strategy can be seen among the offspring of Asian migrants: they adapt to school demands and lead rather restricted social lives,

avoiding participation in nonessential school activities. Gibson (1988; 2000) refers to this strategy, which she found among Sikhs in the US, as 'accommodation without assimilation'. Geense & Pels (1998) point to a comparable strategy for Chinese students in Dutch schools and link it to the strong family-collectivism adhered to in Chinese circles. This 'familism' also accounts for the relatively isolated position of Chinese adolescents with respect to their peers (see also Geense 1994). A third adaptation mode was found by Fuller (1981) among Caribbean girls in London. They use a double strategy in that they reject school and act as if they are not involved in front of their peers, but they do pay attention to the teacher and study in secret.

Pels (2002) analyzed student disengagement in two ethnically mixed secondary schools (junior year), drawing on the data from a detailed study on interaction patterns in the classroom. The Moroccan students tended to differ from the Dutch students in that they were more provocative in their self-presentation, both in relation to the teacher and the audience of (Dutch and minority) peers. The students' deliberate manner is not to be (solely) equated with disengagement. They were both more prone to rule violation and disruptive behaviour (the boys in particular took pains to avoid the reputation of being a 'swat'), and to seeking the teachers' attention and approval when they did participate in the learning activities. In both respects the driving force seemed to be a strong need to be noticed and to be affirmed (see also Van Zanten, 2001, for a comparable observation in a French multi-ethnic middle school). Instead of a double strategy theirs is one of a precarious balance between approval from both peers and teacher, by presenting themselves at the same time as an active student in front of the teacher and as an autonomous youngster in front of their classmates.

The way the Moroccan students conduct themselves does not go unnoticed and does have consequences. Both teachers and classmates regard Moroccan individuals, mainly boys, as more boisterous than other pupils. One of the teachers categorizes Moroccan boys in general as troublesome and relates this to their 'agonistic' culture. The analyses of interactions in this teacher's lessons

show that this affects how he addresses them, in that he tends to cut them off short when they appeal for a turn and to admonish them more than other students (see also Kunnen, 2002 and Berenst et al., 2001). So, on closer inspection, the balancing strategy of the Moroccan students does not appear to be interpretable merely in terms of the 'social sense' traditionally expected of them. It rather seems their manner expresses a mental divide. Drawing on the same data on contextual complexity as Pels et al. (2002), Oosterwegel et al. (2002) point out that only in the case of the Moroccan youngsters is value complexity related to aggression.

In the eyes of Moroccan youth, school achievement is strongly motivated by social goals, such as gaining the teacher's approval (Phalet & Lens, 1995; Matthijssen, 1993). We might add that their balancing strategy could in part be explained by a higher dependence on their peers and a greater need for peer approval on top of the approval of their teachers (see also Vogt et al., 1993). But Pels' (ibid.) findings also correspond with the suggestion made by Phalet & Andriessen (in press) that Moroccan minority youth seem to be caught 'between opposite motivational forces (32)'. On the one hand, school achievement is driven by the perceived instrumentality of schooling for upward mobility, on the other hand, negative personal concerns with self-worth or self-presentation may lead to what they refer to as 'self-handicapping' behaviour. In addition to their orientation to peers, a major factor that induces these negative concerns might be the low status of Moroccans in general, the relatively high measure of stigmatization suffered by them, the increasing intolerance towards Moslems in general in Dutch society (e.g. Penninx, 1988; SCP, 1998) and the low achievement status of Moroccan students in the schooling context. Dors (1987) studied social relationships in multi-ethnic (elementary) classrooms, and found that Dutch children's' relationship preferences covary most with gender and the academic status of their peers. From the age of about 9, they reject Moroccan and Turkish children, mainly because of their low level of achievement. Moroccan

and Turkish students on the other hand wish to cross ethnic borders and also to relate to Dutch children.

Currently, non-native students, especially boys, seem to have a harder time steering the middle course between learning and their social needs and concerns. They might have more success at finding the balance if their social goals were allowed more room in the classroom. More open participation structures, in which students have a co-constructive role, can interact horizontally and are allowed to cooperate, could be part of the answer as shown by Pels (2001). Slavin (1996) points to the relative success of cooperative learning among minority students. Within such a context, social cohesion is enhanced and the achievement of minority students appears to be particularly impressive.

However, Cohen (1984) has warned of the impact of status differences between students when it comes to the extent to which they participate within the context of cooperative learning. High-status students interact more and are more influential than low-status students. Owing to their greater access to group resources and feedback from others, high-status students also learn more (e.g. Cohen, *ibid.*, 1994; Mevarech 1991). The status of students can be evaluated along several dimensions, including academic, peer friendship and societal status. Additionally, gender and ethnicity have been found to affect group interactions although the conditions that make these effective seem to vary (see Chiu, 2000; Wolfe, 2000).

Since Moroccans generally have a low (achievement) status, overcoming status differences deserves serious attention in attempts to adapt pedagogical-didactical practices in the multi-ethnic classroom to fit their needs better.

Conclusions

From the early 1960s Moroccan male 'guest workers', the majority originating from the Northern Rif area, have come to the Netherlands to fill the lower segments of the labour market. After an interval of some 10 years, most of them have sent for their wives and children. The first wave of children that have been (partly) raised in the Netherlands is now reaching adulthood and forming families of their own, mostly with spouses from the country of origin. Today there are approximately 295,000 Moroccans living in the Netherlands, approximately 40% of whom are second generation.

In this review of the scholarly literature on socialization in Morocco and among Moroccan migrants and their offspring in the Netherlands our objective was to examine continuity and change by comparing the pre- and post-migration contexts and by investigating how adolescents raised in the Netherlands deal with diversity across family, peers and school.

Social and family organization

The Moroccan population in the Netherlands is characterised by relatively weak social cohesion, which is usually explained by its fragmented organization along patrilinear and regional lines, as is also the case in the area of origin. The frequent tensions, reported by several researchers, between Moroccan communities and their members might, however, also be inflamed by the bipolarity that characterizes social structure in Morocco, consisting of agonistic next to collectivistic tendencies.

Whereas important features of social fragmentation seem to have been reconstructed after migration, migration itself has further contributed to the fragmentation of families and their wider informal network. The process of family nuclearization had already started in Morocco, and the housing situation in the Netherlands has been a major impetus for this process to persist. As well as its function of control and monitoring children, the wider network still serves as an

important source of support. And compared with the Dutch case, this function is much greater. However, it has lost much of its former significance and family members within each household have become more dependent on each other.

Parallel to this development, segregation between the sexes and generations has lost its sharp tones and mothers and children have become more autonomous. These changes are not very different in nature from social changes described by scholars in Morocco, but the migration context seems to have aggravated these changes in several ways. Women's increasing participation in formal education and the labour market, partly stimulated by the increased accessibility of these institutions for women in the Netherlands, have contributed to these power shifts, as well as the diminishment of male authority because many men fail in their role as breadwinner and are no match for their children when it comes to their adaptation to Dutch society. Although the balance of power within the private family domain has, in actual practice, come to be more akin to the egalitarianism within Dutch families, this change has not been accompanied by parallel ideological shifts. As in Morocco, the ideology of motherhood, male power and conformity of those lower in the hierarchy is kept very much alive. This also serves to make a stance against 'western' egalitarian gender and generation relations which are certainly not considered worth adopting.

Parental goals

We have shown that the ability to navigate through (possibly conflicting) social contexts, while balancing the requirements of the social order with personal needs ('Aql'), is very central to the Moroccan concept of self. This concept of social self, interestingly, seems to parallel the collectivistic-agonistic balancingwork that characterises the social order as described for the Riffian area. According to studies among Moroccan families in the Netherlands in the eighties and late nineties, Moroccan parents attach much more value to compliance with social order as a parental goal than to autonomy, and children's

development is seen more in terms of conformity than in terms of individual growth, whereas the reverse is true for Dutch parents. The data show that the concept of self has retained its salience after migration: children's personal passions and needs are not denied, but knowing how to behave is considered of primary importance. In congruence with the changes in family organisation just described, autonomy is gaining in influence as a parental goal, especially among the younger generations, as is also the case in Morocco. However, whereas the notions on autonomy of Dutch parents reflect a rather atomistic and impersonal individualism (e.g. assertiveness, self-determination, independence), the notions of Moroccan parents speak of a more relational orientation (e.g. social responsibility), in addition to self-reliance in the functional sense. Again, the resemblance with comparable trends in Morocco is rather striking. Only a small fraction of Moroccan parents in the Netherlands, mainly among the more highly educated, explicitly recognise the importance of assertiveness and independence, but merely with reference to survival in the Dutch (public) context.

Parental practices

However, our portrayal of practices of upbringing reveals a more ambiguous picture, more akin to the actual changes in family organisation mentioned before. On the one hand, we found the adult ideals aspired to by the parents in rearing their children to resonate in their practices of upbringing to a considerable extent. On the whole, parent-child relationships within Moroccan families are more hierarchical and authoritarian than in Dutch families and child rearing also reflects their social-relational orientation. Nevertheless, the past has not been simply reproduced with changes of the times and places in which parents raise their children. Diversity in child rearing practices has increased significantly.

Regarding the child rearing dimensions of support and communication, the 'Dutch' literature reports a decrease in the psychological distance between parents and children. On the whole, parents tend to be more responsive to the needs of each of their children individually and mutual confidentiality meets with

fewer restraints. The asymmetric nature of communication, which used to be geared more to amuse, preach and control than to exchange opinions and feelings, especially with respect to younger children, has lost much of its significance. Gender differences have also decreased, although mothers tend to remain more intimate with their children, especially with their daughters, and sons take more distance from the family and rely more on the support of their peers as they grow older. However, the pace of these changes may differ both within and across generations. Generally, among the higher educated and younger generations, relations are more open and they vary less with respect to children's age and to the gender of parents and children.

With respect to the dimension of parental control, we have noticed that Moroccan parents in the Netherlands on average make more use of authoritarian techniques than Dutch parents do. However, especially among the higher educated and younger generations 'authoritative' techniques have become part of parents' repertoires: in addition to direct power, parents nowadays also apply rules, reasoning and even negotiation to control their children.

As used to be the case traditionally, the span of parental control does not cover every domain of children's lives and Moroccan youth are still granted a relatively high measure of self-reliance and responsibility when it comes to the care of younger siblings and their educational career. Autonomy of children in this functional sense is greatest within the pioneering generation, with a relatively low educational level and a lot of children. Within families belonging to the younger generations, with a higher educational level and lower number of children, parents' roles have come more centre stage. They not only move towards the authoritative pole of control, allowing children to act as co-controllers, but they also tend to monitor them more, thereby curbing their freedom of movement. After puberty, girls still face most restrictions in this respect, and they spend much of their leisure time with female family members and friends. Boys are allowed a wider radius of action outside of the house. This is considered to be

one of the explanations for the fact that girls, if they are allowed to follow further education, often do better than boys.

Modelling and situational instruction have remained salient features of informal learning, for instance in fostering socially and morally just behaviour, training for gender roles and initiation in the Islamic religion. However, child rearing appears to have become more of a conscious endeavour, both among families of the first generation and of the younger generations. In Dutch society, which is characterized by a high level of secularization and individualization, the religious and moral education of children has become less self-evident and this has prompted parents to engage in it more actively.

In the post-migration context, Moroccan parents both aspire to cultural and religious continuity and to further their children's chances of economic mobility in Dutch society. Their actual educational practices reflect different attitudes towards Dutch formal schooling, from a certain measure of distrust to more openness and willingness to invest by supporting their children and cooperating with teachers. Nevertheless, the achievement of children in the Dutch educational system has moved upward on the parental agenda, and especially parents of the younger generations have become more aware of the relevance of their own role in preparing and guiding their children. This means a major break with practices in Morocco, where parents are not considered teachers' partners in furthering children's schooling careers.

Finally, the literature suggests a more general reorientation to child rearing, especially among the more highly educated and younger generations: parents have become more attentive to their children's psychological needs. In addition to training them to become 'good' - i.e. socially wise - adults, they stress the importance of paying attention to their social, emotional and cognitive needs and the role of parents' active support and guidance to further their development. Whereas many first generation parents still believe that their child rearing tasks, in the sense of civilising, should ideally have been completed at the onset of

puberty, the younger parents for this reason regard parenting as something that never ends.

Youth dealing with diversity

Moroccan adolescents find themselves in a dynamic socializing context. They have to deal both with the (changing) child rearing values and practices in their homes and with the challenge of moving through social contexts that may pose widely different demands. In the last section we focused on the strategies applied by Moroccan youth in order to deal with these dynamics. Both how they move between the world of the family and that of peers as well as their strategy to combine learning activities with socializing with peers at school was examined.

For Moroccan youth, parents and peers are more different with respect to their socializing role. This is related to the relative distance between the world of peers and adults, which is even more substantial in the migration context. The two domains of the family and peer group seem to be more separated and qualitatively different, compared to how Dutch youth evaluates both worlds. Moroccan youth develops both a strong orientation to their parents as well as to their peers. This again points to the context-dependency of the socializing experience of Moroccan youth and the relative weight the ability to switch between contexts has in their upbringing. For instance, Moroccan adolescents rely more heavily on their parents' advice, compared to their Dutch counterparts, but at the same time they rely more on their peers for support.⁸ The studies regarding the school context also point to a relatively high peer orientation of Moroccan adolescents within the classroom, putting to the test their skills to balance between the approval of teachers and that of their peers. Moroccan boys in particular manage to present themselves both as active students in front of the teacher and as autonomous youngsters in front of their peers. In the studies reported on the school context the balancing behaviour is described as occurring

⁸ In a more general sense, the social orientation of youth is domain specific as different patterns of relationships between the social worlds young people live in becomes apparent from the studies reviewed.

through a balancing 'on the spot', whereas the studies that report on their orientation to peers and parents describe a relative independency of the peer world and the world of the family. In both cases (family versus peers and teachers versus peers), though, it is clear that to the Moroccan youth the balancing skill is much in demand.

Continuity and change

In the post-migration context, the collectivistic-agonistic balance appears to have turned the scale further towards individualism. The shift towards autonomy among adolescents, which has been observed by scholars of Moroccan socialization, has been intensified in the Dutch context. Changes in the power balance within the family are accompanied with a diminishing psychological distance between parents and children, and authoritarian control of children is giving way to a more egalitarian style of parenting. However, as is the case in Morocco, these changes in actual socialization practices are not altogether reflected in parental ideology, in which continuity is stressed rather than change and conformist moral and social values are still held in high regard.

Moreover, the observed changes appear not to be uni-directional in all respects. The increasing democratisation of family relations and child-centeredness go hand in hand with a tendency to intensify the monitoring of children when they grow older, and to demand less autonomy in the functional sense of self-reliance and responsibility. Parents' roles become more pivotal in the lives of both younger children and adolescents. Nevertheless, the peer group is still acknowledged for its role in childcare and socialization. In the post-migration context, navigating through the adult-dominated worlds and those dominated by peers has certainly not become less of a challenging task to the youth of Moroccan descent.

To explain for the aforementioned patterns of beliefs and practices of upbringing after migration, and the changes they have undergone, is certainly not easy, one of the problems being the lack of recent sources on child rearing in Morocco. Nevertheless, it seems clear to us that the answer has to be sought both in processes of change in the country of origin and to post-migration influences. Modernisation processes in Morocco certainly do not go unnoticed among the migrants and their offspring, due to frequent transnational family contacts and to the rapidly increasing power of the internet as a means of communication. Acculturation to Dutch society also plays a major role, for instance through children's socialization within the Dutch educational system. Teacher-child interaction is far more egalitarian in the Dutch context compared to the Moroccan context, and pupils are increasingly granted a role of co-constructors of knowledge. Dutch society also widely supports processes of emancipation and individualisation, as well as the 'proto-professionalisation' of parents with respect to the upbringing of their children. Post migration influences certainly seem to have pushed the agonistic-solidarity balance further towards an increase in individualism.

On the other hand, Dutch 'culture' does not serve as a positive frame of reference in all respects. It may also be regarded as a threat to the maintenance of social, moral and religious values held in high regard, prompting parents to invest more consciously in fostering these values in their children.

Moroccan families in the Netherlands live in a dynamic acculturative arena, in which rearing children, while balancing between continuity and change, has become a rather challenging task. Although parental ideals, however much they have changed, clearly bespeak the wish for cultural continuity, actual practices of parents and behaviours of their offspring unmistakably reflect these balancing dynamics and the innovation and diversity resulting from them. Child socialization within the families of Moroccan descent is not separate from influences of both Moroccan and Dutch culture, but it cannot be equated to either one of them.

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