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Latorre-Medina, María José; Mateos Claros, Francisco; Olmedo Ruiz, Francisco Javier; Esteban Ibañez, Macarena

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Modelos culturales en un contexto multicultural

Cultural models in a multicultural context

María-José Latorre-Medina

Universidad de Granada

mjmedina@ugr.es

Francisco Mateos-Claros

Universidad de Granada

mjmedina@ugr.es

Francisco-Javier Olmedo-Ruiz

Universidad de Granada

fmateos@ugr.es

Macarena Esteban Ibáñez

Universidad Pablo de Olavide

mestiba@upo.es

RESUMEN.

Este artículo forma parte de una investigación desarrollada por un grupo de profesorado del Grupo de Investigación Acción Socioeducativa (GIAS) de la Universidad Pablo de Olavide de Sevilla. En ella se analiza las diferencias que existen entre los modelos culturales en el contexto multicultural de la Ciudad Autónoma de Ceuta. Para ello, tenemos en cuenta como la cultura puede modelar los hábitos y las expectativas en el núcleo familiar. El estudio se ha realizado sobre una muestra de 335 padres y madres de alumnos/as de 5 años, del tercer curso de Educación Infantil, a los que se aplicó un cuestionario sobre modelos culturales relacionados con aspectos que pudieran representar a las dos culturas con mayor presencia en este ámbito. Se utilizaron variables que definen componentes relacionados con costumbres, hábitos, lenguaje, valores, normas, expectativas y convivencia. En el instrumento elaborado se definen los diferentes modelos culturales, fundamentados en un marco teórico en el que se reconocen las dimensiones básicas en las que se sustentan estas diferencias culturales, así como el grado de identidad cultural de las familias en contextos multiculturales.

Los resultados de los análisis factoriales constatan diferencias culturales que nos permiten establecer dos modelos que presentan una estructura familiar diferente para ambas culturas, una situación que puede modelar la educación de los niños/as antes de iniciar la Educación Infantil.

PALABRAS CLAVES.

Cultura, religión, lenguaje, familia, hábitos y expectativas.



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ABSTRACT.

This article is part of a study carried out by a group of professors from the Research Group Socioeducativa Acción (GIAS) of the Universidad Pablo de Olavide in Seville. It analyses the differences that exist between cultural models in the multicultural context of the Autonomous City of Ceuta. To do this, we take into account how culture can shape habits and expectations in the family nucleus. The study was carried out on a sample of 335 fathers and mothers of 5-year-olds from the third year of Early Childhood Education, who were asked to respond to a questionnaire on cultural models related to aspects that could represent the two cultures with the, greater presence in this area. We used variables that define components related to customs, habits, language, values, norms, expectations, and coexistence. The elaborated instrument defines the different cultural models, based on a theoretical framework that recognizes the basic dimensions on which these cultural differences are based, as well as the degree of cultural identity of families in multicultural contexts.

The results of the factorial analyses show cultural differences that allow us to establish two models that present a different family structure for both cultures, a situation that can shape the education of children before starting kindergarten.

KEY WORDS.

Culture, religion, language, family, habits, and expectations.

1. Introduction

Cultural models are not based exclusively on family tradition, but the importance of the family nucleus as the basis of the first relationships and how they later extrapolate to other contexts, expanding their social capacities (Coleman, 1990; Marjoribank, 2005) justifies that the family is a priority object in this study.

The conception of culture, from an anthropological perspective, argues that it is a complex issue that includes knowledge, beliefs, morals, law, customs, and any other habits and capacities acquired by man as a member of a society (Tylor, 1871). Therefore, it constitutes a clear and distinct object of study, in which explicit and implicit aspects of behavior are involved, as well as aspects acquired and transmitted through symbols, which have as the main core idea, traditions and, especially, their associated values (Kroeber and Kluckhohn, cited in Kuper, 2000).

Hall (1984) also argues that culture is defined by personality and social roles, as well as the necessary existence of value patterns transmitted by the cultural system through symbols, estimated as a referent of the cultural complex that we recognize by its extensive and distinctive quality in the different stages of social life.

Not to distinguish these concepts can generate a problem in analyzing these differences, bringing to an end the fundamental theoretical problem, which aimed to decipher the elements that distinguish each cultural model. A work that insists on the relationship between culture and society, without neglecting the importance of the dynamic process of



adaptation in the acquisition of normative orientations that are established through a common trunk.

Thus, culture is perceived as the factor that integrates the different worlds (understood as worlds that articulate family nuclei through multiple mechanisms of communication and applicable logic, justified in principles of value and equivalence), which can facilitate or hinder processes and dynamics that run transversally to the functional dissimilarity of the context in which it coexists.

Taking into account the fact that the family makes up the cultural basis of the subject and, given that each culture presents a dominant teaching model, it will establish its understanding of the world (Berry, 1997; Witkin, 1975). The differences associated with this cultural diversity can be conditioned by habits and family expectations (How, 1997; Nieto, 1992), as well as the knowledge of the official language that is modelled in the family. Consequently, the family environment becomes the main transmitter of language, and this in turn, is considered as the vehicular axis of culture, so that these models can condition the linguistic habits that are used (Carabaña, 2004).

These attitudes can determine the linguistic preferences, besides conditioning the favorable integration to other groups (Gardner, 1973) that do not dominate this language. The use in the family nucleus of a language other than Castilian can have a negative effect. Above all, in the infantile stage, since it is one of the central questions to prevent the divergences related to the use of different linguistic codes associated with cultural diversity (Turner & Cross, 2016).

Taking into account the situations that are created in multicultural contexts, it is important to pay attention to the possible differences of cultural models offered in the field. Your children will acquire the knowledge and skills of their cultural environment, mediated by it.

These differences attempt to explain the acquisition, effects, and development of intercultural competences (Spitzberg & Changnon, 2009). Bennett (1998) explains that the different reactions to the differences go through several stages, ethnocentric (negotiation, defense, and minimization), and other ethno-relations (acceptance, adaptation, and integration).

Thus, in order to understand how cultures differ from each other, and if their differences cancel out, contradict, or form a harmonious whole, we must know that they do not differ from each other in the same way, nor in the same field, and take into account those forms of life that we cannot know directly. Cultures are such a diverse and interconnected fact that it is impossible to know it in all of its ramifications (Velasco, 2003) and, in addition, does not allow a fragmented observation that obviates the relations that unite them.

We can consider that cultures revolve around a system of socially transmitted behaviors. Harris (1968) argues that "the concept of culture refers to patterns of behavior associated with particular groups of people, that is, the customs or ways of life of a people" (p.16). In this context, Ramírez and Castañeda (1974) show that, in contexts that present a cultural diversity, it is necessary to take into account that educational styles are related to cultural groups and that they differ from each other for this reason. Accordingly, the problem addressed in this article is the differences in cultural patterns of parents of Muslim and Christian origin in the intercultural context of the Autonomous City of Ceuta.



2. Method.

The study was carried out applying a descriptive method that allowed us to explain the differences of the cultural models avoiding the causal checks. The basic objective in which it has been settled was the determination of the cultural divergences in the family that can condition the models of education. Thus, we have investigated aspects that define cultural identity. The sample size was 335 fathers and mothers. We have worked considering a confidence level of 95%, a sampling error of 3.2%. 68.85% are women and 31.15% are men. Regarding the culture of origin, 66.9% are Muslims, 65.7% of whom are women and 34.27% are men, and the culture of Christian origin is 33.1% (73.3% Women and 26.3% of men). Of these, 80.5% of Muslims use *darija* in the family nucleus, while 100% of Christians use the school language (Castilian).

To know the cultural models we have developed an instrument that consists of 61 items that have shown a reliability of .948 measured by Cronbach's Alpha. Responses were evaluated on a Likert scale to determine the degree of conformity, with a rating scale of four "never" (disagree) to one "always" (fully agree). The items are divided into three broad areas: the first, with seven items, responds to the components related to social dynamics; The second, which includes 27 items, is connected with family and cultural dynamics; In the third, cultural expectations and habits are defined in items. In addition to these, there is a block representing the identification data; all of them total 65 items. Variables that define different aspects that characterize each ethnic group, as well as family attitudes and behaviors that can model the type of education that is established in the family nucleus. We must take into account perspectives, values, norms, attitudes, symbols, etc., and how this culture is perceived in the formal educational context. Thus, the categorization of each student as a member of the group has been considered; the valuation and acceptance of behaviors, values, customs, etc. of his group and the other; level of knowledge of customs, events and facts; behaviors, manifestations and cultural roles in the family; cultural identity; social behaviors manifested through language, friends, traditions, means and cultural expectations and habits.

Once the questionnaire was defined, they were applied to the parents of the third year students of Early Childhood Education. Previously, the permanent information was made to eliminate doubts and ambiguities in the interpretation of the items.

To analyze the data the software Statistickal Package for Social Sciences (SPSS version 22 for Macintosh) was used. We have proceeded, firstly, to a descriptive study that has served us to know the main characteristics that distinguish these families.

In the second place we have analyzed the existence of significant differences between two groups, one of fathers and mothers of Christian religion and the other of Muslim religion. We applied the analysis of variance (ANOVA) of a factor. Once the two groups were established and the homogeneity of the variance was assumed, ANOVA was calculated, taking the statistically significant differences.

Thirdly, in order to better understand the significant differences that the ANOVA model defines from a conceptual point of view, we applied an exploratory factorial model by

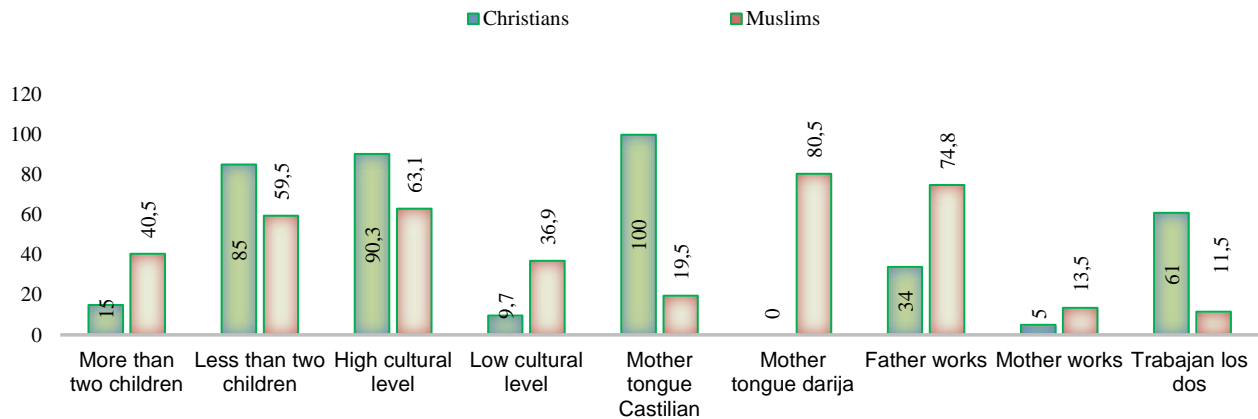


cultural (Muslim-Christian) groups, which were rotated using the Varimax method, Adapting the model to each of the dimensions corresponding to the study. The results showed the pertinence of the model and we applied it to extract the different components of each factor.

3. Results.

The characteristics of the sample considering the differences between these two cultures are reflected in figure 1. A data that allows us to intuit that we are before different groups.

Figure 1. Characteristics of the simple.

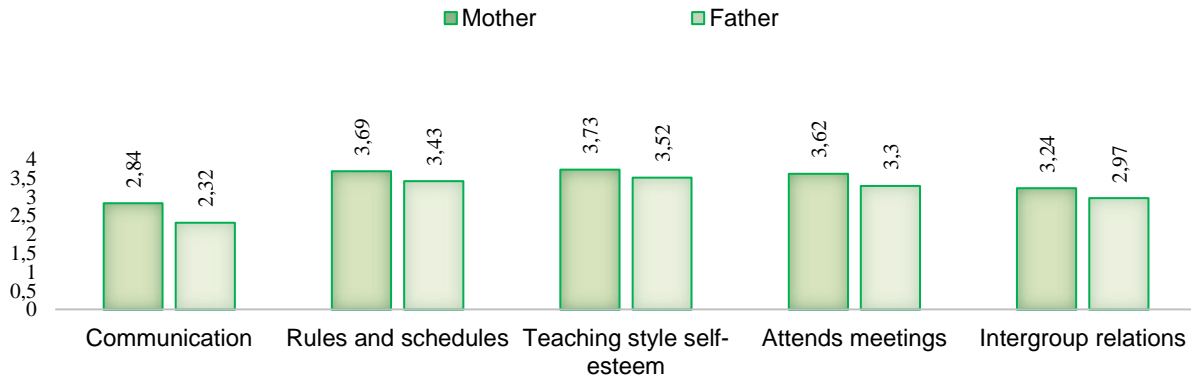


The sample is defined according to gender with the highest value (77.6%) in the case of Christian women and the lowest for Christian men (22.3%). Muslims, on the other hand, obtain the highest percentages in the variable that requires more than two children (40.5%) and Christians in less than two children (85%). Next, we observe how the average cultural level is higher among Christians (90.3%) than among Muslims (36.9%). Likewise, preference is also given to using one's mother tongue, Christians use the official language "Castilian" (100%), compared to Muslims (19.5%), confirming that the latter have greater cultural affinity due to the selection of a familiar language. To conclude, the labor situation of these families shows higher values in the Christian group, showing that in 61% the two parents work, whereas in Muslims this situation differs, in 74.8% cases only the father works, and the mother in 13.5%.

In relation to the models established by the parents (see figure 2), we can observe that in all the variables exposed, the means have a higher value in favor of the mothers, emphasizing the style of education (3.73) and the norms and schedules (3,69) with the highest means, on the other hand, the mean with the lowest value belongs to the communication established in the family context (2.32), in this case by the father. In this way, it is confirmed that mothers have greater weight in the family in the variables that represent communication, norms, educational style, school involvement and intercultural coexistence.

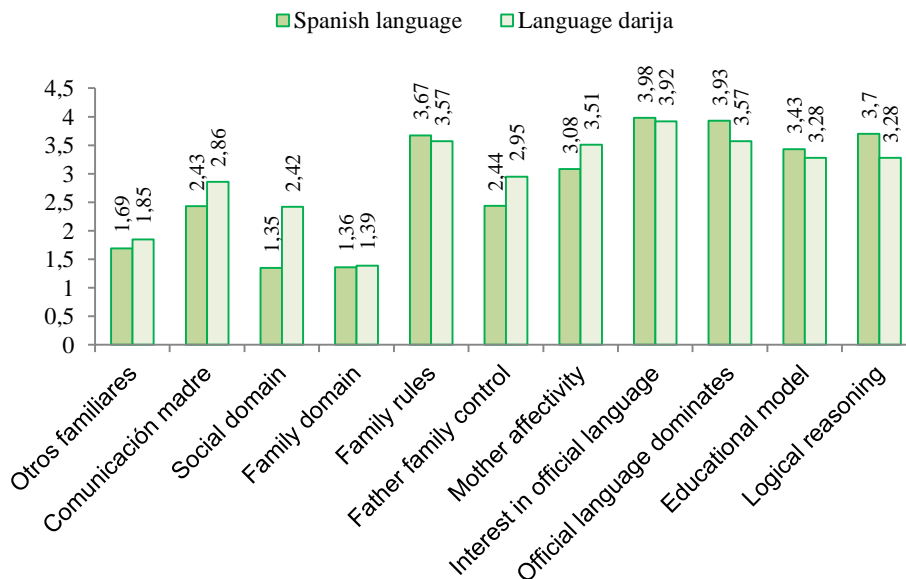


Figure 2. Cultural model of parents



According to Figure 3, family models also vary according to the mother tongue. With regard to the language parents who practice darija, the variables that stand out with the highest means are related to coexistence in the family nucleus (1,85), the mother as an affective (3,51) and communicative reference (2,86), control of the father (2,95), and others associated with the use of a different language in the social context (2,42) and family (1,39). On the other hand, for the Castilian mother tongue, the highest means are related to norms and schedules (3,65), interest (3,98) and domain (3,93) of the official language, as well as establishment of a democratic educational model (3,43) based on logical reasoning (3,7).

Figure 3. Familiar models according to the mother tongue they practice





Cultural expectations and habits (see Table 5.9) of families vary according to the mother tongue that is practiced in the family nucleus. With respect to the parents' mother tongue, the variables associated with the mother as affective reference (3.51), the security that she transmits in a group (3.22), the role of the father (2.94), and the use of the official language only when it is necessary, (2.76) and the comparison of achievements (2.29) obtain means higher than those of the mother tongue of Castilian. However, parents with a mother tongue in Castilian have the highest means in the domain of the official language (3.93), interest in the official language (3.92), educational expectations (3.59), democratic educational model (3.28), and the use of the official language in the family and social context.

Table I. Family dynamics. Cultural identity.

Family and cultural dynamics	Media		Razón	Sig
	Muslims	Christia		
In the house live more than five people	2,03	1,35	20,145	***
Food follows cultural customs	2,71	2,31	9,580	**
Learn about history and cultural heritage	2,98	3,23	3,966	*
Celebrates cultural and festival events	3,47	3,67	4,085	*
Coexistence is conditioned by patterns of their group	2,34	1,93	10,912	**
The group conveys a sense of security	3,29	2,94	9,712	**
The father has control of family life	2,90	2,40	14,742	***
The main affective reference is the mother	3,26	2,78	19,251	***

Note. * Significant values $p < .05$; ** Very significant values $p < .01$; *** Highly significant values $p < .001$

The model of analysis of variance presents different cultural structures. In the case of Table I, it shows the characteristic that defines the cultural identity of Muslims and Christians. So, where there are more than five family members living in the same house (2.03), the main affective reference is the mother (3.26) and the role of the father (2.90) with a highly significant value $p < .001$ in favor of Muslims, as well as aspects related to the security transmitted by the group (3.29), and the patterns that mark them (2.34), although these have a lower significance value than the previous ones. On the other hand, for Christian stock stand out only those which have a $p < .05$ value; variables associated with knowledge and cultural heritage (2.98), as well as celebrations (3.47) of festivals related to their cultural identity.





Table II. Family dynamics. Interculturality.

Family and cultural dynamics	Media		Razón	Sig.
	Muslims	Christia		
Share the playing area with other cultures	3,38	2,84	23,160	***
Participates in organizing activities of other groups	2,76	2,21	19,118	***
Relations between equals are identified by affection	3,05	3,38	6,704	*
Know activities of other cultural groups	3,31	2,98	8,374	**
Has a positive image of other groups	3,52	2,97	33,296	***
Share the values of your culture with different ones	3,35	2,81	25,417	***
Help people from other cultures	3,75	3,33	27,035	***
Relationships are identified by proximity	2,70	2,94	5,037	**

Nota. *valores significativos $p < .05$; **valores muy significativos $p < .01$; ***valores altamente significativos $p < .001$

In relation to the family dynamics (see Table II), the variables with the highest average Muslims share the playing area with other cultures (3.38), participate in activities of other groups (2.76), have a positive image of other groups (3.52), shares the values of their culture (3.35), and helps people of other cultures (3.75) all with a high significance value $p < .001$. Also, the variable: knows activities of other cultures (3.31), is also superior for Muslims, although in this case with a value $p < .01$.

On the other hand, for Christians, the highest means are associated with relationships being identified by affection (3.38) and by proximity (2.94), in this case with a significance value under $p < .05$ for the former, and half $p < .01$ for the latter.

Table III. Family dynamics. Cultural habits.

Family and cultural dynamics	Media		Razón	Sig.
	Muslims	Christia		
Mother-conditioned family communication	2,89	2,25	23,050	***
Expresses feelings in the mother tongue	2,81	3,56	33,481	***
Uses in the social field an unofficial language	2,32	1,16	125,10	***
Employs an unofficial language in the family	2,32	2,21	0	***
Use for social and family contexts the same language	3,01	3,83	168,61	***
Master the official language	3,65	3,91	1	**
Use the official language to meet needs	3,56	3,85	73,667	**
In the family environment there are schedules and norms	3,54	3,79	12,282	**
Children study in their bedroom	2,20	2,57	10,369	**
Rate the reading positively	3,59	3,78	8,461	*
			7.878	
			5,634	

Nota. *valores significativos $p < .05$; **valores muy significativos $p < .01$; ***valores altamente significativos $p < .001$





Table III analyzes the cultural habits in the family nucleus according to which religion one belongs: Islam or Christianity. There are significant differences in means obtained from different tests according to their religion. In order to give a greater probability of not being mistaken in this statement, we would like to point out that the results obtained with the highest average number of Muslims in "in the house live more than five people", "family communication conditioned by the mother", "Social sphere an unofficial language" and "uses in the family an unofficial language" and with a higher average for Christians in the expression of their feelings in the mother tongue and the use of the official language in all areas, give probability of misunderstanding less than .001.

In addition, we observed that the results in these variables present greater implications of the Christian in aspects related to the domain of the official language (3,91) and the establishment of norms and schedules (3.79), habitat for the study (2, 57) and measurement reading (3,78), all accepted by their differences in mean values according to religious condition, with a p-value <0.01 for all but the reading value is a P .05.

Finally "he knows history and cultural heritage", "celebrates cultural and other events" and "relationships among equals are identified by affection" have mean scores different from a level of significance <.05; these results are greater in the Christian religion.

The factorial analysis was used to know the conceptualization of the structures that arise in its result. Taking into account that the previous analyzes show differences, with this method we have tried the model for the group of fathers and mothers of Muslim or Christian origin. The results presented below are in accordance with the material adequacy indexes for both groups [Kaiser-Mayer-Olkin .629 and .553 with p .000 in Muslims and Christians respectively].

Table IV. Families of Islamic religion

	Component					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
The group conveys feelings of security	,778					
It has a positive image of other cultural groups	,711					
Shares the values of one's own culture with different ones	,615					
Relationships among equals are identified by proximity	,570					
Masters the official language		,719				
Values positively daily reading		,707				
Uses the official language to meet one's own social needs		,635				
Knows the historical and cultural heritage		,579				
The playground is shared with different cultures			,741			
Participates in organizational activities outside the ethnic group			,665			
Celebrates cultural events			,503			
In the family uses a language other than the official language				,809		
Uses in the social field a language other than the official language				,754		
Coexistence is developed according to cultural patterns of one's own group					,624	
Family communication is conditioned by the mother						,578





The model of those who process the Islamic religion (see Table IV) consists of six components that explain 56.47% of the variance, presenting a first factor saturated by four variables that represent values associated with their cultural identity and coexistence with other groups (17.95% variance), a second factor saturated with four related to linguistic identity (9.8% variance), which equally expresses the fourth with two variables that congregate aspects related to the use of the mother tongue. The third factor is saturated with three that, once again, fosters collaboration and cultural participation towards coexistence, the fifth with a single variable that establishes the adherence to its group and, finally, with a sixth factor that is saturated with that which defines family habits in establishing the communicative role of the parents, as well as the disciplinary habits that exist in the family nucleus.

Table V. Families of Islamic religion

	Component					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
It has a positive image of other cultural groups	,845					
Shares the values of one's own culture with different ones	,796					
The group conveys feelings of security	,651					
Knows the activities of other cultural groups	,548					
Participates in organizational activities outside the ethnic group	,508					
The coexistence is developed according to cultural patterns of one's own group		,770				
Relationships among equals are identified by proximity		,676				
The language used outside is the same as that of the house			,624			
Normally studies in one 's own bedroom				,570		
Family communication is conditioned by the mother				,565		
In the family environment there are schedules and norms					,792	
Celebrates cultural and other events					,589	
Values positively daily reading						,879

The model of families practicing the Christian religion (see Table V) has six components and a total variance explained by 59.82%. The first factor is saturated by five variables (16.42% variance) related to the perception of other cultures and adherence to the patterns of their culture, a second factor saturated with two variables (12.31% variance) related to the conception of coexistence through cultural identity, the third factor is saturated by the use of the language inside and outside the house fixed by a common language. The fourth factor, which has an independent habitat structure, conditioned and protected by the mother, the fifth factor relates the discipline to schedules and rules, without ruling out the calendar of cultural events. Finally, the sixth factor, positively values reading, which in the case of Muslims is in the second component. It is not surprising that this difference may be conditioned by the use of a language other than the official language.



4. Discussion and conclusions.

Starting from the plurality of cultural identities and patterns that we have analyzed according to languages, social codes, life forms and religions, we can conclude that in the intercultural context of the Autonomous City of Ceuta there are differences in the cultural models that are forged in the family nucleus, conditioned by different aspects, as confirmed by Coleman (1990).

In fact, this study shows significant differences in the family structure, so that we can observe how in Muslims there live more members in this habitat than in the Christian dwelling, a peculiarity that is not only confirmed by the number of relatives, but also, by the number of children they have as a family unit, which is usually higher than the Christians.

In the same way, there are differences in the cultural level of these groups, confirming that the Christians present a higher level of culture than do the Muslim. On the other hand, according to the occupational situation of the parents, those who practice the Christian religion have higher values than Muslims in the means in which the two members are employed. On the contrary, mothers in the family context of Muslims have the lowest rates of employment, a situation that reinforces the presence of the same as a communicative reference and main figure in the education of the children. Therefore, the number of siblings, the educational level of the parents, the characteristics of the social and cultural environment, can condition these models (Jenkins & Schluter, 2002).

Being the family a point of reference in the formation of the personality, it is vital to make education in this area equitable. Taking into account that in the case of Muslims it is defined by the figure of the mother within this nucleus. When it comes to defining the family role, it is essential that both parents have the same hierarchy and authority in the performance of their roles; these roles should not be fixed, the father being the representative of fear and the mother of love; The mother has an inclination towards feelings, and the father towards reason.

In addition to the above differences, it should be noted that those who practice Islamic religion have a greater weight the linguistic identity adhered to cultural patterns. Bearing in mind that these two groups represent two cultures that differ not only in the religion they practice, but also in the language code that identifies them. The use in the family nucleus of an oral dialectal language (darija) not used academically, and that differs from the official one (school), can lead to the presence of interferences that damage a normal linguistic development (Ayora, 1998).

Likewise, the educational style, involvement, expectations and communication of parents play an important role (Hernández, Gomariz, Parra and García, 2016). In this way, they allow us to specify that educational development in this area can weaken social skills, taking into account that cultures revolve around a system of socially transmitted behaviors (Harris, 1968). In the case of Muslims they may be weakened by the identification and affinity of sociolinguistic patterns that condition adaptation to a linguistic context that differs from the cultural setting. Hence, the importance of cultures as structural systems (Lévis-Strauss, 1993). All this implies that culture imposes a patterned order and logic of reasoning that condition the main pillars of communication.



On the other hand, the cultural identity of these two groups presents characteristics that individualize or differentiate each group, providing a sense of belonging and uniqueness of the self at a collective level (Erikson, 1968). In fact, it can be clearly stated that for both Christians and Muslims, there are essential patterns of adherence to the group defined through self-identity or self-identification.

It should also be said, that the family plays a fundamental role, its influence in the formation of this identity, conditioned mainly by the interaction and the dialectical origin among these individuals, which allows them a personal and a social behaviour mainly adherent to their culture. This establishes a direct correspondence between internal progress and the environment, which functions as the main link in the formation of cultural identity (Erikson, 1974).

On the other hand, both Muslims and Christians have similar foundations for coexistence, eliminating the hegemony of a dominant culture and subordinate ones, reinforcing excluded identities, in defense of the legitimate and respectful coexistence of different social groups. An intercultural environment that encourages interaction among people, mutual knowledge, and recognizes and tolerates different cultural practices. In this way, these groups create an ideal state for the coexistence of a multicultural society (Ridao, 2007), promoted through respect, communication, encounter, and dialogue.

Likewise, we find that, indirectly, there are different variables related to the family habits that are conditioned by the cultural bases. A direct environment, which is determinate when modeling educational styles (Marjoribanks, 2005). For this reason, Coleman (1990) points out the importance of relationships established within the family. In this way, the idea of reciprocity between the interactions established in the family and in the social context is consolidated, being one of the variables that can condition these differences (Esping-Andersen, 2004) associated to the religion that processes.

A means that conditions the acquisition of its natural language, influenced in the case of the Muslims by a dialect (darija), that interferes in the evolution of the formal language. However, given the ethnic linguistic awareness, language becomes at the same time a component and a primordial modeler of ethnic identity (Fishman, 1972; Jacobson-Widding, 1984) by daily impregnation. The development of language is a consequence of interaction with the social environment (Halliday, 1979) and this in turn becomes the main source of intercultural values (Rodríguez, 2017). According to Appel and Muysken (1996), it is in the family context that the group's values and cultural norms are transmitted through language. Cultural cohesions that are forged primarily through language, religion, customs, etc., which make the group more than the addition of individualities (Johoda, 1992/1995), culturally mediated, contextually specified and derived from the practical attitude (Cole, 1990).

Consequently, we re-emphasize how the home culture is presented as the main source in the transmission of values, practices and cultural antecedents. That, in the case of the Muslims, is conditioned by the existence of a linguistic code that differs from the official one. A situation that can foment a conflict of messages, having as a main cause the influence of the familial context (Rodríguez-Fernández, Ramos-Díaz, Madariaga, Arribillaga, & Galende, 2016), and the application in the same one of a model influenced by the culture of parents (Harkness & Super, 1995).



These differences in group functioning related to sociocultural and sociolinguistic variables may decide the perspective with respect to a support adhered to a cultural consistency that could reinforce and provide a continuity to the particular trajectories of individual development. Therefore, in contexts that present cultural diversity, it must be taken into account that learning styles are related to cultural groups, and that they differ from each other (Ramírez & Castañeda, 1974).

A situation of linguistic and religious plurality that enriches multiculturalism, allowing these cultures to grow in a context favorable to diversity, becoming one of the main promoters of the pressing change in family and social structure. Given its importance, it is presented as one of the vital focuses for pedagogical reflection, looking for a future perspective that has a common line, regardless of the origin or identity of the subject, with the intention of minimizing divergences in the Teaching-learning of their children, before starting Early Childhood Education associated to a limited knowledge of the official language and a low family involvement (Olivencia, 2015).

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