

# SPANISH-MOROCCAN FAMILIES IN A CONTEXT OF FAMILY DIVERSITY IN SPAIN. CHALLENGES FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF INTERCULTURALISM

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## ABSTRACT

This paper presents an analytical approach to the reality of Spanish-Moroccan families in Spain, constructed from two areas of data collection. The first was collected from available intermarriage data (in which at least one of the two members of the couple was Moroccan) and the second from the available data about children of these unions. The analyses were performed using official data collected in the Statistical Bulletin of Birth from the National Institute of Statistics (NIS henceforth). Since 2008, the Moroccan community has constituted the second largest contingent of foreign residents in Spain (after Romanians), although its historical trajectory places them as the immigration group with higher socio-demographic relevance. The Moroccan migration is the result of young people who marry at young ages with a strong trend toward marrying homogamously within their own national group who journey to Spain and reside primarily in larger regions such as Madrid, Valencia, Andalusia and Catalonia. The results of this study indicate that couples who are both Moroccan parents show some different marriage patterns when compared to couples where only one parent is of this nationality.

Keywords: Cultural Diversity, Intercultural Relations, Descendants, Mixed Marriages

JEL Classification: I38, J11, J18

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The last decades of the twentieth century contributed to the formation of a culturally diverse society in Spain, mainly as a consequence of migration. Throughout those years, and the first decade of the twenty-first century (until the onset of the economic crisis of 2008), there has been a major migratory influx from a wide variety of nationalities resulting in Spain becoming consolidated and recognized as a country of immigration. According to UN figures, Tamanes, Pajares, Perez and Debasa (2008) have found, Spain to be the second highest immigrant reception country in the world, since 2000.

The purpose of this study was to explore the reality of married couples with at least one Moroccan partner in an attempt to better understand the characteristics of people who participate in this type of mixed marriage. The authors were also interested in better understanding the characteristics of the progenitors of couples with at least one Moroccan partner. Available data from the Spanish Statistical Bulletin of Births (NIS) were used to

extract information related to the Moroccan population in order to meet the purpose of this study to better understand the reality of mixed couples in which one partner was Moroccan.

The authors posed two fundamental objectives for this study: first, to identify the characteristics associated with Spanish-Moroccan mixed couples; second, to perform a sociodemographic comparison of descendants, at least one of whom is registered in Spain, whose parents constitute one of the following couple types: 1) both parents are Moroccans; 2) one parent is Spanish and one is Moroccan. Moroccans in these family types were also compared with people of a different non-Spanish nationalities to provide context.

The arrival of immigrants in the years of welfare and growth prevented the stagnation of the Spanish population pyramid. According to NIS (2011), people in Spain grew six million between 2001-2011, largely because resident immigrants tripled in that decade to over five million. With the reality of the economic crisis, many of these foreigners have begun leaving the country. Since 2000, when foreigners were numbered at 923,879, the population has grown by over 370,000 people per year. The largest growth occurred in 2007 (approximately 750,000), and the smallest growth occurred in 2009 with an increase of only 99,000. Due to the economic crisis, among others, in 2010 only reached 4,000 before recording its first decline in 2011.

This migration has created demographic and social consequences, such as the increased configuration of culturally mixed couples and the subsequent existence of descendants of these couples (Porfirio, 2011). The patterns of family formation and existence of a migration to a particular family type are relevant for understanding the migration process itself, for the possible consequences of this migration within the host society and for understanding the processes associated with social integration (Barreira, 2011; Vaz, 2011). Considering the family dimension, according to Esteve and Cortina (2011), is essential to understanding both the reasons for migration and integration into the host society. It is also critical to understand the structural changes in the family as a social nuclear institution arising from migration (Steingress, 2012: 14).

The configuration of mixed couples may be due to multiple factors, such as personal preferences of individuals for certain features of their partner, the influence of the social group to which both members belong, and the limitations of the "marriage market" available to search for a relationship. In addition, the configuration of such unions involves social and demographic consequences that tend to diminish cultural distinctions especially on future generations. This means that children from mixed couples tend to reduce negative attitudes, prejudices and stereotypes towards other groups.

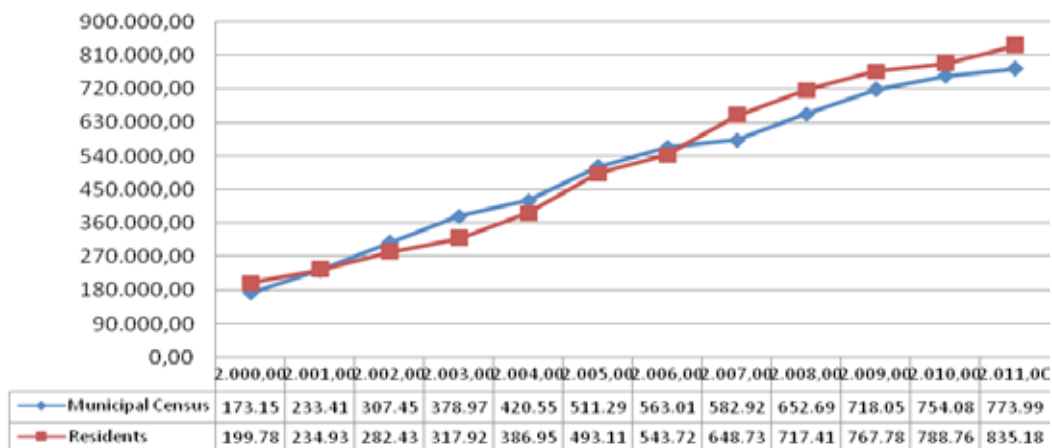
This same idea was exposed by Esteve and Bueno (2011) when they found that a considerable proportion of immigrants have no partner at the time of migration and, therefore, the probability of finding one in the host society becomes very high. Forming a couple relationship and residing in the country of destination can be interpreted as a settlement when the creation of offspring and a long-term stay occur.

People of Moroccan nationality have contributed decisively to the sociodemographic transformation linked to migration in Spain. The Moroccan population represents a large number of foreigners in several Spanish regions and now constitutes the second largest group of foreigners, surpassed only by the Romanian population. The Moroccans are distinct from Romanians in that they are a group with a higher immigration tradition in Spain. For a long period of time, Moroccans were the largest national community until 2008 when they were surpassed by immigrants from Romania (Colectivo IOE, 2012). The first arrivals of Moroccan immigrants date from the 1970s of the twentieth century, although the major migrations occurred during and after the year 2000, coinciding with a period of great growth of employment in Spain. This period of growth and development may help to explain why most men are economically active, while a very large segment of women have remained

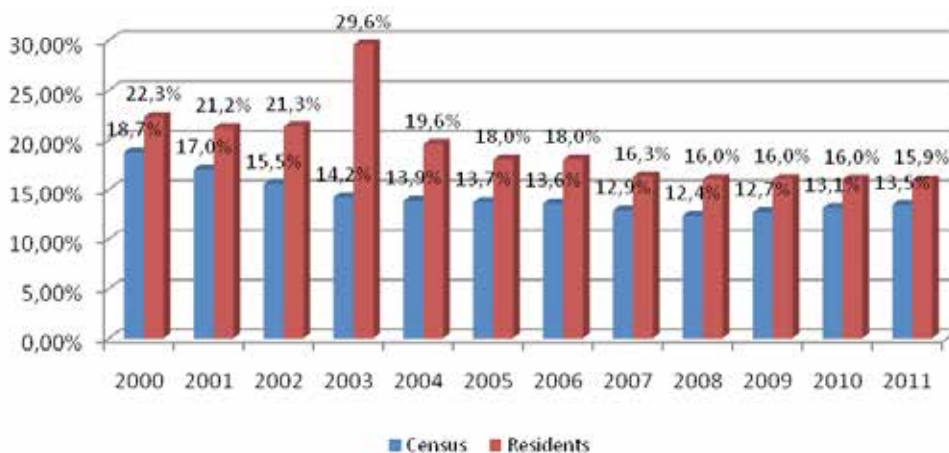
outside the labor market. This trend can also be explained by patriarchal and religious values and beliefs.

In Spain, official figures taken from the Municipal Register of Inhabitants of NIS reflect a progressive increase in the presence of foreign residents in Spain in the 2000-2011 period. The population who are of Moroccan origin has decisively contributed to this increase with a rise from just over 170,000 in 2000 to 770,000 Morroccans in 2011. This increase in numbers during this timespan has not resulted in an increase of the percentage of the Moroccan population compared with the total foreign population registered in Spain, however. The percentage of Morroccans in Spain in 2000 was 18.7% down to 13.5% in 2011. Additional figures for immigrants provided by the Spanish Permanent Immigration Observatory (PIO henceforward) are related to foreign residents for the same period (with a registration certificate or residence card in force), since in Spain, unlike other European countries, all immigrants can be registered from the moment they arrive, regardless if they have entered the country legally or illegally. This comparison between Morroccans and other foreigners can be seen in Figures 1 and 2 and Table 1, where the evolution of the Moroccan population in Spain is shown for the first decade of the century. Since 2006, a slight increase of residents is perceived compared to those who are registered, that means that people from Morocco started to be more regularized from that moment than in passed years.

**Figure 1. Presence of Moroccan population in Spain**



**Figure 2. Percentage of Moroccan population in Spain compared to total foreigners**



**Table 1. Official population data**

Census year	TOTAL	Spanish	Foreigners	Moroccan	Moroccans compared to Total Foreign	Moroccan over total population	Interannual variation	Annual increase
2000	40,499,791	39,575.912	923,879	173,158	18.74%	0.43%		
2001	41,116,842	39,746.185	1,370,657	233,415	17.03%	0.57%	60,257	35%
2002	41,837,894	39,859.948	1,977,946	307,458	15.54%	0.73%	74,043	32%
2003	42,717,064	40,052.896	2,664,168	378,979	14.23%	0.89%	71,521	23%
2004	43,197,684	40,163.358	3,034,326	420,556	13.86%	0.97%	41,577	11%
2005	44,108,530	40,377.920	3,730,610	511,294	13.71%	1.16%	90,738	22%
2006	44,708,964	40,564.798	4,144,166	563,012	13.59%	1.26%	51,718	10%
2007	45,200,737	40,681.183	4,519,554	582,923	12.90%	1.29%	19,911	4%
2008	46,157,822	40,889.060	5,268,762	652,695	12.39%	1.41%	69,772	12%
2009	46,745,807	41,097.136	5,648,671	718,055	12.71%	1.54%	65,360	10%
2010	47,021,031	41,273.297	5,747,734	754,080	13.12%	1.60%	36,025	5%
2011	47,190,493	41,439.006	5,751,487	773,995	13.46%	1.64%	19,915	3%
Total	530,502,659	485,720,699	44,781,960	6,069,620	13.55%	1.14%		

Source: prepared by authors based on the statistical exploitation of the census (INE) and Residents Statistics (Permanent Immigration Observatory).

Creating a family union with someone of a different nationality and/or having children from that union may represent further challenges for Morroccans including efforts to socialize children in Morrocan culture and religion. Regarding the socialization of children of these unions, Rodríguez (2004b) identified the educational space within the family as the ideal place for negotiation of adaptation strategies, where they join mainly one parent’s culture, or develop a “synthesis” of both.

## 2. METHOD

The data displayed and analyzed come from the Vital Statistics of the Civil Registry (INS), namely the Statistical Bulletin of Birth and the Marriage Statistical Bulletin.

The studied period varied according to the source used (i.e., for the database of births, between 2000 and 2011, and for intercultural marriages, during the period 2008-2011). These periods for marriages were selected by considering the categorization of couples “country of birth of each spouse” as a key variable. This variable was only present in microdata files provided by the NIS since 2008 (previously the NIS collected only the nationality). Thus, there is an inclusion of those marriages that may not be mixed by nationality (acquired nationality of one of the spouses) but they are through the country of birth. In this sense, the concept of mixed couple should be more accurate because is including the real origin of the people involved.

The types of couples with at least one Moroccan parent extracted from the Statistical Bulletin of births (2000 to 2011) formed by nationality of their parents is observed in Table 2. The aggregate number of total children born to couples with at least one Moroccan parent from 2000 until 2011 was 221,581 which represented 4% of all births registered in Spain for the period (5,534,534) and 22.7% of all deliveries of mixed couples (974,617 registered births; note that 17.9% of the 22.7% represented Moroccan couples who were both of this

nationality while the remaining 4.8% of marriages were those in which only one of both parents was Moroccan).

Group 1 identifies the type of Moroccan parent while Group 2 differentiates whether the Moroccan nationality comes from the mother or the father (Table 2) The treatment of the databases was performed with SPSS 19.0 statistical software. The main procedures done were frequency analysis, contingency analysis and mean comparisons (Student *t* test and ANOVA). The principal variables analyzed were the year of marriage, year of birth, ages, professions, and education.

**Table 2. Classification by couples for the analysis**

GROUP 1	Frequency	%	GROUP 2	Frequency	%	% of total
Moroccan-another nationality (not Spanish)	6,661	0.7				
Spanish-Moroccans	40,765	4.2	Moroccan mother and Spanish father	21,825	53.5	2.2
			Moroccan father and Spanish mother	18,940	46.5	2
Both Moroccans	174,155	17.9				
Spanish-other nationality	308,474	31.7				
Both of another nationality	444,562	45.6				
Total	974,617	100				

Source: prepared by authors from the microdata files of the NIS.

### 3. RESULTS

This section is structured in two ways: 1) basic characterization of marriages; 2) main data related to the couples with offspring registered in Spain formed with at least one Moroccan member. An overview of both results will include conclusions and subsequent discussion.

#### 3.1. Key features of mixed marriages with at least one Moroccan member

When considering the period between 2008 and 2011, it should be noted that the percentage of Spanish-Moroccan couples among all married couples with at least one Moroccan partner was quite high: over 70%. In fact, this percentage was 75% in 2008, but it has been declining gradually since then. The main regions of residence for each of the types of marriages are those shown in Table 4, highlighting Andalusia and Valencia.

**Table 3. Absolute data for marriages by established typology**

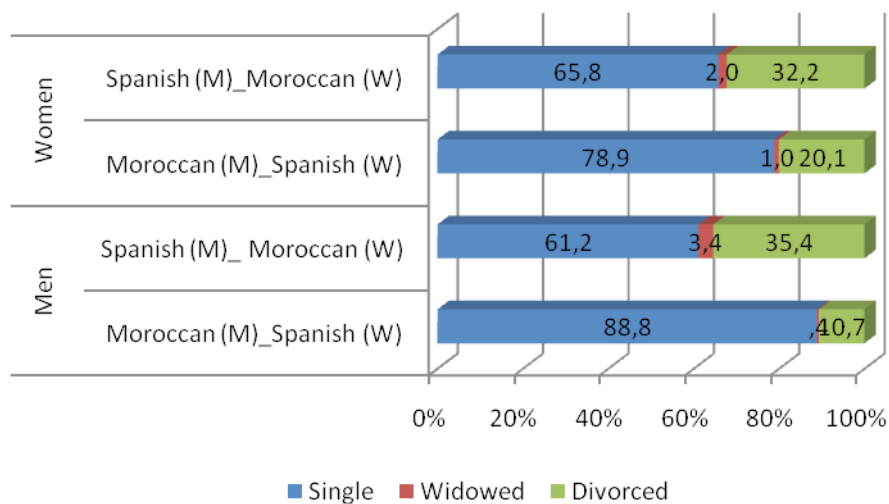
	Absolute data for marriages				Distribution of all marriages with at least one Moroccan member		
	Spanish-Moroccan	both Moroccan	Moroccan-other nationality	Total mixed	Spanish-Moroccan	both Moroccan	Moroccan-other nationality
2008	2,279	394	364	150,334	75.0%	13.0%	12.0%
2009	3,163	540	546	162,691	74.4%	12.7%	12.9%
2010	2,918	527	549	158,317	73.1%	13.2%	13.7%
2011	2,512	536	539	152,360	70.0%	14.9%	15.0%

Table 4. Major regions of residence for marriages by type of couple (percentages)

	Spanish-Moroccan	both Moroccan	Moroccan-other nationality		Moroccan male - Spanish female	Spanish male - Moroccan female
Andalusia	29.5	18.9	23.4		25.5	36.6
Valencia	23.3	30.5	20.2		25.5	19.3
Extremadura	9.9	10.4	12.4		10.3	9.3
Asturias	12.9	17.1	21.2		14.0	10.8
Murcia	3.6	4.0	2.9		3.4	4.1

The majority previous marital status of men and women from every kind of couple was single (between 70 and 80%). An analysis only of Spanish-Moroccan couples showed that the percentage of singles was higher when the man was Moroccan and the woman was Spanish. Note that the percentage of divorced and separated couples was also greater (above average) in couples represented by Spanish men and Moroccan females.

Figure 3. Prior marital status to intermarriage



Another variable analyzed was the educational level of each partner (Figure 4). The highest percentage of illiteracy was found in women belonging to marriages where both were Moroccans. Furthermore, the lowest levels (until elementary education) showed greater presence also in couples who both were Moroccans. The upper educational levels were more present in couples formed by one Moroccan and a person of another nationality (other than Spanish).

When looking specifically at Spanish-Moroccan couples, Figure 5 shows equivalent graduate levels having a greater presence among all members (except for a Moroccan man with a Spanish woman). A lower study level is perceived in couples where men are Moroccans and women are Spanish.

Figure 4. Distribution of educational level in mixed marriages

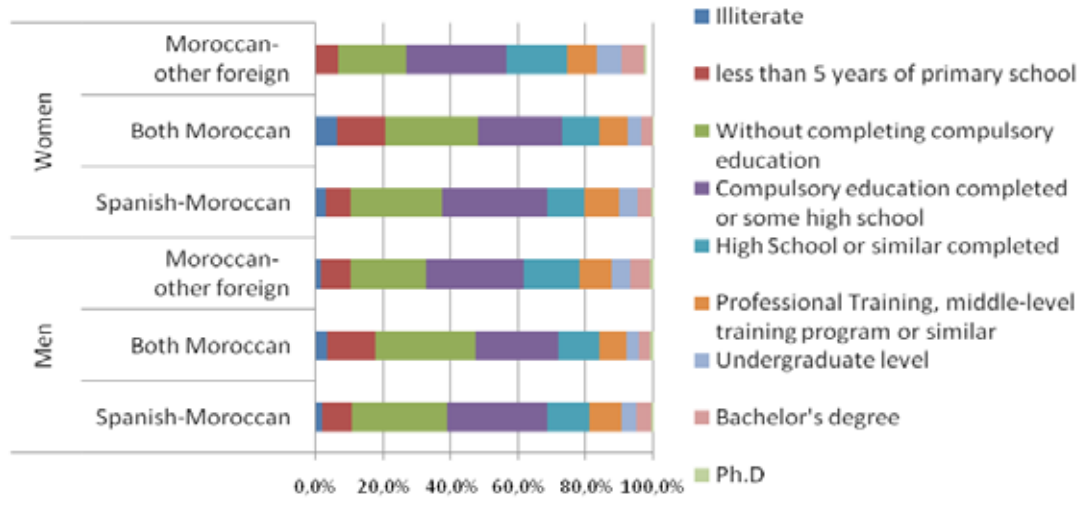
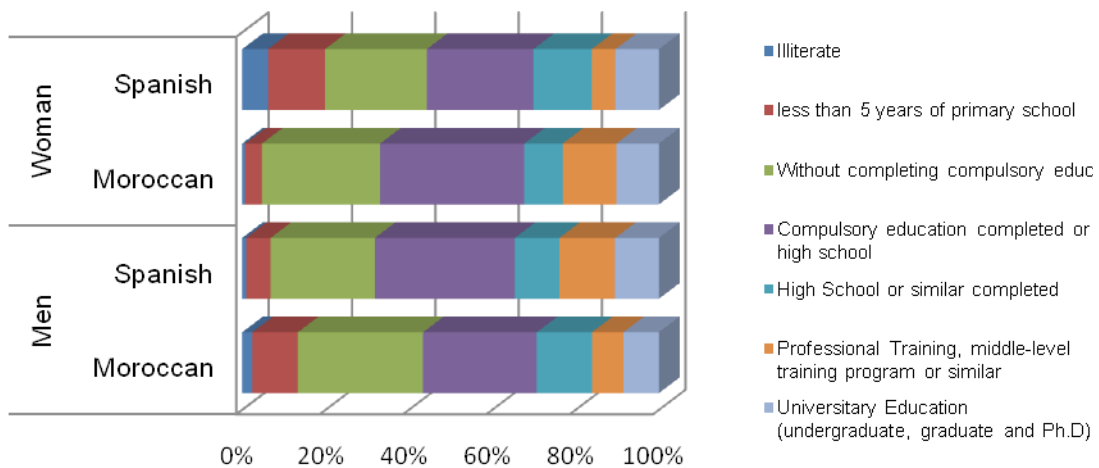


Figure 5. Distribution of educational level for members of Spanish-Moroccan marriages



In relation to professions, excluding the high percentage of “no record” or “not qualifiable”, the data revealed that both genders were highly involved in unskilled jobs, a factor that was prevalent in all types of couples. Specifically,, men showed greater statistical weight for being craftsmen / installers and women for household chores.

It is interesting to note specifically the distribution of the unemployed, since male unemployment was higher in Moroccan Hispanic couples (12% vs. 8% of other couples), and female unemployment represented 13% for both Hispanic-Moroccan couples and couples who were both Moroccans. Likewise, it is 9% for Moroccans with members of other nationality.

Table 5. Professions of each member of mixed marriages

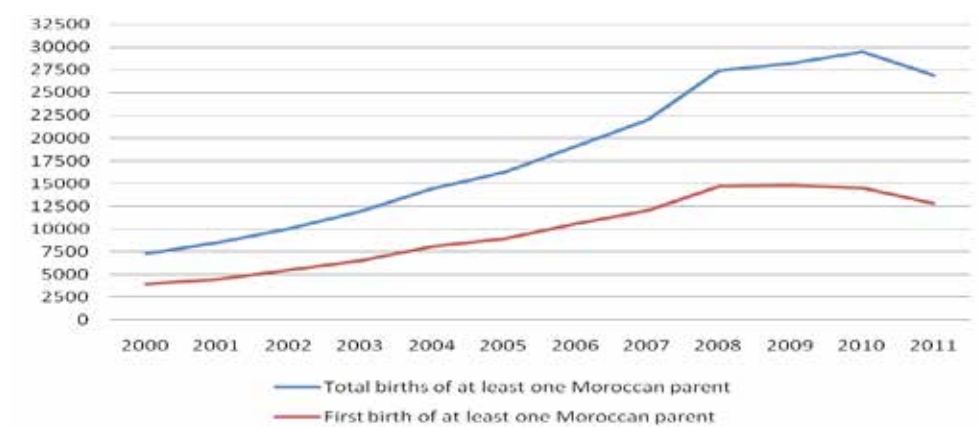
Professions	Men			Women		
	Spanish-Moroccan	both Moroccan	Moroccan-other nationality	Spanish-Moroccan	both Moroccan	Moroccan-other nationality
Technical and professional scientists / intellectual	6,8	3,7	8,0	6,7	3,2	6,8
Administrative	3,2	2,8	2,7	6,6	4,2	7,6
Restoration and unskilled	31,6	36,5	35,8	28,4	27,4	32,3
Agriculture and fisheries	3,6	2,7	3,5	1,0	,8	2,4
Craftsmen, installers, assemblers	14,6	13,3	12,8	1,6	1,1	1,1
Students	1,1	,9	2,0	3,3	4,5	3,3
Household tasks	,5	,3	,5	18,9	20,8	14,2
Unemployed	12,0	8,9	8,4	13,8	13,1	9,0

### 3.2. Global approach to the characteristics of couples with at least one Moroccan member who have descent registered in Spain

The total number of couples in Spain with at least one descendant registered for the period 2000-2011 was 5,534,534, of which 974,616 were mixed and 221,581 were composed of at least one Moroccan member. The Spanish-Moroccan couples represented 4% of mixed couples and 18.5% of couples with at least one Moroccan member.

The births of couples with at least one Moroccan parent in Spain since 2000 showed a progressive annual increase until 2008, after which growth was much lower. The total births experienced a decrease in the last year, from 2010 to 2011. Firstborn data recorded show a decline since 2009 (Figure 6). Highlighted, by far, the total number of births from couples where both are Moroccans throughout the period and in each of the years covered been the ones with a continuous birth increase since 2000.

Figure 6. Total registered births and first birth in couples with at least one Moroccan parent





**Table 6. Number of births by type of couple**

Año	Spanish-Moroccan	Moroccan-other nationality	both Moroccan	Subtotal at least one Moroccan	Total
2000	2,087	227	4,977	7,291	30,504
2001	2,170	287	6,001	8,458	39,629
2002	2,352	355	7,356	10,063	50,754
2003	2,555	414	8,997	11,966	61,542
2004	2,779	524	11,162	14,465	71,321
2005	3,174	624	12,433	16,231	79,819
2006	3,533	639	14,888	19,060	90,369
2007	3,854	716	17,458	22,028	104,691
2008	4,355	752	22,334	27,441	118,328
2009	4,566	723	22,896	28,185	113,201
2010	4,714	753	24,008	29,475	111,074
2011	4,626	647	21,645	26,918	103,385
<b>Total</b>	40,765	6,661	174,155	221,581	974,617

Source: prepared by authors from the microdata files of the NIS

The main Moroccan registration regions of births were Catalonia, Andalusia and Madrid. The Spanish-Moroccan couples were identified in these cities. Ceuta and Melilla were identified as the most relevant regions for these couples. In Ceuta and Melilla, 96% of mixed couples had at least one Moroccan member, representing a significant difference when compared with the rest of territories, given its border situation with Morocco.

**Table 7. Births by type of couple and region of registration**

Regions	Moroccan-other nationality		Spanish-Moroccan		both Moroccan		Subtotal at least one Moroccan	at least one Moroccan	Total mixed couples
Andalusia	1,127	16.9%	6,522	16.0%	20,126	11.6%	27,775	12.5%	108,737
Aragon	142	2.1%	620	1.5%	4,144	2.4%	4,906	2.2%	26,812
Asturias	10	0.2%	132	0.3%	392	0.2%	534	0.2%	7,690
Balearics	192	2.9%	931	2.3%	6,471	3.7%	7,594	3.4%	37,000
C. Valenciana	806	12.1%	2,718	6.7%	16,912	9.7%	20,436	9.2%	113,382
Canary Islands	365	5.5%	1,480	3.6%	3,250	1.9%	5,095	2.3%	40,507
Cantabria	13	0.2%	93	0.2%	254	0.1%	360	0.2%	6,081
Castilla La Mancha	175	2.6%	1,081	2.7%	7,310	4.2%	8,566	3.9%	35,019
Castilla y León	87	1.3%	626	1.5%	4,214	2.4%	4,927	2.2%	26,401
Catalonia	1,605	24.1%	9,059	22.2%	59,812	34.3%	70,476	31.8%	227,092
Ceuta and Melilla	166	2.5%	9,192	22.5%	6,962	4.0%	16,320	7.4%	16,841
Extremadura	35	0.5%	449	1.1%	1,750	1.0%	2,234	1.0%	7,901
Galicia	42	0.6%	284	0.7%	1,183	0.7%	1,509	0.7%	19,030

Madrid	1,269	19.1%	5,150	12.6%	20,326	11.7%	26,745	12.1%	211,067
Murcia	315	4.7%	1,141	2.8%	13,932	8.0%	15,388	6.9%	43,484
Navarre	72	1.1%	282	0.7%	2,178	1.3%	2,532	1.1%	13,591
Basque Country	178	2.7%	745	1.8%	2,664	1.5%	3,587	1.6%	25,379
La Rioja	62	0.9%	260	0.6%	2,275	1.3%	2,597	1.2%	8,603
TOTAL	6,661	100%	40,765	100%	174,155	100%	221,581	100%	974,617

Source: prepared by authors from the microdata files of the NIS

The average age of mothers in couples with at least one Moroccan parent was 28.1 years and for the father, 35.4 years, up from 33 on average for the total set of mixed couples. The age of the father was just below the average in the Spanish-Moroccan couples where the father was the one with the Moroccan nationality.

There were significant differences between the types of partners for mother's age ( $F = 350.31$  (2,221580);  $p < .001$ ) establishing two homogeneous subsets. The first, was a group of couples where both were Moroccans with a mean age somewhat lower than the couples where only one of the parents was Moroccan. The average age of the father also revealed statistically significant differences ( $F = 161.98$  (2,221580);  $p < .001$ ) between the three types of partners (see middle ages in Table 8).

When a specific analysis of Spanish-Moroccan couples was performed for the woman who had Moroccan nationality (Table 8), the average age of both the mother and the father were greater than the overall average of all couples studied and were significantly different when compared to couples where the father was the one with the Moroccan nationality. The biggest difference was in the father's age; it was greater when the father was Spanish rather than Moroccan.

Approximately 47.3% of couples with at least one Moroccan parent had previous children. The highest percentage shown was from Spanish fathers and Moroccan mothers (50.1%) and least, from Moroccans united with people of other nationalities (other than Spanish) (35.6%). The average number of previous children of couples with at least one Moroccan parent was 1.24. All types of couples with the presence of Moroccan nationality exceeded the mean of 1.12 previous children for all mixed couples, except for those formed by a Moroccan parent and one of another no Spanish nationality (1.01 on average).

Similarly, 88.6% of Moroccan women whose partner was also Moroccan were married compared to 74.7% of Spanish-Moroccan couples and 50.2% of Moroccan women with a non-Spanish foreign partner. Furthermore, the analysis of total mixed couples showed that Moroccans had the highest percentage of endogamy (41.2%), followed by the Romanian and Ecuadorian couples (16.8% and 16.4% respectively).

Additionally, 24.4 years was the average age at marriage of the mother for total mixed couples, being surpassed only by the mixed Moroccan couples where one partner was married to a partner of another nationality other than Spanish. Mothers who married at a younger ages were typically in a marriage in which both partners were Moroccans (22 years) while those who married at older ages were couples in which one partner was Moroccan and the other was of another nationality. A comparison of means for the three types of pairs showed significant differences but a small effect size ( $F = 2205.86$  (2, 185 958);  $p < .001$ ).

Not only were couples who were both Moroccans getting married most frequently, but they were also the ones married with the highest years of marriage when compared with other couples, followed by Spanish-Moroccan, with statistically significant differences ( $F = 771.35$  (2 188 569);  $p < .001$ ). These significant differences were irrelevant, however, when effect size was calculated (less than 0.20 in both cases).

Couples with a Moroccan mother and Spanish father showed the highest percentage of having previous children. They also are married to a greater extent than those couples formed by Moroccan men. The ages of the mothers at the time of marriage did not differ substantially (i.e., the effect size was practically nil). Moroccan women united to Spanish men also showed longer durations of marriage when compared to couples in which the father was Moroccan and the mother was Spanish.

**Table 8. Basic characterization by type of couple with at least one Moroccan parent**

	Average age of mother		Average age of father		With previous children	Previous children average		Married	Age at marriage		Years of marriage		
	M	SD	V	SD	%	M	SD	M	M	SD	M	SD	
Moroccan other nationality	29,0	5,97	33,9	7,5	35,6	1,0	0,99	50,2	26,1	5,8	2,95	3,5	
Spanish-Moroccan	28,9	6,2	35,6	8,5	47,50	1,3	1,2	69,6	24	5,8	4,67	4,7	
	Moroccan mother	29,6	5,9	39,1	8,8	50,1	1,4	1,3	74,7	23,7	5,7	5,46	5,2
	Moroccan father	28,2	6,4	31,6	6,1	44,8	1,2	1,1	63,8	24,4	5,8	3,62	3,9
Both Moroccans	28,1	6,1	35,4	6,2	47,7	1,2	1,3	88,6	22,1	5,3	5,44	4,8	
At least one Moroccan parent (Subtotal)	28,3	6,2	35,4	6,7	47,3	1,2	1,3	83,9	22,5	5,5	5,27	4,8	
Total mixed couples	28,9	5,8	33,3	7,1	43,5	1,1	1,1	59,6	24,4	5,5	4,29	4,3	

M= mean; SD= Standard Deviation

Source: prepared by authors from the microdata files of the NIS.

**Table 9. Statistical comparisons of means**

Married vs unmarried	Mother's age		Father's age	
Moroccan other nationality	$(t = 11,72; p < .001)$	$(d = .29)$	$(t = 18,38; p < .001)$	$(d = .45)$
Spanish-Moroccan	$(t = 16,72; p < .001)$	$(d = .19)$	$(t = 22,80; p < .001)$	$(d = .26)$
Both Moroccans	$(t = -5,93; p < .001)$	$(d = -.05)$	No significant differences	
<b>Moroccan mother/father</b>	<i>t</i> de Student		Size effect	
Nº Hijos previos	$(t = 14,14; p < .001)$		$(d = .14)$	
Mother's age	$(t = 23,74; p < .001)$		$(d = .24)$	
Father's age	$(t = 100,92; p < .001)$		$(d = .99)$	
Age at marriage	$(t = -9,27; p < .001)$		$(d = -.01)$	
Years of marriage	$(t = 33,79; p < .001)$		$(d = .39)$	

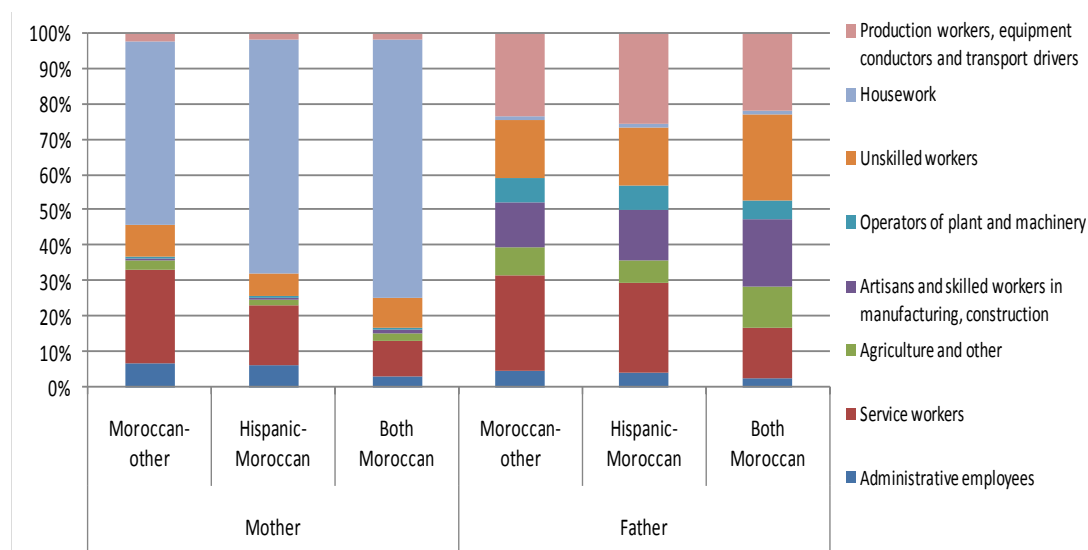
Regarding the most important professions, Table 10 shows the distribution for parents for each type of couple. The most prominent professions are shown in Figure 7. Women engaged more in household tasks, especially among couples where both partners were Moroccan. Fathers were highly represented in the production and service sectors. Among

couples where both were Moroccan, representation in the service sector was somewhat smaller which became more acute in unskilled jobs. Additionally, the percentage of employment in the service sector increased for Moroccan mothers when compared to other nationalities.

Table 10. Mother's and Father's profession distribution by type of couple

	Mother's profession (%)			Father's profession (%)		
	Moroccan other nationality	Spanish-Moroccan	Both Moroccans	Moroccan other nationality	Spanish-Moroccan	Both Moroccans
No record	30,4	21,4	29,0	32,1	22,2	26,8
Army	,5	,5	,6	,5	1,6	,5
Management and public administration	1,0	,9	,6	2,8	2,4	1,5
Technical, scientific	4,1	4,0	2,2	4,8	5,2	3,1
Administrative	4,3	4,5	2,2	2,6	2,8	1,7
Service sector	16,1	12,0	6,5	15,1	15,9	9,5
Primary sector	1,7	,9	1,7	4,4	3,9	7,7
Craftsmen and construction	,5	,5	,6	7,0	9,1	12,4
Operators and machinery	,2	,2	,2	3,9	4,2	3,5
Unskilled workers	5,6	4,6	6,0	9,2	10,2	15,9
Students	1,8	1,3	,7	,3	,3	,1
Household chores	31,8	46,5	48,6	,7	,6	,7
Retirees and pensioners	,1	,2	,1	,8	1,7	,6
Sales workers	,9	1,4	,2	2,7	3,9	1,7
Production workers, drivers and transportation	1,1	1,2	,9	13,0	16,1	14,3
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Figura 7. Main professions of the mother and father by type of couple



#### 4. CONCLUSIONS

The results of this study revealed that the Moroccan population is very important in Spain. Spanish-Moroccan couples showed a relatively high representation of marriages where at least one member was of Moroccan nationality, especially when the man was from this Morocco. The majority status was single, including one in three men in Spanish-Moroccan marriages who were divorced.

Regarding education, couples who were both Moroccans showed lower educational levels. Women, both Spanish and Moroccan, from the Spanish-Moroccan couples, showed relatively similar educational levels.

Labor or occupational status indicated mostly housework for women and unskilled jobs for men. The men of Spanish-Moroccan couples showed higher unemployment when compared to other couples.

An analysis of the results obtained from the Birth Bulletin revealed that two Moroccan parent couples were the most common couple type and they were also the most likely to show the longest duration of marriages. The Moroccan population also showed greater homogamy patterns when compared with other nationalities. This may be related to the tendency to reproduce and maintain cultural patterns of origin and is probably motivated by the ease of access to marriage and the social market arising from the use of the same language, customs, religion, etc. These factors can also be interpreted as differentiating factors (and even in some ethnocentric contexts, hindering factors) that can be solved if the relationships are homogamous. This homogamous tendency has also been observed in other European countries like Belgium, Holland, Germany (Kalmijn & Van Tubergen, 2006; González Ferrer, 2006) and in Spain in comparative studies with other nationalities (Vono & del Rey, 2009; Esteve & Bueno, 2010).

Additionally, if this homogamous tendency altogether with educational levels is considered, some studies suggest that high levels of education weakens cultural barriers with regard to marrying outside one's group, revealing a major endogamic tendency in t populations with less education (Kalmijn, 1998).

Furthermore, women in couples who are both Moroccans tend to marry at younger ages and show greater number of years of marriage at the time of the child's registration. When the data of Spanish-Moroccan couples are considered, the percentage of being married is higher when the woman is the one with the Moroccan nationality.

The youngest mothers were in couples where both partners were Moroccans and the youngest fathers were Moroccans with Spanish partner. Older mothers and fathers were most often represented by Spanish-Moroccan couples in which the woman was the one who had Moroccan nationality.

This study represents only an intial exploration ofthe reality of mixed couples in which one partner is Moroccan and one is Spanish., The findings are the results official data sources and represent a temporary view to assist researchers, educators, and practioners to better understand this migratory trajectory. The results raise new awareness and issues to be addressed among these distinct populations. It would be interesting to further expore whether or not endogamous marriages took place place in Spain or in Morocco, or if the spouse resided previously in Spain before marriage or came to establish and start a family as an immigrant. Further research must be conducted in order to address these issues.

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