CROSS-CUTTING ANALYSIS

Migrant children and communities in a transforming Europe

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MiCREATE
Migrant Children and Communities in a Transforming Europe

The project Migrant Children and Communities in a Transforming Europe (MiCREATE) aims to stimulate inclusion of diverse groups of migrant children by adopting child-centred approach to migrant children integration on educational and policy level.
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1. Introduction

The objective of this work package is to carry out a crosscutting and comparative analysis based on the qualitative and quantitative data collected during the consortium's fieldwork with children (WP5-8). The crosscutting analysis explores the impact of different social categories such as age, gender, ethnicity/nationality, religion, socioeconomic status, and legal status on children's experiences with integration and inclusion.

First, the report outlines the aim of the report, which is to gain insights into similarities and differences in integration processes, children's needs, and definitions of well-being from the perspective of age, gender, ethnic background, nationality, religion, legal status, and socioeconomic status. Second, the report informs about the methodological and theoretical foundation of the analysis. Third, the report deals with the results of the intersectional analysis. This chapter is divided into the different social categories used as the foundation for the analysis. The report closes with short conclusions on why an intersectional approach is necessary for the eye of child-centeredness.

1.1. Aim

The goal is to gain insights into similarities and differences in integration processes, children's needs, and definitions of well-being from the perspective of age, gender, ethnic background, nationality, religion, legal status, and socioeconomic status. The report generates sound knowledge on how these factors influence integration processes, children's needs, and well-being, including peer group dynamics, participation in leisure activities, classroom dynamics, future plans, and aspirations.

Using an intersectional analysis is a way to understand and respond to the ways in which different structures of inequality and domination impact on pupils' needs and well-being. An intersectional approach is able to identify important structures of inequality which negatively and/or positively influence the needs and well-being of migrant pupils.

2. Methods

The methods of the cross-cutting analysis are based on the concept of intersectionality. Kimberlé Crenshaw (1991) defined intersectionality as the intersection of axes of inequality, whereas Iris Marion Young (2005, 64) described it as different "axes of structural social privilege and disadvantage". The intersectionality model includes axes or structures of discrimination and oppression, such as race, class, nationality, ethnicity, sexuality, religion, and age—as well as migration status (Lenz, 2010). An intersectionality approach allows to analyze power relations based on different categories (age, gender, ethnicity, legal status, socio-economic status). Research can draw conclusions on interacting structures of

domination in a country as well as on the influence of experiences of discrimination on identity formation through the intersection of the categories.

In order to understand how the different structures and axes of discrimination intersect or interact, Leslie McCall identifies three different approaches: First, intra-categorial means that different forms of discrimination or domination are compared with each other within one category, e.g. different age groups within the category "age". Second, the inter-categorial approach recognizes the interplay of a multiplicity of categories in order to document social inequalities. An inter-categorial analysis thus compares and crosses several categories, e.g. different age groups and different genders. Meanwhile, the third anti-categorical approach deconstructs categories such as gender, class, and 'race', and aims for a complex understanding of co-constitutive structures of inequality (McCall, 2005, 1773). This cross-cutting analysis focusses on an intra-categorial analysis only.

3. Results of National Reports

This section will present the major findings on the level of countries. It includes results deriving from all qualitative studies (observation, focus groups, art-based approach, and interviews) and quantitative data. This section is organized according to the different structures/categories of inequality and domination. Within each of these categories, an intra-categorical analysis will be presented.

3.1. Age

In the project, we divided children into two age groups: younger children (9 – 14 years) who are in some countries also primary school pupils and older children (15 – 19 years) who mostly attend secondary schools. We follow this division throughout the analysis. Thus, when we use the term younger children, we refer to a specific group of children who are from 9 to 14 years old while when we report about the older group, we refer to children who are from 15 to 19 years old. We collected data on children's age in a survey and during interviews and focus groups.

In relation to the data, it is interesting that researchers from Spain, Poland, and Slovenia pointed out that children's age affected the type of the data. For example, interviews and focus groups with older children (15 to 19) were often more thorough and informative compared to younger children (9 – 14). In terms of the survey, younger children sometimes had more difficulty understanding and answering some of the questions compared to older children.

Age was also a distinctive factor in Calais, France, but in a different way. Unaccompanied minors were rarely younger than 14. In other words, children younger than 14 years were mostly accompanied.

Premigration period and migration experience

Most countries were not able to provide significant data related to the premigration period and migrant experience in relation to age, however, we could still collect a few insights. When discussing the premigration period using art-based methods, younger children in Spain were more creative and used various techniques and colours to explain their experiences, while older children simply described them. On the other hand, older children were able to highlight the bureaucratic challenges that came with migration. Contrary, younger children in Poland tended to recall only good events, had fewer memories from the past but were also more attached to them in comparison to the older group of children. The latter was more focused on present times and the future.

Overall, the evidence collected in national reports creates the impression that the migration experience is more demanding and challenging for older children. According to the data from Spain and Slovenia, older children more often experienced migratory grief. In addition, older children were more likely to discuss how demanding it was when they left friends and classmates with whom they had already formed strong bonds. In particular, migrant children who had already established intimate relationships in their countries of origin and had to leave their girlfriends or boyfriends were strongly affected by the decision to move. As a coping mechanism, the Slovenian data highlight older children's awareness of the advantages the host country offers. This strategy helped them to address feelings of missing their relatives, friends, and hometown, but also to make sense of migration.

Contrary, younger children had fewer difficulty adjusting to new circumstances, but this does not mean that they did not report unpleasant or difficult feelings. For example, younger children were more likely to report feeling homesick. Many younger children had not yet developed strong bonds with classmates in their country of origin yet, so the decision to migrate did not affect them to the same extent as observed in the older group. Further, they more often reported that the presence of family helped and encouraged them in such situations. In contrast, the data from Turkey show that children who migrated at a very young age were unable to remember their hometown. Consequently, their perception of space and their sense of home have developed in the new country.

Dynamics and factors influencing the integration process of migrant children

The interviews and focus groups revealed that most children, regardless of their age, participated in some form of leisurely activities. However, discrepancies were observed regarding the type of activity children from different age groups chose. For example, younger children were more involved in outdoor activities, while older children in most countries preferred more sedentary activities. Contrary, the results of the UK survey showed that the younger group was more likely to spend time with friends in an online environment (e.g., playing computer games or using social media) than older children. Yet, the younger group more often spent time outside playing with schoolmates than the older group. The latter was also observed in Spain, Poland, and in Slovenia.

In terms of peer dynamics, the Polish report pointed out that older children formed more complex and stable peer relations than the younger group. These relations were reflected also in their extra-curricular activities and outside the school community while the same was not true for younger children. In addition, when interacting in older groups, migrant children could take more easily leading roles in comparison with groups of younger children.

Transition to family was identified in the Austrian case where younger migrant children preferred to spend more time with their families than friends in comparison with older children. Furthermore, it was not uncommon for older children in Austria to spend more time alone.

In terms of integration, several reports (e.g., from Slovenia, France, and Poland) identified that younger children are subject to more support, attention, and systemic solution that aim to integrate migrant children than children from the older group. For example, evidence from Calais shows that younger children received more benefits in terms of shelter in public accommodation, their minority regarding age was less often questioned and they accessed child protection services and similar goods (e.g., a tent) more easily.

Regarding the language, both age groups appreciated having someone in class with whom they could talk in their mother tongue. As reports from Slovenia and Poland show, older children received more support from peers while younger children were assisted by teachers who encouraged their language proficiency. Interestingly, the situation in Turkey showed that younger children in particular had difficulties with the Turkish language, but they preferred to communicate in Turkish rather than in their mother tongue.

Educational environment and system (experiences of inclusion in school, peers, teachers, language learning and other integration practices, psychosocial support)

When asked about school, the data show that younger children enjoy school more, and feel better and safer at school than older children. When asked more specifically, younger children in Austria listed the classroom as a safe space for them. In general, younger children are also more likely to feel that they receive enough appreciation and consideration from teachers, while older children more often perceive teachers as impatient and strict. In addition, older children were more likely to report being mistreated by teachers because of their nationality, race, language, religion, or gender. According to the data from Denmark and Poland, younger children more often reported that teachers talk about different countries, languages, cultures, and religions than older children.

Regarding classmates, older children felt more accepted by their classmates and were also more satisfied with them. Additionally, they felt that their classmates contributed positively to their well-being. Older children in Denmark and the UK had more friends from different countries, cultures, and religions than the younger group. In contrast, younger children generally recognised the right of newcomers to follow their customs to a greater

extent than older children. Considering bullying, younger children had more experience with peer violence than older children.

When it comes to language learning, language seems to be an exclusive factor for younger children. Plenty of older children pointed out the importance of learning the language quickly and often discussed challenges related to participation and inclusion when learning a new language.

Family and wider community (family, migrant community, local environment)

In general, both age groups spend most of their time with their families, especially in the first period after migration. However, in terms of family support, we could identify younger children felt more supported than the older ones. The older group was less likely than the younger group to agree that their family or friends would help them if they had a problem.

The data from Spain shed light on an important issue related to current legislation, where family reunification is difficult to achieve. Several migrant children remain separated from one or the other parent for years until families are reunited. Such circumstances complicate both the migration experience and the integration process. Children experiencing such situations grow up with other relatives, for example grandparents or uncles.

Considering neighbours, older migrant children who are part of the report from Slovenia mentioned experiencing hostile and intolerant behaviour (comments, inappropriate signs left on cars, hostile notes, direct complaints) from their neighbours.

Conceptualizations of own well – being and life satisfaction

In general, our data shows that friendships and secure relations are among crucial factors that affect well-being for all age groups. For example, the data from Austria show that (some) older children perceive integration as closely related to the development of friendly relationships. It is perceived as a combination of social and emotional factors, i.e., being integrated means having friends.

According to the data, younger children were generally more satisfied with their lives than the older group. The younger ones were also more likely to report that they have what they want in life. They are also more confident and optimistic about their future; they are more likely to believe that their future is bright compared to older age group. However, their vision of the future is blurred; some younger children could not imagine their future. Others want to pursue higher education and travel around the world. Others referred to trends as their professional orientations (e. g. becoming a famous YouTuber, gamer, or successful footballer). Sports and audio-visual culture play a crucial role in shaping children's ideas about their possible futures.

The older age group has a clearer idea of their future. Most of them know what career interests them and, more importantly, they believe that everything depends on their will and effort. They are confident that hard work, academic success, and higher levels of education will provide stability and success in life.

In terms of well-being, younger children were more likely to feel satisfied and they also scored higher than the older group in terms of being supported by their families. Moreover, more children in the younger group reported that they have enough friends and that these friends will support them. In contrast, older children could not count on social support to the same extent as younger children. Evidence from Austria and Slovenia also suggests that younger children reported improved mood and academic motivation after arriving in the host country.

Older children were more likely to associate their well-being with having friends. In addition, this group more often reported high levels of anxiety and academic stress in comparison with younger children. Both psychological processes were related to school tasks, academic performance, and general concerns about the future. Older children also scored their achievements more negatively than younger children.

Another essential element that children emphasised was the impact of COVID-19 pandemic related restrictions on their mental health and wellbeing. While young children often pointed out that restrictions prevented them from spending time outdoors with friends, older children felt that their ability to communicate and interact face to face decreased as they were spending more and more time online. In addition, older children were more often referring to pronounced feelings of anxiety, depression, and loneliness during the lockdown.

In France, age proved to be a criterion of vulnerability since minors were more likely to be exploited or to be victims of violence. It is important to note, however, that it was the physical appearance that differentiated between who will become a victim and not their mere age. As it could be seen from the report, depending on the context, the same young person may declare herself as an adult to protect herself on insist on her minority to receive legal benefits and child protection services.

Perceptions, values, attitudes and opinions regarding equality, intercultural dialogue, intercultural conflicts, cultural and religious pluralism, migrants and migration.

Regarding perceptions, values, and attitudes toward cultural diversity, both age groups were very inclusive and considered diversity as normal. Most children expressed a sense of social justice and wanted to live in a world with more equality.

However, older children had some contradictory attitudes regarding their opinions and more often expressed strong opinions about intercultural dialogue, as the researchers from Spain and Slovenia observed. For example, some older children were convinced that their

culture must be protected and that they should behave in ways that would protect it (for example, speaking their language with peers who understand it, using it at home in family communication, celebrating holidays, skipping school on special occasions). Others felt that they needed to fit in as much as possible. In general, older ones were more aware of socio-cultural and racial discrimination.

Younger children were more positive about interculturality when compared to older children. They were more likely to believe that children from other countries should have the right to maintain the customs of their countries. In addition, they were more likely to think having children from different countries in their class is something positive. Younger children in Slovenia more often referred to religious affiliation and habits related to religion (holidays, saints, traditions) than older children and had a stronger sense of belonging to their country of origin.

Another interesting difference between younger and older children in Spain is that the older ones could discuss integration connecting global issues to personal situations. Thus, the older ones were able to elaborate discourses about the responsibility of politicians or the shortcomings of the educational system. Similarly, the older children in Poland had been aware that they are an active part of the integration process. At the same time, the younger ones in Spain and Poland talked more about personal experiences with integration, especially at the school level or they were not able to mention any proposal that could reform the system as the issue was too abstract for them.

Final discussion

The main conclusions we can draw from the national reports are that the migration experience appears to be more challenging for older children than for younger ones. Partly, the reason lies in the already developed strong bonds with classmates and friends that broke down when children had to move to the host country. These children have acquired some coping mechanisms, yet, in comparison with the younger group, they cannot count on family support to the same extent. Overall, we can say that age presents (to some extent) an influencing factor during the pre-migration period, and it also affects the migration experience. The impact is even more pronounced in French camps.

To a certain level, age also impacts the way children organise their free time. Researchers observed that younger children were usually more enthusiastic about outdoor activities and spend more time outside playing with schoolmates than older children who prefer online activities.

As for the educational community, the data show that children in the younger group had a better relationship with their teachers, while at the same time, they are also more supported by them than older children in terms of language learning and similar. Older children had more experience being mistreated by teachers which can affect the integration process, their academic motivation, and general wellbeing. On the other hand, younger

children were more often bullied than older children. The latter indicates another area that requires additional attention.

In terms of general life satisfaction, younger children were generally more satisfied with their lives than the older group while the older group had a clearer vision and wishes for their future. Most of them know what they want to do in life and how to achieve it.

In general, age affects the integration process to a certain degree within the educational community but also outside. The level of systemic support, perceived feeling of safety (especially in camps), and received support from family and friends are factors closely related to age.

3.2. Gender

This section describes the perceived similarities and differences among girls and boys concerning various aspects of their migration and integration experiences. This report only refers to male and female genders as no country reported data about other gender categories such as genderqueer and non-binary gender identities. The findings of this report are from Slovenia, Austria, Denmark, Greece, Spain, Poland, France and the UK. It is important to note that the findings are not representative of the countries as the research in each country consisted of a moderate number of children. Additionally, some of these findings are from surveys carried out with newly arrived, long term and local children. The survey analysis did not distinguish between local children with a migrant background and local children without a migrant background. Therefore, the findings cannot be attributed solely to migrant pupils. Thus, it is difficult to compare the quantitative and the qualitative data, so results should be interpreted cautiously, tentative and not as conclusive.

Premigration period and migration experience

This section briefly discusses the migration experiences of migrant girls in refugee camps in research carried out in France. The cross-cutting report from France indicated a gender divide in the sample whereby there were two accompanied girls for every 25 boys who were unaccompanied. This may be because the number of unaccompanied migrant girls is generally low as there is no gender difference between accompanied male minors and female minors. The report further stated that girls were perceived as very vulnerable by all actors in the camps. Additionally, as they were generally fewer in numbers, they were often quickly spotted by other migrants, associations, and volunteers. They were, therefore, more likely to be offered public accommodation or shelter. In Calais, young girls ran a very low risk of being placed in detention centres. In fact, the detention centre near Calais is not authorised to receive women and families. It should be noted that minors should never be placed in detention in centres; however, it does happen where a person is unable to prove that they are a minor. Additionally, when people are caught trying to cross the border, girls

and women are often released by the police after a few hours; however, this does not particularly protect girls from police violence, which can be indiscriminate.

Dynamics and factors influencing the integration process of migrant children

Everyday life (living conditions, spatial and social positioning, inclusion in peer groups, involvement in leisure activities, sport, health)

Regarding inclusion in peer-group, findings from some countries alluded to girls having fewer friends. For example, girls in Austria commented that they sometimes feel lonely and would like to have more female friends to play with. In Spain, more girls than boys felt that they did not have enough friends. These findings were echoed in school observations in Poland whereby it was observed that in primary schools, boys tended to be more sociable, while girls had fewer peers within their circles. However, female friendships were 'more solid'. In regards to how boys and girls remained in contact with their peers, in Spain and Poland, girls more often than boys used digital technology to do so. In Denmark, girls slightly more often than boys spent time out of school face to face with friends. This was somewhat also the case for girls in Poland and Austria, whereby in Poland, girls maintained more face-to-face contact during the lockdown, and in Austria, some boys told the researchers that they only have a few friends in person; however, they have many friends online and therefore do not feel lonely. In the UK, however, boys were more likely to spend time with friends outdoors than girls.

There was also a gendered difference in Slovenia, Denmark, Spain, UK and Poland in young people's leisure activities. In Slovenia, migrant boys were engaged with football, hockey, skateboarding and video games. On the other hand, girls were more likely to engage in artistic activities such as reading and handicrafts. Additionally, in the case of Muslim girls in Slovenia, parents were more involved in the type of leisure activities the girls participated in. It seemed that migrant boys led more active and outward-oriented lives than girls to a certain extent. Similar trends were seen in Denmark, Spain and the UK, whereby boys were more likely to participate in organised leisure activities than girls. Also, in Spain, UK and Poland, boys were more likely to play sports than girls. This is not to say that girls did not participate in sports as across the UK, Spain, Austria and Slovenia, there was evidence of girls engaging in sports-related activities.

Educational environment and system (experiences of inclusion in school, peers, teachers, language learning and other integration practices, psychosocial support)

Gender differences in the school environment were seen regarding peer relations as there were divisions across gender lines in some schools in countries such as Austria, where children felt more comfortable in peer groups of one's own gender. Similar results were found in research carried out in Greece whereby children in refugee camps had more friendly relations with peers of the same gender and within the classroom children

preferred to have interactions with the same gender. In UK, Denmark and Poland, findings also showed peer relations appeared to be gendered to some degree. For example, girls in Denmark commented that the boys do not want to play with girls and vice versa. Additionally, social divisions and peer relations in school, especially during recess, appeared to be gendered to a degree that increased by age. In Poland, gender divisions were seen in primary schools, specifically in the classroom, during breaks and other school activities. However, it was felt that in the case of older children, gender divisions were caused less by behaviours and more enforced by the educational institution as some dorms and classes such as physical education classes had strict gender divisions.

Gender divisions can also be seen in reports of bullying; for example, in Denmark (tentative qualitative findings) and Austria, girls were more likely to be bullied than boys, but in Denmark, (tentative) qualitative findings also showed that the perpetrators in question were female. In some cases, in this country, it was reported that where there was a conflict with one girl, a whole group of girls were 'getting after them'. In Spain, however, observations in one school showed that most boys tend to point out gender differences and have discriminatory attitudes towards girls. Concerning the types of bullying pupils experienced, girls were more likely to face verbal (psychological-Slovenia) forms of abuse across Slovenia, and Spain, whereas boys were more likely to face physical aggression. In the UK and Spain, girls were also more likely to report more unfair treatment by their classmates due to their gender than boys, and in Slovenia, migrant girls were also more likely to report being excluded from peer groups due to their religion, language deficits and migration status. Likewise, in Austria, girls in focus groups shared experiences of being excluded due to their gender. They explained that they do not feel accepted because they do not fit the gender norms regarding beauty and weight. The boys, therefore, judged them based on the way they looked, dressed, and ate. This is not to say that boys did not face discrimination by peers due to their gender, as, in three schools (S3, S5, S6) in Spain, sexist and homophobic comments were frequent. Additionally, boys slightly more often complained about mocking, violence, and ostracism in Poland. However, the Polish report further states that although different forms of violence were higher among boys, such incidents had a more profound impact on girls, who experienced more emotional stress and fear related to such incidents.

Interestingly, regarding student and teacher relationships in Denmark and the UK, boys were more likely than girls to report being treated unfairly by their teachers due to their gender. Despite this, in Denmark, boys were also slightly more comfortable when teachers asked questions. In the UK, Black female students from one school also relayed their concerns about the way in which White staff members referred to Black Caribbean boys as "threatening" and perpetuating race-gender stereotypes. Similarly, in Poland, boys felt more discriminated by teachers and perceived their attitude as unfair, however, this problem affected a smaller part of the study cohort as similar experiences were also relayed by girls in Poland. The polish national report states:

"Some of the gender divisions are the results of the organisation of the educational system in Poland. This refers mostly to children placed in dormitories that are divided and

placed in rooms by gender by the regulations of the house. Furthermore, it happened that so-called branch schools are dominated by boys, and a few girls attending there experienced isolation, discrimination and different forms of mocking. These bad experiences have not been approached properly by teachers and sometimes even teachers discriminated against girls in those schools with their comments, opinions and assessment".

Furthermore, In Spain, boys were less likely than girls to state that teachers accept them in the same way as their peers (although the difference was relatively small but significant nonetheless), and girls in Slovenia were more likely than boys to speak about teacher support being crucial in integration processes. Overall, it seems that boys were more likely to report some form of unfair treatment by their teachers than girls. These findings mirror other research that has found disparities in teacher and male pupil relations. For example, Koepke and Harkins (2008) found higher levels of conflicts between teachers and male students as opposed to female students. However, it should be noted that findings from one country (Austria) were to the contrary, where girls more often reported that they were treated unfairly by teachers because of their nationality and race.

Finally, findings regarding perceptions of school life differed across the countries. Generally, in Spain, boys felt better at school than girls as they felt slightly more attended to, cared for, accepted, and safe at school. Class dynamics were also gendered in one school, with boys being more visible, leading discussions and activities. However, many boys also tended to point out gender differences and had discriminatory attitudes towards girls. In Austria, it was observed in the classroom that "naughty" or "funny" boys attracted more attention than others. Additionally, rule violations were most likely to be committed by male children than by females. Boys in the UK were more likely than girls to feel OK with what their classmates thought about them. In Poland Boys, also felt more comfortable at school than girls and also had more peer acceptance. Additionally, during observations, researchers did not notice any female leaders. Instead, male leaders, even those of migrant backgrounds, were encountered. However, girls perceived school as a safer place and one where they belong. They also felt that the circle of support that they had within their school community was larger, which made boys feel less cared for.

Family and wider community (family, migrant community, local environment)

In the Slovenian report, several migrant girls reported the importance of family presence and support, especially during the first months after migration. In Spain and the UK, however, both boys and girls placed their families in an important place in their lives. Additionally, in Slovenia, girls were more responsible by the extended family for helping in the household, e.g., looking after younger siblings or helping them with homework, while boys were considered more responsible for protecting the family, including younger brothers and especially sisters. In Austria, however, this gender difference was not found, so both boys and girls indicated that they help their families by taking care of siblings.

Conceptualisations of own well-being and life satisfaction

There were no gender differences regarding life satisfaction in Denmark, however, some differences in this regard were found in reports from other countries, which showed that girls were more forthcoming in speaking about factors that affect wellbeing and life satisfaction. For example, in Slovenia, several girls with a migrant background, especially from the older age group, reported anxiety, stress, and mental health problems, which manifested in serious and visible physical illnesses such as chest pain and heart problems. Boys from migrant backgrounds did not report similar events. Interestingly girls were also more willing to seek help with mental health problems when needed. For example, they asked the school counsellor for help with stress, anxiety and discrimination. Girls also discussed their problems with female friends more often and openly compared to boys. These echo the findings from Spain regarding personal satisfaction and wellbeing, whereby girls showed greater dissatisfaction with themselves and with their life. However, it seemed that girls, more specifically newly arrived girls were more likely to speak about their feelings when explaining their migration experience and their arrival process as opposed to the newly arrived boys. The boys seemed to be more reserved and opaque about their emotions, and in one school, when narrating their stories of migration and arrival at school, the boys painted an image of being more self-sufficient and not requiring help. Whereas, when speaking about their experiences, girls showed more difficulty with the migratory experience, which included mourning, longing, sadness, grief, and pain. Likewise, in Poland, interviewed children living in reception centres for asylum seekers who were girls shared some traumatic and bad memories during interviews which did not happen for boys. However, the sample of interviews was small and did not allow the researchers to conclude differences in narratives between genders. Nevertheless, these findings indicate that girls are more open to speaking about their emotions and wellbeing than boys.

Identification and belonging

There were differences based on gender in feelings of identification and belonging whereby in Poland, girls spoke about feelings of belonging towards places they live in; they also stated that they liked the city. Boys, however, were more specific and spoke of attachment to certain places such as home, school, their dormitory, group or team. In Austria, the UK, Slovenia and Spain, feelings of belonging were related to one's personal characteristics such as country of origin and religion. For example, in Austria, comparisons were made between the life of girls in Austria as compared to home countries. One girl stated that she feels more like a child in Austria than in her country of birth, where she would have to grow up more quickly (14y/o, female, Tunisia). Another boy perceived differences regarding gender in his country of origin and Austria, whereby he felt that women have more rights in Austria than in Syria, and another girl shared that she was confronted with gender-specific norms in her country of ancestors, for example, when wearing no headscarf (15y/o, female, Turkey). In Austria, a Muslim girl highlighted another gender-specific aspect: she felt integrated into the class because she was allowed to wear a headscarf in physical education classes with boys (13y/o, female, Turkey). Similar views were relayed by a Muslim male in

the UK who felt that a positive aspect of the UK was that individuals are allowed to wear a headscarf. Likewise, in Slovenia, in contrast to boys, some girls from the older age group reported 'culture shock' due to less traditional and or different perceptions of women in Slovenian society (no cafés segregated by gender; permission for girls/women to walk around town alone or only with friends, etc.) Finally, in Spain, one girl at S3 found advantages in migrating to Spain because she could have male friends, something which she felt was almost impossible in her home country.

Feelings of safety were thematised in Spain whereby girls stated that they are sometimes afraid of some areas in their neighbourhood or of going alone, whereas boys did not relay similar concerns: "Sometimes I'm scared to go out alone because there are people who... I don't know, I'm scared" (S6, girl2, 15y/o, LT). Female participants also spoke about the mechanisms they tend to adopt when they walk down the street and are afraid. Thus, a gender difference is evident in how safe girls feel going down the street. This was also the case for girls in Poland, whereby girls who lived in the dorm or came from the Nowa Huta district of Krakow did not feel safe due to sectarian soccer fan conflicts and xenophobia from the locals. Findings regarding lack of safety for girls were also reported in France, whereby It was noted that during their journey or to pay their way to the UK, the girls were at increased risk of sex trafficking. In the camps, young girls were also less visible in the public space. They rarely travelled alone and preferred to go in groups with other women or relatives.

Self-perceived opportunities, choices and feeling of control over their own life and future

In some countries, there was a gender divide in self-perceived opportunities, choices and feelings of control over own life and future. In Austria, girls criticised sexism; for instance, one girl had applied for an internship with a car mechanic and was rejected due to her gender. There were no indicators in the data that boys experienced similar obstacles. In research carried out in Greece, it was found that 71% (15 children) of refugee children attended schools, five children who were all girls did not attend school. It seemed that families had to choose which siblings could continue with their education, and boys were often prioritised (UNHCR, 2019). Despite this unaccompanied minors (mostly boys aged 16-18) did not in general hold the same mentality about education as their local peers as they had a heightened sense of responsibility about earning a living. In Slovenia, several Albanian girls in the older age group indicated that arranged marriages and the expectation to marry in the group had a negative impact on their wellbeing. Matrimony and the institution of marriage are important issues in their culture, and the whole family (especially fathers and brothers) are involved in deciding who will marry whom. Albanian girls in an intimate relationship with a boy of a different ethnicity felt uncomfortable as they often hid their partners from family members. Moreover, these girls pointed out that migrant girls from the same country of origin understand the problems associated with such cultural traditions and expectations better than native peers. Additionally, boys from more traditional migrant communities (i.e., Muslim Bosnians and Albanians) enjoyed more freedom of movement and choice than girls from the same ethnic community. However,

despite the perceived lack of opportunities for some girls, girls, in contrast to boys, invested more energy and time in learning the language (reading Slovenian books, translating, practising, asking Slovenian friends to speak to them in Slovenian, etc.).

In Poland, boys were more satisfied with their lives, felt more control, had higher self-esteem, and had fewer doubts about their future. However, girls more often praised their school achievement. In Spain, however, no differences in this dimension were found, with both boys and girls wanting to continue their studies after compulsory secondary education, some with vocational and others with university studies. Afterwards, both boys and girls wanted to have a job and form their own family with no gender difference in these desires. Finally, it was also common for boys and girls to consider that they would achieve their goals depending on their effort, that is, that they could fulfil their expectations and desires for the future if they tried and fought for it.

Perceptions, values, attitudes and opinions regarding equality, intercultural dialogue, intercultural conflicts, cultural and religious pluralism, migrants and migration.

In Spain, most boys and girls showed tolerance to cultural and religious differences in the discussion groups, defending respect for plurality. However, girls were slightly more inclusive than boys in the surveys when asked about inclusion at school. Not only about intercultural issues but also when pointing out gender equality and commitments to social justice. In observations, however, the research team detected contradictions between the discourse and the practice as during observations, there were racist and sexist comments and behaviours. However, later in the conversations on intercultural issues and pluralism, young people advocated for coexistence and peace. Nonetheless, the finding regarding girls being more inclusive was similar to results from the Slovenian arm of the research whereby girls were more likely to agree with interculturality statements, such as 'children from other countries should have the right to maintain the habits from their countries' and that they like having children from different countries in their class. In the UK, girls were also more likely to agree that they like that there are students of different backgrounds (language, religion, cultures) in their class and school. However, the difference here was minimal, with most pupils accepting children of other backgrounds. Similarly, there were no gendered differences in Denmark regarding acknowledging newcomers' right to follow their customs. Unrelatedly, in Austria, both girls and boys mentioned the importance of accepting homosexual love, thereby alluding to respect and tolerance for equality. When speaking about diversity during interviews and focus groups in Poland, girls were more open and talkative. However, it is believed that this issue is related more to individual personality as even boys were open and eloquent about this topic; in fact, they were described to be more down to earth and straightforward, whereas girls showed more evidence-based thoughts related to identity, diversity and integration issues. The Polish comparative report further states:

> "Girls have a higher appreciation of equality, boys were more sensitive to being discriminated against, usually by teachers. They more harshly judged the environment, having a deeper impression that ie. school is not allowing to speak in a foreign language or express the foreign identity. Children of both genders do not perceive the school community as a place of conflict driven by prejudice and bias. All conflicts have different backgrounds, usually based on differences of character and school hierarchical relations. Both genders do not pay much attention to religion and the process of secularisation progresses with age".

Final discussions

Gender differences were identified across several dimensions in the integration experiences of migrant children. When considering peer relations, it seems that peer groups are gendered across many countries, with children having the propensity to interact with peers of own gender. There is also a gender difference in leisure activities, with girls being less likely to engage in organised leisure activities, specifically sports. The gender divide becomes further prominent when one assesses experiences of exclusion from peer groups. Findings from two countries indicate that girls are more likely to face psychological forms of bullying and boys are more likely to experience physical forms of bullying. Some countries also find that girls are more likely to be bullied than boys. Interestingly when considering student and teacher relations, boys perceive themselves to receive more unfair treatment than girls from their teachers. Yet boys also come across as more dominant in classrooms. Regarding wellbeing and life satisfaction, girls are much more open in speaking about their feelings as well as experiences, whereas boys seem to be much more reserved. Therefore, one cannot make adequate inferences about the differences in life satisfaction between males and females. Likewise, data regarding identification and belonging and feelings of safety was sparse, making any analysis difficult.

3.3. Ethnicity

Before developing each section, a clarification is needed regarding how each country has approached the concept of ethnicity. That is due to each country dealing with different categories of ethnicity, which has made it more difficult to establish comparisons between countries.

While the United Kingdom has differentiated between Black, White, Asian, and mixed/other ethnicities children, Spain based the distinction between children from European countries, Latin American countries, and the rest of the world. In the case of Denmark, researchers distinguish between children born abroad, children born in Denmark, both parents born abroad and children born in Denmark, and one or both parents born in Denmark. Looking at ZRS' National Cross-Cutting and Comparative Analysis Report (Slovenia), migrant children that participated in the research mainly from the territory of the former Yugoslavia. That means that there is not much ethnic diversity. In addition, many

local children belong to the second or third generation of migrants, whose parents also have an ethnic background linked to this territory. In contrast, Austria's National Cross-Cutting and Comparative Analysis Report states that children born in Austria often have parents or grandparents from other countries. Therefore, they may also belong to different ethnicities.

Another issue important to mention is that this section contains information from the National Cross-Cutting and Comparative Analysis Report in each country. This means that in some subsections there is information not reported from some countries.

Pre-migration period and migration experience

In most cases, it was not easy to detect how ethnicity affects the pre-migration period and migration experience. In most countries participating in the research (Slovenia, Turkey, Denmark, Poland, and the United Kingdom), we detected no differences concerning children's ethnicity. However, in its National Cross-Cutting and Comparative Analysis Report, Slovenia mentions that "almost all children migrate to Slovenia with a family or some family members. Some of them followed a father (and brother or uncle) who had been in Slovenia for several years, and in their cases, the reason for migration was family reunification". The National Cross-Cutting and Comparative Analysis Report from Spain also mentioned this strategy of two-phase migration. The cultural and administrative relationship with Latin American countries leads to a particular type of migration. Researchers noticed that usually, when children came from Latin America, the mothers travelled first to Spain. Once they had settled in, they went back to pick up their children.

In contrast, this differed from other nationalities because it used to be the father who first travelled to the host country. The affinity of language as a reason for choosing a new country to migrate to also happens in Turkey. Many families from Syrian cities close to Turkey decide to migrate to that country because of the possibility to speak the mother tongue Kurdish. Indeed, there is already a Kurdish population there. That is why there is also a religious and cultural closeness. Some children used ethnic, cultural, and religious connections between Arabs, Kurds, Syrians and Turks to prevent discrimination since Syrian children reported having suffered discrimination from Turkish children.

In the case of Austria, the migration experience varied depending on how they arrived in Austria. This fact may connect with ethnicity (in terms of citizenship). In the Austrian National, Cross-Cutting and Comparative Analysis Report, researchers explain: "The migration experience varied depending on the possibilities of how to come to Austria. For instance, one child reported that she and her family came to Austria by car (15y/o, female, Rumania). The migration experience is different for a migrant child who came, for instance, from Pakistan from where you have to go a much longer way, and you leave to escape the chase (14y/o, male, Pakistan)".

In the case of France, the research was developed in the Calais' refugee camps, so the migrants participating in the research are amid migratory process. In this context, the main

perceived differences between children and young people in terms of ethnicity are mainly found in language and nationality. In Calais, migrants often live in camps gathered by national and/or linguistic communities. This distribution represents the informal structure that children rely on for resources, information, help, support, and a sense of security. Other communities, especially when they do not share the same language or where different languages coexist, can appear as competitors or dangers. A common language (such as Arabic) guarantees exchanges and allows the inclusion of small national minorities, such as Yemenis and Egyptians, in a larger community, such as the Sudanese. Some nationalities may be more targeted by police repression either because of their resistant attitude to repression (the Eritrean community, for example). Or because there are more possibilities to expel people legally (like the Albanians). As a result, the police concentrate more on these populations to reduce their numbers.

Dynamics and factors influencing the inclusion process of migrant children

Only four countries reported differences in the daily lives of migrant children and young people. On the one hand, Poland underlined that ethnicity influences the living conditions of children and youth as these are less stable (i.e., they live in rented apartments, don't own it; they are living with their relatives less frequently). On the other hand, the United Kingdom, France and Austria focused on the impact of ethnicity in leisure activities. In the case of the United Kingdom (UK), White children and youth are more likely to meet and play with their friends than Black and Asian children. In addition, White children and youth prefer to meet friends face-to-face, while Black children prefer to do it online.

Regarding the case of France, the community and language play an essential role in the reception and shelter centre for minors. A minor is likely to stay for a long time if they build bonds and friendships. Conversely, the absence of peers who share the same language or nationality may create a feeling of isolation for the young person, who may prefer to return to the camps. Unaccompanied Minors (like adults) are very sensitive to perceived differences in treatment related to their ethnicity or skin colour. Some of the young people reported that the staff at the accommodation shelter could be racist. Skin colour was often cited as the determining factor. Looking at Austria, according to its National Cross-Cutting and Comparative Analysis Report, "Children from former Yugoslavian ethnicities are more active than other ethnicities in participating in organised recreational activities. Moreover, they most likely stayed in touch with friends and families via digital devices".

Educational environment and system

Regarding this topic, all countries have reported information except Turkey.

When asked how children feel at school, in the United Kingdom, White pupils were more likely to feel safe at school than Asian, Black, and mixed/ other ethnic groups. Likewise, White children feel they belong to school more often than the other ethnic groups. In the

case of Denmark, children born in Denmark with both parents born abroad seem to be the group who feel safer in school and feel more belonging in the class. Finally, Poland reported that some migrant children have a better perception of Polish schools, as they can see differences between educational institutions and their culture. Specifically, the Polish National Cross-Cutting and Comparative Analysis Report pointed out that: "Ukrainian children will have quite a different perception of school, conviction about the culture of behaviour there and attitude toward duties compared to their Polish peers. Those children were more disciplined, took learning more seriously and were polite concerning peers and teachers."

In terms of peer relations, in the UK, Poland and Denmark, children tend to join in groups of the same ethnicity, especially as they share the experience of having barriers with the local language. That is particularly evident in UK schools where most students were classified as having English as an Additional Language (EAL). According to the UK National Cross-Cutting and Comparative Analysis Report, "in these schools, children of the same nationalities or speaking the same languages often sat together during class". That is mainly the case of newly arrived migrant children, whilst children born in the UK tend to relate more among them regardless of their ethnicity. In addition, there were also many children who "were part of multiple and diverse peer groups".

Similarly, in Poland, it is perceived that Ukrainian children accommodate better at school than children from Vietnam, South America or even European countries like Spain, Italy or Germany. That is influenced by the fact "that those children are also able to support each other during the learning, which is not possible for children from other nationalities, usually being ones and only in the schools", as mentioned in the Poland National and Cross-Cutting and Comparative Analysis Report. In the case of Denmark, children born abroad feel more accepted by their classmates than the children born in Denmark with one or two parents born in a different country than that.

Regarding teacher relations, in Austria, some children stressed the importance of a better inclusion process having pedagogical staff with their same ethnicity, making it easier for their orientation in the new country and learning German. In Denmark, foreign-born children feel more accepted by teachers and believe that they take into account what they say, unlike children born in Denmark but with migrant background parents. On the contrary, in the UK, White children feel more often that their teachers listen to them and consider what they have to say than the other ethnic groups. In addition, researchers from this country also report the problem of teachers' tendency to stereotype some ethnic groups. According to the UK National Cross-Cutting and Comparative Analysis Report, "This was observed in one school where some students expressed concerns that they were being stereotyped by White staff, for example by referring to Black boys as 'threatening'". British researchers highlighted the tendency to stereotype as a contemporary problem. "With Black children of African heritage underachieving or being excluded in disproportionate numbers compared with their White counterparts, which could result from broader anti-Black sentiment in British society (Christian, 2005)". They gave another example of stereotyped attitude, in this case, from a Black teacher discriminating Arabic children. "Arab boys get in a lot of trouble",

and "they [Arabs] run around school as they own it, so there's some resentment towards that". Another country with evidence of stereotyping is Spain. Researchers could notice specific teachers having stereotypes about some ethnicities. For instance, they see Chinese girls as more hard-working than other ethnicities; Latin American children as "calmer" people. Therefore, the stereotypes work intersectionally, including ethnicity and gender or age categories. According to the National Cross-Cutting and Comparative Analysis Report, what concerns this is that stereotypes can be seen as "innate" capacities to specific students. Following Olmos and Rubio (2014), "this assumes greater or lesser cognitive development depending on social, cultural, geographic and cultural factors. Moreover, this would entail another risk: naturalising inequalities and considering them «immutable»".

In terms of discrimination and bullying, in the UK, except for White children, all other ethnicities reported unfair treatment, with a higher proportion of Black children. This group also affirms being discriminated against due to their gender by their class teachers, followed by mixed/other ethnic groups, unlike White and Asian ethnicities. However, the most affected by feeling non-acceptance in school are Roma children who suffer verbal harassment and cyberbullying. According to the United Kingdom National Cross-Cutting and Comparative Analysis Report,

researchers (...) noted that in one school, Romanian students would make fun of each other's English accents and pronunciations, or they would bully each other. Another instance involved a Romanian female student who confessed: 'Romanians in school told me I'm an orphan (...) and felt like garbage that day. It was the most terrible day'. One morning at school reception, an even more disturbing incident occurred where a Roma parent and his boy came to ask for an urgent meeting with the school headmaster. The father explained (in Romanian) to the EAL lead that he would not let his child back in class because he received abusive and violent text messages via WhatsApp from another Roma peer from the same school.

In the case of Spain, although there is a historical difficulty in accepting Roma people in society, the National Cross-Cutting and Comparative Analysis Report mentions that except for children from European countries, all children face more unfair treatment due to their nationality/ethnicity. Similarly, in Denmark, migrant children and local children with migrant backgrounds reported unfair treatment by their peers and teachers than children without a migrant background. Remarkably, children feel more often harassed by their teachers than by their classmates in this case. Concerning Slovenia, the Albanian community suffers the most discrimination in school, both by their peers and educational staff. Also, in Austria's case, some children described discrimination based on ethnicity by teachers. The National Cross-Cutting and Comparative Analysis Report also mentioned difficulties between peers regarding their ethnicities. According to researchers, "some children talked about fights at school between Turks and Kurds, Afghans, or Serbians and Bosnians".

Concerning language, researchers from Slovenia report that Albanian and Muslim children have the most significant difficulties in learning the Slovenian language, being this group more affected than the others in their inclusion processes. The Albanian and Arabic

languages are non-Slavic, so learning Slovenian is more challenging. Similarly, in Spain, children coming from Latin American countries already speak Spanish, one of the official languages in Spain. So, their inclusion is more straightforward than children that speak another language to the extent that they rapidly get involved in school dynamics, leisure activities and other social events. However, in Catalonia, the Spanish region in which the research has been mainly carried out, Catalan is also a compulsory language in school. In this case, children from Latin American countries are more reluctant to learn this language, perhaps because they already have another language to communicate and understand, Spanish. In addition, migrant children tend to perceive Catalan as an 'academic' or more 'formal' language than Spanish. In the case of Denmark, language also seems essential for fostering children and youth feeling of belonging to different ethnicities. However, migrant children reported Danish as a challenging language to learn. At the same time, according to the National Cross-Cutting and Comparative Analysis Report, many speak several languages such as "mother tongue, other languages from their country of birth or neighbouring countries, English".

Nevertheless, many of them consider it essential to learn the Danish language if they do not want to be excluded in peer groups, although they would like to feel more able to speak their mother tongue at school more often. In the case of Poland, they reported that Ukrainian and Russian children are facing more difficulties in writing due to the different alphabets. According to the report, Russian and English speakers easily communicate with teachers, which is substantial during their first attendance at the school. On the contrary, multilingualism is "normal" for children in Austria.

Family and the broader community (family, migrant community, local environment)

This section reports data from Slovenia, Austria and Spain related to family and the wider community. Other countries did not find differences between ethnicities in this regard.

According to the National Cross-Cutting and Comparative Analysis Report in Slovenia, Albanian and Muslim ethnic children have less family support in language learning, socialisation and inclusion. That is especially difficult in Albanian children since their community tends to socialise within their same ethnic community, having less contact with other ethnic groups. In addition, usually, mothers used to be at home, so many of them do not speak Slovenian. And fathers, although they generally have a higher level of Slovenian, spent the central part of the day out of home, working. Similarly happens with migrant children in Austria. Their parents tend to look for housing in the same ethnic community. Researchers from Austria claim: "One child described herself as Pakistani and said she was happy to live in a neighbourhood with a Pakistani community. Some children mentioned that they have ethnic communities where everyone is perceived as a family". In the case of Spain, families from countries with other languages than Spanish have more difficulty getting involved in the school community. There is a language barrier in these cases, making it more challenging for families to participate in school events. As in the case of the Albanian communities in Slovenia in Spain, this situation "also intersects with categories such as

"class"; the working conditions and personal situation of some migrant families (for example, precarious job positions or multi-jobbing) may create difficulties in joining school's activities during working hours". To palliate this disadvantage, some schools in Spain offer language courses addressed to families.

Conceptualisations of own well–being and life satisfaction

Overall, there were no differences in Spain and Austria regarding **feelings of security** between ethnic groups. Children reported a strong and positive feeling of safety regarding their life experiences, and there were no differences between nationalities or linguistic/cultural backgrounds. Nevertheless, in Austria, some children reported ethnic conflicts, e.g., between nationalist Turks and Kurds. Many children construct their feeling of safety compared to their country of origin in Spain, perceiving Spain as safer. For instance, this is the case of many long-term migrant children coming from South American countries, which stated that streets from Spanish cities are usually "safer places" than their cities of origin. The situation in Poland was similar. Foreigners coming from post-Soviet countries have a higher perception of safety in the host country. They see it as more stable, reliable and less corrupted. In the specific case of Turkey, some Syrian children expressed exclusion and discrimination practices that can also lead to violent episodes. The Syrian children shared that they experienced various fights, which made them afraid.

"So, there is a problem; they take all Syrians in front of them one by one. I mean, he has a shop, he makes his pocket money, and what is his fault. But they break his window. If it is open, they shoot. For example, cars outside, they break their outside windows" (G12-16).

Regarding **identification and belonging,** the qualitative data of Spain and Austria showed that the sense of belonging might be related to family ties, visits, and time spent by children in their country of origin/ancestors. The feeling of belonging to a place did not depend on the country of origin or nationality but the child's specific context and biographical experience (their relationship with family, ancestors, religion, etc.). In the specific case of Spain, some children from different countries felt that their identity was nomadic, as they did not feel that they belonged entirely to Spain or their place of birth. Therefore, many of them define their identity in a cross-cultural and cross-national way. In Slovenia, migrant children with Albanian backgrounds are strongly connected to their culture of origin and express their belonging. That is not always well accepted by native and other migrant children and affects the inclusión process.

We found differences in ethnicities, **well-being, and life satisfaction** (Turkey, Spain, Denmark, Slovenia, Poland). Looking at the survey data, Latin American students are more satisfied with their lives in Spain. That may connect with the fact that it is also the group that feels more supported by their families. In contrast, although the European group is the one who feels less satisfied with life, it is the group that feels more supported by friends. Moreover, students from Latin American countries spend more time meeting and playing with friends than the other groups. However, students from European countries use more

digital technologies to stay in touch with friends/relatives than the other two groups. In the specific case of Denmark, the quantitative data collected showed that more children from EG2[1] (mean = 4,61) than children from EG1 and EG3 (mean = 4,09 and 4,42) say that they have enough friends and that their friends will support them (EG2 mean = 4,42, EG1 mean = 4,37, EG3 mean = 4,16). EG1 children, to a lesser extent than EG2 children, report spending less time with their friends outside school face-to-face. In Slovenia, the **self-perceived well-being and satisfaction** of ethnic Albanians were affected by external factors such as discrimination and non-recognition. In the case of Albanian girls, they point to the feeling of not having control over their own lives. Specifically, Albanian migrant girls from the older age group expressed family and ethnic community expectations regarding dating and marrying.

On the contrary, there were no differences regarding ethnicities and well-being in Austria when speaking one's own mother tongue. Children from different ethnicities shared that they feel accepted when speaking their family tongue. Therefore, having friends from a similar cultural background can stimulate someone's well-being. On the contrary, a child with parents from Afghanistan stressed that he did not want to be associated with Afghanistan and the war because he was born in Pakistan (14y/o, male, Pakistan).

In the specific case of Poland, being with the family was underlined by Ukrainian children as having great value in their life. This perception did not appear in the interviews with local children. The quickness of the inclusion process, especially linguistics, impacted the perception of well-being. That might relate to ethnicity and particularly such factors as language and cultural habits.

Perceptions, values, attitudes and opinions regarding equality, intercultural dialogue, intercultural conflicts, cultural and religious pluralism, migrants and migration

Only Austria, Spain, Poland, and Denmark reported issues related to this section. In the case of Austria, the main conflicts came between Turks and Kurds and, secondly, between Serbs and Albanians due to religious differences and historical conflicts. In contrast, there are different opinions and levels of tolerance for cultural diversity between children from European countries and children from other countries in Spain. The first ones seem to be less tolerant than the others. In the case of Poland, there were no differences between ethnicities in terms of perceptions, values, attitudes and opinions related to cultural diversity and pluralism. According to IPL's National Cross-Cutting and Comparative Analysis Report (Poland), "Children of different cultural backgrounds could easily find contrasts in traditions and customs, sometimes perceived it as odd and strange, but never considered this divergence as justification for discrimination". Finally, Denmark focuses on the shared

[1] Regarding ethnicity Denmark distinguish between EG1) children born abroad, EG2) children born in Denmark, both parents born abroad, EG3) children born in Denmark, one or both parents born in Denmark.

transnational environment all children grow up in: "belonging to two or more countries—by heart, by choice, or by force—is a recurring motif in the interviews, often as part of self-identification". And, the importance of learning the language of the host country for a better sense of inclusion, missing a more presence of children's mother tongue in their educational communities.

(Perceived) advantages and weaknesses of existing models of migrant children's inclusion

Except for Austria and Poland, we observed no differences in most cases (Slovenia, Turkey, the United Kingdom, France, Denmark, and Spain). In the case of Austria, researchers found that, in general terms, children of different ethnicities stressed that it is helpful to find friends with whom they can communicate and who already have some experience in the country. Besides that, they shared that sitting next to someone with the same cultural and language background helps the inclusion process. Regarding Poland's National Cross-Cutting and Comparative Analysis Report, migrant children perceive discriminatory behaviours daily. While "being friendly, supportive and speaking a lot to foreign children are most mentioned as effective integrative actions accessible for peers", there is still a need to improve inclusion models that include the time that children spend out of the school environment. In addition, migrant families and children miss significant support in the first days in the new school and the new country.

Final Discussion

Ethnicity is a category that has been used differently in each country. Regardless of this fact, the main conclusions are:

- In most cases, ethnicity is not an influencing factor during the pre-migration and migration experience. Only in the case of Spain and Turkey, it affects children and youth experience. The main difference found in Spain is Latin American migrants, who usually choose Spain as a new country because they speak the same language: Spanish. Similarly, it happens in Turkey. Many Syrian families enter Turkey through the region where Kurdish communities live.

- Regarding the factors influencing the inclusion process of migrant children, ethnicity affects it in different manners:

    - It affects the school experience.
    - Sharing ethnicity with classmates or teachers helps the inclusion process.
    - Some inter-ethnic conflicts challenge the inclusion process.
    - Some specific ethnicities have more significant challenges, but the language profoundly influences inclusion.

- Regarding well-being and life satisfaction, ethnicity is not a factor influencing to a large extent these two dimensions:

  - The feeling of safety is perceived similarly among ethnicities.
  - Children's identification and sense of belonging are related to family ties, so each child is more context-specific than ethnicity.
  - Self-perceived well-being and life satisfaction depend on how many friends they have, the relation with the family, how they spend their free time, and how they relate with others. Those who suffer discrimination are less likely to feel well-being, so ethnicity influences in this way.

- The perceptions regarding equality and intercultural dialogue differ depending on the country. In Austria, ethnicity affects educational children's processes due to historical conflicts. In Spain, children accept cultural diversity rather well. In Denmark, transnational identities are seen as a part of their reality.

- Finally, migrant children's inclusion or inclusion models seem not to depend on ethnicity.

To sum up, most countries participating in the research have found that ethnicity affects the inclusion process both inside and outside the school. Historical inter-ethnic conflicts and language are a barrier to the inclusion process. However, ethnicity does not broadly affect the migration experience, life satisfaction, or perceptions about the interculturality of inclusion models.

3.4. Legal status

The legal status is a very much more complex category that often overlaps with other cross-cutting categories. To exemplify this complexity, although we know that migrant children definitely have different legal statuses to most of the local children, this difference however has some commonalities with nationality or citizenship status. In data analysis, these commonalities are almost impossible to be distinguished. Another problem comes with the differences in the legal systems resulting in contradictions between definitions of certain person statuses. Both newly-arrived children and those long-term could have different legal statuses like long-term visas, short-term and long-term residence permits or having irregular migration status if they stay in the international protection procedures. Despite obvious differences recorded in the research between children with regular migration status and children in transition, in most cases, the legal status of children is not reported in quantitative and qualitative studies, nor was observed during other forms of research activities. The legal matters usually are the domain of adults and are dealt with by parents without discussing these issues with children. Research partners from all countries had problems with describing this category in their national cross-cutting analysis reports and the data available is scarce here. Especially all researchers had difficulties in finding differences between children even if they could divide them into certain subcategories. It

is a little bit disappointing as being in European Union all countries, covered by the research except Turkey and to some extent post-Brexit Britain, must have implemented some common categories and definitions applied to migrants that could be easily comparable. Unfortunately, the adopted methodology, including a child-centred approach, but also GDPR restrictions did not allow the researcher to retrieve data on the legal status of the child who was not aware of it and did not share such information.

The intra-categorial divisions included tough the following statuses:

- citizens (SLO, DK, PL, SP, AT, UK)
- non-citizens (DK, PL, SP, AT, UK)
- migrants with residence permits (SLO, DK, AT)
- migrants seeking international protection (PL, TR, AT)
- unaccompanied minors with papers (FR, PL)
- minors sharing adult guardians status (FR)
- minors receiving and not receiving institutional support for integration (SLO, PL)

In all national reports, data on differences found and connected to legal status was mostly derived from other sorts of categories not exclusively attached to this factor.

Pre-migration period and migration experience.

Only four out of eight cross-cutting national analysis reports mentioned anything related to pre-migration periods in children's life. In most countries, citizens did not have much migration experience, except some citizens of the UK, who often had complex and long-lasting migration history prior to arrival to the United Kingdom.

The regular migrant children had been given the right to co-decide about migration and remained with positive memories about their homelands. They also had no difficult experiences during their move from one country to another. The experiences of migrant children in transition were mixed but the length of the journey was positively associated with having better memories and moods. Those who had traumatic experiences that caused the flee often felt anxiety and sadness (UK, PL, IT). Most of the children in transition appreciated the change migration caused in their lives except some interviewees of Syrian origin in Turkey who were currently living in poverty or asylum seekers in France who found the living conditions horrible. Opinion about the value of the migration experience split within the group of regular migrants between those who found it difficult (SLO) and those who found it challenging and satisfying (PL).

Dynamics and factors influencing the integration process of migrant children

The living conditions of citizens are usually better than non-citizens. Regular migrants have better living situations than asylum seekers, however, the latter are more satisfied with the place of their living. The situation of children in transition is perceived as less stable than other migrants (PL, DK). This was notified also in Spain, where children declared struggles in obtaining documents. Some migrant children experienced discrimination in their living areas which is uncommon for citizens perception of their neighbourhoods (PL, AT, SLO). Generally however migrant children likewise citizens like their neighbourhoods (SLO, PL).

It was observed that citizens have better life prospects – for education and professional career (S, AT, UK) however migrant children, including children in transition present more positive views and expectations on their future success (PL, S, TR). Austrian team noticed some pressure on the performance of asylum-seeking children and expectation to integrate fast. This feeling was accompanied by fear of being deported. Such fears were also present in Denmark concerning asylum seekers. Asylum seekers staying in Italy complained about the lack of opportunity to integrate with the local community and no attractions, sports or daily activities. In the French situation, the experience of asylum-seeking children comes with survival, violence from police and a general lack of protection and stability.

Migration is seen as an opportunity to live better lives and have good jobs in the future, have families in a safer place. Such desires were mentioned by children in Slovenia, Turkey, Poland. Citizens usually do not present such arguments as not having migration experiences. Only singular interviews signalled a wish to migrate further and most of them was made with children that already had migration backgrounds.

Conceptualizations of own well–being and life satisfaction

In the results related to identity formation and conceptualization of well-being and life satisfaction, each research team mentioned different differentiating factors. Nevertheless, it might be said that the social life of children with citizenship is more complex, vivid, more time-consuming, spatial and their social circles are usually larger than those non-citizens enter. On the other hand, the social circles of migrants are more diverse by ethnicity and nationality, with exception of Spain. These differences diminish with time. Children with shorter migration experience reported also more care from teachers after their arrival (SLO, UK). Discrimination issues in schools, manifested by unequal treatment and peer hostility were mentioned only in the Danish national report.

Children in transition or those who had been forced to migrate revealed anxiety concerning their legal status, social stability and the threat of revoking rights they already earned (S, DK, UK, AT). The less their status is known or the least it is perceived as stable the larger and more intense are fears of the children. It was particularly visible in French and Turkish reports from temporary reception sites.

Generally, national cross-cutting analysis reports do not mention significant differences concerning the indicators of well-being and life satisfaction or provide data that is not comparable as not mentioned in other reports.

Perceptions, values, attitudes and opinions regarding equality, intercultural dialogue, intercultural conflicts, cultural and religious pluralism, migrants and migration.

All children that took part in the national fieldwork studies revealed positive attitudes toward other cultures, the concept of diversity and multicultural societies. In Spain and Poland, local children declared greater openness and sensitivity to otherness. In the UK and Danish reports, these issues were not mentioned. It is hard to say anything about such perception for children in transition. In Poland, asylum-seeking children, especially girls declared satisfaction of living in a more liberal, secular country where they have more rights and fewer restrictions. In other reception hot spots, children were rather struggling with daily survival issues and did not declare any abstract judgments. In France, children reported many conflicts and struggle with centres administration or police, also incidents of racism and maltreatment which affected their perception of social institutions as hostile and not trustworthy.

(Perceived) advantages and weaknesses of existing models of migrant children`s integration

Spanish, Danish, British and Austrian reports do not mention any differences in these categories of findings. Slovenian report underlines that integration efforts are exclusively focused on newly-arrived children, especially in reference to institutional support. So it is in Poland. Language acquisition and the level of support given to that skills were equally judged as the most important part of the integration process in both reports. Polish report showed that for regular and irregular migrants, opportunities and well-being often is dependent on the length of legal procedures. Prolonging the assessment of legal status negatively affect life satisfaction and stability. The same conclusion could be derived from French, Turkish and Italian reports concerning children in transition. Here, however lack of positive legal assessment has often devastating results for the quality of life. Generally, children in transition met many institutional and structural obstacles preventing them from stable and normal socializing.

Final discussion

National reports on cross-cutting and comparative analysis showed that discriminatory factor connected with "the legal status" was the hardest to analyse, as the data was scarce, the project's applied methodology focusing on children perspective and vision of life did not allow to gather relevant data that would reflect the legal situation of migrant children. In such cases, most analyses relied on the dichotomy between citizens and non-citizens as

these two categories were easy to recognize by researchers. The data gathered in the observation phase of the fieldwork, as well as interviews with children, showed a common lack of orientation with the legal status those kids have. Usually, children entrusted this issue in parents' or guardians hands and do not even show much interest in the assessment of their situation in this regard. This issue was irrelevant for the conceptualization of their well-being, however, in several cases struggling with obtaining documents or the length of the legal procedures affected life satisfaction causing anxiety. A slightly different approach was presented by children in transition or those who experienced forced migration. Their legal situation, perception of temporariness and lack of citizenship made them feel insecure, threatened by deportation. We believe that such fears significantly affect the social functioning and well-being of this group of children. On the other hand, quantitative data obtained in the national surveys often showed no differences between citizens and non-citizens in most of the variables.

Another problem with the analyses of the legal status, even limited to the aforementioned dichotomy came with a difference in observation of its manifestation in certain subjects of the analyses in countries research teams. The factors associated with the legal status by one research partner were not noticed in other national reports making them largely uncomparable. Finally, legal status as a variable overlapped other possible indicators so in no cases it could have been reported that certain status was exclusively relevant for the difference found between the groups.

The results assessed in the analysis is corresponding to the common sense perception that migration affects the stability of life, provides interference to socio-economic statuses that takes time to re-stabilize. It is perceived by the majority as a positive experience providing more life-precious opportunities and enhancing the quality of life in a longer perspective.

The nature of the analyses referring to the legal status allows us to draw certain conclusions. The legal status is something that by the power of the state authority determine the living status, range of the rights and number of services or allowances accessible to persons ascertained to certain category of this state inhabitants. As such, this indicator has a tremendous effect on the well-being of the children or any other person to whom a particular legal category is inscribed. The fact that almost none of the children is aware of their legal status showed that all the administrative policies determining the legal position of people are still adult-centred and are ignoring children as actors of the process. Children here are passive subjects of adult-led determination mechanism, often sharing fates of their parents or guardians. Even unaccompanied children are not given sufficient information about their status. We believe that there is a space for adoption of a child-cented approach also within the legal frameworks of the national and EU mkgration systems.

3.5. Religion

National reports analysed a variety of affiliations. Our research focuses on migrant children who, according to the survey, belong to Christianity, Protestantism, Orthodox Church, Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, Alevism, Jehovah's Witnesses, Sikhism, or a category that was labelled 'some other religion'. Additional information about how religion affects their daily lives was also gathered through interviews and focus groups.

Pre-migration period and migration experience

In most countries, migrant children did not talk about their relationship to religion or religious habits in their home country or during their migratory process. Nevertheless, we were still able to collect some data.

For example, the data from Slovenia show that it was common for Muslim migrant children to regularly attend religious services at the Mosque in their country of origin, while this is less common today. Sometimes, the reason lies in the fact that families do not know where the relevant facilities are located, while for some, attending these services has become less important. A similar situation was observed in Spain, where most migrant children from Latin America who are Christians, are not practitioners anymore. Likewise, Orthodox Catholics attended religious services more regularly in their country of origin than they do now when they live in Slovenia.

In Spain, two children from Kashmir spoke about the segregated school system in their country of origin where girls and boys attended different classrooms for religious reasons.

In families where both parents belong to different religions (e.g., one parent belongs to the Orthodox Church and the other to the Catholic Church), migrant children sometimes decide not to affiliate with any religion. Some reported that when they were younger they attended religious services with both parents, but later they made a decision.

Dynamics and factors influencing the integration process of migrant children

Surrounded by historical events, architecture and cultural norms that have their roots in the Catholic heritage in Europe, for most Muslim migrant children, their holidays and clothing represent a factor that distinguishes them from local peers. These cultural items evoke curiosity and opportunity to present their culture to classmates but also the possibility of being excluded or disrespected.

In Spain, a Roma girl explained that she usually goes to the "culto" (evangelical church service). The culto has an important role in her life because she meets friends and acquaintances there. Therefore, the culto is not only a place of worship but also a social place. From the narratives of Roma children included in the Spanish report, we could

identify that religion occupies an important place in Roma people's lives; some of them mentioned that they acquired some lessons in the culto. Similarly, several Muslim children who migrated to Slovenia reported that the Mosque and the events organised by the Mosque present an important social place for them, but also a learning place where they acquire knowledge related to their traditions, culture, and narratives related to their religion.

To some extent, the findings of the Polish report highlight how religion can influence the integration process. According to the data, children who were not affiliated with a religion expressed less confidence in people and were sceptical of their support, care, and help. Additionally, they did not trust institutions, were not satisfied with the school community, and felt less safe compared to religious people. They preferred virtual contacts and often spent time alone, thus having a limited social life.

Educational environment and system (experiences of inclusion in school, peers, teachers, language learning and other integration practices, psychosocial support)

Some children reported that they were not used talking about religious aspects at school. However, two schools in Spain presented a friendly space for daily religious practise, and thus creating an inclusive environment. Muslim and evangelical children can pray in a separate and quiet room during the lessons, respecting the prayer times of each religion.

On the other hand, several conflicts between learners could be observed because of religion, especially between Muslims and Christians in Austria. In general, several reports (e.g., from the UK, Slovenia, Spain, and Austria) contain information about Muslim children reporting that they were treated unfairly by their teachers and classmates because of their ethnicity, religion, and/or the language they speak. For example, one Muslim child from the UK reported that peers excluded him because of his religion. Similarly, one Muslim girl in Austria and another in Spain reported receiving negative looks from peers for wearing a headscarf. According to the data from surveys, Muslim children were also more likely to report being treated unfairly by their teachers because of their religion.

The data from the UK and Denmark surveys showed that children who are affiliated with a religion more often reported feeling safe at school compared to children who are not affiliated. Moreover, the data from Denmark show that more children that opt for the category 'other religion' felt that their teachers listen to them in comparison with the Christianity group and the non-affiliated group. The report from the UK shows that children across most faith groups (namely Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, and Sikhism) more often reported feeling safe at school compared to children who were affiliated with Buddhism, chose the answer 'other religions' or 'not affiliated with religion'. However, these results should be interpreted cautiously due to the small number of pupils in the Buddhism and 'other religion' category. In Austria, children of non-Christian denomination held a positive perception of being in school and being asked questions. In addition, they were also more likely to feel accepted by their classmates. Similarly, the non-believing children who are

part of the report from Poland, experienced less violence and discrimination from their peers. However, we must be cautious, because, at the same time, this group also pointed out more ostracism and exclusionary behaviour experienced towards them. Further, they also experienced more hostile attitudes and behaviour expressed by teachers

When discussing how inclusive schools are, we can refer to the data from Denmark, indicating that more children belonging to the category 'other religion' reported that they are not allowed to speak other languages than Danish at school, compared to children from the Christianity group and the non-affiliated group. Despite this, the children from 'other religion' proved to acknowledge newcomers' right to follow their customs to a greater extent than children from other groups. Likewise, this group was also more positive about diversity in school and classrooms than Christians and children who do not affiliate with any religion.

Considering school meals, across the analysed groups, Muslim children experience most food restrictions. According to data from interviews, only a handful of Muslim children in Slovenia received a meal containing pork on their first school day. This was quickly rectified by school staff that organised additional meals without pork and implemented a system of pictograms signalising when meals containing pork were on the menu. Similarly, Muslim children in France decided not to eat meat distributed across the camp or other facilities by various associations when it was not certain that the meat was halal.

Most reports did not include information on whether children were given the opportunity to present their religious habits to classmates. However, the data from Slovenia show that some Muslim migrant children had the opportunity to present certain religious traditions, values, characteristics, items, and habits to their classmates. They value such opportunities because they allow them to teach classmates something new. At the same time, these opportunities also allow them to foster and strengthen the religious confidence, pride, and faith of their Muslim classmates.

As the Slovenian report states, habits and visual symbols of the Orthodox Church do not differentiate Orthodox Catholics so much from local children. Except for the date, their holidays also do not differ much from holidays Catholic local children have. They receive fewer questions in this regard in comparison with Muslim children but also fewer opportunities to present their religion during classes.

Conceptualizations of own well – being and life satisfaction

The data show that when asked about life satisfaction and positive feelings about the future, Muslim respondents scored higher than respondents affiliated with Christianity, those who chose the answer 'other religion' and not affiliated. Additionally, Muslim children expressed more positive feelings about their future. Contrary, Christian children felt most supported by family and friends and most listened to by their parents.

Regarding peer relations, children who chose 'other religion' more often spend time with their friends face to face. When analysing experiences of bullying or harassment between classmates, non-affiliated migrant children suffered more teasing and hitting while Christian children suffered the least.

According to our data, many Muslim migrant children formed part of their identity and belonging on celebrations and traditions related to their religion. For example, they adhere to cultural norms related to how and when they celebrate certain holidays, what they eat, what they do, and how they do it. Religion also gives Muslim migrant children a sense of safety and security. In France, one minor explicitly relied on the network of Mosques as a helping tool to make progress on his journey to Europe.

Further, several Orthodox migrant children in Slovenia identify more with their religion than with their nationality. Similarly, several children from a focus group in Spain stated that they do not know the difference between the various branches of Christianity. Still, they feel close to other classmates who belong to other Christianity variants (e.g., Catholicism and Evangelism). On the other hand, a community of Eritreans in France divided their camp in two parts; one was for Orthodox Christians while the other was for Muslims.

Perceptions, values, attitudes and opinions regarding equality, intercultural dialogue, intercultural conflicts, cultural and religious pluralism, migrants and migration

We noted that schools are perceived by children as secular spaces where no religion is considered more important than others (although a more detailed investigation of school curricula and/or teaching content show different picture). Therefore, children tend to develop a perception of schools as a secular and (allegedly) neutral place where everyone is welcome regardless of their faith. Nevertheless, the report from Spain identified some weaknesses; one Moroccan child expressed that he did not feel respected in terms of his religion because the school did not provide for the practice of Ramadan. During one focus group, a Roman child and a Muslim child expressed that they felt uncomfortable discussing LGBTIQ+ rights. Due to their religion-based constructs, they felt some discomfort discussing openly about homosexuality, bisexuality, and transgender identities.

Some children in Austria reported conflicts in the classroom because of their religions. For example, one girl said that she had argued with Muslim classmates because they did not like her non-religious views. They told her that she was "not a real Muslim" and that "God will punish her for that". Another Christian child said that he did not like it when a Muslim child said, "Jesus is crap and Allah is the best".

In Slovenia, Muslim children expressed more positive views on interculturality than other groups. They were more likely to support the idea that all children have the right to maintain the habits from their countries and they liked having children from other countries in their class compared to other groups. Muslim children also expressed more often that children feel comfortable in their class regardless of their ethnicity, religion, etc. Further, most

Muslim children in Slovenia report that schools allow them to be absent on important holidays, i.e., Eid al-Fitr. Similarly, their classmates support the right of Muslim children to celebrate holidays free of school tasks and find this similar to their position during the Christmas holidays. Both, Muslims and Orthodox Catholics in Slovenia have friends who belong to other religions and believe that their religious affiliation does not affect their chance to integrate successfully. On the other hand, evidence from Poland shows that children who are not religious are more liberal and open-minded. They have more confidence in diversity and the right to express it, and they accept this diversity in the classroom as well. Catholics, on the other hand, believe in peaceful coexistence to a greater extent that other groups.

Final discussion

In most countries, migrant children did not talk about their relationship to religion or religious habits in their home country or during their migratory process during interviews and focus groups. Nevertheless, we were still able to collect some data either from the survey analysis or interviews and focus groups.

The main conclusions are that religion to a certain degree influences the migration experience and the integration process due to religious customs, rules, and habits migrant children follow. Moreover, it seems that religious practices sometimes decrease after the family settles in the host country and that impacts family dynamics. Further, religion can influence the school experience and perception of how inclusive the school environment is (e.g., whether children have an opportunity to present their religion, if they are allowed to practice their religion, and whether religion presents a reason for discrimination). Finally, religion is also a factor that influences well-being and life satisfaction which can be seen from the survey data; especially for Muslim children, religion presents an anchor for identification and sense of belonging.

To some extent, the integration process is certainly influenced by the religious pluralism that exists within a country. Reports suggest that in Slovenia and Poland, for example, Muslim children stand out more than, for example, Orthodox children because people are less used to them. Consequently, they sometimes spend more time with people from their community and lack opportunities for two-way integration. On the other hand, stereotypes about Islamic terrorists are present throughout Europe, which puts Muslim children in an unequal position everywhere. The latter explains why we could detect discrimination and inappropriate behaviour towards Muslim children also in the UK which is well-known by its multicultural nature.

3.6 Socio-economic status

This section of the cross-cutting analysis is based on the WP9 national reports from section partners in Spain (Universitat de Barcelona), Slovenia (ZRS Koper), Denmark (University of Southern Denmark), Austria (Universität Wien), France (Centre national de la recherche scientifique, France) and England (Manchester Metropolitan University). Results from the Turkish report (HFC Hope for Children, CRC Policy Center) are not included, because, according to the report, that there are no significant differences between the various socio-economic groups. Results from WP8 Case Study reports from Turkey (HFC Hope for Children, CRC Policy Center), Italy (CESIE), Poland (from Stowarzyszenie Interkulturalni PL) and Greece (Hellenic Open University) are included.

Introduction and definitions of socio-economic groups

Socio-economic status is defined according to one central question in the survey. In this MiCREATE survey (WP 5, 6, 7), the children(aged 9 to 17 years) were asked whether they have more things, about the same number of things or fewer things than others in their class. Thus, the children are divided into three socio-economic groups that apply their perceptions as the point of departure which is fully consistent with the child-centred perspective adopted by the MiCREATE project. Note that, for various reasons, some of the national reports merge two of the groups. The way in which this was done in the various national reports is discussed below.

Given that the survey results draw on children's self-reported socio-economic status, the results should be interpreted cautiously, as the subjective classifications made when completing the survey may not give a complete demographic picture. Furthermore, note that the survey was not completed by migrant children alone. A large number of the children who completed the survey are local children, and when we designed the survey, we did not distinguish between local children with a migrant background and local children without a migrant background. So, we do not know with certainty the extent to which the voices of migrant children are heard in the survey. Local children were also interviewed, but we do not know whether the proportion of children with a migrant background among those interviewed is greater or smaller than among those who participated in the survey. Thus, it is difficult to make comparisons of the quantitative and the qualitative data.

Regarding the qualitative data, as the Danish report states, socio-economic status is a problematic category. The children interviewed did not talk much about this theme, and many of them did not know the meaning of the term. Nor was asking about socio-economic status included in the interview guide. The qualitative data indicate that socio-economic groups are defined slightly differently in the national reports. Furthermore, this is an inter categorial analysis. Thus, when it comes to the survey, we do not know the proportion of migrant children (newly arrived, long-term residents and locals) in the various socio-economic groups; when judging the comparisons presented, please bear these considerations in mind.

In the Spanish survey, only 3.3% of the respondents mentioned difficulty in meeting their financial needs, but in focus groups and interviews, researchers observed that a large number of the children were of lower socio-economic status. Most children rarely talked explicitly about this, but their living conditions and experiences provided information about their situation. Taking these observations as the point of departure, the report distinguishes between 'children without financial difficulties'/'higher-income families' and 'lower-income families'.

The Slovenian report distinguishes among lower, middle and higher-middle socio-economic status. These three groups are identical with the three groups surveyed. The report does not indicate the sizes of the three groups.

The Austrian report states that the socio-economic status of the children in the sample varies widely. The report says that some children live in large apartments and their parents have enough money to support them or to go on vacation with them, others come from socio-economically disadvantaged families. Thus, the report distinguishes between well-off families and disadvantaged families. The report does not indicate the sizes of the two groups.

English report distinguishes between higher socio-economic status (18%), middle level socio-economic status (68%) and lower socio-economic status (9%). The report adds that pupils' socio-economic status was difficult to ascertain during interviews and in focus groups.

The Danish report refers to the survey. The report states that the respondents were asked whether they 1) 'have more things than the others in my class', 2) 'have about the same number of things' or 3) 'have fewer things'; 18.1% said that they have more, 75.9% said that they have the same number and only 6% said that they have fewer. Because of the size of group 3, group 2 and group 3 were merged into one group for further analysis. Thus, the Danish report distinguishes between group 1 and 2 socio-economic status (SESG1 and SESG2).

The French report does not define socio-economic status. However, socio-cultural status is included in the analysis.

Socio-economic status of the children in their pre-migration period. Children's experience of migration

The data from Spain indicate that higher-income families emigrate for career-related reasons, whereas lower-income families emigrate because of financial hardship. The children from the first group perceive the migration process as a good experience, whereas the children from the second group perceive it as a demanding experience. This is known from interviews (qualitative data). Thus, socio-economic status influences the migration experiences of the children according to the Spanish report.

In Slovenia, interviews with migrant children revealed hat the majority of migrant children believe that their families have benefited from migration. That applies to children from well-off families and to children from lower income families. Most of the migrants are labour migrants, and some of them are overqualified for their jobs (e.g. computer engineers working as blue-collar workers, or pharmacists working as cleaners).

In Denmark there seems to be a significant socio-economic difference between children of working migrants and refugees, as some refugees lose everything when they come to Denmark and have to begin all over again. Children of 13 and over (in Denmark you must be over 13 years of age to take a part-time job) often have part-time jobs, either to help their families (children from the lower socio-economic group) or to earn pocket money (children from the higher ocio-economic group). In the interviews, the children's awareness of their parents' psychological or economic needs was significant, to the extent that the children burdened themselves with responsibilities far beyond their age and abilities.

In Austria, the children interviewed say that they and their families are migrants for many different reasons. Some have emigrated because of financial need. Some are migrants looking for work, a better future or education. Some children even leave their families in their countries of origin, in order to acquire a better education in Austria. The data do not say whether children and their families from higher-income groups, middle-income groups and lower-income groups migrate for different reasons. It would be interesting to examine this further.

With one exception, the WP9 reports do not say anything about the experiences of migrant children. This is addressed in a more concrete way in the WP8 reports because the WP8 reports examine the conditions of migrant children in transition, that is, newly arrived children who live legally or illegally in various countries. Many of these children are unaccompanied by a parent/guardian.

Reporting from the refugee camp in Calais, the French WP9 report states that migrant children who are financially well-off are in a better position than children from lower socio-economic groups. They have a much greater chance of obtaining the necessary papers and tickets, and often face a less dangerous and less traumatic migrant journey. Thus, some of these children do not have to work to pay for their passage. Furthermore, they are in a better position because children who are financially well-off often are better educated and speak English. Thus, they are better able to seek help from institutions and associations, and are more aware of their rights and have a better understanding of legal procedures. In this situation, being in contact with family is important. A young person who is no longer in contact with his family – and this is often the case with children from lower socio-economic groups – can only rely on himself. Therefore, they have few resources, including information.

In Greece, poor migrant children are especially vulnerable. Seeking asylum is, in theory, free, but no state-funded free legal aid is provided at first instance, and 2 of 3 applicants do

not benefit from free legal assistance at second instance (The Greek report, p. 11). It is difficult to find a place to live, and housing remains a concern for thousands of refugees, including children unaccompanied by a parent/guardian (p. 12). Many of these children try to find unspecialised work – often as illegal workers – to survive and to send money to the families they have left behind, and support them financially (p. 14). The report states that education is a basic human right and a key to integrating refugee children (including children unaccompanied by a parent/guardian) (p. 40), and adds that educational success, particularly if it leads to employment, may change children's socio-economic well-being for the better (p. 18). The report concludes (p. 14) by noting the need for vocational-education language acquisition and labour market skills, in order to improve the children's socio-economic status.

In Turkey, many children are living in poor families. Many Syrian refugees are excluded from the labour market, or they earn an inadequate income to support their families. Thus, migrant children are forced into the labour market, in order to support their livelihood. The report states that the main reason for migrant child labour is poverty (The Turkish report, p. 5 and 15). The report adds: 'Syrian migrant children work for very low wages in informal and insecure jobs that require physical strength and have heavy and unhealthy working conditions' (p. 5–6). They are exploited as cheap labour, and the labour regulations are insufficient to protect the children (p. 6). Research shows that 54.6% of the Syrian refugees think that the Turks exploit Syrians (p. 15). The report adds that 'local people of Turkey, surrendered to the discriminatory ideology against Syrian immigrant due to increasing nationalist policies and economic hardships in the labour market' (p. 29). Being forced into the labour market in this way excludes them from educational system, which is one of their fundamental rights. Thus, the family's socio-economic status is a factor that determines the education the migrant children.

The turkish report concludes that 'for Syrian migrants, poverty appears to be the root of many other additional deprivations', that is, it is due to a lack of essential goods and equipment that children need for both for everyday life and education.

Many refugee children unaccompanied by a parent/guardian refugee live in Sicily. The Italian report focuses on this group of migrant children. Knowledge of their socio-economic status is lacking (p. 8). What is known is that completing the asylum application takes a lot of time. Not having a residence permit makes it difficult to attend vocational training (The Italian report, p. 52), and it is a challenge for many children to find a job because they are underage (p. 50). Thus, many unaccompanied minors and youths who have just turned 18 end up working illegally in agriculture, suffer exploitation and social exclusion, and some end up living on the street (p. 52). But most of the children want to get a job in order to support their families back home.

The Polish report states that in Poland, 'The major problem that needs to be addressed for the refugee's children social welfare is to diminish the socio-economic gap caused by the outcast' (The Polish report, p. 2). On the other hand, the report states that the migrant

children interviewed are unable to determine their socio-cultural status, and they do not report unmet needs (p. 47).

Socio-economic status, and dynamics and factors that influence the integration of migrant children

The countries that report on this theme (the integration of migrant children) say different things about social groups, and inclusion and integration. But it seems that according to many parameters, children from higher-income groups feel that conditions are better for them. But there are differences too, for example, when it comes to leisure activities, and their relationship with teachers.

In Spain (primarily based on data from the survey) it seems that children from families in financial difficulty are less confident with their family and their friends, and they participate in fewer organised leisure activities. On the other hand, they are more likely to go to school than children from families that are not in financial difficulty. The reason for that is that they feel more comfortable at school than at home, and they feel more valued by their teachers than by their families. Children from better-off families also enjoy going to school. However, these children tend to feel that they belong to the school to a higher degree than the first group.

English children from lower socio-economic groups are less likely to feel safe at school than children from middle and higher socio-economic groups. They are more likely to feel unsafe when asked about something by a teacher, they feel less accepted by their teachers and peers, and they are more likely to feel bullied and treated unfairly by teachers and peers. Furthermore, in England, children from lower socio-economic groups are less likely to report parental support and having the friends they want. Children from lower socio-economic groups report that they are in a weaker position than children from middle and higher socio-economic groups, and that they feel less positive about the future. Apparently, children from lower socio-economic groups are less likely to participate in organised activities than those from a higher socio-economic background; however, this survey finding was not statistically significant.

In Slovenia it seems that children from lower-income groups are more likely to live in inadequate houses and to have health problems. When it comes to discrimination, teasing and bullying there are no significant differences among the income groups, and, similarly, when it comes to leisure activities, there are no significant differences. Apparently, if the children find a leisure activity interesting, they participate.

Unlike in Slovenia, in Austria, children from lower-income groups attend leisure activities less frequently, for financial reasons. As in Slovenia, they live in less adequate houses than children from better-off families, and they go to schools for lower-income groups (the report states that Austria is a two-class society with two different types of schools, one for children of higher socio-economic status and one for children of lower socio-economic

status). This finding is based primarily on the interviews, the qualitative data, but it is noted that the quantitative data show that the more socio-economic difficulties a child has, the worse are his/ her relationships with classmates and teachers. Thus, children from lower-income groups report more frequently that they have a poor relationship with their teacher – so, there is a difference between the Slovenian and Austrian cases.

Socio-economic status and the conceptualisation of one's well-being and satisfaction with life

The countries that report on this theme (well-being and satisfaction with life) say some of the same things about well-being and satisfaction with life, especially, when it comes to further education.

In Spain and Austria children from both lower and higher socio-economic groups give high priority to further education. They expect to be able to receive education. Children from lower socio-economic groups in Spain say that they want education, to 'make money', and for social transformation. Generally, the Spanish and Slovenian reports indicate that children from higher socio-economic groups are more satisfied with their lives than children from lower socio-economic groups. But regardless, children from lower socio-economic groups aspire to improve their social status in all three countries.

Thus, children find that migration may pave the way to increased well-being.

The importance of education is also emphasised in the WP8 reports (see above). Access to education is important for migrant children in transition, and is important for improving their socio-economic status.

Generally, children without financial difficulties are more satisfied with their lives than those with some or extensive financial difficulties. They feel better about themselves, compared to other children.

In Slovenia, in terms of satisfaction with life, some children of lower socio-economic status were more likely to miss their life in their country of origin, and to want to return there. In England, migrant children from lower economic groups were less likely to report being satisfied with their lives, and less likely to feel positive about their future, in comparison to children from middle and higher socio-economic groups. Similarly, in Denmark, children from higher socio-economic groups felt more positive about the future than children from middle and lower socio-economic groups.

Socio-economic status and perceptions, values, attitudes and opinions regarding equality, intercultural dialogue, intercultural conflicts, cultural and religious pluralism, migrants and migration

The Spanish report states:

> There were no significant differences regarding the perceptions and attitudes about intercultural differences or migration issues. Both children from upper-income families and lower-income families expressed a sense of social justice. They expressed that they liked to have classmates with different backgrounds and have friends from different countries, and most of them claimed the need for equality. Hence, socio-economic status was not a variable that affected the children's visions about diversity.

In England, with regard to the survey statement that 'In our class, pupils of different ethnicities/races/religions get along well', those belonging to the middle socio-economic group were more likely to agree than those in the higher and lower socio-economic groups. In contrast to this, in Denmark, there are no significant reported differences between the two groups (lower and middle socio-economic group, and the higher socio-economic group), regarding the experience of being at school, and the feeling of safety and belonging in the class. In Denmark,in some cases, children from higher socio-economic groups are more likely than children from middle and lower socio-economic groups to feel that they are treated unfairly by their teachers (because of their religion and where they live), whereas children from middle and lower socio-economic groups are more likely than children from higher socio-economic groups to feel that they are treated unfairly by their peers (because of their nationality). A larger number of the children from the middle and lower socio-economic group than children from the higher socio-economic group say that they are not allowed to speak languages other than Danish at school.

Socio-economic status and perceived advantages and weaknesses of existing models for integrating migrant children

Groups of different socio-economic status seem to express similar opinions about the advantages and weaknesses of existing models for integrating migrant children. However, in Austria some children emphasised that having a place to live, a job and money, and learning the language may help with integration.

Final Discussion

It is important to bear in mind the limitations of this cross-cutting analysis, outlined in the introduction. We must be very cautious when interpretating the results and making comparisons. The analysis section reveals one further reason for caution. With the national reports (the qualitative and quantitative reports) as their starting points, the national teams have selected some of the most important themes that show significant differences when it comes to the socio-economic status of the children. Owing to the requirements for the

length of the reports, not all themes are analysed in all reports, and the national teams have not chosen, studied and commented on the same themes.

With these reservations, we would like to highlight four points that address socio-economic status and integration, although we note further research on these points is needed.

1. The findings from the national reports suggest that children from higher and middle socio-economic groups feel more positive about their future than children from lower socio-economic groups do. They have a more satisfactory experience of migration, they are more satisfied with their lives and they feel that their living conditions are better than those of children from lower socio-economic groups. But we do not know whether they feel more integrated in their societies for this reason. However, there seem to be differences between the countries on this point.
2. Children from all socio-economic groups give high priority to education. Children from all socio-economic groups believe that education is of great importance.
3. Apparently, socio-economic status is not a variable that affects values related to diversity and attitudes to models of integration. Furthermore, it is a variable only to a lesser degree affecting whether the children feel they are being fairly treated by their teachers and peers.

The findings of the WP8 reports (and the French WP9 report) indicate the importance of changing and 'enhancing/improving' the socio-economic status of newly arrived (unaccompanied) migrant children. In connection with this, education seems to be a key factor. Access to education – and a residence permit – makes it possible for these children to eventually get a desirable and legal job, to improve their socio-economic status and in the long term, to be able to support their families in their native countries. These elements will facilitate the integration.

4. Conclusion

The crosscutting analysis aimed to gain insight into similarities and differences in integration processes, children's needs, and definitions of well-being from the perspective of age, gender, ethnic background, nationality, religion, legal status, and socioeconomic status. With the concept of intersectionality (Crenshaw 1991), the report generated knowledge on how these factors influence the children's perceiving of integration processes and their needs and well-being. Beyond that, the report focused on peer group dynamics, participation in leisure activities, classroom dynamics, and the children's future plans and aspirations.

The intersectional crosscutting analysis made it possible to understand different structures of inequality and domination and how those impact migrant children's needs and

well-being. Further, the intersectionality approaches allowed analyzing power relations based on gender, ethnicity, legal status, and socioeconomic status.

It became clear that concerning intersectionality, children are a highly heterogeneous group. Different social categories impact their needs and well-being and the national contexts they live in. It is important to conceptualize the group of children as highly diverse and therefore understand their different wishes and social positions they are located at.

Further, an intersectional analysis of the children's perceptions offers the possibility to connect the different social categories. Intersecting dimensions of, e.g., race, class, and gender are essential to understanding the children's needs and everyday realities. Regarding the overall aim of the research project, to investigate the integration realities of children, it is necessary to consider those dimensions. Especially the intersections tend to shape the experiences of migrant children.

What can be the right approach for one child might be difficult for another due to their every day realities created by those intersecting social categories. Therefore child-centeredness always needs to include an intersectional understanding of children as a diverse group regarding social categories. This understanding also needs to be considered when developing child-centered policies.

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