Resources, experiences, and support needs of families in disadvantaged communities

INTEGRATIVE REPORT D2.5

EDITORS: MARTINE BROEKHUIZEN, KATRIN WOLF, RYANNE FRANCOT, THOMAS MOSER, GIULIA PASTORI, LYUDMILA NURSE, EDWARD MELHUISH & PAUL LESEMAN

ISOTIS

INCLUSIVE EDUCATION AND SOCIAL SUPPORT TO TACKLE INEQUALITIES IN SOCIETY

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ISOTIS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The ISOTIS parent and child studies: reflection and recommendations

Paul Leseman, Martine Broekhuizen, Katrin Wolf, Ryanne Francot, Thomas Moser, & Edward Melhuish

INTRODUCTION

The increasing diversification of modern societies has put the issues of equity, inclusion and integration high on the agenda. Traditional inequalities in educational and social opportunities between the lower and higher social classes have not disappeared, on the contrary, but are nowadays complemented and sometimes outflanked by new disparities relating to the cultural and linguistic background of ethnic-minorities and newcomers to society. Reanalysis of several waves of international comparative studies on educational achievement from 1995 till 2015 point to a small, but steady increase of education gaps by socioeconomic status and immigrant background (Rözer & van de Werfhorst, 2017: ISOTIS report D1.2).

A consistent finding is that the gaps differ in size between countries, even when comparing highly similar groups (e.g., immigrants from the same country of origin, with the same migration history), suggesting that countries' education and social support systems do make a difference (Bradbury et al., 2015; Crul et al., 2012; Van de Werfhorst & Mijs, 2010). This calls for an analysis of what may explain these differences. In addition, variation in educational opportunities exists between different groups at risk and also within these groups (Crul et al., 2012; Riederer & Verwiebe, 2015), raising the question of how characteristics of groups interact with characteristics of the (early) education and social services systems of countries.

The increasing educational inequality is part of a wider problem of fading social cohesion and increasing tensions in multicultural societies. Some politicians, including the leaders of major European countries, have proclaimed the failure of multiculturalism in the past decade (Malik, 2015). Whether true or false, this has inspired political movements, particularly in Europe, to advocate nationalist and assimilationist policies and to abandon the principle of multiculturalism – the embrace of a culturally diverse, inclusive society. Previous research has shown that multiculturalism is related to a stronger sense of belonging and higher psychological wellbeing (Berry et al., 2006; Ward et al., 2019), raising the question about the extent to which current assimilationist tendencies in Europe influence the wellbeing, life satisfaction and sense of belonging of parents, and their willingness to invest in their children's development and learning, as well as their acculturation orientations.

Of particular interest is how professionals in education and other services working with children and families at risk of social exclusion, deal with the increased diversity and inequality. These professionals connect families to society and together with the families are responsible for children's wellbeing, development, learning and social opportunities. Professionals and their organizations are in the center of society's super-diversity. They are supposed to implement local and national policies, and are confronted with the tensions these policies may cause. How they decide to fulfill their professional tasks, which stance they take towards multiculturalism and multilingualism, may have big impact on children, families and, ultimately, society (Agirdag et al., 2012; Schachner et al., 2016; Van der Wildt et al., 2017).

ISOTIS WORK PACKAGE 2: INTERVIEWS WITH PARENTS AND CHILDREN

To understand the complexities of these urgent issues, research with a comprehensive multi-actor and multi-level approach is needed. The ISOTIS project was designed for this purpose. This report, ISOTIS Deliverable 2.5, summarizes studies that were conducted as part of a larger multiple methods research project designed to integrate the perspectives of different actors – children, parents, professionals, service providers and policy representatives – on educational opportunities, inclusiveness of society's education and support systems, integration and acculturation. The studies aimed to unravel the mechanisms underlying educational inequality and social exclusion. Several reports of the work in the different ISOTIS Work Packages are already available and will be referred to below. The present Deliverable, D2.5, pertains in particular to Task 2.6 as described in the ISOTIS Description of Action:

T2.6: **Final report integrating all findings in Work Package 2**: **"**This Task entails the further analysis and report of the interview data, the contribution of WP2 to the final conference and to final overall ISOTIS report. Based on the findings, policy recommendations for creating more efficient and equitable educational systems will be formulated."

More specifically, the present report includes the main results of:

T2.2: **The large-scale structured interview study among parents**, mostly mothers, conducted in ten European countries in four target groups: Turkish and Maghrebian (mainly Algerian, Moroccan, and Tunisian) first and second generation immigrants, Roma, and low-income, low-educated (non-immigrant) native-born mothers. Informants in all groups were deliberately sampled at two or more urban and semi-urban sites per country, resulting in a total sample of 3948 informants. The results of T2.2 are presented in Part 1.

T2.3: **The qualitative in-depth interview study amongst a subset of parents** in all target groups, in total 244, to deepen the understanding of their experiences with family life and the education system in their own childhood, as well as their current experiences with the education system and local support services, and detailing their experiences of being discriminated and marginalized. The results of T2.3 are mainly presented in Part 2, but partly also integrated in chapters in Part 1, where a mixed-methods approach was chosen.

T2.4: **The qualitative in-depth comparative study among children** in preschools and primary schools, conducted in eight countries, using a sophisticated methodology to invite children to share their ideas on the topics of inclusion and wellbeing, and to think of practical suggestions for creating inclusive early childhood centers, primary schools and after-school facilities where all children can feel well. In total, information from 331 children was obtained and analyzed. The results of T2.4 are reported in Part 3.

The present chapter precedes the detailed reports in the three Parts and serves as an extended Executive Summary of D2.5. The chapter integrates the main findings of the three studies, which are presented in more detail in the report. The chapter also refers to findings in other ISOTIS studies, including work that is still in progress (in particular a number of PhD theses). All ISOTIS work was presented at the ISOTIS final conference in Coímbra, Portugal (1-4 October 2019). Recommendations were discussed with the external advisors. The present chapter presents the main recommendations for practice and policy following from the work in WP2, and the discussions in Coimbra. More recommendations are included in the other chapters in this report.

EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS AND THE HOME LEARNING ENVIRONMENT

Overall, parents in educationally and socioeconomically disadvantaged groups interviewed in the European countries participating in ISOTIS, had moderate to high educational aspirations for their children, provided home learning environments that are conducive to children's early development and learning, and were committed to supporting their children in school (Wolf et al., 2019a: Chapter 1.1.1 of this report; Ferreira et al., 2019: Chapter 1.1.2; Kolancali & Melhuish, 2019: Chapter 1.1.3). There were, however, marked differences between and within the four target groups of ISOTIS, and between the countries and locations where they live. Educational aspirations were highest in both immigrant groups studied, families of Turkish or Maghrebian descent. In particular Turkish families reported to engage in a substantial amount of informal education practices with their children at home and also to involve children in religious education in the community. Informal education at home and community activities both had a particularly strong focus regarding oral language and numeracy, often using story telling with a moral or religious purpose. More narrowly defined early literacy practices, such as shared reading with the children, also occurred in all groups, but were less frequent in families whose heritage languages were predominantly neither scripted nor predominantly used in scripted form, nor taught in school, such as is the case for Berber and Roma languages.

In immigrant families, parents often used the heritage language in oral activities and informal numeracy instruction (Kolancali & Melhuish, 2019: Chapter 1.1.3; Leseman et al., 2019a). Heritage language use in informal education at home was most prominent in the Turkish group, in all countries where Turkish parents were interviewed. Literacy activities were more often conducted in the national language by all groups. For instance, Roma parents reported using literacy activities with their children exclusively in the national language. A conclusion based on this, is that, overall, immigrant, Roma and low-income children come to (pre)school better prepared than is often assumed by teachers and in public discourse, but their skills are not easily expressed in the national language and consequently risk not being recognized.

Families within the four ISOTIS target groups differed in the educational aspirations they hold for their children and in the quality of the home learning environment they provide. Across all groups, higher educational aspirations and provision of a home environment that is conducive to children's development and learning was characteristic for higher educated parents, for parents who are more integrated in society, for parents who feel greater wellbeing and competence as a parent, and for parents who are relatively satisfied with their lives (see below). Material deprivation, or poverty, and experiences of being discriminated were negatively associated with providing a stimulating home environment. This pattern of findings suggests polarization within groups, which is further elaborated below.

Recommendation 1

To value parents and their investments in children's development and learning, and to encourage them to sustain this, recognition at all levels (from professionals at centers and schools, to local and national policymakers, politicians, and media) is needed of parents' educational and mobility aspirations and their efforts to educate their children. Recognition is also needed of the knowledge and skills children have already acquired when they start in an early childhood education and care (ECEC) program or in primary school, and these educational institutions should build upon children's competences instead of focusing on what they have not yet mastered.

PARENTS' INVOLVEMENT IN PRESCHOOL AND PRIMARY SCHOOL

Comparing parents of younger and older children, the engagement in informally educating children at home, seemed to decrease over time in all groups. A possible explanation is that, in the perception of parents, primary school takes over, or should take over. This perception is reinforced by schools' practices regarding parental involvement and parent-school partnerships. In the early years, at preschool, parental involvement in the preschool activities was more central to the preschools' work plans than in primary school (Francot et al., 2019a: Chapter 1.2.1; Francot, in preparation). Also parents, perhaps due to their own education background and proficiency in the national language, may not feel competent enough to support their children's learning when they become older and require higher level support through conversations, reading activities and help with homework (Francot et al., 2019). This is reinforced by the experiences of parents when they participate in school activities in the later years. They reported in in-depth interviews feeling that they are not taken seriously and that they are not competent enough in the national language to be involved in academic activities, such as leading a reading group in the classroom (Erdem-Möbius et al., 2019: Chapter 2.3; Nurse et al., 2019: Chapter 2.1). Also parents in in-depth interviews indicated that much of the information sent to them by (pre)schools was difficult to deal with and that they preferred face-to-face communication with preschool staff and teachers (Francot et al., 2019; Nurse et al., 2019: Chapter 2.1).

A related point, although parents on average perceived the relationships with the teachers of their child as positive (see below), these perceived relationships were more positive in the preschool than primary school period (Leseman et al., 2018b). The declining educational support at home, the declining involvement of parents in school and the less positive relationships with teachers in the later years could be problematic for several reasons. Towards the end of primary school, between children's ages 10 and 14 years in most countries, important decisions are taken with regard to the transition to secondary school. Being familiar with the school, having good relationships and being on speaking terms with the teachers, and maintaining high educational aspirations seem essential prerequisites for fair shared decision making about educational transitions. This will apply particularly in countries where educational decisions are more subjective, not strongly based on child assessments, and where secondary schools are highly differentiated, as found in another ISOTIS study (Passaretta et al., 2019: D1.4). Also important in this context is that the ISOTIS children's study revealed that the continuity between home and (pre)school was critical for children of diverse backgrounds to feel positive and included, to build their identities as citizens in the country of residence and to prevent early distancing from school and society (Pastori et al., 2019: Chapter 3.3; see also below).

Thus, it is recommended that parent involvement be given a higher priority than currently is the case in most schools, with fundamental changes to the current models of parental involvement (Francot et al., 2019a: Chapter 2.1; Francot, in preparation) – in preschools, but especially in primary schools where participation of immigrant, Roma and also low-income native parents is lower. The climate at the ECEC center and especially the primary school should be truly inclusive, with clear invitations for parents to participate. Another ISOTIS study gives additional information, reporting on case studies of good practice regarding creating an inclusive school climate (Aguíar et al., 2018; D4.3). Instead of involving parents as teaching aides and requesting them to do activities that risk feelings of incompetence and shame, strategies of raising parental involvement should attempt to involve parents as resources, for instance as knowledgeable about their own culture and country of origin having access to oral and written literacy traditions in other cultures. This is further supported by intervention studies of ISOTIS using the *Virtual Learning Environment* developed within ISOTIS. Parents were requested to contribute stories from their own childhood to the digital platform in order to use these stories as teaching materials in the classroom (Ereky-Stevens et al., 2019: D3.4; Pastori et al., 2019a/b: D4.4). Evaluation showed that parents and children especially liked this aspect of the intervention. It is important that (pre)schools change their views on parental involvement from not relevant (for

example, as reported for France; Slot et al., 2019: D5.4) or instrumental to their main tasks to a view that endorses collaborative partnerships with parents to provide an optimal educational environment based on equality and respect.

Recommendation 2

To increase involvement of parents with a low-income, immigrant or Roma background in the education of their children, ECEC centers and especially primary schools should change their current predominant instrumental-utilitarian approach into working with parents on equal footing, to utilize the resources that parents can offer, and to interact with them within an inclusive and safe climate. This can potentially involve digital means, such as the ISOTIS Virtual Learning Environment, to surpass communication difficulties and to introduce content derived from the resources of parents directly in the classroom.

POLARIZATION WITHIN GROUPS

Educational aspirations were lowest for the Roma families and also low for the low-income non-immigrant families in some countries, and this was accompanied by a comparatively less favorable home learning environment in these families (Ferreira et al., 2019: Chapter 1.1.2; Petrogiannis et al., 2019: Chapter 1.1.4; Wolf et al., 2019a: Chapter 1.1.1). In-depth interviews revealed that parents' biographical experiences with the education system in childhood and current poverty are possible explanatory factors (Nurse et al., 2019: Chapter 2.1). Roma and low-income non-immigrant mothers reported experiences of exclusion and discrimination in school and failure to achieve well in childhood, resulting in feelings of helplessness regarding the education of their children. For the immigrant parents this situation might be different. Many of them had high hopes for their children's educational achievement and believed that the host countries provide them and their children with opportunities for upward mobility. Their own childhood experiences with the education system may be seen as less relevant. Sometimes they have had only limited education themselves and now expect a lot from the new country in this regard. Even though the educational position of immigrants shows disadvantages overall (Rözer & Van de Werfhorst, 2017: D1.2), the immigrant parents see many examples of successful educational attainment in their families and nearby communities (Passaretta et al., 2019: D1.4).

With many of the Roma parents interviewed, negative experiences with the education systems seemed to be a general characteristic of their immediate social networks and extended families (Petrogiannis et al., 2019: Chapter 1.1.4). There were indications that, in contrast to the other groups, the social networks of these Roma parents embody an anti-education culture that negatively influences their educational aspirations and investments in the home learning environment (Strataki, in preparation). In-depth interviews suggest that this might be the result of cumulative negative experiences of successive generations of Roma parents with an exclusionary education system in the countries of residence (Nurse et al., 2019: Chapter 2.1; Petrogiannis et al., 2019: Chapter 1.1.4). Also in the children's study, the Roma children who were interviewed expressed fear of educational failure more than other children did (Pastori et al., 2019: Chapter 3.3; see also below).

A related key factor in the Roma group, more than in the other groups, is material deprivation, or poverty (Nurse et al., 2019: Chapter 2.1; Petrogiannis et al., 2019: Chapter 1.1.4). In the ISOTIS sample, the Roma group was by far the poorest, with high unemployment of fathers and mothers. They were

poorer than the low-income non-migrant groups in the same localities, and poverty was negatively related to educational aspirations and educational investments of the families. There was, however, variation within the Roma group. Educational aspirations were higher in subgroups of Roma who reported being more assimilated to the majority culture and language, and having more frequent inter-ethnic interaction (Petrogiannis et al., 2019: Chapter 1.1.4). The polarization within the Roma group was stronger than in the other groups, which may reflect the pressures on Roma to assimilate and give up their heritage culture and language, which Roma have experienced for several generations. These pressures may have been successful for some of the Roma population, but also may have created a subgroup of families who seem alienated from the education system and wider society. Breaking the negative cycle of distancing from society's educational institutions is of high priority and should begin with enrolling Roma children in inclusive early childhood education and care. In this regard, there are indications that – while controlling for personal and family factors, including poverty – local and national policies can make a difference. Another ISOTIS study found that in Czech urban areas where schools collaborated with NGOs to provide family support and after-school programs to Roma children, the educational aspirations of parents, against all aforementioned odds, were significantly higher (Leseman et al., 2019b). It seems critical that these NGOs endorse a missionary or idealistic view that embraces the heritage culture and language of the Roma. This brings these organizations sometimes in conflict with the schools but may, in the end, support a more positive attitude of Roma parents towards the education system (Guerra et al., 2018: D6.3; Barnes et al., 2019: D6.4).

In all groups, the higher the parents' own educational attainment, ability in the national language and inter-ethnic interaction, the higher their educational aspirations, the more favorable the home learning environment, and the earlier the use of ECEC (Wolf et al., 2019a: Chapter 1.1.1; Wolf et al., 2019b: Chapter 1.2.2). Related to this, if parents perceived positive relations with the preschool or primary school teachers of their child and experienced commitment of the teachers to the child's development and learning, their educational aspirations and investments were also higher. In contrast, where religion played an important role in parents' daily life, and maintenance of the heritage culture and language had high priority *and* was accompanied by less inter-ethnic contact, educational aspirations, investments in home learning and the use of a preschool tended to be lower in all groups. Thus, in all groups there were tendencies towards polarization. More generally, a pattern emerged indicating that the more assimilated and better integrated parents provided the best educational opportunities to their children, both at home and by early participation in preschool provision. On the one hand, this may be regarded as a positive finding. The downside, however, is that subgroups within each group with lower education levels, stronger religious ties and, regarding acculturation attitudes, a stronger cultural maintenance and even a separationist or marginalized profile (Alayli et al., 2019: Chapter 1.3.2), are less effectively reached and not sufficiently included in society's support and education systems. Yet, the needs for support are likely to be highest in these groups.

The cause-effect relationships are not easily established and are likely to be complex and reciprocal. In another ISOTIS study we found that professionals in early childhood and primary education and other services, differ in their attitudes towards cultural and linguistic diversity, which relates to how they perceive and relate to parents with diverse backgrounds (Slot et al., 2018; D5.3; see also Norheim, in preparation). These attitudes and practices of professionals regarding diversity reflected the official integration policies of their countries, but sometimes also revealed what might be called 'professional autonomy' and 'professional responsibility' (Van der Werf et al., in preparation), when professionals reported to deviate from official national policies to be more inclusive of the local communities they work with. ISOTIS studies and other studies point to variation between municipalities in terms of the presence of locally governed value-driven collaborative networks of services (Barnes et al., 2019: D6.4; Van de Werf et al., 2019; Van der Werf et al., in preparation), as will be elaborated below. Aggregated at the country level, there was a clear relation between parents' perception of their relationships with

professionals at preschool and primary school and the multicultural attitudes and practices of these professionals (Leseman et al., 2018b). A higher degree of multicultural practice at preschool or school in countries was associated with a more positive perception of the parent-professional relationships in these countries. Respectful acceptance of different social, cultural and religious backgrounds is needed. This will involve embracing cultural differences as shown in practice in classrooms and in other social services, and should involve parents in immigrant and Roma communities. In this regard, ISOTIS research finds that early years professionals have more positive multicultural attitudes and more often implement multiculturalism in practice, which sometimes deviates from official national guidelines or political discourse (Slot et al., 2018: D5.3). This is promising as the early childhood education and care system is one of the first major social institutions that parents of young children encounter. Positive experiences with an inclusive ECEC may set a positive stage for the next phase, should negative experiences not intervene.

Recommendation 3

To support integration and social mobility, polarization within groups at risk of social exclusion should be prevented, and to this end national policies that enforce assimilation and reduce integration to a binary choice (full adoption of the national language and culture vs. separation and marginalization) should be abandoned and replaced by policies that recognize the value of an in-group orientation (also as protection against adversity, uncertainty and stress), respects parents' choice for maintenance of the heritage language and culture, and actively supports hybrid forms of acculturation (maintenance of the heritage language and culture combined with an integrationist-participatory attitude).

RESPECTING THE HERITAGE LANGUAGES AND CULTURES IN (PRE)SCHOOL

Parents with an immigrant or Roma background reported that it was *important to very important* that (pre)schools respect their cultural heritage and acknowledge the differences between children, while emphasizing the equal value of all children (Erdem-Möbius, 2019a: Chapter 2.3; Leseman et al., 2018b). There was high agreement amongst parents in this regard. Regarding multilingualism at (pre)school, opinions differed more. There was agreement among immigrant and Roma parents that their children should learn the national language and that (pre)schools and schools should maximally support their children in learning the national language (see also Ereky-Stevens et al., 2019: D3.4). However, overall, these parents found it less important that (pre)schools also support children's competence in the heritage language. Parents may strongly advocate that their children learn about the heritage language and develop some proficiency in this language for communication with relatives and identity formation, but they do not see this as a main task for the (pre)school (Erdem-Möbius et al., 2019a: Chapter 2.3). They *do* see educating children in the national language as a core task of the education system. Also based on other ISOTIS studies, especially the intervention studies with multilingual support through the ISOTIS Virtual Learning Environment, an additional explanation could be that this differential attitude towards language support fits well with parents' educational and social mobility aspirations and reflects their view that learning the national language is important for children to succeed in education and society (Ereky-Stevens et al., 2019: D3.4). Parents fear that support for the heritage language at school could possibly be at the expense of learning the national language, although this fear is not supported by the scientific evidence on bilingual development. An ISOTIS study of bilingual development amongst Turkish children in London indicates that proficiency in English can

co-occur with proficiency in Turkish where children have enough experience of both languages (Kolancali, 2019; Chapter 1.1.5).

Also findings in the ISOTIS children's study are in line with this (Pastori et al., 2019: Chapter 3.3; see also below). Children responded to see it as desirable that the national language is spoken at school and that all children learn this language well. It allows them to interact with all children, regardless background, and it supports their learning in school. Among children's recommendations on how to receive a new child who does not speak the national language yet, a prominent suggestion by the children was supporting the newcomer to learn the school language as quickly as possible. The Turkish children in London expressed to prefer learning English over learning Turkish, but they wanted to learn Turkish out of respect for their parents.

Parents' views on the issue of multilingual support mirrored the views of teachers. Having a positive multicultural attitude and implementing multicultural practices in the classroom does not imply that teachers equally strongly advocate multilingual support at the (pre)school (Slot et al., 2018: D5.3). Altogether it can be concluded that representing multilingualism at (pre)school is important, because the heritage language is an inseparable part of the cultural background in most immigrant and Roma families. Recognizing its value serves an important emotional function. Children in the children's study suggested lists with key words and their translations in different languages to support communication in the classroom. Other children specifically mentioned that forbidding children to use their own language and failing to see multilingual children as resourceful in terms of language knowledge, was negatively related to their wellbeing, but, again, overall children subscribed to the importance of learning the national language.

Recommendation 4

To strengthen the relationships of parents with the education system, including ECEC, and society at large, to build the trust of parents in the education system and to prevent them from distancing themselves from education and society, an unconditional and sincere embrace of multiculturalism and multilingualism at (pre)schools is pivotal, while at the same time in addition – and not in contradiction to this – a relentless commitment of the education system, from ECEC to primary and secondary school, is needed to support children in learning the national language.

Full support for heritage language learning at (pre)school does not seem indicated, not as a general policy, given the complexities that come with the context of linguistic superdiversity. It should be noted, however, that there were differences between parents. Parents who themselves showed stronger heritage language maintenance and who, at home, predominantly used the heritage language, expressed a stronger than average advocacy of heritage languages support in (pre)school, but not to the same degree that they advocated recognition and respect for the broader cultural background at (pre)school. In-depth interviews with Turkish parents in Germany revealed that parents deliberately decide when and where to use the heritage language and that they consider use of the heritage language as part of their Turkish-German identity (Erdem-Möbius et al., 2019a: Chapter 2.3). Parents differentiated between private and in-group spaces, on one hand, and public spaces, on the other hand. They found it highly important that their children learn German, but also value highly recognition of Turkish as a valuable language and prefer support to Turkish language learning to smooth the transition from home to (pre)school. A possibility is also supporting parents to preserve their heritage language by providing home-based education programs in the heritage language (Anders

et al., 2019: D3.5; Cohen at al., 2018: D3.3), for which also a digital platform can be used (Ereky-Stevens, 2019: D3.4).

Interestingly, low-income, low-educated parents with a non-immigrant background, living in the same localities, also reported to value respect for cultural diversity at (pre)school, with roughly equally high importance ratings (Leseman et al., 2018b). Their opinion on multilingual support in (pre)school did not differ from those of the immigrant and Roma parents, and low-income non-immigrant parents also emphasized the importance of supporting all children in learning the national language. We, therefore, conclude that, at the local level, there is agreement among parents from different groups, teachers and children: ECEC services and primary schools should endorse multiculturalism and focus on key skills in the national language that are essential for upward mobility. Including multiple languages in ECEC and primary schools is especially relevant for the emotional value.

Recommendation 5

To build trustful relationships with the education system and commitment to the wider society, recognition of the value of the multiple heritage languages and systematic representation of these languages at (pre)school is needed, for example by using digital platforms for instruction and communication, but full support of multilingual development as in dual language programs is only indicated in situations where a subgroup of parents want this and the particular situation (only one other language next to the national language) allows this. Alternatively, family-focused education programs can be made available (by or in relation to the (pre)school) for supporting children's heritage language learning.

EARLY USE OF ECEC

Participating in preschool education programs or high quality daycare (ECEC) is a critical factor in increasing the educational opportunities, integration and upward mobility of children from socioeconomically or culturally disadvantaged backgrounds, such as the immigrant, Roma and low-income native families involved in ISOTIS (Leseman & Slot, under review; Melhuish et al., 2015). Another ISOTIS study, reanalyzing data from large cohort studies across Europe, found that disparities in language, cognitive and social-emotional development emerge already in infancy, increase during the first years of life, and are very hard to tackle later in the educational career, in line with a vast international research literature (Passaretta & Skopek, 2018: D1.3). Using ECEC, however, reduces early disparities substantially. There is broad consensus that early intervention focusing on supporting children's development in several domains is one of the most effective ways to prevent and reduce early emerging education gaps, and also the ISOTIS evidence supports this. For children in disadvantaged circumstances the rule seems to be the earlier they start to participate in such programs the better (Melhuish et al., 2015).

Preschool use among the ISOTIS target groups was found to depend strongly on the universal availability and affordability of ECEC provision, and this explains a substantial part of the observed country differences in the use of provision by disadvantaged groups (Wolf et al., 2019b: Chapter 1.2.2; Ünver, 2019; Pavolini & Van Lancker, 2018). However, local policies to reach-out to these groups are also influential. In general, based on the ISOTIS parent interviews, use of ECEC before age 3 was rather low in most countries for all target groups, but in countries with universal entitlement from an earlier

age (England, France, Germany and Norway in the ISOTIS study), participation was clearly higher (Wolf et al., 2019b: Chapter 1.2.2; Leseman et al., 2019b). However, even in systems with early (but not compulsory) entitlement, local policies make a difference. Having a public or semi-public (highly subsidized) universal system, virtually free of charge, is not a guarantee that disadvantaged groups who will benefit from participation will actually use the provision. This is evidenced by the differences in use by parents with similar backgrounds between localities in countries with universal systems found in ISOTIS. Thus, also based on another study related to ISOTIS (Leseman & Slot, under review), targeted measures may be needed in conjunction with universal systems to attract children from disadvantaged groups (Passaretta et al., 2019: D1.4). This is an example of *progressive universalism*, whereby a basic universal service is supplemented by additional features based upon need. In the split, non-universal systems in other ISOTIS countries, early participation in ECEC depended on local targeted programs to reach out specifically to immigrants, Roma and/or low-income families. Targeted programs can be very effective, increasing the use of ECEC well before age 3 to over 80% in some cases, as we found. From age 3 or 4 years, when in most countries free or highly subsidized universal programs are available, participation increases to close to 100%. In the less wealthy countries with later universal entitlement to preschool or kindergarten, this increase in use to close to 100% occurs later, as an effect of availability of the provision.

Recommendation 6

To increase early use of ECEC by disadvantaged groups who will benefit from early attendance to ECEC, *either* early entitlement to universal (unitary) provision *together with* targeted measures to reach-out to disadvantaged groups, *or*, alternatively, implementation of early-onset targeted programs is needed that are specifically adapted to the needs, preferences and possibilities of disadvantaged children and families, acknowledging 'not one size fits all'.

Group and family characteristics are important. Roma children were the least likely to be in ECEC before primary school in each preschool year (Leseman et al., 2019b), but there was a strong confound with the country of residence and the national system in this country. Yet, controlling for country-effects by comparing Roma with low-income native-born groups in the same country and the same locality in that country, ECEC seemed more accessible for the low-income native-born group than the Roma. Similarly, in countries where a comparison between immigrant and low-income native groups could be made, accessibility for immigrant groups was equal to or higher than for low-income groups when only targeted programs were available. In contrast, accessibility and use was higher for low-income native-born groups when there was (quasi-)universal provision (Cornelissen et al., 2018; Leseman & Slot, under review). There appear to be interaction effects of system characteristics with family and cultural background characteristics. Higher-educated parents in the immigrant and Roma groups were more likely than lower educated parents in these groups to use early ECEC, before age 3. Higher educational aspirations were also associated with higher and earlier uptake of ECEC. Poverty level was negatively related to early ECEC use, probably because in ECEC some parental financial contribution is often requested. The number of children in the family and unemployment of the parents were likewise negatively associated with early ECEC use, probably also related to costs.

In addition to this, cultural factors and acculturation attitudes play a role. The reported importance of religion was negatively related to early ECEC use in all groups, but most strongly in both immigrant groups. The explanation can be twofold: (1) Deep religious commitment often goes together with a

view on family life and the role of the mother as main caregiver that does not match with attending an intensive universal ECEC-program, explaining reluctance to participate. In this context, the success of targeted programs in increasing the uptake of ECEC in immigrant groups well before age 3, also among families with strong religious commitment, is remarkable. A possible explanation is that they do not offer a full-day program, but instead a half day program for a number of days per week with a recognizable educational and social mobility orientation. (2) There can be a mismatch of religious-cultural values and norms (e.g., regarding adult-child interaction, food and dressing codes) and related socialization goals. Parents may feel that the ECEC provision is not supporting them in the upbringing of their children (Ünver, 2019). In this regard, targeted programs at the local neighborhood level enable tailoring to the specific needs, preferences and goals of parents in that neighborhood more than the usual universal provision does (Van der Werf et al., in preparation). Tailoring at the local level can include the opportunity to provide dual language programs in preschool (Erdem-Möbius et al., 2019a: Chapter 2.3). This potential advantage of targeting relative to universal approaches could be larger, the more a universal provision is subordinated to a national system and given the task to transfer the national values and culture, as in France (Slot et al., 2019: D5.4).

There are other indications that, at least for subgroups within the immigrant and Roma communities, adaptive practices and cultural inclusiveness are essential for increasing early use of ECEC. Acculturation attitudes that can be characterized as separationist were negatively associated with early ECEC use. Lower proficiency in the national language and higher proficiency in the heritage language were negatively associated with early ECEC use as well, but not in all countries (Wolf et al., 2019b: Chapter 1.2.2), suggesting that in some countries ECEC is more inclusive for immigrants and minorities. More inter-ethnic contact and acculturation attitudes that favor adoption of the national language and culture were especially in the Roma group positively associated with (early) ECEC use, which conversely means that less inter-ethnic contact, stronger in-group orientation and separationist attitudes predicted lower ECEC use. Causality is difficult to establish, but in-depth interviews with children and parents from the ISOTIS target groups suggest some mechanisms involved. When parents have less command of the national language and teachers devalue the heritage language, this works as an exclusionary mechanism: parents do not feel accepted (Erdem-Möbius et al., 2019a: Chapter 2.3). This mechanism pertains to the children as well (Pastori et al., 2019: Chapter 3.3; see also below), and may, through the children, influence parents' attitudes towards early participation in ECEC. Other studies in ISOTIS, especially the case studies of promising preschool and primary school interventions to increase the cultural inclusiveness of (early) education, support the importance of tailoring programs to the values and norms of parents (Aguíar et al., 2019: D4.3).

Recommendation 7

To reach-out to groups of families with a separationist or even marginalized acculturation profile, targeted ECEC programs need to be implemented that maximize trust, recognition of parents' (religious) values and concerns, bridge communication difficulties (by employing educators of the same background or by using digital platforms), and are provided locally, close to where the families live.

USE OF OTHER SERVICES

The importance of the early years also calls for other services to support parents in the upbringing of their children (Anders et al., 2019: D3.5; Barnes et al., 2019: D6.4). Relevant services include public

health care, family support, parent education programs, social work and welfare services. Parents were asked to indicate how frequently they had contact with these services, either through home visits by workers or by visits of themselves to the centers where these services were provided, and how useful these services were for them. A composite based on these indicators revealed differences between groups, countries and localities in received institutional social support. Overall, services seemed more accessible for low-income native groups than for immigrants and Roma. Within groups, use of services was related to stress factors in the family, as could be expected, because these services tend to be provided upon identified needs. Lower parental wellbeing, single parenthood, unsupportive social networks, and a number of other related factors were negatively associated with the use of services. Causality is again difficult to establish, but based on the wider research literature it is safe to assume that use of services does *not increase*, and is likely (somewhat) to reduce stress in families (Barnes et al., 2019: D6.4).

Another ISOTIS study, examining local inter-agency collaboration, found interesting country differences in parents' experienced institutional support, controlling for family and group characteristics. A further exploration of these country differences, using information from local policymakers and service providers (Guerra et al., 2019: D6.3), suggested an interesting relationship with policy. Strong bottom-up processes within a top-down national policy framework that facilitates the emergence of local collaborative networks of different organizations to tackle the complex, multifaceted problems of disadvantaged families, is a promising governance approach and rather strongly related to parents' perceived institutional support (Barnes et al., 2019: D6.4; Van der Werf et al., in preparation). A plausible interpretation is that these local networks have more out-reaching and are better able to tailor services to the varying needs of local target groups. Another important finding in this exploration of governance strategies was that well-functioning local networks of interagency collaboration require involvement of idealistic private parties, NGOs or charities, who engage with the local target groups and are committed to support integration and social mobility. These organizations possibly give a value-based direction to the local networks. In contrast, hierarchical public services (under top-down governance), such as the education systems in most countries, are likely to be less effective in reaching-out to families if they work in relative isolation from other services. It is unfortunate in this regard that the findings of the survey amongst professionals and managers of these services suggested that the preschool and primary school systems particularly, in most ISOTIS countries, have not prioritized interagency collaboration (Barnes et al., 2019: D6.4).

Recommendation 8

To support families in need (with low wellbeing and low satisfaction with life due to cumulating risks and stresses), value-driven local networks of collaborating services are needed that are geared to the target groups, know where and how to find families in need and are committed to help them to the benefit and educational opportunities of the children in these families.

INTER-ETHNIC CONTACT, INTEGRATION AND PARTICIPATION

The degree of inter-ethnic interaction and, related to that, parents' integration-oriented acculturation attitudes were found to be positively related to several other characteristics of the families, in particular parents' educational aspirations, informal education at home and use of ECEC,

as described above. The degree of inter-ethnic interaction depends, according to theory, on two basic factors: (1) The degree of neighborhood segregation and related to that the degree of (pre)school segregation, determining the opportunities to get in contact with parents of other ethnic groups and in particular the majority group. (2) Parents' personal preferences regarding contact and maintenance of the heritage culture (Broekhuizen et al., 2019: Chapter 1.3.1). In the in-depth interviews (Nurse et al., 2019: Chapter 2.1) it was apparent that many parents in the disadvantaged ISOTIS groups were aware that the nature of their housing, which was often spatially segregated from non-disadvantaged families, meant that the opportunities for interactions and communication with the mainstream of society were limited. Also, this neighborhood segregation was often linked to similar segregation in (pre)school for their children, thus limiting opportunities to interact with children from non-disadvantaged backgrounds.

Overall, inter-ethnic interaction occurred 'sometimes' according to the parents, but not frequently. Inter-ethnic interaction was lower in the immigrant groups than in the other groups, while in some countries the low-income non-immigrant parents also reported low interaction with other groups. Segregation at the school and neighborhood level were, overall the strongest predictors of inter-ethnic interaction. Although related, the two aspects of segregation had unique contributions, suggesting that school segregation is in addition to neighborhood segregation and cannot be eliminated by addressing neighborhood segregation alone. Parents' self-reported ability in the national language was a positive predictor too. This association appears to be a two-way relationship: some proficiency in the national language is required to be able and inclined to interact and communicate with persons of the majority group and through such interaction, proficiency in the majority language will increase. Most important, however, was the finding that parents acculturation preferences as such were *not* related to the degree of inter-ethnic interaction. We found no differences in inter-ethnic interaction between parents with a high preference for cultural maintenance and parents with a strong preference for adopting the majority culture. An explanation is that the two acculturation attitudes are largely independent. Parents, thus, can value maintenance of the heritage culture and at the same time find adapting to the majority culture and having friends from the majority group important too (Broekhuizen et al., 2019: Chapter 1.3.1).

As a further elaboration, to integrate the findings on inter-ethnic interaction and acculturation preferences, the Integration-Acculturation model of Berry and colleagues (2006) was applied. The model specifies two dimensions, the degree of *maintenance of the heritage culture vs. adoption of the majority culture*, and the degree of *interaction within the own group vs. interaction across ethnic groups*. In a preliminary analysis of the Turkish sample, using Latent Profile Analysis, the expected profiles found in previous research were replicated (Alayli et al., 2019: Chapter 1.3.2). Across countries, Turkish families showed either an integration-adoption profile (15%), an integration-cultural-maintenance profile (37%), a separationist-cultural maintenance profile (39%) or a marginalized profile (9%), the latter indicating that parents neither had a clear preference for maintenance or adoption, nor a clear preference for interaction and participation. The first two profiles are considered favorable, the marginalized profile is considered unfavorable, and the third profile in-between. A further exploration of the data (Alayli, in preparation), showed that the integration-acculturation profiles were, as expected, associated with the educational aspirations and the home learning environment in families. Parents matching the two unfavorable profiles reported lower educational aspirations and less investment in their children's development and learning. An important finding in this further exploration is that the proportion of parents in the unfavorable, 'separationist' or 'marginalized' profiles were not equal across countries. The two unfavorable profiles of Turkish immigrant parents were more frequent in Germany and the Netherlands, less frequent in Norway and England. These differences may be related to different migration histories of the Turkish in these countries. An additional possible explanation is that in England and Norway official integration policy favors

multiculturalism more than in the Netherlands and Germany, as was also found in the ISOTIS survey among professionals (Slot et al., 2018: D5.3).

Recommendation 9

To facilitate inter-ethnic contact and integration-oriented attitudes among parents, neighborhood and school segregation needs to be tackled within housing policy and urban development planning, while the formation of hybrid acculturation profiles, in particular the combination of cultural maintenance with an integrationist orientation on participation and inter-ethnic interaction, should be supported (see also Recommendation 3).

WELLBEING, SATISFACTION WITH LIFE AND FEELINGS OF BELONGING

The findings on parents' wellbeing, subjective competence as a parent, general satisfaction with life and feelings of belonging to the country of residence pictured a favorable situation, overall, but with some differences between groups (Melhuish et al., 2019: Chapter 1.3.4; Mussi & Pastori, 2019: Chapter 2.2; Leseman et al., 2018a). On average, parents reported feeling well and competent in child upbringing and they were satisfied about their role as a parent. Parents' satisfaction with general life conditions was overall less positively evaluated, especially in the Roma and low-income non-immigrant groups, and parents' more negative evaluations were specifically related to the higher poverty level in these groups (see also Nurse et al., 2019: Chapter 2.1). In addition, both the immigrant and Roma parents reported, on average, a moderate to strong sense of belonging to the country of residence, as did the low-income non-immigrant parents, with no clear differences between the groups.

However, there was variation within the groups that related to several risk and protective factors (Melhuish et al., 2019: Chapter 1.3.4). Wellbeing and life satisfaction were negatively related to poverty level, single parenthood and perceived low quality of the neighborhood because of violence, pollution and lack of safe play spaces for the children. In contrast, both wellbeing and life satisfaction were positively related to having a supportive social network involving relatives, neighbors and friends, and to being religiously involved, all pointing to the supportive value of parents' in-group. If these characteristics were taken into account, group differences disappeared (Leseman et al., 2018a). Feelings of belonging to the country were positively associated with parents' self-reported ability in the national language and having an adoptive acculturation attitude. Whether cause or effect, and whether complex chains of mediating processes are involved, remains to be established.

Two findings deserve further attention. First, as will be further elaborated below, experienced discrimination and unfair treatment predicted lower parental satisfaction with life and less strong feelings of belonging to the country. Experienced discrimination in public discourse and (social) media was especially negatively related to parents' sense of belonging to the country of residence (Melhuish et al., 2019: Chapter 1.3.4; Nurse & Melhuish, 2019: Chapter 1.3.5; Touny et al., 2019: Chapter 1.3.3). Second, for all three indicators of wellbeing and belonging, the perceived relationship with the (pre)school teacher was a relatively strong positive predictor, suggesting that positive relationships with professionals, which likely depend on respectful and inclusive interaction as was discussed above, have a protective influence against several sources of adversity. Note that the causal direction of these associations could not be established in the present research.

Recommendation 10

To increase parents' wellbeing and subjective competence as parent and educator, satisfaction with life, and feelings of belonging to the country, as essential conditions for optimal upbringing of children in the family and for parents' educational involvement, the material and financial conditions of living and the quality of the neighborhood should be improved to a sufficient minimum level for families who struggle with poverty and bad housing quality, and suffer from unsafe, polluted neighborhoods with insufficient play spaces for children.

DISCRIMINATION AT THE LOCAL LEVEL AND IN PUBLIC DISCOURSE

Perceived discrimination was found to be negatively related to parents' wellbeing, satisfaction with life and feelings of belonging to the country of residence (Melhuish et al., 2019: Chapter 1.3.4; Nurse & Melhuish, 2019: Chapter 1.3.5; Touny et al., 2019: Chapter 1.3.3). Parents reported relatively little perceived discrimination at the local level, that is, in the neighborhood or at (pre)school. Typically, such experiences occurred 'infrequently to occasionally'. In the in-depth interviews most parents of the immigrant and Roma group, and several parents in the low-income non-immigrant group, reported being victim of discrimination or unfair treatment at least once in their life (Nurse et al., 2019: Chapter 2.1). This could be discrimination by people in the street, but occasionally also teachers at school or other professionals. Although the interviewees did not report a big impact of these experiences, the findings of the structured interviews suggest that parents' life satisfaction and sense of belonging are affected by experiences like these. Local discrimination, as perceived by parents, was higher for the interviewed Maghrebian parents in Italy and Roma parents in Greece, compared to other parents and countries. In Italy, the higher perceived local discrimination appeared to be related to neighbors, on the one hand, and professionals in government services, on the other hand. In-depth interviews with a number of these parents indicated that their uncertain residential status, most being recently immigrated parents, and, related to that, the frequent contacts with a non-responsive bureaucracy for settling legal issues, could explain the higher perceived discrimination.

In contrast to the relatively low occurrence of local discrimination, immigrant and Roma parents alike reported experiencing much more discrimination in the media and the public (political) discourse. Typically, they reported experiencing public and social media discrimination 'occasionally to frequently' and this type of discrimination was relatively strongly related to reduced feelings of belonging to the country. Low-income non-immigrant parents reported experiencing overall similar (low) levels of local discrimination as the immigrant and Roma parents, but not higher levels of public and social media discrimination. Maghrebian parents in the Netherlands (Moroccan Arabs and Berbers) reported the highest level of public and social media discrimination. In the in-depth interviews several informants of this group referred explicitly to the "less Moroccans" incident in 2014, where attendees at a political rally, prompted by a populist party leader, called out that they wanted less Moroccans in the country. The incident made headlines and was widely shared through the public media. In addition, social media were mentioned in the in-depth interviews as a space where specifically Dutch Moroccans are targeted and threatened.

Incidents like these occur more often, in several countries, and are associated with the rise of populist parties (Malik, 2015; for example in France, Germany, the Netherlands). Changes in the public discourse on immigration, ethnic minorities and refugees towards a more critical stance and increased emphasis on assimilation policies have been observed in most European countries in the past decade,

often with the understandable intention to accelerate integration. Political leaders in a number of countries have openly declared the failure of multiculturalism as a strategy to increase the integration of minorities (Malik, 2015). In public discourse, there is a risk that incidents set the tone (due to representativeness bias), or that, for example, gender issues are misinterpreted and lead to stereotyping (Mussi & Pastori, 2019: Chapter 2.2). In these cases, injustice is done to the majority of immigrants and other minorities. Nuances get lost and often stereotypical characterizations of immigrant and minority groups prevail. The ISOTIS studies, in particular the interview studies, may contribute to a more balanced and grounded view, and may inform practitioners and policymakers to adapt their attitudes, practices and policies, so that they can be more effective with respect to the integration of immigrants, ethnic minorities, and lower social classes.

Recommendation 11

To support integration, to enhance parents' wellbeing and feelings of belonging, and to create optimal conditions for child upbringing, parents (and children) should be protected against discrimination, unfair treatment and negative stereotyping, both at the local level, in ECEC and primary school, and in public discourse, which calls upon the responsibility of professionals, policy makers and politicians.

RECONSTRUCTING IMAGES TO CHANGE POLICIES

Most parents in the groups studied in the ISOTIS project want the best for their children. They mostly have high educational aspirations and they support children's early learning at home. They participate in early education programs if these programs are available, accessible, affordable, culturally inclusive, and reach-out to families. Parents agree with the importance of learning the national language. Positive attitudes towards integration predominate, sometimes in combination with a preference for adopting the majority culture and more often with a preference for maintaining the heritage culture. An in-group (religious) orientation works as a protective factor against adversity, including experienced discrimination, but may also hold parents back from participation in (pre)school and the wider society if they experience these institutions as unsupportive to their specific needs and preferences. Locally tailored programs are needed that are committed to the upward mobility aspirations that parents hold for their children, while national (universal) programs somtimes impose the national culture and, therefore, risk to repel parents.

Overall, the relations with teachers and other professionals in local services are evaluated as positive by the parents. Inclusive multicultural attitudes on part of the teachers and respect and acceptance of other cultures and languages are conducive to positive parent-teacher relationships and parents' involvement in (pre)school. Inter-ethnic interaction was still found to be limited, but not dependent on whether parents take an adoption or maintenance stance. If inter-ethnic interaction occurred, it was experienced as satisfying by parents in all groups. Crucial to inter-ethnic interaction is the extent to which neighborhoods and (pre)schools offer opportunities for different groups to meet. Segregation by socioeconomic, immigrant or ethnic-minority background is in this regard a problem that should be tackled with priority. Immigrant parents, Roma parents and low-income majority parents, often living in the same poor areas, agreed that in preschool and primary school differences in cultural background should be respected and embraced, while experiences with local discrimination were overall infrequent.

There was within-group differentiation, sometimes with a polarized profile, as for instance was found in the Roma group (Petrogiannis et al., 2019: Chapter 1.1.4) and also in the different acculturation profiles of the Turkish group (Alayli et al., 2019: Chapter 1.3.2). Polarization is possibly related to a dominance of assimilationist attitudes and policies in societies' institutions, beginning with the (early) education system. Such policies force parents from immigrant and ethnic-minority groups to choose between cultural maintenance and cultural adoption. Integration is then framed as a binary issue. While an adoptive attitude, as also indicated by a higher level of proficiency in the national language, views favorably, some subgroups of parents within the larger groups, in particular the poorer, lower educated (and often more recently immigrated) parents are at risk of exclusion under such a policy. They seek social and emotional support in their in-group and religious community and tend to distance themselves from the (early) education system and other public institutions. If polarization within groups is reinforced by a strong emphasis on assimilation with the intention to accelerate integration, unintentionally the opposite (separation and marginalization of subgroups) may result. Moreover, if such a policy results in a split within communities, the power of in-group mechanisms to support emancipation and upward mobility of the group as a whole can be undermined (Putnam, 2007).

Recommendation 12

To prevent negative stereotyping and discrimination in social media, public media and public discourse, a fair, representative and balanced image needs to be constructed of children, parents and families in immigrant, ethnic minority and low-income (non-immigrant) communities; overrepresentation of incidents that can cause stereotyping should be avoided, while fair representation of the hardship, difficulties but also the successes of these communities should be promoted, and this calls upon the responsibility of professionals in public media, media authorities and politicians.

THE NEXT GENERATION: CHILDREN'S VOICES

The perspectives of immigrant, Roma and low-income children, even very young ones, are valuable in their own right, but can also complement the perspectives of the parents. The ISOTIS children's study used a sophisticated methodology to invite children to share their ideas on the topics of inclusion and wellbeing, and to think of practical suggestions for creating inclusive early childhood centers, primary schools and after-school facilities where all children can feel well (Pastori et al., 2018: D2.4). The methods invited children to speak, to discuss and also to collaborate, and appeared to be more than just research methods but to exemplify the kind of activities that could be implemented on a regular basis to increase inclusiveness and to support intercultural citizenship. Children liked them and were highly engaged. The finding fits well with another ISOTIS study, based on a review and multiple case study of interventions to create a more inclusive classroom and school climate. Collaborative work in diverse groups is an effective vehicle to increase inclusiveness (Aguíar et al., 2019; D4.3). The ISOTIS children's study was conducted in urban areas in eight countries in both ECEC, primary school and after-school programs, involving children with immigrant, Roma and low-income majority backgrounds. The selected settings exemplified good practices and, therefore, picture optimal scenarios but do not give a representative overview of what children with diverse backgrounds experience in general.

Cultural diversity, being from a minority background, or speaking another language at home were not big issues for preschool and primary school children (Pastori et al., 2019: Chapter 3.3). They know, of course, that backgrounds and home languages differ, but it does not matter and they do not refer often to their cultural and language background when describing their own identity. The social-relational spaces of the family and the (pre)school were the key components of children's identities in all studied contexts and children identified themselves with their (pre)schools as physical-social spaces where they belong and which, therefore, should be attractive, well-decorated, and offer dedicated spaces for them to play and interact with other children. One of the most-liked activities to elicit children's ideas in the ISOTIS children's study, was a tour through the (pre)school building guided by the children, revealing children's ownership and belonging.

Most important for children were their social relationships with peers and teachers at (pre)school, and with their families. Children perceived fluent boundaries between the social structures of the family and the preschool, and they liked it when their siblings were in the same (pre)school. Continuity between home and school through regular involvement of the parents in activities at (pre)school was mentioned by all children in all studied settings as desirable and contributing to their wellbeing and feeling of being included. Warm, affectionate relationships with the teachers were important too, and children were overall satisfied with their teachers. However, they mentioned also the rigidity of (some) teachers as a threat to their wellbeing; for example, when these teachers impose strict rules and fixed schedules that do not allow children time and space for their own activities. Negative peer-interactions, mocking and bullying, if not appropriately handled by the teachers, and incidents at the playground during unsupervised free time were mentioned as threats to wellbeing and inclusiveness in all contexts.

Language was not a big issue for children either (Pastori et al., 2019: Chapter 3.3). They considered it as self-evident and desirable that the national language is spoken at school and that all children learn this language well. It allowed them to interact with all children, regardless background, and it supported their learning. Among children's recommendations on how to welcome a new child who does not speak the national language yet (an activity in the children's study to elicit children's ideas), a prominent suggestion in all studied contexts was to support the newcomer to learn the language as quickly as possible by allocating extra learning time and intensive one-to-one teaching. Interesting were the recommendations to overcome obstacles in communication due to different language backgrounds. Children mentioned the use of posters, pictures, symbols and signs, and some suggested lists with key words and their translations in different languages to support communication. The older children noticed that their primary schools did not optimally support newcomers and could be more inclusive. Children in the Italian and Norwegian schools specifically mentioned that forbidding children to use their own language, or not treating children as resourceful regarding multilingualism, would harm their wellbeing. In another ISOTIS study using the ISOTIS Virtual Learning Environment to represent multiple heritage languages in primary school provided children with the opportunity to show their multilingual competences, which they particularly liked (Pastori et al., 2019a/b: D4.4) and which likely contributed to their sense of belonging. Turkish children in London, were mostly clear about their priorities (see also Kolancali, 2019b: Chapter 3.2.2). They preferred learning English over learning Turkish, but they wanted to learn at least some Turkish out of respect for their parents. This study also showed how children made judgments about what situations were appropriate for Turkish or English.

In poorer areas included in the children's study, children referred to poverty in different ways. They pleaded for free meals, tasty food, affordability of aides, play and learning materials, and they wanted their (pre)school buildings to be restyled, more beautifully decorated and better equipped with additional play spaces and play materials. They also mentioned high turn-over of teachers as a threat

to wellbeing. In all contexts, children expressed the wish for more spaces where they could play freely, be in charge, move, do sports, and hang around for social interaction.

Freedom to determine the time, space and content of activities was a recurrent theme in all settings (Pastori et al., 2019: Chapter 3.3). The older children who were interviewed at primary schools expressed they liked to learn and be provided with new experiences, but they also mentioned liking in- and outdoor free activities. The Roma children in Czech Republic and Greece expressed that they liked to learn but also mentioned difficulties with having to sit still for long hours and getting bored, and they also talked about their fears regarding tests and examinations, where they often experienced failure. More than the other children, and similarly in both countries, Roma children referred to subjects such as language and mathematics as particularly difficult. They pleaded for more time and space for physical activities and moving around, and reported to like physical education as a subject most. The Roma children also, more than the other children, mentioned incidents of being mocked and treated as 'different' as a threat to their wellbeing. Relatedly, the children from low-income families in Poland mentioned their low self-esteem and general feeling of malaise as undermining their wellbeing, which likely relates to the deprived situation of their families.

Recommendation 13

To support the wellbeing and feelings of acceptance and inclusion in children from diverse backgrounds, and to create a strong basis for children's later commitment to society, ECEC centers, primary schools and after-school care facilities should be recognized as spaces that are co-owned by the children and are important constituents of their identities, which requires an inclusive, multicultural, child-centered climate, collaborative group activities, participation of parents and fluid, easy to cross boundaries between children's homes and the institutional settings.

CONCLUDING

The local ECEC centers and primary schools are important social contexts, that connect parents to other parents, children to other children, parents and children to teachers and to the wider society. Ideally, the family, the ECEC center and the primary school constitute a coherent social-physical space for children in the neighborhoods where they live, where they can develop and learn, and where children's current and future wellbeing is given the highest priority. Ideally, the boundaries between the main systems in the ecological niche of the child are fluid, transitions between systems are smooth and not interrupting, and the systems work in concert to support all children's development to their potential. In this regard, more work needs to be done. ISOTIS studies have demonstrated that the transition from ECEC to primary school can be interrupting, because at primary school inclusiveness policies and outreaching to diverse families are less well developed. ISOTIS studies indicate that family-support programs and targeted interventions in ECEC and primary school often have an assimilationist starting point and professionals in ECEC and primary education in some countries advocate assimilation in line with national policy. ISOTIS studies have also shown that especially at the meso-level of the neighborhood and municipality, collaboration between services and value-based outreaching to children and families who are at risk of social exclusion is not optimal. ISOTIS studies also point to the inequality-reinforcing effects of national education systems, which relate to school segregation, age and procedures of selection, and differentiation in secondary school. Single measures, targeting one system level only, probably will not have large impact in long term.

Recommendation 14

To enhance the educational opportunities for children from diverse backgrounds, to lay a solid early fundament for children's integration and participation, and to ensure that the next generation will be included in society, concerted efforts are needed at different system levels, ranging from the micro-contexts of the family and the ECEC center to the macro-contexts of the national education and services system and to the education, integration and social policies that govern these systems; these concerted efforts require a comprehensive plan around a shared equity mission, based on evidence such as collected in the ISOTIS project, in order to settle ideological and political controversy.

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Part 1

IMMIGRANT, ROMA AND LOW-INCOME NATIVE FAMILIES IN EUROPE:

PARENTAL INVESTMENTS, EDUCATIONAL PARTNERSHIPS, AND INTEGRATION

1.1 THE HOME LEARNING ENVIRONMENT

The family constitutes the first and most influential microsystem for child development according to the Bronfenbrenner model (Bronfenbrenner, 1994). The quality of the home learning environment (HLE) is understood as a multidimensional concept, capturing the dimensions of structural quality, process quality and parental beliefs like educational aspirations (e.g., Kluczniok, Lehrl, Kuger & Rossbach, 2013). The process quality, covering the quality of all activities and interactions with the child, is directly related to child development and itself affected by the structural aspects and beliefs. Research has demonstrated that there are gaps in HLE process quality related to the family's socioeconomic status and educational background, and that these gaps lead to disparities in child development (e.g. in early language competencies; see for example Hart & Risley, 1995). ISOTIS colleagues from WP1 concluded from their analyses that later gaps in educational attainment can be rooted back to these early competence gaps (see D1.3; Passaretta & Skopek, 2018).

With data from the family interviews in WP2, we aimed at (1) exploring the HLE of different groups of disadvantaged families across Europe and their perceived support as well as (2) better understanding how the HLE quality is determined by different family characteristics in the studied groups of disadvantaged families. In this section, we present the first studies investigating these questions with WP2 data. The first three papers focus on associations between family characteristics and the home learning environment. Wolf et al. explored determinants of the HLE processes in all groups and countries and also took characteristics of the neighbourhood and the perceived support into account. In addition, Ferreira et al. investigated predictors of reading activities with the child in low SES families and families with a Roma background in Portugal, and Kolancali and Melhuish examined how family characteristics and migration-related factors such as acculturation attitudes relate to the parent-child-activities for families with a Turkish immigration background in England. In the fourth paper, Petrogiannis et al. focus on one special group of disadvantaged families, namely families with a Roma background, and studied their educational aspirations comparing between three countries. Finally, Kolancali studied determinants of children's competencies in their heritage language and the national language by collecting additional data for a subsample of families with Turkish immigration background in England. Together, these studies advance our knowledge about the home learning environments of different groups of disadvantaged families across Europe, and how we might support families in improving them.

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1.1.1 DETERMINANTS OF INFORMAL LEARNING ACTIVITIES IN THE HOME FOR DISADVANTAGED FAMILIES IN EUROPE

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THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Education is associated with economic outcomes, health, and the social integration of immigrants (see Skopek, van de Werfhorst, Rözer, Zachrisson & van Huizen, 2017). However, children's educational chances substantially depend on their informal learning opportunities in the first years at home, such as high quality parent-child interactions, or stimulating activities as reading to the child (Skopek et al., 2017). With this survey study in nine European countries, we aim at identifying family-/neighbourhood-/country-related predictors of variation in the informal learning opportunities in the home of children from disadvantaged families. Moreover, we explore under which conditions (e.g., regarding family and welfare policies) families with similar background provide more learning opportunities for their children in order to derive policy recommendations for better family support.

The bioecological model proposed by Bronfenbrenner and Ceci (e.g., Bronfenbrenner & Ceci, 1994), provides theoretical assumptions on how personal development is shaped by bidirectional interactions of the person (resp. the person's genes) with his/her multiple environments, which also have the potential to form the environments. Bronfenbrenner described five ecological systems as environmental contexts for human development. Microsystems are the immediate environments of a person (e.g., family, preschool) that cover the direct interactions with the social agents in these microsystems. Interactions between microsystems form mesosystems, which have indirect effects on development (e.g., relationship between family and preschool staff). Exosystems are contexts that do not affect the person directly, but the social agents of the person's microsystems (e.g., mother's work). A macrosystem includes a society's norms, values, conventions, traditions, laws, regulations and ideologies. The chronosystem reflects the time dimension and marks critical incidents during development (e.g., school enrolment, divorce of parents).

The family resp. the home learning environment (HLE) constitutes the most influential developmental context for children. Multiple studies demonstrated that the HLE has greater effects on child outcomes than any other context like educational institutions (e.g., Melhuish, Phan, Sylva, Sammons, Siraj-Blatchford & Taggart, 2008). This may partly be caused by generic factors, but research demonstrated discrete effects of environmental factors (Anders, Cadima, Evangelou & Nata, 2017). By its fundamental effects on children's early cognitive development, the HLE also affects further

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educational achievement since educational progress strongly depends on children's prior learning abilities (Stanovich, 1986; see also Skopek et al., 2017, p. 6).

Theories define three major components of HLE (see Kluczniok, Lehrl, Kuger & Roßbach, 2013). The *structural characteristics* cover the long-lasting background aspects like parents' education, family composition and the socioeconomic status (SES). The component of *beliefs and orientations* include parents' opinions regarding parenting and education like meaning of engaging in educational activities with the child and their educational aspirations for the child. In addition to the prevailing model, we also consider motivational and emotional aspects to be part of this component (e.g., life-satisfaction) given their influence on parents' readiness to provide stimulating activities with the child. The *educational processes* form the third component and cover all interactions and joint activities between child and caregivers or siblings. According to the HLE model, the processes are at the centre and directly influence child development. Structures and beliefs/orientations/motivations are intermediated by the processes, and, hence, affect child development indirectly (Kluczniok et al., 2013).

Theoretic models provide further explanations how these components interact with each other and influence child development. The *family investment theory* (e.g., Mayer, 1997) postulates causal effects of the family income on investments in educational goods and activities with the child. Hence, an economic deprivation limits family's means for buying educational toys or books, providing stimulating environments for the child (e.g., cost-entailing early childhood education and care or extracurricular activities), attending cultural events (e.g., visiting museum or library), and engaging in fostering activities with the child (e.g., reading to the child). According to Gershoff, Aber, Raver and Lennon (2007), financial hardship additionally influences family investments and parenting behaviour negatively by creating parental stress and conflicts in the interparental relationship. Hence, the parental well-being could be considered as a mediator in the relationship between poverty and family processes, which also emphasizes the importance of taking motivational and emotional aspects into account.

According to secondary analyses of European longitudinal large-scale assessments (Passaretta & Skopek, 2018), achievement gaps related to immigration background arise early, are substantive at grade 4, but decrease to a certain extent in further school years. SES related gaps arise early as well; furthermore, competence gaps at later age are mainly caused by these early SES-related disparities (Passaretta & Skopek, 2018). The authors conclude from their analyses that "the early years of life (before children enter school) are formative for patterns of inequality observed in school age, and this holds for achievement inequality both by socio-economic and migration status. Socio-economic and migration-related achievement gaps in school are therefore rooted substantially in the early years" (Passaretta & Skopek, 2018, p. 178).

The distal aspects of the neighbourhood can be considered as an exosystem in the Bronfenbrenner model, while some aspects might also form a microsystem if the child has directly interactions with it (e.g., playgrounds, close neighbours). Duncan et al. (1993) provide an overview on theoretical assumptions how the neighbourhood might influence individuals and found using longitudinal data that the rate of affluent neighbours was significant for child IQ and the rate of low-income neighbours predicted externalizing social problem behaviour.

Social and professional support for parents can be a buffer from parental stress caused by for example economic deprivation, problems at work, and inter-parental relationship conflicts. Hence, these support systems might moderate the effects of structural family characteristics on the quality of HLE processes by affecting the emotional/motivational component of the family environment. Yet, little is known about the availability and the usage of social and professional support for various groups

of disadvantaged families in various countries and if they function similarly for these groups and countries.

The present study is one of the first to examine the HLE in different groups of disadvantaged families across countries, using a design in which the same target groups (Turkish or Maghrebian immigration background, Roma families, and low-income native-born families) are studied in different European countries, allowing to estimate effects on different levels. Whereas group effects, controlling for structural family characteristics, may indicate group-specific cultural factors influencing the HLE, country effects, controlling for all of the above, may point to the role of the services and education infrastructure and to possible effects of national integration policies.

RESEARCH AIMS

In this paper, we aim at describing patterns of characteristics of the family (structural aspects, beliefs/orientations/motivations, informal learning activities with the child/HLE), characteristics of the neighbourhood, and the availability and usage of social and professional support for different groups of families with a young child (3 to 6 years old) living in different countries. Further analyses focus on identifying family- and country-specific determinants of the frequency of parent-child-activities in the home. In addition, we explore if family characteristics relate differently to the outcome across different groups of disadvantaged families.

METHODOLOGY

Data for this paper comes from a large-scale structured interview study with parents with a disadvantaged background in nine European countries (Broekhuizen, Ereky-Stevens, Wolf, & Moser, 2018), which was part of the EU funded Inclusive Education and Social Support to Tackle Inequalities in Society (ISOTIS) project (www.isotis.org). Interviewed parents had a child in the 3- to 6-age-range. Recruitment strategies were centred in neighbourhoods or areas in the selected sites with large populations of our target groups and included approaching ECEC centres, schools, community centres or parent organisations that focus on our target groups. Table 1 provides an overview of the sample sizes per group and per country.

The structured interviews were administered by interviewers with multiple language backgrounds, aligned with the parent's needs or preferences, using an online version presented on a laptop or, in case of technical issues, a paper-pencil version. The survey was available in all countries' languages, Turkish and Standard-Arabic, and parents could switch between languages while completing the survey. For most questions, the interviewers read the question to the parent, the parent answered and the interviewer recorded the response. For more sensitive questions (e.g., perceived discrimination), parents could record the answers themselves. The full survey took between 45 and 60 minutes. Parents received an incentive after participating in the interview (voucher of €5-10 or participation in a raffle). Data-collection for the interviews ran from December 2017 to July 2018.

Table 1. *Samples by Target Group and Country*

	Turkish	Maghrebian	Roma	Low-income	∑
Czech Republic	-	-	117	123	**240**
England	117	-	-	92	**209**
Germany	134	-	-	90	**224**
Greece	-	-	92	81	**173**
France	-	137	-	-	**137**
Italy	-	142	-	99	**241**
Netherlands	115	144	-	-	**259**
Poland	-	-	-	109	**109**
Portugal	-	-	123	117	**240**
∑	**366**	**423**	**332**	**711**	**1832**

The used measures in this study are described in the appendix (A1.1.1). First, we conducted descriptive analyses on the characteristics of the HLE, the families' neighbourhood and support per group and per country. It should be noted that the generalizability is limited, because the samples are not representative for the corresponding groups and countries. Hence, these statistics are provided only for a sample description and to disentangle the main differences between the subsamples. In a second step, we conducted regression analyses on the frequency of parent-child-activities in the home (conversation, reading, storytelling, mathematical, and practical/creative activities). The first block includes structural family characteristics (family employment, material deprivation, family status, educational background), the belongingness to a group (Turkish, Maghreb, Roma; reference: low-SES native-born), and the family's beliefs/orientations and motivational aspects (parental self-efficacy, educational aspirations, life satisfaction in the country). The second block adds characteristics of the neighbourhood (quality of neighbourhood, cultural diversity in neighbourhood, intercultural contact) and family support (frequency of used professional support, perceived social support). Interaction analyses can be applied for exploring differences in the significance of predictors between groups and countries. For obtaining first insights into country x group effects, we conducted a third regression block that also considered interaction effects of the family's educational background and the group belongingness. We conducted all regression analyses in MPlus with full information maximum likelihood (FIML) for estimating missing values.

RESULTS

Descriptive results

The table in appendix A1.1.2 provides an overview of descriptive statistics of the subsamples per group and per country.

Structural family characteristics: Families with a Roma background seem to be especially disadvantaged in our sample with regard to their socioeconomic status (employment, education, material deprivation). However, we also found variation across countries. Families with a Turkish immigration background report highest educational background and lowest material deprivation – which may be caused by the sampling strategy that aimed at recruiting Turkish families with both low and high SES. For the Maghrebian group, we also found considerable variation across countries. Families with a Maghrebian immigration background in Italy, for example, reported least often that both father and mother are unemployed but reported highest material deprivation. In the native-born low-SES group, we found highest unemployment rates and lowest educational backgrounds in England and Portugal.

Family beliefs, orientations and motivations: Parents in all groups and countries report on average a moderate to high well-being, a high life satisfaction in the country and very high parenting self-efficacy, which also might reflect some social desirability in the response patterns. Families with a Roma background express lowest educational aspirations for their child. Highest educational aspirations are expressed by families with a Turkish or Maghrebian immigration background. This is in line with previous research demonstrating that immigrant parents report higher aspirations for their children's educational trajectories than native-born parents do, which could be explained by a hope for social mobility (e.g., Raleigh & Kao, 2010).

Characteristics of neighbourhood and support: The average perceived quality of the neighbourhood is moderate for all groups and countries. Families with a Roma or immigration background report that their neighbourhoods are culturally more diverse than native-born low-SES families do. For some groups, data indicated a positive relationship between neighbourhood's diversity and parents' intercultural contacts. Regarding the perceived social support, we found highest means for native-born low-SES families in all countries and lowest means for families with Roma background in Greece and families with a Maghrebian background in France and Italy. The usage of professional support in the last six months is very low in all groups and countries despite of considerable variation across some countries. Overall, we found more variation within-groups and between countries than between-groups. This implicates effects on national and local policies on the purchase of support services.

Frequencies of informal learning activities in the home: On scales running from never to every day, parents on average rated the frequency of talking or reading with their child as several times per week. However, there is also considerable variance across groups and countries. Families with Maghrebian background in Italy and Roma families in Greece reported that they less often invest in such activities than families with Turkish background or low-income native-born families. We found very frequent mathematical activities for families with a Turkish immigration background in all countries, for native-born families in England, Germany, Greece and Poland, and for families with a Maghrebian background in the Netherlands. Storytelling seems to be a less frequent parent-child-activity in the interviewed families in contrast to practical and creative activities, which are relatively frequent in all groups and countries.

ISOTIS

Determinants of informal learning activities' frequency at home

Family characteristics: In the first regression model (see table 4), we included all family characteristics as predictors. Family's employment correlated positively with the frequency of reading as well as practical and creative activities. Hence, such activities are less likely when both parents are unemployed and more likely when both parents are employed. Material deprivation was a negative predictor, especially for the frequency of conversation and reading activities, and to a lesser extent also for storytelling and mathematical activities. The educational background was a significant predictor of all informal learning activities except for practical/creative activities. Whether the parent was single or not proved to be significant for the frequency of conversation and reading activities: Single parents engage less often in such activities with their child. The parenting self-efficacy correlated positively with all outcomes. The parents' educational aspirations for their child related positively with the frequency of conversation, reading and mathematical activities. The parent's life satisfaction in the country was not relevant for the frequency of informal learning activities in the home. We explored differences between groups and countries by investigating dummies regarding the belongingness to a group and country (with native-born low-SES families in Germany as the reference group because this subgroup seems to be least disadvantaged according to employment, educational background and material deprivation). Findings revealed substantial variation across groups. Parents with Turkish immigration background often reported more frequent activities with their child, especially in the Netherlands. Parents with a Maghrebian immigration, however, reported less frequent activities other than storytelling, though there is also variation across countries. In the Netherlands, for example, the reported frequency of informal learning activities of parents with a Maghrebian immigration background did not differ significantly from the reference group or was even higher as in the case of reading activities. For families with a Roma background, there is also evidence for substantial variation across countries. Besides, Roma families engage like families with a Maghrebian background more often in storytelling activities with their child in comparison to the reference group. Furthermore, low-SES native-born families in most countries report more frequent informal learning activities than the reference group. The variance explained by those family characteristics ranged from R^2=.11 for storytelling to R^2=.28 for conversation activities.

Characteristics of neighbourhood and support: Characteristics of the neighbourhood and family support are less predictive for the frequency of joint parent-child-activities. However, the amount of intercultural interaction correlated positively with the frequency of all kind of activities. For storytelling activities, we also found the perceived neighbourhood quality to be significantly and positively related with the frequency of such activities. The amount of explained variance varied between R^2=.12 for storytelling and R^2=.31 for conversation activities (see table 4).

Exploring country x group-specific effects: Analyses revealed that the educational background has not the same relation with the frequency of informal learning activities in all groups or countries. For families with a Maghrebian background in Italy, for example, the educational background was less predictive for the outcome variables. For families with a Roma background in Portugal, the educational background had a significantly stronger relationship with the frequency of parent-child-activities in the home, except for practical and creative activities. For low-SES native born families in Germany, we found that the educational background was less important for the frequency of reading and mathematical activities than for other groups. With taking also these interactions into account, the explained variance of the outcome increased from R^2=.16 for storytelling and R^2=.35 for conversation activities (see table 4).

Table 4. *Regression analyses*

		MODEL 1		MODEL 2		MODEL 3	
		β (SE)	Sig.	β (SE)	Sig.	β (SE)	Sig
	family employment	.030 (.028)	.290	.030 (.028)	.270	.027 (.027)	.319
	Material deprivation	-.162 (.032)	<.001	-.148 (.032)	<.001	-.141 (.033)	<.001
	educational background	.099 (.023)	<.001	.088 (.023)	<.001	.177 (.068)	.009
	Single parent	-.063 (.024)	.009	-.054 (.024)	.025	-.050 (.024)	.034
	parenting self-efficacy	.192 (.026)	<.001	.191 (.026)	<.001	.192 (.026)	<.001
	educational aspirations	.090 (.026)	.001	.088 (.026)	.001	.096 (.026)	<.001
	life satisfaction in the country	.036 (.024)	.133	.030 (.024)	.205	.029 (.023)	.208
	England – Turkish	-.019 (.027)	.495	-.029 (.028)	.309	-.048 (.037)	.188
	Germany – Turkish	.029 (.028)	.294	.016 (.029)	.572	.025 (.036)	.480
	Netherlands - Turkish	.055 (.024)	.025	.046 (.025)	.068	.064 (.030)	.031
	France - Maghrebian	-.068 (.027)	.012	-.095 (.029)	.001	-.079 (.033)	.016
	Italy - Maghrebian	-.320 (.032)	<.001	-.357 (.033)	<.001	-.346 (.039)	<.001
Conversation activities	Netherlands - Maghrebian	-.001 (.026)	.955	-.010 (.027)	.701	-.002 (.032)	.940
	Czech Republic - Romani	.064 (.031)	.039	.032 (.031)	.302	.034 (.038)	.368
	Greece - Romani	-.105 (.037)	.005	-.123 (.037)	.001	.008 (.048)	.873
	Portugal - Romani	-.019 (.026)	.468	-.068 (.027)	.013	-.037 (.043)	.398
	Czech Republic – low SES	.083 (.030)	.006	.061 (.030)	.041	.075 (.036)	.036
	England – low SES	.076 (.024)	.002	.059 (.025)	.016	.071 (.030)	.017
	Greece – low SES	.095 (.023)	<.001	.080 (.023)	.001	.111 (.029)	<.001
	Italy – low SES	.061 (.022)	.005	.070 (.022)	.001	.078 (.029)	.006
	Poland – low SES	.062 (.026)	.019	.040 (.026)	.131	.050 (.030)	.099
	Portugal – low SES	.009 (.027)	.733	.019 (.028)	.480	.014 (.033)	.671
	perceived neighbourhood quality			-.012 (.022)	.589	-.014 (.021)	.521
	diversity in			.023	.371	.015	.561

neighbourhood		(.026)		(.027)		
usage of professional support		.019 (.020)	.356	.015 (.020)	.443	
perceived social support		.000 (.029)	.996	.007 (.029)	.802	
intergroup interaction		.126 (.023)	<.001	.124 (.023)	<.001	
Education* England – Turkish				.025 (.024)	.290	
Education* Germany – Turkish				.023 (.032)	.470	
Education* Netherlands - Turkish				-.026 (.029)	.363	
Education* France - Maghrebian				-.049 (.023)	.030	
Education* Italy - Maghrebian				-.061 (.023)	.009	
Education* Netherlands - Maghrebian				-.063 (.030)	.036	
Education* Czech Republic - Romani				-.006 (.024)	.806	
Education* Greece - Romani				-.042 (.033)	.208	
Education* Portugal - Romani				.129 (.045)	.004	
Education* England– low SES				-.002 (.037)	.947	
Education* Germany – low SES				-.041 (.025)	.099	
Education* Greece – low SES				-.060 (.021)	.003	
Education* Italy – low SES				-.027 (.022)	.226	
Education* Poland – low SES				-.025 (.020)	.221	
Education* Portugal – low SES				.012 (.027)	.669	
R^2		.280		.305		.345
Reading activities	family employment	.090 (.029)	.002	.089 (.029)	.002	.090 (.028)	.001
	Material deprivation	-.110 (.031)	<.001	-.091 (.031)	.003	-.096 (.031)	.002
	educational background	.153 (.024)	<.001	.141 (.024)	<.001	.210 (.076)	.006
	Single parent	-.093 (.027)	<.001	-.083 (.026)	.002	-.085 (.026)	.001
	parenting self-efficacy	.093 (.027)	.001	.094 (.027)	.001	.096 (.027)	<.001
	educational aspirations	.095 (.028)	.001	.092 (.027)	.001	.089 (.027)	.001
	life satisfaction in the	.034	.154	.026	.269	.022	.352

country	(.024)		(.024)		(.023)	
England – Turkish	.179 (.031)	<.001	.166 (.031)	<.001	.188 (.043)	<.001
Germany – Turkish	.122 (.034)	<.001	.108 (.034)	.002	.128 (.044)	.004
Netherlands - Turkish	.091 (.030)	.003	.082 (.030)	.006	.104 (.039)	.007
France - Maghrebian	.045 (.034)	.188	.003 (.035)	.923	.037 (.042)	.383
Italy - Maghrebian	-.130 (.034)	<.001	-.174 (.035)	<.001	-.141 (.044)	.001
Netherlands - Maghrebian	.133 (.032)	<.001	.122 (.031)	<.001	.154 (.041)	<.001
Czech Republic - Romani	.074 (.033)	.028	.037 (.034)	.270	.065 (.047)	.165
Greece - Romani	-.027 (.033)	.412	-.051 (.032)	.111	.079 (.051)	.123
Portugal - Romani	-.026 (.031)	.407	-.080 (.032)	.013	-.050 (.055)	.363
Czech Republic – low SES	.087 (.033)	.010	.062 (.033)	.062	.091 (.042)	.030
England – low SES	.156 (.030)	<.001	.140 (.030)	<.001	.172 (.038)	<.001
Greece – low SES	.179 (.029)	<.001	.166 (.028)	<.001	.205 (.039)	<.001
Italy – low SES	.080 (.029)	.006	.085 (.028)	.002	.086 (.038)	.024
Poland – low SES	.108 (.030)	<.001	.085 (.030)	.004	.112 (.037)	.002
Portugal – low SES	.140 (.032)	<.001	.155 (.031)	<.001	.169 (.041)	<.001
perceived neighbourhood quality			-.032 (.022)	.143	-.029 (.022)	.179
diversity in neighbourhood			.010 (.027)	.705	.000 (.028)	.989
usage of professional support			-.014 (.023)	.537	-.020 (.023)	.393
perceived social support			-.009 (.026)	.722	-.003 (.026)	.896
intergroup interaction			.153 (.023)	<.001	.152 (.024)	<.001
Education* England – Turkish					.054 (.030)	.072
Education* Germany – Turkish					-.005 (.031)	.875
Education* Netherlands - Turkish					-.003 (.031)	.927
Education* France - Maghrebian					-.003 (.027)	.903
Education* Italy - Maghrebian					-.084 (.026)	.001

		Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	Education* Netherlands - Maghrebian					-.033 (.031)	.274
	Education* Czech Republic - Romani					-.030 (.028)	.285
	Education* Greece - Romani					-.020 (.038)	.597
	Education* Portugal - Romani					.113 (.045)	.012
	Education* England– low SES					-.032 (.047)	.489
	Education* Germany – low SES					-.060 (.024)	.013
	Education* Greece – low SES					-.041 (.026)	.115
	Education* Italy – low SES					.021 (.028)	.442
	Education* Poland – low SES					-.016 (.022)	.483
	Education* Portugal – low SES					.015 (.029)	.597
	R^2	.224		.265		.295	
Storytelling activities	family employment	-.009 (.032)	.789	-.009 (.032)	.765	-.011 (.031)	.723
	Material deprivation	-.077 (.032)	.016	-.073 (.033)	.026	-.075 (.034)	.028
	educational background	.070 (.027)	.010	.066 (.027)	.016	.142 (.073)	.053
	Single parent	.004 (.027)	.870	.006 (.027)	.835	.000 (.027)	.996
	parenting self-efficacy	.165 (.024)	<.001	.162 (.024)	<.001	.160 (.024)	<.001
	educational aspirations	.033 (.030)	.261	.033 (.030)	.270	.018 (.029)	.543
	life satisfaction in the country	.029 (.025)	.246	.028 (.025)	.266	.021 (.025)	.383
	England – Turkish	.021 (.033)	.524	.020 (.034)	.558	.038 (.041)	.364
	Germany – Turkish	.094 (.033)	.004	.089 (.034)	.008	.109 (.040)	.007
	Netherlands - Turkish	.119 (.030)	<.001	.111 (.030)	<.001	.130 (.037)	.001
	France - Maghrebian	-.006 (.034)	.870	-.018 (.036)	.610	-.003 (.040)	.939
	Italy - Maghrebian	.120 (.032)	<.001	.106 (.035)	.003	.115 (.042)	.006
	Netherlands - Maghrebian	.182 (.032)	<.001	.174 (.031)	<.001	.188 (.038)	<.001
	Czech Republic - Romani	.067 (.029)	.020	.046 (.029)	.120	.051 (.040)	.202
	Greece - Romani	.186 (.035)	<.001	.169 (.036)	<.001	.299 (.057)	<.001

Portugal - Romani	.065 (.030)	.032	.033 (.032)	.304	.070 (.056)	.213
Czech Republic – low SES	.067 (.030)	.024	.051 (.030)	.094	.060 (.037)	.101
England – low SES	.022 (.027)	.420	.004 (.027)	.869	.007 (.031)	.818
Greece – low SES	.042 (.028)	.137	.029 (.028)	.311	.021 (.034)	.530
Italy – low SES	.158 (.027)	<.001	.160 (.027)	<.001	.149 (.034)	<.001
Poland – low SES	.138 (.031)	<.001	.121 (.031)	<.001	.131 (.036)	<.001
Portugal – low SES	.044 (.029)	.127	.050 (.030)	.091	.048 (.035)	.180
perceived neighbourhood quality			.049 (.023)	.035	.057 (.023)	.015
diversity in neighbourhood			.004 (.029)	.895	.014 (.029)	.633
usage of professional support			-.003 (.024)	.893	-.006 (.023)	.798
perceived social support			.022 (.029)	.456	.030 (.029)	.299
intergroup interaction			.096 (.026)	<.001	.086 (.026)	.001
Education* England – Turkish					.026 (.028)	.345
Education* Germany – Turkish					-.036 (.035)	.312
Education* Netherlands - Turkish					-.042 (.032)	.196
Education* France - Maghrebian					-.047 (.030)	.119
Education* Italy - Maghrebian					-.065 (.030)	.030
Education* Netherlands - Maghrebian					-.051 (.030)	.088
Education* Czech Republic - Romani					-.066 (.028)	.017
Education* Greece - Romani					-.018 (.033)	.596
Education* Portugal - Romani					.140 (.051)	.006
Education* England– low SES					.006 (.049)	.911
Education* Germany – low SES					.016 (.027)	.546
Education* Greece – low SES					.008 (.029)	.781
Education* Italy – low SES					.024 (.028)	.389

	Education* Poland – low SES				-.003 (.025)	.897
	Education* Portugal – low SES				.022 (.028)	.432
	R^2	.111		.119		.159
Mathematical activities	family employment	.038 (.030)	.205	.038 (.030)	.201	.039 (.030)	.195
	Material deprivation	-.067 (.032)	.036	-.053 (.032)	.095	-.063 (.033)	.055
	educational background	.106 (.025)	<.001	.095 (.025)	<.001	.139 (.075)	.064
	Single parent	-.022 (.026)	.388	-.017 (.026)	.523	-.015 (.026)	.577
	parenting self-efficacy	.135 (.026)	<.001	.134 (.026)	<.001	.134 (.026)	<.001
	educational aspirations	.096 (.027)	<.001	.096 (.027)	<.001	.096 (.028)	<.001
	life satisfaction in the country	.045 (.024)	.067	.037 (.024)	.123	.034 (.024)	.155
	England – Turkish	.074 (.029)	.011	.060 (.030)	.044	.082 (.038)	.032
	Germany – Turkish	.065 (.032)	.038	.051 (.033)	.114	.086 (.038)	.024
	Netherlands - Turkish	.088 (.029)	.002	.081 (.029)	.004	.116 (.035)	.001
	France - Maghrebian	-.188 (.034)	<.001	-.207 (.034)	<.001	-.165 (.038)	<.001
	Italy - Maghrebian	-.226 (.034)	<.001	-.256 (.036)	<.001	-.211 (.042)	<.001
	Netherlands - Maghrebian	.053 (.031)	.091	.047 (.031)	.135	.085 (.037)	.021
	Czech Republic - Romani	.011 (.030)	.716	-.010 (.031)	.744	.003 (.038)	.932
	Greece - Romani	-.091 (.034)	.008	-.099 (.034)	.004	.058 (.052)	.268
	Portugal - Romani	-.078 (.031)	.011	-.116 (.031)	<.001	-.068 (.042)	.110
	Czech Republic – low SES	.030 (.031)	.334	.017 (.031)	.597	.056 (.037)	.128
	England – low SES	.107 (.026)	<.001	.097 (.026)	<.001	.136 (.031)	<.001
	Greece – low SES	.054 (.026)	.038	.045 (.026)	.080	.091 (.031)	.003
	Italy – low SES	.007 (.028)	.796	.014 (.027)	.615	.025 (.035)	.471
	Poland – low SES	.001 (.032)	.979	-.013 (.032)	.689	.021 (.036)	.563
	Portugal – low SES	.040 (.029)	.165	.052 (.029)	.071	.080 (.035)	.021
	perceived neighbourhood quality			-.034 (.022)	.118	-.035 (.022)	.115

diversity in neighbourhood			.031 (.027)	.244	.025 (.027)	.352
usage of professional support			.007 (.022)	.745	.001 (.023)	.962
perceived social support			.007 (.027)	.794	.016 (.027)	.546
intergroup interaction			.087 (.024)	<.001	.082 (.024)	.001
Education* England – Turkish					.060 (.028)	.031
Education* Germany – Turkish					.010 (.033)	.771
Education* Netherlands - Turkish					-.011 (.030)	.710
Education* France - Maghrebian					-.015 (.028)	.590
Education* Italy - Maghrebian					-.057 (.029)	.048
Education* Netherlands - Maghrebian					-.006 (.032)	.843
Education* Czech Republic - Romani					-.015 (.029)	.612
Education* Greece - Romani					-.053 (.031)	.093
Education* Portugal - Romani					.138 (.048)	.004
Education* England– low SES					-.015 (.038)	.686
Education* Germany – low SES					-.050 (.022)	.022
Education* Greece – low SES					-.037 (.023)	.106
Education* Italy – low SES					.024 (.029)	.398
Education* Poland – low SES					-.001 (.027)	.978
Education* Portugal – low SES					.005 (.029)	.860
R^2	.214		.239		.258	
Practical/creative activities family employment	.072 (.031)	.020	.068 (.030)	.023	.066 (.030)	.026
Material deprivation	-.043 (.031)	.173	-.024 (.031)	.436	-.040 (.032)	.204
educational background	.056 (.027)	.035	.042 (.026)	.108	.130 (.066)	.049
Single parent	-.040 (.026)	.126	-.035 (.026)	.176	-.035 (.026)	.179
parenting self-efficacy	.113 (.025)	<.001	.110 (.024)	<.001	.104 (.024)	<.001
educational aspirations	.043 (.027)	.108	.044 (.026)	.089	.040 (.026)	.122

	B (SE)	p	B (SE)	p	B (SE)	p
life satisfaction in the country	.013 (.023)	.568	.004 (.023)	.861	.004 (.023)	.867
England – Turkish	-.083 (.032)	.009	-.104 (.033)	.001	-.118 (.039)	.003
Germany – Turkish	-.059 (.033)	.072	-.081 (.033)	.014	-.062 (.039)	.115
Netherlands - Turkish	-.058 (.032)	.065	-.070 (.031)	.025	-.043 (.036)	.243
France - Maghrebian	-.167 (.033)	<.001	-.188 (.034)	<.001	-.169 (.038)	<.001
Italy - Maghrebian	-.303 (.037)	<.001	-.343 (.037)	<.001	-.323 (.043)	<.001
Netherlands - Maghrebian	-.087 (.033)	.009	-.097 (.033)	.003	-.078 (.038)	.042
Czech Republic - Romani	-.004 (.034)	.907	-.037 (.034)	.275	.003 (.043)	.953
Greece - Romani	-.234 (.036)	<.001	-.247 (.035)	<.001	-.191 (.051)	<.001
Portugal - Romani	-.106 (.033)	.001	-.168 (.033)	<.001	-.186 (.052)	<.001
Czech Republic – low SES	.062 (.032)	.051	.039 (.031)	.216	.058 (.037)	.121
England – low SES	-.061 (.030)	.044	-.080 (.030)	.007	-.059 (.034)	.082
Greece – low SES	.032 (.028)	.250	.015 (.027)	.586	.043 (.033)	.192
Italy – low SES	-.012 (.028)	.657	-.004 (.027)	.891	.022 (.033)	.499
Poland – low SES	.009 (.031)	.763	-.015 (.031)	.628	.000 (.035)	1.000
Portugal – low SES	-.025 (.031)	.424	-.003 (.031)	.915	-.004 (.037)	.907
perceived neighbourhood quality			-.016 (.023)	.482	-.015 (.023)	.519
diversity in neighbourhood			.058 (.028)	.037	.062 (.028)	.025
usage of professional support			.001 (.023)	.959	.001 (.022)	.963
perceived social support			.032 (.026)	.223	.029 (.026)	.255
intergroup interaction			.135 (.025)	<.001	.131 (.026)	<.001
Education* England – Turkish					.044 (.032)	.169
Education* Germany – Turkish					.024 (.031)	.452
Education* Netherlands - Turkish					-.035 (.028)	.215
Education* France - Maghrebian					-.055 (.028)	.051
Education* Italy -					-.046	.040

Maghrebian		(.022)	
Education* Netherlands - Maghrebian		-.031 (.033)	.341
Education* Czech Republic - Romani		-.041 (.028)	.144
Education* Greece - Romani		.011 (.035)	.746
Education* Portugal - Romani		.028 (.045)	.524
Education* England– low SES		-.086 (.044)	.052
Education* Germany – low SES		-.055 (.026)	.033
Education* Greece – low SES		-.048 (.021)	.022
Education* Italy – low SES		-.038 (.024)	.110
Education* Poland – low SES		.001 (.023)	.961
Education* Portugal – low SES		.028 (.026)	.292
R^2	.178 .221	.250	

CONCLUSIONS AND OUTLOOK

In summary, we found that all parents invest in informal learning activities with their children. However, there is a lot of variance across groups and countries, which can partly be explained by characteristics of the family background, belongingness to one of the studied groups and to a lesser extent also by characteristics of the neighbourhood. We identified strongest relations to the frequency of informal learning activities with the child for the family's educational background and the parenting self-efficacy. However, first interaction analyses revealed that the educational background has not the same meaning for all groups and countries. This demonstrates that for families with the same cultural background there are different aspects predictive for parent-child-activities, depending on their life situation and the country where they live. Further analyses will dive deeper into this, and also take country characteristics into account for explaining the variation in the frequency of informal learning activities.

Implications

According to our findings, a promising approach to support families in providing a rich learning environment for their children is the empowerment of parents by parenting support programs that build upon and activate resources of parents and in doing so support and strengthen their self-efficacy. So family support programs aiming at encouraging parents in their parenting role could contribute to a better home learning environment for children from disadvantaged families.

Another interesting result was the positive correlation between the amount of intercultural contact and the frequency of parent-child-activities. A possible interpretation is that the social integration of families with an immigrant background contributes to a better home learning environment. However, future analyses have to investigate whether this holds true for all groups of families.

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1.1.2 READ (WITH) ME: PREDICTORS OF HOME SHARED BOOK READING IN ROMA AND NON-ROMA FAMILIES OF PRESCHOOLERS

Inês A. Ferreira, Carla Silva, Leonor Neves, Sofia Guichard, & Cecília Aguiar

The Home Literacy Environment (HLE), particularly home adult-child literacy activities such as Shared Book Reading (SBR), seem to predict children's early language and literacy (Inoue, Georgiou, Parrila, & Kirby, 2018), and later academic achievement (Gottfried, Schlackman, Gottfried, & Boutin-Martinez, 2015). Previous literature has shown that children from lower-SES families may be at increased risk of early reading difficulties and reduced academic achievement (Hartas, 2011). Moreover, international literature suggests that ethnic minority families may also show a tendency for decreased SBR with children (Hayes, Berthelsen, Nicholson & Walker, 2018; Raikes et al., 2006).

Most international studies addressing Roma families' involvement in children's education and literacy activities have considered mainly school-based involvement (Dolean, Tincas, & Damsa, 2016). In addition, only few investigated literacy activities in Roma families and children (López-Escribano & Béltran, 2009), who are the most deprived and discriminated in Europe (FRA, 2016). In Portugal, few studies on family and children literacy in disadvantaged groups have been conducted so far (e.g., Cadima, McWilliam, & Leal, 2010) and, to our knowledge, none investigated home literacy practices in Roma families.

Most available literature has focused on SBR as a means to achieve other outcomes, at the child, parent, or dyad levels, with few studies considering it as an outcome and focusing on its predictors (e.g., Yarosz & Barnett, 2001). However, previous research has highlighted the need to do so (Gottfried et al., 2015), in order to inform and improve literacy interventions and policies.

Existing literature suggests that parents with higher educational levels tend to spend more time reading to their children (Gottfried et al., 2015; Hartas, 2011). Besides, the younger the child, the higher the parent-child home reading frequency (Yarosz & Barnett, 2001). Other studies also suggest that girls tend to be read to more often (Raikes et al., 2006), particularly at a young age.

Parental educational aspirations for children may also relate to parental home involvement (Wang, Deng & Yang, 2016), namely in literacy practices (Martini & Sénéchal, 2012). Low-SES and Roma parents may tend to show lower academic aspirations for their children (Englund, Luckner, Whaley & Egeland, 2004), which can negatively affect their involvement in learning activities with their children.

In addition, participation in (pre)school events for parents, namely literacy interventions (Pahl & Kelly, 2005), and contact with school staff (Sawyer, Cycyk, Sandilos, & Hammer, 2018) seems to be associated with parents' home-based learning practices. Furthermore, (pre)school parental involvement is associated with children's cognitive gains, namely in literacy (Galindo & Sheldon, 2012).

Much is already known about the advantages of SBR for child development, but few studies investigated factors such as parents' educational aspirations and (pre)school involvement, although both predict child literacy (Englund et al., 2004). Additionally, while several studies have explored HLE and home SBR in low-SES and ethnically diverse families (e.g., Aikens & Barbarin, 2008; Hayes et al., 2018), few have focused on Roma families (Dolean et al., 2016).

This study aimed to analyse the associations between mother and child characteristics, parental educational aspirations for the child, and parental involvement in preschool (formal and informal) events, and the frequency of home SBR in Portuguese Roma and non-Roma low-income families of preschoolers, while testing the moderating role of ethnicity. We hypothesized increased frequency of

home SBR when the child is younger (H1), when the child is a girl (H2), and when the mother has more years of formal education (H3). We also expected higher parental educational aspirations for the child (H4) and involvement in preschool events, both formal and informal (H5) to be positively associated with frequency of home SBR. Furthermore, we expected a moderating effect of ethnicity (H6), with educational aspirations as a stronger predictor in Roma families.

2. METHOD

2.1. Context and Participants

This study builds on data collected within Work Package 2 (WP2) of ISOTIS (Inclusive Education and Social Support to Tackle Inequalities in Society) project. Structured interviews were conducted with mothers of children aged 3 to 6 or 9 to 12 years-old, from disadvantaged groups in Europe. For the purposes of this study, we used data from 238 Portuguese mothers (or other primary caregivers) of preschool-aged children (M_{age} = 5.00, SD_{age} = 1.00). As the target child (TC) of 13% of these mothers did not attend preschool, they were not included. The analytical sample consisted of 206 mothers (or other primary caregiver, n = 6) of children attending preschool (101 Portuguese Roma; M_{age} = 29.77, SD = 7.15; 105 Portuguese non-Roma low-income; M_{age} = 34.33, SD = 7.26) (see Table 1). All participants lived in the Metropolitan Areas (M. A.) of Lisbon and Oporto, as these are the largest Portuguese urban areas, with a high number of Roma and low-income residents.

Table 1. Child and Family Characteristics (N = 206)

	Roma n = 101 %	Non-Roma Low-Income n = 105 %
Education Level		
1-4th grade	62	11
> 4th grade	38	89
Child's age		
3-4 years	30	35.2
5-6 years	70	64.8
Child's sex		
Male	54.5	51.4
Female	45.5	48.6
Household Income (Euro)		
< 430	28	28
430 – 780	54	55
780 – 1170	10	14
1170 – 1400 / 3150	1	3
Unknown	7	-
Site		
Metropolitan Area of Lisbon	56	43
Metropolitan Area of Oporto	44	57

Note. Participants were mothers (97%). Child's father (n = 2) or a female main caregiver (e.g., grandmother; n = 4) participated when the mother was not involved in the child's life.

2.2. Procedure

Data were collected during school year 2017/2018. In M.A. Lisbon / M.A. Oporto, local school clusters (n = 46 / n = 26), social organizations (n = 31 / n = 45), community or locally-based governmentally funded projects (n = 9 / n = 16), and mediators working with (or key-persons within) Portuguese Roma communities (n = 5 in each site) collaborated in the recruitment of participants. Mothers' selection criteria included (1) being a Portuguese Roma living in the target sites, or (2) being a native-born Portuguese residing in a deprived neighbourhood within both sites; and (3) having a child between 3-5 or 9-12 years-old. Only mothers with children in the younger group were included in this study. After giving informed consent, all participants were helped by trained interviewers, in a face-to-face meeting, to complete an online survey (see Broekhuizen, Ereky-Stevens, Wolf, & Moser, 2018). Participants received a children's book and gift certificate as a compensation.

2.3. Measures

Home shared book reading. Frequency of adult-child home SBR was assessed with three items, regarding how often an adult in the home (1) read or narrated a picture book, (2) read a story book, and (3) read a book on a topic of interest to the target child, using a scale from 1 = *(almost) never* to 6 = *everyday*. Items were part of a larger scale assessing the Home Learning Environment (see Broekhuizen et al., 2018). A composite score consisting of mean of the three items (α = .79) was used.

Mother's educational level. Participants' education was measured as the number of years of education using one item (*At which grade/year did you leave school?*). In cases of participants who later completed a higher level of education, the corresponding years of education were added.

Parental educational aspirations for the child. One item, adapted from Buchmann and Dalton (2002), assessed mothers' educational aspirations for their child (*What level of qualification would you like [target child] to complete?*). Answers were scored using a 5-point scale (1 = ISCED 1-2; 2 = ISCED 3; 3 = ISCED 4-5; 4 = ISCED 6; 5 = ISCED 7-8).

Parental involvement in preschool. After preliminary analysis, two of the items of the original scale (see Broekhuizen et al., 2018) were excluded based on Skewness and Kurtosis above 1.96 (Field, 2000). A composite score based on the remaining two items (by split-half reliability, Spearman-Brown coefficient), revealed unsatisfactory consistency, ρ=.38. Thus, *Parental involvement in preschool formal events,* was assessed with the single item "*Taking part in meetings offered by the preschool to hear about what my child learns in preschool and how I can help my child's learning at home*" and *Parental involvement in preschool informal events* was assessed with the item "*Taking part in social events organized for parents and families at my child's preschool".* Items were scored using a scale from 1 = *Never* to 5 = *More than once per month*.

2.4. Data analysis

Path analysis was used to test the associations between the variables under study, with all participating mothers. Parental involvement in preschool formal and informal events were allowed to correlate in the model. To test the moderating role of group, a multiple group analysis with AMOS (v. 25) (Arbuckle, 2017a) was performed. An unconstrained multiple group model, with all paths allowed to be freely estimated across Roma and non-Roma low-income participants, was compared to a model where all paths were constrained to be equivalent across both groups. To evaluate model fit, the following fit indexes and criteria were used: Non-significant *Chi-square* (p < .05), the relative χ^2 index

(χ^2/df) values ≤ 2 (Arbuckle, 2017b), the comparative fit index (CFI) and the goodness of fit index (GFI) approaching 1, the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) < .05 and the standardized root mean residual (SRMR) < .08 (Hu & Bentler, 1999; Schreiber, Nora, Stage, Barlow, & King, 2006), as indicative of a good fit.

3. RESULTS

The model examining the associations between children's age and gender, mothers' level of education, mothers' educational aspirations and parental involvement in preschool formal and informal events and frequency of home SBR presented good fit (χ^2 (14) = 19.149, p = .159; χ^2/df = 1.368; CFI = .89; GFI = .97; RMSEA = .042; SRMR = .055). The frequency of home SBR was significantly predicted by mothers' educational aspirations for their child β = .27, p < .001, parental involvement in preschool informal events β = .15, p = .011, and mothers' level of education β = .16, p = .017 (Figure 1).

The multiple group model analysing the moderating role of ethnic group showed a non-significant chi-square difference between the unconstrained and the constrained models: $\Delta\chi^2$ (6) = 1.13, p = .980. The overall model did not vary significantly between the Roma and non-Roma low-income groups.
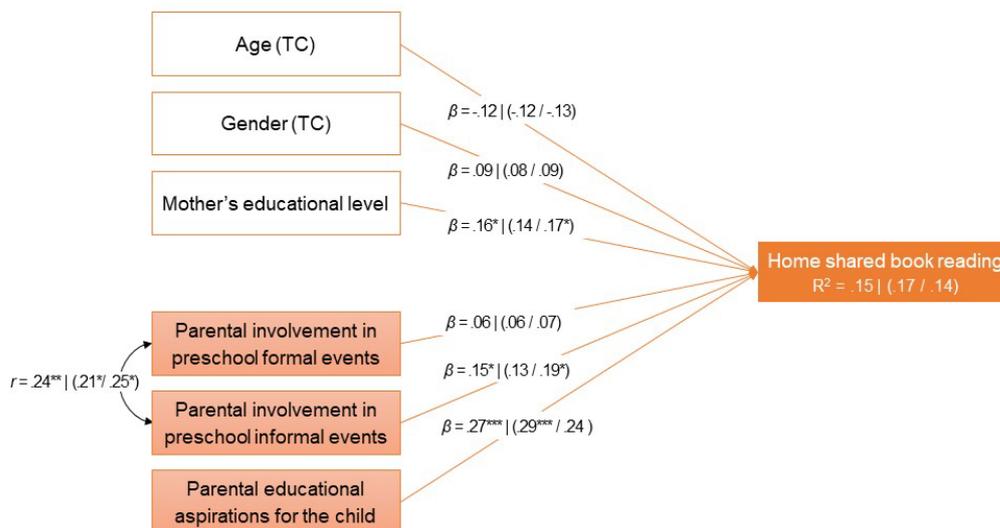
Figure 1. Predictive model examining the associations between child and mother characteristics, mothers' educational aspirations for the child, and parental involvement in preschool events, and the frequency of home SBR, considering ethnic group as a moderator. Estimates for the whole sample model and the moderation model are presented in the figure according to the following scheme: Whole sample | (Roma/ non-Roma low-income). *p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.

4. DISCUSSION

This study analysed associations between mother and child characteristics, parental educational aspirations and involvement in preschool events and frequency of SBR in Portuguese Roma and non-Roma low-income families of preschoolers. As such, it expands previous knowledge on the predictors of SBR.

Contrary to our hypothesis (H1), no associations were found between children's *age* and frequency of home SBR. This suggests that frequency of SBR may be relatively stable during the preschool period.

Regarding *gender*, we expected higher frequency of SBR for girls (H2), which was not the case. This may, therefore, reflect a change in Portuguese Roma families' mindset regarding the education of young girls (Magano & Mendes, 2016).

Mother's educational level was positively associated with the frequency of home SBR (H3), adding to the vast literature supporting this effect (e.g., Hartas, 2011; Yarosz & Barnett, 2001). Moreover, higher *parental educational aspirations* for the child were associated with increased frequency of SBR (H4; Davis-Kean, 2005). This sheds light on the importance of more research on general beliefs regarding children's future education, not only specific beliefs on children's abilities and/or parental roles in learning to read (Pacheco & Mata, 2013).

Parental involvement in informal, but not formal, events at preschool was positively associated with home SBR, partially confirming H5. To some extent, this aligns well with Murray and colleagues (2015) report that parents' involvement in home learning activities was associated with parental involvement in childcare, and higher attendance of preschool events and communication with other families, compared to contact and interaction with educators. This suggests that families' participation in preschool events involving informal contacts with the school community and other families, may contribute to increased involvement in learning activities with children at home. The non-significant effect of families' *involvement in formal preschool events* suggests the need for Portuguese preschools to rethink the main strategies currently used to promote parents' involvement, especially if the goal is to foster parental involvement in learning activities at home (Galindo & Sheldon, 2012). Social events for families, more than parent-teacher conferences, which allow for more informal involvement of parents in convivial settings, may help increase home-based involvement.

Contrary to our hypothesis (H6), ethnic group did not moderate the associations between child and mother's characteristics, parental aspirations and involvement in preschool, and frequency of SBR. This may reflect that families living in disadvantaged areas may be exposed to similar social and educational challenges and opportunities (Aikens & Barbarin, 2008). This finding may be driven by the fact that Roma and non-Roma participants in this study were from low-income families living in the same disadvantaged communities. Families' low SES may have contributed more than ethnicity to the low levels of SBR found in this study. To clarify this, further studies may compare low and high-SES families instead.

This study adds to the relatively few international and national studies on family literacy practices, particularly SBR, as an outcome. The analysis of the potential moderating role of ethnicity is also innovative, considering two groups of Portuguese disadvantaged families. This is the first study investigating these associations in Roma families. The study findings suggest the need to promote adult education for the families of the groups under study, create opportunities for informal social interactions in preschool, and provide conditions to raise educational aspirations for their children, if the aim is to increase their involvement in home SBR with their preschool children and ultimately prevent or reduce educational inequalities.

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1.1.3 HOW FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS AND MIGRATION SHAPE HOME LEARNING ENVIRONMENT OF TURKISH CHILDREN IN THE UK

Pinar Kolancali & Edward Melhuish

INTRODUCTION

Children from immigrant families demonstrate lower school achievement in comparison to their native peers (Blossfeld, Triventi, Skopek, & Bucholz, 2016). United Kingdom is one of the countries where the educational gap between non-native and native pupils persists especially for particular minority groups (Strand, 2015). Turkish/Kurdish pupils are one of the vulnerable groups at-risk for lower educational attainment (Strand et al., 2010). Major risk factors for underachieving pupils are poverty, social deprivation, and home-school language discrepancy (Strand et al., 2010). Policy advice underline the importance of family resources and home environment for facilitating school achievement of non-native children (for a review see Janta & Hate, 2016). However, the availability of adequate in-home resources is closely related to family characteristics and socioeconomic status (SES) (Duncan & Paradis, 2018; Alexander, Entwisle, & Bedinger, 1994). Migration further affects family resources especially when socio-economic and cultural resources are limited (e.g., education, language, cultural integration) (Mirdal, 2006; Prilleltensky, 2008). Educators argue that cultural and linguistic integration of non-native parents is necessary for school achievement of pupils through parent-school collaboration and knowledge of the education system (Strand et al., 2010). To date, research on socio-economic, cultural, and psychological factors that affect the home environment of non-native children is limited.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC WELL-BEING AND HOME LEARNING ENVIRONMENT

The home learning environment (HLE) plays an important role in child development (Melhuish et al., 2001; 2008). Previous research has shown that a stimulating home environment, where activities supporting language, literacy, maths, and creativity are available bolster child development (De-la Rochebrochard, 2012; Melhuish, 2010). Children raised in such environments benefit from advantages in various areas of development including language and literacy (Bradley, Corwyn, Burchinal, McAdoo & Garcia Coll, 2001); school readiness (Horm, Norris, Perry, Chazan-Cohen, & Halle, 2016) and socio-cognitive development (Anders et al., 2012; Hindman & Morrison, 2012). For minority families, a high quality HLE can support language development in the early years and buffer the disadvantages of home-school language discrepancy (for a review see Nag et al., 2019). However, family-stress and developmental-risk theories emphasise the role of socio-economic well-being of families for a quality HLE (Sameroff, Seifer, Barocas, & Greenspan, 1987; Conger & Donnellan, 2007). The socio-economic well-being of immigrant families is precarious as migration brings disadvantages and can cause downward social mobility especially for the first-generation families (Luksyte, Spitzmueller, & Rivera-Minaya, 2014; Zucotti, Ganzeboom, & Guveli, 2017). The majority of immigrants work in low-wage jobs and live in poor neighbourhoods (Crosnoe & Cooper, 2010). Material deprivation is linked with reduced quality of the HLE and diminished parent-child interaction (Jeon, Buettner, & Hur, 2014; Nuttall, Froyen, Skibbe, & Bowles, 2019). Evidence from immigrant families including Turkish/Kurdish groups in Europe shows that high-SES families provide a more stimulating HLE, where literacy activities occur more frequently, and they have more books available at home (Prevoo et al. 2014; Kalia & Reese, 2009; Leseman & Van den Boom, 1999).

Material deprivation is also linked with maternal depression along with a low quality HLE (May, Azar, & Matthews, 2018; Jeon et al., 2014; Nuttall et al. 2019). These factors affect child development both individually and collectively through diminished parent-child interaction (Kiernan & Huearta, 2008). Research shows that maternal depression among low-income mothers predicts impaired vocabulary development in early childhood through reduced maternal speech (Baydar et al., 2014; Stein et al., 2008). Furthermore, it is linked with a lack of protective aspects of parenting such as parental engagement, sensitivity, and flexibility (Albright & Tamis-LeMonda, 2002). The effects of maternal depression on child development and well-being is aggravated when a family experiences economic stress (for a meta-analysis of studies see Lovejoy, Graczyk, O'Hare, & Neuman, 2000). Immigrant mothers are more at-risk for depressive symptoms as they tend to have limited social and economic support and experience more parenting stress (Huang, Costeines, Kaufman, & Ayala, 2014). For these reasons the well-being of children growing up in immigrant families is at risk and requires attention.

CULTURAL INTEGRATION AND HLE

The socio-economic wellbeing of immigrant families is multifaceted and is closely linked to migration-related factors such as length of residence, language skills, and cultural views (Winsler, Burchinal, Tien, Peisner-Feingberg, Episnosa, Castro…De Feyter, 2014; Becker, Klein, & Biedinger, 2013; Yağmur & Van de Vijver, 2012). Migrants from lower socio-economic backgrounds report having more problems with the country language, which restricts them to low-income jobs in the country (Dixon, Wu, & Daraghmeh, 2012) and limits their interactions with the native community (Arriagada, 2005). Similarly, being new to a country is linked with increased use of heritage language and strong affiliation with ethnic identity (Yağmur & Van de Vijver, 2012). These factors influence parenting and child development. Studies on Turkish families in Europe show that parents use Turkish more often with their children if they are new to a country (Driessen, Slik, & De Bot, 2002; Westeren, Halberg, Ledesma, Wold, & Oppedal, 2018; Willard, Agache, Jakel, Gluck, & Leyendecker, 2015).

The relationship between migration history and language skills is not always straightforward. Evidence from Turkish immigrants in Norway shows that language skills do not correlate with the years spent in the country (Blom & Henriksen, 2008). Research shows that various factors might affect migrants at community- (ethnic-group size and density) and individual-level (education, marriage patterns, reasons to migrate) and these factors may influence the language orientation of the individuals (Kipp, Clyne, & Pauwels, 1995). Acculturation theory (Berry, 1997) explains individuals' adaptation to a new culture through the cultural values of families and how they shape their behaviours. In his theory, Berry emphasises two strategies towards a new culture: individuals may adopt positive views toward the new culture supporting integration or purposefully conserve their ethnic identity and culture while avoiding interaction with the new culture. The strategies explained by Berry influence the language and learning environment at home. Immigrants who do not have strong affiliation with their heritage culture tend to use the majority language more in daily life (Yağmur & Van de Vijver 2012). Similarly, families who demonstrate positive acculturation attitudes acquire social and cultural resources (e.g., language and network) to provide their children society-specific skills that are necessary for their school achievement (e.g., linguistic and cognitive skills) (Becker et al. 2013). Research shows that positive acculturation attitudes of families predict better school attainment and cognitive development of children through increased majority language use at home (Becker et al., 2013). Authors argue that with positive acculturation, families acquire society-specific skills (e.g., language skills, knowledge of the system and customs, and social network) that provide tools (e.g., knowledge of the education system) to support their children's education (Becker et al., 2013).

Cultural values shape the HLE further through parenting styles (Kagitcibasi, 1990, 2007; Daglar, Melhuish, & Barnes, 2011) and culturally-embedded home learning activities (Jung, Fuller, & Calindo, 2012). Research shows that in the home of non-Western families oral language activities such as storytelling are more dominant (Latino families: Reese, 2002; Riojas-Cortez, Flores, Smith, & Clark, 2003), whereas Western families value literacy activities such as book reading more (for a review see Bus, Van Ijzendoorn, & Pellegrini, 1995). Protective aspects of parenting in the heritage culture can buffer the negative effects of migration (Jung et al., 2012). Evidence shows that childrearing practices such as disciplined parenting and early literacy activities play an important role in the well-being of children of Asian families (Kao & Tienda, 2005). Similarly, strong family ties and maternal affection are considered as important values among Latino families in the US that play an important role in the well-being of children (Halgunseth, Ispa, & Rudy, 2006). A study on Turkish immigrants in the UK shows that families differ in their parenting styles compared to native-parents and demonstrate more authoritarian parenting behaviours, which might be a result of migration (Daglar et al., 2011). To date, research has not explored how migration-related factors affect the HLE of children through activities provided at home.

Drawing on the literature, this study explores the following research question with regard to the Turkish-speaking community in England:

1. How do the family characteristics (education, material deprivation, parental well-being) and migration-related factors (length of residence, language skills, acculturation attitudes) of families relate to the HLE activities performed and languages used?

TURKISH COMMUNITY IN THE UK

The Turkish-speaking community in the UK includes three ethnicities, namely Turkish, Kurdish, and Turkish Cypriot. Among these ethnic groups, the majority are Turkish with 83,116 residents according to the 2011 Census in the Britain (1.5% of the population of England and Wales; 2011 Census). The Kurdish population follows with 40,339 residents (0.7% of the population of England and Wales; 2011 Census). Finally, the smallest group is Turkish Cypriots with 15,891 people (0.2% of the population of England and Wales; 2011 Census). These groups are concentrated in boroughs of North London such as Enfield, Haringey and Hackney. The UK Turkish-speaking children perform below the national average on educational attainment across the four key stages of school education up to 18 years of age (Strand et al., 2010).

METHOD

Participants

First-generation Turkish families with three- to six-year old UK-born children were recruited using purposive and snowball sampling in community centres, supplementary schools, community events, and online networks for Turkish-speaking people. In order to strengthen the representativeness of the data from the Turkish-speaking community, the participants were recruited in various community centres with different ethnic, cultural and political characteristics. Thirty institutions were contacted, and the response rate was ~90%.

A hundred and eight parents of three- to six-year-old children were interviewed in London (N = 64), and Greater Manchester and Liverpool (N = 44). Families were from low- and middle-income backgrounds with years of parental education varying from five to 18 years. The majority of the parents used Turkish and English in their daily life (90%), although the English skills of parents varied (see Table 1: Problems in English). Only a minority of the parents only used Turkish (10%).

Procedures

Data collection was carried out by trained interviewers in homes (~ 15%), at community centres (~ 65%) or through phone calls (~ 20%). The interviews took an hour on average, using Lime Survey, an online survey tool, either simultaneously (67%) or after the paper-pencil interview (33%). Most questions required answers on a scale (e.g., 1 to 5 scale ranging from "disagree" to "agree"). A set of show cards was available to parents throughout the interview to visualize the answer scales. For more information on data collection procedures see the technical report (Broekhuizen, Ereky-Stevens, Wolf, & Moser,2019).

Measures

Education level. Parents (~ 90% mothers) were asked questions on years of education, age and grade of leaving school, vocational training/diploma, and university attendance/diploma. Later the data was recoded into three levels by using the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED) 2011 levels of education codes, with the following cut-off points.

- Low: ISCED 0, 1, 2 (primary or lower secondary education or lower)

- Medium: ISCED 3, 4, 5 (upper secondary, post-secondary non-tertiary and short cycle tertiary education)

- High: ISCED 6, 7 (bachelor level or higher)

Material deprivation. Material deprivation of families was assessed through an indicator developed by European Union. This 13-item indicator has been used for social monitoring at national and EU levels[2] and has been evaluated for psychometric characteristics (Guio, et al., 2016). Parents were asked to indicate if they were able to afford certain activities or possessions (e.g., going for a dinner once a month, replacing damaged furniture, owning a car etc.). The answers indicative of deprivation

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[2] For all 13 items, see https://circabc.europa.eu/sd/a/45a323e2-4ba5-4060-bfa8-94c715ef694b/DOCSILC065%20operation%202017-%20NOV(0).pdf

were summed to create a material deprivation variable.

Length of residence. The primary caregivers were asked to indicate their country of birth and year of arrival to the UK. All of the parents were first-generation, for this reason, migration history is represented as years spent in the country.

Problems in English. Questions addressed the language skills of parents for English and the other main language (e.g., Turkish, Kurdish, Bulgarian). Parents were asked about understanding each language when having conversations, reading newspapers, and listening to the news on a 1 to 6 scale ranging from "never have problems" to "I cannot read/speak". Primary caregivers' language skills were only taken into account for English as the majority of the parents reported no problems with Turkish (92%). The scores for each question on reading, listening and speaking were summed to create a variable for parent's language skills in English as they show strong correlations with each other (>.75).

Parental well-being. The information on well-being is collected through a set of questions on general life satisfaction and life satisfaction in the country. The questions covered parents' thoughts on their content, belonging, and satisfaction with their life standards. on a 1 to 5 scale ranging from "disagree" to "agree". The responses were later summed to create a general well-being variable. This variable has theoretical integrity and was consistent with the results of confirmatory factor analysis (Verkutyen, 2008).

Acculturation views. The information on acculturation views was collected through a set of questions on acculturation beliefs and attitudes. The questions covered parents' thoughts on the use of minority/majority language, adoption of British norms and culture, and conservation of Turkish values on a 1 to 5 scale ranging from "disagree" to "agree". The responses were later grouped under two variables as cultural maintenance and cultural adaptation. These variables have theoretical integrity and were consistent with the results of confirmatory factor analysis (Zagefka et al., 2014).

Home Learning Environment. The questions on children's HLE were summed under five categories. Each category is a sum of three questions on the frequency of activities.

- Conversation: how often do parents talk to their children about his/her daily experiences, past events, and topics of general interest.

- Reading: how often parents read picture-, story-, and general interest books to their children.

- Storytelling: how often parents tell their children made-up, cultural and religious stories.

- Maths: the frequency of activities such as simple math activities (e.g. counting, measuring and comparing dimensions) and games with numbers and shapes (e.g., board games, puzzles, construction toys) carried out with children.

- Creative/Practical: the frequency of craft activities at home such as cooking, sewing etc.

The parents reported to the frequency of activities on a 1 to 6 scale from "almost never" to "everyday". The answers were summed to create an overall home learning environment variable (range 15 to 90). At the end of the questions on daily communication and literacy activities the parents were asked to report on their language use, on 1 to 5 scale, from "mainly English" to "mainly Turkish or the other language".

Analysis Strategy

IBM SPSS version 23.0 was used for descriptive and hierarchical multiple regression analyses. Missing data were less than 5% of the answers for each question and were imputed using multiple imputation. The existing literature informed the selection of potential predictors. Preliminary correlation analyses examined the relationships between potential predictors from family background variables and HLE variables. Where significant correlations indicated potential predictor variables should be investigated further, they were selected for regression analyses. Regression models were formed in which family background variables (parent's education, material deprivation, parental well-being, years in the country, problems with English, cultural maintenance and adaptation) served as predictors, which previous research had identified variables as influential on the HLE (Millennium Cohort Study Questionnaire, 2006), and HLE variables (overall, subscales and language use) served as outcomes.

RESULTS

Descriptive Statistics

See Table 1 for the descriptive statistics of the variables. Descriptive statistics show that migration history and language skills of the parents vary. On average, parents have been living in the UK for about 14 years, although the range was broad: the newest to the country had been living in the UK for 2 years, whereas the longest length of residence was 33 years. Regarding HLE activities, descriptive statistics show that families perform conversation and reading activities more often than other activities. Among the subscales of the HLE activities, the least performed activity was storytelling, which was followed by creative/practical activities and maths.

Table 1. *Descriptive Statistics for Family Background Variables and Home Learning Environment*

	MEAN	SD	%	RANGE
Education	2.16	.80		1 − 3
ISCED Level 1				
ISCED Level 2				
ISCED Level 3				
Material Deprivation	1.81	0.25		0 − 12
Length of residence	14.5	0.64		2 − 33
Problems in English	6.65	0.34		3 − 16
Parent Well-Being	29.91	5.53		10 − 35
Cultural Maintenance	8.20	2.47		2 − 10
Cultural Adaptation	6.97	2.50		2 − 10
Conversation	15.33	2.55		6 − 18
Reading	15.31	3.09		3 − 15

Storytelling	8.71	4.06	$3-18$
Maths	13.91	3.12	$5-18$
Creative/Practical	10.76	3.08	$3-18$
Conversation Language	3.64	1.53	$1-5$
Reading Language	2.33	1.46	$1-5$
HLE (Overall)	64.03	9.85	$28-90$

Bivariate Correlations

Table 2 shows the correlations. Parent's education level was significantly and positively correlated with overall HLE as well as conversation, reading and creative/practical activities at home. Similarly, material deprivation of the family was negatively correlated with the aforementioned aspects of HLE. Parents with longer migration history tended to carry out more storytelling activities with their children and use English more in reading activities. The parents with more problems with English reported less stimulating learning environments for their children including all subscales of HLE and they tended to use Turkish more with their children as the communication or the literacy language. Parents with more problems with English came from a lower socioeconomic background with a shorter migration history in the UK. Similarly, parents with language problems and shorter migration history were less satisfied with their lives. Parents who had higher life satisfaction used English more as the communication language with their children. For the variables on cultural values, the parents who had positive views on cultural maintenance tend to do more storytelling activities with their children and use Turkish more as the conversation language. Similarly, the parents, who had positive views on cultural adaptation spent more time in the UK and tend to use English more as a reading language.

Table 2. *Correlations between Family Background Characteristics and Home Learning Environment*

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1. Education	.														
2. Material Deprivation	-.05	.													
3. Length of residence	-.05	-.13	.												
4. Problems in English	-.39***	.42**	-.28**	.											
5. Parental Well-being	-.15[I]	-.07	.20*	-.16[I]	.										
6. Cultural Maintenance	.01	-.08	-.01	.12	-.10	.									
7. Cultural Adaptation	.02	-.17[I]	.22*	-.07	-.15[I]	-.20*	.								
8. Conversation	.29***	-.22*	-.07	-.24**	-.01	.06	-.05	.							
9. Reading	.33***	-.16[I]	-.14	-.16[I]	.12	-.01	-.02	.41**	.						
10. Storytelling	-.07	-.19*	.22*	-.18*	.12	.16[I]	.00	.13	.04	.					
11. Maths	.17[I]	-.08	-.04	-.17[I]	.12	-.14	-.03	.39**	.35**	-.08	.				
12. Creative/Practical	.25**	-.08	0.03	-.24**	.00	-.11	.09	.34**	.32**	.24**	.35**	.			
13. HLE	.28**	-.24**	0.03	-.33**	.04	.00	.00	.67***	.65***	.51**	.60**	.72**	.		
14. Communication Language	-.27**	.17[I]	-.13	.51**	-.21*	.28**	.04	-.17[I]	-.10	-.02	-.23*	-.20*	-.21*	.	
15. Reading Language	-.07	.31**	-.23*	.31**	-.02	.04	-.16[I]	.07	-.00	-.05	-.05	-.04	-.03	.45**	.

Note. N=108. [I]p ≤ .10, *p ≤ .05, **p ≤ .01, ***p ≤ .001, two-tailed

Regression Models

Table 3 presents the results of regressions where family background characteristics and cultural values were tested to predict HLE and language use variables.

For language use at home the model accounted for 35% of the variance in communication language use ((F(7,100) = 8.23, p < .001), whereas it only accounted for 14% of the variance in reading language use with the child ((F(7,100) = 2.49, p < .05). For overall HLE the model accounted for 13% of the variance ((F(7,100) = 2.48, p < .05). For the subscales of HLE, the largest variance (17%) explained by the model was for conversation activities ((F(7,100) = 2.79, p < .01). The model also significantly explained 13% of the variance in reading ((F(7,100) = 2.13, p < .05), and 13% of the variance in storytelling activities ((F(7,100) = 1.96, p < .05), whereas the model was not significant in explaining math activities (F(7,100) = 1.35, p > .05) and creative/practical activities (F(7,100) = 1.80, p > .05).

Table 3. *Hierarchical Regression Analyses Predicting Overall HLE and Subscales*

Predictor Order	Communication Language				Reading Language				Home Learning				Communication		
	B	SE B	β	R2	B	SE B	β	R2	B	SE B	β	R2	B	SE B	β
Model Summary				.35***				.14*				.13			.17**
Intercept	2.65**	1.14			1.76	1.26			46.99***	8.31			14.53***	2.15	
Education	-.26	.18	-.14		.05	.20	.02		2.14[I]	1.30	.18		.59[I]	.33	.19
Material Deprivation	.02	.05	.04		.10[I]	.06	.19		-.55	.39	-		-.20*	.10	-
Length of Residence	.00	.02	.01		-.03	.02	-.14		-.10	.15	-		-.03	.04	-
Problems in English	.17***	.04	.41		.07	.05	.17		-.46	.31	-		-.10	.08	-
Parental Well-being	-.04[I]	.02	-.16		.02	.03	.07		.06	.17	.03		-.07	.04	-
Cultural	.15**	.05	.24		.01	.06	.01		.10	.38	.03		.02	.10	.02
Cultural Adaptation	.06	.05	.10		-.04	.06	-.07		.00	.39	.00		-.02	.10	-

Predictor Order	Reading				Storytelling				Maths				Creative/Practical		
	B	SE B	β	R2	B	SE B	β	R2	B	SE B	β	R2	B	SE B	β
Model Summary				.13*				.13*				.07			.07
Intercept	10.67**	2.64			3.85	3.49			10.35***	2.75			7.59**	2.65	
PC Education	1.62**	.41	.30		-.8	.54	-.20		.56	.43	.14		0.58	.41	0.2
Material Deprivation	-.17	.12	-.14		-.14	.16	-.09		-.07	.13	-		.01	.12	.01
Length of Residence	-.07	.05	-.16		.07	.06	.12		-.04	.05	-		-.03	.05	-
Problems in English	.01	.10	.01		-.20	.13	-.18		-.06	.10	-		-.12	.10	-
Parental Well-being	.03	.05	.05		.04	.07	.05		.07	.06	.13		-.01	.05	-
Cultural	-.04	.12	-.03		.34*	.16	.21		-.16	.13	-		-.07	.12	-
Cultural Adaptation	-.04	.12	-.03		.01	.16	.01		-0.07	.13	-		.12	.12	.10

Note. N=108 [I]p ≤ .10, *p ≤ .05, **p ≤ .01, ***p ≤ .001, two-tailed

DISCUSSION

The results show that the model including family background characteristics and migration-related factors accounts for a substantial amount of the variance in overall HLE and the HLE subscales, except for the learning and creative activities. This finding is consistent with the Family investment model (Conger & Donnellan, 2007) and shows that family background is closely linked with the quality of HLE (Jeon et al., 2014; Nuttall et al., 2019). The model best explains communication language use at home showing that children from disadvantaged backgrounds are more at risk for home-school language discrepancy. The families from lower socioeconomic backgrounds reported using Turkish more frequently as the communication language at home. This finding supports the evidence from other studies on Turkish families in Europe (Prevoo et al., 2014; Willard et al., 2015; Winsler et al., 2014). The model is less effective in explaining language use in literacy activities. Families reported using English more frequently in reading activities with their children than in communication. This might be ascribed to other factors interacting with language use in literacy activities. Educational aspirations of parents might be the reason behind parents' preference of English in literacy activities, as shown in a study with Bangladeshi families in the UK (Blackledge, 2001). Other explanations for this finding could be the language of reading books provided by the schools is English or the unavailability of books in Turkish in the home.

Inter-variable associations provide insight into the interactions between the variables in the model. Findings show that parents from lower socio-economic backgrounds with problems in English tend to provide a less stimulating HLE (e.g., infrequent interaction with the child and limited learning activities) and prefer Turkish as the conversation or the reading language. This might be connected to hardships that come with economic difficulties and language knowledge. The Family Investment Model (Conger & Donnellan, 2007) explains this finding through the interaction between family resources and parenting behaviours. The model underlines that parents with fewer educational resources and increased financial stressors are less likely to take an active role in their children's learning environments. Although a stimulating HLE with the heritage language can buffer the disadvantages of home-school language discrepancy (Nag et al., 2019), The findings of this study suggest that parents with limited financial and cultural resources tend to have limited interactions with their children. This might be due to the financial and social stressors of being a migrant and parents feeling less adequate. As argued by the Family Stress Model (Conger et al., 1992), these factors cause stress in the lives of parents and inhibit them from spending quality time with their children. The inter-variable associations are consistent with this argument. The parents, who reported lower well-being tend to come from lower socio-economic backgrounds with shorter migration history. The evidence shows that the predicaments brought by migration (e.g., being new to a culture, lack of language proficiency, immigration status) may be detrimental to psychological well-being (Luksyte, Spitzmueller, & Rivera-Minaya, 2014), which is crucial for the quality of parent-child interaction (Baydar et al., 2014). Such factors yield as family stressors, which lower the quality of HLE may diminish parent-child interaction as reflected in the current findings.

Correlations between migration-related factors and the HLE are consistent with the literature. The findings show that parents with longer migration history used English more when communicating with their children. A study on migrants in the US shows that time spent in the country positively correlates with better language skills and increased use of English at home (Winsler et al., 2014). Studies with the Turkish communities in Europe demonstrate varying findings. While the evidence from Germany and the Netherlands shows that parents used the country language more often if they migrated at an early age or if they were second or later-generation in the country (Willard et al., 2015; Driessen, van der Slik, & De Bot, 2002), another study in Norway shows that longer migration history did not account for linguistic integration of the community (Blom & Henriksen, 2008). This might be due to the differences

between countries regarding the prevailing attitudes towards immigrants, or reflect differences in adjustment for Turkish families in different countries . A study comparing the integration of Turkish communities in Australia, France, Germany, and the Netherlands argue that immigrants in countries with a more positive outlook towards migration tend to integrate better and demonstrate less efforts in conserving their ethnic identity (Yagmur & van de Vijver, 2012). Positive integration of the Turkish-community in England over time might be due to the characteristics of the community as well. The Turkish community in the UK is distinct with its multi-cultural political views in Turkish politics (HaberTurk, 2018), whereas in other European countries, the majority of the Turkish diaspora supports political parties in Turkey, which hold a conservative outlook with a strong national and religious identity (Mecham, 2004; Uzer, 2018).

Culture shapes the behaviours of parents in childrearing (Kagitcibasi, 1990, 2007). Contact with a new culture may have an impact on the parenting style (Daglar, Melhuish, & Barnes, 2010), as well as the purposeful conservation of a heritage culture can affect the HLE (Becker, Klein, & Biedinger, 2013). The evidence on the relationship between cultural maintenance and language use in the current study supports this argument. The findings show that parents, who value cultural maintenance tend to use the heritage language more often in conversations with children. Culture also shapes the home environment of children through culturally-embedded activities, which might buffer the disadvantages brought by migration (Jung, Fuller, & Calindo, 2012). For instance, in some immigrant communities oral language activities play an important role as part of the HLE (Reese, 2002; Riojas-Cortez et al., 2003). In line with this evidence, the current study also shows that the families, who value their heritage culture use more oral language activities with their children. These findings suggest that the cultural effects of migration on HLE are closely related to the psychological mechanisms that influence families' views on acculturation (Berry, 1997).

CONCLUSION AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Two important conclusions can be drawn from this study. First, children from immigrant families with limited cultural and socioeconomic resources are likely to grow up in less stimulating home environments and experience more home-school language discrepancy. Families, who are from low socioeconomic demographic and new to the country are likely to experience more disadvantages and are at-risk for general well-being. Second, acculturation attitudes and migration history of a family play an important role in shaping HLE activities and resources. Linguistic integration of parents is important for the participation of parents in HLE and interaction with children.

Although, the findings of study are important for future work with children growing up in immigrant contexts, the study has some limitations. Family background variables are multifaceted, especially in the migration context, and measuring socioeconomic resources of a family through education and material deprivation limits the study. Another issue with the study is the separation of cultural maintenance and adaptation attitudes. Although, this separation provides information on the relationship between HLE and certain acculturation attitudes, acculturation is a more complex concept and cultural maintenance and adaptation may cooperate as argued by Berry (1997). Future work could expand on the findings of this study by (1) addressing other key factors that determines parents' socioeconomic well-being such as family's expenditure per child and working hours of the parents and (2) including variables that would provide more information on the cultural integration of families such as knowledge of the education system and contact with the native and non-native community.

Despite the limitations of the study, the findings suggest that family characteristics account for a substantial amount of the variance in children's HLE, and migration affects childrearing practices in HLE. These factors may be more crucial for newly-arrived immigrant families with limited resources.

One approach to support minority children growing up in immigrant families might be reaching out to newly-arrived immigrant families in the country and provide family skills training programs in community centres to support the HLE and introduce families to the education system in the country. Another approach could be preparing more inclusive educational curriculums that would support immigrant families through the use of heritage language at home, supply of take-home books in family languages and acknowledging and valuing cultural practices in child-rearing at parent-teacher conferences/meetings.

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1.1.4 EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS OF ROMA MOTHERS IN CZECH REPUBLIC, GREECE, AND PORTUGAL

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INTRODUCTION

The disadvantages Roma communities currently face across European countries result in deepening as well as perpetuating social inequalities in their societies, undermining social cohesion. The Roma are the most disadvantaged, discriminated, and marginalized ethnic-cultural minority in Europe (Brüggemann & D'Arcy, 2017; Liégeois, 2007). Across Europe, studies have revealed a huge socioeconomic and educational gap between Roma and the rest of society, including other minorities or migrants (Szalai, Messing, & Nemenyi, 2010). According to the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA, 2016, p. 3), "Some 80% of Roma surveyed live below their country's at-risk-of-poverty threshold; every third Roma lives in housing without tap water; every third Roma child goes to bed hungry at least once a month; and half of Roma between the ages of six and 24 do not attend school".

This marginalization is reinforced and reproduced by the exclusion of members of this group from the "common good" of education and the benefits that can be derived from it. Consequently, they lack the necessary educational capital, making it difficult to escape social marginalization. Especially for socioeconomically disadvantaged groups like Roma families, research has shown that family and community resources in early and middle childhood are decisive for successful school participation, future life opportunities, and prevention of educational disadvantage (Felfe & Huber, 2017; Melhuish et al., 2010). For example, the participation of Roma children in early childhood education and care (ECEC) across Europe is dramatically lower than of children from majority populations (see Open Society Institute, 2007, 2009; OSCE, 2010; Klaus & March, 2014; Save the Children, 2001; World Bank, 2012).

Parents play an important role in orchestrating the context of the child's experience, directly through their beliefs and behaviours and indirectly through the network of relationships they develop within the community and broader society. According to Lauritzen and Nodeland (2018), previous research on parental involvement among Roma parents has focused on the importance of familial connectedness (i.e., strong family bonds, closeness, mutual support, cohesion, warmth, or responsiveness) for school engagement (e.g., Abubakar & Dimitrova, 2016, p. 361). The studies, however, have brought mixed, sometimes even contradictory findings, from claims that "Roma parents (…) rate their children's achievements and school satisfaction lower, and they have lower academic aspirations for their children" (Pahic, Vidovic, & Miljevic-Ridicki, 2011, p. 275) to claims that Roma parents are increasingly positive towards their children's education (Myers, McGhee, & Bhopal, 2010, p. 533).

The role of parental involvement has also been recognized at the theoretical level. For example, Super and Harkness (1986), adopting a systemic perspective through the theoretical framework of the "developmental niche" stress the importance of parental beliefs. Parental ethnotheories are part of an explanatory scheme regarding children's development, identifying and interpreting commonalities and differences in childrearing among different sociocultural groups. Parental views are considered an important source of parenting practices and the organization of daily life for children and families. Therefore, understanding what Roma mothers think about their children's education, and what mothers' aspirations are regarding children's educational career and future social position is very

important and may help policymakers in tackling the persistent disadvantages and marginalization of Roma in their countries.

In this study, we focused on the predictors of Roma mother's educational aspirations, defined as parents' ambitions and goals for their children's educational attainment (Gutman & Akerman, 2008; Yamamoto & Holloway, 2010). These aspirations play a decisive role in thinking about, planning, and (not) deciding about children's future educational path and are a strong predictor of children's school achievement (Fan & Chen, 2001). Few studies have focused on the predictors of parental aspirations of Roma children (e.g., Dimitrova, Ferrer-Wreder, & Ahlen, 2018). Importantly, the few existing studies investigate the educational aspirations of primary school children and/or older (Dimitrova et al., 2018; Sime, Fassetta, & McClung, 2018) in single cultural contexts, lacking a comparative perspective. In addition, most studies on parental aspirations of minority status children focus on child and family socio-demographic characteristics and microsystemic (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006) predictors (Areepattamannil & Lee; 2014; Sosu, 2014) and neglect mesosystemic predictors such as parent-teacher relationships, perceived discrimination by other parents, or mother's interactions with majority families. Extending existing research to the mesosystem is warranted because intergroup contact is a key feature of multicultural policies (Berry, 1984, 2013). Therefore, in this study, we examined the role of both micro and mesosystemic variables in shaping the educational aspirations of Roma mothers from three European countries: Czech Republic, Greece, and Portugal. We add to existing literature by comparing parental educational aspirations in these countries, that represent different European regions with their own socio-historical particularities and regimes, as well commonalities rooted in a European tradition.

CONTEXTS

In general, monitoring the numbers of Roma populations in different contexts is difficult. In Portugal, the monitoring of ethnicity for censuses is legally forbidden, while in the Czech Republic Roma people refuse to identify openly with the group because of the social stigma, or their fear of the abuse of statistics by majority, based on the older Roma generations experiences under the socialistic regime (Klíčová, 2006).[3] Nevertheless, the up-to-date qualified estimates state figures ranging from 0.4% of Portuguese population (Sousa & Moreira, 2017), 1.55% of Greek population (Hellenic Republic - Region of Central Macedonia, 2015[4]) to 2.8% of Czech population (Český statistický úřad, 2017).

Despite their common origins, shared cultural practices and similar traditions, the Roma communities/people around Europe are an extremely diverse cultural and/or ethnic group5. Hence, although often perceived by outsiders as a homogeneous entity (see Csepeli & Simon, 2003, pp. 129-150), there are considerable variations across Europe - "a rich mosaic of ethnic fragments" going under different names (Liégeois, 1994, p. 12) - both between and within countries (a) in the way they are treated and (b) in how they define their group of origin. Such diversity derives from cultural norms and practices, customary rules, and religion (Barany, 2002, p. 15). The Portuguese Roma population is quite heterogeneous and different Roma communities may be identified in Portugal (Mendes, Magano & Candeias, 2014), while most of them are sedentary. Similarily, within the Greek society, Roma are not

[3] In 1989, 145,738 Czech Roma were recorded by local authorities, but in the 1991 Census only 32,903 declared themselves as Roma and the number dropped in 2001 to 11,746. However, the official Report on the Situation of National Minorities in the Czech Republic in 2004 notes that the numbers is put at approximately 200,000 and it was further raising in following decade. (EUMC, 2006, p. 22).

[4] Based on estimations from various resources (no census data are recorded regarding the ethnic origin of Roma population) the population ranges between 50.000 to 300.000 with an average estimate of 175.000

[5] Regarding the ethnic identity debate see, for example, European Parliament, 2010; Kostadinova, 2011; Luciak, 2004; Pogay, 2006.

a homogeneous group with significant differences arising in relation to their historic course in Greece, their profession, and their way and place of living (permanently settled, semi-nomads, nomads). In the Czech context, there are different dialects of Roma language which reflects the origin of different subgroups of Roma who migrated and settled in the Czech lands after the Czech and Moravian Roma were nearly exterminated during the Second World War (Nečas, 1999).

Nevertheless, despite these differences and inner diversity, Roma people in all three countries have been marginalized and persecuted almost since their arrival, both by local population and governments (through laws excluding this group from society). Often, they were not considered full citizens or were treated as "second class citizens" (Casa-Nova, 2008; Davidová & Uherek, 2014; Nata, 2007). Even nowadays, Roma are often the target of hate speech as well as disrimination in many areas of life, including education (Cviklová, 2011; Mendes, 2012). There were similar legal cases in the Czech Republic and Greece (D.H. and Others vs. the Czech Republic; Sampani and Others vs. Greece)[6], when the European Court of Human Rights recognized indirect discrimination in education of Roma in both contexts (O'Nions, 2010). Similarly, European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI, 2015 for the Czech Republic and Greece; ECRI, 2016 for Portugal) states that Roma often become victims of day-to-day insults by members of the general public in all three countries; however, in the Czech Republic and Greece, Roma are also subject to negative stereotyping in political discourse.

Besides the discrimination Roma face in formal as well informal contexts, they also experience severe material deprivation and socio-economic exclusion in all three countries. The Second European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey (FRA, 2016, p. 14) shows that 96% of Greek Roma live at risk of poverty, below the national 2014 threshold, in comparison with "only" 56% of Czech Roma, which is, however, still almost six times higher than the rate for the general population.[7] When asked if their total household's income allows them to make ends meet, 74% of Roma respondents in Greece and Portugal responded that they face great difficulty in this regard, while "only" 31% in the Czech Republic (FRA, 2015, p. 15). Roma people in all three countries live in very deprived housing conditions – for example, 36% of Roma in Greece lack at least one of the following facilities: indoor kitchen, indoor toilet, indoor bath tub/shower, electricity. Furthermore, about 32% of the Portuguese Roma population live in non-classic housing (i.e., shacks or slums) and 48% live in social housing (IHRU, 2015). As far as the family structure is concerned, there is a substantial gender gap between Roma women and men in employment rate.[8] There is 32% of employed Czech Roma women compared to 55% of employed Roma men, 22% of employed Greek Roma women compared to 82% of employed Roma men, and finally there are 21% of employed Portuguese Roma women compared to 55% of employed Roma men.

Research shows that Roma in all three countries face educational inequalities. In Greece, for example, according to Dragonas (2012) based on a report of the Ministry of Employment and Social Protection (2009), Roma families have very limited access to crèches and early child-care. There are almost no such facilities in the settlements. However, crèches and early child-care units do exist in more than half of the urban areas where the Roma live in apartments or houses. Yet, even there, only 20% make use of them. The same pattern is evident in the Czech Republic where in general, the percentage of Roma children enrolled in ECEC is very low. About 48% of Roma children attend some type of ECEC, comparing to 90% of majority children. If we focus on Roma children attendance in ECEC in the age of 3-5 years, the percentage is dramatically lower (28 % compared to 64% in majority population) (Ivatts et al., 2015; FRA, 2014). In Portugal, approximately 42% of Portuguese Roma

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[6] In Portugal, there are cases of discrimination in education against Roma reported by Ombudsman (e.g., European network of legal experts in the non-discrimination field, 2014).
[7] The data for Portuguese Roma were unfortunately not available because of high number of missing values.
[8] It is important to note that employment status included self-employment as well as occasional work or work in the past four weeks.

children between 4 and 6 participate in ECEC, of which 31% are girls and 51% are boys (FRA, 2016). These figures suggest that the participation of Roma children in ECEC is low across the different contexts. Other figures indicate that the rate of Roma early-school leavers (those aged 18-24 with at most lower secondary education and not in further education or training) is very high and substantially above the national averages – 92% of all Roma in this age group in Greece, 90% of all Roma in this age group in Portugal, and 57% of all Roma in this age group in the Czech Republic (FRA, 2016, p. 27). As far as educational inequalities are concerned, the ethnic segregation in education system functions as an important indicator of country differences. The proportion of Roma children attending schools in which all or most schoolmates are Roma ranges from 14% in Portugal, 30% in the Czech Republic, to 48% in Greece (FRA, 2016, p. 28). Czech Roma children are very often channelled to special-needs schools which is another form of educational segregation still remaining a widespread practice, despite the critiques of the Czech government by the European Court of Human rights and other European institutions.

METHOD

Participants

In this study, 656 parents[9] with a Roma background participated, out of which were 339 parents of girls and 317 were parents of boys. In total, 230 parents participated in Czech Republic, 189 in Greece, and 237 in Portugal. Interviewed mothers had a child in the 3- to 6 (n = 315) and/or 9- to 12 (n = 341) years age-range, to capture the pre-primary phase and the phase before the transition to secondary education.

Procedures

Data for this work comes from a large-scale structured interview study with parents with a disadvantaged background in ten European countries (Broekhuizen, Ereky-Stevens, Wolf, & Moser, 2018), and was designed within the framework of the EU funded Inclusive Education and Social Support to Tackle Inequalities in Society (ISOTIS) project (www.isotis.org). Mothers were recruited from two sites in each country along the following sampling criteria: (1) The parent identified as belonging to the Roma community; (2) The parent may or may not have been born in the country; (3) The ethnic-cultural background of the parent's partner was not a sampling criterion; it could be any. Recruitment strategies were centred in neighbourhoods or areas in the selected sites with large populations of our target groups and included approaching ECEC centres, schools, community centres or parent organizations that focus on our target groups.

Structured interviews were conducted by researchers with the assistance of Roma mediators, as needed, in the languages spoken my mothers, aligned their needs or preferences, using an online version presented on a laptop or, in case of technical issues, a paper-pencil version. The survey was available in all countries' languages and Romani, and mothers could switch between languages while completing the survey. For most questions, the interviewers read the question to the parent, the parent answered, and the interviewer recorded the response. For more sensitive questions (e.g., perceived discrimination), mothers could record the answers themselves. The full survey took between 45 and 60 minutes. Parents received an incentive after participating in the interview (voucher of €5-10, a children's book, or participation in a raffle). Data-collection for the interviews ran from December

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[9] In the Czech Republic, Greece and Portugal we mainly recruited mothers, the interviewed fathers were removed from the sample for the purposes of this specific paper.

2017 to July 2018.

Measures

Study variables are presented in Table 1. The outcome variable, **aspired level of educational qualification**, was measured through the mothers' responses to the question "What level of qualification would you like [Target child's] to complete?" on a 5-point ordinal scale according to the ISCED levels, appropriately adjusted according to the educational system of each country (1= Finish lower secondary education or second stage of basic education [ISCED 2], 2= Finish upper secondary education [ISCED 3], 3= Finish post-secondary non-tertiary education/short-cycle tertiary education [ISCED 4 or 5], 4= Bachelor degree or equivalent [ISCED 6], 5= Master's degree or equivalent, or doctoral degree or equivalent [ISCED 7 or 8]).

Predictors were organized in groups that reflected certain aspects of Roma mothers' family life and their children. More specifically, regarding **child's characteristics**, age group (1=3-5 yrs, 2= 9-11 yrs of age) and gender (1= female, 2= male) were the two main variables. Regarding **family structure**, the variables selected for further consideration were:

- *Family constellation*, including whether the parent was living with a partner and the number of children living in the family (for both age-groups separately).
- *Material deprivation:* The Material Deprivation Index[10] was used as a measure of family economic status. This 13-item indicator is used for social monitoring purposes at both national and EU levels, and has been thoroughly psychometrically evaluated (Guio et al., 2016[11]). The 13 items consist of five 'adult' and eight 'household' items. If parents indicated that they could not afford the entity or issue mentioned in the item, this would increase the indicator with one point. When a family reaches a threshold [cut-off estimate] of at least 5 items lacked, it is considered to be materially deprived. In our study, however, we use a continuous measure with a possible range from 0 to 13.
- *Mothers' educational level*: Regarding Roma mothers' educational level, to differentiate between parents with a low, medium, and higher educational level, the well-known International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED[12]) 2011 levels of education codes was used, with the following cut-off points (adjusted according to country's educational structure/system): 1=Low: ISCED 0, 1, 2 (primary or lower secondary education or lower); 2=Medium: ISCED 3, 4, 5 (upper secondary, post-secondary non-tertiary and short cycle tertiary education); 3=High: ISCED 6, 7 (bachelor level or higher).
- *Mothers' occupational status* as represented by employment status, Regarding, mothers' employment status, we asked them to report concerning both their own (participant's) and the family level (dual earner, single earner and unemployed families). In case of a single-parent family, participants could only be categorized as a single earner or unemployed family.
- and *mother's working hours* on a weekly basis.

The next section of variables represented the **Child's ECEC history and/or school characteristics** and included:

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[10] For all 13 items, see https://circabc.europa.eu/sd/a/45a323e2-4ba5-4060-bfa8-94c715ef694b/DOCSILC065%20operation%202017-%20NOV(0).pdf

[11] Guio, A. C., Marlier, E., Gordon, D., Fahmy, E., Nandy, S., & Pomati, M. (2016). Improving the measurement of material deprivation at the European Union level. *Journal of European Social Policy*, *26*(3), 219-333.

[12] https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/International_Standard_Classification_of_Education_%28ISCED%29

- *Child's ECEC attendance until the age of 5 years*: To describe children's ECEC participation, we created two dummy variables, namely "centre-based ECEC < 3 years" [1= yes] for those children that had attended ECEC before three (3) years of age, and "centre-based ECEC between 3 and 5 years" [1= yes]) for those children that had attended ECEC between three and five years of age. For the younger age-group, we also reported whether they were currently attending ECEC if they were not at statutory school age.
- *Proportion of non-Roma in the preschool/school of the child:* [1= (Almost) none, 2= Around a quarter, 3= Around half, 4= Around three-quarter, 5= (Almost) all];
- and *school attendance:* To describe children's school participation, we considered whether children were at statutory school age and, subsequently, whether they attended school or not.

The next section of variables referred to **family-school relationships** which were represented by:

- two questions concerning *mothers' perceived discrimination* (with reference to teachers and parents) ("How often do you feel discriminated or unfairly treated because of your ethnic-cultural background, by "[Parents in the (pre-) school of your child]" and "[Teachers in the (pre-) school of your child]; How often do you feel discriminated or unfairly treated because of your ethnic-cultural background, by") measured in a 4-point scale (1= never, 2= rarely, 3= sometimes, 4= often);
- two questions concerning *interaction with non-Roma parents at school and feelings about it*: "How often, if at all, do you interact with non-Roma people at the preschool/school of your child?" (1= never, 2= rarely, 3= sometimes, 4= often) and "How do you feel about interacting with parents with a non-Roma background at the preschool/school of your child?" (1= I don't enjoy it, 2= I enjoy it a little, 3= I enjoy it quite a bit, 4= I enjoy it a great deal).
- *parent-teacher relationship* was measured through an 11-items 5-point Likert-type scale (1 = Disagree to 5 = Agree), to reflect *Parent-teacher relationship*[13] based on mothers' level of "trust" regarding the way their children's teachers work with the children, based on their experience in their current preschool/school. A composite score was calculated (score range = 11-55) with the higher scores to indicate a more positive perception/view regarding the feeling of "trust" towards teachers of their children in the (pre)school.

A final section of questions referred to **neighbourhood** and included:

- a measure reflecting *maternal perceived neighborhood quality*, by using a 3-items 4-point scale of frequency (1 = *never*, 2 = *rarely*, 3 = *sometimes*, 4 = *often*) questioning about violence, criminality, and general nuance frequency concerning perceived risks in their neighbourhood[14] (How often do the following happen in your neighbourhood? Violence or crime against people (e.g., fights, muggings, insulting or calling people names, etc.); Violence or crime involving property (e.g., break-ins, car thefts, house/car vandalism, etc.); General nuisance (e.g., graffiti, litter, abandoned

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[13] The scale was constructed based on two discrete scales: The first six items were selected from the "Parent-Teacher Relationship Scale" [Petrogiannis, K., & Penderi, E. (2013). The quality of Parent-Teacher Relationship Scale in the kindergarten: A Greek study. *International Research in Education, 2*(1), 1-21]. Item 1, 2 and 3 reflect "Trust", Item 4, 5 and 6 reflect "Communication". Items were rephrased, so that they applied to all teachers that children might have.
The second part consists of Items 7 to 11 which were self-designed, though inspired by other questionnaires (e.g., - Forsyth, P., Adams, C.M., Barnes, L.L. (2002). Parental trust of school: scale development. A Paper Presented at the American Educational Research Association, Division L. New Orleans, LA, April 4. http://okedpolicy.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/01/Parental-Trust-of-School-Scale-Development-2002.pdf
- From: Marx, S., Byrnes, D. (2012). Multicultural school climate inventory. Current issues in education, 15, 3. https://cie.asu.edu/ojs/index.php/cieatasu/article/viewFile/960/393).
[14] Used in EPPE study, but originally developed for the following studies:
- Barnes, J. (1997). The reliability and validity of a questionnaire describing neighborhood characteristics relevant to families and young children. *Journal of Community Psychology,* 25(6), 551-566.
- Barnes, J. (2007). *Down our Way: The relevance of neighborhoods for parenting and child development.* Chichester, UK: John Wiley and Sons.

cars/buildings, traffic noise, etc.)]. A composite score was calculated (range = 3-12) reflecting their *Perceived neighbourhood quality*, with a higher total score to indicate a lower neighbourhood quality and a measure of *perceived discrimination in the neighbourhood*, based on the question ([How often do you feel discriminated or unfairly treated because of your ethnic-cultural background, by) using a 4-point scale (1= *never*, 2= *rarely*, 3= *sometimes*, 4= *often*).

Table 1. *Study variables classified as a function of Bronfenbrenner's bio-ecological model (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006)*

Group of variables	Level	Variable
Outcome	microsystem	Roma mothers' aspired level of educational qualification
	macrosystem	Country
Child	microsystem	Age
	microsystem	Gender
Family - structural aspects	microsystem	Family constellation: Children in the family
	microsystem	Material Deprivation
	microsystem	Education & employment of parent: Educational level of participant mothers (ISCED based)
	microsystem	Mothers' age of leaving the school
	microsystem	Family employment status
	microsystem	Mother's working hours
Child ECEC history / School	microsystem	ECEC attendance: Centre-based ECEC < 3 years]
	microsystem	Centre -based ECEC between 3 and 5 years
	microsystem	Percentage of children of non-Roma background at pre-/school
Family – relationships with teachers and other parents	mesosystem	Perceived discrimination *by other parents* because of their ethnic-cultural background in their child's (pre-)school
	mesosystem	Perceived discrimination by *teachers* because of their ethnic-cultural background in their child's (pre-)school
	mesosystem	Parent-teacher relationship
	mesosystem	Roma mothers' interaction with non-Roma people at the (pre)school of their child.
	mesosystem	Roma mothers' interaction with non-Roma people at the (pre)school of their child and feelings about it.
Family -	microsystem	Perceived neighbourhood quality

neighbourhood	mesosystem	Perceived discrimination by people because of their ethnic-cultural background in their neighbourhood.

Analysis strategy

To investigate the factors that may be predictively linked with mothers' educational aspirations ("ordered response"/ordered categorical dependent variable) for their child, a series of **correlation analyses** with the selected variables were performed and, **in turn, a series of ordinal logistic regression analyses** to extract the best generalised ordered logistic regression model. In a final step, interaction effects of family characteristics, preschool use, and interethnic contact with country were tested. The steps followed are presented in more detail below.

Treatment of missing values

At first, the data set was examined in order to identify the variables with the most missing values and was decided to drop two of the initially selected variables, namely "Has your child attended primary school (including reception) in the past years?" and " How many hours per week are you currently working?" since the missing data were 98.6% and 89.1% respectively.

In the case of ordinal regression analysis in SPSS, there is only one option to deal with missing values and this is the listwise deletion of cases with missing values, which is the method that was followed.

Descriptive statistical analysis

Descriptive statistical analysis was conducted to provide a brief summary of the sample and the measurements. Firstly, the distributions of Roma mothers' aspirations regarding children's education across countries and children's age group were computed (see Figure 1). Then the descriptive statistics of socio-demographic characteristics of the participants (see Table 2) and children's ECEC history and/or school characteristics related to children's experiences across the three countries (see Table 3) were calculated.

Associations between children's ECEC history and/or school characteristics related to children's experiences and the three countries

In order to examine the associations between the three countries and the variables: Perceived discrimination by other parents, Perceived discrimination by teachers, Interactions with non-Roma at the (pre)school and Feelings about interacting with non-Roma parents, χ^2 tests of independence were conducted, since all variables were categorical (see Table 4).

In addition, the associations between the three countries and the variables "parent-teacher relationship" and "perceived neighbourhood quality" were examined with Kruskal-Wallis H tests, since the data were not normaly distributed (see Table 4).

Variable selection for ordinal logistic regression analyses

In the next stage of the analysis, to determine the variables that best predict the educational level Roma mothers aspired their child to complete, a series of univariate and multivariate analyses was conducted. Firstly, we examined the statistically significant effect of each predictor on the educational level mothers aspired their child to complete by conducting a series of ordinal regressions (see Tables

A1.2.1-A1.2.4 in the appendix). The variables that showed consistently statistically significant associations with educational aspirations were tested in a series of stepwise regression models with various variable combinations, to reveal the best fit cumulative odds ordinal logistic regression with proportional odds model that would include the best possible predictors that would determine the effect of these variables (main and interaction effects). We selected the logit link function[15] because although the third category was extremely low the other four categories were evenly distributed (see Figure 1).
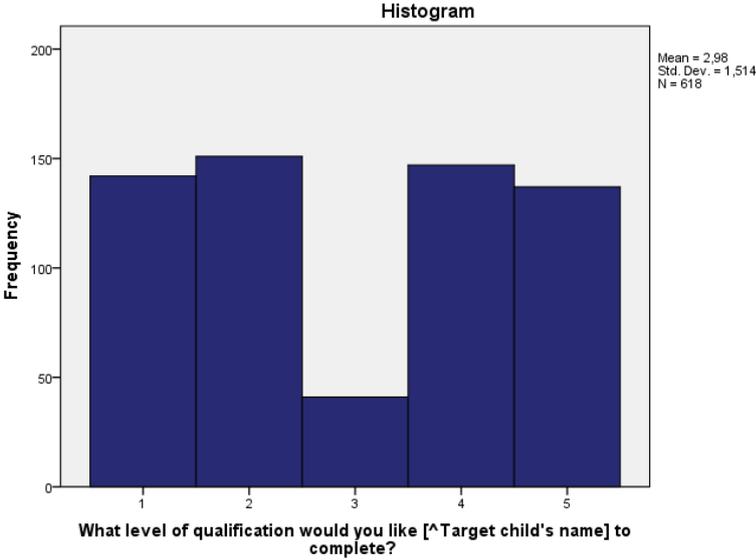

Figure 1. *Histogram of Roma mothers' responses regarding the educational level they aspired their child to complete*

The final ordinal regression model

Through multiple series of ordinal regressions with various combinations of selected predictors, we choose those independent variables that seem to present the most robust picture regarding their statistically significant power in relation to the educational level Roma mothers aspired their child to complete. These variables were country, number of children in the family, material deprivation, and interaction with other parents at school. These four independent variables and their potential 2-way interactions were inputted in the final ordinal regression model. The number of children in the family, as well as its interactions were not statistically significant. Based on this finding we decided not to include this variable in the final model.

Hence, in the final model, we analysed the effect of country, material deprivation, interaction with other parents at school, as well as all the 2-way interactions of them. Although we also tested 3-way interactions, due to the non-statistically significant results, we decided not to include them in the final analytical model.

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[15] **Link function.** The link function is a transformation of the cumulative probabilities that allows estimation of the model. Among the five available link functions we chose the logit function **[$f(x)=\log(x/(1-x)$): Typically used for evenly distributed categories]**.

RESULTS

Descriptive statistics

Based on the descriptive information (Figure 2), a mixed picture was revealed regarding mothers' aspirations for the educational future of the child, with some polarization among Roma communities. More specifically, in total, there seems to be a similar trend towards the bottom and the top of the educational levels since 45.1% of the respondents would like their child to finish lower or upper secondary education or second stage of compulsory education (ISCED 2, 3) and another 43.6% reported that they would like their child to attend a tertiary level institute (Bachelor degree or higher (ISCED 6, 7 or 8). However, in Czech Republic, 67.3% of the mothers answered that they would like their child to finish lower or upper secondary education or second stage of basic education (ISCED 2, 3), while in Greece 50.8% reported a bachelor's degree or equivalent (ISCED 6), and in Portugal 43.4% of mothers reported the ISCED 2 or 3 levels and 51.7% the ISCED 6, 7, or 8.


Figure 2. *Distribution of Roma mothers' aspirations regarding children's education across countries and children's age group*

With reference to the potential predictors, including child, family, and ECEC/school relevant characteristics, a number of descriptive analyses were performed for the presentation of the relevant information from the three countries. Concerning Family structure variables, families' profile in the three countries is presented in Table 2.

Table 2. *Socio-demographic characteristics of the participants from the three countries*

Socio-demographic characteristics	Czech Republic	Greece	Portugal
Mothers' age [M]	34.0	29.2	32.7
Age range	18-63	17-44	18-59
Native-born %	80.9	97.4	97.5
Educational level %			
Low	76,1	84.1	75.9
Medium	22.2	10.6	16.5
High	.9	1.1	-
Age left school [M (SD)]	16.6 (2.3)	12.7 (3.5)	12.1 (2.4)
[min.-max.]	[7-32]	[7-30]	[7-19]
Participant employed %	16.5	11.6	1.3
Family employment status %			
Dual earner	9.6	6.9	.4
One earner	41.3	57.7	9.3
Unemployed	49.1	34.4	90.3
Number of working hours per week are [M (SD)] [min.-max.]	30.4 (14.5)	36.05 (12.2)	38.3 (2.9)
	[3-60]	[8-60]	[35-40]
Material Deprivation Index [M (SD)]	6.1 (3.2)	7.7 (4.1)	6.3 (2.7)
Partner is the biological father of target-child? (Yes %)	60.9	79.9	82.3
Living with partner %	77	84.7	85.2
Married (Yes %)	29.1	26.5	8.4
Children below 18 years of age living in the household (Yes %)	84.3	74.6	88.6
No. of children			
Range	1-9	1-7	1-6
With 1 more child %	25.7	30.2	28.3
With 2 more children %	23.0	23.8	30.0
With 3 more children %	13.0	13.2	21.9
	(1 case with 10 children)	(1 case with 14 children)	

ISOTIS

Regarding **family structure**, most mothers in Greece (97.4%) and Portugal (97.5%) were native-born whereas in Czech Rep. the percentage was 80.9%, with the remaining mothers born mainly in Slovakia. Concerning parental educational background, it seems that in all countries most mothers had low education with few exceptions found in Czech Republic and in Greece.

The Roma communities in the three countries, as expected, seem to have some common household economic circumstances, and more specifically, high women unemployment rates and household material deprivation. Regarding mothers' employment status, as shown in Table 2, most Roma mothers in the three countries are unemployed and only one in ten have a paid job. Economic hardships of Roma households are confirmed by the family employment status where dual earners families are few. One-earner households in Greece are almost 6 to 10 (although with very low paid jobs), half of the families in Czech Rep. are unemployed, in contrast with 90.3% in Portugal, most likely due to the recruitment strategy of the participants.

Higher levels of deprivation were reported by the Greek Roma families, despite the higher in-paid-work rate (for partners only). However, in combination with the high poverty rate (as indicated through the MD index), this could be an indication that many Roma are 'working poor' or working primarily in very low-paid occupations. Their socio-economic disadvantages related to impoverishment, housing, health, education, and employment are interconnected and interdependent.

Regarding family constellation, there seem to exist common trends in the three countries since almost 80% of Roma mothers were living with a partner and almost in one third of the cases in Czech Republic and Greece they were married whereas only 8.4% of Portuguese mothers were in a legal marriage. In most families in the three countries there were other children as well living in the household, in most of the cases their number was ranged between one to three more children. Table 3 presents the relevant information on **children's characteristics, ECEC history, as well as (pre)school characteristics.**

Table 3. *Children's ECEC history and/or school characteristics related to children's experiences in the three countries*

	Czech Republic		Greece		Portugal	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Age group						
3-5 yrs.	108	47	87	46	120	50.6
9-12 yrs.	122	53	102	54	117	49.4
Gender						
Girls	134	58.3	91	48.1	114	48.1
Boys	96	41.7	98	51.9	123	51.9
Centre-based ECEC < 3 years	21	9.1	8	4.2	45	19.0
Centre-based ECEC between 3 and 5	104	45.2	64	33.9	154	65.0

Children at statutory school age to attend a reception classroom	123	53.5	112	59.3	117	49.4
Children currently attending primary school (including reception)	120	52.2	106	56.1	117	49.4
Proportion of parents in children's preschool/school that are non-Roma						
(Almost) none	51	22.2	19	10.1	3	1.3
Around a quarter	36	15.7	21	11.1	37	15.6
Around half	58	25.2	67	35.4	45	19.0
Around three-quarter	22	9.6	36	19.0	83	35.0
(Almost) all	8	3.5	7	3.7	49	20.7

Associations between children's ECEC history and/or school characteristics and children's experiences in the three countries

Most children under the age of 3 did not have any formal/informal ECEC experience in the three countries, ranging between 79.7% for Portugal to 93.7% for Greece. The situation is slightly different for the 3-6 yrs. group of children, since almost half of them have some ECEC experience with the lowest participation of Greece (33.9%) and the highest in Portugal (65.0%). Almost half of the participant children were at statutory school age to attend a reception classroom and with very few exceptions, children were attending a preschool/school class in the three countries according to mothers' responses. Finally, regarding classroom composition, based on Roma mothers' knowledge, it seems that in the countries there is a variance in Roma mothers' estimations regarding the proportion of parents in their children's preschool/school that are non-Roma. Pre/schools in the Czech Republic seem to be more ethnically segregated than in Greece and especially Portugal, which could be associated with the lower aspirations of Czech Roma mothers.

Table 4 presents the relevant information regarding **Family-school relationships**. The majority of Roma mothers that participated in the study indicated a common trend in some psychosocial aspects. More specifically, regarding the discrimination they perceive in their child's (pre)school either by other parents or the teachers because of their ethnic-cultural background, two thirds of participants in the three countries responded that they "never" felt such discrimination. A chi-square test of independence was conducted for potential association between the three countries regarding question "How often do you feel discriminated or unfairly treated because of your ethnic-cultural background, by parents in the (pre-)school of your child". All expected cell frequencies were greater than five. There was a statistically significant association $\chi^2_{(6)} = 36.935$, p < .001, although the association was small (Cohen, 1988), Cramer's V = .170. Similar results were revealed for the corresponding question regarding teachers $\chi2(6) = 34.296$, p < .001. The association was small as well (Cohen, 1988), Cramer's V = .164.

In addition, mothers were asked about their interaction with non-Roma parents at school and

feelings about it. The picture is rather mixed since although in general Roma mothers reported that they "interact" with non Roma people at (pre)school, in Czech Republic and Greece for 28.7% and 24.3% of them, correspondingly, this interaction is "often" (another 10.0% and 34.9%, correspondingly selected the "sometimes" option), whereas for Portuguese Roma mothers the percentage for the very frequent ("often") interaction raised to 50.6%. A chi-square test of independence was conducted and there was a statistically significant association between mothers' answers in the three countries $\chi^2_{(6)}$ = 73.740, p < .001, although the association was small (Cohen, 1988), Cramer's V = .261.

Regarding Roma mothers' feelings about interacting with parents with a non-Roma background at the preschool/school of their child, most mothers in the three countries indicated that they enjoy the interaction either "quite a bit" or "a great deal". A chi-square test of independence was conducted with all expected cell frequencies greater than five. There was a statistically significant association between the responses of mothers in the countries $\chi^2_{(6)}$ = 46.432, p < .001. The association was small (Cohen, 1988), Cramer's V = .225.

Finally, regarding parent-teacher relationship, the analysis revealed that the scores were ranging, in the three countries, in a rather lower level of the scale indicating a relative lack of trust and communication between parents and teachers although there were statistically significant differences between them.

Table 4. *Children's ECEC history and/or school characteristics related to children's experiences in the three countries*

	Czech Republic		Greece		Portugal		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	Statistical test
Perceived discrimination by other parents							$\chi^2_{(6)}$ = 36.935, *p* < .001, Cramer's V = .170
Never	168	73.0	107	56.6	192	81.0	
Rarely	30	13.0	36	19.0	12	5.1	
Sometimes	18	7.8	31	16.4	20	8.4	
Often	9	3.9	10	5.3	7	3.0	
Perceived discrimination by teachers							$\chi^2_{(6)}$ = 34.296, *p* < .001, Cramer's V = .164
Never	177	77.0	129	68.3	209	88.2	
Rarely	21	9.1	32	16.9	9	3.8	
Sometimes	16	7.0	18	9.5	12	5.1	
Often	11	4.8	3	1.6	3	1.3	

Interactions with non-Roma at the (pre)school						$\chi^2_{(6)}$ = 73.740, *p* < .001, Cramer's V = .261
Never	40	17.4	20	10.6	21	8.9
Rarely	46	20.0	18	9.5	21	8.9
Sometimes	23	10.0	66	34.9	55	23.2
Often	66	28.7	46	24.3	120	50.6
Feelings about interacting with non-Roma parents						$\chi^2_{(6)}$ = 46.432, *p* < .001, Cramer's V = .225
I don't enjoy it	20	8.7	2	1.1	2	.8
I enjoy it a little	34	14.8	31	16.4	41	17.3
I enjoy it quite a bit	51	22.2	63	33.3	119	50.2
I enjoy it a great deal	29	12.6	34	18.0	33	13.9
Parent-teacher relationship [M, (sd)]	4.3 (.81) Mdn[16]: 4.64		4.4 (.73) Mdn: 4.73		4.7 (.41) Mdn: 4.91		$\chi^2_{(2)}$ = 37.509, *p* < .001)
Perceived neighbourhood quality [M, (sd)]	2.5 (.99) Mdn: 2.67		2.9 (.77) Mdn: 3.00		2.08 (.82) Mdn: 2.00		$\chi^2_{(2)}$ = 88.820, *p* < .001)

There were a few outliers in the data, as assessed by inspection of a boxplot and scale's mean total score was not normally distributed for the Czech Republic, Greece, and Portugal, as assessed by Kolmogorov-Smirnov's test (*p* < .001). Consequently, Kruskal-Wallis H test was conducted to examine if there were differences in Parent-teacher relationship scale total mean score between "Czech Republic" (*n* = 175), "Greece" (*n* = 149) and "Portugal" (*n* = 217).

Distributions of the mean scores were similar for all groups, as assessed by visual inspection of the relevant boxplot. Median mean scores were statistically significantly different between the three groups ($\chi^2_{(2)}$ = 37.509, *p* < .001). Pairwise comparisons were performed using Dunn's (1964) procedure with a Bonferroni correction for multiple comparisons (see Figure 3). Adjusted *p*-values are presented. This post hoc analysis revealed statistically significant differences in Parent-teacher relationship scale total mean scores between the Czech Republic (Mdn = 4.64) and Portugal (Mdn = 4.91) (*p* < .001) as well as Greece (Mdn = 4.73), and Portugal (*p* < .001), but not between Czech Republic and Greece.

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[16] Median scores were used for Kruskal-Wallis H test.

Pairwise Comparisons of Country
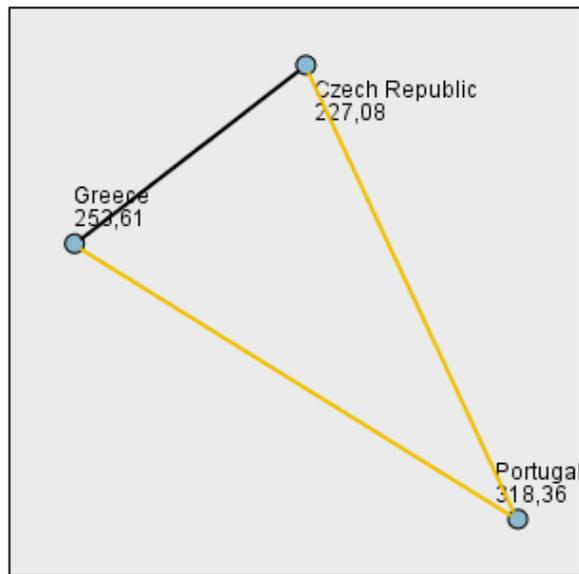
Each node shows the sample average rank of Country .

Sample1-Sample2	Test Statistic	Std. Error	Std. Test Statistic	Sig.	Adj.Sig.
Czech Republic-Greece	-26,528	16,969	-1,563	,118	,354
Czech Republic-Portugal	-91,274	15,467	-5,901	,000	,000
Greece-Portugal	-64,746	16,196	-3,998	,000	,000

Each row tests the null hypothesis that the Sample 1 and Sample 2 distributions are the same.
Asymptotic significances (2-sided tests) are displayed. The significance level is ,05.

Figure 3. *Pairwise comparisons of country regarding parent-teacher relationship scale total mean score between the three countries*

The analysis revealed that the *Perceived neighbourhood quality* scale total mean scores were ranging in the middle/medium to lower end of the scale (see Table 4 above) indicating a rather low quality of neighbourhood according to Roma mothers' perception. There were a few outliers in the data, as assessed by inspection of the relevant boxplot and *Perceived neighbourhood quality* total mean scores were not normally distributed for the Czech Republic, Greece and Portugal, as assessed by Kolmogorov-Smirnov's test ($p < .001$). Due to this a Kruskal-Wallis H test was conducted to determine if there were differences in *Perceived neighbourhood quality* mean scores between Czech Republic ($n = 223$), Greece ($n = 186$) and Portugal ($n = 236$). Distributions of the scale's mean scores were similar for all groups, as assessed by visual inspection of a boxplot and median scores were statistically significantly different between groups ($\chi^2_{(2)} = 88.820$, $p < .001$).

Pairwise comparisons were performed using Dunn's (1964) procedure with a Bonferroni correction for multiple comparisons (see Figure 4). Adjusted *p*-values are presented. This post hoc analysis revealed statistically significant differences in *Perceived neighbourhood quality* mean scores between all pair comparisons: Portugal (*Mdn* = 2) and the Czech Republic (*Mdn* = 2.67) ($p < .001$), Portugal (*Mdn*

= 2) and Greece (*Mdn* = 3) (*p* < .001) and, finally, the Czech Republic (*Mdn* = 2.67) and Greece (*Mdn* = 3) (*p* < .001).

Pairwise Comparisons of Country
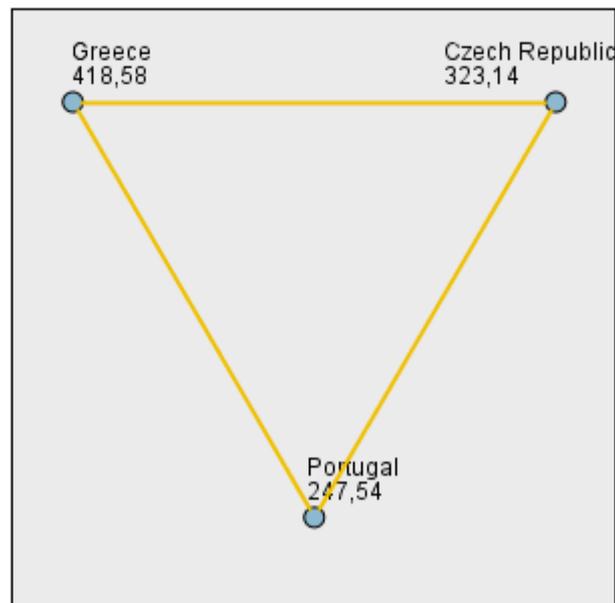
Each node shows the sample average rank of Country .

Sample1-Sample2	Test Statistic	Std. Error	Std. Test Statistic	Sig.	Adj.Sig.
Portugal-Czech Republic	75,601	17,286	4,374	,000	,000
Portugal-Greece	171,035	18,148	9,424	,000	,000
Czech Republic-Greece	-95,434	18,380	-5,192	,000	,000

Each row tests the null hypothesis that the Sample 1 and Sample 2 distributions are the same.
Asymptotic significances (2-sided tests) are displayed. The significance level is ,05.

Figure 4. *Pairwise comparisons of country regarding Perceived neighbourhood quality total mean scores between the three countries*

The final ordinal regression model

In the final model, we analysed the effect of country, material deprivation, interaction with other parents at school, as well as all the 2-way interactions of them. The distribution of marginal percentages of the variables' responses that were inputted in the final ordinal logistic regression model are presented in Table 5.

Table 5. *Variables inputted in the final ordinal logistic regression model, and marginal percentages of the responses*

		N	Marginal Percentage
Educational aspirations for the child	ISCED 2	113	22.1%
	ISCED 3	128	25.0%
	ISCED 4 or 5	35	6.8%
	ISCED 6	118	23.0%
	ISCED 7 or 8	118	23.0%
Country	1 Czech Republic	154	30.1%
	2 Greece	144	28.1%
	3 Portugal	214	41.8%
Frequency of interactions with non-Roma people at the preschool/school	1 Never	70	13.7%
	2 Rarely	78	15.2%
	3 Sometimes	139	27.1%
	4 Often	225	43.9%
Valid		512	100.0%
Missing		144	
Total		656	

In Table 6, the significant chi-square statistic ($p < .001$) indicated that the final model gives a significant improvement over the baseline intercept-only model. This indicates that the model provides better predictions than if we just guessed based on the marginal probabilities for the outcome categories. The final model statistically significantly predicted the dependent variable over and above the intercept-only model, $\chi2(17) = 136.315$, $p < .001$.

Table 6. *Chi-square statistic control of the final ordinal regression model*

Model Fitting Information				
Model	-2 Log Likelihood	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Intercept Only	971.266			
Final	834.950	136.315	17	.000
Link function: Logit.				

Table 7 presents the output of the Goodness-of-Fit[17] of the final model. The table contains Pearson's chi-square statistic for the model (as well as a chi-square statistic based on the deviance). These statistics are intended to test whether the observed data are consistent with the fitted model. The two statistics show conflicting results in significance level 5%; however, at the significance level 1% both statistics show that the model fits the data well. The deviance goodness-of-fit test indicated that the model was a good fit to the observed data, $\chi^2_{(523)}$ = 552.846, p = .177. The Pearson goodness-of-fit test indicated that the model was not a good fit to the observed data, $\chi^2_{(523)}$ = 577.632, p = .049.

Table 7. *Goodness-of-Fit of the final model*

	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Pearson	577.632	523	.049
Deviance	552.846	523	.177

Link function: Logit

In addition, the final model was tested against other methods of indexing the goodness of fit, such as measures of association, like the pseudo R^2. For the final model, the pseudo R^2 values (e.g., Nagelkerke = 24.5%) indicated that all the independent variables explain a moderate proportion of the variation between the educational level mothers aspired their child to complete. Table 8 below shows the overall effect of the independent variables and the 2-way interactions on the dependent variable. It seems that there are three main effects, statistically significant, of the variables that were entered in the regression model on the prediction of the educational aspirations of the mothers, namely: for country [Wald $\chi^2_{(2)}$ = 13.614, p = .001], for Interaction with other parents at (pre)school [Wald $\chi^2_{(3)}$ = 9.913, p = .019], and for Material Deprivation [Wald $\chi^2_{(1)}$ = 6.933, p = .008].

Table 8. *Tests of final model effects on the variables predicting parental educational aspirations for the child*

Tests of Model Effects			
Source	Type III		
	Wald Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Country	13.614	2	.001
Interaction with other parents at (pre)school	9.913	3	.019
Material deprivation	6.933	1	.008
Country * Interaction with other parents at (pre)school	17.785	6	.007
Country * Material deprivation	.037	2	.982
Interaction with other parents at (pre)school * Material deprivation	3.381	3	.337

[17] More importantly, although the chi-square can be very useful for models with a small number of categorical explanatory variables, they are very sensitive to empty cells. When estimating models with a large number of categorical (nominal or ordinal) predictors or with continuous covariates, there are often many empty cells (as we have in this case. See the warning below). We should not rely on these test statistics with such models. Other methods of indexing the goodness of fit, such as measures of association, like the pseudo R^2, are advised.

However, regarding the interactions, only the interaction between country and Interaction with other parents at (pre)school had an overall statistically significant effect on the prediction of the educational aspirations of the mothers, Wald $\chi^2_{(6)}$ = 17.785, p = .007. The parameter estimates are presented in Table 9.

Table 9. *Parameter estimates of the final model*

Parameter		Hypothesis Test			Exp (B)	95% Wald Confidence Interval for Exp(B)	
		Wald Chi-Square	df	Sig.		Lower	Upper
Threshold	Educational aspirations [1]	71.162	1	.000	.037	.017	.079
	Educational aspirations [2]	25.100	1	.000	.153	.073	.318
	Educational aspirations [3]	16.767	1	.000	.218	.105	.452
	Educational aspirations [4]	.560	1	.454	.761	.373	1.555
Czech Republic		17.369	1	.000	.122	.045	.328
Greece		.463	1	.496	1.408	.525	3.776
Portugal					1		
Interactions with parents at school [Never]		15.426	1	.000	.069	.018	.262
Interactions with parents at school [Rarely]		9.101	1	.003	.112	.027	.464
Interactions with parents at school [Sometimes]		1.455	1	.228	.551	.209	1.451
Interactions with parents at school [Often]					1		
Material deprivation (MD)		9.156	1	.002	.856	.774	.947
Czech Republic * Interactions with parents at school [Never]		11.498	1	.001	8.007	2.406	26.648
Czech Republic * Interactions with parents at school [Rarely]		5.729	1	.017	3.993	1.285	12.408
Czech Republic * Interactions with parents at school [Sometimes]		.050	1	.823	1.134	.378	3.404
Czech Republic * Interactions with parents at school [Often]					1		
Greece * Interactions with parents at school [Never]		5.706	1	.017	5.511	1.358	22.355
Greece * Interactions with parents at school [Rarely]		.139	1	.709	1.297	.331	5.083

Greece * Interactions with parents at school [Sometimes]	.468	1	.494	.722	.284	1.836
Greece * Interactions with parents at school [Often]				1		
Portugal * Interactions with parents at school [Never]				1		
Portugal * Interactions with parents at school [Rarely]				1		
Portugal * Interactions with parents at school [Sometimes]				1		
Portugal * Interactions with parents at school [Often]				1		
Czech Republic * MD	.034	1	.854	1.013	.885	1.159
Greece * MD	.019	1	.889	1.009	.891	1.143
Portugal * MD				1		
Interactions with parents at school [Never] * MD	2.069	1	.150	1.120	.960	1.308
Interactions with parents at school [Rarely] * MD	2.311	1	.128	1.135	.964	1.337
Interactions with parents at school [Sometimes] * MD	.573	1	.449	1.049	.926	1.189
Interactions with parents at school [Often] * MD				1		

As presented in Table 9, it seems that there is a strong association between country and the educational level mothers aspired their child to complete, even after controlling for parent and family characteristics. The odds ratio of Portuguese mothers aspired their child to complete a higher educational level versus mothers from Czech Republic is 8.2, 95% CI [3.0, 22.2], a statistically significant effect ($\chi^2_{(1)}$ = 17.369, p < .001). This means that mothers from Portugal are 8.2 times more likely than mothers from Czech Republic to aspire their child to complete a higher educational level, after controlling for parent and family characteristics. We re-run the analyses by recoding the country variable to be able to examine the interaction between Greece and Czech Rep. The finding is similar, although there is a strong association between country and educational level mothers aspired their child to complete, even after controlling for parent and family characteristics. The odds ratio of Greek mothers aspired their child to complete a higher educational level versus mothers from Czech Republic is 11.6, 95% CI [4.0, 33.0], a statistically significant effect ($\chi^2_{(1)}$ = 20.821, p < .001). This means that mothers from Greece are 11.6 times more likely than mothers from Czech Republic to aspire their child to complete a higher educational level, after controlling for parent and family characteristics. The assumption of proportional odds was not met, as assessed by a full likelihood ratio test comparing the fit of the proportional odds location model to a model with varying location parameters ($\chi^2_{(51)}$ = 201.302, p < .001).

There is a strong association between Interaction with other parents at (pre)school and the educational level mothers aspired their child to complete, even after controlling for parent and family characteristics. The odds ratio of mothers who answered Often in this question, aspired their child to

complete a higher educational level versus mothers who answered Never is 14.5, 95% CI [3.8, 55.6], a statistically significant effect [$\chi^2_{(1)}$ = 15.426, p < .001]. This means that mothers who answered "Often" in this question are 14.5 times more likely than mothers who answered "Never" in the same question to aspire their child to complete a higher educational level, after controlling for parent and family characteristics.

There is a strong association between the level of Material Deprivation Index and the educational level mothers aspired their child to complete, even after controlling for parent and family characteristics. A decrease in Material Deprivation Index (expressed in units) was associated with an increase in the odds of educational level that mothers aspire their child to complete, with an odds ratio of 1.2, 95% CI [1.1, 1.3] [Wald $\chi^2_{(1)}$ = 9.156, p = .002]. This means for every unit decrease in Material Deprivation Index, the odds of mothers aspiring for a higher educational level increases by 1.2 times.

There is statistically significant coefficient for the interaction between mothers from Czech and mothers who answered "Never" in the question concerning "Interaction with other parents at (pre)school", which is 8, 95% CI [2.4, 26.6], a statistically significant effect [$\chi^2_{(1)}$ = 11.498, p = .001]. The Odds Ratio (OR) of Czech mothers who answered *Never* "regarding the interaction with other parents at (pre)school" to Czech mothers who answered *Often* in this question is 8 times the OR of Portuguese mothers who answered *Never* "regarding the interaction with other parents at (pre)school" to Portuguese mothers who answered *Often* in this question.

There is statistically significant coefficient for the interaction between mothers from Czech Republic and mothers who answered "Rarely" in the variable "Interaction with other parents at (pre)school", which is 4, 95% CI [1.3, 12.4], a statistically significant effect [$\chi^2_{(1)}$ = 5.729, p = .017]. The OR of Czech mothers who answered *Rarely* "regarding the interaction with other parents at (pre)school" to Czech mothers who answered *Often* in the same question is 4 times the OR of Portuguese mothers who answered *Rarely* "regarding the interaction with other parents at (pre)school" to Portuguese mothers who answered *Often* in same question.

There is statistically significant coefficient for the interaction between mothers from Greece and mothers who answered "never" in the variable "Interaction with other parents at (pre)school", which is 5.5, 95% CI [1.4, 22.4], a statistically significant effect [$\chi^2_{(1)}$ = 5.706, p = .017]. The OR of Greek mothers who answered *Never* "regarding the interaction with other parents at (pre)school" to Greek mothers who answered *Often* in the same question is 5.5 times the OR of Portuguese mothers who answered *Never* "regarding the interaction with other parents at (pre)school" to Portuguese mothers who answered *Often* in same question.

CONCLUSION

The Roma are the most disadvantaged and discriminated ethnic-cultural minority in Europe and this marginalization is reproduced by the exclusion of members of this group from the benefits of education. At the same time, parental beliefs and ethnotheories are crucial for parental practices regarding the orchestration of child's educational path. Therefore, we focused on the predictors of Roma mother's educational aspirations about the future educational path of their child in three European countries, namely Czech Republic, Greece, and Portugal.

Our findings suggest a mixed picture regarding Roma **mothers' aspirations for the educational future of the child** - there seems to be a similar trend towards the bottom and the top of the educational levels since 45.1% of the respondents would like their child to finish lower or upper secondary education or second stage of compulsory education (ISCED 2, 3) and another 43.6% reported that they would like their child to attend a tertiary level institute Bachelor degree or higher (ISCED 6, 7 or 8). However, in Czech Republic, 67.3% of the mothers answered that they would like

their child to finish lower or upper secondary education or second stage of basic education (ISCED 2, 3), while in Greece 50.8% reported a bachelor's degree or equivalent (ISCED 6), and in Portugal 43.4% of mothers reported the ISCED 2 or 3 levels and 51.7% the ISCED 6, 7, or 8. On the other hand, concerning **family structure and related socio-demographic** variables, families' profile in the three countries was very similar. More specifically, most Roma mothers have low education; are highly unemployed and the families are characteristic by household material deprivation. Most of the mothers live with a partner and in most families there were other children as well living in the household, usually one to three. Most mothers in Greece and Portugal were native-born whereas in Czech Rep. some mothers were born in Slovakia. Regarding the **perceived neighbourhood quality** scale, total mean scores were ranging in the middle/medium to lower end of the scale indicating a rather low quality of neighbourhood according to Roma mothers' perception. As far as the **children's ECEC history and/or school characteristics** are concerned most children under the age of 3 did not have any formal/informal ECEC experience in the three countries. The situation is slightly different for the 3-6 yrs. group of children, since almost half of them have some ECEC experience with the lowest participation of Greece (33.9%) and the highest in Portugal (65.0%). Regarding classroom composition, it seems that pre/schools in the Czech Republic are more ethnically segregated than in Greece and especially Portugal, which could be associated with the lower aspirations of Czech Roma mothers. Concerning **family-school relationships**, most Roma mothers (the two thirds of them in the three countries) declared that they "never" felt discrimination in their child's (pre)school either by other parents or the teachers because of their ethnic-cultural background.

A similar trend was revealed regarding Roma mothers' feelings about interacting with parents with a non-Roma background at the preschool/school of their child - the answers were rather positive since the majority of the mothers in the three countries indicated that they enjoy the interaction either "quite a bit" or "a great deal". On the other hand, regarding the interaction with non-Roma parents at school, the picture was rather mixed. While the Czech and Greek mothers "interact" often with non-Roma people at (pre)school in 28.7% and 24.3% cases, for Portuguese Roma mothers the percentage for the very frequent ("often") interaction is raising to 50.6%. Finally, regarding parent-teacher relationship, the analysis revealed that the scores were ranging in a rather lower level of the scale indicating a relative lack of trust and communication between parents and teachers.

In the next stage of analyses, to determine the variables that best predict the educational level Roma mothers aspired their child to complete, we conducted a series of univariate and multivariate analyses. Through multiple series of ordinal regressions with various combinations of selected predictors, we choose those independent variables that seem to present the most robust picture regarding their statistically significant power in relation to the educational level Roma mothers' aspirations. There were three main effects, statistically significant, of the variables that were entered in the regression model on the prediction of the educational aspirations of the mothers: **country**, **interaction with other parents in (pre)school**, and **material deprivation**. However, only the interaction between "country" and the "interaction with other parents at (pre)school" had an overall statistically significant effect on the prediction of the educational aspirations of the mothers.

There is a strong association between the **country** and the educational level mothers aspired their child to complete, even after controlling for parent and family characteristics. Mothers from Portugal are 8.2 times more likely than mothers from Czech Republic to aspire their child to complete a higher educational level, after controlling for parent and family characteristics, and mothers from Greece are 11.6 times more likely than mothers from Czech Republic to aspire their child to complete a higher educational level, after controlling for parent and family characteristics. There is a strong association between **Interaction with other parents at (pre)school** and the educational level mothers aspired their child to complete, even after controlling for parent and family characteristics. This means that mothers

who answered "Often" in this question are 14.5 times more likely than mothers who answered "Never" in the same question to aspire their child to complete a higher educational level, after controlling for parent and family characteristics. There is a strong association between the level of **Material Deprivation Index** and the educational level mothers aspired their child to complete, even after controlling for parent and family characteristics. This means for every unit decrease in Material Deprivation Index, the odds of mothers aspiring for a higher educational level increases by 1.2 times. Besides that, there are statistically significant coefficients for the interaction between mothers from Czech Republic and mothers who answered "Never" or "Rarely" in the question concerning "Interaction with other parents at (pre)school". There is statistically significant coefficient for the interaction between mothers from Greece and mothers who answered "Never" in the variable "Interaction with other parents at (pre)school".

To sum up, educational aspirations were higher for Greek and, specially, Portuguese mothers, for mothers who had more frequent interactions with non-Roma parents at the child's (pre)school, and for mothers who reported lower material deprivation. Our findings add to previous literature about the major role of poverty in shaping educational outcomes, including attitudes towards school (see García, Harker, & Cuartas, 2019) and suggest the need for strong anti-poverty policies focusing on the Roma (Ivanov, Keller, & Till-Tentschert, 2015). Importantly, our findings add to previous knowledge by showing that mesosystemic variables (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006) such as contact with non-Roma parents (Berry, 1984, 2013) may play a key role in shaping Roma-mothers' beliefs about education and, specifically, their educational aspirations for their children. It is noteworthy that educational aspirations were higher in the Portuguese sample, where multiple factors might have converged to explain these findings such native-born status (similar to Greece), lower levels of school segregation (FRA, 2016), and more frequent and positive interactions with Non-Roma parents, in addition to lower levels of perceived discrimination. These findings are consistent with the tenets proposed by Garbarino and Ganzel (2000) according to which opportunities at the mesosystem level derive from frequent and high-quality connections.

While this study is based on self-reported data and its design does not allow for cause-effect statements, we add to previous research which focused mainly on child characteristics and family sociodemographic variables to illustrate the relevance of variables that can be targeted through educational policies, namely thorough programs supporting informal interactions among all parents in the school. Thus, mothers' views can inform local, national, and European policymakers regarding needed improvements in educational systems and support services in Europe.

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1.1.5 FACTORS RELATED TO BILINGUAL LANGUAGE SKILLS IN TURKISH-ENGLISH CHILDREN

Pinar Kolancali

INTRODUCTION

This report examines the factors related to bilingual language skills of four- to six-year-old Turkish children in the UK. Turkish children are one of the ethnic minority groups that continues to perform below the national average in England (Strand et al., 2010). Major risk factors for underachieving pupils are poor language development at the start of school, poverty, social deprivation, and home-school language discrepancy. Cultural and linguistic integration of non-native parents plays an important role the school achievement of pupils (Strand, 2015).

Stimulating home learning environments (HLE) support children's language and literacy development (Bus, Van Ijzendoorn, & Pellegrini, 1995) and can buffer the disadvantages of home-school language discrepancy (Nag et al., 2019). Research on home environment of bilingual families has found that enriched literacy and language activities at home are associated with children's vocabulary in the language of interaction (Spanish-English: Quiroz, Snow, & Zhao, 2010). However, family socioeconomic background is closely linked with resources at home (Crampton & Hall, 2017; Melhuish et al., 2008) and predicts children's language skills (see for a review of literature Bhattacharya, 2010). Studies on Turkish communities show that children of high SES parents are likely to receive more stimulating HLEs and have larger L2 vocabulary compared to their peers from low SES families (Turkish-German: Willard, Agache, Jakel, Gluck, & Leyendecker, 2015; Turkish-Dutch: Prevoo et al., 2014).

For minority children, family migration history and acculturation attitudes of parents also influence children's language skills through languages used at home (Becker, Klein, & Biedinger, 2013; Pearson, 2007; Winsler et al., 2014). Parents with shorter migration history are likely to use the minority language at home (Pearson, 2007; Winsler et al., 2014) and maintain their ethnic identity (Lay & Verkutyen, 1999; Garcia, Kosberg, Mangum, Henderson, & Henderson, 1999). Ethnic culture and language maintenance at home predict larger L1 vocabulary for children through language use at home (Willard et al., 2015; Prevoo et al., 2014). Nonetheless, parents' inclusive acculturation attitudes (e.g. using the majority language, having a social network and contacts with native people) supports children's language skills in the majority language (Becker, Klein, & Biedinger, 2013).

In environments that pose risk for language development, such as minority context, quality mother-child interaction is a protective factor for language acquisition. Studies show that mother-child interaction is more impactful for language development when children are from minority families (Bradley, Corwyn, Burchinal, McAdoo, & Garcia-Coll, 2001) or when mothers' language competence is low (Oxford & Spieker, 2006). Material deprivation or migration show negative effects on the quality of mother-child interaction through impaired maternal well-being (for a meta-analysis of studies see Lovejoy, Graczyk, O'Hare, & Neuman, 2000; Huang, Costeines, Kaufman, & Ayala, 2014). In order to understand the role of protective and risk factors for language development of minority children, this study investigates family background and home environment variables that influence language development.

Research questions:

- How does family socio-economic background relate to children's bilingual language skills amongst Turkish-English children?
- How do family migration history and acculturation attitudes relate to children's language skills?
- How does home environment (home language and literacy environment and mother-child interaction) relate to children's bilingual language skills?
- How do the non-verbal abilities of children relate to children's bilingual language skills and family socio-economic background?

METHOD

Participants

Fifty-eight four- to six-years old children and their mothers participated in the study. A group of children were recruited through the parents, who participated in the ISOTIS survey. In order to increase the number of children, further recruitment then took place using same sampling strategies with ISOTIS. The eligibility criteria were having Turkish as one of the spoken languages at home and the index child having no history of language related or developmental problems.

Measures

Using the data from the parental survey conducted as part of ISOTIS WP2.1 (Broekhuizen et al., 2018) several summary measures related to the family and the mother were created.

Family socioeconomic and educational background: Monthly Income, material deprivation, annual debt, benefits allowance, mothers' education, fathers' education, mother's self-reported problems in English (measure of mother's English fluency)

Migration history: mothers' age at arrival to the UK, length of residence

Acculturation attitudes: integration (cultural maintenance + social integration)

Home environment: communication and literacy activities, language use in communication and literacy activities

For measures of the child's developmental status and mother-child interactions the following measures were used:

- Assessment of Child's Non-verbal Abilities: Raven's Progressive Matrices (RPM) III (Raven, Court, & Ravne, 1995)
- Assessment of Child's Language Skill: Turkish Receptive Vocabulary: TIFALDI-RT (see Berument & Guven, 2013)
- English Receptive Vocabulary: British Picture Vocabulary Scale-III (see Dunn, Dunn, Whetton & Burley, 1997)
- Turkish Sentence Repetition: A sentence repetition test for Turkish was developed by the researcher in order to assess overall language skills of children. Twenty-four sentences were formulated for this task under six sets. In each set the number of words and syllables are controlled. The sentences in each set are manipulated for the syntactic structure and morphological complexity.

- Mother-initiated mother-child interaction: An experimental setting was developed to observe the interactions between mother-child dyads. In this task the dyads were given to watch a silent-cartoon, the Ugly Duckling (Walt Disney, 1939: 9 minutes), a story that is widely known in the Turkish culture. At the end of the video mothers received a set of picture cards composed of the scenes from the cartoon and were asked to talk about the pictures with their child. Mothers did not receive any directions regarding the language use or communication style. They were only asked to interact with their children in a natural manner and with a style of communication they would typically use (e.g. speaking only Turkish or only English, code-switching between languages) when they converse about something or when they watch, read, or do something together. The dyads were voice-recorded and observed using a structured checklist during the task.

Procedures

Data collection was carried out in two home visits for each child. During the first home visit children were assessed for Turkish vocabulary and sentence repetition. After the completion of language tests mother-child dyads were given a short silent-cartoon movie to watch. At the end of the movie the dyads are asked to talk about the selected scenes from the cartoon. Data on mother-child interactions were collected through a structured observation checklist during the movie. During the second home visit children were assessed for English vocabulary and non-verbal abilities test.

Analysis Strategy.

Correlational analysis:

The relationship between family and mother characteristics, as well as the child's non-verbal ability, with child language development in Turkish and English was initially examined through the use of Pearson product-moment bivariate correlations. Where a variable appeared to be significantly correlated to the child's language development that variable was subsequently used in regression analyses to predict child language development .

Regression models:

In order to reduce the number of predictors in regression models to suit the sample size, only factors that initialed showed some relation to child language skills were included in regression analyses. Those factors that appeared to be potentially predictive of child language development from the correlational analysis (i.e. showed a significance level < p=0.10) were used as predictors of child's language development in (i) Turkish and (ii) English. All predictors were entered simultaneously into the regression model to determine which predictors showed significant independent relationships with children's language development, controlling for all the other predictors in the model.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS

Correlational analyses produced the following pattern of results:

Research Question 1: *Are socio-economic factors related to Turkish and English language skills of children?*

- Turkish vocabulary skills of children were not significantly related with any of the socio-economic background variables
- Turkish sentence repetition results were only positively related with mothers' problems in English (a measure of mother's English fluency)
- English vocabulary skills of children were positively related to mothers' and fathers' education levels and negatively related with mothers' problems in English
- Turkish Sentence Repetition negatively related to English vocabulary skills of children.

Research Question 2: *How do family migration history and acculturation attitudes relate to children's language skills?*
- Mothers' length of residence was negatively related to Turkish language skills as measured by vocabulary and sentence repetition
- Family migration history did not relate to the English vocabulary skills of children
- Mothers' attitudes to increased integration did not relate to Turkish language skills but were related positively to children's English vocabulary.

Research Question 3: *How do home environment factors (home language and literacy environment and mother-initiated mother-child interaction) relate to children's bilingual language skills?*
- Greater Turkish language and literacy activities in the home were positively related with English vocabulary but did not relate to Turkish language skills.
- Higher levels of use of Turkish as the communication language in the home was positively related with Turkish language skills (vocabulary and sentence repetition) and negatively related with English vocabulary
- Higher levels of use of Turkish as the literacy language in the home was positively related with Turkish language skills (vocabulary and sentence repetition) and negatively related with English vocabulary
- More frequent mother-initiated mother-child interaction was positively related to Turkish language skills (vocabulary and sentence repetition) but did not relate to English language skills.

Research Question 4: *How do the non-verbal abilities of children relate to children's bilingual language skills and family socio-economic background?*
- Non-verbal abilities of children only positively correlated with English vocabulary
- Non-verbal abilities of children were negatively correlated with the socio-economic factors of material deprivation and annual debt; but were positively correlated with mothers' and fathers' education levels.

The regression analyses produced the following pattern of results:

Predictors of Turkish Language Skills

Family socio-economic background did not predict children's Turkish language scores in this sample. Also while it initially appeared that children from families with shorter migration history have better Turkish language skills (vocabulary and sentence repetition), adding the home environment variables in the model resulted in migration history becoming insignificant. However, home communication language and frequency of mother-child interactions remained as significant

predictors of Turkish receptive vocabulary. Children, whose mothers initiate conversation more often and use Turkish more frequently as the conversation language have larger Turkish vocabulary. For sentence repetition, use of Turkish as the reading language remained as a significant predictor of children's performance in addition to the aforementioned variables.

Predictors of English Language Skills

Family socioeconomic background was almost a significant predictor of children's English vocabulary skills (p<.07) but became insignificant in regression models. Among migration-related factors only mothers' problems in English is a significant predictor of children's English vocabulary. The relationship shows that children with mothers who experience language problems (have lower English fluency) have smaller English vocabulary. Parents' integrative attitudes positively predict children's English vocabulary. Including home environment variables in the model make mothers' problems in English insignificant. The frequency of communication and reading activities and use of English as the reading language become significant and predict larger English vocabulary for children.

CONCLUSION

The sample is small so conclusions are cautiously drawn. The home environment of children plays the most important part in children's bilingual language skills. Mothers' language preference at home and literacy and language activities with children are the most important predictors of children's language skills. Mothers' active involvement in conversation with their children is especially important for maintaining children's heritage language skills. Parents' positive attitudes on integration (maintaining heritage culture and language while interacting with the majority culture) appeared to play a positive role in children's English vocabulary without hindering children's Turkish language skills.

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1.2 EXPERIENCES WITH AND ATTITUDES ABOUT THE EDUCATION SYSTEM

After the family environment, educational settings are the second most influential microsystem for children's development (Bronfenbrenner, 1994). One of the main aims of the ISOTIS project is to examine the resources, experiences and perspectives of disadvantaged groups in Europe as related to the education system, especially pre-primary education. Providing equal access to high quality ECEC is considered to be one of the most effective means to compensate for the negative effects of the disadvantaged position of children and reduce inequalities (see also results from D1.3, Passaretta & Skopek, 2018).

Moreover, the bio-ecological model of Bronfenbrenner (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006), shows the importance of the reciprocal relationships between different micro-systems (e.g. family and school system) directly influencing the child. A trustful relationship between the school and parents can support vulnerable parents, and it has been shown that parental involvement positively influences the academic outcomes of children (Brooks-Gunn & Markman, 2005; Carolan & Wasserman, 2015; Fan & Chen, 2001; Lee & Bowen, 2006; Respler-Herman, Mowder, Yasik, & Shamah, 2012). Studies have shown that when parents are more involved in school, this can mitigate the negative influences of poverty, low parental education level, and ethnic minority status on the academic outcomes of children (De Civita, Pagani, Vitaro, & Tremblay, 2004; Eamon, 2002; Schreiber, 2002). Therefore, it is important to know which factors are related to the use of early education, the relationship with teachers, and parents' investments at school.

In this section, two contributions focusing on the parent-(pre)school partnerships and early access to ECEC for disadvantaged groups in Europe will be discussed.

In the first contribution, Francot, Ereky-Stevens, Broekhuizen, Leseman and the ISOTIS research team address the quality of the relationships with teachers at preschools and primary schools from the point of view of migrant parents and examine also parents' participation in the (pre)schools' activities. Overall, migrant parents experience very positive relationships with professionals and this supports their engagement in activities at (pre)school, but there are large differences between countries, which seems to point to the different national educational and integration policies. Moreover, not the demographic background of migrant families, such as material deprivation and educational level, seem to influence the educational partnerships, but family factors focusing on cultural contact and communication seem to play a role.

In the second contribution, Wolf, Broekhuizen, Moser, Ereky-Stevens, Anders and the ISOTIS research team examined the possible determinants of early attendance of ECEC (in the first two years of life) for families with a Turkish migration background in four European countries. The large country differences are partly explained by the differences in national policies: granting legal ECEC access from age one, as is the case for Norway and Germany, increases the number of attendance. Moreover, also linguistic and cultural factors played an important role: cultural adoption beliefs of migrant parents and higher national language proficiency skills have a positive relationship with early ECEC use, whereas cultural maintenance has a negative relationship. The studies discussed in this section provide directions for improving educational partnerships and for stimulating early access to ECEC.

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1.2.1 PARENT-PRESCHOOL PARTNERSHIPS FOR TURKISH AND MAGHREBIAN FAMILIES IN EUROPE: ASSOCIATIONS WITH PARENT, FAMILY, AND SOCIETY CHARACTERISTICS

Ryanne Francot, Katharina Ereky-Stevens, Martine Broekhuizen, Paul Leseman & the ISOTIS research team[18]

INTRODUCTION

Research has shown that high quality educational partnerships between parents and (pre)schools can enhance children's achievement and long-term success in school (e.g., Semke & Sheridan, 2012). This especially holds true for children with a migrant background, for whom education plays an important role in their integration and upward social mobility (Halgunseth et al., 2009; OECD, 2015). Educational partnerships stress the importance of reciprocal relationships between (pre)school and parents, with both sides being responsible for creating an optimal environment for the learning and development of the child (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006; Christenson, 2004). The construct is often seen as multidimensional, including a trustful relationship between parents and (pre)school teachers, and the parents' school-based and home-based involvement with children's learning (e.g., Epstein's typology [1992; 2001]).

Given the positive effects of educational partnerships on children's outcomes, establishing and strengthening parent-school relationships is an important mission for both (pre)schools and parents (e.g, Jeynes, 2005). Yet, this can be a challenging task, especially for parents with a migration background. Previous research has shown that migrant parents report less school involvement and less positive relationships with teachers (Bossong & Keller, 2018; Kim, 2009; Lopez, 2007). Identifying the factors related to these educational partnerships is an important step in developing strategies to reduce barriers and strengthen possible facilitators. Here we focus on children's pre-primary and early school age, when parents first encounter and have to familiarize themselves with their new role as a parent in the (host) education system.

It is well established that *demographic family factors*, such as the educational level of parents, migration status, and family material deprivation, can influence parents' investment and involvement in children's education (Altschul, 2012; Li, 2003; Peña, 2000). Alongside demographic factors, *factors which relate to cultural contact and communication* may be of particular importance in the context of family migration background. While the (pre)school has an important part to play in building partnerships, getting involved with teachers and the child's learning in education requires a level of adjustment from parents. For parents with other linguistic and cultural backgrounds (and maybe less familiarity with the education system), this adjustment can be more challenging. Here we consider if factors relevant to intercultural contact in the preschool context can help to facilitate or hinder parent-school partnerships; the role of parent language ability in the host and mother language (Crozier & Davies, 2007; Sohn & Wang, 2006), intergroup experiences and interactions (Gutman & McLoyd, 2000), and national identity feelings (Turney & Kao, 2009). In addition, we include parental self-efficacy as an indicator of parent's confidence in their parenting skills in the host country (Costigan & Koryzma, 2011;

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[18] The ISOTIS research team consists of researchers from ten countries. Below you find a list of the involved Universities and researchers for the countries involved in this study:

Netherlands, Utrecht University: Martine Broekhuizen, Melissa Be, Ryanne Francot, Ayça Alayli, Paul Leseman.

England, University of Oxford: Katharina Ereky-Stevens, Edward Melhuish, Pinar Kolancali

France, University Paris-Est Créteil : Jérôme Mbiationg, Aude Faugeron

Germany, Freie Universität Berlin: Katrin Wolf, Yvonne Anders, Hande Erdem, Beyhan Ertanir

Italy, University of Milano-Bicocca: Giulia Pastori, Sophie Sarcinelli

Grolnick et al., 1997).

Beyond individual family factors, the social and institutional context plays an important role in shaping parent-preschool partnerships. Those *macro-level factors*, such as cultural diversity, social welfare regimes, integration policies, and educational frameworks vary between countries. Moreover, target groups can differ regarding immigration history and integration orientations (Hampden-Thompson, Guzman, & Lippman, 2013). Depending on macro-level factors, individual family factors may play out differently in affecting the educational partnership. The aim of the current paper is to examine the differences in and associations between the experienced parent-preschool partnerships (focusing here on trustful relationships and parental participation) and individual family- and societal factors among parents with young children with a Turkish or Maghrebian migrant background, living in five different countries in Europe (England, Germany, France, Italy, and the Netherlands).

METHOD

Participants

The current study uses data from the large-scale structured interview study from the EU-funded ISOTIS project (for more information regarding ISOTIS or the procedures, please see Broekhuizen, Ereky-Stevens, Wolf, & Moser, 2018). In total, 713 parents (96.5% mothers, M_{age}= 35.09 years, SD_{age}= 5.94) with a Turkish or Maghrebian background having a child between the age of three and six (M_{age} child= 4.57 years, SD_{age} child= 1.09; 52.7% female) were included in this study, hereby excluding 72 parents who indicated that their child did not attend preschool, centre-based child care, or primary school. Parents with a Turkish background living in England (n=111), Germany (n=119), and the Netherlands (n=110); and parents with a Maghrebian background living in France (n=117), Italy (n=115) and the Netherlands (n=141) were selected. 60.9% of the parents were first generation migrants and 38.9% were categorised as having a low educational background (ISCED level of 0-2).

Measures

The parent-teacher relationship (11 items, ranging from disagree [1] to agree [5], e.g. I feel comfortable to talk to my child's teachers; Petrogiannis & Penderi, 2013) and parental participation (4 items, ranging from never [1] to more than once a month [5], e.g. helping in child's preschool events) were the outcome variables. Educational level of the parent (ISCED 2011 levels), migrant generational status of parent (1st versus 1.5 or higher generation migration), and family material deprivation (13 items, whether a parent experiences difficulties affording certain items, higher scores indicating higher deprivation; Guio et al., 2016) were the demographic family factors. The factors related to cultural contact and communication are: perceived proficiency in the host- and mother language (3 items per language, whether a parent experienced difficulties when talking, reading, or listening to their languages; ranging from always [1] to never [5]); cultural identity feelings at the preschool (1 item, whether a parent feels more Turkish/Maghrebian [1] or more the national identity [5] at the preschool); perceived discrimination at the preschool (2 items, the level of perceived discrimination at the preschool by other parents and by the teachers, ranging from never [1] to often [4]); and frequency of high quality inter-ethnic group interactions (1 item, the amount of medium/high quality interactions with native-born people at the preschool, ranging from never [1] to always [4]; Laurence, Schmid & Hewstone, 2018). Parental self-efficacy (5 items, ranging from disagree [1] to agree [5], e.g., I feel sure of myself as a parent) was measured with the short version of the Parenting Self-Agency Measure (PSAM, Dumka et al., 1996). Finally, the percentage of parents from a native-born background at the preschool, or host-group exposure (Laurence et al., 2018), was entered as a covariate.

RESULTS

Overall, Turkish and Maghrebian parents rated their relationship with the preschool teachers very positive (M= 4.28, SD= 0.72), and showed moderate levels of parental participation (M= 2.30, SD= 1.01, see Table 1 for the means per country). MANOVAs showed significant differences between target groups (Wilks' λ = .952, F[2, 688]= 17.48, p< .001, η_p^2= .048) and countries (Wilks' λ = .788, F[10, 1370]= 17.30, p< .001, η_p^2= .11) on both measures of parent-preschool partnerships. Given these findings, and the design of the study, with the two target groups not represented across all countries, follow-up analyses were conducted for both target groups separately.

Using Mplus version 8.1, multigroup regression models were estimated for both outcome variables simultaneously, and Full Information Maximum Likelihood (FIML) estimation was used to address missing data. The first model only included the demographic variables to examine whether these variables were related to the relationship with teachers and parental participation. For four of five countries, the demographic variables did not explain significant amounts of variance. This implies that these variables do not seem to play a large role in these groups and countries. The second model examined the relations with the other family factors, added to the demographic variables (see Table 1). This model significantly explained variance for most countries for both target groups (with the exception of the Turkish-English group for the relationship with the teachers). Path coefficients showed that most directions of associations between predictors and outcomes were the same across target groups and countries. For example, more frequent positive inter-group interactions and less perceived discrimination at the preschool, and higher levels of parental self-efficacy were related to better relationships and/or more parental participation. Higher perceived proficiency in the host language was related to better relationships and more parental participation in two countries, whereas negative associations were found for perceived proficiency in the mother language across both target groups. Stronger identification with the host country was related to higher quality parent-school partnerships in three countries and across two target groups. Besides these similarities, results also indicated large differences between the target groups, countries, and between both outcome variables. For instance, while the Turkish-German and the Turkish-Dutch group showed similar patterns of results, the Turkish-English group differed. In the Netherlands, the Turkish-Dutch and Maghrebian-Dutch largely differed from each other. Follow-up analyses, hereby constraining certain path coefficients, will be conducted to dive deeper into these and other differences.

Table 1

Results Unconstrained Multi-group Regressions Model 2

	Turkish			Maghreb		
	EN	GER	NL	NL	IT	FR
Relationship with teachers	4.55	4.31	4.46	4.39	4.28	3.71
(***M, SD***, range 1-5)	(0.57)	(0.67)	(0.54)	(0.77)	(0.74)	(0.73)
Host-group exposure	o	o	o	o	o	+
1st vs. 2nd generation migration		o	o	o		+ +
Educational Level	o	o	o	-	o/-	o
Material Deprivation	o	o	o	o	o	-

Language Proficiency host language	o	o	o	o	o/+	o
Language Proficiency mother language	o	o	o	o	o	- -
Perceived Discrimination	o	o/-	o/-	- - -	-	o
Cultural Identity	o	+	+	o	o	o
High quality interactions	o	o	o	o	+ +	+ +
Self-Efficacy	o/+	o	+	o	+ +	+ + +
R²	.11	.22	.21	.20	.31	.44
Parental Participation	2.15	2.48	2.66	2.62	2.08	1.75
(*M, SD*, range 1-5)	(1.05)	(1.06)	(1.01)	(1.06)	(0.82)	(0.69)
Host-group exposure	o	o	- - -	-	o	o
1st vs. 2nd generation migration		o	o	o		o
Educational Level	o	o/-	- - -	o	o	o
Material Deprivation	o	o	o	o	o/-	o
Language Proficiency host language	o	o	o	o	o	+ + +
Language Proficiency mother language	o	o/-	- -	o	o	- -
Perceived Discrimination	o	o	o	o/-	- -	o
Cultural Identity	o	o	o	-	o	+
High quality interactions	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ + +	o	o
Self-Efficacy	o	o	+ +	o	o	+ + +
R²	.23	.17	.27	.15	.10	.41

DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

Results showed that parents with a Turkish and Maghrebian background, who are considered to have a disadvantaged position, were in general very positive about the relationship with the teachers in the preschool and moderately involved in the preschool. Moreover, demographic family factors were less related than expected based on literature, suggesting that lower education, higher material deprivation, or being a first generation migrant parent do not hinder parents with immigrant background in terms of their partnerships. Regarding factors related to cultural contact and communication in the preschool context, a clear pattern of results emerged: the direction of all identified significant associations showed that more adaption to the host country (reflected by higher language proficiency in the host language, more identification with the host country, lower perceived discrimination and more high quality inter-ethnic group interactions) relates to better relationships with teachers and more parental participation. This finding has important implications for developing interventions to support immigrant parents who are less adapted. The large differences between target groups and countries suggest that alongside individual family factors, macro-level factors such as national educational policies, general welfare benefits and migration history play a role. The next step is to further examine and explain the country differences, which can be supported by other

findings from the ISOTIS project: national governance strategies and educational and family support policies (Barnes et al., 2018) and the role of teacher and organisational characteristics in building educational partnerships (Slot et al., 2019).

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1.2.2 DETERMINANTS OF EARLY ATTENDANCE OF ECEC FOR FAMILIES WITH A TURKISH MIGRATION BACKGROUND IN FOUR EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

Katrin M. Wolf, Martine L. Broekhuizen, Thomas Moser, Katharina Ereky-Stevens, & Yvonne Anders

INTRODUCTION

High quality early childhood provision can buffer children from disadvantaged families against educational inequalities. Attendance of early education and care supports maternal employment (thus helping to lift families out of poverty), and good quality childcare and education offers children opportunities for learning and development – both contributing to narrowing achievement gaps. Recent years have seen policy efforts in many European countries to increase accessibility and use of early childhood education and care (ECEC)[19] for young children. Despite these efforts, variations in access and attendance are commonly observed across regions and populations, affecting particularly the more disadvantaged (OECD, 2006). To better understand which factors may work as facilitators or barriers to use of early ECEC, research tries to identify determinants of variation in attendance. In this study, we focus on children with Turkish immigration background living in several European countries, and examine if and how individual family characteristics (including family socio-economic status, and variables measuring adaption and beliefs on acculturation) relate to early attendance of ECEC.

Across European countries, rates of ECEC attendance vary by age, family background and socio-political context. In high income countries in Europe, the majority of children above age three use early education; rates however are significantly lower in the younger group (OECD, 2014). Low SES tends to be linked to less access to ECEC and there is also evidence on lower rates for children with immigrant background (European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice/Eurostat, 2014). However, evidence on immigration status on ECEC attendance is somewhat mixed. It has been argued that patterns of differences in ECEC attendance for children with immigrant background depend on the tradition of ECEC in each country and country efforts to include immigrant children, but also on parents' child-rearing beliefs, and the socio-economic situation in the host-country – e.g. the necessity and availability of employment, or the availability of informal care arrangements (SOFRECO, 2012). In addition to country differences, accessibility of ECEC might vary depending on the specific immigrant background of families. Yet, little research exists to shed light on this specificity. Nevertheless, international policy documents and reports have raised concerns on the accessibility of ECEC services for ethnic minority children, and those with other language backgrounds (European Commission, 2011; Naudeau et al., 2011; OECD, 2006, 2012), possibly also linked to existing evidence on immigrant children being less likely to receive ECEC of high quality (Lazzari & Vandenbroeck, 2012; Vandenbroeck & Lazzari, 2014).

RESEARCH AIMS AND METHODS

The present study aims to extend the knowledge on family predictors for early ECEC use for children with Turkish immigration background. In addition to exploring the importance of variables related to family SES, and migrant generation status, we focus on variables related to

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[19] In this paper, ECEC only refers to centre-based childcare, not to non-familiar home-based childcare.

adaption processes – specifically perceived language competencies in the host language and acculturation attitudes, including beliefs about the importance of maintaining heritage culture, adopting to the host country, and inter-group contacts (Berry, 1997). Our study compares four European high-income countries with significant populations with Turkish immigrant background, and with different welfare policies and ECEC systems: England, Germany, the Netherlands and Norway. Knowledge about factors, which influence family decisions on ECEC use at an early age, helps to identify concrete measures for increasing ECEC participation for this group of children, vulnerable to educational disadvantage.

Overall, N = 943 parents took part in this study ($n_{England}$ = 293, $n_{Germany}$ = 338, $n_{Netherlands}$ = 247, n_{Norway}= 65). We used following measures for analysing the research questions: Family's *socioeconomic background* was captured by the variables maternal employment (0=no, 1=yes) and family's material deprivation (MD)[20]. *Maternal educational background* was coded dichotomously into low versus medium/high levels (0=ISCED lvl 0-2, 1=ISCED lvl 3-7). Parents' *migration generation status* was coded dichotomously (0=1st generation, 1=2nd generation). *Participant's perceived language competencies in the national language*[21] were measured by three questions, each one on reading comprehension, listening comprehension and conversation skills (e.g., "When reading newspapers, do you have difficulty to understand the [national] language?"; recoded). We used the scale mean ranging from 1 to 6 with higher values indicating better skills. Participant's *acculturation attitudes*[22] were assessed in asking parents two questions each, on beliefs related to cultural maintenance, beliefs related to cultural adoption, and the desire for inter-cultural contact.

The outcome variable is the dummy "centre-based ECEC use in first two years of life" (0=no, 1=yes). We conducted multi-group logistic regressions in MPlus for each country and for the whole sample. Missing data ranged from 0.0% to 3.4% for the variables included in our analyses. Little's test of Missing Completely at Random (MCAR) revealed that missing values were randomly distributed across all observations (χ^2= 26.64, df = 34, p = .81).

RESULTS

Table 1 provides an overview of descriptive statistics of the sample per country. Parental reports on use of early ECEC varied significantly across the four countries: numbers indicated that attendance rates were highest in Norway (54.4%), followed by England and Germany (38.3 and 35.4% respectively), and lowest in the Netherlands (12.2%).

The results of the logistic regression analyses are displayed in table 2. For England, we see that higher maternal education level, more material deprivation, and maternal attitudes embracing cultural adoption correlate positively with early ECEC use. In Germany, maternal employment and a higher educational background are significant predictors of early ECEC use. Being a first generation immigrant family correlates negatively with the outcome. However, when considering perceived competencies in the host language (German), the migration status was no longer meaningful predictor. In the Netherlands, higher maternal education levels positively related to early ECEC use and beliefs embracing cultural maintenance were negatively correlated. Mothers' employment also corresponds to small effect sizes, though not being statistically significant. In Norway, the mother's employment is the strongest predictor.

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[20]See Broekhuizen, Ereky-Stevens, Wolf, & Moser, 2018, pp. 27f.
[21]See Broekhuizen, Ereky-Stevens, Wolf, & Moser, 2018, p. 44.
[22]See Broekhuizen, Ereky-Stevens, Wolf, & Moser, 2018, p. 64.

Mother's education, acculturation attitudes and perceived language skills also show small effect sizes. But due to smaller sample size in Norway, these predictors are not significant.

A joint regression analysis across participants from all four countries confirm mother's employment and education as important predictors of early ECEC use. Material deprivation turns out to be significant as well. However, this is only caused by the strong relationship between material deprivation and the outcome in England. Cultural maintenance attitudes correlate negatively to early ECEC use across all countries.

The amount of explained variance also differs across countries. In Norway, the largest amount of variance can be explained by the predictors considered in model 3 (69%). In the Netherlands, it is 48% whereas this percentage is much smaller in Germany (29%) and England (17%). This also emphasizes the different influence of these predictors in the four countries.

CONCLUSION

An early participation in high quality ECEC is contributing to a reduction of educational inequalities for children from disadvantaged families. However, there is evidence of inequalities in early access to ECEC in some countries, which needs to be addressed in order to use the potential of early childhood education and care. Countries could learn from Norway that succeeds in opening ECEC at an early stage for families with a Turkish immigration background. A possible explanation for this are the high employment rate of women and the legal right for enrolment to ECEC for all children older than one year. In Germany, policy efforts should aim at granting equal access to early ECEC by, e.g., multi-lingual information strategies and less language barriers in applying for a place in ECEC. Another challenge is to overcome the barrier that parents who want to maintain their culture do not use ECEC from an early age onwards. According to earlier studies, immigrants with a Turkish background prefer to maintain their language and culture (e.g., Bezcioglu-Goktolga & Yagmur, 2018; Crul et al., 2012). However, most ECEC services are still mono-lingual and children's family languages are not sufficiently considered, even in cosmopolitan cities where immigrants make up a large proportion of the population (Jahreiß, Ertanir, Frank, Sachse & Kratzmann, 2017). Promising ways of addressing these issues include intercultural mediation services, language training for ECEC staff, bilingual language stimulation programmes for children, and a continuous support for ECEC staff in order to reflect on daily practice (Peeters et al., 2015).

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Table 1. *Descriptive statistics per country*

	ENGLAND				GERMANY				NETHERLANDS				NORWAY			
	min	max	M	SD	min	max	M	SD	min	max	M	SD	min	max	M	SD
ECEC usage in first two years (in %)			38.3				35.4				12.2				54.5	
Parent's gender																
Female (in %)			85.6				93.6				100.0				92.6	
Parent's age (in years)	25	62	38.87	5.92	22	54	37.86	6.10	25	54	37.40	5.30	25	49	36.88	5.79
Currently living with partner (in %)			84.5				89.3				85.6				81.8	
Children in the family	1	6	2.13	1.02	1	18	2.48	1.49	1	16	2.33	1.29	1	5	1.87	1.03
Material deprivation	0	12	1.62	2.26	0	9	1.44	1.79	0	11	1.64	2.14	0	8	0.69	1.50
1st generation immigrants (in %)			93.5				57.9				52.0				66.7	
Employed mother (in %)			34.7				41.5				31.9				60.0	
Maternal education																
Low (ISCED 0-2) (in %)			28.2				36.3				38.9				9.1	
Medium (ISCED 3-5) (in %)			33.6				40.2				41.9				50.9	
High (ISCED >5) (in %)			31.4				21.0				19.2				34.5	

Table 2. *Logistic regression analyses on early usage of ECEC*

COUNTRY		MODEL 1		MODEL 2		MODEL 3	
		β (*SE*)	*p*	β (*SE*)	*p*	β (*SE*)	*p*
England	Maternal employment	.08 (.07)	.257	.09 (.08)	.269	.10 (.08)	.228
	Maternal education	**.22 (.08)**	**.004**	**.22 (.08)**	**.004**	**.22 (.07)**	**.003**
	Migration generation	.08 (.08)	.309	.08 (.08)	.326	.08 (.09)	.363
	Material deprivation	**.25 (.09)**	**.004**	**.25 (.09)**	**.007**	**.24 (.09)**	**.005**
	Perceived language skills			-.01 (.09)	.884	-.02 (.09)	.804
	Cultural maintenance					-.02 (.08)	.798
	Cultural adoption					**.25 (.08)**	**.001**
	Cultural contact					-.07 (.08)	.350
	R²	.12		.12		.17	
Germany	Maternal employment	**.26 (.06)**	**.000**	**.21 (.06)**	**.000**	**.22 (.06)**	**.000**
	Maternal education	**.28 (.06)**	**.000**	**.23 (.07)**	**.000**	**.23 (.07)**	**.001**
	Migration generation	**-.15 (.06)**	**.021**	.02 (.08)	.782	.01 (.08)	.954
	Material deprivation	.00 (.07)	.960	.02 (.07)	.814	.02 (.07)	.816
	Perceived language skills			**.31 (.08)**	**.000**	**.31 (.09)**	**.000**
	Cultural maintenance					-.04 (.06)	.508
	Cultural adoption					-.12 (.07)	.099

	Cultural contact				.05 (.07)	.489
	R²	.22		.28		.29
Netherlands	Maternal employment	.17 (.10)	.071	.17 (.10)	.075	.18 (.10)	.061
	Maternal education	**.47 (.08)**	**.000**	**.47 (.08)**	**.000**	**.36 (.07)**	**.000**
	Migration generation	-.02 (.11)	.871	-.00 (.15)	.980	.01 (.15)	.960
	Material deprivation	-.10 (.13)	.444	-.09 (.14)	.500	-.13 (.11)	.254
	Perceived language skills			.02 (.14)	.885	.07 (.13)	.589
	Cultural maintenance					**-.27 (.09)**	**.001**
	Cultural adoption					.17 (.12)	.151
	Cultural contact					.11 (.14)	.410
	R²	.33		.33		.48
Norway	Maternal employment	**.66 (.12)**	**.000**	**.63 (.12)**	**.000**	**.65 (.09)**	**.000**
	Maternal education	.16 (.18)	.371	.26 (.20)	.190	.20 (.16)	.206
	Migration generation	.13 (.18)	.460	.04 (.19)	.828	.08 (.18)	.644
	Material deprivation	-.01 (.12)	.952	.00 (.11)	.965	-.02 (.13)	.878
	Perceived language skills			-.23 (.17)	.171	-.20 (.19)	.294
	Cultural maintenance					-.25 (.14)	.065
	Cultural adoption					-.21 (.14)	.113
	Cultural contact					.21 (.13)	.091

	R²	.53		.57		.69	
All four countries	Maternal employment	**.24 (.04)**	**.000**	**.23 (.04)**	**.000**	**.23 (.04)**	**.000**
	Maternal education	**.29 (.04)**	**.000**	**.28 (.04)**	**.000**	**.26 (.04)**	**.000**
	Migration generation	-.00 (.04)	.853	.01 (.05)	.772	-.01 (.05)	.779
	Material deprivation	**.08 (.04)**	**.046**	**.09 (.04)**	**.031**	**.09 (.04)**	**.026**
	Perceived language skills			.05 (.05)	.368	.04 (.05)	.473
	Cultural maintenance					**-.11 (.04)**	**.004**
	Cultural adoption					.08 (.05)	.069
	Cultural contact					.05 (.04)	.226
	R²	.17		.17		.20	

Notes: Displayed are standardized regression coefficients, standard errors in brackets, significance and explained variance.

1.3 IDENTITIES, PERCEIVED DISCRIMINATION, AND BELONGINGNESS

Cultural identity, the feeling of belonging to a group, is part of a person's self-conception and self-perception and is related to nationality, ethnicity, religion, social class, generation, language preference, locality and neighbourhood. Parents' cultural identities within one ethnic group can, of course, be different from each other as well as different from their growing-up children (Moser, Broekhuizen, Leseman, Melhuish, 2017). The diversity of identity construction within groups (Howarth, Wagner, Magnusson, & Sammut, 2014) has to be taken into consideration and recent research reveals differentiated patterns, with variation between and within groups, as well as between countries and between localities within countries (Crul, 2016; Huijnk, Dagevos, Gijsberts, & Andriessen, 2015; Schneider et al., 2012). In addition and in accordance with the bio-ecological model (Bronfenbrenner, 1994), individual characteristics (e.g. gender, age and ability) are significant factors closely involved in forming cultural identity and the experience of belonging, being included or excluded (Bradshaw, Jay, McNamara, Stevenson, & Muldoon, 2016; Dines & Humez, 2011; Okoye-Johnson, 2011; Reid, 2002; Sleeter & Grant, 2007). The sense of belonging to a group, a school or any other setting or community, has significant impact on identity formation, and is a crucial element for the well-being of both adults and children (Ben-Arieh & Boyer, 2005; Nutbrown & Clough, 2009). Successful inclusion of students with immigrant background in educational institutions requires, among others, ensuring the feelings of membership and belongingness (Mok, Martiny, Gleibs, Keller, & Froehlich, 2016).

On the other hand, experiences of unfairness, discrimination, prejudice and inter-cultural conflicts in the immediate neighbourhood, at work, in informal contexts or conflicts with professionals, institutions, local and national policy may negatively influence the formation of identity. Findings of Bradshaw, Jay, McNamara, Stevenson, and Muldoon (2016) indicate that children are aware of when they are exposed to discrimination, which may lead to negative outcomes in terms of school integration, perceptions of safety and levels of well-being, whilst parental support and community identity may buffer for some of these negative aspects. The experience of being marginalized and discriminated among immigrants and members of cultural minorities constitutes a risk factor in its own right (García Coll & Magnuson, 2000; Ünver & Nicaise, 2016) which may trigger chronic stress (Bornstein & Bradley, 2002; Bradley & Corwyn, 2002). Parental stress can contribute to less stimulation and care of the child and can even cause harsh parenting, child abuse and child neglect (Conger et al., 2002).

This section highlights various aspects of identity, belonging and perceived discrimination and the intricate connection between them for diverse groups. By this, mainly the micro-level of families and their relation to educational institution will be addressed, following the objectives of WP2 to examine the resources, experiences and perspectives of disadvantaged groups in Europe.

In the first contribution, Martine Broekhuizen, Rita Guerra, and Pinar Kolancali studied acculturation orientations, intergroup relations and well-being of Turkish and Maghrebian immigrant parents across Europe and found, as expected, variations between Turkish and Maghrebian immigrants, as well as, between countries and generations. Thereafter, Ayça Alayli, Martine Broekhuizen and Paul Leseman report on acculturation profiles of Turkish immigrants living in Europe and identified four distinct acculturation orientations. This indicates that Turkish immigrants might adopt distinct preferences for acculturation and emphasizes diversity within and between Turkish immigrant groups.

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After that, Hoda Lamloum Mousa Touny, Ryanne Francot and Martine Broekhuizen explored Roma and immigrant parents' perceived discrimination, capturing both personal and group perceived discrimination. They found significant negative relations between perceived discrimination and the feeling of satisfaction within the country for all groups. In all countries, discrimination on a group level, especially via media and public discourses, is experienced much more frequently than on the personal level.

In the fourth text of this section, Edward Melhuish, Katharina Ereky-Stevens, Julian Gardiner, Jacqueline Barnes and the ISOTIS WP2 team investigated individual, family and neighbourhood factors related to perceived discrimination among low-income, non-immigrant mothers in seven European countries. The authors found that a lack of resources in multiple dimensions of social exclusion is linked to higher perceived discrimination and less satisfaction with life. The importance of interactional factors such as social support and positive inter-group interactions as a prerequisite to increase social inclusion and wellbeing for families became evident.

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1.3.1 ACCULTURATION ORIENTATIONS, INTERGROUP RELATIONS AND WELL-BEING OF TURKISH AND MAGHREBIAN IMMIGRANT PARENTS ACROSS EUROPE

Martine L. Broekhuizen, Rita Guerra, & Pinar Kolancali

INTRODUCTION

The current study examines the acculturation orientations and experienced intergroup relations of Turkish and Maghrebian immigrant parents across Europe, and how these relate to their subjective well-being. As such, this study contributes to the goal of the ISOTIS project, and specifically to WP2, to collect up-to-date empirical knowledge about these topics to inform both policy and practice for working with these parents.

The immigrant-native subjective well-being gap (i.e., lower levels of well-being in immigrant samples) is well documented in Europe (Safi, 2010; Hendriks & Bartram, 2016; Arpino & Valk, 2018; Tegegne & Glanville, 2018). Subjective well-being is defined as "a broad category of phenomena that include people's emotional responses, domain satisfactions and global judgments of life satisfaction" (Diener Suh, Lucas, & Smith, 1999, p. 277). Systematic analyses of multiple rounds of the European Social Survey (ESS) show persistent differences between first and second generation immigrants' life satisfaction when compared to native citizens (e.g., Arpino & Valk, 2018; Tegegne & Glanville, 2018). Research has identified multiple factors accounting for this gap, ranging from individual level variables (e.g., immigrant generation, income, education, personality and individual differences), to more relational and intergroup factors (e.g., perceived discrimination, social support, social capital). For instance, perceived discrimination is negatively related to well-being, whereas social capital (i.e., social networks and relations) is positively associated with immigrants' well-being, over and above other individual level variables (Arpino & Valk, 2018; Tegegne & Glanville, 2019). These findings are consistent with a strong line of research showing the impact of discrimination and acculturation on immigrants' psychological adaptation (Ward & Sazbo, in press). Indeed, life satisfaction has been conceptualized as one aspect of psychological adaptation (Ward & Kennedy, 1999; Ward, 2001). However, besides emotional aspects, immigrants' adaptation also refers to the acquisition of cultural skills and behaviours relevant to navigate in new cultural settings (i.e., sociocultural adaptation; Ward & Kennedy, 1999; Wilson, Ward, Fetvadjiev, & Bethel, 2017). This study extends previous findings on the impact of social capital on immigrant well-being. Specifically, we focus on the experienced intergroup relations (i.e., perceived discrimination and intergroup contact with natives) and acculturation orientations of two of the largest immigrant groups (i.e., Turkish and Maghrebian immigrant parents) in six European countries. Additionally, we examine its relation with both psychological adaptation (i.e., life satisfaction in general and in the country) and a correlate of sociocultural adaptation (i.e., parental self-efficacy; for a review, see Jones & Prinz, 2005), over and above the impact of traditional demographic variables.

Acculturation, intergroup relations and adaptation

Acculturation is amongst the most studied predictors of immigrant well-being. Berry's bidimensional approach defines acculturation as the process of psychological (and cultural) change resulting from intercultural contact, where individuals are faced with two fundamental questions: to what extent they desire to maintain their culture and to what extent they desire

contact with the host society (Berry, 1997)[23]. From the four resulting acculturation orientations (assimilation, separation, marginalization, and integration) there is compelling empirical evidence that an integration orientation is positively related to psychological adaptation (see Nguyen & Benet-Martinez, 2013 for a meta-analysis). While there is extensive evidence showing the negative impact of perceived discrimination on well-being (Schmitt, Branscombe, Postmes, & Garcia, 2014), almost no studies examined the impact of intergroup contact on immigrants psychological adaptation. One recent exception is a longitudinal study conducted with refugees in the UK, showing that language proficiency at year 1 predicted higher frequency of contact with natives at year 2, which then predicted well-being at year 3 (Tip, Brown, Morrice, Collyer, & Easterbrook, 2019). Consistent with these findings, a recent meta-analysis showed that contact with host-nationals is positively associated with sociocultural adaptation (Wilson, Ward, & Fischer, 2013). Building on the existing evidence we examine the experiences of discrimination, intergroup contact and acculturation orientations of Turkish and Maghrebian immigrant parents in six European countries with different immigration histories and policies

We expect perceived discrimination to be negatively related to well-being and parental efficacy, and positive intergroup contact to be positively related to both well-being (i.e., psychological adaptation) and parental self-efficacy (i.e., a correlate of sociocultural adaptation). Moreover, we will examine potential differences in the impact of acculturation orientations (culture maintenance, culture adoption, and desire for contact), given that research shows that using either culture adoption or desire for contact has different consequences for both acculturation processes and psychological adaptation (for reviews, see Berry & Sabatier, 2011; Ward & Kus, 2012).

METHODS

Participants and Procedures

Participants were parents (Mage = 37.60, SD = 6.20) with a Turkish migration background from England (n = 293), Germany (n = 338) and the Netherlands (n = 247), and parents with a Maghrebian background from France (n = 266), Italy (n = 307), and the Netherlands (n = 293) who participated in a large-scale structured interview study, part of the EU-funded ISOTIS project (Broekhuizen, Ereky-Stevens, Wolf, & Moser, 2018). Among them were varying proportions of first generation immigrants (ENTurkish = 93.8%, DETurkish = 58.2%, NLTurkish = 54.7%, FRMaghrebian = 40.5%, ITMaghrebian = 97.4%, NLMaghrebian = 62.9%). The personal structured interviews were administered by interviewers with multiple language backgrounds, aligned with the parent's needs or preferences, using an online or paper-pencil version. The survey was available in all countries' languages, Turkish and Standard-Arabic.

Parents were recruited from two to four sites in each country along the following sampling criteria: 1) The target child had to be born in the country or should at least be five years in the country, to ensure that the acculturation and integration process had started; 2) The parent could or could not have been born in the country, but at least one of the parent's parents were born in Turkey or a Maghreb country (Tunisia/Algeria/Morocco). The cultural background of the parent's partner was not a sampling criterion. Recruitment strategies were centred in neighbourhoods or areas in the selected sites with large populations of our target groups and

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[23] Further terminological clarifications can be seen at Moser, Broekhuizen, Leseman & Melhuish, 2017.

included approaching ECEC centres, schools, community centres or parent organizations that focus on our target groups.

The personal structured interviews were administered by interviewers with multiple language backgrounds, aligned with the parent's needs or preferences, using an online version presented on a laptop or, in case of technical issues, a paper-pencil version. The survey was available in all countries' languages, Turkish and Standard-Arabic, and parents could switch between languages while completing the survey. For most questions, the interviewers read the question to the parent, the parent answered and the interviewer recorded the response. For more sensitive questions (e.g., perceived discrimination), parents could record the answers themselves. Interviewer show cards supported parents' understanding of the response scales. The full survey took between 45 and 60 minutes. Parents received an incentive after participating in the interview (voucher of €5-10 or participation in a raffle). Data-collection for the interviews ran from December 2017 to July 2018. For further details about the data-collection and interview procedures see Broekhuizen, Ereky-Stevens, Wolf, & Moser, 2018.

Measures

Acculturation orientations: 6 items adapted from Zagefka et al., (2014) and Brown and Zagefka (2011) assessed culture maintenance, culture adoption, desire for contact (1 = disagree, 5 = agree). Perceived discrimination: 5 items assessed discrimination in the neighbourhood, (pre)school, by people working in healthcare, and statements in social or public media (1 = never, 4 = often). Intergroup contact: 4 items inspired by Laurence et al., (2017) assessed the frequency and quality of contact with native-born people in the neighbourhood and (pre)school. These were combined into two new variables across the two contexts: The frequency of low quality intergroup contact and of medium/high quality intergroup contact. Well-being: we used the general life satisfaction (3 items) and life satisfaction in the country (4 items) scales of Verkuyten (2008) (1= disagree, 5=agree). Parental self-efficacy: we used the short version (5 items) of the Parental Self-Agency measure of Dumka, Stoerzinger, Jackson, & Roosa (1996) (1= disagree, 5=agree).

RESULTS

We conducted two Mixed Model ANCOVA's, separately for the Turkish and Maghrebian groups, to examine if the pattern of acculturation orientations (culture maintenance, desire for contact, culture adoption; within subjects variable) differed by countries and by generational status (between-subjects variables). We controlled for parental educational level and experienced material deprivation in the family as these variables were significantly related to acculturation. For the Turkish group, results revealed only a main effect of acculturation orientations, Wilks' λ = .930, $F(2, 862)$ = 32.64, $p < .001$, $\eta p2$ = .070. Desire for culture maintenance (M = 4.11, SE = 0.06) was higher than for culture adoption (M = 3.38, SE = 0.06) or contact with the host society (M = 3.83, SE = 0.06), and desire for contact was higher than for culture adoption. There were no significant interactions with generation and country.

For the Maghrebian group, there was also a main effect of acculturation, Wilks' λ = .984, $F(2, 831)$ = 6.66, p = .001, $\eta p2$ = .016. Desire for culture maintenance (M = 3.89, SE = 0.07) was higher than for culture adoption (M = 3.44, SE = 0.08), though equal to desire for contact with the host society (M = 3.88, SE = 0.07). There was a two-way interaction between acculturation and country, Wilks' λ = .964, $F(4, 1662)$ = 7.69, $p < .001$, $\eta p2$ = .018. Pairwise comparisons revealed

that both in the Netherlands and France, desire for culture maintenance was higher than for culture adoption and contact with the host society. In the Netherlands, the desire for contact was higher than for culture adoption, while these were not different in France. In Italy, on the contrary, desire for contact was higher than for culture maintenance and adoption, with the latter not significantly differing from each other. Results also showed a significant two-way interaction between acculturation and generational status Wilks' λ = .987, $F(2, 831)$ = 5.50, p = .004, $\eta p2$ = .013. For first generation immigrants, desire for culture maintenance was higher than for culture adoption, though equal to desire for contact with the host society. For second generation immigrants, there were no differences between desire for culture maintenance, adoption and contact.

Perceived discrimination and intergroup contact

Next, we conducted two MANCOVA's, separately for Turkish and Maghrebian groups, to examine differences in immigrants' perceived discrimination and intergroup contact by generational status and country, again controlling for parental educational level and experienced material deprivation. For the Turkish group, there was a significant multivariate effect of country, Wilks' λ = .906, $F(8, 1708)$ = 10.74, p < .001, $\eta p2$ = .048, and generational status, Wilks' λ = .971, $F(4, 854)$ = 6.35, p < .001, $\eta p2$ = .029. Pairwise comparisons showed that parents in Germany (M =1.52, SE = .03) perceived more personal discrimination than parents in the Netherlands (M = 1.37, SE = .04), and parents in Germany and the Netherlands perceived more discrimination in the media (MDE = 2.78 , SE = .06; MNL = 2.72, SE = .07) than parents in England (M = 1.68, SE = .14). In addition, parents in Germany (M = 1.36, SE = .03) also experienced a higher frequency of low quality intergroup contact than parents in the Netherlands (M = 1.25, SE = .04), and parents in England experienced a higher frequency of medium/high quality inter-group contact (M = 2.23, SE = .12) than parents in the Netherlands (M = 1.84, SE = .06) and Germany (M = 1.94, SE = .05). Pairwise comparisons for generational status showed that second generation immigrants perceived more discrimination in the media (M1st = 2.27, SE = .05; M2nd = 2.51, SE = .10), though they also experienced a higher frequency of medium/high quality inter-group contact (M1st = 1.79, SE = .04; M2nd = 2.21, SE = .08).

For the Maghrebian group there was also a significant multivariate effect of country, Wilks' λ = .876, $F(8, 1642)$ = 14.04, p < .001, $\eta p2$ = .064. Pairwise group comparisons show that parents in France (M = 1.26, SE = .04) perceive less personal discrimination than parents in Italy and the Netherlands (MIT = 1.60, SE = .10; MNL = 1.41, SE = .03), and that parents in the Netherlands (M = 2.97, SE = .07) perceive more discrimination in the media than parents in France (M = 2.54, SE = .07). In addition, parents in the Netherlands (M = 1.23, SE = .03) experienced a higher frequency of low quality inter-group contact than parents in France (M = 1.13, SE = .03), and a lower frequency of medium/high quality inter-group contact than parents in France and Italy (MNL = 2.08, SE = .06; MFR = 2.79, SE = .06; MIT = 2.87, SE = .17). There was also an interaction between country and generational status, Wilks' λ = .977, $F(8, 1642)$ = 2.44, p = .013, $\eta p2$ = .012, which will be elaborated in the manuscript.

Explaining immigrant adaptation: well-being and parental self-agency

We conducted a two stage Multiple Linear Regression to explore the impact of social psychological variables (i.e., acculturation orientations and experienced intergroup relations) over and above the impact of traditional demographic variables on immigrants' general life satisfaction, life satisfaction in the host country, and parental self-agency. Overall, results reveal that higher material deprivation is related to less general life satisfaction, and that being a second generation immigrant and lower educated is related to less parental self-agency, though only for Maghrebian parents. Both types of perceived discrimination were related to less life satisfaction in the country, and having more high quality intergroup contact was positively related to all three measures of well-being for the Turkish group. For acculturation orientations, parents who valued culture adoption were more satisfied with their life in the country. For culture maintenance and contact, relationships differed by target group and well-being measure. Follow-up analyses will examine differential relations within groups by country.

CONCLUSIONS

Overall, as expected, acculturation orientations, experiences of intergroup contact and discrimination varied between Turkish and Maghrebian immigrants, as well as, between countries and generations. In general, Turkish immigrants felt more discriminated in Germany. Maghrebian immigrants showed more discrimination in the Netherlands and Italy, and also higher frequency of low quality contact with natives in these countries. Regarding acculturation orientations, there were important differences between the two migrant groups, and between countries. In general Turkish immigrants favoured culture maintenance over both culture adoption and contact, and this was stable across countries. Maghrebian immigrants however, favoured contact over culture maintenance and adoption in Italy, but showed the reversed pattern in France and the Netherlands. As expected, feelings of deprivation and perceived discrimination were associated with lower levels of well-being, whereas positive intergroup contact experiences were positively related to parental wellbeing. Our findings support the importance of putting acculturation and adaptation into context, as suggested by the ecological approach of acculturation recently proposed by Ward and Geeraert (2016), and highlight the need for context sensitive policies regarding immigrants' successful integration.

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1.3.2 ACCULTURATION PROFILES OF TURKISH IMMIGRANTS LIVING IN EUROPE

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Turkish Immigrant groups in Europe

Immigrant families might face challenges in providing a high quality home learning environment (HLE) for their children due to risk factors such as low socio-economic status or social exclusion (Groenewold, de Valk & van Ginneken, 2014; Lessard-Phillips, & Ross, 2012). However, social and cultural characteristics of families might also play a role on creating high quality HLEs (e.g. Bezcioglu-Goktolga & Yagmur, 2018). One of the main aims of the ISOTIS project is to support immigrant families living in Europe to better use their own cultural and social resources to create stimulating HLEs for their children (see ISOTIS project description). In order to achieve this aim, it is important to understand how immigrant families prefer to acculturate in European societies in the first place (Moser, Broekhuizen, Leseman & Melhuish, 2017). In line with these aims, this showcase focuses on acculturation preferences of Turkish immigrants living in four European countries; namely England, Germany, The Netherlands and Norway.

Turkish groups first arrived to Europe as immigrants around the 1970s with labor market agreements (Akgunduz, 1995). These first immigrant groups mainly shared similar cultural characteristics such as regional origin and low socio-economic status. In the following decades, influx of Turkish immigrants continued, not only with the aim of work but as family reunifications and due to political reasons; ultimately leading to diversification of the profiles of Turkish immigrants (Lessard-Phillips, & Ross, 2012). In fact, Turkish groups in Europe with an immigration background show a large variation in factors such as formal education, regional origin, occupational status and partner choice as well as cultural values and religiosity (Crul & Schneider, 2012). Increase in the variations within the Turkish communities seems to continue due to recent ongoing immigration from Turkey to Europe. It is reported that number of highly educated Turkish immigrants with an urban background increased in the last 10 years (Sánchez-Montijano, Kaya, & Sökmen, 2018). At the same time, some groups of Turkish immigrants with rural origins living in Europe engage in transnational marriages with a preference to marry someone with a religious and similar rural origin (Carol, Ersanilli, & Wagner, 2014). Embodied with diverse characteristics, Turkish communities might adopt different ways of living, social and culture values that might affect how they prefer to acculturate in the host culture.

In general, living in accordance with religious values seems to carry importance for majority of the Turkish communities in Europe. Most Turkish immigrant groups regard religion as a central part of their heritage culture and ethnic identity (Groenewold, de Valk & van Ginneken, 2014; Güngör, Fleischmann, Phalet, & Maliepaard, 2013; Sabatier, Phalet, & Titzmann, 2016; Spiegler, Güngör, & Leyendecker, 2016). Religiosity was positively related with willingness to maintain one's own culture among various Turkish immigrant groups living in six different European countries (Groenewold et al., 2014). How Turkish Muslims perceive and practice Islam might affect their attitudes towards the mainly Christian societies they live in. For example, host country identification was negatively related

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with religiosity for Sunni Muslim with a Turkish background in Germany and in the Netherlands (Maliepaard, & Verkuyten, 2018) and might be weakened by religious parenting, especially among low educated families (Spiegler et al., 2016). However, this association might not be the same for other Islamic groups such as Alevi people. In fact, Alevi and Sunni groups tend to associate themselves with different Islamic values and practices (Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2009).

Apart from religiosity, Turkish immigrants seems to show strong attachment to being Turkish; their attitudes towards maintenance of Turkish culture and language are congruent and they regard Turkish language as an indicator for preserving their identity and heritage (Bezcioglu-Goktolga & Yagmur, 2018; Crul et al., 2012; Extra, & Yagmur, 2010). This attachment seems to be influenced by the intensity of the parents' desire to maintain their heritage culture. For example, mother's attitudes towards Turkish culture and feelings for homesickness were found to be negatively related with children's identification with the host country (Spiegler, Thijs, Verkuyten, & Leyendecker, 2018). Acculturation preferences appear to influence parental beliefs and practices (Durgel, Leyendecker, Yagmurlu, & Harwood 2009; Yagmurlu & Sanson, 2009) and in turn interactions between the child and the parent might be affected. For example, one study conducted in the Netherlands found that Turkish mothers who valued use of mother tongue encouraged their children not to mix Dutch words while speaking Turkish (Bezcioglu-Goktolga & Yagmur, 2018). This, in turn, might affect child outcomes, as it was shown that when Turkish parents were open to adoption of German language, their children did better on German language tests compared to children whose parents were not (Becker, Klein, & Biedinger, 2013).

Current Showcase

Immigrant communities might show different orientations in terms of acculturation. Interactive Acculturation Model (IAM), developed based on Berry's (1997; 2017) approach on acculturation, suggest that these orientations operate along two main dimensions for immigrant communities: attitudes towards one's own culture and contact with the host culture. When crossed, different acculturation profiles emerge as a result of combinations of these two fundamental dimensions, namely as separation, integration, assimilation and marginalization (Berry, 1997; 2017; Bourhis, Moise, Perreault, & Senecal, 1997). Turkish communities show variations in their social and cultural characteristics (Crul et al., 2012; Groenewold et al., 2014), which might lead to different preferences of acculturation. In the current showcase, we ask the question 'how diverse is the acculturation profiles of Turkish parents living in Europe?' to be able to further understand the social and cultural resources of Turkish families (Moser et al., 2017). To achieve this aim, we focus on four dimensions; desire for cultural maintenance, cultural adoption, contact (Berry, 2017; Bourhis et al., 1997; Zagefka et al., 2014; Zagefka, González, & Brown, 2011) as dimensions of acculturation and importance of religion. Religion is included as a dimension in this showcase as religiosity goes hand in hand with ethnic identification and acculturation preferences for Turkish communities (Groenewold et al., 2014; Güngör et al., 2013; Maliepaard, & Verkuyten, 2018; Sabatier et al., 2016).

METHODS AND MEASURES

Participants

For this showcase, data from the EU funded ISOTIS project (Inclusive Education and Social Support to Tackle Inequalities in Society - www.isotis.org) was used. The data is based on structured interviews that were administered by interviewers using a laptop computer (or a paper-pencil version when in need) and reading the questions from the screen together with the participants (Broekhuizen, Ereky-

Stevens, Wolf, & Moser, 2018). The interview was available both in Turkish and in host country language. The sample consists of (N= 943) Turkish parents with children between the age range of 3-6 and 9-12 from four European countries (namely The Netherlands. England, Germany and Norway) (See table 1 for descriptive statistics of the sample per country).

Table 1. *Descriptive Statistics per Country and Total Sample*

Country	EN	DE	NL	NO	Total
N	293	338	247	65	943
Gender, % woman	85.3	93.2	99.6	93.8	92.5
Age (M, SD)	38.9 (5.8)	37.9 (6.0)	37.3 (5.3)	37.1 (5.7)	37.9 (5.8)
Immigration status (N, %)					
1st generation	93.8	58.2	54.7	71.4	650 (69)
2nd generation	6.2	42	45.3	28.6	289 (31)
Educational level (N, %)					
Low	30.4	36.1	38.1	10.9	311 (33)
Medium	35.5	40.9	40.1	53.1	374 (40)
High	34.1	23.0	21.9	35.9	254 (27)
Material deprivation (M, SD)	1.6 (2.2)	1.5 (1.8)	1.6 (2.1)	.73 (1.5)	1.5 (2.0)

For the recruitment of the participants, the following sampling criteria was applied: Regardless of their own birthplace, parents whose parents were born in Turkey were recruited. The parents whose parents who were born in the host country were also accepted as long as they identified as a member of the Turkish community. Participants had children who were born in the country (for the 3-6 year-olds) and who lived in the country for at least five years (for the 9-12 year-olds) (see section 2.2.1, Broekhuizen et al., 2018).

Measures

All items used in this study were a part of the questionnaire used for ISOTIS project (Broekhuizen et al., 2018). For acculturation attitudes, two items for desire for cultural maintenance on culture and language dimensions (e.g. I think it would be good if members of my group kept as much as possible their culture and way of living, 1-disagree, 5- agree) (Zagefka et al., 2014) were used. Two maintenance items were significantly correlated with each other ($r(936) = .43$, $p = .000$) and averaged to obtain a general desire for maintenance score ($\alpha = .60$). For cultural adoption, two items on culture and language dimensions were used as well (e.g. I think it would be good if members of my group took on as much as possible the [national] (adapted for each country) culture and way of living, 1-disagree, 5-agree), however language adoption item correlated poorly ($r(932) = .1$, $p = .001$) with cultural

dimension. Attitudes towards the adoption of language were significantly more positive than the attitudes towards the adoption of culture (t_{931} = 20.55, p < 0.001) ($M_{language}$ = 4.08, SD= 1.3, $M_{culture}$ =2.75, SD = 1.61). This might indicate that adoption of language might not always reflect cultural adoption (Extra & Yagmur, 2010), therefore, for further analysis only cultural adoption item was used to reflect attitudes towards adopting the host culture. For desire for contact, two items were used (e.g. it is important to me that Turkish people have [nationality] (adapted for each country) friends, 1- disagree, 5- agree) (Zagefka, González, & Brown, 2011). There was a significant correlation between the two items (r(937) = .49, p = .000) and the items were averaged to obtain a general desire for contact score (α = .63). Lastly for religiosity, a self-designed Likert-scale item was used (how important is religion in your daily life?, 1- Not important, 5- very important) (Broekhuizen et al., 2018). Importance of religion was significantly correlated with scales of desire cultural maintenance (r(937) = .23, p = .000) and contact (r(937) = -.20, p = .000) and cultural adoption item (r(934) = .29, p = .000).

Analysis

Latent Class Analysis (LCA) was administered in Mplus 8.2 (Muthen & Muthen, 1998) to explore profiles of acculturation in this sample of Turkish immigrants. LCA derives latent classes of respondents with the smallest sample sizes based on response similarity using set of observed variables. It uses a maximum likelihood algorithm, which is assumed to result in the most heterogeneity between the latent groups (Loken, 2004).

Number of profiles was decided based on several statistical criteria. Smaller fit indices indicated better solutions in terms of the Akaike Information Criterion (AIC) and the sample size Adjusted Bayesian Information Criterion (SSAdj. BIC) (Nylund, Asparouhov, & Muthen, 2007). In addition, the entropy value was used to ensure reliability of each class. An entropy value over .70 can be regarded as an acceptable value (Celeux & Soromenho, 1996). Starting from a two class solution, three, four and five class solutions were compared using the Parametric Bootstrapped Likelihood Ratio (PBLRT). Solutions with higher number of classes can be treated as a better fitting model if they have a p value lower than 0.1 (Nylund et al., 2007).

Comparison of solutions with increasing number of classes showed that a five class solution resulted in the best fit indices and significantly differed from a four class solution based on PBLRT (p = .000) (See table 2 for fit indices and class proportions). However, when interpretability is concerned, four and five class solutions overlap largely in terms of class characteristics when standardized scores on each dimension of acculturation for each class were compared. In addition, a cross tabulation between four class solution and five class solution reveals that 70% of the class size of the fifth class in the five class solution comes from the fourth class in the four class solution. Moreover, the entropy value in the five class solution did not improve compared to four class solution. Therefore, the four class model was regarded as the best fitting model in terms of both statistical criteria and interpretability.

Table 2. *Fit indices and class proportions for the latent profile models*

		2 profiles	3 profiles	4 profiles	5 profiles
AIC		12059.259	11852.227	11760.632	11591.157
SsAdj. BIC		12081.009	11882.343	11799.114	11638.005
Entropy value		0.95	0.94	0.89	0.89
Class proportions (N, %)	1	448 (47)	430 (45)	368 (39)	70 (7)
	2	495 (52)	395 (42)	142 (15)	110 (11)
	3		118 (12)	81 (9)	378 (40)
	4			352 (37)	292 (31)
	5				93 (10)

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In this showcase, based on four dimensions (importance of religion, desire for cultural maintenance, adoption and contact) among the Turkish sample living in four European countries (namely The Netherlands, Germany, Norway and England), four different acculturation profiles were acquired as a result of LCA (see figure 1 for profile patterns).

Acculturation Profiles

Profile 1. Profile 1 consisted of 39% of the total sample (N=368), forming the largest group. Regarding the dimensions of acculturation, profile 1 showed the least tendency for cultural adoption and contact, but the most desire for cultural maintenance. High maintenance of one's own culture along with low desire to adopt the host culture with low tendency towards contact with the host society can be considered as a separation profile (Berry, 2017; Bourhis, 1997). Moreover, importance of religion was found to be highest in this profile.

Profile 2. Contrary to profile 1, importance of religion was found to be the least important for Profile 2. Regarding mean scores (see Table 3), this profile scored higher on cultural adoption and desire for contact, compared to cultural maintenance. Unwillingness for maintaining one's own culture, but desire for cultural adoption and contact can be characterized by an assimilation orientation (Berry, 2017; Bourhis, 1997). Therefore, profile 2 can be categorized as an assimilation oriented group. It is important to note that Profile 2 is relatively smaller (N=142, 15% of the total sample), compared to Profiles 1 and 4.

Profile 3. Profile 3 resulted in the smallest sample size (N=81, 9% of the total sample). Profile 3 showed the second least tendency towards cultural adoption, maintenance and also desire for contact compared to other profiles. In addition, mean score of importance of religion was the second most, after Profile 1. Showing both below average cultural maintenance and adoption, as well as below average inter-group contact can be regarded as indicators of a marginalized/excluded group (Berry, 2017; Bourhis, 1997).

Profile 4. Profile 4 showed the highest mean score for cultural adoption and second highest for cultural maintenance and desire for contact as well. Having maintenance and adoption tendencies, as

well as willingness for inter-group contact, this profile can be regarded as having an integration orientation (Berry, 2017; Bourhis, 1997). Moreover, this profile scored slightly below average in terms of importance of religion, but still higher than Profile 2.

Table 3. *Raw scores for acculturation profiles*

		Profile 1		Profile 2		Profile 3		Profile 4		Total	
N		368		142		81		352		943	
		M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Importance of religion		4,16	1,17	2,90	1,53	3,55	1,48	3,39	1,54	3,63	1,47
Cultural adoption		1,15	0,36	4,06	0,73	1,31	0,47	4,21	0,73	2,75	1,61
Cultural maintenance		4,68	0,49	2,30	0,77	2,39	0,77	4,54	0,55	4,07	1,13
Desire for contact		3,58	1,25	4,26	0,93	3,70	1,26	4,17	0,99	3,91	1,15

Overall, Profiles 1 and 2 differed significantly from each other when profiles were compared in terms of importance of religion. Profile 1 was found to be the most religious group (*Welch's F*(3, 270.22) = 36.5 *p*= .000, est. ω^2 = .10) (M = 4.16, SD = 1.17) whereas Profile 2 was the least religious group (M = 2.9, SD = 1.5). There was no significant difference between Profiles 3 and 4 in terms of importance of religion. Considering characteristics of profiles, Profile 1 is an interesting case. This profile was significantly the lowest educated group (F(3, 935) = 17.6 *p*= .000) (M = 1.7, SD = 0.7), as well as the most materially deprived (F(3, 935) = 2.6 *p*= .000) (M = 1.7, SD = 2.1). Profile 1 was characterized as separationist; showing high cultural maintenance and low cultural adoption and desire for contact. This was not surprising as earlier studies conducted with showed that religious identity is a strong part of ethnic identity among Turkish immigrant groups living in Europe and it is positively associated with maintenance and transfer of the heritage culture (Groenewold et al., 2014; Spiegler et al., 2016). Some studies have also found religiosity decreases the tendency towards cultural adoption (Maliepaard & Verkuyten, 2018).

The four profiles acquired based on LCA in this showcase was in line with the acculturation patterns suggested by the IAM, namely as separation, integration, assimilation and marginalization/exclusion (Berry, 2017; Bourhis, 1997). However, it is important to note that, even though patterns for desire for contact and cultural adoption parallels each other for each profile, total mean for cultural adoption was lower than the total mean desire for contact (t_{935} = 21.17, *p* < 0.001) (see table 3 for means and standard deviations). In other words, the Turkish sample in this showcase tended to have more positive attitudes towards inter-group contact than adopting the host culture to begin with. This might indicate having the desire to make contact with the host group might not necessarily result in cultural adoption. This finding might also indicate that desire for contact and attitudes towards cultural adoption can approached as separate concepts (Berry, 2017; Bourhis, 1997; Zagefka et al., 2014), when Turkish immigrants' acculturation orientations are considered.
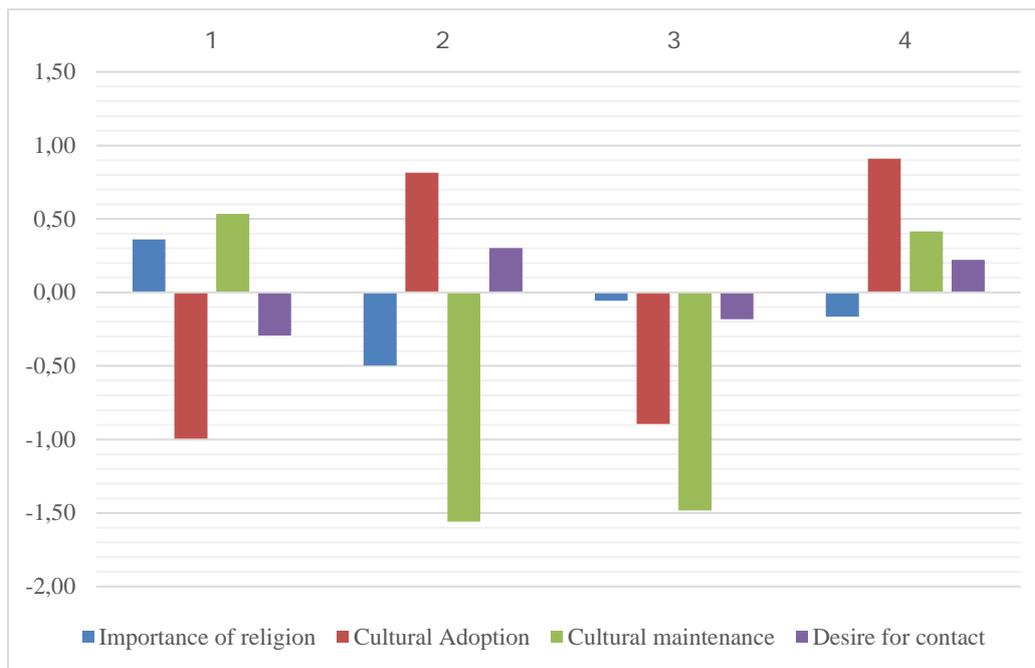
Figure 1. *Acculturation profiles based on standardized scores*

CONCLUSIONS

The LCA conducted in this showcase revealed four distinct acculturation orientations. This result suggests that Turkish immigrant living in Europe might adopt distinct preferences for acculturation. Even though Turkish immigrant groups tend to value the heritage culture and language in general (Crul et al., 2012), they might still have diverse preferences for acculturation. Understanding the diversity of acculturation preferences might help develop targeted policies by preventing over simplistic generalizations about Turkish immigrant parents. Several studies focused on Turkish immigrant parents' child rearing attitudes and parental beliefs on child development (Durgel, Vijver, & Yagmurlu, 2013), educational behaviours to foster development (Bezcioglu-Goktolga & Yagmur, 2018) and the relationship between acculturation attitudes and child rearing behaviours and values (Durgel et al., 2009; Yagmurlu & Sanson, 2009); however, our knowledge on the relationships between Turkish immigrant parents' acculturation orientations and parental investment behaviours is still limited. Disentangling the effects of acculturation attitudes on parental behaviour and the learning environment of the child would help better understand the social and cultural capital that these families have and better support them in investing in their children's development and education (Moser et al., 2017) (also see ISOTIS project description).

The analysis of this showcase is based on data from four different European countries (The Netherlands, Germany. Norway and England), however does not take country differences into account, which might be regarded as a limitation of this showcase. Immigrants might have different experiences with systems or in daily life, in different locations (Crul et al., 2012). The next step for this work will be testing the acculturation orientations per country, to investigate whether Turkish immigrant groups show the same patterns of acculturation between countries, especially when different national policies are considered (Moser et al., 2017).

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1.3.3 ROMA AND IMMIGRANT PARENTS' PERCEIVED DISCRIMINATION

Hoda Lamloum Mousa Touny, Ryanne Francot, & Martine Broekhuizen

INTRODUCTION

The socialization and integration of ethnic minorities in Europe have been and still are a central plea for European policymakers, as these mechanisms are essential to address and reduce the socioeconomic and educational gaps that several minorities suffer from (Celeste, Brown, Tip, & Matera, 2014; Constant, Martin, & Zimmermann, 2009). However, despite the EU legislation of equal treatment between persons irrespective of racial or ethnic origin since 2000, families with a migration background and Roma families are the primary subject of discrimination, social rejection and exclusion (Dunbar, Sullaway, Blanco, Horcajo, & de la Corte, 2007; European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights [FRA], 2019; Röder & Mühlau, 2011; Safi, 2010). Furthermore, the percentage of Europeans who felt that immigrants should not be allowed to enter their countries jumped from 11% in 2004 to 20% in 2014 (Heath et al., 2016). Numbers on discrimination differ majorly depending on the domain of discrimination: Between 20 - 31% of the people with a Roma, Turkish or Maghrebian background experienced discrimination in general in the past year, though six or seven percent of the minority parents experienced this in the school environment (in their role as a parent) (FRA, 2017). This policy brief focuses on and compares the experiences of perceived discrimination among the biggest three minority groups in Europe and how these experiences relate to their life satisfaction.

PERCEIVED DISCRIMINATION: DIMENSIONS & EFFECTS

The way minorities perceive negative attitude and prejudice against them is referred to as perceived discrimination (Schmitt, Postmes, Branscombe, & Garcia, 2014). The literature distinguishes between two dimensions of discrimination; personal discrimination and group discrimination. These two dimensions reflect whether those who are discriminated attribute the prejudice to personal traits and group characteristics, such as ethnicity or race (Taylor, Wright, & Porter, 1994). Personal perceived discrimination has been linked to individual wellbeing while group perceived discrimination has been correlated to a collective macro level response (Bourguignon, Eleonore, Yzerbyt, & Herman, 2006). Both discrimination dimensions have been strongly linked to depression, anxiety, and psychological distress, and as such has threatened minorities' well-being (Schmitt et al., 2014). In addition, they are barriers to integration and adjustment for minority groups (Gaertner et al., 2000; Tropp & Frey, 2006). Besides these negative effects on individual wellbeing, perceived discrimination may also have a negative impact beyond the individual, and extend through socialization to children, hereby causing an intergenerational effect.

Understanding how minority parents perceive discrimination and how it affects them is crucial to guide future integration policies and practices in Europe. Such understanding can be developed through an ecological approach that looks into the different contexts. The Bio-ecological framework of Bronfenbrenner (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006) underscores that interactions within various ecological systems (such as school, family, neighbourhood) contribute differently to human development. Accordingly perceived personal and group discrimination should also be studied across these different contexts to capture specific characteristics and effects. For example, the immediate environment in which parents have high-contact with the host society, such as schools and neighbourhoods (where parents can experience personal perceived discrimination), but also the larger national discourse (where parents can experience group perceived discrimination).

METHOD

To capture minority parents' feeling of perceived discrimination, this policy brief uses data from a large-scale structured interview study with parents with a disadvantaged background in ten European countries (Broekhuizen, Ereky-Stevens, Wolf, & Moser, 2018). The study was designed within the framework of the EU funded Inclusive Education and Social Support to Tackle Inequalities in Society (ISOTIS) project (www.isotis.org). The current analyses are based on 2,493 interviews conducted with parents with a Turkish or Maghrebian migration background and parents with a Roma background in nine countries, Czech Republic (n=246), Germany (n=338), The Netherlands (n=540), Norway (n=59), England (n=293), Greece (n=202), France (n=266), Italy (n=370), and Portugal (n=242). We assume that the personal perceived discrimination, indicating the individual feelings of discrimination, are reflected in the interactions of parents with their immediate environment. Therefore, our analyses on personal perceived discrimination focus on two micro settings, neighbourhoods and schools, hereby including discrimination by teachers or by other parents. As for group perceived discrimination, we will use parents' view of social- and public media perceived discrimination, where groups rather than individuals are discussed.

RESULTS: PERSONAL VS GROUP PERCEIVED DISCRIMINATION

Graph 1 presents the means of personal perceived discrimination and group perceived discrimination of the parents with a Turkish, Maghrebian or Roma background, across the different countries while controlling for immigration generation, educational level, and material deprivation of the parent and the neighbourhood segregation. A paired sample t-test showed that the levels of group perceived discrimination were significantly higher in all groups than personal perceived discrimination ($p<.01$).
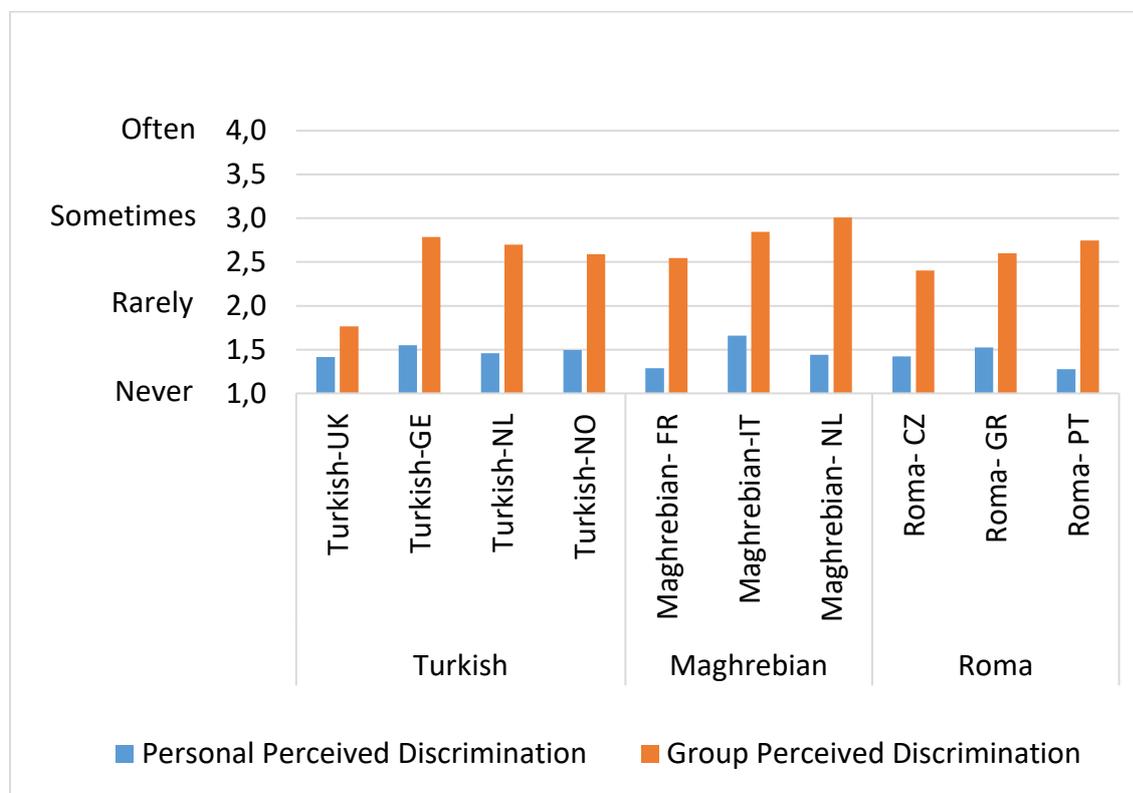
Graph 1. *Perceived discrimination per country and target group*

An ANCOVA[25] focusing on personal perceived discrimination showed that there are significant differences between the target groups within different countries (F[8, 2335]=8.70, p<.01, η_p^2=.03). Maghrebian-Italian parents reported the highest level of personal perceived discrimination (adj M= 1.66), while Roma-Portuguese mothers reported the lowest level (adj M= 1.28). Note that there were also significant differences between mothers from the same target group within different countries; differences between Roma mothers in Portugal and Greece (p≤.01) and Maghrebian mothers in France and Italy (p ≤.01). No significant differences in personal perceived discrimination were found between the Maghrebian-Dutch and Turkish-Dutch parents.

An ANCOVA focusing on group perceived discrimination also showed significant differences between the target groups within different countries (F[8, 2320]=27.290, p ≤.01, η_p^2=.09). The Maghrebian-Dutch parents scored highest (adj M= 3.01) and the Turkish-English parents scored lowest (adj M=1.77). Roma parents in Greece, Czech Republic, and Portugal expressed a similar level of group perceived discrimination. Maghrebian parents in Italy and in the Netherlands, as well as Turkish parents in The Netherlands and in Germany reported similar levels. Maghrebian-French and Maghrebian-Dutch were found to be significantly different (p≤.01).

RESULTS: PERCEIVED DISCRIMINATION & LIFE SATISFACTION

To understand how discrimination relates to the wellbeing of minority parents, a linear regression was conducted to investigate the relationship between each type of discrimination and parents' feelings of *satisfaction in the country* as well as *general life satisfaction*. It was found that perceived discrimination overall, hereby capturing both personal and group perceived discrimination, was significantly negatively related to the feeling of satisfaction within the country for all groups, with explained variances ranging from R^2=.03 to .18. Personal perceived discrimination was significantly negatively related to feeling of satisfaction within the country for Roma-Czech Republic (B[26]=-.15, p <.05), Roma-Portuguese (B=-.37, p <.01), Turkish-English (B=-.13, p <.05), Turkish-German (B=-.21, p <.01), Maghrebian-Italian (B =-.30, p <.01) and Maghrebian-Dutch (B=-.16, p <.01). Group perceived discrimination contribution was significant for the following groups, Roma-Czech Republic (B=-.23, p <.01), Roma-Greek (B=-.23, p <.01), Turkish-German (B=-.16, p <.01), Turkish-Dutch (B=-.25, p <.01) and Maghrebian-Dutch (B=-.18, p <.01),.

In contrast to satisfaction in the country, perceived discrimination in general (capturing both types of discrimination) was only significantly related to general life satisfaction for Roma-Greek (R^2=.14), and Turkish-Dutch (R^2=.11) parents. Personal perceived discrimination significantly affects feelings of satisfaction within the country for Roma-Greek (B=-.19, p <.05) and Turkish-Dutch (B=-.21, p <.01) parents, while group perceived discrimination contribution was significant for only Roma-Czech Republic parents (B=-.14, p <.05).

POLICY IMPLICATIONS

ISOTIS findings confirm those of previous studies about the negative effects of both personal and group perceived discrimination. The uniqueness of this policy brief stems from providing insights on how different ethnic groups in several European countries experience each source of discrimination and how this affects their wellbeing. With such understanding, national as well as European policies

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[25] Note that we conducted the further analyses only on eight countries, hereby excluding Norway because of their relatively small sample size.

[26] All Standardized Beta coefficients

can better address perceived discrimination challenges and design policies accordingly.

The data shows that minority parents in all countries experience discrimination as a group, via media as a public discourse, far more often than they experience discrimination on the personal level, which is in line with many previous studies (e.g., Crosby, 1982; Taylor, Wright, & Porter, 1994). Although there are variations in the reported levels of perceived discrimination between groups within and across countries, the high level of perceived media discrimination is a threat to integration efforts. This means that ethnic minorities are dissatisfied, and possibly offended, by the way they are portrayed in national media.

We suggest that policymakers should examine the public sphere to identify existing challenges and opportunities. Our preliminary recommendations focus on the institutional aspects. One concrete recommendation is to look into the diversification of personnel working in the media industry to guarantee unbiased content selection and inaccurate group portrayal.

In order to stress the importance of addressing perceived discrimination, we highlighted the relation between perceived discrimination on the wellbeing of minority parents. It was found that in all groups perceived discrimination had negative associations with their satisfaction in the country, and for some groups it even negatively affected their general life satisfaction. An interesting line of thought is provided by the Rejection-Identification model (Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999), which states that discriminated people can have certain resources to cope with their position and seem to use various strategies to face the negative events encountered in their life. Perceiving discrimination is equivalent to being excluded and, as such, has a negative impact on self-esteem (and life satisfaction as was shown in this study), but it can simultaneously increase their feelings of identification with their ingroup (e.g., the Roma-, Turkish and Maghrebian group). This identification might have positive impact on self-esteem (Bourguignon et al., 2006). Taken together, these ideas suggest that the impact of discrimination is likely buffered by increased identification, counteracting the ill effects of discrimination on self-esteem and life satisfaction.

We suggest that policymakers consider two possible directions. The first is to promote intercultural values, such as acceptance and tolerance to limit negative personal experiences. This could be done through media campaigns as well as bottom-up initiatives. The second direction is to create a mechanism to transfer these negative experiences to constructive ones. This could be done by creating spaces where parents of minority groups can communicate and express their negative feelings and also receive advice on how to react and move forward. These spaces can be off-line, using traditional meeting spaces and opportunities within communities, or online spaces, such as virtual platforms.

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1.3.4 INDIVIDUAL, FAMILY AND NEIGHBOURHOOD FACTORS RELATED TO PERCEIVED DISCRIMINATION AMONG LOW-INCOME, NON-IMMIGRANT MOTHERS IN SEVEN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

Edward Melhuish, Katharina Ereky-Stevens, Julian Gardiner, Jacqueline Barnes, & ISOTIS WP2 team

Children from families with low socio-economic status show disadvantages in cognitive, language and socio-emotional development early in life (Feinstein, 2003; Magnuson et al., 2004; Melhuish, Gardiner & Morris, 2017). Currently, one in four children in Europe below six years of age is at risk of poverty or social exclusion (Eurydice, 2014). Social exclusion in particular reflects a person's inability to participate in social, economic, political and cultural life and their relationships with others (Levitas, 2006). Those who belong to socially excluded groups are not only affected by a lack of resources 'just like' the rest of the poor; they face discrimination in gaining access to these resources (PACS, 2016), and their perceptions of discrimination contribute to social exclusion and alienation.

Poverty and social exclusion have been related to numerous risk factors in the family and neighbourhood (including discrimination) that can have a negative impact on parental stress, parenting and children's development. Discrimination in the delivery and take-up of services can apply. For example, in some countries, children from low-income families are more likely to attend centres of lower quality and with high percentages of disadvantaged children (Leu & Schell, 2012; Tang et al., 2012; Zachrisson et al., 2013). In many countries, discrimination in service delivery experienced by socially excluded or disadvantaged families has been linked to adverse outcomes (Bird & Bogart, 2004; van Boekel, Brouwers, van Weeghel & Garretsen, 2013; Wamala, Merlo, Bostrom & Hogstedt, 2007). While families in severely disadvantaged circumstances have strengths, the increased risks resulting from poverty, exclusion, discrimination and marginalization will be likely to contribute to chronic stress (Bradley & Corwyn, 2002). Parental stress undermines the capacity to stimulate the child and to monitor the child's safety and well-being; it can lead to harsh parenting, child abuse and child neglect (Conger et al., 2002). The negative effects of risk accumulation can be off-set by social support, which helps parents to maintain positive child-centred emotions (Ackerman et al., 2004). A supportive social network can compensate for the negative effects of risks (Putnam, 2007; van Tuijl & Leseman, 2013).

While the impact of discrimination has been widely studied, much of the research looking specifically at discrimination in services for children has focussed on immigrant, refugee, or ethnic minority populations (Brown, 2015; Davidson et al., 2004; Oxman-Martinez et al., 2012; Schmitt et al., 2014). While there are important issues related to discrimination of ethnic minority groups, this paper focusses on families who have been in their respective societies for several generations in order to gain information about discrimination more closely associated with inter-generational poverty and non-ethnically based social exclusion. In particular, the paper relates perceived discrimination with aspects of well-being amongst low-income, non-immigrant mothers of young children in seven European countries. The social mobility of children of disadvantaged families depends not only on educational achievement, but also on social integration. Mother's perceived discrimination deriving from a range of sources including neighbours, other parents, service personnel, and social and public media are considered in relation to country, mothers' demographic characteristics, age of child, neighbourhood characteristics, social support and interaction experience with immigrants. Also mothers' life satisfaction is similarly considered in relation to country, mothers' demographic characteristics, age of child, neighbourhood characteristics, social support, and interaction experience

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with immigrants.

METHOD

The current study uses data from the large-scale structured interview study from the EU-funded ISOTIS project (Broekhuizen, Ereky-Stevens, Wolf, & Moser, 2018). In this paper, analysis focused on data collected from the target group of non-immigrant mothers of young children at pre-school and primary school age. Non-immigrant status is defined as the respondent and both her parents being born in the country of residence. This included in total 1227 mothers living in seven different countries. In each country, data collection took place in two regions. The selection of regions was based on differences in local policy contexts and/or other relevant differences (e.g., economical and/or cultural differences). The countries and regions included in this study are: Czech Republic (N=197; N_{Brno}=104, $N_{Ústí\ nad\ Labem}$=93), England (N=131; $N_{Greater\ London}$=60, $N_{Urban\ areas\ in\ North\ West\ England}$=71), Germany (N=129; N_{Berlin}=126, N_{Bremen}=3), Greece (N=89; $N_{West\ Athens}$=60, $N_{West\ and\ East\ Attica\ Region}$=29), Italy (N=223; N_{Milan}=109, N_{Turin}=114), Poland (N=227; N_{Warsaw}=132, $N_{Łódź}$=95), Portugal (N=231; $N_{Metropolitan\ Area\ of\ Lisbon}$=86, $N_{Metropolitan\ Area\ of\ Porto}$=145). Each interview focused on one target child per family. Children were grouped into two age groups with 50% of children in the younger age group (3- 6 year olds, N=610, M=4.5, SD=1.23), and 50% of children in the older age group (7-11 year olds, N=617, M=9.72, SD=1.32). 54% (N=657) were girls and 46% (N=566) were boys.

Recruitment in all countries focused on relatively deprived neighbourhood areas, and (where possible) took place in schools or centres identified to have a high proportion of families receiving certain benefits indicative of family disadvantage (e.g., access to free school meals and/ or receiving pupil premium in England). For more information, see Broekhuizen et al. (2018). In the sample of parents used for this paper, maternal educational level was categorised as low for 39% (N=477) of the participating mothers, as medium for 48% (N=583) and as high for 13% (N=159).

Data collection was through face-to-face structured interviews. Interview questions were programmed in an online survey programme (Lime Survey) and parent responses were entered in real time wherever possible, and after an interview where necessary (with parent responses captured through pen and paper).

MEASURES

Location of data collection. Country and region.

Individual child characteristics. Child age group (3-6; 7-11 years), child gender (female/male).

Parent and family characteristics. Mother age, number of children in the household, family material deprivation (13 items on whether a parent experiences difficulties affording certain items, higher scores indicating higher deprivation; Guio et al., 2016), family employment status (unemployed, single earner or dual earner family), maternal employment hours (continuous), maternal educational level (low [ISCED 0-2], medium [ISCED 3-5], high [ISCED >5], ISCED 2011), perceived difficulties with the native language (3 items indicating, whether the parent experienced difficulties when talking, reading, or listening to the national language; ranging from never [1] to always [5]), reported religious affiliation (no/yes), perceived importance of religion (ranging from not important [1] to very important [5]).

Neighbourhood characteristics and social support. Perceived neighbourhood quality (3 items, e.g. frequency of violence or crime against people not happening in neighbourhood; Barnes, 1997), social

support (6 items; e.g. someone to take you to the doctor if you needed it; all ranging from never [1] to often [4], selected from the MOS Social Support Survey: Sherbone & Stewart, 1991), number of neighbourhood play areas (none/one/two or more; Barnes, 1997), and proportion of population with immigrant background in the neighbourhood – ranging from (almost) none [1] to (almost) all [5] (Laurence, Schmid & Hewstone, 2018). Also frequency and quality of interactions with people with immigrant background in the neighbourhood were reported (ranging from never [1] to often [4]; and from 'I don't enjoy it' [1] to 'I enjoy it a great deal' [4]; Laurence, Schmid & Hewstone, 2018).

The outcome variable **perceived discrimination** was measured by asking mothers about the frequency at which they felt discriminated[27] (perceived discrimination mother, 5 items; discrimination by people in their neighbourhood, by parents in the (pre)school of their child, by teachers in the (pre)school of their child, by people working in healthcare, by statements in social or public media, all ranging from never [1] to often [4]),. The outcome variable **life satisfaction** was measured in asking parents to rate three statements (e.g., I am satisfied with my life), ranging from disagree [1] to agree [5].

ANALYSIS STRATEGY

Analyses focussed on understanding which factors might influence mothers' perceived discrimination as well as life satisfaction. Analyses involved models being fitted for the outcome variables in terms of the independent variables listed above. Outcome variables were normalized to have a mean of 0 and a standard deviation of 1. Continuous co-variates were standardized to have a mean of 0 and standard deviation of 0.5. The corresponding model coefficients therefore represent the change in the normalised outcome corresponding to a change of 2 standard deviations in the continuous covariate. Mothers were clustered into countries and into regions within countries. A variable was generated indicating which of the 14 regions a mother lived in (= 2 regions in each of 7 countries). A random effect was fitted for the region/city variable to allow for the effects of clustering in the models, and to detect any city/region effects. Because only 3 families came from region 2 in Germany, the two cities were merged.

Collinearity was checked. Because of the large numbers of potential covariates, the covariates to include in the model for a given outcome were selected using stepwise selection. This was done using the 'stepAIC' procedure in R (Ripley & Venables, 2018). This maximises Akaike's Information Criterion (AIC), a log likelihood penalized by the number of paramters in the model (Akaike, 1974). Three sets of models were fitted.

RESULTS

Descriptive statistics

The summary statistics for the outcome variables, perceived discrimination and life satisfaction by country are given in Table 1.

Mothers' perceived discrimination as greatest from social and public media (M=1.57, SD=0.98), followed by people in the neighbourhood (M=1.50, SD=.89), followed by parents at the pre-school/school (M=1.31, SD=070), There were country differences (see Table 1). Mothers' perceived discrimination was scored lowest in Portugal and Italy (M=1.28) and highest in German (M=1.51.)The

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[27] How often do you feel discriminated or unfairly treated because of your background or situation by ….

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outcome variable life satisfaction scores were (on average) in the medium range (M=3.38; SD=1.18). Life satisfaction was lowest in the Czech Republic (2.89) and highest in Greece (M=3.85) (see Table 1).

Table 1. *Summary statistics for the outcome variables perceived discrimination per country*

| Country | N | Perceived Discrimination o | | | | Life satisfaction | | | |
		Min	Max	Mean	SD	Min	Max	Mean	SD
Portugal	231	1.00	3.80	1.28	.44	1.00	5.00	3.63	1.26
Poland	226	1.00	4.00	1.44	.49	1.00	5.00	3.25	1.14
Italy	222	1.00	3.20	1.28	.49	1.00	5.00	3.35	1.10
Czech Republic	197	1.00	3.40	1.39	.54	1.00	5.00	2.89	1.14
England	130	1.00	3.40	1.44	.59	1.00	5.00	3.64	1.19
Germany	124	1.00	3.60	1.51	.59	1.00	5.00	3.34	1.02
Greece	89	1.00	2.80	1.41	.52	1.00	5.00	3.85	1.07

Statistical modelling

The summary statistics for the continuous predictor variables are given in Table 2.

Table 2. *Summary Statistics for continuous predictor variables*

Variable name	Min	Max	Mean	SD	Number of observations	Number of missing values
Mother age	19.00	63.00	36.24	6.85	1208	19
Perceived neighbourhood quality	1.00	4.00	2.55	0.90	1225	2
Perceived social support	1.00	4.00	3.38	0.68	1226	1
Perceived difficulties with the native language	1.00	5.00	1.52	0.73	1227	0
Maternal employment hours	0.00	84.00	15.04	17.74	1204	23
Family material deprivation	0.00	12.00	4.04	3.16	1213	14

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The summary statistics for the categorical predictor variables are given in Table 3.

Table 3. *Summary statistics for categorical predictor variables*

Variable	Level	N	%
Country	Portugal	231	18.8
	Poland	227	18.5
	Italy	223	18.2
	Czech Republic	197	16.1
	England	131	10.7
	Germany	129	10.5
	Greece	89	7.3
Child age group	3-5	610	49.7
	9-11	617	50.3
Child gender	Female	657	53.5
	Male	566	46.1
	Missing	4	0.3
Number of children in household	1	379	30.9
	2	444	36.2
	3	242	19.7
	4	146	11.9
	Missing	16	1.3
Number neighbourhood play areas	0	226	18.4
	1	675	55.0
	2	326	26.6
Religious affiliation	No	445	36.3
	Yes	782	63.7
Importance of religion	1 = not important	395	32.2
	2	189	15.4
	3	201	16.4
	4	232	18.9
	5 = very important	188	15.3
	Missing	22	1.8
Maternal educational level	Low (ISCED 0-2)	477	38.9
	Medium (ISCED 3-5)	583	47.5
	High (ISCED >5)	159	13.0
	Missing	8	0.7
Family employment status	Unemployed	359	29.3
	One earner	514	41.9
	Two earners	348	28.4
	Missing	6	0.5
Proportion of population with immigrant background in the neighbourhood	(Almost) none	519	42.3
	Around a quarter	322	26.2
	Around half	233	19.0
	Around three-quarters or more	137	11.2
	Missing	16	1.3
Frequency and quality of interaction with people with immigrant background in the neighbourhood	Never interact	401	32.7
	Rarely interact / don't enjoy or enjoy it little	128	10.4
	Rarely interact / do enjoy it	157	12.8
	Interact sometimes or often / don't enjoy or enjoy it little	150	12.2
	Interact sometimes or often / do enjoy it	365	29.7
	Missing	26	2.1

The outcome variables were analysed with stepwise hierarchical regression models in terms of the predictor variables in Tables 1 and 2. After establishing the model for perceived discrimination in terms of these background variables, life satisfaction was added as a predictor to the model. Similarly, after establishing the model for life satisfaction in terms of these background variables, perceived discrimination was added as a predictor to the model.

The results for the final regression models, only including significant predictors, are shown in Table 4.

Table 4. *Results of final regression models, only showing significant predictors*

	Perceived discrimination		Life satisfaction	
	N=1184		N=1166	
	PE	p	PE	p
Country				
Portugal	(baseline)		(baseline)	
Poland	+.377	.084	-.444	.003 **
Italy	+.176	.384	-.486	.003 **
Czech Republic	+.284	.177	-.655	<.001 ***
England	+.513	.036 *	-.158	.201
Germany	+.744	.016 *	-.631	.002 **
Greece	+.308	.174	-.001	.990
Reported religious affiliation				
No	(baseline)		(baseline)	
Yes	+.236	<.001 ***		
Family employment status				
Unemployed	(baseline)		(baseline)	
One earner			+.258	<.001 ***
Two earners			+.495	<.001 ***
Frequency/ quality of interaction with people with				

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immigrant background				
Never interact	(baseline)		(baseline)	
Rarely interact / not enjoy	+.202	.039 *		
Rarely interact / enjoy	+.076	.406		
Interact sometimes/ often /not enjoy or enjoy it little	+.283	.003 **		
Interact sometimes or often / enjoy	+.155	.039 *		
Perceived neighbourhood quality	-.257	<.001 ***	+.186	<.001 ***
Perceived social support	-.121	.044 *	+.432	<.001 ***
Difficulties with native language	+.173	.003 **	-.123	.023 *
Maternal employment hours			-.263	<.001 ***
Material Deprivation Index	+.410	<.001 ***	-.354	<.001 ***
	FINAL STEP TO MODELS			
General life satisfaction	-.183	.003 **		
Perceived discrimination (mother)			-.171	.002 **

There were some differences between countries in terms of the level of perceived discrimination and (more pronounced) in terms of life satisfaction. After adjusting for a wide range of variables, perceived discrimination was found to be lowest in Portugal. England and Germany had significantly higher levels of perceived discrimination than Portugal, with Poland, Italy, Czech Republic and Greece not being significantly different from Portugal for perceived discrimination.

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For life satisfaction Portugal was found to be highest. Poland, Italy, Czech Republic and Germany had significantly lower levels of life satisfaction than Portugal, with England and Greece not being significantly different from Portugal for life satisfaction.

Besides these country differences, and after controlling for a wide range of background characteristics, there were four additional variables associated with both mothers' perceived discrimination and life satisfaction, and these are neighbourhood quality, social support, difficulties with native language and material deprivation. Neighbourhood quality and social support were associated with decreases in perceived discrimination and increases in life satisfaction, whereas difficulties with native language and material deprivation were associated with increases in perceived discrimination and decreases in life satisfaction.

Additionally, mother's tended to have greater perceived discrimination when they had experience of interaction with immigrant people that they did not enjoy, and if they reported a religious affiliation. Also mothers' life satisfaction was higher if one or both parents in the family were employed, but if mothers' employment hours were lower.

In the final regression models the following predictor variables did not have a significant association with either mothers' perceived discrimination or life satisfaction; maternal education, mother's age, child age, child gender, number of children, number of play areas, perceived importance of religion, proportion of immigrants in neighbourhood.

The regression models for perceived discrimination revealed essentially the same effects for background variables whether or not life satisfaction was included as a predictor in the model. Similarly the regression models for life satisfaction revealed essentially the same effects for background variables whether or not perceived discrimination was included as a predictor in the model. This pattern of results indicates that independent of background variables there is a significant association between perceived discrimination and life satisfaction. However adding life satisfaction as a predictor for perceived discrimination greatly improved the model, and vice versa. Such a pattern of results implies the model shown in Fig.1 as representing the pattern of relationships between variables. Structural equation modelling was used to test the fit of this model with the data. The results indicates that this model had a very good fit with the data.
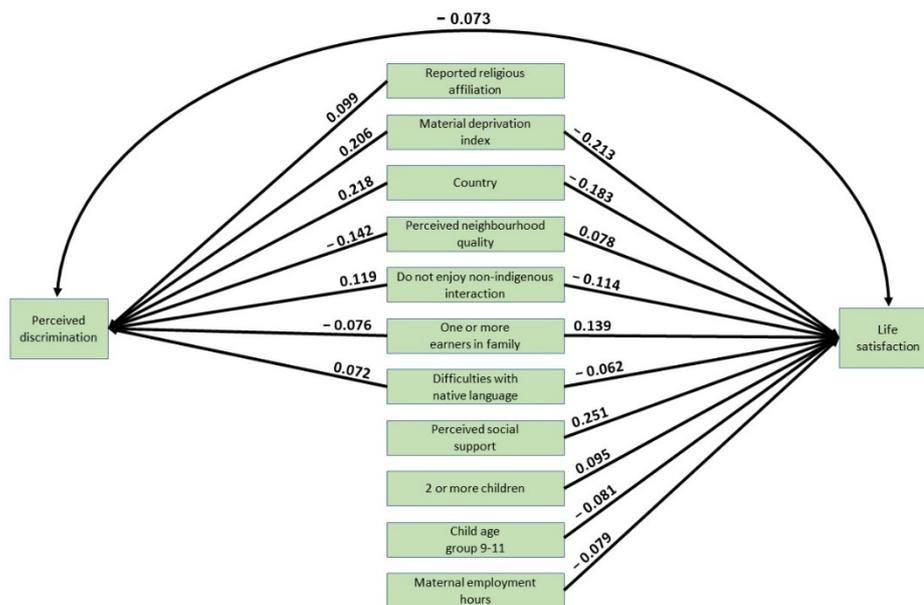
Figure 1. *Model linking significant relationships for variables (Model under construction)*

DISCUSSION

The present study investigated links between individual child, parent and family characteristics, and neighbourhood and social support characteristics on maternal perceived discrimination and life satisfaction. The focus is on families who have been in their respective societies for several generations, and the aim was to investigate associations more closely related to non-ethnically motivated discrimination and life satisfaction associated with socio-economic disadvantage.

Many of those variables which were found to be associated with our outcomes fit within different dimensions of the construct of social exclusion: exclusion from material resources (material deprivation, lack of employment), exclusion from positive and supportive social relations (lack of social support, negatively perceived inter-group interactions), and neighbourhood exclusion (low perceived neighbourhood quality) link to our outcomes.

This study showed that lack of resources in *multiple* dimensions of social exclusion is linked to higher perceived discrimination and less satisfaction with life. In line with previous research (Diner, & Biswas-Diner, 2002; Helliwell, 2001), this study indicates that objective life condition variables indicating poverty (material deprivation, employment, neighbourhood quality) are important in contributing to social inclusion and wellbeing, but that other more relational aspects also have to be taken into account when addressing causes and consequences of poverty. Our findings point towards the importance of interactional factors (social support, positive inter-group interactions) when considering policies and interventions which aim to increase social inclusion and wellbeing for families who face barriers to participation in society.

Within this context, another finding of this study is of particular importance: Difficulties with the native language (including listening, reading and conversation skills) were associated with increases in perceived discrimination and decreases in life satisfaction. This indicates that adult literacy and language competencies are particularly important dimensions to consider in the context of

disadvantage. These findings are in line with other studies which have shown that language and literacy difficulties can create barriers to participation in employment, access to services, social relations and civic activities (Gele & Harslof, 2012; Kosic, 2007; Stewart, Shiza, Makwarimba, Spitzer, Khalema, &Nsaliwa, 2011). Thus, this study further supports the importance of language and literacy related competencies as key indicators of social inclusion (Bird & Akerman, 2005).

Our study findings related to religion need more consideration. They indicate that identification with religion, but not participation in religious activities is associated with perceived discrimination. This needs to explore in more detail. Analysis in this paper does not distinguish between affiliations to different religions, but with very few exceptions, religious affiliations were reported to be Christian.

Finally, study results showed significant differences in levels of perceived discrimination and life satisfaction across countries. Such country differences indicate the importance of macro-level factors such as national social, educational and employment policies, when investigating our outcomes. The next step is to further examine and explain these differences and relate findings from this study to other findings from the ISOTIS project – e.g. national governance strategies and educational and family support practices (Barnes et al., 2018). In addition (and relatedly), further research needs to investigate differences in predictors of our outcomes between different countries.

While perceived discrimination levels were relatively low across all countries, results showed that perceived discrimination was linked to measures of social exclusion and wellbeing. This has important implications. Relatively little is known on resources available to families to negotiate stigma attached to being socio-economically disadvantaged. Identification with ones 'group' has been found to be a protective mechanism in the light of discrimination (Branscombe, Schmidt, & Harvey, 1999), but there is doubt that community identity or belonging associated with social class can be supportive in the same way, leading to suggestions that in this context, experiences of discrimination can lead to withdrawal and decreased levels of belonging, thus accelerating marginalisaiton (Bradshaw, Jay, McNamara, Stevenson, & Muldon, 2015).

Thus, findings of this study have implications for public policy, underlying the importance of joined-up policies that tackle different forms of exclusion, and increase commitment to services which focus on increasing social inclusion by focusing on strengthening families' sense of belonging and supportive interactions in communities, and – in the context of diverse communities – by putting attention to strategies which strengthen positive inter-group contact. In addition, results concerning the source of perceived discrimination have implications for guidelines for the media in terms of how people from low-income deprived backgrounds are represented, and potentially for professional development for those working with low-income deprived families in supporting them in negotiating stigmas attached to their statues.

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1.3.5 EXPERIENCES OF DISCRIMINATION BY BRITISH NON-IMMIGRANT LOW-INCOME MOTHERS IN ENGLAND: MIXED METHOD APPROACH

Lyudmila Nurse and Edward Melhuish

Scholars of discrimination observe perception of discrimination as remarkably complex. It can be based on gender, race, ethnicity, physical or mental abilities, weight, religion, country of birth, or socio-economic status (Brown 2017; Brown and Bigler 2005). Most of the recent studies, however are focused on the issues of racial and ethnic discrimination, as it is observed that "Black and Latino children made more references to discrimination than their White peers (Tran 2018). Discrimination as "harmful actions towards others because of their membership of a particular group" (Brown 2017) can "occur at many different levels and it typically occurs at each level simultaneously. Specifically, discrimination can be (a) cultural expression of stereotypes and prejudice, (b) structural biases within institutions, and (c) direct or indirect biased interactions targeting individual children" (Brown 2017:17). However, Tran emphasises that "discrimination can only truly occur once the child perceives it and acknowledges it" (Tran, 2018:1545). Perception of being the object of discrimination, i.e. perceived discrimination, may be as important as external markers of disadvantage. In the context of increasing diversity, the social mobility of disadvantaged individuals depends not only on educational achievement, but also on social integration, which will be influenced by perceived discrimination. This paper using a mixed method approach to examine perceived discrimination, as reported by low-income, non-immigrant mothers of preschool and school-age children in England.

While much of the focus relating to inequality and discrimination has concentrated on immigrant and recently arrived populations, families perceived to be socially excluded on the basis of a combination of low income, low educational attainment and residence in deprived neighbourhoods are also of concern. Children from non-immigrant, low income families, often from traditional working class backgrounds, show persistent educational disadvantages as well. These families form cultural communities characterized by shared beliefs, values and practices, and ways of talking (Bernstein, 1975; Heath, 1983; Lareau, 2003; Leseman & van Tuijl, 2006). In Bronfenbrenner's (Bronfenbrenner & Ceci, 1994; Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006) bioecological theory or development, proximal processes in a person's microsystem drive development, and are the product of personal characteristics and factors in the micro-system. If parents perceive discrimination then they are more likely to feel powerless and alienated within their community, with less sense of belonging, and this is likely to influence their capacity to interact with systems such as education, health or other service providers. Also families perceiving a high level of discrimination and a sense of alienation from society are likely to have lower aspirations for their children (Sheehy-Skeffington & Rea, 2017).

While there are clear and important issues related to discrimination of ethnic minority groups and recent immigrants, this paper will focus on families who have been in their respective societies for several generations to gain information about discrimination associated with poverty and non-ethnically based social exclusion. In particular the paper will focus on perceptions of discrimination by low-income non-immigrant mothers of young children in England. Discrimination deriving from neighbours, other parents, service personnel, and social and public media are considered, in relation to region, mothers' demographic characteristics, age of child, neighbourhood characteristics, and social support.

The use of mixed method approach (quantitative and qualitative) in the analysis of the perception of discrimination by British non-immigrant low-income mothers of young children in England allows

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clarification of why particular factors may influence perceived discrimination. The focus is to identify what life circumstances and conditions are related to perceived discrimination. The non-immigrant low income mothers represent the majority of the population in the areas where the research took place. Hence the analysis aims to establish the nature of perceived discrimination as experienced by non-immigrant low income mothers. By combining the results from the quantitative and qualitative (including biographical) data we explore the dimensions and meaning of the perceived discrimination. Qualitative narrative analysis provides meanings of "feeling of being discriminated" or "being judged" and in combination with the biographical narratives explains conditions that underpin the feeling of being discriminated. In this paper we consider how the experience of discrimination may be experienced in informants' own family and continued throughout the life of the individual. These experiences make significant impact on the mothers' emotional reactions towards rearing their children.

The paper uses both quantitative and qualitative data derived from interviews with low-income non-immigrant mothers of young children living in deprived areas in England to investigate their perceptions of being discriminated against on the basis of their disadvantaged status. The quantitative and qualitative biographical interviews in two locations in England, which were conducted as part of the Horizon 2020 ISOTIS project. The qualitative interviews were conducted with a 10% subsample of the 178 mothers who completed the quantitative interviews.

The analysis contributes to interpretation of the meaning of discrimination, how it is perceived by British non-immigrant low-income mothers of young children in their everyday life. The analysis of the quantitative data reveals that discrimination experiences may be related to several aspects of mothers' lives, the analysis of the qualitative data reveals how the circumstances from their biographical experiences can amplify the impact of those factors.

METHOD

The design of the ISOTIS quantitative and qualitative interview studies enables us to look into the meaning of perceived discrimination from quantitative and qualitative perspectives and also circumstances and levels on which it occurs. According to the project design, informants for the qualitative interviews were selected from the respondents in the quantitative survey, which preceded the qualitative study. 131 cases were selected from the quantitative data and 15 from the mixed method analysis which complied with the selection criteria of British non-immigrant mothers, who were born in the UK and whose parents were born in the UK. All the interviews were conducted in urban locations either he same locations in the in North-West England or and Greater London. The qualitative interviews followed the quantitative interviews were conducted sequentially with the time gap between the quantitative and qualitative interviews ranging from one week to one month.

The quantitative data on perceived discrimination analysis was based upon mothers' responses to the following questions, where the answer could be never, rarely, sometimes or often. For discrimination against the mother the question was: How often do you feel discriminated against or unfairly treated because of your background or situation by:

1.   Parents in your neighbourhood
2.   Parents in the (pre-) school of your child
3.   Teachers in the (pre-) school of your child
4.   People working in healthcare (e.g., general practitioner, family health centre)
5.   Statements in social or public media (e.g., Facebook, National news on television/radio)

(Further details on the quantitative interviews are available in Broekhuizen et al. (2018).

For discrimination against the child the question was: How often do you think your child feels discriminated against or unfairly treated because of your background or situation, using the same scale as above.

Analyses focussed on understanding which factors that might influence mothers' perceived discrimination, directed either at her or her child. Variables related to perceived discrimination were analysed in terms of a range of factors, (independent variables), including child gender, child age, mother's age, number of other children, material and financial deprivation, employment status, mother's education, religion and its importance, neighbourhood characteristics , social support and region. The discrimination (outcome) variables were normalized, and regression analyses were conducted for the outcome variables in terms of the independent variables listed above. Discrimination was perceived to be greatest from social and public media, followed by people in the neighbourhood, followed by parents at the pre-school/school, followed by healthcare staff and least from teachers. The analyses indicated older mothers and mothers with older children were likely to have higher levels of perceived discrimination, as did mothers with higher material (financial) deprivation, and where religion was important. The strongest and most consistent influences related to perceived discrimination were neighbourhood disorder and the level of social support. Higher levels of neighbourhood disorder were associated with greater perceived discrimination, and higher levels of social support were associated with less perceived discrimination for mothers. There were indications of higher discrimination for male rather than female children.

The qualitative data was transcribed and then coded using CAQDAS (NVivo 11). Coded free nodes which reflected occurrences of direct or indirect discrimination were categorised through the process of comparison. The issue of discrimination were not explicitly addressed in the qualitative interview, apart from the semi-structured part of the interview, and in the phase that followed the spontaneous (auto-biographical) part of the interview after which the informants were asked to clarify points which the interviewer thought were not covered or not clearly explained in the interview. The most common questions were: "You mentioned that you felt being discriminated because of your financial situation (family situation). Could you please tell me how did you feel?" The data for further analysis were merged from the analysis of the quantitative data set and analysis of the categories and themes which evolved from the qualitative data and discussion between the researchers.

Analysis of the quantitative data demonstrated that the level of perceived discrimination was significantly higher when the child was male; where the child was 6 years and older; where religion was important to the family. Older mothers had a higher level of perceived discrimination, however the level of perceived discrimination was lower in larger families and whether the social support was estimated as higher.

Selection of cases for the qualitative analysis was multi-staged and followed the steps in which the results from the quantitative analysis became clear. Thus, we firstly considered cases of mothers with a child 6 years or older. At the next stage, we have added more cases of "older" mothers who have daughters older than 6 years old. In total we identified 5 cases that matched the criteria for comparative analysis of quantitative and qualitative data. Selected for the analysis cases are presented in table 1. We analysed all recorded types of perceived discrimination to identify informants' life strategies in tackling the discrimination.

Table 1. *Summary of the cases selected from the qualitative data for comparative quantitative-qualitative analysis based on the mothers' reported occurrences of discrimination*

Informants[28]	Age	Child age	Child's gender	Number of children in the family	Type of neighbour-hood	Type of perceived discrimination
Alison	30	11	female	1	Inner city N-W	<…>I think there's a lot of immigrants round here that come here for the sole purpose not to look for work<…>"
India	39	11	female	2	Urban N-W	<…. "Oh, it's one of these single mums" you know, and all this other stuff, I, kind of got that impression over the years and stuff like that and maybe they did not think, or you know, I don't work or something or whatever <…>
Grace	33	11	male	5	Urban N-W	<…>'Cos me [my] little brother (…) erm me [my] Mum's youngest, 'cos he knew it upset me, he always called me the erm the N word, and he knew it upset me and he always tells jokes about black people and stuff like that and- 'cos he knows (…) that it annoys me (…)<..>
Maria	39	9	male	3	Urban N-W	<…>I don' think people are very understandin' of the situation erm (…) especially for parents at school of [TC], they didn't even take the time to notice that he couldn't speak [she means her son LN], they just assumed he was a horrible child and didn't want their kids playing with him (…) you know<…>
Mary	41	8	female	5	Urban	<…>I don't think they really

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28 These are not real names of the informants

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					Greater London	noticed a different to be honest (…) in fact they are quite innocent with it 'cos my two eldest are mixed race, 'cos obviously their Da was Caribbean (small laugh) <…>

Selected cases were analysed using narrative analysis, using experience – centred approach to narrative. According to this approach narratives were analysed as stories of experience rather than events (Squire 2013). The paper also discusses responses to perceived discrimination often as an action adopted by mothers to protect themselves and their own children from discrimination:

- Planning to move out of the neighbourhood
- Trying to ignore abuse
- Developing resilience
- Confronting other parents as they believe that the children learn negative attitudes from them

Analysis of the qualitative narratives demonstrates instances of discriminations as mothers' reflection on their childhood and school experiences (unfair treatment by parents; stepparents; larger families; schoolmates). For some of them school is an "escape place" from family/parents discrimination for other it is a place of discrimination on its own. Early relationship and search for "protection" often produce even more complex life situations that they have to resolve and also to protect their own children.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Analysis of perceived discrimination by non-immigrant low-income mothers of young children in England previously focused on socio-economic factors such as poverty and low education While socio-economic factors are important and often relate to lower expectations and positions on the jobs market, as well as in terms of educational attainment and life achievements, the impact of other types of discrimination, such as historical discrimination, distant and close discrimination as they are directly related to mothers' perceptions of parenting and expectations for their own children (Brown 2017; Riggins 1997; Nurse 2016). The combination of quantitative and qualitative data offers an insight into the meaning of discrimination.

Analysis of the mothers' responses to perceived discrimination and especially historical discrimination can have a long-term impact on mothers' mental health and our findings could be of a help to teachers and social work practitioners who are working with mothers with young children. Possible explanations are discussed, and the results have implications for guidelines for the media in terms of how they represent people from low-income deprived backgrounds, and potentially for professional development for professionals in the media and other professions.

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Part 2

IMMIGRANT, ROMA AND LOW-INCOME MOTHERS EXPERIENCES: AN IN-DEPTH EXPLORATION OF IDENTITY, DISCRIMINATION AND EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCES

INTRODUCTION

In the second part of the report, several contributions will dive deeper into the aspects of identity, discrimination, wellbeing and experiences with the education system by analysing data from the qualitative in-depth interview study amongst a subset of parents in all target groups. This part will therefore elaborate on and give a richer meaning to certain aspects that have already been discussed in part 1.

In the first contribution, Nurse, Sidiropulu-Janků, and Melhuish, provide a cross-national overview of the experiences of mothers who have a disadvantaged position, living in ten different countries. Their (lack of) resources, wellbeing, experiences with childrearing and children's education and feelings of identity are explored and discussed. This contribution shows the tremendous variety in these experiences, the resilience of mothers and identifies important sources of support.

The second contribution by Mussi and Pastori follows up on this, diving deeper into the identity feelings and the challenges of childrearing that mothers with a Maghrebian background in Italy experience, and emphasizes the mothers' needs and wishes for parent support programmes. According to the authors, parental support should build on the resources and skills available to the mothers and the recognition of the validity of different parenting styles, which are partly gender-based.

Both contribution three and four focus on Turkish mothers' acculturation and linguistic preferences, in relation to the education system in the host country. Erdem-Möbius, Odağ and Anders examine the differences in language policy between the German school environment and the home environment of Turkish families. They revealed that Turkish mothers feel appreciated when their linguistic resources and linguistic needs are acknowledged in the (pre)school and documented the positive role of specialized teachers as well as the negative consequences of an exclusive institutional habitus of German (pre)schools. The contribution from Alayli, Broekhuizen and Leseman shows the first preliminary results of the relationship between acculturation preferences and the parental investments of Turkish families in the Netherlands. Mothers' attachment to their ethnic background and language is closely related to culture-related activities in the home environment, however, their involvement with the (pre)school was mainly related to their language skills.

Related to this, contribution five from Francot, Broekhuizen and Leseman provided a deeper insight in the motivations, facilitators and barriers of mothers with a Maghrebian background in the Netherlands in establishing and strengthening the educational partnerships with the school. After disentangling the different aspects of the partnerships (relationship with the education system, with other parents, with the teachers and the participation of the parents), both positive and negative experiences were found, that had further impact on other important aspects, such as the wellbeing of parents.

Finally, Erdem-Möbius, Odağ and Anders focus on high socio-spatial segregation in Germany and its impact on children's education according to mothers with a Turkish background. The perceived educational inequalities in different neighbourhoods are a strong motive for parents to select or switch to certain schools, though fears of their child being excluded of experiencing discrimination in more-majority schools are also expressed.

2.1. OVERVIEW OF THE EXPERIENCES, STRATEGIES, AND RESOURCES OF MOTHERS WITH A DISADVANTAGED POSITION IN EUROPE

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1. INTRODUCTION

This report summarises partly the ISOTIS WP2 in-depth qualitative study, which was conducted in 2018-early 2019 in ten countries. It presents results of the narrative thematic analysis responding to the main ISOTIS research questions and some case studies based on the thematic analysis by the ISOTIS partners. The study involved 244 mothers from the following disadvantaged groups; low-income native, Turkish origin, Maghreb origin and Roma. These are groups in Europe with persistent educational disadvantages. In the context of increasing diversity, the social mobility of children of disadvantaged families not only depends on educational achievement, but also on social and cultural integration. Closely related to the increasing cultural diversity, there is an increasing linguistic diversity, which presents a great challenge for Europe's educational systems.

ISOTIS aims to contribute to effective policy and practice development at different system levels in order to effectively combat early arising and persisting educational inequalities and as part of this goal the qualitative study aimed to address:
- Adaptation and strategies amongst ethnic and cultural minority groups for parents' and children's integration into the society
- Type, availability and use of resources in bringing up children by parents from native-born low income, ethnic minority and immigrant background families.

The report deals with the notion of disadvantage; mothers' and children's well-being; experiences of raising children and dealing with education systems; and also mothers' sense of identity when living between different cultural worlds.

2. METHODOLOGY OF THE QUALITATIVE STUDY – BASED ON THE TECHNICAL REPORT [SEE NURSE & MELHUISH, 2018]

Main aims

The qualitative in-depth interviews were designed to provide factual evidence to meet the main aims of the ISOTIS project:

"To contribute to effective policy and practice development at different system levels in order to effectively combat early arising and persisting educational inequalities".

To achieve these aims, ISOTIS has a number of objectives, including those that were specifically in focus in WP2:

"To examine the resources, experiences and perspectives of a number of significant disadvantaged

groups in Europe as related to the preschool and primary school system and the local system of support services, a large-scale structured interview study amongst parents was conducted, combined with qualitative in-depth interviews with subsamples of parents and children."

The ISOTIS qualitative study was designed to complement the quantitative survey and other evidence-based information sources (literature analysis, document analysis). The qualitative interviews were conducted at the same area locations as the ISOTIS quantitative survey. Qualitative data were collected to enable better understanding of experiences and practices of parenting of young children by mothers from native-born low income families, and from families with ethnic minority and immigrant backgrounds.

It is also aimed to address specific issues:

- Adaptation and strategies amongst ethnic and cultural minority groups for parents' and children's integration into the society
- Type, availability and use of resources in bringing up children by parents from native-born low income, ethnic minority and immigrant background families.

Conceptual framework

The understanding of being "disadvantaged" from the perspective of mothers from the low income native-born families (without immigrant background), or with an immigrant and ethnic minority background is crucial for our study. The ISOTIS project uses theoretical concepts from the bio-ecological systems model of personal development proposed by Urie Bronfenbrenner (Bronfenbrenner 1979; Bronfenbrenner & Ceci 1994; Bronfenbrenner & Morris 2006). According to this model, personal development, results from the recurrent interactions of a person with his or her immediate environment, which are referred to as proximal processes. They become increasingly complex over time and involve the physical, social and symbolic structures that are embedded in the micro-system of the immediate environment while being shaped by physical circumstances, social agents (e.g. parents, teachers), and the tools and symbol systems that have evolved over human cultural history (e.g. concerning language, literacy, maths). In every stage of development, and across subsequent stages, the person participates in several micro-systems (e.g. family, peer group, classroom). These micro-systems together form the meso-system of the person (e.g. the family-school playfield-neighbourhood meso-system). The social agents involved in a person's micro-system are connected to other social agents' micro-systems through their own meso-systems. These indirect relations with other social agents (e.g. colleagues of the parents at work), are referred to as exo-systems. The micro-, meso- and exo-systems of all social agents that directly or indirectly relate to a person, together, form the macro-system. Finally, the model takes into account time, referred to as the chrono-system, which involves changes and development over time.

Research Questions

Main research questions for the qualitative in-depth interviews:

1. How do people from low-income families describe their identities and economic situation and available resources in bringing up their children?
   - What are their reflections on the nature of their situation and how they cope with it?
   - What is their view on the opportunities for the children?

2. What are the main options available to disadvantaged people (due to economic, educational or immigrant background) in providing their children with the basics for developing and entering society with better life chances?
   - What means and channels are mostly used?

3. How do people from ethnic minorities describe their ethnic origin and nationality?
   - How do they relate their own identities to the identities of their children and their relationship with people of similar ethnic/cultural origin?
   - Do people 'mobilise' ethnic identities or are they more passive?
   - How does gender relate to ethnic identity?

Analytical framework

Analysis of the transcripts of the qualitative interviews was coordinated by the University of Oxford research team and national coordinators of the 10 relevant countries. Initially transcribed individual narratives from 244 interviews were coded in the original language for the evolving patterns and themes. At the second stage, a list of evolving themes was created and used for further coding and analysis. From the secondary stage all narratives were coded using same coding tree in the English language. Initial coding was conducted in the original languages of interviews and then selected excerpts were translated into English. These selected excerpts are organised according to evolving themes identified from the initial coding of interviews. Subsequently methods of narrative analysis, narrative thematic analyses were used to analyse the data.

Characteristics of informants

The ISOTIS qualitative in-depth interview study of mothers from disadvantaged groups involving 244 mothers of pre-school and primary school children from ten European countries with immigrant, ethnic minority or native-born economically disadvantaged backgrounds. The study was conducted in 15 languages across Europe, which is one of the largest international comparative biographical studies undertaken. Mothers' narratives provide first-hand accounts of individuals' and families' experiences of immigrant or ethnic minority identities.

Selection of informants

Rationale for the target groups of informants: The focus of the ISOTIS qualitative study is on the socio-economic and ethnic-cultural dimensions of inequality and discrimination as reflected in the research questions of the qualitative study. The four target groups of informants are: native-born low-income working class groups; ethnic-cultural minority group (the Romani people); and major immigrant groups from Turkey and North-African (Maghreb countries: Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia) and Egypt. These are groups in Europe with persistent educational disadvantages. In the context of increasing diversity, the social mobility of children of disadvantaged families not only depends on educational achievement, but also on social and cultural integration. Closely related to the increasing cultural diversity, there is an increasing linguistic diversity, which presents a great challenge for Europe's education systems.

Social integration and acculturation are increasingly becoming issues for individuals from both native-born communities as well as for immigrant communities. There are tensions reflecting rivalry between groups, lack of inter-cultural contact and low levels of societal support for multicultural integration, undermining social cohesion. Segregation tendencies are manifest in primary education, with some schools becoming predominantly 'white' and others 'black' ethnic-cultural minority schools, and segregation also occurs in early childhood education and care (ECEC).

The selected countries represent relevant variation at national income level, and in the structure of the education, the welfare and support systems, and representation of the main target groups of ISOTIS. The selections included countries from the wealthier North-West, post-communist countries from the East, and

less wealthy countries from the South of Europe.

Hence, the actual process of selection of the informants followed two main steps:

1. Selection of the informants (mothers) of children by two target groups of children (3-6 years old) and (7-11/12[29] years old) from two sites in each country. This selection criterion was used by all national teams in selection of the informants.

2. Additional selection criteria were based on the country of research, cultural aspects of the target group of mothers and specific research expertise of national teams.

Hence the selection criteria were based on:
- Mothers' target group (native-born low income; Romani; Maghreb and Turkish background);
- Age group of target child;
- Type of location.

In addition to the main selection criteria of ISOTIS, research teams in some countries added specific criteria for selecting informants (please see Nurse & Melhuish (2018) for more information on selection criteria).

Parent (mother's) target group

Informants for the qualitative in-depth interviews were selected from the respondents of the quantitative survey, which preceded the qualitative study. They were selected from the native-born low-income mothers in England, Poland and Portugal; Romani ethnic minority background in Czech Republic, Greece and Portugal; Maghreb background in France, Italy and the Netherlands; and Turkish background in Germany, the Netherlands and Norway. Note that all names are fictitious to maintain anonymity.

Age of a target child

- Parents (mothers) of 3-6 year-olds: We focused on mothers of 3, 4, 5 and 6 year-old children who are not yet in primary education.
- Parents (mothers) of 7-12 year-olds: We focused on parents of 7, 8, 10 and 11 year-old children who were in primary education.

If an informant had a child in both age groups, we asked the mother to focus on the target child of the previous quantitative study, and that child was kept in mind when responding to relevant parts of the interview.

Selection of locations

Our intention was to select approximately equal numbers of informants from each selected location, where the quantitative survey was conducted: 16 for native-born low income group; 24 for Romani, Maghreb and Turkish background mothers. The selected locations were large urban areas in partner countries. A map of locations of ISOTIS qualitative interviews is presented on Figure 1 (page 185).

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[29] Upper age boundary is extended in some cases as in some countries children are still in primary school at age 12.

Figure 1: *Location of the ISOTIS Qualitative interviews* (For citation, refer to: Nurse & Melhuish [2018] Parent in depth interview)

NORWAY
- Target group: Turkish mothers
- Number of interviews: 12
- Sites: Oslo and rural parts of East Norway

ENGLAND
- Target group: Native-born low-income mothers
- Number of interviews: 17
- Sites: Greater London and North-West England

FRANCE
- Target group: Maghrebian mothers
- Number of interviews: 17
- Sites: Paris and suburbs

PORTUGAL
- Target group: Native low-income and Romani mothers
- Number of interviews: Native low-Income:16; Romani: 24
- Sites: Lisbon and Porto

ITALY
- Target group: Maghrebian mothers
- Number of interviews: 24
- Sites: Milano and Turin

THE NETHERLANDS
- Target group: Maghrebian mothers; Turkish mothers
- Number of interviews: Maghrebian mothers: 24; Turkish mothers: 20
- Sites: Utrecht and Rotterdam

POLAND
- Target group: Native low-income mothers
- Number of interviews: 16
- Sites: Warsaw and Łódź

CZECH REPUBLIC
- Target group: Romani mothers
- Number of interviews: 25
- Sites: Brno and Ústí nad Labem

GERMANY
- Target group: Turkish mothers
- Number of interviews: 22
- Sites: Berlin and Bremen

GREECE
- Target group: Romani mothers
- Number of interviews: 27
- Sites: West Athens and West Attica

Total number of interviews: 244
Conducted in: 20 locations in 15 languages

- EU member countries
- ISOTIS countries

Method of interviewing

<u>Interview design</u>

Qualitative data were collected using an in-depth narrative interview comprising auto- biographical narrative and semi-structured parts. The interview design is based on the methodological approach of autobiographical narrative interview of Fritz Schütze (2008) and further developed and used in a number of international projects (Miller & Day, 2012; Nurse, Suo, Piotrowski, & Ferenz, 2011).

The methodology for qualitative interviews was developed by Lyudmila Nurse and the ISOTIS team, and was piloted in early 2018 in England (native-born mothers) by Lyudmila Nurse, in the Czech Republic (Roma mothers) by Kateřina Sidiropolu-Janků and in the Netherlands (Turkish immigrant mothers) by Ayça Alayli.

The interview consisted of the following phases:

1. Introduction (to introduce topic, discuss and address ethical issues)
2. Spontaneous narrative: with a focus on mothers' talk, identifying points of interests to be clarified in the next phase of the interview
3. Clarification
4. Semi-structured phase
5. Conclusion (and further thoughts and suggestions)

The interviews lasted from 45 minutes to 4 hours in total depending on how much mothers wanted to say. The list of identified cross- cutting themes for the semi-structured part included. (see mind map of the ISOTIS qualitative interview in Figure 2, page 187):

- Attitudes towards the place where the family lives
- Type of support available in bringing up children
- Experiences with the education system – users
- Home-school relationship
- Home environment
- Identities
- Lifestyles and interests/family pastimes
- Attitudes towards education and employment
- Aspirations regarding child's future

These were supplemented by sub-themes and specific themes elicited by a range of probes. The interviewers were instructed in how to use the guide and the mind map for interviewing as a tool to encourage the interviewees (informants) to speak in their own words. The guide was translated by the national teams into their national languages to train their qualitative interviewers. Each interview was audio-recorded. There were no major problems with audio-recording. However, sometimes interviewers had to further explain how the recorded materials were to be used, and to re-assure mothers about measures to protect their and their children's identities.

The interviews were conducted in both public (schools, children's centres, churches, mosques, community centres, cafes) and private places (informants' homes). The places of interview were agreed with mothers when appointments were made. Mothers were interviewed alone where it was feasible. However, the interviewers experienced quite a number of situations where interviews were interrupted by members of informants' family (their own parents, husbands, young children being cared for and who couldn't be left

unsupervised, older children who were returning from school), with some cases of friendly neighbours coming to say hello and keen to join in. Such circumstances were documented. Note that all names are fictitious to maintain anonymity.
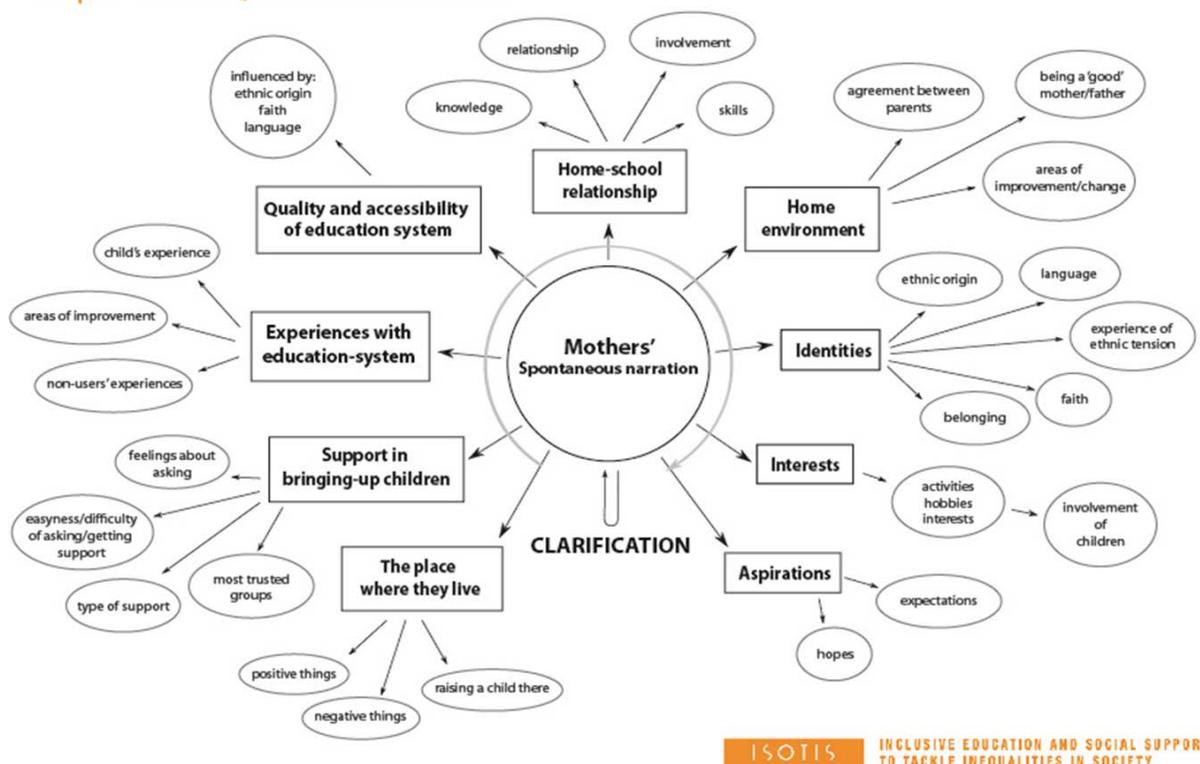

Figure 2. *Mind map of the ISOTIS qualitative interview* (Concept and design by Nurse, graphic design Szaghy, DE UO)

3. ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

3.1 The notion of being "disadvantaged". How do mothers from low-income, native –born, immigrant and ethnic minority families describe their identities and economic situation and resources in bringing up their children?

A theoretical gain of the qualitative study was establishing a bottom-up perspective on the notion of "disadvantaged". While analysing the qualitative narratives we pinpointed the main aspects of what it means to be disadvantaged. Selection criteria were based on income, receiving free meals and other benefits and other types of social assistance for families with young children, which vary across countries and the target groups in the ISOTIS project. The types of disadvantages identified through the qualitative analysis included: *financial, single motherhood, broken/ dysfunctional families; disabilities (their own, children's, partners' illnesses), segregated schools in segregated or poor neighbourhoods.*

3.1.1 Native-born mothers from England, Poland and Portugal

For native-born mothers from England, Poland and Portugal their economic situation depends on family circumstances, whether they are employed, and the number and ages of children in the family. Most mothers

1interviewed are single careers for their children; some live in partnership, with only a few being married and their financial situation is difficult. Going back to work for the majority is not an option due to lack of support with child care.

Financial terms:

Anne is a British 26-years-old single mother with two children aged four and one. Anne lives in a council flat with her children, one of whom is attending a pre-school centre and one is still at home. Anne was born in the local area and she and her family have been living in this area for her whole life. She completed GCSE[30] level and then studied at college to receive a qualification as a hairdresser. She had two children with her ex- partner, despite the fact that she was aware her family would not approve of the fact that she was not married to her then boyfriend and he still lived with his mother. She temporarily lived with her older child at her boyfriend's place, but after not being able to cope with his mother, she first moved in with her parents and then to a council flat. She doesn't work at the moment due to the age of her younger child, but is very determined to return to work when the child starts school.

> A:'So in financial…[terms] *It is hard, 'cause I pay, what I pay like rent, [Uhm], council tax, all the bills, and I sort of cover that, but anything on top it is like what he* [she means a father of her two children, her ex-partner] *gives me for the kids and then literally I'm left with nothing for myself<…>'*[Anne, England]

Being a single mother of two young children, Anne is not able to return to work, as this wouldn't change her financial situation:

> A: 'But after [the younger child was born] *I couldn't go back to work, so obviously I had to leave work 'cause I had to pay the childcare for him (younger child) as well as TC. And obviously they give me 70% paid, but when I was gonna work, I had to pay more housing, more council tax and the childcare, so when I'm gonna work I'm not earning anything for myself, 'cause it is just going back on the bills, which I'm already getting paid anyway'.* [Anne, England]

Cecilia is a Polish mother, 42 years of age and, similarly to Anne, is also a mother of a younger child. She was born in Poland in a small town. As a 19- year-old girl she came to Warsaw to study (she obtained a Master's degree) and she has been living there since then. During her university studies she got married and had her first child. Currently she lives with her husband and has eight children of which one is disabled. The family lives in a council flat (two flats combined due to the large number of children). The mother is unemployed and her husband works in a private sector. Parents of the mother are dead (her mother was an alcoholic). As sisters of the mother live in different towns, the family has rare contacts. Mother finds her belongingness to a Neocatechumenal Way[31] as a crucial part of her family life.

> C: 'I can say that I have a happy life, apart from some financial difficulties, because if there are children, there is always a lack of money, even though 500+ [monthly benefit for every child]is very useful.' [Celina, Poland]

Joana is a 29-year-old Portuguese single mother who lives with her younger, 4-year-old, son. She is divorced since 2012 after three years of marriage and being a victim of domestic violence. Joana and her ex-husband have two sons. Joana's family comes from the North of Portugal, except for her father. Since 2016, she lives in a council house flat, due to their low-income. However, she mentions that she does not like to live in this neighbourhood. In 2016, she left her job at a supermarket, because she had no one to take care of her son during the afternoon and could not afford child care. Currently she is unemployed, but is actively

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[30] General Certificate of Secondary Education in the UK and is generally achieved by the age of 16.
[31] Missionary movement within the Roman Catholic Church. https://cruxnow.com/church-in-the-usa/2018/02/10/commitment-controversy-evangelical-catholic-movement/

searching for employment. Joana completed 12th grade through a three-year vocational course (ISCED-A 354), before, she dropped out of school after completing 9th grade (ISCED-A 244). She is speaking with sadness and anger about the financial and material constraints she faces daily.

J: Look, it would be for her to have the speech therapy sessions... which I cannot pay, 30 € each session. I already asked for support to Social Security and Social Security sent a letter saying that they only supported me if I paid the € 30 every month and then they [would] give me ... I would go there with the receipts and they would paid me. But I said then you are not supporting me at all, what are you supporting me with? [What should be is] They would send the money and I would deliver it to therapy, and on that day I would do [go to] the sessions. No, they wanted me to deliver the receipts there, I delivered one and they did not pay. € 30 that I paid from my pocket. [Joana, Portugal]

Mothers with young children also feel disadvantaged when they find employment and try to combine it with looking after their families.

D: 'As long as the kids were small I didn't have a job, later I started to work and I've been working ever since. I haven't had any longer breaks there. Without a job. At first there was cleaning, it was hard, and now there is a dry-cleaner. Right? And (...) we cope. Well, we have to, there's no other way. There are ups and downs with the boss, but mainly he backs me up. He has his own whims, of course, like bosses do. But I can calm him down. I don't know what else I can say. For example, I like what I do. I always wanted to go back to work. When I got pregnant I had to give up, of course, but I always wanted to go back to work. This is contact with the customer, you can also spend this time at work in a different way.' [Dorota, Poland]

British mother Anne has also experienced difficulties at combining work with childcare:

A:<..>So it is very hard like I would've loved (younger child) *to come to nursery and me go back to work. I only went to work two days a week, but I was full-time before TC. [Uhm] And I had a good job, it was in X just retail, it was well (...) easy, I knew the people, worked there for a long time, but they just couldn't give me the days I needed. Like I was Tuesday, Thursday, and every other Saturday. And they wanted me to work all weekend and I've got no one physically to have the kids like.'* [Anne, England]

3.1.2 Mothers with an immigrant background in Germany and the Netherlands

Mothers of immigrant background Turkish and Maghreb refer to their economic hardships and type of support that allow them and their children to keep afloat. The situation of those who are divorced seems to be even worse:

Ömür is a German-Turkish mother, aged 44. She lives with her two daughters in a rented apartment in the outskirts of a large city, in a mainly low/mid-SES German dominated neighbourhood. Ömür was born in Turkey and completed vocational high school there. She moved to Germany in 2001 after getting married. In 2002, her first daughter was born; in 2009 her second daughter was born. Her relatives live in Turkey and she feels quite alone in Germany. Ömür doesn't have a job and receives social benefits, which are the source of family finances. She feels very connected to Turkey and the Turkish culture and doesn't perceive herself as a part of German society. She recently got divorced from her former husband.

Ö: <..>'Financially of course, since my marriage is over everything is cut, he [she means her ex-husband] *laid an economic embargo on us. The man cut everything, everything you can imagine. (...) Thank God there is the state. We went to the Job center, we receive help from there, we stand on our feet with that, thank Goodness, we do not have any troubles now it is not like that we do not have*

any money problem but of course if we'd be in our previous state I could take care of children's wishes better.' [Ömür, Germany]

Meliha is a 42-year-old Turkish mother of Kurdish origin who lives with her husband and two children in a rented apartment. She finished her bachelor degree in Turkey. After her marriage in 2008, she immigrated with her husband to Germany to study for a higher degree. She finished her Master´s degree in Germany, currently does her PhD and works as a language teacher. She has two daughters, one is at age 7 and the other is 5. Kurdish is the main language spoken in the family, although the children sometimes speak German to each other. Meliha's husband is a social pedagogue and supports her in raising the children. They live in a middle-class neighbourhood of a city where mostly old people live. But she underlines the opportunities in the neighbourhood such as having several green areas and opportunities to play outside. Meliha appreciates state support to the cost of education for her children:

> *M:<…>'The pre-school that we send* [their child] *is a special one, of course it is partly supported by the state but you need to pay a certain amount for both of the kids, per kid we paid 250 €, compared to other pre-schools it is a quite high I guess, including meals it is a bit more but financially it did not stress us until now we did not live through such a difficulty, so in that regard there are the advantages of social state in Germany and we see this, too.'* [Meliha, Germany]

Berna is a Dutch 39-year-old mother, who is a second generation Turkish immigrant in the Netherlands. She comes from a Turkish family that originates from a small city located in middle-south of Turkey. She has a medium level of education and worked as a preschool teacher assistant when she was younger. She married once and got divorced, and she has a son (19) from this former marriage. She married again to a Turkish man, who was an immigrant who also had a son. Together they had a son (8) and she was pregnant with a baby girl at the time of the interview. They live in an apartment in Utrecht, She does not find the neighbourhood they live as safe and suitable for young children, therefore every time children go outside she goes with them. She mentions the crime rate and lack of facilities around the area. Berna is also reflecting on the help they receive to pay for their children after school activities. However, even this support is not sufficient to keep up with the cost of the activities:

> *B: 'Normally we have to pay 100 euros to the school for two children. We told about our situation to the school, we paid 50 euros. You can use U-pas to pay this money, but we already used U-passes for swimming. You know there is this thing called U-pass. But I think the money in it is not enough. Because, it almost paid for swimming, I mean it did not pay for it all even. We had to pay the last month ourselves. Think about it, the amount in it was that low. As we had to pay for swimming, I could not pay for any other sports. I already made him leave kick-box to go swimming. I mean, we had to make a choice. I wish that the government made the amount a bit higher for families like us. Eventually it will be used for children's sports activities. I don't understand why they make it so limited.'* [Berna, Germany]

The families' financial situation gets worse if one of the parents is unable to work, or becomes ill. Social benefits cannot compensate for the lack of income:

Rachida is a 50-year-old mother of Moroccan origin who lives in Utrecht. She was nine years old when the family moved to the Netherlands. After two years, her father decided to go back to Morocco, but her mother stayed in the Netherlands. Rachida went back to Morocco with her father and stayed there for six years. Then she wanted to be reunited with her mother so she moved back to the Netherlands at age 14. She got married when she was 20 and now has six children. She is a housewife and her husband became incapacitated for work, so they receive social welfare benefits. This was challenging for them when the children were growing up, but she is proud that everybody is now independent and happy. She has a very large family (nine brothers and sisters, of which seven live in the Netherlands), and her father still lives in Morocco with his second wife.

Family is important to her, though she states that she didn't get much support from them for the upbringing of her children.

> Interviewer: 'With their birth you already had 3 girls, was that hard?'
>
> *R: 'It was kind of hard, but mostly financially. We only had one allowance with all those young children, what you actually wanted to achieve for your children wasn't always possible, but eventually we managed. Bit like that and a bit like that. Expensive stuff doesn't raise [your children], honestly.'*
> [Rachida, the Netherlands]

Disadvantages described by mothers of immigrant origin vary including; financial hardships, living away from their countries of origin cultures, trying to maintain standards and styles of the resident countries' life, and constant negotiation of the sense of belonging. However, acknowledgement of the benefits of the education system in the countries of residence for the future of their children is often a significant mitigating factor.

3.1.3 Mothers with a Roma background in Czech Republic

The narratives of Czech Roma mothers demonstrate the complex nature of social disadvantages, which span the lifetime, and combines issues of education, income and social stigmatization, sometimes based on financial scarcity, sometimes based on the ethnic origin, but are often combined. The Czech Romany mothers tend not to reflect on the social disadvantages as such, but show high sensitivity to situations involving embarrassing social interactions, and they are especially sensitive when it concerns their children´s feelings and social status.

Šárka is 26 years of age, and is a mother of three children (8, 6, 1). She lives in a stable partnership with her youngest child's father. The family lives in a rented flat in a quiet part of one of the block of flats in a suburb of the town. She is currently on maternity leave. So far she has only worked in one job for 3 months. Šárka completed elementary school and started her apprenticeship as a shop assistant, which she didn't finish because she got pregnant at the age of 17. Sárka comes from a Roma family living in the Czech Republic. She would prefer not to be a Roma. Šárka's both original and current family speaks only Czech. Šárka can't speak Roma and she considers it to be an "ugly" language. Her son, Šimon, attends preschool, where he is happy and he has a lot of friends in there. He has just been registered into the first grade of the local primary school. However, Šárka would prefer him to attend a different primary school with a better reputation. She would like to support Šimon's talent for music, but the family is financially limited.

Šárka describes how the kindergarten's formal and informal practice of reminding parents of payment for the activities for children embarrasses her and also leads to unsettled family relationships. In her description, she is not finding an effective strategy for how to avoid such behaviour, she fails in negotiation for better practice and understanding of the financial flow in her household, that is different from other kindergarten families. Nevertheless, the kindergarten´s policy is not targeted to embarrass her in particular (Šárka even mentions that the relationship with the teacher of her child is good and well established), but it has this effect due to the economic situation in the family of Šárka.

> *Š: <…> she was terribly nice, Ms. teacher, And now when she's here in the nursery and I tell the lady teacher, I just get money on Friday, I will pay for the trip, they still have time yeah, they always shake us, and she always says yes and the next day she tells me again. And the third day she will tell me again. And I say it's not possible. I say, good. I tell her, ma'am teacher, I've told you that I'll pay you on Friday. Like I do not know why, the kindergarten here is such, that just a month in advance they want to pay something. When he has, he just pays for it. And there in the other kindergarten no. That's where I could pay that day the day they were going somewhere. And she did not tell it to me*

twenty times. <…> Well, there is such by us, that if they do not have something paid these children, they give us a ticket that it is not paid and then the mummies go pass that and see it. So they just whisper it to each other, well. I've heard it many times, for example me, it did not happen to me, but once I had it there, and they said right away, she did not pay again. [Šárka, Czech Republic]

Silvie is 26 years of age and was born in the Czech Republic and almost all her life she has lived in the same neighbourhood in a socially excluded, Roma populated locality. She lives with her partner and their 5 children, but they are not married. The family lives in a council flat (two rooms+ kitchen), which is quite small for such a big family, but Silvie is quite satisfied, because it is cheap, in good condition and stable. Before moving here they had big problems with finding safe, stable and good housing and moved many times between many places of a very poor standard. She explains how hard it is to find acceptable housing when you are Roma. Silvie has completed primary school and began to study upper secondary school (specialization chef/waiter), but she left the school after 3 days, because she felt her teacher was racist against her and moreover, she was pregnant with her first son. Since then until now she is on parental leave, so she has never worked. Her partner has a job at the city cleaning service. Silvie´s' main concerns were lack of finances, housing situation and the care of her children.

Silvie describes the unsuccessful negotiation in the new school after they moved to another city to excuse the absences of her child due to health-care reasons. It resulted in moving back to the previous city of residence. Housing is often a big factor of perceived deprivation in Czech Roma families, especially if they have numerous children. In general, the Czech housing system appears to be not well-adjusted regarding social housing, and not favourable towards Roma (Ripka). Silvie's main concern was that social welfare preventive measures are embarrassing and traumatizing for her children:

> *S: <…> But it went so far that the children were interrogated. And that was traumatic for me. That was ugly, yeaks.* [Silvie Czech Republic]

To summarise:
- Native-born mothers from England, Poland and Portugal describe financial hardship as the most serious aspect of their "disadvantaged" situation. However, the situation of those who are single mothers is worse, as they often cannot return to full-time employment, or have to work long hours and poorly paid jobs.
- Mothers of immigrant origin find the financial situation as their main disadvantage, especially when the family circumstances change (e.g. parents divorced, as mothers are dependent on their spouses for income) or inability to keep up with the life-styles of the host society (e.g. more resources are required to keep up with children's sports and leisure activities). Disadvantages described by mothers of immigrant origin vary including; financial hardships, living away from their countries of origin cultures, trying to maintain standards and life-styles of the resident countries, and constant negotiation of the sense of belonging. However, acknowledgement of the benefits of education system in the countries of residence for the future of their children is often a significant mitigating factor.
- In case of the Roma mothers, the social disadvantages span their lifetime, and the life-time of their families. These disadvantaged combine issues of education, income and social stigmatization, sometimes based on financial scarcity, sometimes based on the ethnic-minority identity, and are often combined.

'Certainly, we can't always afford everything but we cope.' ['Franciszka' Poland]

3.2.1 Native-born low income mothers in England, Poland and Portugal

Social benefits, combining work with motherhood

Rute is a 34-years-old Portuguese mother who lives with her partner and their children, a 10-year-old girl and a 1-year-old boy. Rute has also an older child from a previous relationship, who lives with his paternal grandparents since 2016, due to financial strain. In 2002, when she got pregnant (when she was 17 years old), Rute started living with her ex-partner in another place within the same municipality. Rute was a victim of domestic violence, so in 2004 she ran away with her son. From 2005, she started living with her current partner and in 2006 they started living in her first house, a privately rented flat where they currently live. She mentioned that she feels like she belongs to the place where she was born, in a more rural area. They are a low-income family and the couple are not married. Regarding her education, Rute was a good student but dropped out of school after completing 9th grade (ISCED-A 244), due to her family's low financial situation. Later, she completed 12th grade through a three-year vocational course (ISCED-A 354), to become a preschool teacher assistant. She started working at the age of 14, when she dropped out of school, and got different jobs over the years. Currently, she works at an international firm, dealing with the commercial inventory. Despite the hard economic situation for Rute and being a working mother, she is involved in school activities (as a member of the parents' association) and feels that her involvement contributed to her daughter's success. Rute hopes her daughter will attend university and become a preschool teacher, as she wanted to be herself.

> R: <…>I try to seize every minute, every second really... To help my daughter. That also... I think that also influences my daughter's well-being in school. Because I when I look at my daughter and she sees me at school and everyone know me as the mother of [Daughter's name], right? She knows that in addition to always going to help, her ego, from her mother being present, which is something that failed me when I was little, it grows up. And I think she is enjoying the school a lot better because of it. [Rute, Portugal]

Some mothers with young children, however, manage to secure employment while having young children and try to combine it with looking after their families. But this combination often ends up with reduced time for spending with their children, as Polish mothers, Ewa and Dorota, explain:

> E:<…>Thanks to a certain wonderful person I found a job in which I am fulfilled (...). I work for 12, 14 hours. I barely see my children, unless at the weekends. And that's what my life looks like. I have nothing more to say' [Ewa, Poland]

> D:<…>As long as the kids were small I didn't have a job, later I started to work and I've been working ever since. I haven't had any longer breaks there. Without a job. At first there was cleaning, it was hard, and now there is a dry-cleaner. Right? And (...) we cope. Well, we have to, there's no other way. There are ups and downs with the boss, but mainly he backs me up. He has his own whims, of course, like bosses do. But I can calm him down. I don't know what else I can say. For example, I like what I do. I always wanted to go back to work. When I got pregnant I had to give up, of course, but I always wanted to go back to work. This is contact with the customer, you can also spend this time at work in a different way.' [Dorota, Poland]

English mother, Anne, has also experienced difficulties with combining work with childcare:

> A: <…> So it is very hard like I would've loved (younger child) to come to nursery and me go back to

work. I only went to work two days a week, but I was full-time before TC. [Uhm] And I had a good job, it was in X just retail, it was well (…) easy, I knew the people, worked there for a long time, but they just couldn't give me the days I needed. Like I was Tuesday, Thursday, every other Saturday. And they wanted me to work all weekend and I've got no one physically to have the kids like.' [Anne, England]

Provided by fathers of the children (if partners live separately)

Anne, who is currently on social benefits, has also referred to a help her children receive from their father, her ex-partner from whom she is separated:

A: 'And he gives me maintenance for the kids, so at least he does his input. And anything I need, like I will ring him, he would give it to me. So in financial It is hard, 'cause I pay what I pay like rent, [uhm] council tax, all the bills, and I sort of cover that, but anything on top it is like what he gives me for the kids and then literally I'm left with nothing for myself.' [Anne, England]

However, help from the husbands/partners is a crucial point in families' economic situation.

Polish mother, Dorota is 36. Both of her parents had an alcohol problem, and her father was unemployed. She had two brothers, one was 5 years older and the other was 21 years her junior. She had learning difficulties at school, but she succeeded in finishing a vocational school. At the age of 22 she got married and had a son. She and her husband and their two sons live in her parents' house; so do her older brother and his wife and child. 2014 was the year when her mother tragically died, Dorota's second son was born and her younger brother fell mentally ill following his mother's death. She has been working at a laundry service for three years. Her younger son, now aged 4 – target child, has health issues and has already had two operations.

D: 'I mean in general, my husband was the sole breadwinner, and he had a seasonal job, right? So sometimes it was really hard to make ends meet. But we managed somehow. Right? […] There were financial hardships, but at that time you don't think about yourself but about the children. […] Well, I'm saying I have a lot of support from my husband, life is going on, yes? Well, we complement each other and we have to manage. We already cope. So, we complement each other and it's ok.' [Dorota, Poland]

Another English mother, Grace, discusses her husband's financial situation and how it lacks financial security for them both, despite the fact that her husband is in employment:

G: 'Erm he (…) does security (…) so at the moment he's working (…) erm in [location] with the warships<,…>then (…) I don't know what he's doing in like three years 'cos it's like a three year job at a time, so it's like three years then he could have no work (…) for a while, then he'll get like another job for like another three years (…) so that's hard as well. Especially when it comes- like having to buy the kids' stuff if he's not working I'm like (…) I need to buy the- but I- we can't afford it, so then I have to go and ask my Mum and my Mum's like 'yeah right ok'. (…) 'Cos me [my] Mum doesn't mind buying- but I don't ask me [my] Mum for the money (…) I say can you get the kids like a pair of shoes or (…) the baby needs (…) some more pants 'cos he's like legs have grown so quick and she's like 'yeah I'll go and get it for ya [you]'. But I never ever ask for money because I can never afford to pay it back (…). So if I haven't got it, I'll struggle. (…) I- see I won't eat if it's too late a couple of days before I get paid to do shopping, if there's only so much food left (…) I won't eat I'll have- I'll give it to these- I'll just have toast. (…) And then me [my] Mum shouts at me 'you need more than toast, you need to look after yourself' I'm like 'well, tough, kids come first' (small laugh). (…) [baby cries in the room] Yeah, you do don't ya [you]!' ['Grace' England]

I: 'So you feel that it is hard financially?'

> *G: 'Yeah. So even though he works it's still hard because even when he's not working we need to find the money to pay rent (…) and then the council tax (…) it's like- it's just hard. But I always try to make sure I've got gas, electric, (…) and food. As long as I've got all that, the kids don't really need anything. (…) I don't need anything (…).'* [Grace, England]

The father of Grace's older children can also contribute occasionally if asked about this.

> *G: 'Erm (…) every now and again, (…) yeah. I tend to have to ask him for it though.'*
>
> Interviewer: 'Do you need to ask?'
>
> *G: 'Yeah, yeah he doesn't really offer. (…) Yeah.'* [Grace, England]

However, Eden, and Alison, - mothers from England explain that support from ex-partners, fathers of children is neither regular, nor substantial:

> *E:<…>'Erm not really no. (…) No he spends most of his wages when he goes out (…) so when he goes (…) out with his friends and stuff like that or he's buying himself new clothes and things like that (…) erm (…). But yeah if I ask him for it then (…) I tend to wait a while (…) for it, so he'll be like 'I'll give you it next week, I'll give you it next week' and then (…) it's like two or three weeks later (…). But (…) yeah he's not very like reliable for things like that.'* [Eden, England]

> I: 'And does [daughter]'s father help you?'
>
> *A: <…> No (…) no. I've never gotten money off* [daughter]*'s father (…) so I'm all by me* [my]*self.'* [Alison, England]

Mothers' own families (parents, brothers)

It makes a big difference for English mother, Alison, and Portuguese mother, Margarida:

> *A: <…>It makes a massive difference, yeah. I don't know how you'd possibly survive working sixteen hours on minimum wage (…) without having a good family behind ya [you].'* [Alison, England]

> *M: I resort to relatives, I often could not go to pick them up at school, [so] an uncle, a cousin, the sister goes, apart from that I have never needed [anything] like that... On the vacations, it is a great help here to have the family here and to work here. I resort a lot, it is the part that I need the most help is in the school holidays, and this part I have help from my maternal family.* [Margarida Portugal]

Rita is a Portuguese, 33-year-old living with her four children and her partner to whom she is not officially married and his parents in the flat, which is rented by her 'parents-in-law', although she does not have a peaceful relationship with the latter. The children are a 15-year-old boy and a girl aged 11 (target child), both from a previous relationship, and two girls of 2 and 1 years old, from her current relationship. Her first relationship started in 2001 (when she was 17 years old) and then, in 2007, her mother died, and she moved to another place in the city and took care of her younger 6-year-old sister. One year later, she left her partner because he was abusive and in 2010, when she was 26 years old, she met her current partner. Regarding her education, Rita completed 8th grade (ISCED-A 242) and dropped out of school during 9th grade. During her life, she had different jobs, but currently, she is unemployed. The most important people for Rita and her family are her brother and sister, her grandmother (from her mother's side), 2 professionals from the community centre, and 2 friends. She feels like she belongs to the city where she currently lives, and she is angry about her financial and living conditions and is fighting for a change. She also demonstrated her unhappiness with the education that her child receives at school, namely the teacher's negative attitude towards her daughter.

> *R: <…>So complicated. And then, there are no responses from anywhere, there are no responses from*

the municipality, there are no responses from the social worker, no one finds me a solution for nothing. Trying to get an apartment, I already tried, cannot do it, because I have no income, no IRS, my IRS is very low… An then, social security also… does not guarantee that they will support these big expenses… The support exists, mas only for three months, and after the three months? I won't stop eating to pay for the expenses<…> [Rita, Portugal]

However, the financial situation is more than just basic everyday needs of families with children. Despite the fact that, in England and in Poland, there are social benefits that help mothers of low income, there is an inability to "afford everything", as the Polish mother explained, often leading to the harassment of their children at school by their peers for being "poor". The children of Ewa, a Polish mother, refer to the fact that peers of her daughter rejected her badly because *<….>…. we didn't have money, we were very, very poor<…>* [Ewa, Poland].

Ewa is a Polish 46-year-old mother; one of her daughters is in primary school. She stayed in school a year longer than her peers, till the age of 16, and then she went to a vocational sewing school, but soon had a daughter and dropped out of school. She moved to the child's father's place, and the next year they got married. Her first husband abused her and they got divorced after four years. At the age of 26 she met her current partner, with whom she now has two daughters, aged 18 and 11. They live in a flat together, while her oldest daughter lives on her own, with her partner and a one-year-old daughter. Ewa has been receiving counselling, which is very important for her. She works in a printing house. Recently she bought a recreational allotment to spend time with her family. She wished she could spend more time with her children, but this doesn't work. The family cannot afford to spend money to go to the cinema and her primary school child was harassed at school for being poor:

E: 'I mean, (…) because of the lack of time and place to go. Because it is important to go somewhere with the children, and my children are such an age that they are not interested in the sandpit, it does not make them happy any more, they would like some entertainment. […] And a person (…) - can't afford to go to the cinema or to spend money every time. You go out and you spend money. It's not always affordable. (…) […] Let me put it like this: the first years, in primary school, was a tragedy for Ewelina. The children rejected her tragically because (….) we didn't have money, we were very, very poor. The poverty was so severe that we received food from the Centre [after school care center] more than once. And it was many times. (…) Ewelina didn't have nice clothes, she couldn't wear the same clothes as (…) the class. […] It's very painful that (…) you can't afford to send a child to (…) a dance class. […] I cannot afford it. I barely scrape a living. Where can I send the child?' [Ewa, Poland]

Margarida is a Portuguese 40-year-old mother, who lives with her husband and their 2 children, a 13-year-old girl and a 9–year-old boy. This low-income family lives in their own flat (they have a mortgage). Margarida completed 9th grade (ISCED-A 254); however, she dropped out of school during 7th grade (ISCED-A 242) and completed 9th grade later, through a vocational course, as part of youth training programme. She had multiple jobs in different areas over the years and currently she works as a general service assistant. The most important people for Margarida and her family are her mother, her aunt (one of her mother's sisters), and her aunt's family (husband and 2 children). Margarida mentioned that she would like to go back in time and continue to attend school, and got emotional when talking about the target child's future and her hopes for him (specifically considering his achievements as a football player), referring that the birth of her children were the most important events in her life's trajectory.

M: <…> Whenever I can, whenever I can. Unfortunately I work, not unfortunately, thankfully I work, I have work, and I cannot also be always... Missing. And many school activities are after work and in some of them the PQC has training. [Margarida, Portugal]

Grace is an English mother who has five children and 6 stepchildren. Grace is 35, and describes her

childhood as very unhappy. In school she was picked on and stopped from choosing the GCSEs she wanted to do due to being dyslexic. Before she could take her exams, she had to leave school because her father went away for work just after separating from her step mother, so Grace had to stay home to look after her younger siblings. She attended a Youth Training Scheme to get some qualifications, but then met the father of her first child. After two unhappy relationships, she met her husband and had another two children. Her pregnancies have proven difficult, and her third pregnancy made her unable to walk. She was employed as a cleaner, but her most recent pregnancy made her cleaning job impossible as her employers would not give her an occupational health check. Grace has no friends in her neighbourhood and struggles to get any support.

> G: *'It's hard, it's hard with two. Yeah, definitely. Erm as I say like most of the days out and stuff we do I try and find free things to go to or like, as I say, take picnics and things like that. So it is hard, me [my] Mum and Dad (…) will help me out if I need it (…) erm so (…) just for instance. (…)* [Eldest daughter] *had her school photos her- her pre-school photos so the packages of them are quite expensive aren't they. So I didn't have the money at the time so my* [me] *Mum said 'well I'll buy them I'll go halves with ya* [you] *(…) and then you just give me half the money when you get paid' sort of thing. So they're helpful with things like that. I can go to them if I need anything. (…) Yeah.'* [Grace, England]

3.2.2. Mothers with an immigrant background in Germany, the Netherlands, Norway and Italy

Ceyda is a 38-year-old Dutch mother of Turkish origin. She was born in Germany, but her family moved back to Turkey when she was a baby. She married at a very young age (16) to a second generation Dutch-Turkish man who is a distant relative. She moved to the Netherlands at the age of 17 and had a new-born baby girl at the time. She has three daughters (20, 16 and 12 years of age – target child is the youngest). Her first daughter had developmental problems and learning difficulties and it was difficult for her to deal with. She suffered from depression and, in the meantime, had her second baby. She got better once she started working in a school cafeteria (still works there). Her youngest child was born shortly afterwards but unfortunately she also had developmental problems (She is now going to a special school). As a family, they have lived in the same neighbourhood since the time when she moved to the Netherlands. She does not find the neighbourhood they live in safe for her daughters. She states that Dutch people moved away from this neighbourhood in recent years and most of the people living there are Turkish and Moroccan. Her parents live in Turkey, as well as her two brothers, but one of her brothers lives in Germany. Her only concern is for her daughters to get a good education, a stable job and financial independence in the future.

> C: <…>'I got (support). I attended certification programs about child rearing. They provided the courses in mosques. I think the municipality was providing them. It consisted of two parts, communication with the child and child rearing. After that, we took a training course about zorg [care in Dutch]. About child care. They used to provide those. I am not sure whether they still do, but there used to be many similar courses. The courses last couple of weeks. We used to go.' [Ceyda, the Netherlands]

Gönül (40) is a second-generation Turkish mother, born and raised in Rotterdam. She has always lived in the same multicultural neighbourhood in Rotterdam; she is very positive about this neighbourhood; close to the city, close to nature, and with many resources. Her family lives nearby and is considered an important support to her. Her parents wanted to move back to Turkey a couple of times, which is why Gönül went to a Turkish kindergarten for a few months before returning to the Netherlands. She has a four-year-old daughter and is pregnant with a second daughter. She is married to a second generation Turkish man and lives together in a large flat in a new building. She obtained a bachelor degree and works at the municipality. She is proud

of her (liberal) Western-Turkish heritage, but evenly proud of her Dutch background and raises her children bilingual.

> Interviewer: 'So you have a very large informal network around you where you easily go to. Do you also have some experience with the more formal systems where you can get care or support? [silence] So community centres, health care centres, Baby and Toddler Healthcare Centres…'

> G: 'Yes. Uh.. Yes, in Rotterdam in general you have enough services regarding that. Until she [TC] was four, I've been to all her inoculations and all meetings of the Baby and Toddler Healthcare Centre. But yes, according to me that is not a super-advice. It is just the general things. Especially Baby and Toddler Healthcare Centres. They look at a certain chart and really, if you are below it's 'oh oh oh' and if you are above 'yes I think you should do something less'. It is yeah...an advice, it is more about what you do with it.' [Gönül, the Netherlands]

> 'Yes, but they won't do the extras for example! I have for example heard from some schools (…) they have linking-classes [schakelklassen – extra classes that give children extra lessons in language, reading and new vocabulary – very intensive and lots of supervision] . If it's about the language, if it's about the development uhm.. they have extra moments for that to place the children directly to those linking-classes and to give something extra. Well, that is something this school doesn't have yet. So yeah.. I'm trying to do that myself now.' [Gönül, the Netherlands]

Nergiz is a 48-year-old Norwegian Turkish mother, and a single mother. She has two sons, and the target child is 11 years old. She got married and got divorced after having the first child, but then got back together with her partner. However, she got divorced again and moved to Norway in 2011. The children's father resides in Turkey, but she is still in the legal process of getting divorced and she does not want her kids to be negatively affected by it. She is now living with her two children and works as a nurse. She is a highly educated woman; she was born and raised in a very big and modern city in Turkey. She feels especially lucky and grateful to be able to continue her profession in Norway. After moving to Norway, she worked hard and learned Norwegian, although she still struggles to understand different dialects.

> N: 'I don't know. I don't think that I am taking any extra help for child rearing, but on things I had struggled with, the school nurse and the teachers have always made me feel that they were there for me. They immediately contacted me when my child had problems. Therefore, it is nice. I mean these are all support.' [Nergiz, the Netherlands]

36-year-old Asmaa has been living in Italy for twelve years. Her hometown is on the Moroccan Atlantic coast. In Italy she has initially lived at some relatives in the province of Torino. She got to know her husband-to-be during the first times in Italy. They started cohabiting without aiming to marry. They eventually did a marriage sealed by an imam and a witness, with no legal recognition – neither in Italy, nor in Morocco. Once pregnant she quit the job she had been doing for about eight years at a restaurant. Her only child is 4. The couple rents a flat in a highly diverse neighbourhood. Asmaa has a very strong relationship with her older sister who settled down in Italy much earlier than her. She is the only person that Asmaa relies on, apart from doctors and some members of the organisation where she attends Italian classes. Most of her siblings and members of her extended family became Italian citizens. She quit high school and did two professional diplomas. In 2017 she obtained the lower secondary diploma in Italy. She does not work but she and her husband have registered for the VAT number in order to be able to apply for the nationality (as both have worked without any contract for years). The couple got married according to the Italian law year after their son's birth. This created some tension within the family, however, Asmaa can still rely on the support of her sister.

Interviewer: 'What about the rest of the family in Italy? Maybe the last time [at the time of the questionnaire] you told me that your brother was not happy [to know that your son was born out of wedlock].'

A: 'Yes, I told you, earlier, in general. My family didn't accept it. Because they didn't accept the things I did. But blood remains (....) Italian citizens or not (.....) there is always Arab blood. They don't accept it. The only one who has accepted the things that (.....) is my sister. She has always been close to me.' [Asmaa, Italy]

Interviewer: 'And then other advice (....) Are there other people you've asked for advice from? Both in the early days, and then afterwards, that maybe you had doubts?'

A: 'No, no, I don't listen to anyone. No, no, no, no. No, I don't listen to anyone. Only among (.....) only my sister. Only to my sister. Because I have no friends. And to listen to someone who tells me what to do with the child, what not to do, I don't listen. Because she is not (.....) a paediatrician or anything either. Maybe (.....) the things she with her son are not good for my son, because my son is allergic. Eh. I can't. [IC concludes that her references are her sister or the paediatrician] yes, [I ask my sister] or the paediatrician.' [Asmaa, Italy]

3.2.3 Mothers with a Roma background in Czech Republic, Portugal and Greece

For Romany mothers, family and extended family are still the main source of support, financial and in kind, mainly female members of the families (mothers, mothers-in-law, aunts, sisters, but occasionally grandfathers. For some of the Czech Roma mothers**,** it is almost exclusively the extended family that provides the sense of wellbeing, but also the non-family circles are perceived as source of potential conflicts:

S: Most of the most there is a spouse. Then there is mother. I'll just call her and she's here in five minutes. (laughs) Right on the run. <..> Even mother in law. Mother in law And sisters, sisters in law, everyone. They are fond of my children the most, and if you were sitting here all day, you would probably have run away (from all this family social life).

Interviewer: And other parents? How do you get along with them?

S: Well, there are from [my] cousin children, so well (laugh). <…> And the other children, I simply do not care (laugh). Well, if Sněžanka gets along with them, there are no problems, that we would have to tell each other, your daughter does this and that, not at all. We will see when they get older, well. Perhaps they are too small for that (laugh). But I am afraid of that, well. [Silvie, Czech Republic]

Any leisure activities with children or any other type's lessons (e.g. music lessons), everything which is beyond free education provision, is out of reach for Roma families.

Š: He still wants to go to music school and this music school is expensive <…> if I could afford it I would definitely put him to this music school. [Šárka, Czech Republic]

<...> If my mom did not help me, I do not know what I would do<...> [Zuzana, Czech Republic]

Inês is 37-year-old Portuguese Roma mother. She lives with her husband (by Roma marriage), their four children and her mother-in-law, in a council housing flat. The children who live in this household are two girls aged 15 and 11 and two boys of 8 and 5 (target child) years old. Inês was allowed to choose her husband, contrary to the common Roma tradition at the time she got married. Inês has always lived in a Roma community. She also lived for one year and a half in Spain with her family. Currently she is a housewife and values her children's education and shows pride in their school success, as they never failed a grade. The most important people for Inês and her family are her brothers and sisters, and her husband's brothers and

sisters, her mother-in-law, and one of her sister's kids and husband.

> <…>*My mother-in-law helped me to buy the girl's glasses. […] My mother-in-law helps me, she has her retirement* [pension]. *Thank God* bread does is not lacking for my children. [Inês, Portugal]

Paraskevi is a 28-year-old Greek Romany mother. Paraskevi was 15 when she got married. She ran away with her husband because her parents didn't allow her to get married. Paraskevi has four children. In 2006 she gave birth to her first son and one year later she had her daughter. Becoming a mother was very difficult in the beginning because she was very young with three very young children but her family was there to support her despite the fact that they didn't approve the early marriage. Now, she feels very blessed for having those children. Last year, she took the examination for the last three courses of secondary school and obtained her diploma. With the secondary school diploma, she was able to apply for a permanent position at the Cleaning Department of the municipality. She has just been accepted and she will start soon. Her husband is unemployed. Paraskevi lives with her family in a house near her parents-in-law. Her father-in-law helps her with son sport's activities:

> **<...>** he [her son] *likes sports skills, a lot, kick boxing, basketball, anything that is related to ball (...) he is mad, his grandfather is now taking him to a school in the kick box to learn all these the child, swimming pool and all these sports, he likes them.* [Paraskevi, Greece]

Fotini is a 32-year-old Greek Romany mother. Fotini was raised by grandparents, uncles, aunts (extended family). Her parents were working as hucksters. Her childhood was very quiet and nothing was missing from their home. Ten years ago, she got married. They had some problems before getting married because her mother didn't want her to marry a non-Roma man. However, she was supported by her father. Fotini's relationship with her mother got better when Fotini got her children. Today, Fotini lives in an apartment which she owns, and her parents live on the floor above her. Fotini's sister, aunts and her grandparents live in the same building or the next one. Fotini has three children, her first son is in the fourth year of primary school, her second son is in the second year of primary school, and her third son is three years of age and attends a day-care centre. Fotini is a bit worried about a small speech problem that her third son has. Currently Fotini is looking for a job but it is very difficult given her lack of qualifications. Also, she is planning with her husband to move to Germany for the better life for the children.

> F: *<...> And for the upbringing I have said it again is my mother (...) mostly (...) and the basic one. From there for the financial it was never needed to have, but if we needed I have many people around me, that is, my grandmother, my sisters.* [Fotini, Greece]

Very often instead of financial support mothers with young children receive food, clothes, footwear through local social services**:**

Ana is a Portuguese Romany single mother. She is 36 and lives with her four children, three boys aged 11, 7, and 3 years and a 9-year-old girl (target child). The family lives in a council housing flat. "Ana" is separated from her ex-partner, father of her four children. She also has an older son (aged 17), from a previous relationship, who lives with her late husbands' parents. She also got together with her ex-partner (a non-Roma man, father of her four younger children). Because of this, she was rejected by her parents and was forced to leave her older son with her late husbands' parents, according to the Roma tradition. Then she moved to another site of the city, where she lived for 6 years with her ex-partner. Since 2015 she lives in her current neighbourhood, in a council housing flat. She is currently attending an adult education's course, in a community centre, to complete 6th grade (ISCED-A 100) and she reconciled with her family, who accepted her again, after breaking free from Roma traditions. She openly states that she wishes she was not Roma, and lives by her own values, wishes, and personal goals, not identifying herself much with the Roma culture, criticizing most of Roma social norms. The most important people for Ana and her family are her parents, her

ex-partner, and her older son.

> *A: <...>The assistants* [social workers] *sometimes help me with food, week by week, every other week, [that] helps me a lot, the reinsertion income [RSI] also helps, if it were not for that we Roma are [...] like if we were to get a job, if they knew I was Roma they would not give me.* [Ana, Portugal]

Eleni is a 33-year-old Greek Romany mother. Her childhood was fine and her family were close to each other. Eleni completed the second grade of primary school but when she was 12 she moved with her family to Crete for a couple of years in order to sell things. She got married when she was 18 and has two children; a boy of 12 and a girl who is 10 years old. Today, they have many financial difficulties. Someone stole their car and they cannot go to work. They do not own their house and they have to vacate it in the summer because the owner, who is her aunt, will return. She is very worried about housing and finance.

> *E:<…>Yes, namely for food, for help, for clothes, for books, yes, yes and then they cut it off. This. And this money has helped us very much. With clothes, with shoes, with their books. Sometimes we have no money. How will we feed them? Now they will need other books I do not have a car, I do not have a house, I have no help ….<…>* [Eleni, Greece]

However, lack of financial support put their children's health and well-being at risk, as they cannot afford opticians, language therapists, or other education specialists:

> *A: <...> I needed a pair of glasses for my daughter… who is eleven years old, but that would take a while ... I had to go and ask for a budget there and it would take a long time. They still had to make a request to see if they gave [could give] the glasses to my daughter. But [for] my daughter [it] was urgent, she already had a lot of headaches<...>.* [Ana, Greece]

> *P:<…>because he has dyslexia our teachers told us that the child needs help and these (...) with speech-learning centers and all that, we took him for a while, for two months but then we stopped. Because of finances<…>* [Paraskevi, Greece]

Any leisure activities with children or any lessons (e.g. music lessons), i.e. everything beyond free education provision, is out of reach for Roma families.

> *A:<…>and I said to put her a home-teacher, the man asked me of course if I could afford it and I told him yes* [Aleka, Greece]

3.3 Mothers' experience of education systems. What is their view on the opportunities for the children?

What are the main options available to disadvantaged people (due to economic, educational or immigrant background) in providing their children with the basics for developing and growing and entering society with better life chances? The qualitative study identified barriers for disadvantaged parents from involvement with children's schooling, such as individual and social, racial and religious issues. However, the data also present parents' response to these barriers.

One factor influencing involvement of mothers from low-income families in England in their children's schooling is their biographical experience of schooling, which was also observed by Hornby and Blackwell (2018) over the two decades. The ISOTIS study provides a deeper insight into the meaning of that experience: the ways it affected mothers and how mothers' experience affects their children. Mothers' biographies and educational experiences intersect with their views and plans for their children's education and their strategies to achieve this. How do they deal with modern education, when some, like an English mother who did not take school seriously when she was young:

> *"Erm (…) I wasn't very interested in school, I liked it but I like more of the social part of school than*

the actual workload..<…>" [Alison, England]

However, Alison has now reconsidered her attitude to education, managed to catch up with her grades while bringing up her daughter on her own and is now considering study at University as a mature student once her daughter starts at secondary school.

Interviewer: 'Are you looking forward to it?'

A: *'Oh I can't wait, can't wait I think- I think me [my] problem with school was (…) I weren't really interested in it because I didn't know what I wanted to do and it wasn't until (…) about three or four years I finally decided so now it's wor- everything's worked out the right time, [daughter]'s going to secondary school, and I know what I wanna* [want to] *do so (…) be good, looking forward to it.'* [Alison, England]

The interrelationship between immigrant mothers' biographical experiences and involvement in their children's schooling was also identified in the French study of Maghreb mothers.

3.3.1 Experiences with the education system in France by mothers with a Maghreb background

The French mothers of immigrant origin experience of education depend on their own experience of education, which often determines their choice of schools for their children. For Imane, a private school is the guarantee of a positive environment for her child. It protects them from behaviours that are not in line with the values she transmits. This strategic choice is also partly a result of Imane's education. As she grew up with her French grandmother, literature played an important role in her education and her openness to other cultures was significant. Today, Imane's educational and professional aspirations for her children are high. She puts them in a private school to prevent school drop-out, which is very common in her neighbourhood. Imane, whose child goes to a private catholic school, compares it with education in Tunisia:

I: *It's better for my children's education here. That's better* [Imane, France]

Other mothers express a balanced point of view in that they have a favourable opinion of the school but also make suggestions for improvement. This is the case of Sherine, who is generally satisfied with her 4-year-old daughter's experience of school, but thinks that the content could be improved. It appears from these remarks that Sherine's opinion is based on her daughter's (feeling of) well-being at school.

S: *<…>Yes, the most important thing is done. After, I think that sometimes the classes are a little overcrowded... Maybe there are about thirty of them in* [she means number of children in the class]*, that's quite a lot for a mistress* [teacher]*, to have the time to take care of each child. Even if there is an assistant, his/her role is really if there is a little damage, that kind of thing... Not in the teaching team. I don't consider her as a mistress* [teacher]*, she doesn't learn things as a child, for example autonomy* [independence]*..."* [Sherine, France]

Raissa's perception of the (poor) quality of the education, poor communication with the school, the overcrowding in her 4 years old child's class, are the decisive factors behind her feeling of dissatisfaction:

R: *Yeah but we are outraged ... well after that it's true that we were used to private school with classes of twelve fourteen students but thirty-two students is too much for children of that age … 'end already for any grade but it's just inconceivable... and so one week later and I think it is also disturbing for the kids, a week later they decided to open a new class. Very well, except that they should have thought about it earlier in fact. So, there were a lot of little things like that due to the opening, due to the poor mode of… all the unexpected things they met that*

made us not get much information. There were a lot of changes, it was a bit complicated."
[Raissa, France]

Raissa's son first went to a private Muslim school. After its unexpected closure, Raissa had to enrol her son in the local pre-school. However, the state school caused a lot of disappointment for the mother and the family. According to her, the private Muslim school embodies the religious values that she and her husband wish to transmit to their children. However, Raissa reports a difficult experience at the beginning of the school year.

> *R: So, we put him in this school, the teaching was really great, he learned a lot, a lot of things. So, it's a Muslim school but here they are very young so they're not taught religion either, so here they are told that... that God exists, that they are Muslims, they are taught some Arabic letters, French letters and so on. But here's the thing... they weren't really getting to the heart of the issue, they were only three years old so, uh... at the program level it was great, then we actually had time constraints because there was no.... no day care in the morning, no day care in the evening so it was really very, very complicated. And it really mattered, well, Fadil, he really wanted our son to be there, unfortunately the school closed."* [Raissa, France]

In addition, French mothers observed problems related to the school environment. Most mothers whose children go to the local school, have concerns about the environment around and within the school, citing problems of health, insecurity, noise, pollution, poor education of other children, and even integration. Thus the neighbourhood and environment of the school are as important for the mothers, as the teaching standards. Some parents, instead of moving homes, enrol their child in a school in a better neighbourhood, including private schools. Imane, who lives in one of the most working-class neighbourhoods in Paris, has a concern about the environment in which her children are growing up. She feels that the social contacts in her neighbourhood are not in line with her educational principles, so she enrolled her son in a private Catholic school.

> *I:<…>yes, but good. It's not that I don't trust the mistresses, the directors, the state or... no. It's the company. They are Arabs, they are Muslims, they meet here. Here the children are very supportive for the bullshit. I'm not for the private sector; here the state gives everything for children.*
>
> Interviewer: Do you think there could be bad company?
>
> *I: Yes. That's what scares me. Yes, there are many problems, people who come from the village... who don't know how to behave. All this is very important. It plays a big role in a child's personality."* [Imane, France]

The types of neighbourhood and environment of the school play an equally important role (e.g. what is commonly referred to in France as "communitarianism" and "ghettoization", i.e. a lack of social diversity whose causes have been part of urban policy since the 1970s and 1980s). But the most crucial factor is their child's well-being at school. We see that the satisfaction of one, as well as the dissatisfaction of another, is based on a search for the well-being of their child (happy child, regular and positive feedback[32] from teachers).

3.3.2 Roma mother's experiences of the education system in the Czech Republic

If interaction between schools and mothers from a low-income, non-immigrant background in England

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[32] Including informal interactions in front of the school.

and low-income immigrant background in France revolves around social and access issues, similar parent-school interactions pose additional barriers for ethnic minority groups, e.g. the Roma. For many decades the Roma children and parents have experienced both open and hidden discrimination. Roma mothers have developed biographical strategies to overcome obstacles and barriers in the interests of their own children.

Findings from the Czech Republic demonstrate the Romany mothers "coping" with education systems. Racially-based obstacles, created by the stigmatization of the Roma families in Czech Republic, result in particular types of communication between schools and families, which the Czech scholars describe as "oppressive", leading to a low level of trust of educational institutions and a negative impact on families' sense of belonging and identities. However, the parents' "coping strategies", which includes equipping their children with a set of "coping tools", are identified by the Czech researchers as only increasing their disadvantages and inequality. It stimulates reflection on the position of education assistants as well as the support process for special education needs, and what kinds of assistance mothers find useful for their family situations.

Monika is 38 years of age, and was born in Brno, where she has lived all her life. She was raised in a big family (6 children), living in a flat in socially excluded Roma populated locality. She lives with her partner and father of her 4 younger children (she has 6 children in total - daughter 4 years, daughter 6 years, daughter 8 years, daughter 9 years, son 19 years, son 20 years), but they are not married. At the moment, her partner and 5 of her children live together in a social flat, 2-bedroom apartment in the asylum facility. Before moving here, they lived in hostels or poor quality rented flats in socially excluded locality. Despite coming from a big family Monika is not in touch with her family very often and they don´t help her with raising children. After her father died, her mother moved to one of her sister´s place in hostel. Monika is now the only one from the family, who lives in "normal" flat, not hostel. Monika has completed primary school, but after that she didn´t continue her education. She doesn´t have any job and she have never worked. Monika´s main concern was housing situation (she would like to find a larger and more stable flat) and the education of her younger children. She perceives that she made educational mistakes with older sons and doesn´t want to repeat them with younger children.

Monika in her narrative demonstrates, that, despite social disadvantage, she is a competent parent, supporting her children according their competences and needs, and she also succeeded in having a functional and long-time relationship with the teacher of her children:

> M: Meda does catch up with the school well, as for a theatre, that dance, it's good, but learning is not good (smile). <…> Well, no, she neglects. She does feel like putting effort into it. Michaela is good, Michaela is normally getting excellent marks. Yeah? She is already in third grade and good. Well, and Matouš will now only go to the first class. Well, he's already able to count now so he'll be good. He counts normally. And Martina, she does not attend me the school yet, she attends this kindergarten. <…> She is sm(art) there. She excels there (accenting). Yeah, she's smart normally. The teacher said she was one of the smartest kids. That she has nothing to teach her. It is so tiny there, <…> but they actually focus on the kids more. Than in a normal kindergarten, so she already knows everything. She will come with a grade already from there (laughs).

I: And how do you get along with the teachers there?

> M: Yeah, good. And they just know me the teachers for so many years and everything that I do not have problems there. [Monika, Czech Republic]

Nevertheless, on more general level, Monika reflects on the existence of racially defined barriers in Czech schools and the discrimination and aggression:

> M: Oh, yeah, and if I put them among the white or to the school here, then the white ones would be

screaming at them "they are gypsies" and they would not want to go to the school, yeah. This is happening in schools. [Monika, Czech Republic]

M: So, I'm saying so better to get there than to the Blue one. There are both gypsies and whites, there is no difference, none. [Monika, Czech Republic]

Šárka explicitly talks about the bullying situation in her daughter's school. In this case, the situation was resolved by the school staff, but sometimes similar situations end in the school deciding for social work surveillance, as it was the case of Silvie, who had a traumatizing experience from undergoing interrogations with her children.

Š: I had to take her home, now the schoolmates saw her, so they said it to the teacher right away. So then I went, I wrote her an apology, and I tell it to the teacher, and that's just, I'll tell you, I will not lie to you, the girl has a depression that she has to go to school. Well, and she says, why and this, and then she noticed it, that she was bullied by the girl in school. <…> With a teacher yeah, she said that once it was, so she would deal with it with the director, but it was solved by that teacher, it just because, because I asked the girl and here and so and the teacher is nice at her and the assistant too, so yes. [Šárka, Czech Republic]

As already mentioned, Monika appears as a supportive parent who is well oriented in the education system. Despite the negative experiences with racial discrimination, she does not have difficulty in trusting the education facility, and she stands up only when actively asked for. In this respect, Monika´s narrative is rather exceptional, and the Czech Roma mothers we spoke with often experience stress and feelings of disorientation in the system when it comes to sending their children to education facilities.

M: So when there is some activity in the kindergarten so there, if they call me so I go.

> Interviewer: And can you influence it? That you would say I want something more done here and <…>

M: I think I can influence it but I do not influence it. I think they're looking after these kids enough. [Monika, Czech Republic]

Also Silvie refers to positive experiences with the education system. Looking closer at her narrative, the explanation lies in the education competences of her children, whether it is caused by the supportive domestic environment or cognitive and psychosocial skills of the children, it is clear that once a child meets the education standards criteria, the overall cooperation of the mother and education system become well established.

S: Everything good at the registration, they went through immediately, so I'm satisfied. <…> Well, and Samuelek is like that, yeah, he is playful, he´s not up to it yet, he's like that, now we've been postponing it, he was supposed to start first class, but (...) I knew it right now that he would not go to first class. <…> We will see in the age of seven. Perhaps it will be better then. That's what the doctor said to me too, praising me that, ehm, now, now there will be many children who did not go to school now. That they always wanted record to be excused for being sick, but were not sick. And thus asks me "and your children?" My, I say my children like to go to school, they cry for the school (laugh). [Silvie, Czech Republic]

3.3.3 Turkish mothers' experiences with the education system in Norway

Nergiz is a 48-year-old single Turkish mother in Norway. She is now living with her two sons' children and works as a nurse. The children's father lives in Turkey, but she is still in the legal process of getting divorced

and she does not want her children to be negatively affected by it. She got married and divorced after having the first child, but then got back together with her partner. However, she got divorced again and moved to Norway in 2011. She is a highly educated woman who was born and raised in a big modern city in Turkey. She feels especially lucky and grateful to be able to continue her profession in Norway. After moving to Norway, she worked hard and learned Norwegian, although she still struggles to understand different dialects. She is not a religious woman and she feels proud to be Turkish. [Nergiz, Norway]

Interviewer: 'What are your thoughts about the education system here?'

N: 'I think it is way more easier here to get an education compared to Turkey. There are a lot of opportunities. Expectations from students are not very high. They don't bore children too much, they teach the basics. It is very well. Overloading, you teach this, teach that…You know I think that we got education under difficult circumstances. I think it still is like that. I don't know, you know we used to memorize pages of things and tell them. I have never seen something like this here. To get an education here…I think the system is good. There is no need to push. People find their way. They try to group people depending on their skills as much as possible. It is very good to have the consultancy services for children who could not find their ways. They come together with you and discuss. Here is the options, they show, this or that if you don't know about them. This is also good. I find it very good.' ['Nergiz' Norway]

The advantages of education in European countries are also acknowledged by mothers, from the second generation of immigrants.

Aysel is a 37-year-old Norwegian mother of the second-generation of immigrants with two children, a son (age 7- target child) and a daughter (age 8). Aysel was born in Norway, but moved to Turkey when she was 7 and lived there until she was 13. Then between the ages of 13 and 25, she lived in Norway again, and got her education. At the age of 25 she met her husband and got married. They started living in Turkey, but she had her children in Norway. The children came to Turkey when they were little and went to school in Turkey until second (for target child) and third grade. After this time, she got divorced and she decided to move back to Norway in 2017. She believed that her children would get a better education in Norway than in Turkey; their father (ex-husband) agreed with her. Moreover, she thinks it is safer and easier to raise a child in Norway, especially in the small city they live in. She now works in a gallery and teaches courses for making ceramics:.

A:'Yes, I had education both in Turkey and in Norway, therefore it was easier for me to compare. I really wanted my kids to start school in Turkey, they were born here but started school in Turkey as I believed their Turkish level should be very good. Because, children who can speak their native tongue can learn other languages very easily and it was important for me that my children knew their mother tongue to express themselves. I like my country, it is nice to live there but the education system is not efficient and good anymore. Theory of evolution, Kemalism…they are not in the curriculum anymore. I chose here, as I did not want to raise my children in the system where these things were ignored. Because here there is a "nøytral" (neutral) system, completely focused on to be a good person, an unbiased system regardless of which ethnic background you have, a system that prepares you to life and makes you sophisticated person. I mean when you examine the alternatives, there or here, of course the system here. I mean why wouldn't I raise my kids in this system, why not as good individuals.' [Aysel, Norway]

Pam is a 30-year-old, married Turkish mother of one from Norway. Her husband is a lawyer, but he also sells houses. Pam is from a middle-sized Turkish city, located in the north. She considers herself Kurdish, but adds that she is also Norwegian. In Turkey, she completed high school, and met her husband, who is also her cousin. They were married in 2007 and moved to Norway. She was disappointed when she came to Norway, because it was so cold. She considered moving back, but now she would not want to leave Norway. She

started a Norwegian course, and completed a bachelor degree in history. In 2015, she gave birth to her daughter, and she was happy about having a child. They recently moved and she now lives in a house in a city. She mainly speaks a Kurdish, but also speaks some Norwegian and Turkish.

'If I think of my child then it is best to be here. We are grown up and she will grow up. We got what we got. She's completely fresh, right? She must grow and study. She will get a personality through society and family. I think it is very good that she will grow up in Norway. If I had a very rich family, she could have lived in Turkey and studying at fine schools. Right? Do whatever she wants but we do not have such opportunities. Here it is very stable society.' [Pam, Norway]

Narrative analyses demonstrate complex identities at the cross-cultural cross-roads, with a 'double cultural mediation' in raising the child, between the heritage culture and that of the host country. The quality of communication with the education system affects both mother and her children's integration into society.

Our analysis of the narratives from the three groups of mothers highlights the importance of primary schools in bridging cultures and building relationships between the host societies and immigrant communities, which could support the well-being and integration of both mother and child. Simultaneously, cultural, linguistic, and relational misunderstandings become obstacles that create barriers, instead of building upon positive contacts and exchanges. However the analysis of the data suggests that the European schools do not always see their role as important hubs of intercultural communication.

3.4 Identities: interwoven with sense of belonging and cultural heritage

How do people from ethnic minorities describe their ethnic origin and nationality? How do they relate their own identities to the identities of their children and their relationship with people of similar ethnic/cultural origin?

3.4.1 Identities of native-born low income mothers in England, Poland and Portugal

Mothers from low income backgrounds who live in challenging circumstances struggle with their own social and cultural identities. Here we present findings from biographies and identities of disadvantaged places and families from low income families in England, Poland and Portugal.

The English, Polish and Portuguese studies focused on native-born, low-income mothers in large cities. Some mothers especially in the Polish study have migrated to large cities from rural areas in search of better life and employment, or due to family circumstances.   The common aspect of all three studies is mothers' economic and social status in their respective societies: single parenting, dysfunctional families and their own or children's learning difficulties that affect their everyday life. The English mothers' narratives depict loneliness and desperation in dealing with challenges of bringing up their children often on their own, the economic hardship of being single mothers, but also the human resources they mobilise in support of raising their children. The mothers are aware (expect, believe) that some people look "down" on them because of their economic (e.g. being on social benefits) and family status and they voluntarily withdraw from social life, apart from communication channels related to their children. It is also clear from their narratives that being unemployed and on social benefits is not by their choice.

Anne is a 26-years-old, single mother of two children of pre-school age, England:

A: <…> But it is just so hard, it is easy, but it's hard because you want the best for your kids. And some people look down at me, 'cause I'm on benefits, they look down on ya [you], *everyone does. And it's not the case I'm doing it because I want free money, like it is 'cause I have to. It's not like … my mum*

and dad have always told me to work, they've always `Put in your brain! You should go to school get good grades, go to work. You should always work!'<…> [Anne, England]

The Polish mothers, in similar circumstances, focussed on the social support system – formal, official forms of support, as well as the informal networks.

Ewa, is 46 years of age and lives in Warsaw with her partner and two daughters, aged 18 and 11, in a council flat. Her eldest daughter, 28, lives separately. Ewa works for a printing company. Ewa's life story is "only pain":

E.: In my life there was only pain, only hatred, only distress, since childhood (pause, moment of silence). I don't know how to put it... remember being raped by my father. So these are not nice words for me. (longer moment of silence) I had little contact with my mother, so I had more contact with my mother only at the age of twenty. (moment of silence) I don't have good memories of my childhood. I had no one to ask for help. I had no one (longer silence) to turn to, no one to ask, no one to help me.

My mother did not believe me. Such a life. (Silence) [Ewa, Poland]

Franciszka is 38 and lives in Warsaw with her partner and their four children in a council flat. She is unemployed and has only primary education.

F: <…>I can't count on anybody. I have to do everything myself. I really can't count on anybody. I only have mother and sister who isn't really able to help much, she also has problems. And so I am alone. I am such that I prefer to do everything myself. I do not want to bother anyone (...) I prefer it alone. I do not like to ask for help. That is what I am already like. [Franciszka, Poland]

Despite a clear need for help English and Polish mothers chose to endure their everyday hardship on their own.

3.4.2 Identities of Roma mothers in Czech Republic

The Czech Roma mothers' stories depict complex and overlapping identities interwoven with their multiple roles. Despite some being high achievers in education and established professionals, they still experience multiple disadvantages due to their ethnicity, along with other aspects of "otherness" – regardless of their strong self-identification as being Czechs. Harassment based on skin colour, unfortunately, passes from generation to generation in Roma families. The parents are bringing up their children with a fear that once being "identified" as Roma, they will face the situations of oppression and discrimination, and share such stories, that influence the education choices for their children.

M: I heard it first time from those mothers. There's a kid here, and they're screaming at them. Gypsy <…> you belong to the gas chamber and such crap. It Is. <…> I hear from those mums who are being moved to M [district in the city] right? That's huge. It's not just in schools, it's everywhere. Yeah? This is even when I get into the tramway from school with kids and they are still yelling at you <…> yeah? Gypsy, keep your mouth shut. Children, yeah? Shouting like this... but all of them call. It's happening well. So it is. [Monika, Czech Republic]

The protective choices may then lead, especially when combined with living within an extended family, into an introvert and closed-up approach of both, parents and children.

Interviewer: So how do you get along with teachers, care givers, assistants there?

S: So with the assistants well, because I have a cousin there and she is also a Roma assistant, now, eh, she will teach primaries. Like, yes, that's good. And we also understand well with the teachers too

(...). [Silvie, Czech Republic]

The Czech Roma mother Šárka narrative demonstrates how previous experiences and thoughts intervene in choices for interaction in different situations, and how the new experiences incorporate into the existent structure of meanings and perceptions of life chances. Speaking about her son she observes:

Š: He is like that, I do not know what kind of boy he is, but I can say, "Mom, I'm not gypsy" and I say you are, "I'm not, I told the boys I'm not," he has more of these, these, because he was there in A [district in the city], there was not even one Gypsy. He was the only one in the class, he was like, so he was among the white all the time, and he does talk with those kind. He is not talking with them, he says they are evil. They are beating him all the time, he tells me that they beat him and that the white ones do not beat him. <…> I was just only one when I was the first one in the school, the only Gypsy I was there, I felt embarrassed and now I'm telling where I have put him, I say now no one will not greet me, and everyone greeted me. Well, I thought I was going to look at me like that, I was Romani that nobody would talk to us, that Šimon, Šimon wouldn't talk, but just no. They are like those moms, we might have been on the show, because Šimon is everywhere on the shows, everywhere is, in school went there and take him everywhere, they take him on the show because he is very clever, can recite, and sing and dance and they learn everything in one day, so just as we walked, they asked me, "Is he yours? Is he yours?" I say well, they don't even look like it (Roma). <…> But I say well, they liked him very much, even those moms, filming him like, and I was with them everywhere, we went everywhere well.' [Šárka, Czech Republic]

3.4.3 Identities of mothers of Turkish background in the Netherlands and Norway

Handan is a 45-year-old Dutch-Turkish mother of three children. She has a daughter (21), a son (20) and a daughter (11). Her family: parents and siblings still live in Turkey. She finished high school and wanted to continue her education and she went to open public university in Turkey. However, when she got married at 22 to a Turkish man, from the first generation of immigrants, who was living in the Netherlands and she had to quit the university to move to the Netherlands. She speaks Dutch at an intermediate level. She does not work, but she makes pastries at home and sells them. As a family they used to live in a different neighbourhood in the large city in the Netherlands for over 20 years, but they had to move to a less 'Turkish' area since the social-political changes in Turkey affected their relationships with their neighbours and they felt they were not welcome anymore The residential area where they eventually moved to is much safer, neater and much more culturally diverse compared to the old area where mainly Turkish people lived. She has good relations with her current neighbours and she is happy that her daughter can play and make friends safely in the garden inside the building. She just wants her daughter to get a good education and to have a bright future.

H: 'She likes it, sure. She gets used to it automatically. You live your own culture in a different country. For example, in Ramadan holidays, uuum, as the minority is mostly Muslim, in these last 9, 10 years you know. They actually take our Ramadan and Feast of Sacrifice into consideration when making arrangements. [......] The arrange it. On the first days of festivals, uummm, they allow one day of holiday. This is very nice. You have to tell them, they already think about it, 1 or 2 days. As we are not the same with Moroccans when it comes to these festivals, you know. Sometimes they have it one day before or after compared to us. They also consider this. <…>' [Handan, the Netherlands]

The Dutch-Turkish mothers emphasized "Turkishness" to a varying extent to describe their identity; however, those who perceived discrimination valued Turkish identity higher than those who did not. On the

other hand, second generation mothers embraced and valued their Dutch identity, as well as Turkish, regardless of their experiences of discrimination.

Handan perceives herself as both Turkish and Dutch. She especially feels Dutch when she goes to Turkey for holidays once a year. She feels "disconnected" from her roots and has become more "open" to change over the years. She is a religious woman who routinely practices Islam, but she does not raise her children with strict rules, instead she teaches and talks about Dutch culture and religions practiced here. She is confused about one incident regarding the unfair treatment they got when she was trying to enrol her older daughter to a certain school in the past. There, she comments about feelings of regret and sadness, wishing that she could speak better Dutch.

> 'H': *I know that I am Turkish. I am aware that I live in the Netherlands. We live our culture respecting the culture here…Well, we can say both Turkish and Dutch. It is enough to go just once to Turkey for holiday. You understand that you don't have much in common anymore. You cannot even talk the same topics with them…..Sometimes it is a bit sad. But I don't know…I don't complain about it…"*

> 'H'.: *'We cooked lahmacun (a Turkish food, also known as Turkish pizza) with children. They added my daughter to this group. […] Mothers and daughters came and we did a workshop together. They loved it, we took photos. They ate what they made. It was an interesting experience. Well, if I could speak Dutch a little bit more…''*

One of the main issues for mother like Handa' is to continuously improve her language skills and to understanding of the local rules regarding education of her children:

> 'H':*"Very minimal (talks about discrimination). I did not experience something serious personally. Only thing is, my daughter's enrolment. Hmm (thinks a while) yes I remember… We did not know what to do. My daughter has a right to go the X school, she had enough points. First they accepted her but then suddenly they transferred her to another school in 2 days.[…] You know…your child gets enough credits and deserves to go to a certain school, normally it should not matter Turkish, Dutch or etc… I feel like I could not deal with the situation well enough because I don't' speak good Dutch"* [Handan, The Netherlands]

Burcu is a Norwegian-Turkish mother in her 30s, and is a married mother of a 3-year-old. She was born in a large city in Norway, to parents of Kurdish origin from Turkey. Her father came for work in the 1970s and her mother followed in the 1980s. She grew up in a relatively homogenous neighbourhood with mostly ethnic Norwegian children, and she felt different because she did not look like the others. Burcu holds a university degree, and has been working as a human relations (HR) advisor for the last 8 years. She lives in a flat in Oslo with her husband, who is not of Turkish origin, and her daughter. Her child attends kindergarten. Her husband's family and some of her family lives nearby.

> B: *'Yeah, that's a little different thing, but, oh, a very typical episode that went back was eating pork versus not eating pork. It was such a thing that had to be explained all the time, ehm, by us to the other kids and to teachers. And when I think about it afterwards, the teachers could actually be a little better at telling about such things, so that it was not (....) when there were common dinners at different events (....) like that we not only sat there and had to eat bread slices with jam. It was like, (....) they were aware that we could not eat for example sausage with lump, then, but it was not chicken sausages and that at that time. It's been so long ago, but they could have had some alternative arrangements for us, which one often has for vegetarians and so on today. Ehm, so it (....) and it went again (...) it happened just like every year on different occasions, and when you're a kid you don't really want to stand out. You just want to be like everyone else, ehm, because you think that's what it takes for people to accept you, uh, so it was such a constant reminder of it. In addition, our name, both mine and my sibling's name, was a little difficult.'* ['Burcu' Norway]

Berna is a Dutch mother of Turkish origin, who was born in the Netherlands. She is 39, married, and has three children (including a child from a former marriage). Her native languages are Dutch and Turkish. During the interview, she used a lot of Dutch words while speaking Turkish. She follows her religious routines pedantically and is raising her children in the same way. Her children attend Islamic schools (with Dutch as a language of instruction) with the idea that "they will not grow up in contradictions." She identifies herself as having both Dutch and Turkish identity. She has very strong feelings towards Turkey and being Turkish, but she feels just the same for the Netherlands. She wishes that she does not have to "choose" one day. She remembered when she first experienced discrimination when she was younger and for a second time recently (because of wearing a head scarf):

> 'B': I was born in the Netherlands… I love it here. I mean I love Turkey but I also love the Netherlands. Speaking Dutch in Turkey and speaking Turkish in here is nice. […] I feel both. I have a Turkish side, sometimes too much. But it is just the same for the Netherlands. I hope someday they don't make me to choose.''

> "….hmm yeah sometimes it happens. I find it very bad (talks about discrimination). So, no matter how much you feel you belong here, some of the Dutch people see you as a foreigner."

> "I experienced it personally and there is also a general situation sometimes. I went to Z (a park) to relax. In that area there are mostly Dutch people residing. When I was there, I felt everybody was looking at me. I was there to relax! In half an hour I said let's go. It supposed to be for relaxing but when everybody looks at you… I dropped it and went home (smiles sadly)".

> "Only, there was an old lady… I thought it was because of her age. She said "go to your country" when she passed me by. I was around 18 that time. I immediately turned and replied in Dutch. She was surprised! May be she thought I was like my mother. She seemed afraid. I did not mean to scare her. I said "we cleaned your dirt, we are not going anywhere!" May be I talked a bit harshly I don't know, but she was in a state of shock. I understood from her manners that she did not expect me to reply" [Berna, the Netherlands]

Most of the mothers that we interviewed are in a constant negotiation between their dual identities: national identity-immigrant background identities (e.g. Dutch-Turkish, Dutch-Moroccan, and German-Turkish; French-Moroccan, French-Algerian, Italian-Moroccan) or composite identities: national identity-local identification (e.g. British/English-local). Their environment and the language they speak in public and private places largely determine their identities and a sense of belonging. The mothers' self-identification depends on the context in which they meet people of the host culture or people of the same ethnic origin. For example, when mothers speak the language appropriate to the context (in public or private spheres they feel themselves) either Dutch or Turkish. However, there is also evidence of strong regional identities, when mothers express "belonging to local areas ", rather than to a nation (e.g. Londoner, Kurdish, etc.)

However, the main places that differentiate sense of ethnic identities are:

- Home environment
- Mosque/church
- Islamic schools
- Citizenship (when residence in the host country also gives right to apply for citizenship, to become a citizen)

The living environment (neighbourhood) determines what identities and nationalities mothers associate (or identify) with: whether they live in ethnically and culturally mixed or homogeneous neighbourhoods.

3.5 Choices for mothers and the future of their children

Most of the mothers who we interviewed in the qualitative study, acknowledged that raising children is their prime responsibility. Among those who are also involved in parenting activities are fathers and partners, extended families, especially in Roma communities, as often members of the extended families live in close proximity. However, even for Roma families, extended families support to mothers has been undergoing constant changes:

Czech Roma mother, Monika, is one of those rather isolated parents. Also she and her partner rely on their own resources in bringing up their children, they also after school activities run in their area. They are well aware that such programmes not only contribute to their children development, but prevent their children of potentially problematic and dangerous anti-social behaviour:

> *M: We do not have it, we actually raise children ourselves, the family does not help. Neither his nor mine… But this one helps us. Foreign person. <…> They go me to the activities, they go everywhere just like a normal kid, well. They do not wonder outdoors, do not have buddies around themselves. And it's better. <…> Meda, well. They are going to dance ... the boy is going to football ... so far to small club, but I want him to continue in football. <…> She dances, and she played in a small theatre here in [the neighbourhood]. Well there they picked her up, there came the group, some of Janacek's theatre, the better ones, and they were choosing the kids, okay. <…> they have chosen, well a talent. So they chose Meda, so that once year, annually she plays in this Janacek. (with a smile)And I hope she'll stay with it, well, she enjoys it, well. <…> Then when there is a tutorial club in school, I sign them in. There they are, they have entire day occupied, until six hours or so. <…> Well, at school, and then from school I bring them there. So until six hours, they have things to do, (laugh) that they are not bored, they're not tired yet.* [Monika, Czech Republic]

The financial affordability of such services is a big issue, and Czech Roma mothers speak of the necessity of choosing either free, or only a few, after school activities. Czech Roma mother, Silvie, describes how irreplaceable the services of local rectory community centre are for her family, because she is sure it will be free of charge, and she can accomplish her standards of school child care.

> *S: Well, well, well. And I can knock (knocking) they are also good, if it was possible, I would not take him away from there, (vigorously). Completely satisfied with them I am, also when I need a tutor now, everything is expensive. Well, and we have five kids, so we cannot afford it, so, from the rectory, they'll come, help, they'll help the daughter for example with maths or something. They are good for that.* [Silvie, Czech Republic]

Accessibility appears to be crucial for the families living in the remote socially disadvantaged areas, as shows further narrative of Silvie:

> *S: It was such <…> so that is why I would not even be able to go away and put her to put her in other schools. I have it right here that I'm around the corner of the school so I catch up everything on time.* [Silvie, Czech Republic]

The feeling of comfort in the neighbourhood may influence the educational choices of mothers later in the lifetime of the family with pre-school/school children, and they may choose not to change anything if it works, not really wondering about the quality of the school as such.

> *Š: I do not want to give them somewhere [else] when they're used to buddies already and this one.* [Šárka, Czech Republic]

Monika is 38 years old and was born in Brno, and her circumstances were described earlier. Monika's main concern was housing situation (she would like to find a larger and more stable flat) and education of

her younger children.

> M: 'We do not have it, we actually raise children ourselves, the family does not help. Neither his nor mine… But this one helps us, foreign person.' [Monika, Czech Republic]

Zuzana is 24 years old; she has two children (6, 2). She lives with her children together with her mother and her boyfriend and her siblings in a rented flat. Zuzana comes from a mixed family (her mother is a Roma, her father is a Czech). She has never worked; she is currently on maternity leave and on welfare benefits. Her son, Zoltan, is going to repeat the first grade of primary school (because of the amount of missed lessons), Zuzana cares very much about his education and she regularly keeps in touch with his school and assesses it positively. She thinks the care for her son, who has diagnosed ADHD syndrome, is very demanding, so she doesn't have any time for herself. She gets some support from her family; her current partner's help is insignificant. For her future, she is planning to baptise her children, get independent, live with her partner, and she wants to find a job. She is a very communicative and energetic woman, who impresses as a woman with the potential to live a completely different life under different circumstances.

> Z: 'I *do not have such problems to look for or to have it that I do not have such anxiety to look for such people. A family sermon* [prayer] *is enough for me…'* [Zuzana, Czech Republic]

The Greek Romany mothers

Anastasia is a 20-year-old Greek Roma mother described earlier who got married at the age of 13 and had her first child at the age of 14.   She had only completed the first grade of secondary school. She now lives in a small house with her husband and the children. Her husband's family lives nearby. It was not clear whether she or her husband had any jobs, but the extended family is supportive with finance.

> Interviewer: 'How do you feel when you ask for help for your children's upbringing or health or education?'

> A: 'How do I feel? (…) At the beginning I felt a little bad, I say why to ask from the people but now ok they are mother-in-law, grandfather you don't feel bad, because they are their children they are their grandchildren.'

> Interviewer: 'At first why did you feel bad?'

> A: 'Because I was saying how many would those people give, don't you want as well your husband to do work, to have your own money? This.'

> Interviewer: 'Would you say you had a kind of remorse say?'

> A: 'No remorse, (laughter) okay.' [Anastasia, Greece]

Didem is a Dutch-Turkish mother (30) and was born in the South of the Netherlands, but moved to the north of the country when she got married. She is married to a second-generation Turkish man, and lives in a nice spacious house in a multi-cultural working class neighbourhood. When she just moved to the new place, she was still working, so she didn't pay attention to the neighbourhood for a while, but when she got children and became a housewife, she felt the neighbourhood was 'not nice' and very different from where she grew up. Many of her family still live in another province, but she has good contact with her in-laws. She has three children, two girls (5 and 6) and a 2-year-old boy. She studied social-legal assistance, but is, since the birth of her children, a housewife. Her children go to the Islamic school, and she became involved in the children's learning and development, both at the school and at home. Her children are raised bilingual. She is constantly negotiating a balance between her Turkish identity and her Dutch identity, but values both nationalities.

> D: 'My children go to an Islamic school, that was our conscious decision. Because I think it is important

that they…how do you call that, that the important lines or the foundation that they received from home, that this matches the school.' [Didem, the Netherlands]

Mothers from all disadvantaged backgrounds groups are reluctant in asking for support. However there is difference between asking for financial or educational support. Greek Roma mother, Anna, prefers to deal with her family matters: "*You deal with it by yourself. At least deal with it by myself*":

Interviewer: 'Hm. How do you try to handle all this? How;'

A: 'Not with yoga! (laughter) Look when you relax and the problems pass (...) I sit down say and I think, me personally ok, ok ok we have a problem let him be healthy, because right now I'm in this process, let him be healthy, anything I can give them I will give it to them (...) and from then on let them become good people. That is, we will not get crazy. You deal with it by yourself. At least deal with it by myself. Well, I can talk to my brother, get some advice, he will help me, he will talk a little with the kids, the situation will get a little better. Ok. Maybe I think I'm very stressful. And a little exaggerated I do not want to leave things to their fate.' [Anna, Greece]

Interviewer: 'How do you feel about asking for help for something?'

A: 'For the financial?'

Interviewer: 'For anything, for education again, for your child's health.'

A: 'For education and health I have no problem. If I need help, I will ask for it. For the financial I cannot ask for help. I feel really bad. I feel very bad; it doesn't (...) come out of me. Regarding support or the child, or education if I need something to do is what I told you before about the sociability that gives you (...) a kind of audacity in (...) a light degree, that is, I will not be ashamed to knock on the teacher's door and tell him 'you know what, I want you to push a little my child', or I will not be embarrassed on the idea of audacity to talk to find a job. Ahm (...) I don't have sticky points on such a thing. On the subject of financial of asking for help, I consider it as humiliating, you understand with what meaning and not, I avoid it. To relatives I have also asked for help and to friends financially. Outside I haven't (...) done it yet. Still!' [Anna, Greece]

Greek Roma mothers, Eleni and Paraskevi, feel uncomfortable to ask for help:

I: 'How do you feel when you ask for help (...)?'

E: 'Bad. Bad. Because I am sad. We have not learned namely to he(....) get help. We are trained elsewhere. That is, differently. Until now we did not have any problems. Later [came] some problems and all these are done. They stole the car, [...] the house. Before we had no need. After the problems we had a lot of needs.' [Eleni, Greece]

P: 'Okay, you do not feel in the best way, but when you cannot (...) you'll be forced to do it.' [Paraskevi, Greece]

Olympia is a 30-year-old Greek Romany mother. She didn't go to school and she is illiterate. Olympia has five children.. She had her first child when she was 13 years old. This child was raised by her mother-in-law because she was very young and she didn't have the knowledge and the experience of raising a child. Her first son stopped school at the age of 14. Her second son stopped school when he was 13 years old and her third son stopped when he was in the first grade of secondary school because he got engaged. Her daughter goes to school now and her youngest son went for two months in kindergarten but then he stopped. Today, Olympia lives with her family next door to her parents-in-law but not at the same house. They have serious financial problems because she and her husband are both unemployed and he is a peddler collecting iron. Their house is made out of tin and because it is not a building with an address it is not possible to get social

benefits. Olympia wants her children to go to school and she scolds them when they don't go.

> Interviewer: 'How easy was it to get the help you asked, by friends or relatives or by school, or service, if needed?'

> O: *'Not by friends, neither by my brother.'*

> Interviewer: 'You haven't asked or not (…)'

> O: *'I cannot, I cannot, I am ashamed, I can't get from my brother, now, you know what, I have no money to get this thing, I can't [...] okay. Because they see us, that is, he sees if not, for example, he sees how my children are crying, he says "Mom, to eat", he (the brother) will hear it because he is close. Okay and then he says "ah don't you have any money?", he says "take these to shop to go and have the children eat". For this…<…>'* [Olympia, Greece]

Paula is a Portuguese mother of Romany origin. She is 28 years of age and is the mother of five children: the target child, a 5-year-old boy, a 13-year-old boy, and three girls aged 7, 8, and 14 years old. Paula lives with her children and her partner, the father of her children. The couple are married by Roma law. Paula's childhood was marked by her mother's imprisonment and father's death, so she was raised by her aunt and uncle in another area of the city. She never attended school regularly and only went to school two or three times during 1st grade (ISCED-A 030), because her uncle did not allow it, because she was a girl. She was forced to marry an older Roma man, due to her uncle's imposition, when she was 12 years old. She suffered from domestic violence both in her aunt and uncle's house and then in her first marriage. She tried to commit suicide in 2002, when she was just 12 years old. After running away from her husband to her uncle and aunt's house, her mother came home from prison (and became an important part of her life) and then she started living with her current partner, in the same neighbourhood where they live since 2003. Until 2017, they lived in a two bedroom flat and currently they live in a council housing flat with four bedrooms, in the same neighbourhood. Paula is a housewife, but she is attending a weekly basic literacy skills course to learn how to read and write and she is also searching for her first job. Apart from Portuguese, she speaks Romanon/Calon mostly with her extended family. The most important people for Paula and her family were her mother and father before they died. She has a positive and happy life nowadays and mentions with pride that she belongs to the Roma community but she also reveals suffering from prejudice and recalls with sorrow her forced marriage and low education level.

> P:*'With my mother I am comfortable with my mother. Now with the others it is more difficult. Because many are, they say yes and in the end nobody takes care …'* [Paula, Portugal]

Sara (aged 36) is a Portuguese Romany mother who lives with her partner, their children, and her father- and mother-in-law, in a council flat. The children in the family are a 16-year-old boy and an 8-year-old girl (target child). The couple are married by Roma law, and they both come from Portuguese Roma families. She moved with her husband to the municipality where he grew up and they still currently live there, having moved after getting married, when she was 18. She returned to the place where she grew up for 2 months in 2017 in order to take care of her ill father (who died in 2018). Regarding her education and professional life, Sara dropped out of school after she completed 4th grade. When she was 19 years old she started selling clothes in a market and in 2004 started receiving social insertion income (RSI). She completed 6th grade (ISCED-A 100) through a vocational education course, when she was 27 years old and after that she had multiple jobs. Currently she is unemployed, but actively looking for a job. The most important people for 'Sara' and her family were her parents and her grandparents, and 2 friends. She hopes that her daughter may have free choices when she grows up and the willingness to eradicate discrimination within the Roma culture (against "homosexuality" for example) and also between the different – Roma and non-Roma - cultures (lack of job opportunities and house rental). Sara mentioned that she feels like she belongs to the neighbourhood where she was born and grew up.

S: *'I at this moment I am at a stage, ehh it's like that, when we're 20, our, our, our idea of life is different, but then with thirty ...'* [Sara, Portugal]

S:*'Things change a lot and at this moment I am more, I am more inclined, just me and my children, [unintelligible]'* [Sara, Portugal]

S:*'Each one, yes, has its problems and ehh nowadays it is more to live to, to live for ourselves and for the ones, for those that are closer, that is our children, than to be, than for me to ask an opinion to someone, because sincerely I'm already 36 years old, I think that I already, I have lived a lot and I have learned a lot and I do not have to ask others for opinions about what I should or should not do...'* [Sara, Portugal']

Lúcia (20 years old) is a housewife, who lives with her husband (Roma marriage), their 3-year-old daughter (target child), and her husband's parents, three brothers (one of them is only 2 years old and she is helping her mother-in-law raise him), and two sisters. She moved into her husband's family house, a council flat, 4 years ago, after getting married. Lúcia comes from a Roma family, which has a Spanish origin but almost all were born in Portugal. Some of her family members live in Spain and she identifies herself as Portuguese and Spanish and she was not so proud of her ethnicity until she got married. She was raised by her grandmother (her father's mother), after her parents abandoned her at birth, with the help of one aunt and one cousin. While she grew up, 'Lúcia' lived in different areas of different municipalities, in different houses, shack houses, and even in a van. Her grandmother lived a nomad lifestyle, moving from place to place, so she was used to attending different schools during a school year. She also lived for one year in Spain, but she could not adapt to the language and school (even now she speaks little Spanish). Regarding her education, Lúcia completed 5th grade (ISCED-A 100) and then dropped out. She was bullied at school, for her ethnicity and for having been abandoned by her parents at birth, being an orphan. After getting married at 16, she attended a professional course (pastry and bakery course) for equivalence of 9th grade but she dropped out 3 months later due to her pregnancy. She also attended a 4-month course for Roma women, after her daughter was born, and she wishes to attend a professional course soon. Although she grew up without a parental figure, she sees her mother-in-law as an important support figure, who taught her practical competences at home and parental skills. The most important people for 'Lúcia' and her family are her husband's parents and younger brother, her grandmother, aunt and cousin, her friend (and her child's godmother), and five professionals (from a child/youth activity centre) that support her family. Regarding her daughter's education, she wants to register her child in preschool during the current year, having her mother-in-law's support, regardless of the father's negative opinion about it.

<...> The [religious] *sisters are important to us. They help us a lot (...) The sisters [space / activity center for children and young people run by sisters / nuns] is also good … She thinks the sisters is school. This is important to her .* [Lúcia, Portugal]

Maria (27 years old) is a housewife who lives with her partner and their two daughters, of 5 and 2 years old. The couple married when she was 20 years old, according to Roma law (Roma marriage) although they are not legally married. After getting married, the couple lived in her mother-in-law's house and, only before having the second child, did the family move to their current council apartment. Maria was born in a Roma family and has always lived in the same neighbourhood. Although she has some family from her mother's side in another neighbourhood, Maria feels like she belongs to the place where she lives and her father's family lives there too. She grew up with her parents, three sisters, and one brother. Maria completed the 1st grade of school (ISCED-A 030) and dropped out during 2nd grade. Currently, Maria and her family have an important relationship with her parents, siblings, and with her four aunts and two uncles from her mother's side of the family (one of her aunts has already died). She also mentioned her mother-in-law when talking about the most important people for her and her family. Maria revealed that she is not comfortable in letting her daughters attend school after primary education, although she respects other ideas about girls'

education. Her older daughter does not attend preschool regularly. She would not mind if her daughters completed a higher educational level if they were home-schooled. Maria talked with pride about her faith and culture and mentioned discrimination against the Roma in Portugal.

> M: <…> *I feel safe, because they are people I trust, and even in the health center, look, uh ..., for example, her nurse<…>* [Maria, Portugal']

4. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

This report covers analyses of part of the qualitative data that was collected in the WP2 qualitative study. Some qualitative data was also analysed using mixed methods, which are not included in this part of the report, and there are further reports using data from the WP2 qualitative study in other sections of the WP2.5 report. Note that transcripts were translated word for word to reflect the nature respondents' oral language, and all names are fictitious to maintain anonymity.

Purposive sampling of mothers for the qualitative study created data that enabled us to have an in-depth view on the nature of poverty, inequalities and reflections on being disadvantaged. However, the small sample size requires cautious generalisation regarding financial disadvantages, single motherhood, immigrant or ethnic minority status. The analysis demonstrates the dangers of stereotypes in describing "disadvantaged" mothers and families (e.g. perception of people who are too lazy to work so just receive their benefits and are called 'spongers', or similar). Homeless and lonely mothers with young children are quite common among those who are disadvantaged, but as our analysis shows there is much wider variety of circumstances that make mothers feeling disadvantaged: there is a lack of family support – family and friends not taking them into their home to help them; poor and unsafe neighbourhoods, children's learning or behavioural disorders; mothers' or family members' disability or illness; bullying at schools, etc. However, all these factors vary from family to family.

We can summarise the findings from the analysis of the qualitative data briefly as follows:
- Raising children in disadvantaged families is still primarily the mother's duty
- Material deprivation is still a core characteristic of being disadvantaged. Hence poverty, lack of material goods, creates exclusion for families with young children
- Families who are reliant upon benefits to survive and bring up their children are subject to ridicule and discrimination
- There is also the phenomenon of the "benefits" trap, whereby parents may not find it economically worthwhile to seek employment and hence this affects not only employment but also integration into the host society.
- Disadvantaged mothers find that communication with schools can be difficult. Their stories indicate that face-to-face communication with teachers is the most effective for their communication with schools.
- Spatial segregation between neighbourhoods results in segregation of children within school system, which in turn creates social exclusion.
- In tandem with segregation, perceived quality differences between educational institutions have to be recognized. These quality differences between schools appear to be linked to types of neighbourhood and schools that are located in residential areas where families of certain social class and ethno-cultural background reside.
- Governmental support helps to decrease educational inequalities but it does not eliminate them completely. Housing policies create "cul-de-sac" types of neighbourhoods and, as a consequence, increase social exclusion and segregation. Spatial segregation is much worse in the case of Roma families

- Primary schools are important in bridging cultures and building relationships between the host societies and immigrant communities, and this supports the well-being and integration of both mother and child.
- Simultaneously, cultural, linguistic, and relational misunderstandings become obstacles that create barriers, instead of building upon positive contacts and exchanges. However, the analysis of the data suggests that European schools do not yet see their role as important hubs of intercultural communication.

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2.2. NEGOTIATING GENDER AND PARENT IDENTITIES: THE EXPERIENCE OF MOROCCAN MIGRANT WOMEN IN ITALY

Alessandra Mussi and Giulia Pastori

INTRODUCTION

In this paper, focus will be assigned to the experiences of Moroccan mothers migrated to Milan or Turin in relation to their identity as women and as mothers, with the aim of deconstructing mainstream gender categories revolving around Arab women and common representations about parenthood and parenting support programs. Migrant mothers from North Africa and the Middle East often suffer from low levels of access to care and assistance services instead of effective support programmes (Abu-Ras, 2003; Ali & Burchett, 2004; Aswad & Bilgé, 1996). The goal here is to enrich knowledge on parenting in Moroccan migrant women, resources available to them, and skills from a culturally specific prospective.

Data for the current paper comes from an in-depth interview study (Nurse & Melhuish, 2018) with parents with a disadvantaged background in ten European countries, and was designed within the framework of the EU funded Inclusive Education and Social Support to Tackle Inequalities in Society (ISOTIS) project (www.isotis.org). ISOTIS aims to examine family resources, experiences and perspectives of a number of significant disadvantaged groups in Europe, including immigrants from Morocco.

In this perspective, the paper can contribute to an informed and constructive public discourse and policy making on inequalities in relation to this specific target group and to a wider implementation of effective programs for mothers and families starting from the resources and skills available to them.

METHODS AND METHODOLOGY

Data have been collected using the method of in-depth narrative interviews. The methodology was developed by Dr. Lyudmila Nurse, University of Oxford (Nurse & Melhuish, 2018). The interview consisted of an initial biographical narrative section and a semi-structured one. It was designed in order to firstly encourage the interviewee to feel comfortable and open up and then to go deeply inside specific topics of interest if not touched during the first phase.The informants for the qualitative in-depth interviews were selected from the respondents in a quantitative survey, which preceded the qualitative study (Broekhuizen, Ereky-Stevens, Wolf, & Moser, 2018). Selection of the informants (mothers) of children by two target groups of children (3-6 years old[33]) and (7-11/12 years old[34]) from two identified sites in each country.

Each interview was audio-recorded, transcribed and anonymized. All the collected data were coded through the use of a software for CAQDAS (computer assisted qualitative data analysis) (Adair & Pastori, 2011; Charmaz, 2006; Saldaña, 2009). In Italy the in-depth interviews were conducted with mothers migrated from Morocco to two Italian cities: Milan and Turin.

Our interest was directed to life experiences and meanings, so we decided to apply a phenomenological-interpretative analytical approach (Smith, Flowers, & Larkin, 2009), particularly useful in creating thick descriptions (Geertz, 1973). We also aimed to focus on socio-cultural dimensions, so in our analysis we referred to the ethnosociological model proposed by Bertaux (Bertaux, 1997). The discussion will be based in particular on two cases from the women that were interviewed[35].

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[33] Mothers of 6 year-old children were included when they were not yet in primary education.
[34] Mothers were selected only if their children were in primary education.
[35] One was interviewed by Alessandra Mussi, the other one by Irene Capelli.

DO MOROCCAN WOMEN REALLY NEED SAVING?

The Western gaze has always been posed on the women of North Africa and the Middle East, spoiled by prejudices and stereotypes which have portrayed them as segregated and irremediably subjected to the power of men. Gender issues related to Arab countries have long been influenced by an Orientalist imaginary that has reduced the female world to the harem space, interpreted as a space of absolute segregation of women (Abu-Lughod, 1989; Said, 1978).

These representations have led the Arab woman issue to become «an increasingly politicized domain of discourse» (Joseph, 1986, p. 501), too often used as an instrument to pursue other goals. Thus, across the board discourses arose - and continue to arise today - invoking the "liberation of Arab women", a sort of tje «mission or stratagem» (Hoffman-ladd, 1987, p. 23), through which first colonialism and then Western imperialism were legitimized (Ahmed, 1992).

In the article Do Muslim Women Really Need Saving?, written by Abu-Lughod, the author underlined how the renewed media and institutional interest for the condition of Muslim women following the events of September 11th, 2001, was in fact due to the strategic attempt to draw attention to this issue in order to prevent, on the contrary, more detailed investigations on the causes of the discomfort within these regions, on the development of repressive regimes, and on the role played by the United States and the West (Abu-Lughod, 2002).

At the same time, the accusal of the "oppression" of women by mass media (and sometimes even by scholars) in the West ends up justifying, or even fomenting hostility towards them (Ahmed, 1992), not only by endorsing the prejudices surrounding Arab women, but also accentuating the forms of control exercised on them in the name of a defence of "authentic values" threatened by the all-encompassing pervasiveness of Western models.

The starting point for a rethink of these topics should be a recognition of the historical and cultural specificities (Abu-Lughod, 1989). From there one can proceed by denying the possibility of talking about woman tout court as well as of a Muslim woman tout court (Pepicelli, 2010). The same key concepts of feminist treatment require a revision that allows one to overcome an ethnocentric view based on dichotomies that, within this context, could reveal themselves to be inappropriate and limiting, such as: docility versus action, compliance versus resistance, public sphere versus domestic sphere.

The women issue within Arab countries initially fostered together with nationalistic aspirations. Two currents spread in parallel: on one hand one current was advocating Western-style feminism, embraced by those belonging to the upper classes and recognized by the West; on the other an alternative current, inconspicuous and more widespread, was suspicious about the unconditional adoption of Western customs. They tried to affirm a specific female subjectivity within a general social, cultural and religious renewal, considered as a regenerative process for the whole society, and not just for women (Ahmed, 1992). Since the 1960s, the Islamic revival movement has spread where women have sought an alternative, particular way of being women, mediating between tradition and modernity.

Even as of now Arab women continue to negotiate between modernity and tradition, seeking their own cultural and gender identity. Gender identity is closely involved in forming cultural identity and the experience of being included or excluded, so the processes involved in building identities, negotiating tradition and modernity, old and new belongings are crucial for intercultural education (Moser, Broekhuizen, Leseman, & Melhuish, 2017, p. 23).

These topics will be investigated through the analysis of the two selected life-stories. Firstly, some biographical aspects will be depicted in order to better contextualize the two women's experiences. Secondly, the life-stories will be explored more in details in order to highlight the processes connected with gender identity.

TWO LIFE-STORIES IN BETWEEN MOROCCO AND ITALY

Simona was born in Casablanca, the largest Moroccan city, but her childhood was dramatically cut off by the sudden death of a brother. The family decided to move to a new city, Rabat, but starting again proved difficult because of economic difficulties that drive Simona to leave the school, enrol in a tailor's training and find work. Thanks to the new job, she managed to maintain herself, keeping her independence while helping her parents. A friend's brother, who had already emigrated to Italy, asked her hand in marriage. After a year of engagement, they married and Simona went to join him in Italy, with a tourist visa. The "Italian impact" is hard, with little help coming from her husband and her extended stay meaning Simona is without a valid visa. After the birth of her first daughter and four years in Italy, she managed, through an Italian amnesty law, to obtain a residence permit. Her husband currently works on and off as a fruit vendor in the local markets while Simona tries find a few hours of work as a cleaning lady. All this while she takes care of her three children: two females aged 12 and 8 and a boy of 4.

Born in a Moroccan rural village, Miriam's family insisted that she ought to complete her studies. In order to attend university, Miriam embarked on the first of a long series of trips, moving to Marrakech. After graduating in economics, finding a job turned out to be complicated and eventually she headed back home. The next trip was to Saudi Arabia as a cleaning lady. Another return home, another departure to Saudi Arabia, before again returning and, finally, migration to Turin, Italy. Miriam boasts a very strong social network, made up not just of family members but also neighbours, who constitute a sort of extended family that support and provide help when needed. Even in Turin she quickly established a support network: a sister and a friend, with whom she went to live. Despite arriving with just a tourist visa, she soon succeeded in taking advantage of another amnesty law, through which she managed to obtain a residence permit. In the same summer she went back to Morocco on holiday, but with her parents worried about her, her mother persuaded her to get married. Miriam left to Italy with the idea of working, stabilizing herself, finding a house and getting the reunification for her husband. Upon his arrival, she is the person who took care of him: she enrolled him in an Italian course and vocational training until he is able to find a job. And today her husband does work, while Miriam performs odd jobs as a cleaning lady while taking care of her children: a 12-years-old male and a 7-years-old female.

NEGOTIATING BETWEEN MODERNITY AND TRADITION

Simona and Miriam are two women who appear, in their own way, modern: Simona, having moved from Casablanca to Rabat, throws herself headfirst into work, becoming responsible for her own family of origin and financially supporting it. She is «like a man»: independent and autonomous, taking care of every aspect, but at the same time she finds a cultural justification: taking care of her parents is part – as she explains to me - of the Moroccan culture. Miriam, in turn, studies and leaves her house and hometown numerous times: first moving to Marrakech for university, then migrating for work reasons to Saudi Arabia and, finally, the move to Italy.

Both, at some point in their existential journey, have to deal with their own modernity: being a working woman on one side and a migrant woman on the other. For both the solution is by the way of marriage as a way of negotiating between modernity and tradition; work and family; migration and reunification. Simona agrees to marry her future husband by making a thoughtful assessment: a man older than her, already emigrated to Italy, appears to offer a greater possibility of maintaining her independence while ensuring she re-enters the traditional canons of married women. Miriam faced an aut aut imposed by her mother. Her parents, worried about her life as a single woman in Italy, persuaded her to marry. Also for Miriam, marriage is seen as the protection through which she can continue her life path and her own migratory project, marked by an inverse orientation if compared with that of many other Moroccan women: it is Miriam who moves first and then asks for family reunification for her husband.

If for Miriam the marriage legitimizes her autonomy, she can go to Turin protected by the culturally reassuring marriage bond, Simona will see her aspirations flouted. Once in Italy, she found herself alone, stuck at home, with a husband unable to help her during a difficult phase of entry into a new reality.

Here we witness the emergence of how migration is a decisive event in the life paths of the people who experience it, giving rise to personal and social change even with diametrically opposed outcomes. For Miriam, migration enshrines, even if in a culturally acceptable and not excessively subversive framework, a reversal of gender roles between wife and husband, with the wife bread-winner, who moves first, works, finds a house on one side and the husband reunified from the other (Menjívar, Carling, & Schmalzbauer, 2003):

> --M-- I got married [in Morocco] and I came back [to Italy]... A friend called me, a friend of ours who found me a job, she told me: "Listen, you can come to work, there's a workplace" and I came. Eh. Then I worked, I found the house, I did the reunification for my husband. And that's all. The story of the husband (laughing) is over!

The change that Simona experienced is a kind of involution compared to the conditions in which she lived previously in Morocco: from a worker she becomes a housewife, from a person able to maintain herself economically she becomes economically dependent on her husband, from an independent, strong, active woman, proud of her independence, she turns into a someone dependent and passive when evaluating the impact with Italy:

> --S-- I arrived in 2004…2004. When I arrived… the first two months, I didn't like it. (…) Because one that has always been working… I had always worked, I had always done things... and I said to myself: "I'm far from my parents... I feel... I feel alone". […] He [the husband] goes to work, I stay at home to do nothing. Even if someone knocks the door, I don't... I'm scared to open it, I don't know anything, I don't know what to say when I speak with him or her. I speak French but, when I speak with the neighbour in French, she doesn't understand anything. […] I don't know anything about these documents [to make her get the residence permit], I don't know these things, I don't know, he [the husband] needs to do the documents. I don't know anything. He didn't do the documents when I arrived, he didn't explain or arrange anything or say me: "Go to school", or "Go somewhere"... I didn't do anything, I was cooking and so on and stop.

Here it emerges that it is misleading to superimpose the binomial of tradition and modernity with the experience of the country of origin and that of the country of arrival for migrant women. As noted by Pessar (1984), there is not always a positive connection between migration and more egalitarian gender relations, which in cases like the one described, can even take a turn for the worse.

Something changes in Simona's life in Italy when she discovers she is pregnant. It is a critically existential moment: it initially terrifies her, making her wish she could go back to Morocco, but it then becomes a springboard from which to react, roll up her sleeves and reactivate her own agency for the sake of her children:

> --S-- I went to the hospital, did the visit and they told me: "You are pregnant". I… like a slap, I don't know how to take it. And my husband, also he was scared: "I don't know – he told me - I don't know, I didn't prepare the documents for you, no, I don't know". And I said: "What don't you know? So I want to go back to Morocco! I go back in this way even if pregnant, and I do it there" Etcetera… I stayed… Once I went to San Paolo Hospital. In San Paolo there is a small centre for foreigners. If they don't know the language, there is a lady, she speaks Arabic, she speaks Italian, she speaks French. I talked with her. She told me: "So, you have just arrived! In Inganni [neighbourhood of Milan], there is a consulting centre for pregnant women, there is also one that explains". She told me this, luckily, it went well. I went there that day, but he [the husband] never came with me. […] I always go by myself.

I go and, one word here and one word there… and the pregnancy went very well, everything was fine.

For Arab women, motherhood is a fundamental part of their life and identity: devoting themselves to children could help them in facing the difficulties of migration and daily life (Giacalone, 2006). This is an idea of female agency radically different from Western-style feminist interpretations, marked by a conception of individualistic women subjectivity. This kind of interpretation leaves little space for alternative ways of being a woman, in which becoming a mother and dedicating yourself to your children can be read as a resource and a trick for the agency of a woman. It emerges from Simona's and Miriam's life-stories how migration is an experience that shapes cultural and gender identities but in ways that are not predictable according to mechanistic dynamics. It is necessary to avoid deterministic and dualist approaches in order to understand the complexity of processes involved in shaping and re-shaping identities as women and as mothers. This could help in designing more flexible and culturally-informed support programmes targeting women and mothers.

DO MOROCCAN MOTHERS REALLY NEED TO BE SUPPORTED?

Parenting support initiatives often consist of purely didactic programs, based on the teaching of concepts, the learning of pre-established knowledge, attention to the final product (Milani, 2009) and a relationship based on expert professionals on one side and inadequate parents on the other. In particular, with regards to migrant parenting, culturally different ways of considering education, childhood and parental experience often do not find adequate recognition, while mainly the shortcomings, difficulties and vulnerabilities are underlined. Parenting support, on the other hand, can be reinterpreted as an educational project where the recognition of parenting skills and available resources serves as a starting point for a formative process which is assisted but above all autonomous, based on parents' reflexivity and co-construction of knowledge (Iavarone, Marone, & Sabatano, 2015; Milani, 2009).

Parenting can be considered an «interpretative and operative category of the parental care relationship» (Iavarone et al., 2015), within which the individual's past as a child, social norms and educational beliefs of the culture of origin and an imaginative tension towards new forms of parenting differentiate from those already known to come into play. For the migrant parent, this tension comes about amidst greater drama, the sensation of feeling torn between the yearning to maintain continuity with the educational models coming from their own culture, the perception of distance from that world, and the fear of betraying it by getting closer to parental styles which personify the host country.

Whereas for Moroccan women being a mother becomes a trigger for action, an opportunity for empowerment and negotiation between modernity and tradition, the recognition of the skills and educational models that they bring with them could be useful in order to welcome, reinforce and support - in an innovative way - the mothers and their family.

COMPETENT MOTHERS

The starting point, therefore, is considering mothers as competent, with their own ethnoparental theories and ideas on what it means to be a parent and the ins and outs of educating their children. Simona, for example, has the model of her mother clear in her mind. She has a very strong emotional bond with her - something that she intends to reproduce in the relationship with her own children. It is a protective emotional context for the children («*The other people, the friends forget you. [...] The mother is the only one who never forgets you, is always near you, always ... like me now with my children.*»), but also it is a way to educate them through a virtuous example of mother-son relationship: «*When you behave badly with your mother, you are not polite with your mother, you are not in good relations with your mother, even the children grow tough with you*».

If on one hand it is essential to start from a positive recognition of what the mother brings with her from her country of origin, on the other we also have to promote the negotiation between old and new educational models, between modernity and tradition, in a creative metissage able to promote the well-being and integration of the mother and the child. The family is the context within which the «belonging-identity dynamic» begins (Iavarone et al., 2015, p. 61), initially as a series of constraints but with the possibility of affirming themselves. Therefore, migrant parents have the opportunity to offer their children cultural references and values that can allow them to transit between different cultures (Silva, 2006).

Educating children suspended between two cultures, two worlds, generated fears in the interviewed mothers. For example, Miriam expresses these difficulties in this way:

> *--M-- Look, I grew up in a country different from here. There is a big difference. And I grew up in my country with my culture. Here now my children were born in Italy. I say [to them] that we do a certain thing this way, that way. They go out and find something else, do you understand? Big difference, it is not just small. Huge. Even you struggle to convince children of the things you believe in. It's not easy. With my culture I struggle to educate my children. It is not an easy thing. Only when they see me praying, listening to the Koran, taking them to the mosque, to the Arabic school, they already have a clear idea on this point. Did you understand? But always, when they go to the Italian school, they see another culture, with so many other people [...]. And they find another culture.*

At the same time, this tension and confrontation between different cultural and educational references can give rise to encounters, exchanges, hybridizations that contribute to – rather than create conflict between - the development of multiple affiliations, identities that are creatively hybrid, syncretic.

Simona has developed a rather complex critical reflection starting from the confrontation between Italian and Moroccan parenting models. For example, she believes in a collective way of caring for the children that is part of her Moroccan experience: «*Where I was born, where I grew up, we keep [the children] always close. Always, even if they are not your children, you take care of them, even if they come from far away, you have to feed them...*». Even in the host country, she tries to offer her support to other mothers, arousing surprise but also gratitude from Italian mothers, who are – according to Simona - more fearful in caring for others' children («*And they ask: "What do they eat, what do they drink...?"*»).

Miriam, despite the fears expressed about the differences between the Moroccan and Italian cultural, educational and religious models, enrolled her son in a private Catholic school. The education she received in Morocco allowed her to appreciate the strict nature of teachers - so she chose a school where there is a similar attention to children and their behaviour. This school is, for Miriam, a way to transport her son into a different context compared to the degraded one of the neighbourhood where they live, offering him an opportunity to bring him up in a more stimulating context and improving his future prospects:

> *--M-- I chose Cavour [the school] for their discipline. [...] Because I had heard good things about this school, regarding the discipline at the school. [...] Some schools in the neighbourhood became... [...] I see everyone in the morning... like criminals, these are not children, my goodness! While I bring Nora [the other daughter] to the kindergarten [...] near there is the middle school, [...] it's not just the school, it's the schoolmates. They do not study at all.*

CONCLUSION

Through the two presented life-stories, the paper highlighted the alternative ways of being a woman and a mother of women of Moroccan origin migrated to Italy, their resources and skills and their efforts to keep together different cultural identities and multiple educational models. These results give insights on the family resources of disadvantaged groups in Europe and claims for the implementation of effective programs

for mothers and families starting from the resources and skills available to them. In particular, it is recommended that parenting support programmes reinterpret their presuppositions, starting from the recognition of the validity of different gender and parenting styles. The indications from here for professionals are based on these points:

- recognition of the resources and skills of these mothers
- recognition of cultural and educational diversity
- promotion of negotiations and hybridizations.

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2.3. LANGUAGE USE AND INSTITUTIONAL HABITUS IN (PRE)SCHOOLS: NARRATIVES OF TURKISH MOTHERS IN GERMANY

Hande Erdem-Möbius, Özen Odağ, & Yvonne Anders

INTRODUCTION

Today, there are several linguistic minority groups living in European societies and each country has different policies and regulations for managing diversity. Minority families make an effort to learn the language of the country, as well as to teach and maintain their heritage language over generations. In addition to them, the recognition of linguistic needs and support from the host society, especially by educational institutions, plays an important role in retaining socio-linguistic resources of families. Approximately 2.8 million Turkish-origin people reside in Germany (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2018a) and Turkish is the most frequently spoken foreign language in German households (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2018b). This research aims to examine the following questions: "How do Turkish mothers perceive and experience the institutional habitus of German (pre)schools with regard to language use? What are their wishes for inclusive institutional habitus regarding recognition of their linguistic needs?".

The research data were collected as a part of the project *Inclusive Education and Social Support to Tackle Inequalities in Society* (ISOTIS) under the work package *Resources, experiences, aspirations and support needs of families in disadvantaged communities* (WP2). Some of the objectives of the ISOTIS project are supporting disadvantaged families and communities in using their own social, cultural and linguistic resources and the creation of effective and inclusive curricula and pedagogies in early childhood education and care centres and primary schools (Moser, Broekhuizen, Leseman, & Melhuish, 2017, p.7). In line with them, the present research provides several contributions to elaborate language-based inequalities that are experienced by the largest group with a migration background and with a migration history of more than fifty years in Germany. Families' experiences and perspectives linked to the educational institutional responses to their linguistic resources and needs will enable us to develop policy recommendations for an inclusive education and inform the local system of support services.

The languages of minority families have been addressed in several previous studies. A number of studies have revealed the importance of language use in educational institutions. Some of them have specifically focused on promoting multilingualism, the importance of teachers' attitudes and language support in day care centres and schools (Kratzmann, Jahreiß, Frank, Ertanir, & Sachse, 2017; Kratzmann, Lehrl, & Ebert, 2013; Wiese et al., 2017). Further studies have examined teachers' attitudes towards the heritage language of their pupils and the impact this has on the children (Agirdag, 2010; Celik, 2017). Where parents were the focus, the research has mainly concentrated on the home-school relationship and the effect of the parents' linguistic background and skills (Caesar & Nelson, 2014; Hachfeld, Anders, Kuger, & Smidt, 2016). There are a few studies which have identified parents' language use in educational institutions; however, these studies have specifically looked into language complementary schools (e.g. Turkish schools in London, Hebrew school in the US) (Feuer, 2006; Lytra, 2012). Little is known about parents' experiences and perceptions with regard to educational institutions' practices in terms of the recognition of linguistic resources and needs of families. Through examining the narratives of Turkish mothers in Germany, this study also seeks to address the above-mentioned gap in the literature.

The article begins with introducing Bronfenbrenner's bio-ecological model of human development which is applied as ISOTIS's main theoretical framework. Next, the term "institutional habitus" linked to language use will be encompassed. Further, the historical overview of Turkish migration to Germany and educational policies in the country in terms of recognizing multilingualism will be discussed. Then, we will describe the methodology and findings of the study. Finally, the conclusion and discussion part including limitations and

possible implications for further research, education and social policy will be presented.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The ISOTIS aims at providing comprehensive approaches to tackle early social and educational inequality (Moser, Broekhuizen, Leseman, & Melhuish, 2017) by applying Bronfenbrenner's bio-ecological model of human development (Bronfenbrenner, 1974; 1975; 1979; 1986; 1994; Bronfenbrenner & Ceci, 1994, & Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). According to the bio-ecological systems model of personal development, human development could be examined by looking at enduring forms of interaction between organism and environment called *proximal processes*. These processes influence characteristics of the developing *person* in immediate and more remote environmental *contexts*, also taking *time* periods into account (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006, p. 795). They contain the physical, symbolic and social structures which are embedded in the microsystems. Their form, content, power and direction can influence the personal development. Throughout different stages in life, individuals pass various face to face interactions in *microsystems* (e.g., family, neighbourhood, school, peer groups). The relationship between microsystems shape the *mesosystem* of individuals (e.g., home-school, school-neighbourhood). Further, *exosystems* have indirect effects, because they are only connected to micro-systems of the actors and not the actor itself (e.g., parent's work place, extended family, community and health services). These micro-, meso- and exosystems of the social actors have direct or indirect connections with broader social, economic and political *macrosystems*. Finally, the term *chronosystem* refers to the entities, processes and relations regarding change and consistency over time in individual as well the society (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; 1994; Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006).

Language development starts from the microsystems within family and continues in different interactive human-context processes. In proximal processes, language plays a crucial role not just as a communication tool, but also as a symbol of ethnic identity and cultural solidarity (Giles, 1977; Soehl & Waldinger, 2012). For this reason, how language of social actors is perceived in various systems and what individuals' experiences are linked to the recognition of linguistic resources and needs, have a major role in human development. Besides individuals' own valuation, there are also socio-structural influences which determine language use in various contexts. Bourdieu (1977a) states that there are symbolic power relations between dominant/dominated groups and this also applies to the perceived status ascribed to certain languages.

In this paper we examine language use in German (pre)schools by deploying the concept of "institutional habitus" (IH). The concept of "habitus" was introduced by Bourdieu (1977b; 1998) to draw our attention to how individuals in certain class structures construct beliefs, practices and internalize them along with the mechanisms which structure these perceptions and actions. "Institutional habitus" is a further development of Bourdieu's concept with a special focus on institutions. According to Reay (1998), institutions also include a set of complex and diverse predispositions, taken for granted expectations and certain perceptions. McDonough (1997, p. 107) demonstrates that IH is "the impact of a cultural group or social class on an individual's behaviour through an intermediate organization". Hence, there is an interplay of agency and structure between individuals and institutions. As scholars highlight, there are power relationships between any habitus and any context (Bourdieu, 1998; Reay, 1998). For this reason, IH can reflect certain inequalities by implying inclusion and exclusion (Agirdag, 2010; Celik, 2017). While (pre)schools that embrace an inclusive educational habitus value minority children and their families' skills, abilities and languages, those which deploy exclusive educational habitus devalue all the above-mentioned aspects (Celik, 2017). The ISOTIS project emphasizes that inclusive education is one of prerequisites for equity in education (Moser, Broekhuizen, Leseman, & Melhuish, 2017). According to Nicaise (2000), inclusiveness has three core components: equal opportunities, equal treatment and equal outcomes. In this study, we specifically concentrate on the aspect of "equal treatment" which highlights a "fair" treatment and removal of discrimination against certain groups (Nicaise, 2000). We investigate the inclusive and exclusive dimensions

pertaining to the institutional habitus of German (pre)schools with regard to language use as contained in the narratives of Turkish mothers.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Germany has been one of the main roads of Turkish migrants since 1960s. However, the characteristics of migration and the profiles of migrants have changed over time, starting with labor migration, followed by migration for family reunion and asylum, and recently, Germany has been faced with the immigration of highly skilled Turks (Aydin, 2016). Turkish children are also recognized as having lower academic scores as evaluated in international studies like PISA (OECD, 2015) and unfavorable positions throughout different stages of school education (Below, 2007; Kagitcibasi, 2010; Söhn & Özcan, 2006). Surely, German educational responses to cultural diversity have also played a role for these consequences. Until 1996, there were no general document on multicultural education except the guideline called "Intercultural Education at School" (Interkulturelle Bildung und Erziehung in der Schule) published by "The Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs". Beforehand, Germany mainly applied assimilationist model called "foreigner pedagogy" and minority families' cultural and linguistic resources were not paid attention (Faas, 2008).

Over time intercultural education mainly focused on the "European" dimension and German nationalism was replaced by the European agenda. However, it resulted in Eurochauvinism with excluding all non-Europeans' socio-linguistic resources (Hoff, 1995). Recently, there have been some improvements in terms of the recognition of linguistic and cultural resources of minority families. There is language support for children's first and second language development in (pre)schools (Gogolin & Neumann, 2009; Jungmann, Koch, & Etzien, 2013; Panagiotopoulou, 2016). Also, the importance of teachers' attitudes towards multilingualism are acknowledged (Kratzmann et al., 2017; Wiese et al., 2017). Moreover, instead of German language-only education, there are innovative approaches which provide mother tongue and two-way bilingual education programs such as German-Turkish (Nehr, 2001; Pfaff, 2011). However, these reorientations on the national-level are not wholly applied by regional governments (Brubaker, 2001) and policy level recommendations have still weaknesses in real life practices (Kratzmann et al., 2017).

METHODS

The empirical data of the ISOTIS parent interview study (WP2) was collected through quantitative and qualitative interviews. Parents with Turkish migration background whose children are in the 3-6 (before primary school) and 8-12 years age-range (in primary school) participated in our study (Broekhuizen, Ereky-Stevens, Wolf, & Moser, 2018). The present study focuses solely on the analysis of the in-depth qualitative interviews with Turkish mothers in Germany. The participants of the qualitative study represented a subsample of mothers participating in the structured quantitative interview study of the ISOTIS project (Nurse & Melhuish, 2018).

After completing the quantitative study, we listed the mothers who were registered to the qualitative study with the information of age-range of the target child, recruited site (Berlin/Bremen), the education level, the country of birth, the year of migration (if it is the case). We attached an importance to sample with variation, to see similarities and differences between mothers with diverse profiles. Following the piloting phase in February 2018, the data collection was proceeded in the time period between April and August 2018. In total, twelve mothers in Berlin and ten mothers in Bremen were interviewed. Twelve mothers have children in the young age-range (3-6 years) and ten mothers' children are in the old age-range (8-12 years). Ten mothers were born in Germany (second to third generation) and twelve mothers had the experience of migration themselves. Nine mothers received a bachelor degree or higher. The education of the other participants ranged from secondary education to high school. There was one participant who is Kurdish

(belong to the Kurdish minority in Turkey).

The methodology of the ISOTIS qualitative study was designed at the Department of Education, University of Oxford. The interview guide consisted of a biographical part in which mothers shortly talked about their life stories and a semi-structured part that includes specific questions to tackle certain project topics such as home-school relationship and experiences with the education system (Nurse & Melhuish, 2018). During the interviews, an audio recorder was used. Most of the interviews were conducted in the Turkish language, but some second or third generation mothers used both German and Turkish language interchangeably. All interviews were fully transcribed and anonymized using pseudonyms. The transcribed interviews were analysed using the Atlas.ti program. We found that the qualitative content analysis (QCA) is the most appropriate method for this research in Germany (Schreier, 2012, Mayring, 2014). We applied the steps conceptualizing, defining and developing categories and sub-categories.

RESULTS

INCLUSIVE EDUCATIONAL HABITUS

Institutional influences in the sense of inclusion and/or exclusion are decisive in understanding the dynamics in (pre)school (Agirdag, 2010; Celik, 2017; Reay, 1998). The mothers, especially those who have sent their children to bilingual (pre)schools, explained their satisfaction in terms of the (pre)schools' attention to the linguistic needs of their children and the provision of a learning atmosphere which motivates cultural exchange. Gül, who is a second generation mother from Berlin stated that:

> *At preschool, they attach great importance on bilingualism because it is German-Turkish preschool. The educator working there is Turkish and speaks with kids only in Turkish. There is a woman working in the kitchen, she is also Turkish and they want her to talk to kids in Turkish as well. There are interns and if some of them are Turkish, they want them to talk in Turkish. And the director of the place [German] specifically asks us to speak with our children in Turkish, saying 'Please, only speak your language. (Gül, Berlin)*

Similarly, another mother shared her satisfaction regarding to the usage of the Turkish language in primary school context:

> *He [target child] was talking in Turkish in preschool with some of his friends. It was not forbidden [to talk in Turkish]. Now also the [current] school is the same (…). They [children] feel accepted in a way. They do not feel like "my language is bad so; I should not talk". At least the child does not feel excluded. (Asli, Berlin)*

Some participants were also positive about the presence of (pre)school staff who share the same ethno-cultural background as the minority families. For instance, the narrative of second generation mother Fatma demonstrates the positive changes of German institutions over time with regard to recognizing the necessity of working staff who has knowledge in minority language.

> *In preschools you can find a Turkish or Arabic educator. When you go to a pharmacy, you can communicate in many languages. Or there are Turkish, Arabic or Russian doctors. In my day in the past it wasn't like that at all, everything was solely in German. (Fatma, Berlin)*

It is to be noted that inclusive institutional habitus is not just about recognizing the linguistic resources of families, but also to evaluate linguistic needs and provide support. In the narratives, the necessity of the first and second language support for children was highlighted. A variety of perspectives were expressed with a view to the linguistic needs of children. Some participants complained that the children start primary school without German language competence. Mothers attach a great importance to the German language and expect (pre)schools to support and promote German language skills because they perceive it as a key for

success in their children's education life and future career.

> *Other than speaking in German, at preschool they haven't given any additional [German language] support such as preparing the kids for the school or any language support. I would have expected them to do something different for the children who would begin to go to the school in the next year. Our preschool does not provide such services (Ebru, Berlin)*

Some mothers also expressed a desire for Turkish language support. They would like their children not just to be able to speak Turkish but also to have certain academic knowledge about the language. Ceren, who has a pre-school aged child, pointed out her demand for Turkish language classes. Her narrative features the significance of the professional first language support for children who grow up bilingually.

> *Not as activity, but I'd wish that he would get Turkish classes. I've heard some schools offer these courses for couple of hours after school period is over. I'd want Turkish classes would be added to the curriculum because I am not sure whether I'd be adequate to show the literary analysis of a sentence or its grammar. I'd like my child to be able to read Turkish books and enjoy them. That would suffice but I don't know whether I'd be adequate to teach it to him. (Ceren, Bremen)*

Recognizing linguistic needs does not just count for children but also mothers. As many scholars have illustrated that parents' adequate proficiency and amount of time spoken in the residence country language is highly connected to their involvement in the education of their children (Koehler et al., 2018; Kohl, Jäkel, & Leyendecker, 2015). When we scrutinize the experiences of the mothers who have insufficient German language skills, they generally receive support from other family members or friends. When staff encourage mothers, despite their language difficulties, to actively involve themselves in the (pre)school education of their children, parents feel welcome in the educational institutions.

> *I was going to those meetings with my husband anyway. Even if I didn't understand something the woman [teacher] was explaining it to me. She was telling my husband that we would communicate one way or another and sending him back. She was a very good person. (Ömür, Berlin)*

Mothers also appreciated having (pre)school teachers with a specialization in diversity and multilingualism. The children attending these (pre)schools are more motivated, have better communication with their teachers, and feel valued as being bilingual. As one interviewee said:

> *The reason why Talha [target child] loves his teacher so much is because that his teacher has a lot of experiences with the kids of migrant families. As I said, she remedies the situation, where Talha feels degraded, by saying that he knows two languages. The others aren't like that. For example, they tell him to speak slowly or speak more German. This attitude doesn't help the kid. But the other teacher sympathizes with his emotions. If there would be more teachers like him/her, or, you know there are these seminars called like 'Weiterbildung', if other teachers would take those seminars, that would be better while educating bilingual kids (Ceren, Bremen)*

Thus, as it is seen in the narratives of Turkish mothers, German (pre)schools which adopt inclusive institutional habitus, value Turkish families' language resources and recognize their needs. These positive experiences provide better home-school relationships and motivate children and mothers to attend educational institutions. Moreover, mothers' wishes in terms of the first and/or second language support can be recognized in order to enhance inclusive habitus in the (pre)schools.

EXCLUSIVE EDUCATIONAL HABITUS

It should be emphasized that the participants highlighted the relationship between the valuation of the Turkish language in educational institutions and the feeling of exclusion. As it was previously stated, language is an essence of the group membership (Soehl & Waldinger, 2012). Accordingly, inclusion or exclusion of

languages in (pre)schools is closely connected to the in/exclusion of that minority group. The experiences of exclusion in (pre)schools with regard to the usage of Turkish is also addressed among interviewees. Some mothers intimated that the Turkish language is not valued in (pre)schools and that teachers complain to mothers in parent meetings when children use the Turkish language communicating with each other. Gamze, who has a school-aged child and lives in Bremen, shared her concerns about her son's insufficient German language skills and teachers' attitudes towards the Turkish language.

> *Mine [the target child] was also doing well but he was dallying with other Turkish kids, playing football and speaking in Turkish. His teacher warned [me] that he was speaking Turkish (…). When he speaks Turkish they [teachers] try to separate them [children]. They advise me to speak in German with him (…) Then I started to speak with my broken German (Gamze, Bremen)*

Gamze interprets these attitudes of teachers towards the Turkish language usage with linking it to the inadequate German language skills of the child. She thinks that the Turkish language was perceived as a barrier to learn German and for this reason, teacher suggested broadening her child´s usage of German language not just at school but also within the family context. However, forbiddance of the first langue of children in (pre)school makes linguistic minority families feel excluded. Another participant whose mother tongue is Kurdish also shared similar tendencies in her child's preschool context. She expressed her own reactions to teachers:

> *When she [the target child] started preschool, she was 2 years old and did not know any German. She had difficulties in the first week. The professional trainer asked if it is because she does not know German. She recommended us to speak German at home too. But we said "this is not our task. She can have difficulties but she will learn anyway. Our task is not to teach her German language, this is your task and we do not see it as an obstacle. We read on this issue. My husband is well informed about this issue too". So, she [the target child] overcame this problem within one week and adapted school without any problem. Later a mother in preschool heard my husband talking Kurdish to the children. And told him that "you are in Germany, in order to adapt to here and get used to living here, you need to talk German with your children". (…) we had such difficulty just once but we took up our position immediately. Not only in preschool but also there is a general approach in Germany "if you live in Germany you have to learn German" but the child has the right to learn her own language. If it is not provided at (pre)school, we take this responsibility and we teach. (Meliha, Bremen)*

From Meliha's narrative, it can be noted that families' knowledge about bringing up a child bilingually as well as their awareness and beliefs about responsibility of schools and family for the language development, lead them to take their position in institutional contexts. Another example can be given to stress the perceived hierarchy of different languages by educational institutions; in other words the hierarchy of cultures within the German society (Prengel, 2006, p. 76). Sevgi pointed out experiences from her older son's school years.

> *It wasn't allowed to speak in Turkish there [school]. Can you imagine? It was forbidden to speak in Turkish. One day he came "Mom, you know, at the school there is a boy having an English mom and German dad, during the recess he talks in English and teachers pat on his back saying 'great job'" So this kid wasn't speaking German. So if the rule is to speak German only, then speaking any other language should be forbidden. My son is born Turkish so he speaks Turkish, Arab kid speaks Arabic and Italian kid speaks Italian. Italian, Spanish, English, French, they are well received, and even more than that great, fantastic! But when it comes to Arabic, especially Arabic, Turkish, Kurdish, they don't accept. (...) Couple of times during their recesses, they made them write 'It is forbidden to speak another language other than German.' (Sevgi, Berlin)*

The experiences of Sevgi's child show that there is a different valuation of languages based on having a

Western European origin or not. Teachers' attitudes towards linguistic resources of children can have several outcomes. According to Cummins (2001, pp. 19–20) "to reject a child's language in the school is to reject the child" and the demand to "leave your language and culture at the school door" requires children to leave behind a central part of their identities. Scholars found similar tendencies in different countries regarding the different valuation of heritage languages of minority families in institutional contexts. For example, Agirdag's (2010) study on Turkish students in Belgium and Celik's (2017) research on Kurdish students in Turkey show similar exclusive tendencies by institutions.

Sevgi stated that after having such experiences with her son, she decided to send her daughter (the target child) to the German-Turkish bilingual primary school. She shared her satisfaction with her daughter's school as stated below:

> *S: It is a Turkish-German school. Our teachers, our classroom teachers are one Turkish-one German there. For example, from 24 students, at first, they put them in a test and if their main language, the dominant language determined as Turkish, they put them in Turkish class. This is revealed in this test. If the first language is closer to German, they are in German class the even if your child is Turkish. My children are Turkish citizens, but they are in German group because German is dominating and therefore German is considered as the first language. They learn languages equally. For example, they are mainly learning German starting from 1st grade to the 3rd grade but at the same time, they give them Turkish as a partner language. On the other hand, for example, if the first language of the child is determined as Turkish, they are mainly learning Turkish but as being parallel to Turkish, they are learning German as a partner language (…)*

> *I: Are you satisfied with that?*

> *S: I am very satisfied with that. I wish there were such schools for my older children too, or I wish I knew these. Maybe there were but I did not know. (Sevgi, Berlin)*

Overall, these perceptions and experiences of Turkish mothers regarding an institutional habitus of German (pre)schools indicate that in some contexts there is a hierarchy between languages. When some foreign languages are welcome in institutions alongside the German language, some of them are excluded. It shows the "selective multilingualism" in educational institutions.

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

This study examined two main research questions: "*How do Turkish mothers perceive and experience the institutional habitus of German (pre)schools with regard to language use? What are their wishes for inclusive institutional habitus regarding recognition of their linguistic needs?".* The qualitative interview study conducted with Turkish mothers in the state-cities of Berlin and Bremen enabled us to investigate inclusive and exclusive dimensions of educational contexts.

Turkish mothers in our study are highly appreciative when their linguistic resources and linguistic needs are acknowledged in the (pre)school of their children. The German (pre)schools with inclusive institutional habitus have staff that share the same ethno-cultural background as minority families, which motivate children and parents to use their heritage language in institutional contexts. Furthermore, the mothers stated their positive experiences with the (pre)school staff who received additional education for managing multiculturalism and multilingualism in (pre)schools. The specialized teachers know how to communicate with parents and children from different cultural and socio-linguistic background. Children feel valued as being a bilingual. Instead of dominating German-only education, teachers make an effort to understand families' linguistic resources and needs. Also, the mothers who have German language barriers draw our attention to attitudes of teachers towards their involvement in (pre)schools. When teachers encourage mothers for their engagement despite of their linguistic barriers, the parents feel welcomed to (pre)schools.

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The participants also demonstrated their wishes for inclusive institutional habitus in terms of recognition of their linguistic needs. When some mothers highlighted the necessity of the German language support for their children in (pre)schools, some mothers pointed out their desire for the presence of Turkish language classes. They argued that beside the usage of the Turkish and/or German language in (pre)school contexts in some activities, the professional language support can be provided. Therefore, mothers attach importance to both the residence country and their heritage language. They expect institutions to recognize them as an important family resource and provide support when it is needed.

In contrast to inclusive institutional habitus, the participants also revealed the exclusive institutional habitus of German (pre)schools. Some teachers forbid the usage of the Turkish language between students and complain mothers about this issue in parent meetings. The imposition of German monolingualism shows that the linguistic resources of families are not recognized. Mothers argued that their heritage language is seen as a barrier to educational success and the German language development of their children. Another reason could be that teachers experience difficulties when working with children because they do not understand the language used by them. These attitudes of teachers in terms of adopting German monolingualism and the reasons for this can be further examined. However, from the narratives of Turkish mothers, it can be said that the prohibition of Turkish in (pre)schools makes this minority group feel excluded.

One of the important findings to emerge from this study is the disagreement between (pre)schools and families in terms of supporting German language development in children. Families attach a great importance to the German language for their children's educational success and later for their career. However, in some cases, while families argue that the German language support is the responsibility of (pre)school; teachers expect the same from parents and ask them to use the German language within family. When these expectations of teachers sometimes meet reactions of families, some mothers trust institutes' professionalization and try to speak German with a child even if they have insufficient German language knowledge themselves. Many scholars demonstrate that parental language input in terms of quality and quantity of language use is the main determinacy for the language development (Hoff & Core, 2013; Houwer, 2007). For this reason, parents who are not a native speaker or do not have a good command of the language may not contribute the development of their child's linguistic skills. This would also direct us to question the ways of providing German language support without forcing the German language and devaluing the minority languages. Both teachers and parents can be knowledgeable about the language development of child and teachers can have further training on this topic. A lack of professional knowledge may lead teachers to make advices to families which might not help to improve the situation.

This study has also shown the selective multilingualism in some German (pre)schools. The mothers perceive a hierarchy between languages based on having West-European origin (English, French etc.) or not. There might be several reasons for these attitudes of teachers which can be further examined. For instance, teachers might believe that knowing languages with Western European origin can be an advantage for later educational and job opportunities for children. Also, teachers' personal prejudices towards certain cultures and their languages may play a major role as well. From the narratives of mothers it might be argued that when acknowledgement of multilingualism is only limited to certain European languages, Turkish families feel that their linguistic resources are not valued in some (pre)school contexts. Especially, by looking at multicultural cities which have high number of immigrant population, such narratives can bring new discussions in the field of education. For instance, Berlin has always been the focal point in the discourses about "parallel societies" linked to the Turkish community and their integration due to the high density of this community in certain neighbourhoods (Häußermann, 2007; Stehle, 2012). However, these narratives of Turkish mothers can provide important insights by channeling our focus not just on the "parallel societies" between native Germans and ethno-cultural minorities but also perceived hierarchy between communities. Overall, there seems to be some evidence to indicate that Turkish families besides wishing good command of German language skills for their children, they expect equal treatment and recognition of their socio-

linguistic resources and support needs both in the residence country and heritage language.

Going back to the ISOTIS-project's theoretical perspective rooted in Bronfenbrenner's bio-ecological model of human development, the narratives of Turkish mothers indicate that (pre)schools, as a context in *microsystem,* have a certain form, content and power. Language usage in educational institutions turns into being the tool for the inclusion and exclusion of families. Although German policies have improvements in recent years in terms of inclusive education in broader social, economic and political policies (*macrosystem*), the results indicate that there are still inadequacies in practice. Surely, indirect influencers (*mesosystem*) such as community services can provide language support for families, however, early childhood education and care centres and primary schools have responsibilities to providing inclusive education linked to their language use to tackle early educational inequalities. The inclusive institutional habitus fosters children and parents' involvement into (pre)schools and effect home-school relationship (*mesosystem*) positively.

The study also has some limitations which need to be addressed. In our sample we did not have mothers who do not know Turkish and completely assimilated into the residence country. Such mothers can bring new perspectives to the following studies. Moreover, the generation of mothers in terms of migration history constituted sampling criteria in our study to broaden variety in our sample, but we did not concentrate on generational differences among mothers in the analysis. In future studies, there could be a stronger focus on similarities and differences across generations. Further research in this field would be of great help in exploring different social actors in institutional contexts. Studies with children and (pre)school staff about the language use could further broaden our knowledge.

Following the aims of the ISOTIS project which underline supporting disadvantaged families in using their own social, cultural and linguistic resources and the creation of effective and inclusive curricula and pedagogies in educational institutions, these findings suggest several courses of action for changing public opinion and policies. There can be more campaigns to highlight the importance of mother tongue and bilingualism regardless of an individual's ethno-cultural background. Additional trainings and education might be provided to (pre)school teachers about multilingualism and multiculturalism. Although there could be individual-based experiences with a single teacher, when institutions adopt their language policies to the direction of inclusive institutional habitus, it is expected that staff would also apply these policies in practice. Therefore, minority families' voices in terms of full recognition of their socio-linguistic resources and support needs can be heard and reflect the policies to widen the inclusive institutional habitus of (pre)schools. Furthermore, national and regional policies in countries can be revised and policy-practice match could be strengthened. Especially, with the recent migration and refugee wave to Europe there is a variety of discussions related to linguistic needs of minority families and their children. The reported perceptions and experiences of Turkish families can bring important insights into the research on variety of ethnic-cultural minorities in different countries.

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2.4. ACCULTURATION PREFERENCES OF TURKISH IMMIGRANT MOTHERS AS RELATED TO MOTHERS' EDUCATIONAL INVESTMENT IN THEIR CHILDREN

Ayca Alayli, Martine Broekhuizen, & Paul Leseman

Although ample research has shown that parents with an immigration background are strongly committed to their children and have high educational aspirations for them, investing in children's development and learning through providing informal education at home might be challenging for these parents (Melhuish et al., 2008; Mistry et al,. 2008). Contextual risk factors have been reported to negatively affect parental investment, but also parents' acculturation preferences may play a role. Previous research, for example, has shown that Turkish immigrant families' adoption of German language at home is related to better scores of children on German language tests (Becker, Klein, & Biedinger, 2013). Other studies, however, also involving Turkish immigrant families, suggest that using mother tongue at home, when used for cognitively challenging purposes, can support second language acquisition and school achievement in this language as well (Blom et al., 2014; Leseman et al., 2019). Acculturation preferences of Turkish immigrants in Europe show variation on the dimensions of language choice, religiosity, intra-group ties and inter-group contact (Crul, Schneider, & Lelie, 2012; Groenewold, de Valk & van Ginneken, 2014). This variation can be partly explained by the level of formal education and generation, as well as personal considerations and experiences.

In this study, we conducted in-depth open interviews with 20 mothers with a Turkish background in the Netherlands to examine the acculturation preferences of the families and their relation to families' choices regarding the informal education environment and the facilitators and barriers they encounter in supporting their children's development. Qualitative content analysis methods were applied and preliminary analysis revealed the expected variations in parental investment behaviors. Preliminary findings suggest that mothers' acculturation preferences are reflected in their informal educational interactions with their child as well as parents' involvement with the (pre)school. Mother's attachment with their ethnic background and language is closely related to culture-related activities in the home environment, however their involvement with the (pre)school was mainly related to their language skills. The results will be discussed in terms of local and national policies regarding immigrant children's development and education.

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2.5 MULTICULTURAL EDUCATIONAL PARTNERSHIPS: EXPERIENCES OF MAGHREBIAN MOTHERS IN THE NETHERLANDS

Ryanne Francot, Martine Broekhuizen, Paul Leseman, & ISOTIS Research team[36]

INTRODUCTION

Lately, the topic of educational partnerships, hereby referring to the belief that both the parents and the (pre)school are responsible for creating an optimal environment for the learning and development of the child (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006; Christenson, 2004), has become increasingly popular in the field of educational research. Much research has been conducted on the positive outcomes of the use of early educational services, especially for children living in disadvantaged societal conditions and those at risk of academic delay (e.g. Leseman & Veen, 2016; Melhuish et al. 2015; Van Huizen & Plantenga, 2018). Moreover, numerous studies have focused on the importance of parents being involved in the child's learning and development and having a good relationship with the teachers (e.g., Brooks-Gunn & Markman, 2005; Carolan & Wasserman, 2015; Fan & Chen, 2001; Lee & Bowen, 2006; Respler-Herman, Mowder, Yasik, & Shamah, 2012).

The focus in scholarly publications is often on what parents can do to help their children, or the extent to which parents are involved. However, there is a lack of research going more in-depth, hereby focusing on the experiences of parents with the education systems, especially the parents who are assumed to have challenging experiences. The perspective of migrant parents, and especially mothers, regarding their bond with the educational system is vital in order to understand how we can support them and how to improve the relationship. Only a relatively small number of qualitative and quantitative studies have given a voice to parents in this context, some focusing on the communication between parents and preschool teachers (e.g. Gregg, Rugg, & Stoneman, 2012) or the differences in values and developmental aspirations between preschool teachers and migrant parents (e.g. Bossong & Keller, 2018).

THE CURRENT STUDY

The current study is guided by the following research question: *What are the experiences of mothers with a Maghrebian migration background, living in the Netherlands, with the (pre-)primary education system?* In order to answer this question, it is important to disentangle the different aspects and layers within these experiences. Therefore the paper focuses on two questions: How do the mothers describe their *relationship* 1) with the system, 2) with the teachers and 3) with other parents? How do the mothers describe their *involvement and engagement* within the educational setting? Results from these questions can help to answer the underlying salient question: What are the motivations, facilitators and barriers in establishing and strengthening the educational partnerships? The results contribute to a better understanding of migrant mothers' experiences and have important implications for developing interventions and strategies to support parents with a migrant background.

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METHODS AND METHODOLOGY

Data from the in-depth qualitative parent study were used. The methodology of the ISOTIS qualitative study was designed at the University of Oxford (Nurse & Melhuish, 2018). The interview consisted of a biographical narrative part in which mothers shortly talked about their life stories, followed by a semi-structured part that included specific questions to discuss certain topics more in depth, such as the home-school relationship and experiences with the education system (Nurse & Melhuish, 2018). The informants for the qualitative in-depth interviews were selected from the respondents in a quantitative survey, which preceded the qualitative study (Broekhuizen, Ereky-Stevens, Wolf, & Moser, 2018). We selected mothers by two target groups of children (3-6 years old and 7-12 years old) from two sites in the Netherlands: Utrecht and Rotterdam. In total, 20 mothers with a Turkish background and 24 mothers with a Maghrebian (more specifically, Moroccan) background were interviewed. Each interview was audio-recorded, transcribed, anonymized. All the collected data were coded through NVivo.

Both narrative analyses and thematic analyses were conducted to examine the experiences of the interviewed mothers. In the current study, we focused on specific codes from the coding tree that were considered particularly interesting for describing the experiences with the education system. . Below, preliminary results of seven selected mothers with a Moroccan background are presented, hereby comparing the positive and negative experiences and shortly describing the bio profiles of the participating mothers.

RESULTS

Relationship with the system

We asked mothers about their relationship with the educational system, hereby referring to either the structural aspects of the schools that their children attend, or their thoughts about the Dutch education system in general. We found that especially mothers with a child going to primary education shared their experiences about the system, rather than the mothers whose child is going to pre-primary education. Both positive and negative experiences were found. Mothers, in general, appreciated the quality of the Dutch education system, for example regarding the curricula of their child. However, several mothers also took a critical stance, hereby not referring to experiences that are related to their own background, but sharing the same worries that many Dutch parents express.

Laila (35) is born in Belgium. Her mother came to Belgium at the age of 13 together with her family, as her father (Laila's grandfather) migrated to Belgium to work. In 2009 she got married to a Moroccan-Berber man, who was born in Morocco, and moved to Utrecht. They have in total three children; two boys of 6 (target child) and 4 years, and one girl of 8 months. Laila works for 32 hours a week as a social worker at an Islamic-Moroccan organization and the father stays at home with the children. Both parents are involved in the education of their children and with the school. She has good contact with the other parents, though she is rather busy with her job. Parents at the school are using a WhatsApp group to keep each other updated and to organize small events. She purposefully chose a mixed school instead of an all-majority or all-minority school. Though she is satisfied with the quality of education of the (pre)schools of her children and the attention they receive, she is worried that the quality of education in general is decreasing.

I don't like the education system, those short school days. Children are now free at 1.30 PM while I had to be at school until 3.30 PM. I think it is rather short, there is not much physical activity and I read recently that that the writing skills of children are decreasing. Everything is digital, they are becoming worse in writing and reading. Everything is going via the tablet, they are even taught via the tablet. What happened to chalk and writing? I think it is a pity.

<u>Relationship with other parents</u>

Second, we focused on the relationships of the mothers with other parents. In the current study we did not find any negative experiences, though two mothers expressed that they had a 'neutral' relationship with other parents. The other five mothers were enthusiastic about their relationships, referring often to the social and emotional support they receive from other parents.

Karima (38) is born in a small village in the North of Morocco. When she was 3 years, she moved to the Netherlands, so when she was 4 years she went to Dutch kindergarten. She has a large family (nine brothers and sisters) and grew up in the South-west of the Netherlands, in a relatively small city without many migrant families. She loved to go to school, also because her father was very strict and the house was always very chaotic with such a large family. After Karima got her vocational education degree, she wanted to continue studying in a larger city, but her father didn't want her to move away. When she was 20 years, she got married to a Moroccan man (a first generation migrant who moved to the Netherlands during adulthood) and they moved to Rotterdam. Karima has four children (A 16 year old boy, an 8 year old girl, a 5 year old girl, and a 3 year old girl [TC]) and she is pregnant with her fifth child. She has much support from the other parents at the primary school of her children.

Yes, the contact is very good. Like you know which mother belongs to which child. So when you see them [the children] at the school's playground and their mother is not yet at the school, you are like 'hey, your mother is not here yet, let's call her and ask where she is'. So it's like a social control system, but in a healthy positive way.

[….]

So we always have our 'coffee-morning', that is how we call it. So we bring the children and then we have a room where we can sit with each other. And then it is like 'Well, what happened to me, what is on my mind', and then hup-hup-hup within half an hour you've discussed it with each other. And then it is like 'If you try this and this, and if you do that and that'. So the mothers at school are actually more helpful than the professionals, because they have also the experience with children.

<u>Relationship with the teachers</u>

Regarding the relationship with the teachers, mothers showed a larger variety of experiences. Several mothers shared positive experiences, in which it became clear that mothers appreciated when teachers took a step towards the parents: keeping the parents updated, supporting the parents with advice, seeing and appreciating the participation of some mothers at the school. However, some mothers also shared negative experiences, which were often related to their migrant background.

Alia (39) is born in Morocco and moved to the Netherlands with her mother and siblings when she was 2 years old, to reunite with her father who came for work reasons. Alia is married, lives in Utrecht, has two children, a boy (6 years) and a girl (3 years), and is pregnant with her third child. Unfortunately, she has some really negative experiences with both the preschool and later the primary school of her older child (though not with her younger child). During the preschool period, this was due to differences between the preschool and mother in their beliefs regarding education and childrearing methods.

But over there, they [teachers at the daycare] got him to sleep, so I was like, how did you do this so fast? But apparently they.. they just let children cry there, until they fall asleep. (…) So that I found a bit weird, like, how is that possible? Then we had some conversations with his daycare teacher. I thought we should only do half days, because he didn't like whole days at the preschool. He became a bit more quiet, and eating less. So, yeah, I took him from preschool. 'yes, but…' Every time there was a 'yes but' there. 'Yes, but he doesn't eat well, yes but he doesn't do this well'. I tell them, at home it is totally different. And then they say that they see things that we don't see.

These problems continued at the primary school. Alia says it is because the school is a 'white school' and cannot deal with the few children with a migrant background that are enrolled. She feels discriminated and state that the teachers have a negative attitude towards her.

So I asked the remedial teacher what the causes of a developmental delay are. 'well', she said, 'often this has something to do with.. well, some children are neglected and blahblahblah'. I said..'what?! you should not have said that to me'. Neglection? I said that is the last thing you should say to me and especially to a parent who does so much for her children. I got so quiet, my husband looked at me and he thought, wow, the school really made a mistake here. 'She is the last mother that would neglect a child and you really hurt her feelings here. You should not have said that to her'. (…)The next day, I said I am done with this, I'm putting my child on an Islamic or black school, because here …This is just not right, you know. This is not right, if they do this to all migrants then (…) then there is something fundamentally wrong with this society and within education! Things are being said and thought, or they have prejudices from forty, fifty years ago.

<u>Mothers' involvement at (pre)school</u>

Finally, we asked mothers about the ways they are involved at the school or preschool of their child. Three out of the seven mothers did not speak explicitly about their personal involvement at the school. One of them stated that she was not involved on purpose, given the negative relationship with the teacher (described above). For the other three mothers, different types of involvement were found; initiating a conversation with the teacher, participating in the parent council of the school, helping with activities. Also here it was found that mothers appreciated it when teachers explicitly invited the parents to participate. However, one mother mentioned that parents should not be overloaded with requests and stated that teachers sometimes induced a guilt trip for not always participating. When mothers talked about their actual participation, they were always enthusiastic, even though one mother expressed that she sometimes encountered some linguistic barriers related to her background.

Saida (37) is born in a city in the North of Morocco. Her family already anticipated that they would move to the Netherlands someday, so she was not very motivated to do well at primary school. When she was 14, her family moved to the Netherlands. She went to a special school for newcomers, where she learned the Dutch language quickly. However, she never finished her secondary education, since she wasn't motivated, and her parents did not stimulate her. She regrets this now very much. This is why she is very involved in the education of her children and she tries to educate herself by going to every meeting or event that is organized at the school or in the neighbourhood. She is also member of the school council, and she will volunteer as a lice controller if necessary. Not every parent is as committed as she is, and therefore she is afraid that certain events will be cancelled due to a lack of helping parents:

Therefore, I will always volunteer. In fact, I tell my husband 'we will volunteer both, right, otherwise the sportsday will be cancelled'. And he is like: 'Honey, you being there is enough, I need to work'.

She is also keeping an eye on her child's progress, and she will make sure that her child is not overlooked:

I don't let it rest, I will work on it and I feel like..I don't care how busy it is, but it is my child…Well not just my child, but any child has the right to receive the care he or she deserves.[…]For example, let's say that some children are selected for some extracurricular activities, and my child is not selected. Well, you've got the wrong person then, I will go and even though I'm not aware of all rules in the Netherlands and my Dutch is not that.. you know. If I have to, I'll use sign language, hands or feet. I'll do it.

Ghita (32) is born in the Netherlands, her parents are Berber-Moroccan. She is married and lives in Utrecht with her husband and three children (a 13 year old son, an 8 year old daughter and a 3 year old son). She still lives in the same neighbourhood she grew up in. All her children went to the same Islamic preschool and she

is very positive about this preschool; about the teachers, the other parents, and in general about the education the children received there.

I. So how are your experiences with this preschool?

M. Oh yes, it is very positive, especially the teachers, the teachers are great. So yes, when I have some doubts, I just go to the teacher. And I ask advice, like 'How should I do this at home? Can you explain me more?' Yes, really, I can always go there, when I have questions.

Ghita is aware that the teachers at the Islamic primary school are very busy, so she feels it is the parents responsibility to take action.

And you know what we saw here at school, that mothers come to the teacher 'Yes, you should have said that before, not only during the parent-teacher meeting'. But yeah, the teacher has 30 children in his or her classroom, so you as a parent are responsible to go to the teacher and say 'Yes, I want an appointment', they are always very open to making appointments and questions like 'I want to know where my child is, where the difficulties are'.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Reflecting on these preliminary results, we can already see some interesting points. First, there was a large variety of experiences from these seven mothers, especially since we disentangled the different aspects of the experiences with the educational system: the system, the other parents, the teacher and their participation at the (pre)school. Therefore, we should be careful when talking about 'the overall experience of mothers with a Moroccan background'.

Second, it was found that the mothers participating in this study were positive though also critical about the Dutch education system: too many children per classroom, too many administrative tasks for teachers, children use ICT too much and write not enough. Within these reflections, the mothers did not refer to their own background or own situation, but these experiences are shared amongst many other native-Dutch parents. This also shows that these mothers are knowledgeable about the system, follow the national discourse and share the same concerns. Hence, their worries should be taken seriously and cannot be seen as unique minority worries.

Third, mothers found other parents to be an important resource. Other parents gave both emotional and social support to the mothers, even, or especially, if professionals could not give them this support. It was mentioned by some mothers that the school provided opportunities for parents to meet each other, for example organising a parent-room within the school, which was appreciated.

Fourth, both positive and negative experiences regarding the relationship with the teacher were shared. When the experiences were negative, mothers experienced this as being related to the cultural background of the mother or child. For instance, one mother described the divergent beliefs on childrearing between herself and the teacher. Also cases of discrimination were mentioned, which greatly affected the mother and her trust in the school. This also shows the importance of having a good relationship with the parents; this mother decided not to be involved in the school any more, which can have negative consequences for her child. Professionals should not only be aware of their own beliefs on child rearing, but also realize that their beliefs can deviate from the beliefs of parents with a migrant background, which can affect the relationship with the parents (Slot et al., 2019). Regarding the positive experiences, mothers stated that they appreciated the efforts of teachers to keep the parents updated about the progress of their child and the fact that the teachers often initiated the contact, although this was less the case in primary school.

Finally, results showed that not all mothers shared experiences of their involvement in the (pre)school. For one mother this was the result of the negative relationship with the teacher. Other mothers did mention their involvement, which provided a variety of types of involvement. Results showed that there is a balance between the school inviting the parents to participate, hereby initiating the connection, and expecting too much from the parents. Also one mother stated that parents should not only rely on the initiatives from the teachers, but should go to the teacher themselves when they have questions.

Results from this study provided deeper insight in the motivations, facilitators and barriers of mothers with a Moroccan background in establishing and strengthening the educational partnerships. It should be noted that these results are solely based on the experiences of seven mothers, hence, we should be careful when generalizing the implications and conclusions. Nevertheless, the findings provided a valuable first overview of the different experiences regarding the different facets of the educational system, and further analyses, including more mothers, can contribute to a better understanding of migrant mothers' experiences. This can guide future interventions and strategies to support parents with a migrant background.

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2.6. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SOCIO-SPATIAL SEGREGATION AND EDUCATION: THE PERSPECTIVES OF TURKISH MOTHERS IN GERMANY

Hande Erdem-Möbius, Özen Odağ[37] & Yvonne Anders

Spatial organization of place has a strong relationship with the social structure in a society which are shaped by class, race, ethnic and cultural background of individuals (Hillier & Hanson, 1984). These structures would form the characteristics especially of urban areas which can be perceived as a reflection of physical and social boundaries between social groups so called socio-spatial segregation (Cassiers & Kesteloot, 2012). Socio-spatial segregation based on the socio-economic status and ethno-cultural background of individuals reinforces social inequalities (van Eijk, 2010; Waldring, 2017). Residential clustering of ethnic minorities is highly connected to the segregation at the school level (Rangvid, 2007; Denton, 1996). Ethnic clustering provides mutual support (Blanchard & Volchenkov, 2013); however, there are also negative effects of segregation at the (pre)school level on children´s educational success and life chances (Rangvid, 2007; Gramberg, 1998; Kristen, 2008; Karsten, 2010).

Turkish-origin population in Germany is the largest community with migration background (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2018). German institutions make an effort to decrease the effect of disadvantages coming from socio-economic and ethnic background of children from early years on such as providing financial and socio-linguistic support (Gogolin, 2009; Panagiotopoulou, 2016). However, students with Turkish migration background continue to perform below average as evidenced in international studies (OECD, 2015). One of the reasons for this could be the spatial segregation and its impact on education. Although there are studies which have concentrated on the social and ethnic composition of children in (pre)schools and its consequences (e.g. Becker & Schober, 2017; Kristen, 2008; Riedel et al., 2010; Scholz et al., 2019), they have not primarily looked into the perspectives of disadvantaged groups using qualitative methodology. From this background, the current research focuses on views of Turkish mothers about spatial segregation in Germany and its relation to education.

The study is part of the project *Inclusive Education and Social Support to Tackle Inequalities in Society* (ISOTIS) under the work package *Resources, experiences, aspirations and support needs of families in disadvantaged communities* (WP2). In line with the project´s theoretical framework (Moser, Broekhuizen, Leseman, & Melhuish, 2017), Bronfenbrenner´s bio-ecological model of human development was applied (Bronfenbrenner, 1974; 1975; 1979; 1986; 1994; Bronfenbrenner & Ceci, 1994, & Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). In order to scrutinize human development, it examines proximal processes which are enduring forms of interaction between organism and environment (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). According to this theory, individuals have face to face interactions in *microsystem* such as their families, school, and friendships. Also, the relationships between microsystems called *mesosystem*, e.g. home-school, school-neighborhood, and *exosystem* which has indirect effects to individuals, e.g. extended family, parents´ work place, are included. Furthermore, *macrosystem* that is broader social, economic and political context, and *chronosystem* which refers to the mechanisms and processes linked to time are part of the bio-ecological model of human development (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; 1994; Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). For the aspect of socio-spatial segregation, we examine specifically school and neighborhood (*microsystem*) and their relationship (*mesosystem*). Hence, by looking into socio-spatial segregation and its impact on the education in (pre)schools, this study adopts a relational perspective.

The qualitative interview methodology, which was designed and coordinated by the Department of Education, University of Oxford (Nurse & Melhuish, 2018), was applied. 22 in-depth qualitative interviews

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were conducted in the state-cities of Berlin and Bremen with Turkish-origin mothers whose children are in the age range 3-6 (before primary school) and 8-12 (in primary school). In our sample, mothers are from different immigrant generations (first-second) and varied in terms of their socio-economic status. All the transcriptions were anonymized and analysed using the method of qualitative content analysis (QCA) (Schreier, 2012).

ISOTIS aims at supporting disadvantaged families and creating effective and inclusive curricula and pedagogies (Moser, Broekhuizen, Leseman, & Melhuish, 2017). Accordingly, the current study besides contributing to the existing research about spatial relations in the field of education, the results may guide policies and practices linked to the issue of segregation and help to tackle educational inequalities within society.

PRELIMINARY FINDINGS

From the perspective of Turkish mothers, German families are highly selective for their place of residence and (pre)school of their children regarding to the low percentage of families with migration background. The participants complained about the lack of intercultural contact with German families.

> *For example, Germans do not want to go to some of the schools. They prefer schools which have predominantly German children. I do not know if it is related to us. Do they have fear? (…) Since we want our children to improve their German skills and we think a mixture of cultures would be better, we stay close to the German people. We are playing with them in the parks. But some Germans pull themselves back. They separate themselves from us (Ece, Berlin)*

Some respondents shared similar tendencies as German families in terms of having a strategic (pre)school and place of residence selection. Families indicated that the main reinforce for this selection was the perceived educational quality difference between neighbourhoods.

> *I am very satisfied in terms of that aspect. Here it is calmer. Kreuzberg is very chaotic. There are foreigners everywhere. Arabs, Kurds, Turks… everything is in Kreuzberg. The children cannot get a good education in Kreuzberg. Even if it is a very good school, it is very chaotic inside. But the place where we live is calm, that's why I say it is like a village. They built the schools with distant intervals. Nobody interferes with anyone. We are living on our own. There is no one looking at us because we are Turkish. It happens in Kreuzberg more often. There are more xenophobic people. Here I never felt something like that (Ömür, Berlin)*

When we asked the respondents about perceived educational inequality due to their socio-economic status, low SES families stated their satisfaction with state benefits especially for the education of their children. However, in Germany, although financial support is supposed to contribute tackling educational inequalities within society, quality difference between schools become the source of inequalities from early years on.

> *In terms of housing, in Bremen it [Schwachhausen] is the best district for people with kids. (…). Since there are parents with better CVs here, teachers are teaching better here too. If you compare a child going to school in Walle and here, you can see that there is a difference in terms of the quality of the education. (Cavidan, Bremen)*

Mothers whose children attend (pre)schools with a high number of students with migration background stated their dissatisfaction. The low expectation of teachers for the students´ achievement, their problems with regard to intercultural communication and further perceived discrimination were mentioned. Additionally, an inadequate number of working staff and physical facilities, worries about German language

development of the children were mentioned. It is important to note that when some mothers shared their wishes for changing the (pre)school and the place of residence to German-majority environment; some highlighted the socio-emotional well-being of their children. These mothers were afraid that if their children would be the only or one of the few students with migration background they may experience exclusion.

> *For example, when my child would be somewhere where there are only Germans, my child could feel excluded. But in terms of education, I think the level of schools is a little bit lower here. The expectations of the teachers are accordingly lower when the child is a foreigner. This worries me a bit. (Ebru, Berlin)*

Also, the narratives underlined the relationship between participants' ethno-cultural identity and segregation. Some of participants mentioned that they would not want their children to be completely Germanized; instead these mothers wish that their children get to know different cultures and become more international. For this reason, they highlighted the importance of mixed classes with Germans and children with migration background.

CONCLUSION

Segregation is not only a physical issue, but also about social boundaries within society. By applying Bronfenbrenner's bio-ecological perspective, we scrutinize school and neighborhood (*microsystem*) as well as their relationship (*mesosystem*). It provides deeper understanding regarding the reasons of socio-spatial segregation and its impact on education. From the perspectives of Turkish mothers, the intensity of families with a certain class and ethno-cultural background is an important determinant of educational quality. Although social and financial support to disadvantaged families might decrease the educational inequalities, it would not eliminate them completely. As neighbourhoods are closely connected to (pre)school selection in Germany, the quality difference between (pre)schools in different neighbourhoods turn into the main source of educational inequalities. Besides, families' concerns about their own ethno-cultural identities, feeling of exclusion and perceived discrimination should be taken into consideration. These perceptions of mothers play a major role both as reasons and consequences of socio-spatial segregation. There can be local, regional and national level policies which could be applied to tackle the aspect of segregation.

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Part 3

CHILDREN'S VIEWS ON AND CONTRIBUTIONS TO INCLUSIVE EDUCATION: STUDIES IN DIVERSE CLASSROOMS

INTRODUCTION

The qualitative in-depth Children study presented in this section is the third empirical effort carried out in WP2 in 2018-2019, involving children in pre- and primary school settings and informal after-school contexts in areas characterized by high cultural diversity and social inequality in eight European countries: the Czech Republic, England, Germany, Greece, Italy, Norway, Poland, and, in a later time, The Netherlands. The study was designed to complement the quantitative survey and the qualitative study involving parents, to enable a better understanding of the experiences, perceptions and opinions of young children from native-born low-income families and families with ethnic minority and immigrant backgrounds regarding inclusion and well-being at school.

The ISOTIS Children Study aimed at exploring children's perspectives on inclusion and well-being at school and identifying facilitating positive elements at school within social, cultural, religious and linguistic differences, what children identified as quality indicators of school inclusiveness and their suggestions to make school more welcoming and inclusive. The study elicited children's views on inclusion and well-being at school and, beyond this, the study explored a form of education through democracy, examining how a supportive democratic learning environment can be created.

The study intended to provide new perspectives and valuable ideas to inform policy-makers, as well as methodological suggestions to make research with and for children, to enhance inclusive environments through the active participation of children and to empower children in their roles as democratic citizens (e.g., Dürr, 2005; Himmelmann, 2001; Johnny, 2005; Osler, 2000; Osler & Starkey, 2006).

A Technical Report was delivered when the data analysis (and in some countries also the data collection) was still on-going. The Report illustrates the theoretical framework, the aims and research questions, the methodology and the ethical guidelines applied in detail and includes the first partial versions of the country reports (see D2.4 Technical report on the Child Interview study. Children's views on inclusion at school – Isotis web source http://www.isotis.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/D2.4_Technical-Report-on-the-Child-interview-study.pdf).

In this final report, the theoretical and methodological framework (Chapter 3.1) will be synthetically presented, followed by an updated presentation of the study conducted in the eight countries involved, with the additional contribution of the Dutch team that joined the study at a later time. Chapter 3.2 is composed of lengthy abstracts of the 8 country case reports, while the full Country reports (except for the Dutch study) will be provided as Appendixes at the ISOTIS website (www.isotis.org).

In Chapter 3.3, a cross-country analysis on the main results illustrates what children identified as the main factors promoting well-being and inclusion, the main factors undermining well-being and inclusion and the transformative factors proposed by children. Following are some reflections on the main ethical and methodological challenges and complexities, the limitations of the international research, the content suggested by children and the educational and formative impact of the study on children and teachers. Recommendations for practice and policy conclude the document.

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3.1 THE INTERNATIONAL STUDY 'FEEL GOOD. CHILDREN VIEWS ON INCLUSION AT SCHOOL'

Giulia Pastori, Alice Sophie Sarcinelli, & Valentina Pagani

THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical framework that guided the conceptualization of the study design relied on a number of pillars: (1) **Children's Rights** and the paradigm of the «Research With and For Children»; (2) the **Participatory Research Framework** in connection to **Education Through Democracy** and the **Active Citizenship Framework**; (3) **Social Inclusion and Well-Being** as key topics regarding children's participation.

- **Children's rights and the paradigm of the research *with* and *for* children -** The relevance of children's perspectives in the field of research has become well established in the field of the human sciences due to relevant cultural and scientific developments in the 20th century, shedding new light on the image of the Child and Childhood. The International Convention on the Rights of the Child (UN 1989) established the inviolable rights granted to children of any age, gender, origin and social status, and among others the right to participate and the right to freedom of expression (art. 12 and 13). Academic contribution came from: (1) Socio-Constructivist Early Childhood Pedagogy that promoted a new concept of the 'competent child' actively engaged in cognitive and socio-emotional learning experiences, but also in decision making and participation; (2) the Anthropology and Sociology of Childhood that has long recognized children as competent actors and reliable informants on their life (O'Keane, 2008); (3) Students'/Children's Voice Theory that acknowledges how children's perspectives are essential to understand their unique viewpoint in educational and school contexts where they represent one of the main groups of stakeholders. In these fields of research, there has been an important shift from a research paradigm focusing almost exclusively on children as mere research objects to a research paradigm that involves children as collaborators. Childhood studies have claimed the capacity for children to be researchers, and children have evolved from being 'positioned' as mere objects, or, at most, subjects of research, to being research partners that can actively and meaningfully cooperate and co-construct along with researchers (Bessell, 2015). The paradigm shift requires not only an idea of research with children, but also specific attention to the educational impact and the priority of children's well-being in participating in research. Therefore, not only is there talk of "research with" children, but also of a "research for children" (Mayall, 2003; Mortari, 2009).

- **The participatory research framework in connection to the education through democracy and active citizenship framework -** To truly listen to children's perspectives and to allow children to have meaningful experience within research, giving voice to children is not enough (Mortari & Mazzoni, 2010; Sarcinelli, 2015: p.6). It is essential to take their ideas into account and let them experience how their voices can influence the contexts they live in. Four separate factors require consideration: (1) **Space**: 'creating an opportunity for involvement – a space in which children are encouraged to express their views' (Welty & Lundy, 2013:2); (2) **Voice**: recognizing children's many languages and using as many ways of listening as possible (Moskal & Tyrrell, 2015); (3) **Audience**: ensuring children that their views are listened to by adults; (4) **Influence**: ensuring that children's views are not only heard, but that they are taken seriously and, whenever possible, acted upon. The participatory and transformative research integrates listening to opinions and a phase of constructive work, proactive and that transforms the context or object under consideration. This model becomes an opportunity for the research participants to be actively and meaningfully engaged, experience citizenship, agency and, to all effects, it can represent a democratic education experience, according to the threefold

definition of democratic education[38].

Beyond giving 'voice' (namely eliciting children's views on inclusion and well-being at school), this study was meant to explore how the research could result in a form of **education *through* democracy**, allowing children to collaborate in decision making. In contexts of social distress and marginalization, such an approach could be an important catalyst for social inclusion – 'social inclusion' intended as 'making sure that all children and adults are able to participate as valued, respected and contributing members of society' (Omidvar & Richmond, 2003:VIII). In line with this theoretical framework, the ISOTIS study explored children's ideas on how inclusion, acceptance and respect for differences manifest in their classrooms and schools. Children's proposals about what could be done to make their school (more) welcoming and inclusive for each child were elicited and some of their ideas were implemented, so that the children could have a tangible experience of democratic life (Welty & Lundy, 2013) and develop their skills and awareness as knowledgeable, responsible and active citizens in their communities (UN, 1989).

- **Social inclusion & well-being as key topics to involve children's participation** - The study focused on children's ideas and proposals for change on inclusion and well-being in the school context. Inclusion and well-being are two closely interconnected concepts in theoretical models. Inclusion has been conceptualized as a four-step process including well-being (Rosenthal and Levy, 2010): (1) **Inclusion as acknowledging differences**: a precondition for promoting inclusion is recognizing and drawing attention to social and cultural differences; (2) **Inclusion as valuing differences**: diversity should not only be recognized, but also appreciated as a value (Salamanca Statement; UNESCO, 1994); (3) **Inclusion as acceptance**: only when differences are recognized and valued, all forms of social and cultural diversity can be accepted; (4) **Inclusion as well-being**: the recognition, appreciation, valorization, and acceptance of diversity are key preconditions for promoting well-being. The concept of well-being has been defined as **the opportunity to feel that "one's perceptions and experiences do matter"** (UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2007:45) and individuals have a sense of purpose, feel able to achieve important personal goals and participate in society. It is enhanced by conditions that include supportive personal relationships [and] strong and inclusive communities (see also ISOTIS Deliverables 4.1. and 4.2).

The value of eliciting children's viewpoints on such topics and their active involvement is particularly meaningful for several reasons.

At a basic but paramount level, though such topics are delicate and require an attentive ethical consideration when dealing with children. It has been acknowledged that they affect children's personal experience within the school, the family, the neighborhood they live in, and the wider society, starting from the early years (Rayna & Brougère, 2014).

At the research level, this study offers an interesting contribution in a seldom-explored field[39] with respect to how to talk with children about these issues. The aim is to enter children's 'direct experience', in order to reflect with children on what they consider to be factors of well-being or discomfort in the school context.

At a policy level, it can be observed that children are still not enough involved and allowed to express their viewpoints on social inclusion. Social inclusion has become a key issue in the academic debate across disciplines and an inescapable priority for the worldwide political agenda, especially in the field of education

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[38] The three dimensions of the definition are (1) education about democracy regards deep understanding of what democracy is and what it requires from each citizen; (2) education for democracy is to learn how to participate and exercise one's democratic rights; (3) education through democracy takes place in supportive, democratic learning environments (Gollob et. al., 2010).

[39] Very few studies have encompassed young children's perspectives on and understandings of inclusion (Nutbrown & Clough, 2009; Mahbub, 2008).

(UNESCO 2005, 2013, 2014; OECD 2018a, 2018b). Research on the impact of exclusion and discrimination on children and childhood demonstrates that '*the challenge of future inequalities can only be met through child policies for social inclusion*' (Cook et al., 2018:16). Children are attributed a central role in the social inclusion policy agenda, yet most initiatives to implement this agenda '*were and are still designed, delivered and evaluated by adults*' (Hill et al., 2004).

This has been highlighted in recent studies such as the one commissioned by the European Commission to the European Social Policy Network (ESPN, 2017), on the national policies of 35 states regarding the implementation of the Recommendation on *Investing in children: Breaking the cycle of disadvantage* (EC 2013). The Recommendation, that sets out to define a common European Framework for tackling child poverty and social exclusion and for promoting child well-being, includes three main pillars. The third one relates to policies to support the participation of all children in play, recreation, sports and cultural activities, and *to promote children's participation in decision-making in areas that affect their lives*. Overall, the study demonstrated there has been little change in most countries since 2013.

Against this background, the ISOTIS Child study, recognizing this gap, aimed at eliciting children's voices on inclusion and well-being in reference to the school context.

THE METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

The methodological framework and the selected research strategies and instruments refers to two main approaches: a participatory methodology (O'Kane, 2008) and a multi-method approach (Clark & Moss, 2001).

Children were involved in the research process as co-constructors and co-researchers in reflecting on the quality of their (pre)school contexts, on well-being at (pre)school and in proposing innovations. The methodological proposal was meant to: (1) promote a safe environment where children were encouraged to express their views, feeling that they were being heard and never judged; (2) recognize children's many languages, adopting a multi-method approach that used many ways of listening and enabled diverse opportunities for expression; (3) give voice to children's experiences, and let them be (pro)active. In this regard, a critical and reflective stance (Flewitt, 2005) was adopted, considering both children's participation in the research and the implementation of their proposals. Specific attention was dedicated to balancing children's right to participate with the need to ensure a worthwhile and positive experience, adjusting the adult's and children's roles according to children's ages and competences. We asked all of the children (in various age groups and contexts) their suggestions to make their school more welcoming and implemented the most feasible proposals. Finally, while the initial construction of the research-partnership with the children was mainly an ethnographic participant observation, many different methods and techniques were proposed, such as focus groups, circle-time discussions, art-based and manipulative activities, virtual photo tours and digital product making. This choice not only met the need for triangulation, but also provided a richer and more comprehensive picture of children's viewpoints, recognizing children's many languages (Edwards, Gandini & Forman, 1998) and ensuring that each child had the opportunity to explore and represent their perspective in their own terms. The study had to adopt a common framework and a common set of strategies and instruments needed for a cross-cultural study and comparison, yet they were proposed as flexible and adaptable based on the specific: (1) objectives of National teams given the presence of different target groups (e.g. Roma, Low-Income, Moroccan); (2) culture of schooling and inclusion in each country; (3) culture of childhood in the different target groups and the different developmental stages of the children and contexts involved (formal and informal). The mainstays of the proposed methodological approach were similar across the different age groups and countries for both formal and informal contexts, in terms of methods, languages, and tools. We provided national teams with a manual with general guidelines and specific research techniques and activities for each of the three contexts (preschool; primary school and informal contexts), inviting them to adapt and customize activities or parts of them to better take into

account the peculiarities of each site and to investigate specific topics and themes most relevant to their context/target group. The research protocol adopted in the three contexts to explore four different dimensions: (1) identity; (2) children's views and experiences on inclusion; (3) well-being at school; (4) children's proposals.).

THE MAIN DIMENSION, RESEARCH STRATEGIES AND TOOLS

To The research protocol adopted aimed at exploring four different dimensions:

1. identity;

2. children's views and experiences on inclusion;

3. well-being at school;

4. children's proposals.

A manual with general guidelines and specific research techniques and activities was provided for each of the three contexts (preschool, primary school, informal after-school contexts). The format provided was meant to be adapted and customized by each national team taking into account the peculiarities of each site, in order to address the most relevant themes/topics for the specific target group or given the specific characteristics of the context. Further steps could also be added by national teams based on their specific objectives and target groups, while maintaining certain common elements in order to guarantee cross-country comparability.

Table 1 gives an overview of the research protocol in the three contexts. We will then illustrate in detail the research protocol for each context.

Table 1. *Research protocol*

DIMENSION	DESCRIPTION OF THE DIMENSION	ACTIVITIES WHICH ADDRESSED THE DIMENSIONS		
		FORMAL 9-10	FORMAL 3-6	INFORMAL
Identity	Cultural, linguistic, social and somatic identity of each child	Identity card	Identity card	Icebreaker activity; Autobiography
Children's views and experiences on inclusion	If/how the school supported inclusion, acknowledging and valuing diversity at different levels: a) cultural diversity; b) linguistic diversity; c) social inequalities	Focus-group	Circle-time or Child-led tour	Video-cued focus group; Autobiography
Well-being at school	a) Elements that contributed to making children 'feel good', accepted and included at	Suns and clouds	Suns and clouds	Video-cued focus group; Autobiography

	school; b) Elements that undermined children's well-being at school			
Proposals	Children's proposals to make their school more inclusive and welcoming for each child	'Inclusion first aid kit'	'Inclusion first aid kit'	Message to the authorities

The selected strategies and tools were proposed into steps, that could have been adjusted to specific local requests. The national teams were encouraged to adapt the activities and/or methodologies to the characteristics of the children and the specific contexts. A detailed description is provided in the Technical Report D2.5 (Chapter 3)

The preliminary step required before getting started with the activities consisted of at least one day of field observations to allow children to get to know researchers and to understand how the researchers' role differed from the teachers' role; to present the work and ask children to sign the informed consent and explain the importance to audio recording; to allow researchers to know the context better and gather some relevant information about children, teaching methods and inclusion strategies already implemented. Tis step consisted of observing the context without interfering too much (non-participant observation), whereas the option was left open for interacting with children (participant observation):

A letter from a researcher in another country was proposed as a trigger for focus group conversations, to engage children in reflecting on and discussing their school experience regarding inclusion, well-being, and acknowledging and respecting differences. The letter was meant to activate children both at cognitive (their opinions and ideas about inclusion at school) and socio-emotional levels (their experience of inclusion at school), offering an engaging story, real situations raising indirect questions, characters and situations that children could relate to, and authenticity (the sender was a true researcher).

Especially for the preschoolers, a different option consisted in an audio-recorded child-led tour rather than in a circle-time discussion, asking children to take the researchers on a tour in their preschool to collect some information/materials to present their school to newcomers (Clark, 2017).

Especially for the informal contexts, it was suggested also to use a short clip used as stimulus or indirect question to provoke a dialogue among the children on the topic considered most relevant by the national team in their context.

The identity card was based on the pretext of the letter whose sender expressed interest in knowing more about their experience, and was meant to involve the children in introducing themselves and their school, investigating more deeply what children think and how they represent their identity, as well as to get some information about their aspirations.

The Sun & Clouds activity focused on children's experience at school and specifically on what made them feel good (suns) or not (clouds) at school.

Especially for the informal contexts, a different option was proposed, inviting children to focus on their school experience as a whole and create their school-autobiography or photo-story supported by the researchers and the professionals in the informal context.

The 'Inclusion first aid kit 'activity consisted in involving students in eliciting some proposals to make their school (more) welcoming for each child. Researchers were invited to make different materials and tools (e.g.,

cameras, video-cameras, tablets, billboards…) available to children to support the elaboration of children's ideas.

Especially the primary schools and in the informal contexts, it was also suggested to invite children to prepare a message for the authorities (school principal or the local authorities, or the mayor…) with a list of proposals, choosing the form of the message (a letter, a song, a video clip, a drawing, a photo-story etc.), and whether the message was produced individually, in pairs or in a small group.

It was suggested that the researchers invite the teachers to organize follow-up activities after the research was completed (e.g. children could present and propose their inclusion kit to other classes); return to the school to present the results of the international research, some of the experiences shared and the messages produced by children in other contexts; or even twin some contexts so that children could send each other comments on the messages produced by the other group of children.

DATA COLLECTION, CODING AND ANALYSIS

National teams were be asked to transcribe (verbatim in the original language and only the most significant excerpts translated into English) children's verbalizations, written comments/productions and discussions during circle-time, focus groups, one-to-one conversations, dialogues during everyday interactions with children and between children relevant to the research.

During all activities that consisted of drawing and realizing artefacts, researchers were invited to systematically ask the children to describe their products (especially young children who were not able to write), to take note and/or record their explanations.

Coding and analysis were focused only on verbal data, while visual data could be used to support and document the analysis.

At the international comparative level, the analysis of verbal data was realized through a thematic analysis approach (Boyatzis 1998; Braun and Clarke 2006).

Two main levels of the data analysis were considered:

national level: each country team analyzed the national data set as a single case and provided thematic analysis, contextualizing the data analysis within the specific characteristics of the setting/s where the research was conducted, preserving the ecological validity of the data interpretation and analysis.

international level: a comparative analysis was performed by target groups, settings and children's age after national analyses have been completed, focusing on three main findings: what children indicated as factors promoting or undermining well-being and inclusion at school and what children proposed to make the school more welcoming and inclusive.

A preliminary phase to thematic analysis is data coding.

In order to connect the first national level and the second international level of analysis, a common coding system was created, instead of separate coding trees for each country. Starting from common points based on the research questions, the coding tree was made of four types of codes as illustrated in te table below.

Table 2. *Typologies of codes*

CATEGORY	TYPE OF CODES
Preliminary codes	T. TARGET GROUP
Thematic codes	D. DIVERSITY
	SR. SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS
	I. IDENTITY
	SO. SCHOOL ORGANIZATION
Over codes	F. FACTORS INFLUENCING INCLUSION & WELL-BEING
	R. REPRESENTATIONS
Complementary codes	CC. COMPLEMENTARY CODES

Main codes were detailed in several sub-codes reaching a umber of 37 codes. The coding tree resulted as in the Figure 1 and in the Table 3 below.
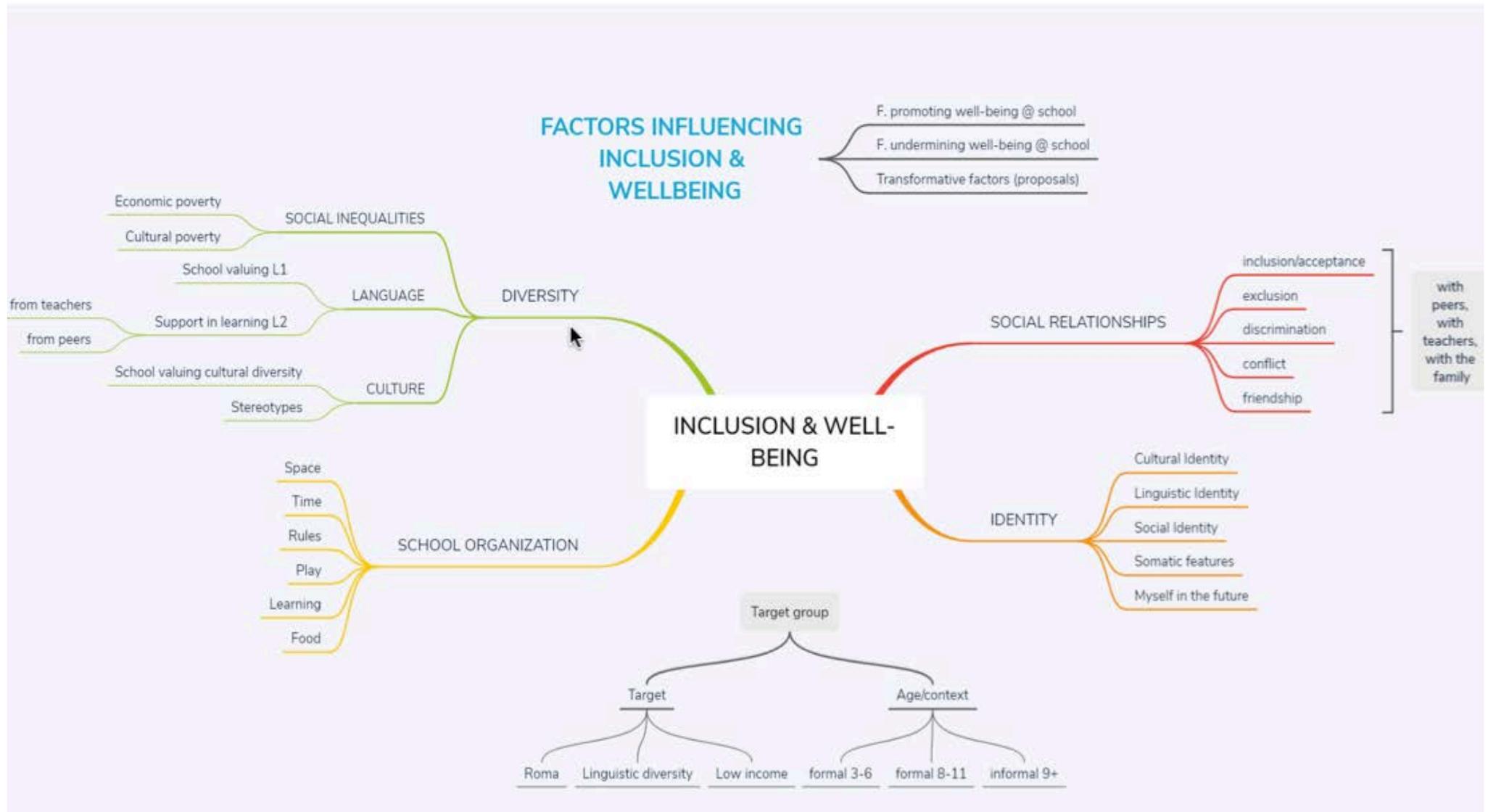
Figure 1. *Coding tree*

Table 3. *International table of codes*

TABLE OF THE CODES		
PRELIMINARY CODES (TARGET GROUPS)	T1. Roma	
	T2. Linguistic diversity	
	T3. Low income	
	T4. Formal 3-6	
	T5. Formal 8-11	
	T6. Informal 9+	
THEMATIC CODES	**D. DIVERSITY**	D1. Social inequalities
		D2. Language
		D3. Culture
	SR. SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS	SR1. Inclusion/acceptance
		SR2. Discrimination
		SR3. Conflict
		SR4. Friendship
		SR5. Behavior
		SR6. Emotional support/empathy
	IDENTITY	I1. Cultural identity
		I2. Linguistic identity
		I3. Social identity
		I4. Somatic features
		I5. Myself in the future
	SO. SCHOOL ORGANIZATION	SO1. Space
		SO2. Time
		SO3. Rules
		SO4. Play
		SO5. Learning
		SO5. Food
		SO6. Teaching approach
OVER-CODES	**F. FACTORS INFLUENCING INCLUSION & WELL-BEING**	F1. Factors promoting well-being at school
		F2. Factors undermining well-being at school

		F3. Transformative factors (proposals and wishes)
	R. REPRESENTATIONS	R1. Image of the child/student
		R2. Image of the teacher
		R3. Image of the school
		R4. Image of the society
COMPLEMENTARY CODES	CC1. Peers	
	CC2. Teachers/school	
	CC3. Family	

The coding system was meant to be a common scheme of themes open to variations and additional sub-codes proposed by the partners to address particular, locally emerging themes (only one sub-codes was added in the Dutch study in School Organization, 'Transition to school'). Moreover, with regard to the different target groups (low income, Romani and immigrant children), not all of the codes were meant to be used by all the teams.

The four main thematic codes (diversity, school organization, social relationships, identity) and their sub-codes were applied in combination with preliminary codes, Over codes and Complementary codes as well as with thematic codes.

At the national level, partners[40] carried out a thematic analysis combining the qualitative interpretation of the verbal materials (transcripts and observation notes) collected during the field work with the quantitative analysis of the codes's distribution, mainly focusing on the co-occurrences of the thematic codes with the over-codes, namely Factors promoting well-being and inclusion, Factors undermining well-being and inclusion and Transformative Factors (children's proposals and wishes to change the school), in relation to the age and the setting. The quantitative code analysis was meant just to support the qualitative analysis, to increase the understanding of the relevance of the topics addressed by children.

The international analysis followed the same procedure and built on the national analysis provided by almost all countries, combining the qualitative interpretation of the results provided by each partner in the country report with the quantitative analysis of the codes' distribution in reference to the entire sample (overall) and per age and setting (school 3-5, school 9-11 and afterschool informal context 9+).

Findings of the international analysis are presented in the last chapter.

The national teams were asked to guarantee respect of (1) the European General Data Protection Regulation (Reg. EU 2016/679); (2) relevant national legal and ethical requirements; (3) that the standards described in the ISOTIS data management were fully met during this task. In reference to the involvement of young children as research participants and the delicate topics addressed by the study, four main levels of

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[40] Few exceptions should be noted: the English study applied different codes fitting in the specific features and purposes of the research conducted Uk; the Czech team provided the co-coccurence table of just site 1; the Polish team had serious challenges in collecting data and was allowed to take only field notes. The notes were coded but a precise quantification of the codes was considered inapproriate, while the researchers preferred to make a distinction between predominant and non predominant topics.

ethics were addressed and cautiously considered: (1) Aims and benefits; (2) Informed consent; (3) Privacy and confidentiality; (4) Data collection, storage and use of the data.

The impact that participation in the research may have had on children in terms of potential harm and possible benefits was considered. The questions of children's participation and the notion of children's voices have been critically addressed and deconstructed (Komulainen, 2007; Lewis, 2010). Research with children, especially with very young ones, gives rise to major ethical concerns, highlighting the inherent risks of oversimplification, hypocrisy, manipulation, or of practices that are more formal than substantive (Palaiologou, 2012, 2014). Notwithstanding that children's voices need to find a way to be expressed and heard, these issues were taken into account, especially considering the very delicate issues addressed by the study such as inclusiveness, well-being and respect for diversity (Bittencourt Ribeiro, 2017). The ethical questions that we addressed in designing the research methods regarded (1) the positive involvement of young children in exploring and discussing inclusion/exclusion in school contexts characterized by cultural diversity and social inequalities; (2) the addressing of these issues in a sensitive yet meaningful way to children and the alignment of the research questions and methodology with the children's competence, motivations and interests.

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3.2 THE NATIONAL STUDIES

Eight countries participated in the Children Study: The Czech Republic, England, Germany, Greece, Italy, Norway, and Poland, and an additional study in the Netherlands came at a later time. Each study is presented in this chapter in the format of an extended abstract, while full country reports are provided in the appendix (except for the Dutch study). The studies follow the same order of the list of the beneficiaries:

- The Netherlands
- England
- Norway
- Germany
- Italy
- Greece
- Poland
- The Czech Republic

3.2.1 THE NETHERLANDS

Christel Eijkholt and Paul Leseman

Short abstract

The insights presented below are the result of activities conducted as part of a case-study aiming to contribute to a pedagogy of child rights-based democratic citizenship of young children in care and education services (ECEC) in The Netherlands, while at the same time fitting into the ISOTIS project, WP2 Task 2.5 exploring children's perspectives on well-being and inclusion. This qualitative study was specifically designed to include the views of (very young) children aged 3 to 6 years old through participatory pedagogical practices, and by conducting open and semi-structured interviews with children through a mosaic of visualizations. This resulted in comprehensive and in-depth information from children themselves in pre-school and afterschool care centers, and a record of their perspectives on inclusion and belonging/well-being in pedagogical settings. This study provides an overview of influential factors contributing to understanding what makes children "feel good", or not, in care settings, across the organization's pedagogy, and in particular related to strategies to promote inclusion of less advantaged families/communities in The Netherlands. Gender, age range ("younger, same or older to me"), family (siblings) and group identity are the most determining factors when asked about how and with whom children play, and related to what children tell about their wellbeing and inclusion. Also, for this group of young children, there appeared to be no clear division between "me" and "the other". In this respect, children's own identity, their social relationships and the various contexts in which children are situated during the day, are not delineated and seem to merge smoothly. This notion could be of influence when considering policy measures aiming to support the inclusion of all in a pedagogical environment.

Keywords: Child rights, diversity, inclusion, well-being, democratic citizenship, identity, children's views, child participation

Research sites and participants

The empirical setting for this research project is the neighbourhood Ondiep in the city of Utrecht in The Netherlands. This neighbourhood has a substantial native low SES-population, and a large migrant population with very mixed cultural and ethnical backgrounds. The neighbourhood is dealing with various urban issues related to - amongst others – migration and an increasingly diverse population, changes in social structures and individualisation. During the last ten years, Ondiep was one of five neighbourhoods in Utrecht that received special attention and financial support by the city council through a specific 'neighbourhood approach' ("krachtwijk"), such as additional investments in communication, empowerment of vulnerable groups, citizen's participation, and attention for special places or themes symbolizing improvements in the neighbourhood[41].

Starting point for site selection was the Utrecht-based organization Ludens Foundation. Ludens is a specialized organization for day- and afterschool care and education[42], and part of the national umbrella of

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[41]   https://www.utrecht.nl/fileadmin/uploads/documenten/bestuur-en-organisatie/publicaties/onderzoek-en-cijfers/Rapport-Leren-van-wijkaanpak-2018-06.pdf

[42] In The Netherlands, children between 0-4 yrs have access to (a form of) day care, subsidized if both parents are working/studying or from 2,5 yrs onwards when toddlers are identified with a risk of developmental delays. The latter group has currently access to 10 hrs of Preschool Education focussing on language support (this will be 16 hrs as from August 2020). On paper, these provisions do overlap. However, in practice, both provisions seem to cater for different populations (dual income, middle and high SES families in day care centres vs low SES and migrant background families in preschools), leading to segregation in the education system. Since 2018, the Preschool system is integrated in the child care system. The government is recently taking steps to further integrate both

foundations for day and afterschool care Kindwijzer – whose members jointly invest in pedagogical quality. Ludens' main pedagogical approach "The Growth Chart" (Ludens, 2011) is applicable for all children in their child centres from birth onwards. The pedagogy is based on a whole child approach, and aiming at the gradual transfer of responsibilities to children. The classes and centres are considered a democratic community in which children feel heard and seen, are given a voice, and in which children learn to make decisions together, to take responsibility for themselves and their environment, and to learn to solve problems and conflicts together. Respect for diversity is a central pedagogical value[43].

The child care system in The Netherlands is organized in such a way, that composition of the groups differs from weekday to weekday. The research activities were planned accordingly, to ensure that the research groups were most divers and more or less reflecting the population context in Ondiep – with regards to migrant populations (Moroccan), native low SES-category, and other cultural backgrounds. In the afterschool care, a number of children are enrolled from the special Language-school where recently arrived migrant children receive special catch-up education with emphasis on learning the Dutch language, socio-emotional support and integration in the mainstream school system. This concerns refugee children from Syria, and, for example, children from labour migrants from Eastern Europe, South Asia and Latin-Amerika.

Table 1: Overview of context, sites and participants

Context and site information				Participants	
City / Area	**Background Characteristics**	**Formal context**	**Age group**	**Group**	**Child interviews**
Utrecht, Ondiep	Mixed, immigrant and native low-income SES	Child centre, Pre-school care	3 years	12	11 individual 1x4 group
		Child centre After school care	4-6 years	24	9 individual 1x4 group

Methodology

For this study, we used the methodology defined for ISOTIS by Pastori, Pagani, Sarcinelli (2018) as a base[44]. However, we adjusted the tools to the evolving capacities of the young child (Landsdown, 2005; Clarke, 2005). We found that the tools provided needed to be short, concrete, functional, colourful, tangible, flexible and adaptive to the context and setting. Verbal and written consent from teachers and parents, and even more so from children interested to participate, is key. For very young children, this is best visualised on one page only. It takes a long time to collect parental consent forms; not all parents are necessarily closely involved with the centre, and it is not easy to get their attention in such a way that the overall goal of the study and their children's role could be sufficiently explicated. Approaching parents in person and explain the process verbally, appeared to be effective.

To work with children individually and group-wise towards an aggregated and collective end-product during the course of the project, was very stimulating and inspiring for the children. It concretized the direct

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provisions.
The Dutch education system provides for 8 years of primary education: 2 years of universal kindergarten - groups 1 and 2 - for children aged 4-6, and 6 years of primary education (groups 3-8) for children aged 6-12 years old. Children from working parents have access to subsidized afterschool services.

[43] http://www.samengoedvoorlater.nl/wp-content/uploads/We-zijn-allemaal-anders.pdf. The project 'Together for the Future' ('Samen goed voor Later' in Dutch) was implemented in all Kindwijzer child centers from 2011 onwards. Kindwijzer, represents about 15 per cent of all day care centers in The Netherlands.

[44] This study is part of the international research project 'Children's views on inclusion at school' within the European project ISOTIS (seee D.2.5.: Pastori G., Pagani V., Sarcinelli S., Technical report on the Child Interview sudy. Chidrens views on inclusion at school'- digital source available on www.isotis.org)

and overarching goals of the research, and instructions for the assignments. We suggested to make a 'group-book' with all the visualisations as an introduction for new children in their group; i.e. children who are not familiar to them or the child centre, and may not speak the language yet. We gave the book an overall recognizable (group)symbol. This way, the products and the end-product worked as a stimulus for the verbalizations among children themselves as well.

Table 2: Overview of Activities

Child Study: Phases and activities		
Phase	**Activities**	**Dimensions**
-1	Identification of research sites Explanations (staff, parents, children) Preparations (consent forms)	Recognition of children as valuable resource of information about issues related to their day-to-day experiences
0	Field observations	Children in their context
1	Child-led Tour	Views and experiences of children
2	Identity Cards / Passports	Individual identity
3	Suns and Clouds	Children's wellbeing
4	Picture book	Group identity and experiences of children in their context
5	Group Compilation Book	Defining individual and group-identity, as well as aiming at welcoming new children for their wellbeing and inclusion

Coding and analysis

Country-specific to this case-study, and in addition to the general framework, we used:

1) Additional background documentation: literature on the Mosaic approach[45], Ludens pedagogical policy, vreedzameschool.nl, Samengoedvoorlater.nl, reports Utrecht city council.

2) Apart from general observations during the research period (May-July 2019), four divergent moments were selected for close observations in the two selected groups/sites. These were carefully documented and analysed, with focus on:

1) Interactions between children during free play

2) Interactions between children during a structured activity (meal time)

3) Interactions between staff and children

4) Methods of conflict-resolution.

3) One open group-interview with staff (location leader, teachers) was held in June[46]. Although managers, teachers and supporting staff were not the focus of this research, their understanding of the details of the research, consent for, and cooperation with the activities was important to be able to conduct research activities with children effectively and meaningfully. Also, they provided details and specifics of the context, location and group climate.

4) The activities with the children themselves led to discussions and open, sometimes in-depth, conversations

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[45] Clark, A. and Moss, P. (2001). *Listening to Young Children – The Mosaic Approach*. National Children's Bureau; and Clark, A. (2017). *Listening to Young Children, Expanded Third Edition: A Guide to Understanding and Using the Mosaic Approach*. Jessica Kinsley Publishers
[46] Discussion with staff, June 11, 2019

with two focus groups (2 x 4 children) and 20 individual children. The outputs of the children (drawings, pictures, polaroids) were used as incentives; children's' verbalizations were coded according to four main characteristics of inclusion and wellbeing (and various sub-characteristics). These were divided in factors promoting and factors undermining well-being. Transformative factors as such were not identified from the verbalisations of children directly. Questions in the direction of 'Proposals' ("what would you suggest, how would you.., what would happen if..") require a certain level of abstract thinking that appeared to be not applicable to this age-group. However, transformative factors were analysed combining all applied tools as per the Mosaic-approach.

Main Findings

As can be found in table 3, children responded generally positive, when asked about, and encouraged to voice their experiences in day- or afterschool care. Many expressions came spontaneously, other verbalizations were in response to questions about what children do like, or not, in preschool or care, what they like to do, what is their favourite place, whom do they like to play with, and how they welcome new children. The figures in the co-occurrence table provide an overview of how many times each specific code recurs in the voiced and recorded data. However, these categories may not necessarily be the most significant or substantial ones.

The categories most frequently mentioned by children in relation to both promoting and undermining wellbeing and inclusion in preschool and care, were Organizational factors followed by factors relating to Social relationships and Identity. Among this group of young children, the category Diversity was hardly recognized as a factor of influence, positive nor negative. Among the Organizational factors, most frequently mentioned in relation to promoting Wellbeing, were by far factors related to Play and Space. For example, preschool children indicated frequently they like the open-door policy during free play and the possibility to go beyond their 'official boundaries' and explore without restrictions. This was followed on a distance by – notably – factors related to the future transition to primary school among the group of 3- year olds. Undermining organizational factors mentioned, were related to Time and Space – mainly afterschool care children indicated they did not like restrictions in this regard during free play, for example interruptions for fixed mealtimes or playing outside at certain time-slots.

The second most frequently mentioned category were factors relating to Social relationships; with the highest occurrence of undermining factors relative to factors promoting Wellbeing. Issues related to friendship, exclusion and conflict were most frequented as negative to Wellbeing. Children mentioned, for example, that they did not like to participate on days that their friends are not attending – some even indicated that on those days without friends, they felt lost and excluded. On the other hand, this was opposed to issues related to friendship, inclusion and acceptance as promoting Wellbeing at preschool and care: children really like to come and play with their friends. Children with siblings in the child centre, indicated this was very important to them (younger as well as older siblings). Factors related to the sub-code Social identity were also often mentioned as positive and supportive to Wellbeing: children increasingly learn to define themselves in relation to others.

Table 3: Table of co-occurrency of coded content (children's verbalizations)

Codes applied	Subcodes identified	Target group: Formal 3-6 years Well-being at preschool and care	
		Factors promoting	Factors undermining
Diversity	Social inequalities	0	1
	Language	0	0
	Culture	0	0
Identity	Somatic features	4	0
	Social identity	30	1
	Myself in the future	9	0
	Linguistic identity	0	0
	Cultural identity	0	0
Organization	Transition to school	8	1
	Time	7	6
	Teachers	0	0
	Space	42	6
	Rules	4	2
	Play	45	5
	Participation	1	0
	Learning	4	2
	Food	0	1
Social relationships	Inclusion, acceptance	20	2
	Friendship	32	6
	Exclusion	5	5
	Discrimination	1	0
	Conflict	7	5

In addition, the study confirmed that it is not necessarily about what is literally expressed by children, but also about the process of interaction during the project. This process of interaction supports the development of the child's capacity to negotiate it's agency. The simple fact that young children are invited to talk, to lead a tour through the centre, to give their opinion and ideas, is a great explorative discovery and stimulation for children. It is important to reflect on what children tell, either by researchers or staff, to make sure children are understood, to show them they are heard, to clarify how this information is useful, and explain how it can be implemented or cannot be acted upon (responsive feedback-loop).

Transformative factors were identified as the recognition of the importance of individual preferences and spaces (f.e. regarding 'Identity': a name-tagged basket with personal belongings/toys for each child), as well as overarching bonding group symbols and working towards an aggregate an collective product recognizing both individuality and collectiveness – like the 'group book'.

Main ethical and methodological challenges

Due to the semi-formal character of the afterschool-care service and the fact that there is a less clearly defined structure as per the organization's policy, we found the afterschool-care context (children 4-6 years old) not an ideal setting to implement a study assessing child voices . Children are "floating" after a day in school through their assigned spaces in the centre. Children are focused on their peers and are hard to mobilize to participate in a structured activity with many distractions around. However, it was found possible and useful to record their voices, after activities were shortened, concrete, and adjusted to fit children's attention span according to their age and particular context. Making visualisations appeared to be very effective and appropriate. However especially for the younger children these tools can work as a distraction as well. In more than one occasion, the means became an end in itself and children started playing with the tools or gave their own meaning to the tools during the course of the activity.

In the formal (pre-school) care setting for 3 to 4 year old children, the project was implemented more effectively: structure in time and activities during the day made it easier to decide on the best time-slot for research-activities. Also, groups were smaller with higher staff-child ratios. A restful and quiet environment caused less distractions, resulting in more focus (and pleasure, it seemed) from these younger children. Also, some children really enjoyed the individual attention and the one-to-one character of some activities, stretching time to the limit not willing to end the activity (for example with the Child-led tour and the Suns and clouds-activity).

Discussion: Limitations, main lessons and recommendations for practice and policy

Summarizing children's verbal input, and what they articulate as promoting or undermining their 'feeling good', inclusion and participation during day to day experiences in day- or afterschool care, most prominently features that none of the respondents referred to "the other" as being culturally or ethnically different. A "new child" was always associated with a child reaching the minimum age to enter their group, and a "child not speaking the language" with a child too young or too shy to talk. Gender, age range ("younger, same or older to me"), family (siblings) and group idenity are the most determining factors when asked about how and whom children play with, and related to what children tell about their wellbeing and inclusion. In general, girls are more talkative. Therefore, most of the references are from interviews with girls – even when both sexes were equally represented in activities, and were given the same opportunity and open floor to provide input[47]. Another finding is that, for very young children, there is no clear division between "me" and "the other". In that respect, the preschool and care environment, seems to be the appropriate place to expose children to as much diversity as possible, reflected in an inclusive environment and based on equal opportunities and a democratic organization.

The good news is, that many of the references of young children relate to Organizational factors – which are the most direct accessible to influence for policy makers, a care provider or school. This particular group of children identified many positive organizational factors promoting wellbeing and inclusion – mostly related to play and space, some of which may be even further improved. Some organizational issues related to time and space may be undermining children's feeling good at the provision and can be further looked at.

Children's own identity, their social relationships and the various contexts in which children are situated during the day, are not delineated and seem to merge smoothly. This notion could be of influence when considering policy measures aiming to support the inclusion of all. On one hand this is a substantiation of the argument to start with early interventions as children are most open and receptive at a young age. However, on the other hand, this places an enormous responsibility on organizations and services for young children. They have to ensure that factors promoting inclusion and wellbeing, citizenship and equal opportunity are consistently reflected in policy, organization, pedagogy and practices. If not, there is a risk that societal imbalances are implicitly transmitted to, and absorbed by a new generation.

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[47] For example, during the 'Child-led tour' the number of participating boys-girls was 50-50; however, the number of references coded was 49-119.

3.2.2 ENGLAND

Pinar Kolancali

Short abstract

This qualitative child study is carried out as part of the Task 2.5 of the ISOTIS project to investigate the influences of everyday experiences of ethnic-minority children on their language behaviour, identity and well-being. The children came from families with differing socioeconomic and cultural backgrounds within the Turkish community in London. In total 25 children being raised in bilingual environments (Turkish and English) between the ages of 4 and 6 have taken part in the semi-structured interviews carried out in the home environment of children. During the interviews, the children were asked to identify their feelings when speaking their home language (Turkish) and the language of the school environment (English) in different situations by using a facial expression card. Following the initial answers of children, the researcher posed supporting questions to enhance the information provided by the interviewees. The findings suggest that older children are more competent in talking about their linguistic and cultural identities. Many children connected their identity-related experiences or feelings to particular individuals or locations. Some children expressed more profound feelings towards their linguistic or cultural identities, which are also linked to their language attitudes. These feelings are, in most cases, triggered by discussions at home or encounters at school. Negative feelings towards the home culture or language (Turkish) or the school language (English) are related to attempts to refrain from using the language and children's experiences of discomfort in using Turkish or English in some situations. The report provides more in-depth information on the methodology, the results and the discussion of the study. The implementation of the research is discussed in relation to ethical issues and limitations encountered during the fieldwork.

Keywords: minority children, bilingualism, cultural and linguistic identities of children, interviewing young pupils, England, ISOTIS project

Research sites and participants

London was chosen as the main research site of this study as, in many aspects, it is different to the rest of the UK and approximately 90% of the population with Turkish background living in the UK lives in London, particularly the North and North-East of London. Turkish is one of the six largest language groups in London. Furthermore, London has been one of the main research sites for the ISOTIS project, where the research connections have already been made. The study focuses on a sample of four- to six-years old Turkish-English speaking bilingual/bicultural children, who were born in the UK. The families were mostly from low-income backgrounds with years of education varying from 5 to 18 years. The languages spoken at home were similar although the language skills of parents differ. The majority of the parents use Turkish in their daily life (~90%), whereas a minority of the parents use English in their daily life (~10%).

Methodology

Children were interviewed using semi-structured interview method involving open-ended questions with the support of visual materials and multiple-choice questions using a facial expression card depicting three emotions (happy, sad, neutral). Interviews were carried out during the second home visit that was part of the doctoral project. Children were interviewed on their language behaviour and attitudes in three different contexts (school, home, playground) with different actors (scenario 1: home – mother, scenario 2: school –

teacher, scenario 3: playground – (1) Turkish and (2) English peer). See Table 1 below for more detail.

Table 1. *Interview summary*

INTERVIEW SUMMARY		
HOME VISITS	**Introduction of the study**	Step 1 Target child is introduced to the "games" they play with the researcher through a Zoe card. In the beginning of the home visit the language assessments are completed for the doctoral work of the author. At the end of the assessment, researcher asks the child if they are interested in talking about their life at home and school with the researcher. Step 2. Researcher prepares the interview materials and sets up the voice recorder and explains the child the purpose of the materials.
	Picture cards	Step 1. Researcher presents the first picture (see Picture 1) depicting the child at home with their mother and asks in which languages they speak to each other and how the child feels about it. Facial expression card (see Picture 2) and prompt questions follow up to support the interview. Picture 1. Picture 2. Step 2. Researcher presents the second picture depicting the child at school with their friends and asks in which languages they speak to each other and how the child feels about it. Prompt questions follow up to support the interview. Step 3. Researcher presents the third picture depicting the child at school with their teacher and asks in which languages they speak to each other and how the child feels about it. Prompt questions follow up to support the interview. Step 4. Researcher ask the child if they want to add anything else and thanks the child once the interview ends.
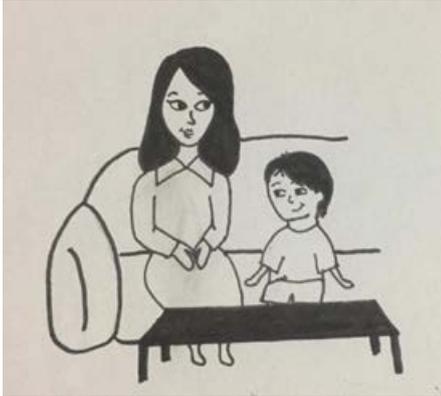
Coding and analysis

As the aim of the current study was adjusted for the doctoral work of the author in line with the coding manual provided by the leading team. The coding strategy focused on the four main themes in the coding manual that would suit the aim of the study (children's language attitudes and preference). Following the coding exercise provided by the leading team the interviews were coded under the following themes and sub-themes that relate to children's language behaviour and attitudes: identity (linguistic, cultural, somatic, social), social relationships (family, friends, teachers), well-being (factors promoting well-being, factors undermining well-being, transformative factors), and school context (teaching approach, learning, rules, play) using NVivo 11.

Main Findings

The findings provide evidence on how children's language use and preferences interact with their perceived identity, social-relationships, well-being and school context. See the frequency table for more information on the occurrences of themes and sub-themes.

Table 2. *Co-occurrence table of Factors influence children's language use and preference*

Themes	Sub-themes	Re-occurrences	Overall re-occurrence
Identity	*Linguistic*	19	% 14
	Cultural	14	% 10
	Somatic	3	% 1.5
	Social	23	% 17
Total		59	%43
Social Relationships	*Family*	13	% 10
	Friends	27	% 20
	Teacher	8	% 6
Total		48	%35
Well-being	*Factors promoting well-being*	8	% 6
	Factors undermining well-being	3	% 1.5
	Transformative factors	3	% 1.5
Total		14	% 10
School Context	*Teaching Approach*	2	% 1.5
	Learning	4	% 3
	Rules	4	% 3
	Play	5	% 3.7

Total		15	% 11
Overall		136	

Preliminary findings of the study show that many children expressed difficulties with speaking English and described themselves as new learners, while a number of children mentioned losing their heritage language skills and experiencing confusion with maintaining conversations in only one language. In many cases, children depreciated Turkish while favouring English over Turkish. Only a few children talked highly of Turkish and expressed joy in being bilingual. Another frequently emerging theme was social relationships. Children explained their preference over one language in relation to different characters in their social environments. Similarly, their positive attitudes towards a language mostly stemmed from constructive experiences with their family and friends. The majority of children explained their preference in one language with the prevalence of people speaking it in their family or social environment. Again, many children expressed their preference for English over Turkish. For the maintenance of Turkish home environment played an important role. Most of the children expressed their affection for their parents or language skills of parents in explaining their preference in speaking Turkish. Parents' active involvement in Turkish maintenance also supported children's Turkish use.

Main ethical and methodological challenges

One of the important methodological challenges faced in this study was the content validity of the answers provided by children. In order to ensure this, initial questions on children's attitudes towards a language answered through the facial expression card were compared with the answers given to the open-ended questionsOn ethical issues, a few instances raised concern during fieldwork, although, the ethical codes have been followed (CUREC 2018). In some cases, children have had hard time separating from the researcher or had difficulties with answering the questions and continuing the interview. In order to minimise the effects of such instances, the researcher made sure to be attentive to children's needs and ensured that the children enjoy their time with the researcher by regularly checking how they feel and reminding that they can stop the task at any time. Similarly, the participating children were informed on the procedures in the beginning of each day and their parents were provided detailed information on the study and the researcher to prepare their children before the home visits.

Discussion: Limitations, main lessons and recommendations for practice and policy

The findings of this study show the importance of early childhood experiences in language acquisition and identity construction of children growing up with a heritage culture. The salient themes suggest that children are profoundly influenced by their social environments, although the outcomes of these interactions depend on the content of the influencer. While constructive experiences at home and at school bolster the coexistence of children's dual identity, negative experiences may impede the embracement of one or the other.

Drawing on the findings of this study, two recommendations can be made for institutions (e.g. schools) and organisations (e.g. community centres) working with minority families. For institutions, it is of the utmost importance to acknowledge diversity in learning environments to initiate healthy interactions between children from different backgrounds and to recognise negative experiences of minority-children in order to protect their well-being. For organisations, it is crucial to support family social skills to build cultural awareness within the family and provide tools for parents to support their children's dual identity.

3.2.3 NORWAY

Kari Anne Jørgensen-Vittersø, Geir Winje, Thomas Moser, & Helga Norheim

Short abstract

The activities in this case study took place in one pre-school and one primary school in the same municipality. The pre-school institution is a municipal Kindergarten48 for 106 children aged 0–5 years organized in six units. Six children in three units were target children in this study. About 30 employees are working in the institution that has a high proportion of children with migrant background (>75%). The Primary school (grades 1-7) has around 500 pupils (aged 6-14) organized in classes of 20-30 pupils and about 80 employees. The proportion of pupils with migration background is larger than 75%. The target class (5th grade) has 20 pupils of which 18 participated in the study. Data collection took place in May and June 2019. The findings emphasize the prominence of friendship in both pre-school and primary school. In pre-school, play turned out to be a key factor for children's experience of well-being. The pre-school children considered inclusion in play, places for play both indoors and outdoors and material support as important prerequisites for the well-being of "new" children that are non-native speakers. The pre-schoolers also emphasized the importance of support in language learning and everyday routines. In addition to friendship, respecting and expressing respect for each other was an important element for the primary school students. The pupils had many and varying proposals on how to welcome a new child, covering suggestions for teachers, teaching and learning, extra attention and care, emotional and social support as well as environmental and contextual conditions. In addition, "normalization" was addressed, i.e. the importance of not to overload the new child based on assumption about his/her needs.

Research sites and participants

The selected pre-school and school are located in a multicultural area with a population of mixed sociocultural and ethnic backgrounds in an urban municipality in south-eastern Norway. The availability and agreement from the leaders in the municipality and high experience and competence in the schools has been decisive for this choice, as well as convenience for the researchers in terms of distance from the university. The 106 children in the public pre-school are between 1 and 5 years of age and organized in six departments. Departments consists of groups of children aged 0-2 and 3-5. The primary school (grades 1-7 in the Norwegian system) has about 500 pupils (aged 6 to 14 years), organized in classes of 20 to 30 pupils. The school has about 80 employees. In both pre-school and school over three quarters of the children/pupils have migrant background.

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48 The term "Kindergarten" denotes in Norway an optional pedagogical provision for children aged 0-5 years. Children, aged 1-5 are entitled to get a (full time) place in kindergarten (EURYDICE, 10.12.2018). Children start primary school the year they turn six.

Table 1. Overview of the sites and participants involved

Sites				Participants		
Name	Context type	Age	City/area	Number of professionals involved	Number and age of children involved	Division in groups
Public preschool	Formal	0/1-5	Urban	4	6 (4-5 years old)	3 departments (2 children pr. department)
Public primary school	Formal	6-14	Urban	1	18 (11-12 years old)	1 class

Methodology

Data collection took place in May and June 2019 in both pre-school and primary school and substantially complied with the recommendations in the technical report (D2.4, Pastori, Pagani & Sarcinelli, 2019). However, in phase 4, the children in pre-school labelled places and material with Smileys (smiles and dislikes) not suns and clouds. This adjustment to the Norwegian context was necessary, as it was challenging for the children to relate sun and rain to like and dislike, i.e. to what is positive and negative. Children in Norwegian pre-schools are used to play outdoors in all kind of weather conditions and rain is not automatically connected to negativity. Table 2 provides an overview over phases and activities.

Table 2. Summary: days and phases of fieldwork and data collection in pre- and primary school.

	Day 1	Day 2	Day 3	Day 4	Day 5
Pre-school	Informing headmaster of the pre-school and the leaders of departments	Informing all staff and discussing the study design and methods	Meeting with assisting headmaster and members of staff	"First aid kit"; Phase 1: Conversations walk and talk inside; Phase 2: Group-walk outdoors-preferred play areas	"First aid kit"; Phase 3: Drawing identity cards Phase 4: Labelling Smileys on places an materials (likes and dislikes)
Primary school	Meeting with headmaster	Meeting with main teacher Meeting with pupils	Phase 1: "Letter form a foreign country" Focus group interviews	Phase 2: Drawing self-portraits, writing about one self ("ID-cards") Phase 3: "Suns & clouds"	Phase 4: Pupils had meetings to prepare next phase Phase 5: Each group presented their demands

Coding and analysis

Data analysis has been undertaken based on transcriptions of the recordings from group- and individual conversations at day 3 (only primary school), 4 and 5. A student assistant and the researcher who has collected the data have partly conducted the transcription. The data analysis is mainly based on transcriptions of the recordings from group- and individual conversations. We applied a manual coding system. In the first step of the analyses, the common coding references provided for this study were used (labelled with different colours). In second step specific themes has been identified. The researcher that has collected data also did the coding.

In addition to the recordings, in pre-school the children's drawings and their photos of places and talks, their considerations about places they liked and disliked as well as field notes are part of the empirical material that has been analysed. Altogether, transcripts and documents consist of about 200 pages of documents (80 from pre-school and 120 from school), including researcher notes, pupil's notes, pictures and id-cards. There are also parts of the recordings where children in pre-school are on the move, drawing or playing with and in puddles. To some extend this is included in the transcripts, as it may have influenced the children's conversations notably. Parts of the material from primary school consist of drawings ("self-

portraits") and symbols ("suns and clouds"). When it comes to the pupils, we partly combined this material with transcribed commentaries and explanations. As such, the pupils, to some degree, participated in the interpretation of their own texts.

Findings

As a main overall finding, we identified friendship as a key prerequisite for wellbeing in both pre-school and primary school. The findings revealed slightly different patterns between the responses in preschool and primary school (see table 3).

In the pre-school group the conversations and walk and talk in groups brought to light a number of common aspects regarding the children's' considerations about facilitators of well-being. The pre-schoolers strongly connected inclusion in play to materiality and use of places both indoors and outdoors.

The tape recording of the conversations in the pre-school were not sufficient to grasp all the communication. There were also a substantial number of non-verbal expressions such as nodding, pointing, mimics and leading. To take these observations of non-verbal aspects into account, notes has been added to the transcripts, as we considered them as important for understanding children's voices and expressions of meaning. For instance, children wanted to show activities in the pillow room, and took the researcher by the hand and led her to the room to tell her what they liked to do and what new children should be prepared to participate in.

The pre-schoolers addressed language barriers as a potential factor that could undermine well-being for new children. The use of practical tools for communication with non-native speakers, such as posters with drawings to learn words for everyday activities, was pointed out as factors for promoting well-being and inclusion. Limited access to spaces and materials has been frequently stated as a factor undermining well-being. Weather and clothing were addressed by some children, emphasizing that a lack of appropriate clothing might be a cause for getting wet or freezing, which should be specifically emphasized when welcoming new children.

Pupils in primary school also considered friendship and respect as crucial for well-being and welcoming new pupils in class. For the participants in this study, the school itself seems to promote well-being as they describe school as an important and positive factor in their lives. The pupils focused on a number of different aspects regarding new pupils starting in the class; however, the dominating subjects were in accordance with the topics introduced in the letter from Valentina, namely language, Ramadan and fast, and poverty.

The pupils' utterances reflect faith in their teachers' proposals and understandings, possibly as an expression of good teacher-pupil relations. The pupils seemingly cooperate quite well with their teachers, and accepted, and to some degree internalize, their opinions to consider friendship as a main solution for almost all possible challenges related to diverse classrooms. Along with this, a highly important codex for life in school are human rights, respect and non-discrimination.

However, when the teachers were absent, the pupils occasionally mentioned issues they found difficult to accept in this discourse. They were very proud about all the languages they could use, but disappointed because nobody showed interest in them as resources for the school. Sometimes, according to their experiences, they were even not allowed to use any other language than Norwegian, which they perceived as insulting.

Another issue frequently addressed was religious holidays. The pupils found it somewhat absurd that on all main Christian holidays the school was closed, while on Muslim holidays school was going on as ordinary. Some used the word discriminating, when they explained how this impede them to follow up the school's strategy for reaching higher academic levels. They miss ordinary lessons because of absence from school

when their families celebrated e.g. id, and they lose the opportunity of reaching the others level because they had to take a break when the Christians celebrated their holidays.

Violence in the schoolyard was pointed out as a factor undermining well-being at school. Concretely the pupils addressed an episode of violence in the schoolyard shortly before the researchers visit. For some of the pupils, this episode made it clear that 'friendship' and 'human rights' were not as evident as they had learned. Also in this case the pupils sounded less critical when discussing this with their teacher than when discussing it alone (with only researchers present). Consequently, when the pupils addressed the school's teachers and leadership in their proposals, the focus was mostly on friendship and other positive means of strengthening well-being at school, while the more complicated and negative points were not mentioned (except for some references to religious holidays).

3.2.4 GERMANY

Itala Ballaschk and Yvonne Anders

Short abstract

The present study aims to examine the perspectives of children as to how they can facilitate elements (resilience factors) to feel comfortable in their differences at school. The aim was to enable children to express their perspective on what they think about their differences (cultural, somatic, linguistic, socio-economic, etc. level), about their social and cultural identity and about their school context in relation to integration, as well as what they identify as quality indicators of integration into school and what they propose to make their school more welcoming and inclusive. The present case study took place from 12.02.-15.02.2019 in a day care setting with a high proportion of children and families with an immigrant background. The day care setting is located in a Berlin district with a high proportion of families with an immigrant background. Eight out of 10 children participating in the study had a migration background. As factors that influence wellbeing described the children that there is a selection of freely accessible play possibilities and materials for creative design. In addition, the children are always very enthusiastic about the outdoor facilities and the freely accessible movement space.

Keywords: wellbeing; cultural background; family languages; play possibilities; movement space

Research sites and participants

The present case study took place from 12.02.-15.02.2019 in an ECEC setting with a high proportion of children and families with an immigrant background. Ten children between the ages of 4 and 6 years old with different cultural and socio-economic backgrounds participated. There were two children with a Turkish background, one child with an Arabic background, one child with a French background, one child with a Japanese background, one child with an English background and three children with a German background. Not least of all, there was one Syrian child with escape experience (5 years old, female) who spoke German very well. According to the head teacher, most of the children in the setting come from families with a low socio-economic status. For the study, we tried to recruit children with an immigration background and a low socio-economic status.

Table 1. *Overview of the target group, site and contexts involved*

| | | | | SITE | | PARTICIPANTS | |
COUNTRY	TARGET GROUP	CONTEXT TYPE	AGE	CITY/AREA	NUMBER OF PROFESSIONALS INVOLVED	NUMBER AND AGE OF CHILDREN INVOLVED	DIVISION IN GROUPS (IF ANY)
Germany	Immigrant background	Formal, Preschool	1-6	Berlin	1 (+1)	10 (4-6 years old)	No

Methodology

The case study was designed as an investigation with methodological triangulation ("between-method" design) (Denzin, 1970; Flick, 2011) to give children as many options as possible to express their thoughts, feelings and perceptions. In total, the focus was on four dimensions of content: identity, dealing with diversity, well-being and demands on good child day care. These dimensions were reflected in the individual

instruments "circle time" (Pastori, Pagani & Sarcinelli, 2019), "Inclusion first aid kit" (Pastori et al., 2019), "identity card" (Pastori et al., 2019) and "Sun & clouds" (Pimlott-Wilson, 2012). All specifications for the sequence were met with one exception. The activities "Inclusion first aid kit/brainstorming" and "Inclusion first aid kit/implementation" were divided into two days.

Table 2. *Interview summary*

PRESCHOOL		
Day 1	Introduction of the study	Step 1 The researchers introduced themselves and explained the goal of the visit. To get to know the children better, the researchers played with them. After a while, the researchers gave information concerning the documentation of the activities within the study and agreed upon the rules of involvement in the activities.
Day 2	Circle time	Step 1 Together with the ten participating children, a morning circle ("Circle-time", Pastori et al., 2019) was held in a creative and relaxation room, in which the study, the role of the researchers (a research assistant and a student assistant) and the children were discussed again in a playful way.
	Inclusion first aid kit/brainstorming	Step 2 Following the morning circle, the children were asked what they would do if a new child with a different cultural and/or social family background came to the setting and how they would help this child to feel comfortable in the centre ("Inclusion first aid kit/brainstorming", Pastori et al., 2019). The ideas were collected and it was decided in the group that the children wanted to make a doll ("human being") to comfort the new child. Together a list was made of all the materials the children wanted to use to make this doll.
Day 3	Inclusion first aid kit/implementation	Step 1 On the third day, the children and researcher met again in the same room and discussed the collection of ideas and materials from the day before. One researcher read the list of materials again and together with the children, they thought about who could collect which material and which part of the doll could be made. The researchers divided themselves among the groups and talked to the children about their ideas and thoughts when making the doll ("Inclusion first aid kit").
Day 4	Identity Card	Step 1 On the fourth and last day, the children and researchers met again in the creative room. Researchers presented their own ID card and explained the activity. The children could draw their favourite toy, their own portrait, their boyfriend/girlfriend on the ID card.
		Step 2 During the activity the researchers encouraged children to talk about their ID cards and to document their work.
	Sun & clouds	Step 1 Afterwards, researchers explained the second activity, "Sun & clouds" (Pimlott-Wilson, 2012). Researchers encouraged children to paint what they like at their setting on the suns and what they do not like or what they miss on the clouds. Here, too, the researchers always asked about the children's motives for their drawings and thoughts.

Coding and analysis

Although different data were collected from different sources, it was required thatthe individual countries evaluate only verbal data, i.e. transcripts of the audio recordings. In addition, ethnographic field notes (Sanjek, 1990; Emerson, Fretz & Shaw, 1995; Breidenstein, Hirschauer, Kalthoff & Nieswand, 2013) were evaluated as part of the present case study. The audio recordings were transcribed literally and in the original language. Both the observation protocols and the transcripts were evaluated using the qualitative content analysis (Mayring, 2010). In order to work more deeply with the material, inductively won categories were created in addition to the predefined analysis categories (Gläser & Laudel, 2010, 2013). With regard to ethical challenges, attention was paid to compliance with current standards.

Main Findings

The table shows the subcodes used, which are factors that promote children's well-being and inclusion. Subsequently, factors are presented that inhibit children's well-being and inclusive pedagogy. Following on from this, implications for better practice are derived.

Table 3. *Co-occurrence table of Factors promoting well-being and inclusion*

Codes	Subcodes	Target 1 - Formal 3-6
Identity	cultural	5
	Social	7
	Somatic features	4
School Organization	Space	6
	Time	4
	Rules	3
	Play	6
Social relationship	Inclusion/acceptance	7
	Friendship	2
	Emotional support	4
Complementory Codes	Family	9
		Tot. 57

One of the factors promoting well-being and inclusion seems to be identity, especially with regard to culture, social relationships and somatic features. It could be found, that children do not seem to define themselves primarily through their cultural backgrounds or family languages. The children also discussed the preparation of food with relatives. Here references to the importance of involving family within the pedagogical everyday life could be found. Stories about eating and/or cooking with relatives seem to have been thematized for reasons of relationship experience. Children reported decorating a cake together with

their sister or dyeing the cake glaze with their grandmother. Even more often the children talked about their "Papa" and their "Mama", with whom they "baked pizza in the forest" or "fried marshmallows" together. A child with an Arab background reported: "We had guests before, then they ate everything and my father, mum and I ate nothing, only the guests ate something". This quotation could point to a reference to the cultural background of the child with a view to hospitality in large Arab families and could be interpreted as an orientation towards culturally coded rules and customs. In general, social relationships seems to be an important factor promoting well-being and inclusion. It has been shown that the children interviewed present themselves as a social group and seem to perceive themselves as a community within their setting. This became clear, among other things, with regard to text passages in which the children spoke of the "we". For example, they set out with the investigators to find the individual materials to make a "human being": "Look, and we still have glittering stones! The "we" can also indicate that this child identifies with the setting by evaluating the things it finds there as its own and by feeling emotionally comfortable in the group of children and possibly in the setting as a whole. All in all, the data show that diversity was not explicitly raised by the children as a topic. Rather, it seems that they have a need to be able to move freely in space and to perceive themselves as part of a community. With regard to the question of what promotes the well-being of the children, it became clear how important participation in the pedagogical everyday life is for the children. Aspects that the children repeatedly describe as important for them are not only freely accessible play possibilities and materials for creative design, but also co-determination in the use of rooms and a daily routine that largely responds to individual needs. Corresponding text passages were assigned to the categories of freely accessible play options, materials for individual design and individual use of space. For example, the relevance of freely accessible materials becomes clear, among other things, in how enthusiastically the children report on all the utensils they are allowed to find and use in the room as they go through the list of materials for making "human beings".

As can be seen in the table, only a few factors have been identified that seem to inhibit well-being and inclusion from the children's perspective.

Table 4. *Co-occurrence table of Factors undermining well-being and inclusion*

Codes	Subcodes	Target 1 - Formal 3-6
School Organization	Space	4
	Time	2
Social relationship	Inclusion/acceptance	5
		Tot. 11

The school organization seems to be important for promoting well-being and inclusion as well as for undermining it. Children feel restricted in their well-being if there is not enough room for individual play. They want to use rooms the way they need them in spontaneous fantasy. The importance of self-determination in the use of rooms for the children interviewed was demonstrated by the example of two children who, on the first day of the survey, were observed trying to furnish an apartment in the movement room with blankets and a box as well as a few utensils from the children's kitchen. They were reminded by preschool teacher that this room was a space for movement and thus were restricted in their need for self-determination. The children finished the game and went outside. This also includes the time factor. Children

want to have a say in their daily routine and also want to play a game longer than expected. Social relationships also play an important role. Children want to perceive themselves as competent, not only in dealing with things, but also with regard to conflict resolution. If a child is perceived as difficult and a specialist does not help them sufficiently in conflict resolution, the children describe this as disturbing.

Main ethical and methodological challenges

With regard to ethical challenges, attention was paid to compliance with current standards (Technical Report). During the study, head teacher, educators, parents and children were informed in advance. The accessibility of the consent form for all parents was ensured. This means that we ensured that parents fully understood what the study was about and what happened to the data before they signed it. For illiterate people, we gave consent in the form of an audio recording instead of a written consent. In addition, the anonymity of each participant had to be guaranteed. Methodological challenges in researching with children is in not being able to use video recordings. Additional field notes were made, which were then included in the analysis.

Discussion: Limitations, main lessons and recommendations for practice and policy

The present study makes it clear that participation, inclusion and well-being should be core aspects of a high-quality ECEC setting. The findings show, that it is important for children to belong to a community and to feel valued in their own individuality. In this case study, the children seemed to identify emotionally with their ECEC setting and, for example, evaluate material things as their own. Another result is that children need a self-determined handling of materials and spaces. Here, too, it became clear that children need to experience themselves as competent. Among other things, children experience themselves as competent when they are allowed to move freely and expansively and when they can show outsiders that they know their setting well. With regard to the question of how children deal with diversity, it can be interpreted that it seems less important for them to address social and/or cultural differences among themselves. Rather, it seems that they feel a need to be accepted in their individuality as part of a community and to be perceived as competent members. These results coincide with the findings of Sheridan and Samuelsson (2001), who found in their study with 39 children that it is important for them to be able to play without constant interruption, but at the same time also to get inspiration from professionals and access to materials and activities. Einarsdottir (2005) also showed that children's social relationships and peer interactions seem to be special needs. For the discussion on the quality and quality development of child day care, this leads to the demand to focus even more strongly on the opportunities for children to help shape pedagogical spaces. This applies both to the material design and to opportunities for co-determination in the design of the daily routine. The aim is to sharpen the awareness of the importance of participation for the well-being of children and to allow it to flow into the educational policy discussion on inclusion as well as questions of the quality of child day care in general. With a view to the quality of the study, non-verbal data should be included even more strongly in the next study design, which could, for example, be captured via video recordings. Implications for research arise on the one hand from the need for further testing of approaches that offer children a framework for individual forms of expression. Innovative approaches with potential for further development have already been presented in this article ("Inclusion first aid kit"). On the other hand, the competence of the researchers should above all else be understood as an essential condition for the success of research situations with children and should be considered and reflected upon more closely in the course of the study (Brooker, 2007).

3.2.5 ITALY

Alice Sophie Sarcinelli, Valentina Pagani, & Giulia Pastori

Abstract

The present chapter focuses on the qualitative Children Study conducted in Italy as part of the ISOTIS cross-cultural study. The main aims of the Children Study were to explore children's views on inclusion, well-being at school and to elicit children's proposals to make their school (more) inclusive. In Italy, the fieldwork was carried out in two preschool classes, one primary school class, and in an after-school educational program run by Save the Children Italy. High levels of cultural and social diversity characterized all the three sites. This chapter will provide an overview of the characteristics of each site, the participants and the research procedure in the all three contexts, but the initial tentative data analysis will focus only on the study conducted with preschool children. The preschoolers were highly engaged in the research and advanced several proposals to make their school more inclusive and welcoming. Some of those proposals were actually implemented, showing children that their voices were taken into account seriously, and contributing to give visibility to multilingualism in their preschool context. Besides this educational impact, the study had also a formative impact on the teachers involved, who became more aware of children's competencies and experienced the value of participatory methodologies.

Keywords: children's voice; participatory research; well-being; inclusion; multilingualism; preschool

Research Sites and Participants

In Italy, the Children Study was conducted in three highly culturally diverse settings in the city of Milan (the biggest city in the North of Italy): one preschool (two groups, respectively, of 4- and 5-year-old children), one primary school (one group of 10- to 11-year-old children) (which took also part to the WP3.4, WP4.4, and WP5.4 VLE intervention) and an after-school educational program (two groups, respectively, one with 10 9- to 10-year-old children and the other with 21 10- to 14-year-old children).

The Institute hosting the preschool and the primary school have significant percentage of disadvantaged immigrant families (mainly Arabic and North African families, but not exclusively; see Table 1) and very few middle-class Italian families.

Table 1. *Istituto Compresivo demographic data - School Year 2018/19*

	N. OF CHILDREN ENROLLED	N. OF NON-ITALOPHONE CHILDREN	% OF NON-ITALOPHONE CHILDREN	MAIN NATIONAL ORIGINS
Preschool	113	69	61%	Egypt, Philippines, Peru
Primary school	525	372	62%	Egypt, Philippines, Morocco

The informal context is an educational center Fuoriclasse (literally "Out-of-school") created by Save the Children Italy and located in a very poor and multi-cultural neighborhood in the suburbs of Milan.

Table 2. *Fuoriclasse* demographic data - School Year 2018/19

	N. of children enrolled	N. of non-italophone children	% of non-italophone children	Main national origins
Informal context	31	28	87%	Morocco, Egypt

Two female preschool teachers participated in the study, both of them with over 20 years of teaching experience: the first teacher was the main teacher of the Orange Class, with 23 children (13 4-year-olds and 10 5-year-olds). Three female primary school teachers participated in the study: the main teacher in the class who taught Italian, History and Geography who resigned in April 2019 due to contrasts and tensions with the School Director; a special education teacher, friendly and supportive to the children; the Religion in the class who was the teacher responsible for welcoming newly arrived pupils, especially those with culturally diverse backgrounds. The professionals at the informal context were: 2 young educational workers trained in pedagogy and social services and one volunteer, a retired lady.

Methodology

In order to present the aims of the Children Study, the methodological framework and the activities planned, we shared the Manual we discussed the proposal during a specific meeting with the professional of the preschool and primary school and the operators of the after-school center. The professionals suggested introducing some changes and adaptations to the methodology, described in the table below. Some of the adaptations were decided beforehand (for instance, preschool teachers and professionals of the afterschool center suggested conducting two parallel studies). Others adaptiations were negotiated step-by-step, to better follow children's ideas and proposals.

All the activities (that were audio and video recorded) were co-conducted in order to lessen any possible intimidating effect of our presence as 'strangers' and to ensure children a familiar environment, with trusted adults, where they would feel at ease and free to express their opinions.

Table 3. Overview of the workflow in the preschool context

PRESCHOOL		
Day 1	**Introduction to the study**	We spent a few days in the classroom with the children, to let them familiarize and feel at ease with us. We presented our role as researchers and the aims of the Children Study, using simple words they could understand. Each child signed a digital informed consent form that was presented through the ISOTIS VLE.
	First focus group	Step 1. We involved all 33 children participating in the study in a circle-time discussion about how to welcome new children who would start preschool the following year. We invited the children to consider that the newcomers would not know their new teachers, classmates and the spaces at the school, and that some of them would not even speak Italian. Step 2. Following the children's leads, the researchers asked them what they proposed and what materials they could prepare to welcome the new children and make them feel comfortable in their school. Step 3. Two separate circle-time discussions were conducted, respectively with the 4-year-old group and with the 5-year-olds, in order to deepen the content that emerged during the first plenary discussion. From this point forward, the two groups of children followed 'parted ways'.
Day 2	**ID cards**	**4-year-old children** In the circle-time discussions, among other themes, the children suggested that it could be important for the newcomers to have some friends at the new school and to know its spaces and its rules. Hence, with this group, the study continued with the creation of the ID Card. We added the section "My favorite game/toy at preschool" which was proposed by the teacher, who thought it was more concrete and related to the welcoming framework proposed rather than asking them about what they wanted to be when they grew up). . During circle-time, children were asked how they would present themselves to the newcomers. Step 2 Each child completed their ID Card and presented it (their verbalizations were collected). **5-year-old children** During the circle-time discussions, the children suggested many ways to welcome the newcomers.
Day 3	**Sun&Clouds**	Step 1. Since the children had suggested that it would be important for the newcomers to know the new school and its rules, the teachers proposed customizing the Sun & Cloud activity, focusing on the school environment. Pictures of the various rooms/spaces taken by the teachers were projected on a whiteboard one by one, and the children engaged in a group discussion on each of them. Step 2, Children were asked what they liked/disliked in each space and why, and the rules for each space were elicited. Step 3. Large pictures of the spaces were printed and placed on the floor, and the children were asked to indicate their favorite and least favorite ones using emoticons (happy or sad faces) cut from cardboard.

	Inclusion first-aid kit	**4-year-old children** The 'inclusion first-aid kit' (to make the new children feel comfortable and welcome in their school consisted of a multilingual, digital mixed-media (visual and audio) tour of their school to present the different spaces/rooms and the rules to the newcomers. Following the children's proposals, their parents were actively involved the realization of this artifact. **5-year-old children** Step 1. The teachers told us that one of the infant-toddler centers in the neighborhood planned to visit their school with a group of 10 2-to 3-year-old children who would start preschool the next year. They thought that this occasion could represent a unique, interesting opportunity to make the activities proposed to the class 'real and concrete'. The 5-year-old children welcomed the younger ones and they made use of the artifacts produced in the previous step. Step 2. A final circle-time discussion was used to reflect on this experience with the children.

Table 4. *Overview of the workflow in the primary school*

SITE: PRIMARY SCHOOL		
Day 1	**Letter from Martine**	Step 1. The researcher's letter was presented through a PowToon animation. The sender of the letter was a researcher from the Netherlands and all the examples were adapted according to cultural references from the Netherlands; Step 2. Each child received in their personal VLE space a part of the letter and some questions to answer individually on the VLE using the "Answer a question" tool, choosing whether to answer through a video or audio message, with a written text or with a drawing realized on the VLE; Step 3. Children with the same topic were invited to work together in small groups and asked to provide a group answer to the researcher who wrote the letter. The answer could take the form of a video, audio, written text or drawing. All answers were then posted on the VLE, watched together and discussed through a focus group discussion with all class members.
Day 2	**Sun&Clouds**	Step 1. The evaluation of the school was realized on the VLE through the "Answer a question" tool. In this case, children worked in pairs. The activity was presented in the computer lab, but the children were then free to choose where to plan and compose their answers according to the language they chose (video, audio etc.); Step 2. All of the answers were presented to the class in a plenary session.
Day 3	**Inclusion first-aid kit**	Step 1. The children were asked to think about suggestions on how to make their school more welcoming and inclusive, in order to

		inform the Dutch researcher who would be collecting suggestions from children in different European countries in order to send them to the European Union to improve school inclusiveness in Europe; Step 2. The researchers asked the children to make concrete proposals that could be directly implemented in their own school; Step 3. After giving a concrete example of a letter written by another class of 9-year-old children from another neighborhood on the outskirts of Milan (these children wrote a letter to the Mayor of the city who answered the letter and implemented one of the children's proposals in the following months). children were asked to prepare proposals on how to make their school (more) welcoming and inclusive. Children were free to form small groups (2-6 members) and choose the form their proposal would take. Step 4. The outputs of this activity were: posters, letters to the School Director, video clips and video interviews of other children in the class, short video clips where the children acted or simulated an information campaign, video messages to the teachers, a protocol on how to welcome newly-arrived students.
Day 4	**Digital, multi-religious calendar**	Step 1. The last phase of work lead to the implementation of one of the students' proposals after negotiation with all the teachers of the class. In continuity with a video prepared by one of the groups on different religions, the children opted to create an awareness-raising project about religious diversity in the school. To do so, the class made a digital, multi-religious calendar on the VLE to be posted on the school website: the calendar contained videos, information, pictures and explanations collected among the school personnel and the families regarding special dates and celebrations for different religions.

Table 5. *Overview of the work flow in the informal context*

INFORMAL AFTER SCHOOL SITE		
Day 1	**Introduction to the study (Dec, 2018)**	Step 1. The researchers participated in a workshop organized by Save the Children and attended by the research participants. During this session, the researchers introduced themselves to the children, letting them familiarize and feel at ease with them. They presented themselves, their roles as researchers and the aims of the Children Study using simple words they could understand (not only age-appropriate language, but also easy to understand because of the high number of non-native speakers not always at ease with Italian). Step 2. Each child signed an informed consent form and was given a consent form for their parents.
	Video-cued focus	Step 1. Both groups were involved in the activity called "Something about me

		that you don't know": in a circle, each child was asked to go to the center, say the sentence "Something about me that you don't know is...", complete it and then go and touch another group member.
	group (Jan, 2019)	Step 2. A video-cued focus group was carried out in both groups: two clips were used as stimuli for the video-cued focus group: the first focusing on newly-arrived students unable to speak the national language ('Immersion' (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I6Y0HAjLKYI), the second focusing on the exclusion of second generation immigrants because of the inability to speak their parents' mother tongue (an extract of the movie "Almanya. My family goes to Germany").
		For the **primary school group**, free discussion was held after watching both clips. For the **middle school group**, after each clip children were asked to write their impressions and personal experiences related to the topic raised by the clip on a post-it. The children were asked to share what they wrote on the post-it afterwards.
Day 2	My school autobiography (Jan, 2019)	**Primary school group**: we adapted the ID card template from the formal research protocol, creating different sheets, each exploring a specific aspect of their school biography (e.g. the first day at school what made them feel good at school, etc.). Children were invited to fill out sheets that they could choose and verbalizations were collected by audio or video recording an interview on this topic. **Middle school group**, Step 1. The researcher drew a line on the floor and explained to the students that they would hear a number of statements about things that they themselves might have experienced at school to some degree. Participants (both children and adults taking part in the activity) were asked to get closer to the line the more the statement matched their own experiences (e.g. on the line if they had experienced exactly the same situation, very far from the line if they had not experienced it at all). The statements were meant to help children reflect on their school experience. Step 2. the autobiography was created as suggested in the manual[49], but participants could also carry out an audio or video interview.
Day 3	A message to the authorities (Jan, 2019)	**Primary school group**: all of the children contributed their ideas on how to make school (more) welcoming and inclusive on a big poster with drawings, collage and writings. **Middle school group**: each child created a message in a different way (drawings, videos, letters, etc.).
	Final party (Feb, 2019)	In both groups, the research process ended with a small celebration, following the suggestions made by some of the participants who had underlined how food was a form of socialization that brings people together. A video clip of the results of each of the two research journeys was edited by the research team and presented to the children who then decided whether they wanted to present it in their own school.

[49] See D2.4 Technical Report, paragraph 3.4.3) available at http://www.isotis.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/D2.4_Technical-Report-on-the-Child-interview-study.pdf.

Day 4	A trip to the university (June, 2019)	A further meeting for restitution of the research results took place in the beginning of June and was held at the University of Milan-Bicocca: Step 1. The children visited Hangar Bicocca, a contemporary art institution connected to the Department; Step 2. The researchers and the groups shared lunch in the university canteen; Step 3. The researcher showed the children the results and outputs of the research conducted in other contexts and countries and discussed them with the children; Step 4. A guided visit of the Department and the library was conducted.

Coding and analysis methodology

The analysis of the data was carried out using the international procedure described in Chapter 1. To carry out the data analysis, the texts of the children's outputs and the video-audio recordings of the focus groups and the conversations that took place during the experience were used. All the audio-recordings were integrally transcribed verbatim. The transcripts were coded according to the common coding procedure and codebook. All the transcripts were imported into the CAQDA (Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis) software NVivo 12, that supported the analysis of the data set. During the coding process, it proved necessary to create extra sub-codes to better capture the viewpoints of the participants and thus analyze the data (specifically, data gathered in the primary school and in the informal context). The analysis focused on the most recurring or salient themes, presented in the following sections divided by age group.

Main findings

To provide an initial overview of the main issues faced by children, we present a table that illustrates the occurrences of the thematic codes used for the analysis:

Table 6. *Occurrence of thematic codes in the 3 contexts*

Site typology Codes	Formal 3-6	Formal 8-11	Informal 9+	Total
Diversity				
Social inequalities	0	1	1	**2**
Language	48	6	22	**76**
Culture	0	25	10	**35**
Representations				
Images of the child-student	0	1	4	**5**
Image of the teacher	0	3	36	**39**

Image of the school	0	1	27	**28**
Image of the family	0	5	4	**9**
Identity				
Cultural i.	0	7	5	**12**
Linguistic i.	23	12	4	**35**
Social i.	0	1	6	**7**
Somatic features	0	9	2	**11**
Myself in the future	0	0	6	**6**
School Organization				
Space	2	5	12	**19**
Time	6	0	13	**19**
Rules	6	4	4	**14**
Play	5	0	10	**15**
Food	1	2	8	**11**
Learning	1	2	26	**29**
Teaching approach	2	7	21	**30**
Social relationship				
Inclusion-acceptance	4	11	47	**62**
Discrimination	0	13	11	**24**
Conflict	0	3	10	**13**
Friendship	6	6	27	**39**
Behaviour	1	19	16	**36**
Emotional support/Empathy	11	0	35	**46**
Total	**116**	**143**	**334**	**622**

As see in Table 6, the most common category of codes in the set of 3 contexts were language (coded 76 times), followed by inclusion/acceptance (coded 62 times) and emotional support/empathy (coded 46 times). The most recurrent category of codes for preschool concerned diversity and identity, in particular with reference to the linguistic dimension. The most recurrent category in the codes for primary school

concerned diversity in the cultural dimension and social relationships. As far as informal context was concerned, the most common codes were inclusion/acceptance (coded 47 times), followed by image of the teachers and emotional support/empathy (coded respectively 36 and 35 times). In the following paragraphs, we will focus on the three main codes (namely factors influencing well-being at school, factors undermining well-being at school and transformative factors/proposals), analysing their co-occurency with the other codes, as we report in table 7.

Table 7. *Co-occurency of the tematic codes for the 3 contexts*

Over-codes	FACTORS PROMOTING WELL-BEING AND INCLUSION				FACTORS UNDERMINING WELL-BEING AND INCLUSION				TRASFORMATIVE FACTORS			
Site typology **Codes**	School 3-6	School 8-11	Informal 9+	Tot.	School 3-6	School 8-11	Informal 9+	Tot.	School 3-6	School 8-11	Informal 9+	Tot.
DIVERSITY												
Social inequalities	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Language	1	1	2	4	0	0	14	14	20	0	14	34
Culture	0	2	0	2	0	0	1	1	0	0	4	4
REPRESENTATIONS												
Images of the child-student	0	0	1	1	0	0	2	2	0	1	0	1
Image of the teacher	0	0	4	4	0	0	6	6	0	0	25	25
Image of the school	0	0	6	6	0	0	5	5	0	0	12	12
Image of the family	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3
IDENTITY												
Cultural i.	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1
Linguistic i.	0	1	0	1	0	0	2	2	8	0	0	8
Social i.	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0

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Somatic features	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0
Myself in the future	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
SCHOOL ORGANIZATION												
Space	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	8	9
Time	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	11	11
Rules	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	4	8
Play	1	0	1	2	1	0	0	1	2	0	6	8
Food	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	7	8
Learning	0	0	1	1	1	0	3	4	0	0	13	13
Teaching approach	0	0	1	1	0	0	6	6	0	0	16	16
SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS												
Inclusion-acceptance	1	7	6	14	0	0	16	16	2	1	17	20
Discrimination	0	1	1	2	0	0	6	6	0	0	1	1
Conflict	0	0	1	1	0	0	4	4	0	0	0	0
Friendship	5	2	8	15	1	0	9	10	0	1	2	3
Behaviour	0	2	2	4	1	1	3	5	0	0	5	5
Emotional support/Empathy	7	0	6	13	0	0	5	5	3	0	14	17
TOTAL	**17**	**16**	**42**	**75**	**4**	**1**	**89**	**94**	**38**	**6**	**164**	**208**

In general, the co-occurrences were concentrated in the **proposal factors** with 164/208 co-occurrences versus 75/208 in **factors promoting well-being** and 94/208 in **factors undermining** it. Within **factors promoting well-being**, the codes that appeared the most were "Friendship" (15/75 co-occurrences), "Inclusion-acceptance" (14/75 co-occurrences) and "Emotional support/Empathy (13/75 co- occurrences). Within the **factors undermining well-being**, the codes that appeared the most were "Inclusion-acceptance" (16/94 co-occurrences), "Language" (14/94 occurrences) and "Friendship" (10/94 co-occurrences). As for transforming factors, the codes that appeared the most were "Language" (34/164 co-occurrences), "Image

of the teacher" (25/164) and "Inclusion-acceptance" (20/164 co-occurrences).

Concerning the **factors promoting well-being at school**, in the **preschool**, the co-occurrences between 17 factors positively influenced well-being at school while 4 undermined it and 38 for the proposals. The social and relational dimensions therefore played an important role for preschool children in ensuring well-being at school. In fact, the main co-occurrences among the factors promoting well-being and inclusion were Emotional support/Empathy (7 co-occurrences) and Friendship (5 co-occurrences). Children, in fact, talking about well-being at school, often tended to refer to the themes of friendship and emotional support. In **primary school**, there were 16 co-occurrences between the factors influencing well-being at school, a total absence of factors undermining it and 6 for the proposals. The main co-occurency for the factors promoting well-being and inclusion was Inclusion-acceptance (7 co-occurrences), which concerned in particular the reception of newcomers from Italy and abroad, the enhancement of languages and cultures present in the context. The importance of the relational dimension for the children was striking. The relationship with classmates was an essential element. The role of the teachers was also considered a factor in promoting well-being, in fact they helped to resolve conflicts when they arose and taught the students to respect each other. In the **informal context**, by far the most cited factor promoting well-being fell in the category of "Social relationships" (32 co-occurrences out of 42) in particular in the sub-codes "Friendship" (8/42 co-occurrences), "Emotional support-empaphy" (6/42 co-occurrences) and "Inclusion-acceptance" (6/42 co-occurrences). Participants cited their classmates and friendships as factors of well-being at school, which they also identified as important factors for newcomers. However, empathy and inclusion on the part of teachers was also considered an important factor for well-being, particularly for newcomers. At the same time, the school model was identified as an important factor: one is comfortable in a school that offers less "traditional" school activities and teaching models not only through books, but also through trips, activities in the garden, in the gym and that promote being together.

Concerning the **factors undermining well-being at school**, the children from the **preschool** spoke little about this factor (4 co-occurrences), perhaps also because of the approach of teachers and researchers in focusing in particular on positive and transformative factors. Undermining factors did not focus on a single aspect, but were codified as "play", "learning"; "friendship" and "behavior". Also in the **primary school**, few factors undermining well-being (1 co-occurency) emerged et it concerned a negative attitude that hindered well-being could come from both classmates and teachers. **The most common themes that emerged were: bullying and racism,** some teachers' behaviors and dirty and chaotic spaces. **The second factor** indicated as an obstacle to well-being was **the prohibition to speak in one's own language of origin**.

The third obstacle to well-being highlighted some of the teachers' attitudes: favorites, homework that was excessive or a punishment. In the **informal context**, the main co-occurrences were found in the macro-section Social relationships (43/89 co-occurrences), in particular in the sub-code **"Inclusion/acceptance"** (16/89 co-occurrences) followed **by Friendship** which was an important factor both as an element of well-being and lack of well-being. Another of the most cited factors among those undermining the well-being at school were **language barriers** (language ha 14/89 co-occurrences). These three aspects are linked: in fact, inclusion is understood as the school's ability to welcome newcomers both from the linguistic point of view (looking for channels of communication to overcome the language barriers) and from the relational point of view (friendly attitudes towards newcomers).

For what it concern the **transformative factors**, despite their young age, the **preschool children** were able to take on a different point of view from their own. They contributed a great deal of proposals (38 co-occurrences), a lot more than the co-occurency for the factors promoting and undermining well-being. Their proposals were mainly about the **linguistic aspects of the school experience** (20 occurrences in language and 8 in linguistic identity). Some children raised the issue **about how to comfort the newcomers or explain the classroom rules** to them if they could not speak Italian. Secondly, they pointed out that the new children would not be aware of the **rules** of the class/school and, consequently, remarked on the need to teach them

those rules. **Primary school** children made interesting, albeit limited (6 co-occurencies), contributions to increasing the level of well-being at school. The most interesting aspects had to do **with friendship** and **inclusion**, as well as with school organization, spaces, rules and food. The main initiatives concerned the reception of new arrivals and linguistic support offered to them. Finally, activities were proposed to raise awareness on the theme of religious diversity and discrimination. The children themselves created tools for this purpose (see Activity 5). The children thought of these concrete proposals to be implemented at school and delivered them to the School Director by means of mini-videos and letters published on the platform, on the created specifically group ("La 5^C incontra il Dirigente ") to put the students in contact with the Director, who read the proposals and responded to the entire class. In the **informal context,** transformative factors were the most applied over-code with 164 co-occurrences with the various thematic codes. The proposals were divided into **two main sections**, one concerning the **school/teaching approach** (sub-codes "teaching approach" 16 co-occurrences, "image of the teacher" 25 co-occurrences, "image of the school" 12 co-occurrences), the other concerning **social relationships** "(sub-codes "inclusion/acceptance" 17 co-occurrences, "language" 14 co-occurrences, "emotional support&empathy" 14 co-occurrences). Regarding the teaching approach and being a teacher, the participants suggested having younger, more competent teachers and that there be teacher continuity without too many changes over the years as well as the possibility to choose some subjects and more variety (e.g. foreign languages). **Regarding the inclusive school environment**, from the linguistic point of view, the students suggested having translators at school, increasing the language and communication skills of the teachers, but also more solidarity and mutual help between classmates ("*that among classmates we can help each other"*). From a **relational point of view**, participants thought that teachers should show more kindness, wisdom, empathy, listening skills, understanding and attention to the relational difficulties of their students and their needs.

Main ethical and methodological challenges

Concerning challenges with the professionals, in the **preschool context**, if the choice to let teachers co-conduct the activities ensured a familiar, reassuring environment where children could more easily express their ideas, it also raised the issues of losing control of the guiding the activities. In the **primary school**, it was difficult to obtain the active participation of some teachers: in both formal context at times it was quite difficult to schedule the activities without letting too much time to pass between one meeting and another. In the **informal context**, since the motivational labs were organized during the week during after-school hours, participants always arrived tired from a whole day spent at school.

In both formal context, the children were highly engaged during all of the activities and the intervention had an extremely positive effect on children who showed a high level of interest, participation and motivation. In the **informal context**, both groups generally appreciated the activities, although they showed signs of fatigue and difficulty concentrating because of the low socio-cultural level of the group and the high degree of fragility of the participants on cultural, cognitive, linguistic, socio-economic and behavioral levels. However, it was possible to find effective customization strategies, minimally differentiating the activities for each group and adapting times to the levels of concentration and the types of response of the participants.

Concerning the informed consent, in the **formal contexts**, we presented the informed consent in a digital, interactive version through the ISOTIS VLE. The digital presentation of the consent form was quite engaging, and some of the children asked us questions regarding the various passages of it and its implications, although some children signed the consent form without understanding (despite our efforts to provide further explanations using simple language). In the **primary school** context, the only ethical challenge was with a teacher who decided to punish one of the newly-arrived students by preventing her from participating in the research activity. We were therefore faced with the difficult choice of contradicting the teacher or preventing the student from participating in a moment that proved to be very important and significant for her. It was therefore decided to ask the teacher for an explanation and persuade her to retract her position

by allowing the student to participate. In the **informal context**, some ethical challenges emerged : first some negative emotions related to the sharing of painful experiences due to negative emotions expressed during the research and at times difficult to manage; second, the difficulty to protect the privacy and confidentiality of the participants among the group members or to avoid stigmatizing remarks by the participants that could offend other participants; third, the linguistic-cultural barriers that made it difficult the full participation of a Chinese child.

Discussion: Limitations, main lessons and recommendations for practices and policies

From the 3 studies carried out in 3 separate contexts, we identified a number of limitations, lessons learned and recommendations that we will explain separately in the following paragraphs.

Limitations

Timing and engagement of professionals: The first limitation of this study was related to time and the availability of the professionals. In both formal contexts, we had difficulty negotiating appropriate and necessary timing with the teachers to ensure that the children would have a good research experience. We presume that this limitation was mainly due to the fact that the objectives, goals and methodology of the research were not well explained to the teachers.

Sample size: It was a qualitative study, a higher number of research participants would have provided more solid material and more variability: with greater resources, the study could have been carried out in 2 classes/informal groups in 2 schools/afterschool centers.

Language of the research: The study was carried out in the majority language, thus creating an imbalance between native speakers/children with good competence in the majority language and newcomers.

Lessons learned

Methodological aspects

Time as crucial to access to the world of children: It was thus necessary to have the time to prepare the research, spending a great deal of time to share the objectives of the research with the professionals and training them in the use of participative methodologies, especially in the preschool context where teachers were key-figures to mediate with and reach the children.

Multilanguage research technique: Researchers, using participatory methods, could adopt more "multilingual" techniques such as using the VLE developed in WPs 3-4-5 (which resulted as a positive instrument in the primary school context), more particularly the multilingual tool Beeba and recruiting bilingual/multilingual researchers who spoke the languages of the research participants.

Children's perspectives and proposals

Respect was the first premise for children's well-being: The data collected showed clearly that the basis for children's well-being was respect and children of all ages and contexts talked about respect and were against discrimination, albeit in their own terms.

The importance of the socio-relational dimension of the school experience: All the research participants highlighted the importance of the socio-relational dimension of the school context as a main factor promoting well-being: this referred both to the teachers and to the peer group. The socio-relational dimension included the importance of inclusion, emotional support and empathy both from teachers and peers and friendship between children.

The place of student cultures, languages and food at school: Children from different contexts stressed the importance of the enhancement of cultural, linguistic and food traditions. On the one hand, children stressed the importance of showing the majority culture and language and the institutional culture to newcomers. On the other hand, pupils underlined the fact that the culture, language and food of all children needed to be present in everyday life at school.

Recommendations

The Italian participatory research led us to develop the following recommendations for schools, institutions involved with teachers training:

Giving space to cultural and linguistic diversity: The recommendation to schools was to take care, not only of teaching L2 to newcomers, but also to give more space to the cultural and linguistic diversities of the school by giving them visibility.

The active involvement of students in welcoming newcomers: We recommend that schools actively involve students in welcoming newcomers, namely letting the students introduce newcomers to the spaces and the rules of the school, both through materials and thanks to peers who speak the same language.

The renewal of teaching approaches: We also recommend teacher training (both during university and at long-life learning) to focus more on teacher approaches based on socio-relational dimensions.

Include participatory methods to improve the school environment: We recommend that preschools and schools adopt participatory methods to evaluate the school environment and to collect and implement the children's proposals. We recommend that institutions organize training for teachers in order to enable them to use participatory methods and to adopt student voice perspectives.

3.2.6 GREECE

Ioanna Strataki and Konstantinos Petrogiannis

Short abstract

The goal of the WP2 "Children interview study"[50] was (a) to explore children's perspectives regarding the elements that make them feel good at school despite their differences and social and cultural identity, and (b) to record children's proposals for making their school more friendly and inclusive. The chapter presents the Greek case of this particular study and describes the characteristics of the selected sites and participants, the procedures that were followed during the implementation of the study, the methodological and ethical considerations that emerged, as well some of the most critical initial findings. Three groups of Roma and non-Roma children participated in the Greek study from two municipalities of the Attica Prefecture: one formal group with 22 children aged between 4-5 years registered in a municipal child-care centre (Aghia Varvara), and two informal groups with 8 children each aged between 9-14 years old attending after-school programs of municipal community centres. Based on an initial analysis it became evident that the majority of the children had a good relationship with their teachers, and they enjoyed school while emphasising on the learning process of new things/experiences. However, especially in the informal groups, complaints about teachers' rigidity for all the children in the class were recorded. Finally, some of the children's proposals referred to the improvement of school structural facilities and to the needed support of the newcomers which can be achieved by teaching them the Greek language while assisting them to accommodate to their new context especially when issues arise. This could be achieved through the educational system, namely with the use of individualized instruction to foreign students, led by specialized teachers.

Keywords: children's perspective, well-being, inclusion, Roma, preschool, informal context

Research sites and participants

The selection criteria of the sites were the same as the ones used for the interview study of WP2 (Broekhuizen, Ereky-Stevens, Wolf, & Moser, 2018) namely West Athens Sector and West Attica Sector. However, for the Children Study, we decided to focus only on the first site of West Athens Sector and specifically on the municipality of Aghia Varvara. However, during the organization of the study of the informal group in Aghia Varvara, several problems were raised, and it was decided to collaborate with the community centre with a branch for the Roma community of the municipality of Athens, as well. We had two groups from the municipality of Aghia Varvara. The first one was the formal group of 3-6 years old registered in a child-care centre. In total 85 children were registered in the childcare centre grouped in 4 groups. The second was the informal group of 9-14 years old registered in the supplementary teaching programme that currently is running by the community centre at the Town Hall. Only one of them was Roma and the rest of the children were immigrants or had immigrant background. We had one informal group of 9-14 years old from the municipality of Athens. All the children were Roma and they were registered in the after-school lessons of the Community Centre of municipality last year. See Table 1 for an overview of the participants.

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[50] This study is part of the international research project 'Children's views on inclusion at school' within the European Project ISOTIS (see D.2.5: Pastori G., Pagani V., Sarcinelli S., Technical report on the Child Interview study. Children's views on inclusion at school' - digital source available on Isotis.org)

Table 1. *Overview of the target groups, sites and contexts involved.*

Target group	Name	Context type	Age	City/area	Number of professionals involved	Number and age of children involved	Division in groups
		Sites				**Participants**	
Roma	-	Formal, preschool	3-6	municipality of Aghia Varvara	2	22 (4-5 years old)	2 groups of around 11 children
Multi-ethnic	Community Centre	Informal, After-school program	9-14	municipality of Aghia Varvara	1	8 (9-13 years old)	No
Roma	Community Centre	Informal, After-school program	9-14	municipality of Athens	2	8 (8-13 years old)	No

Methodology

Following the appropriate research ethics considerations and clarifications provided to the local authorities and the relevant approval, the research team collaborated with the child-care centre and the two Community Centres. First, the researchers had a meeting with the headteacher of the child-care centre and the teachers who implement the supplementary teaching programmes to inform them about the content of the Children Study and to provide her with the necessary clarifications concerning the anonymity and other personal data security procedures. In the second meeting, the researchers met the teachers of each group to inform them about the goals of the Children Study and the activities that would be conducted. During these meetings, they shared their opinion and their suggestions regarding the proposed activities. The parents of the students that would participate were informed about the aims and the relevant procedures of the study by the teachers. After collecting the consent forms, the final dates of conducting the studies were scheduled. Below there are outlines of the activities that were implemented for each group. All the activities were audio recorded.

Table 2. *Overview of the main steps and activities for the formal group of 3-6-year-old children*

Day	Activity	Description of implementation
Day 1	Introduction of the study	Step 1. The two researchers presented themselves and explained to children's group the reason they would be in the classroom for a week. Step 2. The researchers conducted field observation as non-participants by observing the "circle time". During the rest of the day, the researchers conducted field observation as participants, as well, as they assisted in the implementation of the activities. In both cases, researchers gathered information about the children and the teaching methods.
Day 2	Introduction of the activities - Division of groups	Step 1. The researchers explained the goal of the two activities. Step 2. The children were split into two groups to make an inclusion first aid kit. This division was kept during the entire study.

	Circle time	Step 1. The first group of nine children worked in circle time with one researcher. They discussed what they could propose and what materials they could prepare to welcome the "newcomers", i.e. children arriving from another country, and make them feel as good as possible in their new school. Step 2. Their final decision was to make a cake and have a party to welcome the new children. During the activity, the assistant was present to take care of one child who had behaviour problems.
	Child-led tour	Step 1. In the meantime, the second group of 11 children had the child-led tour with one researcher and the educator who was assisting in the discussion. During the tour, the children were slightly disoriented, and they did not decide what to do for the "inclusion first aid kit".
Day 3	Inclusion first aid kit/ implementation – 1st Group	Step 1. The researcher introduced again the goal of the activity and summed up what the children did the previous day. She also introduced the material that the children would use for making the cake and the cupcakes. Step 2. The group made a cardboard cake and some cotton cupcakes (see Appendix, Figure 1) under the supervision of the first researcher. Also, the assistant was present to take care of the child who had behaviour problems to accommodate the activities of the rest of the children. Step 3. After the suggestion of one of the centre's educators, it was decided to have a mask party where all the children would wear a monkey mask and one would wear a lion mask. The monkeys would be the old students and the lions would be the new students. Step 4. One of the researchers prepared the masks. Step 5. Unfortunately, it was not possible to have a party as it was planned because of the constant disruptive behaviours expressed by one specific child.
	Inclusion first aid kit/ implementation – 2nd Group	Step 1. The researcher introduced again the goal of the activity and summed up what the children did the previous day. Step 2. The group drew something to welcome the new children under the supervision and cooperation of the second researcher and the educator of the class (see Appendix, Figure 2). Step 3. Following the suggestion of the educator, two photos of two children, randomly selected, were used to show to the students how the new children would look like. In this way, it was considered that the students would get more engaged/committed to the goal of the activity and make it more realistic. Step 4. At the end of the drawing activity, each child described to the researcher what they drew.

Day		
Day 4	Identity cards	Step 1. The researchers presented their own ID card explaining in detail all the elements of the template as well as the idea behind the activity. Step 2. Both groups drew their identity card (see Appendix, Figure 3) which included their portrait, what they would like to do when they grow up and their favourite toy. Before drawing, the children stood with the researchers in front of a mirror and had a small discussion about what characteristics they see and how they differ. Step 3. After drawing each part, the children described to the researchers what they drew (see Appendix, Figure 4). *Note:* During the activity, both the educator and the assistant were present. The assistant was taking care of a child who excessively displayed disruptive behaviour during all the tasks.
Day 5	Sun & Clouds	Step 1. The researchers explained the goal of the activity and presented the material that the children would use. Step 2. Each group had a small discussion about what they liked or disliked about their school and then they drew the suns and clouds (see Appendix, Figure 5). Step 3. After completing their drawing, the children explained to the researchers their drawing. Step 4. At the end of the study, all the drawings and the materials that were produced during the activities were displayed on a wall in the centre of the day-care centre (see Appendix, Figure 6). *Note*: During the activity, both the educator and the assistant were present. The assistant was taking care of the child with disruptive behaviour.

Table 3. *Overview of the main steps and activities for the 1st informal group of 9-14-year-old children (Community Centre, municipality of Aghia Varvara)*

Day	Activity	Description of implementation
Day 1	Introduction of the study	Step 1. The researcher presented herself and explained the reasons she would be in the classroom for the four following days. Step 2. The researcher conducted field observation both as non-participant by observing the lesson, and as participant to gather information about the children.
Day 2	Presentation of the research + Ice-break activity*	Step 1. The researcher introduced the first "ice-breaker" activity. Step 2. All the children participated and presented themselves. Step 3. The children discussed what they would do to survive on the island.

	"Do I feel good at school? A video-cued focus group"	Step 1. The researcher introduced the activity with the two videos. The first video that was used was from a research project entitled "Local Engagement for Roma Inclusion"[51] (LERI) that was conducted in a school of the municipality of Aghia Varvara. In this project, the students of the school were presenting areas of their school where conflicts between the students take place and areas where the students may be amused.
		Step 2. After watching a small part of this video, the children discussed whether there are similar places at their schools, what they like or dislike about their schools, what makes them feel good or not at their school setting. The lack of time did not permit the accomplishment of the activity which was continued the third day.
Day 3	"Do I feel good at school? A video-cued focus group" (Cntd) + Warm-up activity	Step 1. The children watched the second video[52] about multilingualism and multiculturalism from the short movie "Immersion" proposed by the manual of the study.
		Step 2. The children discussed about similar experiences they had in the past regarding inclusion or language, experiences of other students that they have heard of, how they consider a new student would feel at their school and what they could do to help a new student feel well, and what languages do the students speak at school. The warming-up activity itself was not implemented due to lack of time.
	My school autobiography	Step 1. The activity of school autobiography was introduced.
		Step 2. The children decided to write some things about their school autobiography and talked a little about it to the researcher.
Day 4	Warm-up activity	The children participated in the warming-up activity about the effectiveness and appreciation of the activities.
	"Feel better at school"- a message to authorities	Step 1. Then, the researcher introduced the final activity of writing a message to the authorities.
		Step 2. Initially, the children were supposed to work in groups of two but in the end, each child wrote his/her letter about what they would like to change at their school.
		Step 3. After finishing the letter, each child talked about it to the researcher.
		Step 4. The children made by themselves envelopes where they put their letter in. At the same time, the teacher, for supporting them, combined all the ideas of the children and wrote a new more refined letter.
		Step 5. Since the lessons of the group took place at the town hall, the teacher and the students decided that it would be a great opportunity to write a letter to the mayor and deliver it to him. Unfortunately, we don't have any information about the delivery of the letter and its impact.

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[51] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vB88z4tjA_g
[52] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I6Y0HAjLKYI

Table 4. *Overview of the main steps and activities for the 2ⁿᵈ informal group of 9-14-year-old children (Community Centre, municipality of Athens)*

Day	Activity	Description of implementation
Day 1	Introduction of the study	The researcher presented herself and explained the reason she would be in the classroom for four days. She didn't conduct field observation because the children were gathered voluntarily only for conducting the Children Study.
	Warm-up activity	The researcher directly introduced the first ice-breaker activity of "lost in a deserted island". The researcher presented herself and then encouraged the children to do the same. Unfortunately, only a few children did so, because the majority was feeling bit awkward or shy. So, the researcher started discussing with the children to receive some information about them.
	"Do I feel good at school? A video-cued focus group"	Step 1. The researcher introduced the activity with the two videos. The first video was the same that was used for the 1ˢᵗ informal group of 9-14-year-old children.
		Step 2. After watching the first video, the children were hesitant and not very talkative, something that was interpreted as a response to unfamiliarity with the researchers and the research procedures. Also, most of the children reported that everything was fine at their school and didn't share more information.
Day 2	"Do I feel good at school? A video-cued focus group" (Cntd)	Step 1. The children watched the second video about multilingualism and multiculturalism.
		Step 2. Then, the children discussed about similar experiences they had had in the past regarding inclusion or language, experiences of other students that they had heard of, how would a new student feel at their school and what they could do to help a new student feel well, and what languages do the students speak at school. In this way, this activity included part of the warming-up activity which was sharing experiences of inclusion.
	Warming up activity	The warming-up activity itself was not implemented because of the limited time available.
	School autobiography	Step 1. Finally, the activity of school autobiography was introduced.
		Step 2. The children decided to have a small personal interview and talk about their school autobiography to the researcher. It was not possible to write it, because many children did not prefer it or feared their writing was of poor quality. The children were considered to be more open and talkative in an interview situation.
Day 3	A message to authorities	Step 1. The researcher introduced the final activity of writing, "a message to the authorities".
		Step 2. It was not possible to do it in written form as was planned, because many children did not prefer to write or possibly feared their writing was of poor quality. Therefore, they decided to talk to the researcher about what they would like to be changed at their school. This day the children were even more open and talkative.

Coding and analysis

The first step of the analytical process was to fully transcribe all the audio recordings which ended up in having three transcripts, one for each study. The next step was to code the transcriptions using the qualitative data analysis software Nvivo 11. Thematic analysis was performed, and the coding of the transcripts was based on a coding system that was common for all the participating countries (Pastori, Pagani, & Sarcinelli, 2018). Two researchers of the Greek team coded the transcripts. During the coding process, extra sub-codes were created to better describe and analyse the data. The analysis was focused on the most recurring or salient themes.

We should note that the formal group participated in our study consisted of children between 4-5 years of age and the total number proposals-suggestions-responses was extremely limited, most of the times the children repeated a view or a response of a child following a standard pattern of responses. Therefore, we decided to focus mainly on analysing the two informal groups (references from the formal group of young children were sporadically presented in the report).

Main Findings

According to Table 5, 43 references were also coded as School Organization as well, and 22 references were also coded as Social Relationships. This means that many of the responses reflecting the promotion of the wellbeing are related to the way that the school is organized, especially in terms of Space, Learning and Teaching approach. Many students of both informal groups mentioned that the lesson of gymnastics makes them feel more relaxed and they would like to have more sessions/classes of it. A more playful or play-like educational strategy could be more appropriate for approaching students/groups making them stay in the class happily. Moreover, some children mentioned that they enjoy school by emphasising the learning of new things or having new experiences. Another factor is the time to play with other children in the school context. Many students of both informal groups enjoy hanging out with their friends at school and getting involved in a variety of playful activities/games. Also, the school climate and facilities appeared to play an important role for the children. Specifically, the children enjoy the fact that their school has facilities for playing sports or that the schoolyard is not full of stones that he could get hurt. Moreover, many children in both informal groups reported that they would like the building of the school to be decorated with graffiti or that they are happy that their school is decorated. To sum up, the findings revealed that the school facilities and climate, the learning subjects, the student-teacher relationship, the ability to play and the feeling of security are factors that promote the wellbeing of the children at school.

Table 5. *Co-occurrence of Factors promoting well-being at school per group*

Codes	Subcodes	3-6 formal group	1st informal group	2nd informal group	Total number
Diversity		0	1	0	1
	Social inequalities	0	0	0	0
	Language	0	1	0	1
	Culture	0	0	0	0
Identity		0	0	1	1
	Cultural identity	0	0	0	0
	Linguistic identity	0	0	0	0
	Social identity	0	0	0	0

	Somatic features	0	0	0	0
	Myself in the future	0	0	1	1
Representations		-	2	10	12
	Image of the child-student	0	0	1	1
	Image of the teacher	0	2	6	8
	Image of the school	0	0	7	7
	Image of the society	0	0	0	0
School organization		5	16	22	43
	Space	3	5	6	14
	Time	0	0	0	0
	Rules	0	0	1	1
	Play	1	9	5	15
	Learning	0	4	16	20
	Food	1	0	0	1
	Teaching approach	0	2	2	4
Social relationships		-	11	11	22
	Inclusion-acceptance	0	0	2	2
	Discrimination	0	0	1	1
	Conflict	0	0	2	2
	Friendship	0	11	7	18
	Behaviour	0	1	0	1
	Emotional support-empathy	0	0	1	1

Many of the things that undermine the wellbeing of the children are related to the way that the school is organized, especially in terms of space, teaching methodology and social relationships (see Table 6). Many children of both informal groups stated that the negative peer relationships affect the way they feel at school, specifically mentioning the fights between them. Another factor was the skills or the rigidity of some teachers. Some children referred to the subjects and the large amount of homework which detracts time from extracurricular activities. Also, the difficulty of the subjects was mentioned in terms of complex language, and the stressful procedure of subjects' evaluation tests. Finally, it was revealed that the school facilities affect children's wellbeing since the current facilities do not only need improvement, but also put children at risk regarding their physical and psychological health.

Table 6. *Co-occurrence of Factors undermining well-being at school per group*

Codes	Subcodes	3-6 formal group	1st informal group	2nd informal group	Total number
Diversity		0	10	1	11
	Social inequalities	0	0	0	0
	Language	0	10	1	11
	Culture	0	0	0	0
Identity		0	1	2	3
	Cultural identity	0	1	1	2
	Linguistic identity	0	0	0	0
	Social identity	0	0	0	0
	Somatic features	0	0	0	0
	Myself in the future	0	0	1	1
Representations		0	4	7	11
	Image of the child-student	0	0	1	1
	Image of the teacher	0	4	5	9
	Image of the school	0	0	2	2
	Image of the society	0	0	0	0
School organization		2	24	14	40
	Space	1	11	1	13
	Time	0	1	0	1
	Rules	0	0	2	2
	Play	1	0	0	1
	Learning	0	5	7	12
	Food	0	0	0	0
	Teaching approach	0	11	7	18
Social relationships		0	26	7	33
	Inclusion-acceptance	0	2	3	5
	Discrimination	0	2	1	3
	Conflict	0	11	4	15
	Friendship	0	5	3	8
	Behaviour	0	10	2	12
	Emotional support-empathy	0	3	0	3

Regarding the children's proposals, many of the things they proposed are related to the way that the school is organized, especially about the available space (quality, quantity) (see Table 7). The children of the informal groups reported inadequate conditions and suggested that the school infrastructure should be more friendly and warm to children by painting the building or having more space for football and basketball or a swimming pool. Also, some children proposed to have free lunches from the school canteen so that their parents would not be tired because of preparing their food. This proposal may reflect the financial difficulties

that the families of the children have. During the discussion about what to do to welcome new students that come from another country, the children from both informal groups proposed to support them by teaching them Greek, making them friends and helping them when they face a problem. It seems that, for the children, it is essential for a newcomer to learn the language to communicate, but also making friends.

Table 7. *Co-occurrence of Transformative factors (proposals & wishes) per group*

Codes	Subcodes	3-6 formal group	1st informal group	2nd informal group	Total number
Diversity		0	6	0	6
	Social inequalities	0	3	0	3
	Language	0	3	0	3
	Culture	0	0	0	0
Identity		0	0	0	0
	Cultural identity	0	0	0	0
	Linguistic identity	0	0	0	0
	Social identity	0	0	0	0
	Somatic features	0	0	0	0
	Myself in the future	0	0	0	0
Representations		0	1	5	6
	Image of the child-student	0	0	0	0
	Image of the teacher	0	0	4	4
	Image of the school	0	1	1	2
	Image of the society	0	0	0	0
School organization		4	21	16	41
	Space	2	15	9	26
	Time	0	0	0	0
	Rules	0	2	3	5
	Play	2	3	2	7
	Learning	0	4	1	5
	Food	0	4	0	4
	Teaching approach	0	4	4	8
Social relationships		0	5	2	7
	Inclusion-acceptance	0	0	1	1
	Discrimination	0	0	0	0
	Conflict	0	0	1	1
	Friendship	0	3	1	4
	Behaviour	0	3	1	4
	Emotional support-empathy	0	0	0	0

Main ethical and methodological challenges

One challenge for the researchers was to cope with misbehaviour of some young children of the formal group, as the kind of relationship they had was different than the one with their educator. Regarding the 1st informal group in Aghia Varvara, there were many problems during the organization of the study, as delays in collecting the consent forms and finding Roma children to participate. In the end, only one Roma child participated and some children that were immigrants or had immigrant background. Also, in the 2nd informal group, only Roma children participated which resulted in missing the views of non-Roma children. Moreover, the time of conducting the three studies was very short to ensure that the children would feel comfortable enough with the researchers to share their views. Therefore, there was lack of familiarity between children and researchers which may explain why the children were hesitant and not talkative especially at the beginning of the studies. Another common issue is related to competence in writing. This was true for both the formal group (due to their developmental stage) and informal groups (due to either insufficient school attendance, language acquisition problems, fear of judgement etc). In these cases, only the graphical mode (e.g. picture drawing) and the oral mode (e.g. presentation, discussion and interview are considered as the most appropriate strategies for extracting information, views or perceptions from the informants. During all three studies, the children were given the choice to stop participating in any activity at any time and without any need for explanation. This was important especially for young children who can get tired easily.

Discussion: Limitations, main lessons and recommendations for practice and policy

To sum up, the findings revealed that the school facilities and climate, the learning subjects, the student-teacher relationship, the ability to play and the feeling of security are factors that promote the wellbeing of the children at school. Many of the things that undermine the wellbeing of the children are related to the way that the school is organized, especially in terms of space, teaching approaches and social relationships. Regarding the children's proposals, many of the things they proposed are related to the way that the school is organized, especially about the available space (quality, quantity). Another important issue that emerged is the power and the need of a network among children as a kind of support each other to overcome the difficulties of the new educational, cultural and language context. Also, children's views showed that there is a need for more informed teachers who can speak their language. It seems that continuing in-service training and the use of the native language in classroom are critical factors to students' wellbeing.

There were some limitations for the study, such as the young age of the children of the formal group which did not allow to extract concrete conclusions from their responses. Also, the study with the informal group with only Roma children does not provide any comparative perspective. Another important issue was the lack of familiarity between children and researchers for all three groups. The time of conducting the study was too short to ensure that the children would feel comfortable enough with the researchers to share their views. Time is a critical factor since this kind of tasks need a longer period of presence of the research teams in the educational context so that both researchers and educational staff and children can get to know better each other, and especially for the research team to get a better view of the psychological/educational dynamics of the group.

Despite the limitations, the findings of the present study provide a first insight on the children's perspectives regarding the elements that make them feel good at school. This study advances our understanding of the things that should change in Greek schools in terms of facilities or teaching approach to make them more welcoming and inclusive. A kind of action research is recommended, where the teacher or a member of the educational staff will be part of the research team so that the potential biases either by the children the staff or the researchers would be overcome.

3.2.7 POLAND

Kamila Wichrowska and Olga Wysłowska

Short abstract

This study is part of the international research project 'Children's views on inclusion at school' within the European Project ISOTIS (see D.2.5: Pastori G., Pagani V., Sarcinelli S., Technical report on the Child Interview study. Children's views on inclusion at school' - digital source available on Isotis.org) and was conducted in Poland based on the manual developed by the task leaders. This case study involved two groups of children recruited via Warsaw formal educational settings, more specific a public preschool and a primary school. In total 28 children took part in the study (thirteen 4- to 6-year-olds and fifteen 8- to 10-year-olds). Both groups included pupils of socially disadvantaged background. In both contexts within two days children participated in several individual, small group and whole group activities. The general goal of the research was to learn about children's perspectives on inclusive aspects of their educational settings facilitating well-being of all pupils. The following summary of the technical report presents the context and implementation process of the study. Moreover ethical challenges encountered by the research team are outlined. The findings revealed that children relate their well-being in the educational setting to: having the possibility to choose what, where and with whom they want to play, tasty food, setting openness for parental involvement, warm relations with teachers and peers as well as attractive outdoor and indoor space and toys.

Keywords: socially disadvantaged children; Poland; ISOTIS project, children wellbeing; children views on inclusion

Research sites and participants

In the preschool 3 teachers were directly involved in the study. All the professionals were women of Polish origin. Within both days of the study three researchers were accompanied by two teachers (two teachers took part only in one day of the study; one teacher took part in both days of the study).

In the primary school as a rule the class was supposed to have a class teacher and an assistant teacher. However, at the time when the study was conducted the class teacher was on extended sick leave. Due to the staff shortage the responsibilities of the class teacher were divided between two teachers, hence as a result three teachers were engaged in the study, namely two substitute teachers exchanging the role of a leading teacher and an assistant teacher. However, the involvement of one of the teachers was limited and concerned only the organizational support.

Table 1. *Overview of the target groups, sites and contexts involved*

Target group	Context Type	Age range of children in the institution	City Area	Number of professionals involved	Number and age of children involved	Division in groups
Low-income	Formal, Preschool	3-6	Warsaw, Żoliborz	3	13 (4-6 years old)	NO
	Formal, Primary school	6-15	Warsaw, Praga Północ	2	15 (8-10 years old)	NO

Methodology

The study was conducted based on the theoretical framework and implementation guidelines included in the manual "Feel good: children's views on inclusion", draft proposal - June 22, 2018 by Giulia Pastori, Valentina Pagani, Alice Sophie Sarcinelli. However some customizations were introduced as a result of negotiations with the staff working at the facilities, conducted prior to the implementation of the study. The main adaptations concerned: the time span of research actions (two days instead of three days), change of the activities order, parallel organization of some activities ('Suns and clouds' activity and 'Trip around the pre(school)'), adjustment of some ID cards sections (at school the *Brief self-presentation* was supplemented with sentence beginnings - *I am… , I like… , Others like in me… , At school I like to play…* , and *My portrait* was replaced with *My favourite place at school, write or draw.*). Moreover the 'Inclusion first kit' activity was replaced by the 'Trip around the pre(school)'.

Table 2. *Brief overview of research actions undertaken in the preschool*

		POLAND - PRESCHOOL
Day 1	**Phase 1: Introduction**	Step 1. Introducing researchers; presentation of the study goals, ways of documenting the data, rules of children involvement Step 2. Name cards preparation
	Phase 2: ID cards	Step 1. Presentation of an ID card by one researcher Step 2. Preparation of ID cards by children Step 3. A group discussion on the activities planned for the next day Step 4. After school leaving, researchers visited the centre and took photos of the places and toys mentioned by the children as welcoming and attractive. Preparation of a PowerPoint presentation using photos as well as the documentation of ID cards (photos, audio and video recordings), to show to the children on the day after.
Day 2	**Phase 1: Revision**	Step 1. Group discussion based on the PowerPoint presentation referring to the activities accomplished the previous day
	Phase 2: Brainstorm	Step 1. Considerations on the advantages of the preschool Step 2. Discussion on the aspects of the preschool which the children considered worth improving in order to make all children feel welcome Step 3. Presentation of the suns and clouds task
	Phase 3: Suns and clouds	Step 1. Suns and clouds preparation Step 2. Presentation and documentation of art works Step 3. Making 'preschool sky' of children art works
	Phase 4: Tour	Step 1. Tours of one researcher around the preschool guided by small groups of children
	Phase 5: Sum up	Step 1. Sum up of the activities Step 2. Acknowledgement of children's engagement

Table 3. *Brief overview of research actions undertaken in the primary school*

		POLAND – PRIMARY SCHOOL
Day 1	Phase 1: Introduction	Step 1. Introduction of researchers, presentation of the study goals Step 2. Presentation of ways of documenting the data and detailed rules of involvement in the activities Step 3. Name cards preparation
	Phase 2: Discussion on the letter	Step 1. Introduction of the activity based on a letter describing other academics' experiences from a visit to a different primary school Step 2. Discussion over each part of the letter
	Phase 3: ID cards	Step 1. Presentation of an ID card by one researcher Step 2. Preparation of ID cards by children Step 3. Documentation of children ID cards
	Phase 4: Sum up	Step 1. Presentation of ID cards to the group by volunteers Step 2. Brief presentation of the activities planned for the following day
Day 2	Phase 1: Revision	Step 1. Introduction of the research assistant who came to the class for the first time and informing her by children about the activities conducted on the previous day Step 2. Presentation of ID cards to the group by volunteers
	Phase 2: Brainstorm	Step 1. The discussion about the welcoming aspects of the school Step 2. The discussion to the topic of improvements which could be introduced at school in order to make all children feel welcome Step 3. Presentation of the suns and clouds task
	Phase 3: Suns and clouds	Step 1. 'School skies' preparation by groups of 3-4 children Step 2. Documentation of the 'school skies'
	Phase 4: Tour	Step 1. Tours of one researcher around the school guided by small groups of children
	Phase 5: Sum up	Step 1. Presentation of the 'school skies' by volunteers and sharing experiences of trip around the school participants Step 2. Acknowledgement of children's engagement

Coding and analysis

Some adaptations of the coding and analysis approach were made in comparison to the overall study framework. Due to the limited amount of transcripts (on many occasion children declined being audio recorded) the decision on including into the analysis researchers notes was taken. Both the transcripts and notes were ordered info files according to the phases of work.

On many occasion it was impossible to identify voices of children on the recordings and assign them to particular pupils. Moreover researchers' notes taken into consideration within the process of analysis did not always include the precise number of children who for example mentioned a particular topic during a group discussion or the number of children who mentioned the same factor undermining their well-being at school several times. Hence, researchers decided to focus on the (prevalent) occurrence vs not occurance of the topics instead of the number of each theme occurrence or presentation of the Word Cloud.

Main Findings

Within both settings children related Factors influencing inclusion and wellbeing mainly with school organization, more specific physical environment (e.g. availability of space to relax at the premise) as well as rules of children and family involvement in different types of actions such as play and organized learning activities (e.g. provision of some educational activities within one-to-one or small groups arrangements; openness of the setting for parents presence). Moreover pupils pointed to the importance of positive relations with peers and professionals for their general attitude towards school. Factors undermining children wellbeing at (pre)school were only pointed by school pupils and concerned: their negative interactions with peers (e.g. conflicts), high turnover of professionals, and general malaise and low-self esteem of children. Furthermore it was suggested that lack of free of charge school aids available in the premise may limit children engagement in the educational activities. Transformative proposals of children could not be implemented within the research process. One may say that the 'co-denominator' of children proposals was willingness to get more involved in shaping space and activities (e.g. content of extracurricular activities) at the premise.

Table 6. *Co-occurrence of Factors influencing inclusion and well-being with thematic and complimentary codes*

		Preschool			School		
		F1. Factors promoting well-being	F2. Factors undermining well-being	F3. Transformative factors (proposals and wishes)	F1. Factors promoting well-being	F2. Factors undermining well-being	F3. Transformative factors (proposals and wishes)
Diversity	Social inequalities				V	V*	V
	Language						
	Culture						
Social Relationships	Inclusion/ acceptance	V					V
	Discrimination						
	Conflict				V		
	Friendship	V					
	Behavior				V		
	Emotional support/ empathy	V			V		
Identity	Linguistic identity						
	Social identity						
	Myself in the future						
School organization	Space	V		V	V		
	Rules	V	V				
	Play	V		V	V		
	Learning	V			V		
	Food	V					
	Teaching Approach				V		

Representa-tions / Comple-mentary codes	Topic						
Representa-tions	Image of the child(ren)	V				V	
	Image of the teacher	V			V		
	Image of the school	V					
Comple-mentary codes	Peers	V					
	Teachers	V					
	Family	V				V	

*v- the topic occurred prevalent

Main ethical and methodological challenges

The main methodological challenge concerned the sample selection. More specifically, as in the Polish study the focus was on identifying inclusive aspects of educational settings as perceived by native socioeconomically disadvantaged children, in our research group occurred questions such as: should settings involving high or low percentage of pupils of such background be included?; in what context it is easier for children to notice inclusive aspects of the settings? As a result the decision on involving one group with just a few and the other with the majority of children with disadvantaged socio-economic background was taken.

Regarding the ethical challenges the researchers felt that the elaborated rules of children involvement in the research activities secured their rights. At the same time the researchers could have noticed that on some occasion children 'used' their rights and for example refused to be audio recorded without any particular reason (their decision was respected on every occasion). One may say that children were not used to making decisions in such matters and simply had a pleasure of being 'decisive'. As a result considerably limited amount of audio data was collected.

Discussion: Limitations, main lessons and recommendations for practice and policy

The following study had several limitations of which three seem to be of the greatest importance for its implementation. Firstly the researchers involved in the study found the time allocated for the research activities insufficient. The second limitation concerned the lack of information on the individual participants' socio-economic background, which in consequence, on some occasion made it challenging to interpret children's opinions or behaviour. Thirdly participants had very limited contact with non-Polish speakers and representatives of other cultures; most probably because of this reason it was very difficult for researchers to enhance them to reflect on linguistic or cultural diversity at their (pre)school.

Based on the children's experiences, opinions and ideas shared with researchers within the research process the following recommendations were formulated:

● Peer relations should be an important concern of professionals.

● Food and drinks, as well as school aids, should be available to all children at the premise.

● Children should be enhanced to actively participate in taking decisions on the arrangement of play areas at the premise.

● At the premise there should be space for children to relax in peace and quiet, in small groups or individually.

● Parents should be encouraged to visit the premise and take part in the organization of its work.

● Attractive extracurricular activities should be available at the premise.

3.2.8 THE CZECH REPUBLIC

Jana Obrovská, Lenka Kissová, Viktorie Hermanová and Lenka Špinková

Short abstract

In this case study, we focus on activities conducted as part of the WP2 Task 2.5 "Children Study" within the larger ISOTIS project in the Czech Republic. The study consisted of three activities focusing on the views of children on inclusion and wellbeing in the school environment. Activities were conducted in four classrooms attended by approximately 80 children in two primary schools at two locations. While the classrooms in the city of Brno were attended by 20-30% of pupils with minority ethnic background with only a low percentage of Roma pupils, the two classrooms in Ústí nad Labem included higher percentages (40% on average) of pupils with Roma background. In this country report, we reflect on data collected during this study. We present a detailed characterization of the context, participants and methodological as well as ethical issues we dealt with. At the end, we outline the findings of the study.

Keywords: Diversity, ethnically minor pupils; Roma pupils; children's views on inclusion; Czech Republic; ISOTIS project

Research sites and participants

We selected two schools in two locations in the Czech Republic, in the cities of Brno and Ústí nad Labem. These locations were chosen in line with the general selection criteria defined for the whole ISOTIS project: urban areas with ethnically diverse populations but different social policies. Brno and Ústí nad Labem both have relatively high percentages of people with a minority background and both host the biggest populations of the Roma minority, which was one of the target groups for the Czech Republic in the ISOTIS project. The criterion of increased ethnic diversity was crucial as the Czech society is predominantly ethnically homogeneous (the population of minority background constitutes less than 5%).

School 1 located in the Brno inner-city comprises approximately 20-30% pupils from ethnic minorities per classroom. The school neighbourhood is affluent as it is located in the middle of the city's historic center; however, the streets inhabited mainly by socio-economically disadvantaged families are not so far away from here. This localization brings a specific social mixture of pupils which is characteristic for this school.

School 2. The school is situated at the edge of Ústí nad Labem agglomeration with a direct connection to the biggest highway in the Czech Republic. The school comprises approximately 40% of Roma pupils per classroom on average, however there was a higher number of Roma pupils in one classroom involved in the Children Study (70%), while there were about 30% of Roma pupils in the second classroom.

In the next table, you can see the overview of the target groups, sites and contexts involved in the Children Study.

Table 1. *Overview of the target groups, sites and contexts involved in the Children Study*

Target group	Context type	Age	City/Area	Number of professionals involved	Number and age of children involved	Division in groups
Romani	Formal Primary School	6-10	Brno	2 (+2)	43 (8-9 years old)	21 (class 3.B) 22 (class 3.C)
	Formal Primary School	6-11	Ústí nad Labem	2	41 (9-11 years old)	18 (class 5.B) 23 (class 4.C)

Methodology

At both schools in the Czech Republic (School 1 and 2), we started with getting familiar with context, teachers and children in spring 2018, including participant observations in all classes and interviews with the four teachers. In the late fall 2018 we started to discuss the activities we would be conducting in the classes within the WP2.5 Children Study. We continued with the three Children Study activities in autumn and winter 2018. In the following table you can see the steps of the three activities.

Table 2. *Steps of the three Children Study activities*

BRNO and ÚSTÍ NAD LABEM		
Day 1	**Introduction of the study**	Step 1. Researchers introduced themselves as well as explained the goal of the visit; gave information concerning the documentation of the activities within the study and agreed upon the rules of involvement in the activities; Step 2. Preparation of the name cards for the researchers and children.
	ID cards	Step 1. Researcher presented the activity in detail and explained what is expected from the pupils. Step 2. During the activity the researchers assisted pupils with their ID cards, explained details of the activity if unclear. Step 3. Researchers encouraged children to talk about their ID cards during a group discussion. Step 4. After the activity, researchers took pictures of the ID cards. Step 5. A discussion with the teachers took place. Researchers discussed the process and outcomes of the activity. They also discussed suggestions for improvement.
	Suns and clouds	Step 1. Pre-preparation of suns and clouds. Step 2. Researchers explained the activity and asked children to cut out three suns and three clouds. Step 3. Researchers asked pupils to write down three positive and three negative they like/do not like about their school. Step 4. Researchers encouraged children to talk about their suns and clouds during a group discussion. Step 5. After the activity, researchers took pictures of the suns and clouds. Step 6. A discussion with the teachers took place. Researchers discussed the process and outcomes of the activity. They also discussed suggestions for improvement.

Day 2	First aid kit	Step 1. Researchers read the first part of the letter to children (letter talking about the imaginary new classmate coming from a foreign country).
		Step 2. Researchers explained the activity.
		Step 3. The teacher divided the class to smaller groups.
		Step 4. Researchers and the teacher assisted pupils with the first aid kit preparation. They discussed potential options pupils can elaborate on.
		Step 5. Researchers encouraged children to talk about their suns and clouds during a group discussion.
		Step 6. After the activity, researchers took pictures of the outcomes.
		Step 7. A discussion with the teachers took place. Researchers discussed the process and outcomes of the activity. They also discussed suggestions for improvements.
Day 3	Focus groups (The letter)	Step 1. The teacher divided pupils to groups.
		Step 2. Each researcher took one group and found a calm space in the school.
		Step 3. Researchers introduced the activity and explained the rules for the focus group. They also announced that the interview would be recorded.
		Step 4. Researchers asked about the previous activities. They were interested whether the pupils remembered the activities. They also asked about the first part of the letter.
		Step 5. Researchers read the rest of the letter (one part after another) and they were posing related questions. Thus, pupils were given the opportunity to discuss the letter and its topics. Researchers were also encouraging pupils who were shy or not so dominant in the discussions.

Coding and analysis

The coding and analysis procedure followed the general guidelines presented in Chapter 3.1 (page 263ff).

Main Findings

One of the main facilitators supporting well-being at school is the teacher persona. Teachers have been mentioned as positive aspects of the children's school attendance and of children feeling good and safe at school. Also, according to some children, bad teachers are the reason why kids leave the school.

Another positive aspect of being at school that the children identified is friends, peers and relationships with them. The fact they can spend time with their friends in the classroom or in the after school activities is a strong facilitator. In this regard, children evaluate positively the after-school clubs where they can play with others and meet new kids. Time spent together with their classmates in the afterschool club or at the PE lessons seems to reinforce their relationships that are one of the essential factors supporting well-being at school. Friendships are relevant also in relation to inclusion of children with minority background or those who do not speak the local language. Another facilitating factor the children stated is breaks. Pupils associate them with free time they can spend playing and talking to their friends, eating and not studying. This is further associated with play (for example, playing hide and seek, soccer, double) they consider essential too. Also, a small number of pupils named school environment as a positive facilitator. To them, big rooms and nicely decorated school hallways and classrooms evoke positive emotions. One of the most discussed factors influencing how children feel about school is the curriculum subjects. Significant number of pupils mentioned PE as a supporting factor because they are allowed to move instead of sitting all the time; or creative

education (namely painting) because they learn how to draw and paint, they can create products; music education because they can sing.

Table 3. *Co-occurrences among main thematic codes and codes Factors promoting/undermining inclusion and Transformative factors*

Over-codes	FACTORS PROMOTING WELL BEING AND INCLUSION	FACTORS UNDERMINING WELL BEING AND INCLUSION	TRASFORMATIVE FACTORS
Site: Brno typology **Codes**	Target 2 Formal 8-11	Target 2 Formal 8-11	Target 2 Formal 8-11
Diversity			
Social inequalities	0	5	0
Language	0	10	9
Culture	0	0	2
Representations			
Images of the child-student	0	4	0
Image of the teacher	1	0	0
Image of the school	0	0	0
Image of the family	0	0	0
Identity			
Cultural i.	0	3	1
Linguistic i.	0	2	0
Social i.	2	1	0
Somatic features	0	0	0
Myself in the future	0	0	0
School Organization			

Space	1	0	2
Time	0	0	0
Rules	0	0	0
Play	2	0	6
Food	0	0	0
Learning	0	5	3
Teaching approach	0	4	1
Social relationship			
Inclusion-acceptance	0	7	12
Discrimination	0	0	0
Conflict	0	4	0
Friendship	0	3	4
Behaviour	3	4	1
Emotional support/Empathy	0	1	1

When the children were asked about what they associate with the school, majority of them identified the process of teaching/learning. Part of them associates learning with negative characteristics, connected to boredom, testing, bad grades. They dislike exams because they make them nervous and fearful of bad grades. According to some of them, they spend too much time at school learning difficult things. They evaluate negatively they have to wake up early, they have to sit long hours and they do not have time for other activities. In this regard, as well as said above, children name particular subjects they do not like (like the Czech language or Maths, which they consider difficult). Another set of negative features that children associate with school refers to their peers. They dislike when other kids shout, when they make fun of others or when they are rude. During the focus group interviews some children raised several examples of being mocked because of being perceived as "other" (e.g., because of different hair colour, having slices, being fat etc.).

Language seems to be an important factor in learning and in establishing friendships. When asked to reflect about languages and language diversity, pupils as well as teachers identified it as essential. It is one of the factors identified as supporting inclusion and well-being in school as well as enhancing exclusion. The children regarded not knowing the language as a significant barrier to acceptance in the collective and understanding in the classes. Teachers too perceived not knowing the majority language as a barrier to good performance of the children with different ethnic or language background. However, they do not find enough space in otherwise "dense" curriculum to involve the cross-sectional topics (such as multicultural education) to their daily teaching practice.

Main ethical and methodological challenges

During this research, we experienced some formal and processual challenges. The formal level of research ethics of the Children Study became complicated when due to bad teacher-parent communication some of the parents rejected to sign the informed consent forms. Some of the parents required specific modifications of the consent form and we also established together a rule that they will be informed at least one week before each activity will be conducted in the classroom about the planned activities and the data to be collected.

Regarding the processual ethics, we faced some obstacles in involvement of ethnically minor pupils during the focus groups. Although one of the aims of the study was to give voice to children as they are often overlooked by the mainstream research, ethnically "other" children were rather silent during the group interviews and they were not very enthusiastic about sharing their experiences about the country of origin or their cultural habits with the class even during the other Children Study activities.

Discussion: Limitations, main lessons and recommendations for practice and policy

In general, the participatory activities which were part of the Children Study enabled the pupils to reflect on relational topics (such as multiculturalism, arrival of a new non-Czech speaking classmate to their school/classroom, factors promoting/undermining inclusion in theiŕ classrooms etc.). We also encouraged them to actively express their opinions, visualise their ideas, think about hypothetical situations, share their own experiences as well as present their own suggestions how to solve concrete situation/problems. Although some teachers perceived these reflective and presentation skills of their pupils as rather underdeveloped, they appreciated that Children Study activities gave space to develop them further. Similarly, the children were in general engaged in the activities and expressed positive evaluations/feelings regarding the content as well as form of each activity.

We learned that some of these activities definitely need adaptations to the cultural contexts of the individual countries where they are conducted as well as to the context of each classroom with regard to the age of children, their prior experiences with similar topics, as well as with the curriculum of the respective grade. The need for their adaptation could be a good trigger for teachers to get involved in the design of the study on more participatory basis.

We further learnt that establishing space for children to reflect upon conducted activities requires a lot of time, good cooperation with the teacher and disciplined time-management. In the classroom encompassing twenty four pupils on average it is important to dedicate enough time to circles or similar platforms providing children enough and safe space to reflect and talk. Researchers need to discuss each phase of each activity with the teachers in advance to make clear decisions about the responsibilities when facilitating these reflective discussions (e.g., the facilitation of the main activity could be in hands of the researchers, however it is sometimes more appropriate to entrust the reflective part to the teacher, or vica versa).

Lastly, the communication with parents is very important. Although most of the parents were not very interested in research activities conducted in their school, there are always some who need regular contact with the research team, detailed explanation of collection and treatment of research data and good enough standard of reporting/sharing the results. Besides that, collecting such data for an international research project requires a lot of preparation before starting with the data collection to negotiate all necessities with Ethical Committees and lawyers in respective countries.

3.3 THE INTERNATIONAL STUDY. A CROSS NATIONAL DATA ANALYSIS

Giulia Pastori, Alice Sophie Sarcinelli, & Valentina Pagani

The cross national data analysis focuses on some key results that could be addressed through a comparative perspective, in relation to :

- Factors promoting well-being and inclusion
- Factors undermining well-being and inclusion
- Transformative factors, that is the children's proposals for changing their school

Interestingly, the international analysis gave some highlights on the ethics and methodological questions in making research *with* and *for* children.

THE INTERNATIONAL SAMPLE. AN OVERVIEW

The selected countries presented relevant variations at several levels (such as national income, educational structure, welfare and support systems) and presented three different target groups within the ISOTIS project (native low-income groups, indigenous ethnic-cultural minority groups such as Romani people, and immigrant linguistic minority groups). Table 1 provides an overview of the countries involved and their corresponding target groups.

The variety of target groups contributed to making the Children Study more interesting, but it also implied an increased level of complexity in the international data analysis phase. Therefore, even though some classes/groups also featuring children with disabilities had been included in the sample and those pupils' ideas/experiences/proposals about how to make school more inclusive had been welcomed, we decided not to address this level of diversity directly (albeit interesting and valuable) since it would have broadened our focus too much.

The study was conducted in (pre)school and after-school social contexts, but not in family environments[53].

In the research groups with children aged 9 to 14, it was also decided to involve informal extra-school contexts (such as youth centers, spaces for recreational activities and study support, etc.), to meet them in more neutral settings compared to school, where we assumed the topics of inclusion and well-being at school could be addressed by the children in a freer, more spontaneous way, allowing for comparison between formal and informal contexts.

Overall, as shown in Table 2.1, 331 children, specifically, 145 preschoolers, 139 primary school students, and 47 children attending after-school programs) and 32 professionals in 16 different contexts participated in the international study.

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[53] With regard to the environment where the children were met, it makes an exception the study conducted in England (see Chapter 7), where the bilingual Turkish and English researcher, Pinar Kolancali, was already in contact with several families with a Turkish background living in London, involved in a previous study.

Country	Target Group	Context Type	Site(s) Age	City/Area	Number of Professionals Involved	Participants Number and Age of Children Involved	Division in Groups (if any)
Czech Republic	Romani	Formal, Primary School	6-10	Brno	2 (+2)	43 (8/9 years old)	• 21 (class 3.B) • 22 (class 3.C)
		Formal, Primary School	6-11	Ústí nad Labem	2	41 (9/10-10/11 years old)	• 18 (class 5.B) • 23 (class 4.C)
England	Low-income	Home environment	4-6	London	-	25 (4-6years old)	No
Germany	Immigrant background	Formal, Preschool	1-6	Berlin	1 (+1)	10 (4-6 years old)	No
Greece	Romani	Formal, Preschool	3-6	municipality of Aghia Varvara	2	22 (4-5 years old)	2 groups of 11 children
		Informal, After-school program	9-14	municipality of Aghia Varvara	1	8 (9-13 years old)	No
		Informal, After-school program	9-14	municipality of Athens	2	8 (8-13 years old)	No
Italy	Immigrant background	Formal, Preschool	3-6	Milan	2	33 (4-5 years old)	• 22 4-year old children; • 11 5-year old children
		Formal, Primary school	6-10	Milan	2	22 (10-11 years old)	No
		Informal, After-school program	9-14	Milan	3	31 (9-14years old)	• 10 9-10 year old children; • 21 10-14 year

						old children
Norway	Immigrant background	Formal, Public pre-school	0/1-5	Urban area in a county in South East Norway	4	6 (4-5 years old)	3 departments (2 children pr. department)*
		Formal, Public primary school	6-14	Urban area in a county in South East Norway	1	18 (11-12 years old)	1 class
Poland	Low-income	Formal, Pre-school	3-6	Warsaw, Żoliborz	3	13 (4-6 years old)	NO
		Formal, Primary school	6-15	Warsaw, Praga Północ	2	15 (8-10 years old)	NO
The Netherlands	Mixed, immigrant and native low-income SES	Child centre Preschool care	**3-6**	Utrecht, Ondiep	1	12 (3years old)	3 group of 4 children 11 individual interviews
		Child centre After school care	**4-6**		1	24 (4-6 years old)	3 group of 4 children 9 individual interviews

CHILDREN'S VIEWS ON FACTORS PROMOTING AND UNDERMINING WELL-BEING AT SCHOOL AND THEIR PROPOSALS TO CHANGE THE SCHOOL

As illustrated in Chapter 1, the analysis at both the national and international levels followed a thematic approach, based on a common coding framework that permitted combining the qualitative analysis with a quantitative analysis of the frequency of the codes, namely the co-occurrence rate between the thematic codes and the three target over-codes Factors promoting and Factors undermining well-being and inclusion at school and Transformative Factors (children's proposals and wishes for changing and enhancing the school environment).

The qualitative analysis was enriched by this 'quantitative picture' of the distribution of the codes that gave a meaningful contribution in identifying the dimensions/themes most addressed by children and the ones that were mentioned more rarely, comparing ages and different settings. The quantitative analysis was enriched by detailed descriptions and interpretations based on the comprehensive verbal materials collected thanks to audio recordings and observations. The cross-country analysis took the three main above-mentioned factors into consideration .

Children's views on Factors promoting well-being at school

We introduce the data analysis by proposing three graphs showing the co-occurrence distribution of the codes. The first target over-code "Factors promoting well-being and inclusion: a first graph" (see figure 1 below) shows the overall distribution of the co-occurrence of all the sub-codes included in the main thematic areas, illustrating the 'hierarchy' of the dimensions addressed by children considering the entire sample. The second graph shows the distribution of the co-occurrence of the main thematic codes per age and per context (see figure 2), to quickly grasp how much the main dimensions were addressed in the three groups (3-6 preschool context; 9-11 primary school, 9+ informal context).

FACTORS PROMOTING WELL-BEING AND INCLUSION - OVERALL

SCHOOL ORGANIZATION 316
- SO-Play 101
- SO-Space 76
- SO-Learning 46
- SO-Rules 31
- SO-Food 25
- SO-Time 21
- SO-Teaching approach 16

SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS 256
- SR-Friendship 101
- SR-Inclusion-acceptance 76
- SR-Emotional support/Empathy 35
- SR-Behaviour 26
- SR-Conflict 12
- SR-Discrimin... 6

IDENTITY 94
- ID-Social 47
- ID-Myself in the future 17
- ID-Somatic features 13
- ID-Cultural 10
- ID-Linguistic 7

REPRESENTATIONS 57
- R-Image of the teacher 23
- R-Image of the school 21
- R-Images of the child-student 10
- R-Image of the society 3

DIVERSITY 44
- D-Language 19
- D-Culture 14
- D-Social Inequalities 11

Figure 1. *Overall co-occurrence of Factors promoting well-being and inclusion per main thematic code and sub-code*

311
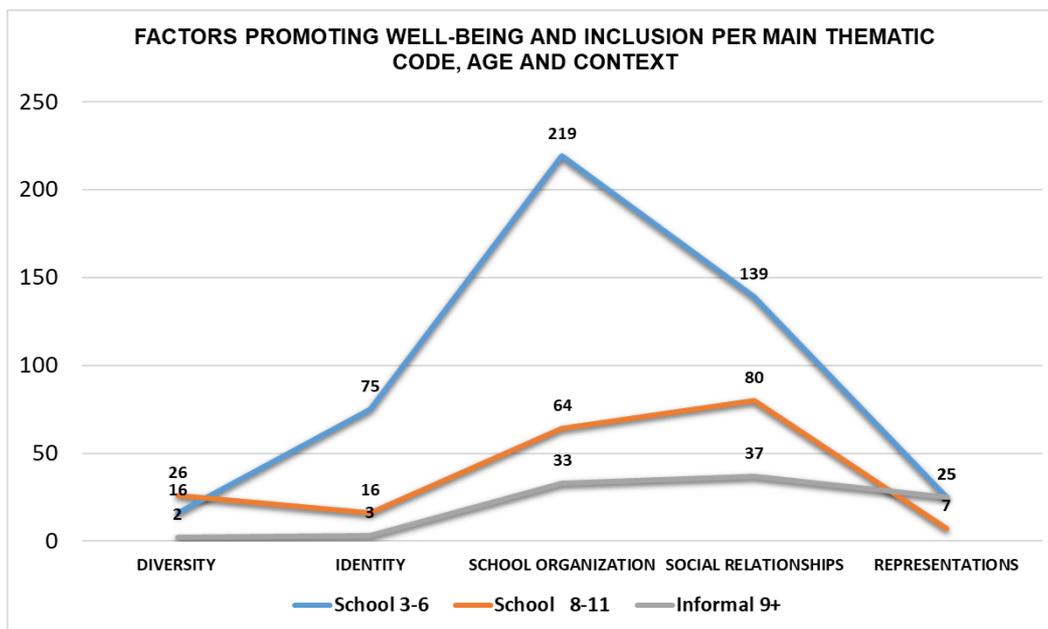
Figure 2. *Co-occurrence of Factors promoting well-being and inclusion per main thematic code, age and context*

From a quantitative point of view (see Figure 3), the codes with the most co-occurrences with factors promoting well-being cross-countries and cross-ages was "School organization" (316 co-occurrences) - and more precisely "Play" (101 co-occurrences) and "Space" (76 co-occurrences) - followed by "Social Relationships" (256 co-occurrences) and, more precisely, "Friendship" (101 co-occurrences) and "Inclusion-acceptance" (76 co-occurrences).

Splitting the data, elements of continuity and differences are noticeable:

- in the preschool, the higher number of co-occurrences in the code "School organization" in the sub-codes "Play" (78 co-occurrences) and "Space" (58 co-occurrences) were followed by the sub-codes "Friendship" in the code "Social relationships";

- in the primary school, the co-occurrences focused on the code "Social relationships", more precisely "Friendship" (29 co-occurrences), "Inclusion/acceptance" (23 co-occurrences) and, in the code "School organization" the sub-code "Play" (17 co-occurrences);

- in the informal context, the main co-occurrences were 3 sub-codes, namely "Learning" (17 co-occurrences) sub-code of "School organization", "Friendship" (15 co-occurrences) sub-code of "Social relationships" and "Image of the school" (13 co-occurrences) sub-code of "Representations".
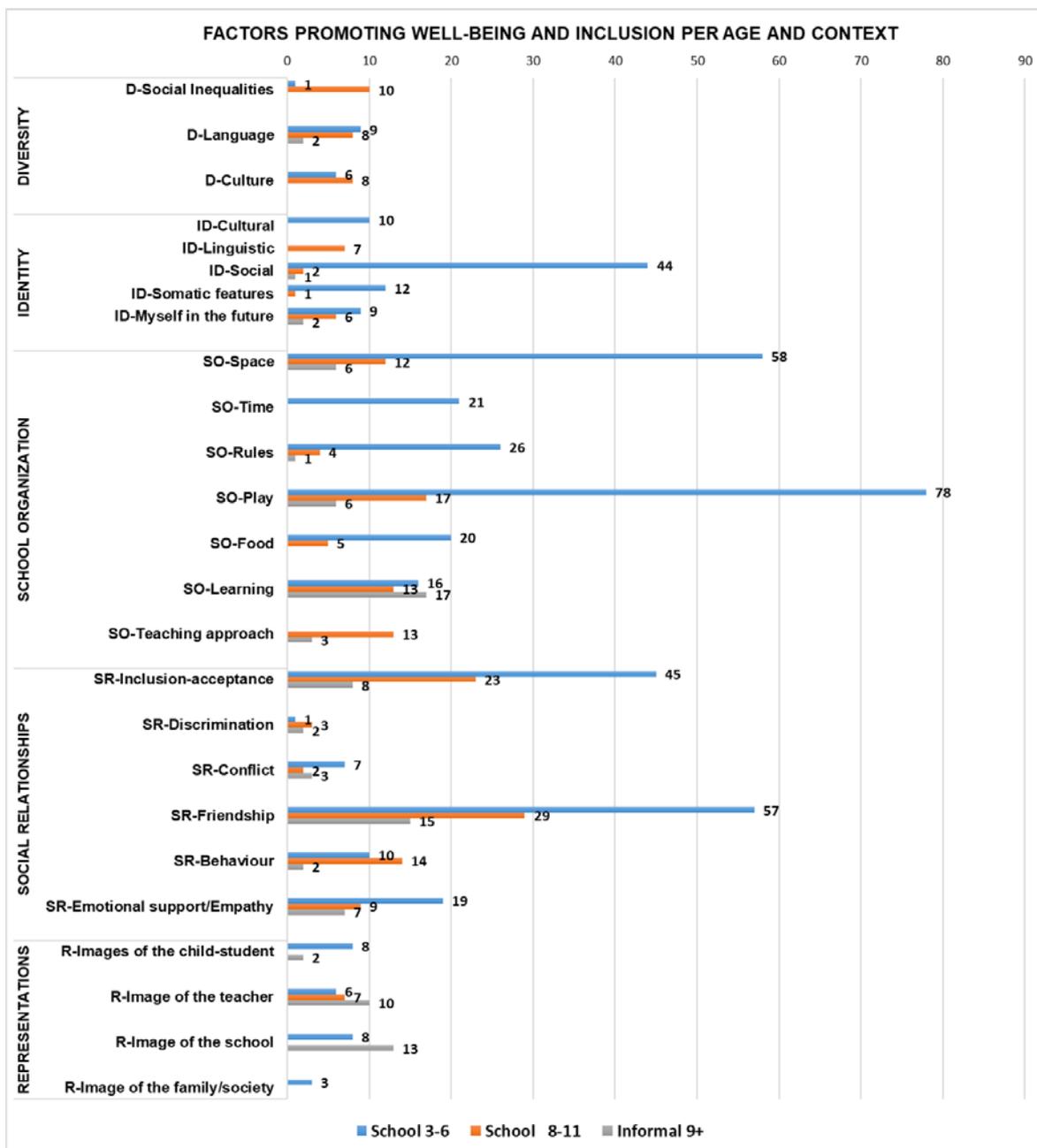
Figure 3. *Co-occurrence of Factors promoting well-being and inclusion per code, age and context*

In the following paragraphs, we will analyze the content of the main codes and sub-codes.

Code: School organization

Sub-code: Space

The **quantity** and the **quality of spaces** were considered very important factors across countries, contexts and ages. In primary schools (e.g. Polish, Norwegian and Italian contexts), children referred not only to the **beauty, size and smell** (e.g. big school or rooms, decorations,

nice floors, colorful books, good smells), but also to the things that they could do in those places: (have fun, events, snacks and parties are the main reasons they like places like the garden, the classroom or the gym) and the fact of being together in these places. The possibility to move and to participate in less traditional activities was considered by primary school students (e.g. Italian, Czech and Polish contexts) to be important factors in promoting well-being at school, counterbalanced by undermining factors like having to sit for many hours: they love school spaces outside class such as the library, the art and crafts room, the computer and science lab, the gym, the playground, but also going on school trips or to museums.

Preschool children (i.e. in the Polish context) children liked attractive play areas where they could participate in activities based on movement (e.g. driving vehicles) and creativity, such as the outdoor playgrounds, the plastic ball pool, spaces with gymnastics ladders and mattresses, the sofa corner, the art room, the exhibition space. Children appreciated the facilities: for instance, in the Greek informal context, children mentioned the facilities for playing sports, whereas the Polish children mentioned that the playground was renovated and has lots of games, such as swings and the ship. Norwegian children pointed out that clothing suitable for all weather conditions is a very important aspect for well-being in the preschool. Children also appreciated safe places, like a schoolyard without dangerous stones or a well-guarded area where children felt protected from fights or other misbehavior.

Another important aspect highlighted by some children (i.e. Italian and Norwegian preschool children) was the fact of knowing the school places and how to reach them: hence, a factor promoting the well-being of newcomers was having someone accompany them, showing them the places and the way, assuring that the new child got a blanket for the rest time, labels with images of the child on their place in the wardrobe or stickers on the fridge with drawings of food, materials and kitchen tools to prepare food. Norwegian preschoolers pointed the importance of material objects giving information to the children, such as the posters showing activities.

Another factor promoting well-being was the possibility of sharing the space with some family members: places where parents could come to look at the artwork or could get involved in the preschool life by reading books or talking about their profession or simply being there while they played (e.g. in the German and Polish preschool contexts).

Finally, preschool children (in the German and Polish contexts) stated that self-determination was also important to them regarding the possibility to the use the spaces. For instance, in the Polish preschool, children showed excitement when saying *"in our preschool we can all play wherever we want")* and in the Dutch preschool children, enjoyed the possibility to go beyond the 'official boundaries' and explore without restrictions.

Sub-code: Rules

An important aspect about rules was being informed about them: both Norwegian and Italian preschool children found it important to clearly explain rules to newcomers in a way they could understand, e.g. with informative pictures and drawing hanging on the walls on how to wash hands or how to participate in outdoor activities, or with a multilingual digital presentation of the school.

Sub-code: Time

An important factor connected to time regarded self-determination: for instance, in the Polish context, children repeated on several occasions to what extent choosing where they spent time affected well-being at school. This was particularly stressed in contexts where children were used to having considerable freedom, such as in the Polish preschool.

Primary school children underlined the importance of a good alternation between moments of concentration and breaks, that is to say free time they can spend playing, chatting or eating.

Sub-code: Play

Playing, hanging out with friends and getting involved in a variety of playful activities/games in the school context appeared to be important factors of well-being in many contexts and across ages, especially freely accessible play possibilities. The possibility to play with friends was one of the first memories of positive moments in the Italian preschool ("I felt happy because I was in a school and I could play with my new friends"). Children were eager to share their favorite games with the researchers: favorite games were results of what was valued in different preschool and school cultures across Europe: playing outdoors was a Norwegian and Nordic value (but also present in the experience of German preschoolers) that was internalized by the children and often mentioned as an important factor of well-being that newcomers needed to be introduced to. More generally, children seemed to feel good in socially inclusive play activities (such as collaborative building or cooking/baking) and/or physical active playing.

Many children cross-ages and contexts (Italian preschool, Czech primary school, Greek informal context) indicated play as a crucial factor for strengthening inclusion and the well-being of newcomers (especially those coming from abroad and did not speak the language used at school), showing them where and what to play.

Sub-code: Food

Food as a socially inclusive activity was mentioned cross-countries and cross-ages. **Sharing food or making meals together** were factors promoting the well-being and inclusion of newly arrived children (e.g. Norwegian preschool, Italian informal context). But "food talks" were also mentioned as an important moment and the importance of being able to communicate about food was mentioned by Norwegian children: in fact, non-native speakers with little or no competence in the majority language were considered to be in strong need of b**eing informed of what they were eating**. Food also emerged as an important factor in expressing cultural identity at school and sharing it with others (getting to know others by tasting their food or being able to learn about other pupils religious tradition).

Considering the target of children experiencing social inequalities, the **availability of tasty food** emerged as an important factor for Polish students, who did not have this at home because of poverty.

Sub-code: Learning

Learning was sometimes perceived as a source of joy and enjoyment when connected to the possibility of learning new things, having new experiences, working together with other students (Norwegian primary school, Polish preschool) or when it implied "non-traditional" teaching approaches that were more playful, play-like and creative approaches (namely painting and

singing) (in the Greek and Italian informal contexts, and the Czech primary school). In fact, children often mentioned the importance of teaching approaches with physical movements such as the gym class because children were allowed to move instead of sitting all the time.

Sub-code: Teaching approach

As explained in the sub-code "Learning", children appreciated cooperative learning teaching and pedagogical approaches and attractive individual activities or in small groups, especially when outside of the traditional class (e.g. in the art class, gym class, science and computer lab) (Polish and Czech contexts) and with a lower number of students and adults enabling a more friendly and intimate atmosphere. This was also expressed by preschool children, who enjoyed reading books in small groups (Polish preschool contexts) and involving parents.

Code: Social relationships

Social relationships were among the main codes promoting well-being and inclusion. The peer group and the sense of community were central in the children's representations of the school environment as can be clearly seen in the development of the different sub-codes.

Sub-code: Inclusion/Discrimination

Children in multicultural contexts felt good in an inclusive and welcoming school where there were no discriminatory events and every culture, language and religion had space and was valued. This was highlighted especially in the Italian preschool and primary school.

Some children (Norwegian and Italian primary schools) proudly stated that they did not exclude or bully children because they were a multicultural context that respected each with their differences. In both cases, respect was something that children learned through the school experience, as a Norwegian children recalled: "We have worked and we have not given up, we have been friends and thought a lot about how it could have been and how other classes are when… And we have had some lessons about the milieu in the class, we have been reading from a book that is about exclusion and bullying." Also in the Czech context, children agreed on the fact that newcomers should be accepted regardless of their cultural, linguistic or other differences and not be judged based on cultural, social, somatic or ethnic identity.

Sub-code: Friendship

Together with play, friendship and friendly attitudes were considered crucial for the well-being of all children (Norwegian context, Italian informal context, Czech primary school): many children wrote this in their suns, for instance a Czech girl wrote that she likes friends at her school, because she could not be herself without them. Friendship played also a crucial role in the inclusion and welcoming of newcomers, children with minority backgrounds or those who did not speak the local language (Italian preschool, Czech primary school). Children felt the responsibility of having good attitudes with new friends, despite linguistic barriers.

The presence of friends and having fun with friends was among the first memories of Italian preschoolers (Dutch and Italian preschools), being able to spend time with friends in the classroom and during extracurricular activities.

Children valued the emotional support that they received at school both from teachers and peers, but also from siblings when they attended the same school or preschool (Dutch preschool). Children recalled the emotional support they received from peers when they arrived first at preschool and recognized the role that emotional support from teachers and peers could play in welcoming newly arrived children. Preschool children said that emotional support for newcomers was provided by consoling, cuddling, hugging and playing with them when they cried or when they felt lost in the structure. Also, the Italian primary school students and Italian informal children recognized the value of someone in the class who was always by their side ("The people who make us feel good at school are: our classmates, because when something happens they are with us") and the sense of protection deriving from this, as well as how essential it was to get to know what a newly arrived student liked or did not like and what they cared about.

Code: Identity

Sub-code: Cultural identity

In some countries, cultural identity was identified as a positive factor promoting well-being. For instance, in the Norwegian primary school, children seemed to appreciate both the fact of belonging to the Norwegian culture ("I was born in Norway, and I am happy for that") and the fact of being able to maintain their family culture, namely through fasting ("I am happy because I manage to fast sometimes"), although this was seen as something to be practiced at home ("It is good for children to try to fast, but not at school"). Also in the German preschool, cultural tradition (connected to cooking and hosting) were related to the family sphere and not to school. In other contexts, such as the Czech and the Italian one, cultural diversity in the school context was seen as a positive aspect for learning about different cultural traditions and tasting food from different countries.

Code: Representations

Sub-code: Image of teachers

Many children seemed to associate well-being at school with a certain image of the teachers and of the model of an ideal teacher. Teachers were considered key-actors in promoting well-being, both in their relationship with children and in mediating the relationship among children (Czech, Greek and Italian contexts). Some children stated that they liked their class precisely because of the teacher and indicated the relationship that a teacher has with students as an important factor for well-being (Greek informal context). Children appreciated kind, wise teachers, who did not yell at students (Italian and Greek informal context) and who proposed attractive activities (Polish context). Other students (e.g. in the Italian primary school) indicated that the teachers' main role in promoting well-being consisted in being actively involved in conflict resolutions and in transmitting respect and anti-discriminatory and anti-racist attitudes among the children. Teachers played a key role in counter-balancing education received at home or out-of-school, as one child said: "I was practically racist when I arrived...but I wasn't. […] My

father, like, he was a racist. And then I learned that from him. It hurt a lot to learn that, but as soon as I got into this class, I learned that you shouldn't do it. [...]".

Finally, in the Czech context, a factor promoting well-being was not to have too much teachers turn-over.

In the Polish context, children indicated the importance of having positive relationships with all the people working at the institution, such as librarians or the pedagogue at the after-school center.

Sub-code: Image of the school

Many children had a positive image of the school, one defined it "my other home". The children of different ages seemed to have a clear idea of what was a good model for a school or preschool context promoting well-being. Italian preschool children indicated that they appreciated an inclusive and welcoming preschool, able to value diversity and where there were no episodes of discrimination and conflict. In the Italian informal context and in the Polish one, the school model identified as promoting well-being was one offering less "traditional" school activities and teaching approaches that promoted group activities, if possible outdoors or in other spaces than the class (e.g. out-of-school, in the garden, the gym or the school library).

Code: Diversity

Sub-code: Language

In many multicultural contexts and across-ages, the ability to communicate with other children was considered a crucial factor for children's well-being. More precisely, the possibility to speak L1 was seen as an important factor for well-being, especially for newly arrived students, but not exclusively. The Italian preschool children considered that the presence of mother tongues in the school environment made a child "feel at home" in the school context, whereas in the Italian primary school, students highlighted the importance of the presence of translators for newcomers, as a child recalled: "When I arrived I didn't speak Italian well and child18 translated for me". However, the linguistic difference was not considered an obstacle in making friends.

Children also highlighted that the presence of different languages at school was a value: for instance, some children enjoyed learning words in foreign languages, considered a positive aspect of the school environment (e.g. Czech and Italian primary schools), as well as teaching L2 to a foreign newcomers (e.g. saying words in the majority language and showing pictures to new children), as Czech and Norwegian children stated.

Children's views on Factors undermining well-being and inclusion at school

Below we present the analysis of the Factors undermining well-being with three graphs of the code co-occurrences: the overall distribution of co-occurrence between "Factors undermining well-being at school" and the thematic codes and sub-codes over the entire sample, the main thematic codes per-age and context, and the sub-codes per age and context.

FACTORS UNDERMINING WELL-BEING AND INCLUSION - OVERALL

SOCIAL RELATIONSHIP 165
- SR-Conflict 43
- SR-Inclusion-acceptance 39
- SR-Emotional support/Empathy 15
- SR-Friendship 28
- SR-Behaviour 28
- SR-Discrimination 12

SCHOOL ORGANIZATION 122
- SO-Teaching approach 35
- SO-Space 25
- SO-Rules 13
- SO-Time 11
- SO-Learning 25
- SO-Play 11
- SO-Food 2

DIVERSITY 74
- D-Social Inequalities 21
- D-Language 40
- D-Culture 13

REPRESENTATION 31
- R-Image of the teacher 15
- R-Images of the child-student 9
- R-Image of the school 7

IDENTITY 20
- ID-Linguistic 9
- ID-Social 2
- ID-Somat...
- ID-Cultural 6
- ID-Myself in the future 1

Figure 4. *Overall co-occurrence of Factors undermining well-being and inclusion per main thematic code and sub-code*

Figure 5. *Co-occurrence of Factors undermining well-being and inclusion per main thematic code, age and context*
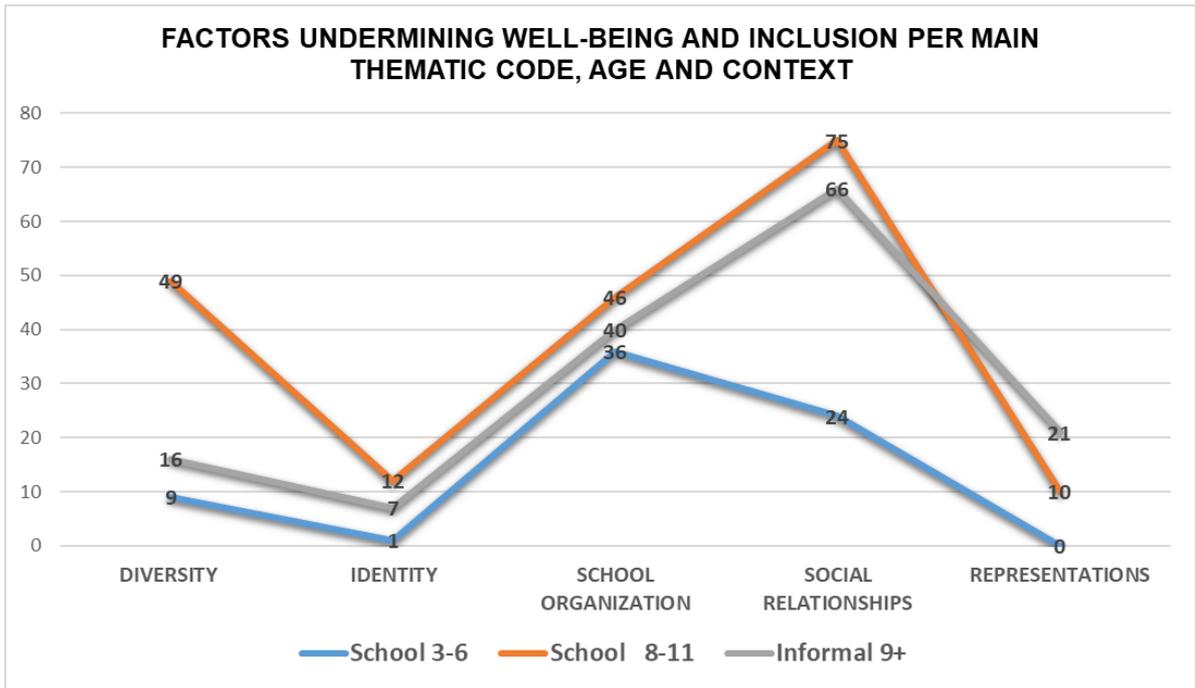
FACTORS UNDERMINING WELL-BEING AND INCLUSION PER AGE AND CONTEXT
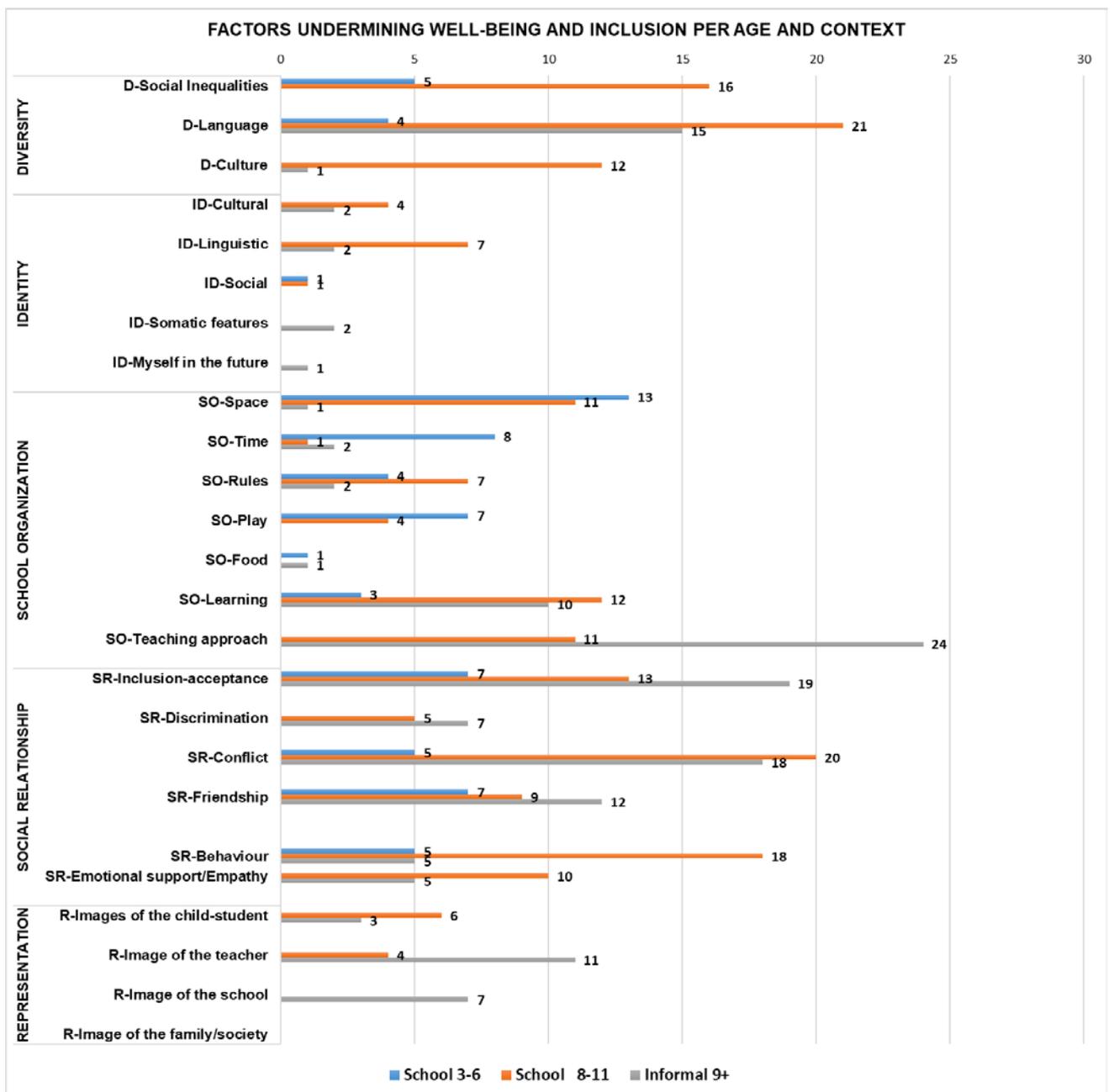
Figure 6. *Co-occurrence of Factors undermining well-being and inclusion per code, age and context*

Looking at the overall (across-country and age) distribution of the co-occurrences (see Figure 4), the coding thematic area that most frequently co-occurred with the over-code Factors undermining well-being and inclusion was Social relationships (165 co-occurrences), in particular the sub-codes Conflict (43 co-occurrences) e "Inclusion/Acceptance" (39 co-occurrences) and with the sub-code "language" (40 co-occurrences) from the Identity thematic area. Analyzing the co-occurrences per context, it is possible to notice that children from informal and primary-school contexts expressed more ideas and opinions regarding the Factors undermining well-being and inclusion at school, than the children from preschool, who were more able to talk about what promoted well-being and inclusion and propose how to enhance the school environment.

The co-occurrence distribution per age and per context highlights continuities and differences (see Figure 6):

- regarding the **preschoolers,** the thematic area most cited was "School organization", namely the sub-codes Space (13 co-occurrences), Time (8 co-occurrences), Play (7 co-occurrences) and "Friendship" (7 co-occurrences);

- regarding the **primary school** students, the predominant sub-code was Language (21 co-occurrences) within the Identity thematic area, followed by the codes regarding Social relationships", in particular the sub-codes "Conflict" (20 co-occurrences) and "Behavior" (18 co-occurrences);

- finally, in the **informal context**, children mainly mentioned "Teaching approach" (24 co-occurrences), a sub-code of the School Organization thematic area, and the sub-codes of Social relationships, especially "Inclusion" (19 co-occurrences) e "Conflict" (18 co-occurrences).

The qualitative analysis makes it possible to enter more deeply into this 'thematic geography' which sees the predominance of the dimensions of "Social relationships" (in particular in relation to "Inclusion / acceptance","Conflict"; "Behavior") and "School organization" (in particular in relation to "Space", "Time" and "Learning"), as illustrated in the following paragraphs.

Code: School Organization

Sub-code: Space

The topic of the space as a dimension that can undermine well-being and inclusion at school emerged from all the age and context groups, formal (preschool and primary schools) and informal (post-school informal contexts).

In some cases children complained about the **quality of the spaces**: some spaces or furnishings or materials needed to be fixed or to be better maintained as they were "dirty and chaotic spaces", as emerged from the Italian study in the primary school; some spaces were considered to be "not well-equipped", as highlighted in the Norwegian preschool, where some children evaluated it was not well-equipped for the Norwegian weather conditions. In fact, Norwegian children were aware that not only places, but also weather conditions could potentially undermine children's well-being (especially if not equipped with appropriate clothing:

Researcher: "If the children are not used to the weather, what do we tell them then?"

Child:" They only will sit like this and cry and cry."

In some other cases, children referred to the **quantity of the spaces:** spaces were judged as not enough or too small, as in the case of the German preschool and the Greek schools; or materials available to children at school were too poor or ruined, as in the Polish case. In this last case, children made reference especially to the materials that should be provided by the families, but who could not sometimes afford the expense, and they complained for instance about the lack of crayons or the bad quality crayons at school.

In other cases, children did not appreciate **rules that constrained them and did not allow them self-determination in the use of the spaces**: children talked about l**imited access to places and materials,** as in the Norwegian preschool where children complained that some materials and toys were locked in a closet or in a room; or in the Polish school where toys are not accessible 'because the children didn't know how to play with them nicely'. Children stated that in some cases they were scolded if they used the spaces in a creative and spontaneous way, as in the German preschool: two children, for example, were once told that they were observed trying to "furnish an apartment" in the movement-room and were reminded by a preschool teacher that that room was a space for movement. Children also declared they sometimes felt obliged to use a space when they didn not feel like it, as in the Norwegian preschool where children preferred to stay indoors when it rained.

Finally, in the Italian preschool case, children focused on the experience of new children (from abroad, from the infant-toddler center …), and they observed that a factor that can make a child feel bad could be **the lack of familiarity with the school spaces**: its environment, its spaces and rules.

Sub-code: Time

Also several dimensions related to time emerged from all the groups, no matter what age and context they belonged to. A first factor undermining well-being at school indicated by children was the lack of **self-determination in the organization of the daily school routine**, either in choosing what activities to do, or the time schedule. The rigidity of school time was addressed also by the preschool children. In the German preschool case, children would have liked to have a say in their daily routine and sometimes, for example, they would like to play a game longer than expected by the teachers.

Primary school children raised several issues concerning school time.

In Norway, children criticized the fact that t**he organization of the school year was frequently not respectful of the cultural and religious diversity** as it is based on the Christian festivities, so Muslim children had to miss some lessons when they had a Muslim festivity.

In the Czech Republic, children observed that they "have to wake up early, they have to sit long hours (some say their backs hurt) and they do not have time for example to read anything other than textbooks". This last example was connected to the general topic of the **quantity of time spent at school** or spent working and studying, taken from other activities and play.

Sub-code: Play

In connection to the time dimension, children talked about the balance between work and play, a key-pedagogical issue. Children would have liked to have more time to play (as in the German preschool), they did not like restrictions during free play, for example interruptions for mealtimes or playing outside during certain time-slots (Dutch preschool) or they would have liked to be offered more extra-curricular activities (as in the Greek case, especially in the informal context groups, and in the Polish case), or to stay sitting for a shorter time at school (in the Polish case).

Sub-code: Learning

Children who attended the primary school (both the groups met in the school setting and out

of it) talked a lot about learning and frequently expressed **negative emotions in this regard:** they expressed emotions of boredom, nervousness, fear (i.e in the Czech schools) and also anxiety and stress (for example in the Greek informal contexts).

Three main elements seemed to cause negative emotions around 'the learning issue': exams, grades and homework. Especially **homework** was considered too time-consuming in the Greek informal groups or that it could be done at school instead of at home, as highlighted by the Italian children in both the informal and the primary school setting.

Homework, exams and school learning were contested not only in terms of quantity ("*Sometimes I don't make it and it is 00:00 until I study"* - Greek informal context*),* but also for the complexity and difficulty of the topics they had to study and the subjects that were not their favorite ones.

Code: Social relationships

A second group of codes that were highly present in co-occurrence with "Factors undermining well-being at school" was Social relationships, specifically the sub-codes "Inclusion/Acceptance"; "Behavior" and "Conflicts".

Sub-code: Inclusion

In many countries, the eldest children (from the primary school level and from the secondary school level when included in the informal contexts) talked about how **inclusion and acceptance in the school environment were not considered enough** or even neglected and absent, especially regarding newly arrived children who had a different linguistic, cultural religious background (as did many of the children interviewed). In the Italian informal context, children talked about **a lack of skills to overcome the linguistic barriers** but also about '***unfriendly attitudes'*** in relationships. Also in the Czech primary school settings, children stated that coming from abroad to a foreign country and entering school was not easy and for many reasons a child could feel uneasy for a long time. Generally, children mentioned feelings and experiences of exclusion when schoolmates engaged in disrespectful behaviors and in many countries children in the eldest groups pinpointed jeering and bullying were present, strongly affecting well-being and inclusion. Discriminatory attitudes and behaviors were strictly connected to this.

Sub-code: Discrimination

The topic of discrimination came out more in an indirect way, frequently talking about jeering, but also in direct way, like in the Italian primary school. In this case, children explicitly described several mechanisms that produced exclusion among classmates, in reference to race, gender, religion and language. They focused on discriminatory behaviors as part of the overarching problem of bullying and they created many outputs (such as video interviews, billboards, video documentaries) to sensitize teachers and children. At the origin of discriminatory bullying behaviors, they identified influence external to the school environment like parents, relatives, people in general, the media. Some children highlighted how the somatic features could be ethnic markers targeted by social stigma (e.g. hair or skin color). Other children emphasized more general physical characteristics (i.e weight, as in the Czech primary school). In several countries, also speaking a second language (mainly the language of instruction, that

usually was also the national language) with a foreign accent or partially incorrectly could be a source of anxiety and feeling exposed to the social mockery. Children declared that those kinds of mockeries also happened in the preschool.

Sub-code: Conflict

Conflict is another cross-cutting theme that was mentioned and treated (albeit otherwise) cross-ages. Children recognized that the poor quality of peer relationships, fights, shouting, hostility, violence, being rude and making fun of others could make an important contribution to their feeling of malaise at school (as highlighted especially in the informal Greek context, in the Norwegian primary school and in the Czech primary school). Fights were experienced as an element of malaise, not only by the children who took part in them, but also by those who experienced them without being directly involved: as one child recalled, it happens to move away from the places where there are on-going conflicts. A negative attitude that hindered well-being could come from both classmates and teachers. In fact, if primary school children strongly criticized children who were bullying, doing "something to others" or "jeering at people" (as in the Italian and Czech primary schools), the youngest (in the preschool German pupils) and the oldest (in the Italian informal context) affirmed that the lack of intervention by educators and teachers in conflict resolution was an element of profound distress for children.

Subcode: Friendship

The presence of friends was an important factor for well-being: children did not feel good on school days when their friends are not at preschool (Dutch context). As already emerged in the previous subtopics, many children from the preschool, school and informal contexts emphasized how unfriendly behaviors (e.g. teasing, mocking, laughing at each other) and the lack of friends were at the origin of feelings of malaise. Also linked to the difficulty of making friends, the lack of ability to speak the language of the country was highlighted, also by preschool children (see next paragraph).

Code: Diversity

Sub-code: Language

The linguistic dimension was highlighted by many children as a central element and that was at the origin of various situations that undermined malaise at school.

A first element was the **lack of competence** in the language of the country of schooling. This emerged particularly in multicultural contexts marked by a strong influx of newly arrived children (e.g. Italian preschool and primary school, Greek informal context, Czech primary school). The linguistic barrier was indicated by many as a factor of exclusion in / from the group.

In many contexts, children stressed that the lack of linguistic competence has a strong negative impact on newcomers. First of all, not understanding the majority language and the inability to communicate at school could deepen feelings of estrangement in newcomers (as highlighted in the Czech primary school). Secondly, it could prevent them from making friends and be at the origin of discriminatory behaviors among the classmates, who at times might make fun of them (e.g. inability to use correct declinations).

Thirdly, it could be an obstacle to learning when some children have difficulty understanding, and this became a further element of malaise when the teachers' assistance was missing and led to learning content by heart without understanding it (in the Greek informal context).

A second element concerned the mother tongue. In particular, **the prohibition to speak in one's own language of origin by teachers** (as underlined in Italian formal contexts, Norwegian context) was perceived as discriminatory, especially for some languages (such as Arabic). But children also admitted that sometimes they chose not to use their mother tongue in class for fear of **mockery and being made fun of** by their classmates. This fear derives from teasing episodes experienced at preschool, as reported children from the Czech primary school.

Code: Representations

A third code that was present in the co-occurrence table with "Factors undermining well-being at school" was "Representation" and particularly the sub-codes "Image of teachers" and "Image of the school".

Sub-code: Image of teachers

The older children highlighted some of the teachers' attitudes as potential obstacles to children's well-being: according to some children from the Czech Republic "bad teachers are the reasons why kids leave the school". Among the negative characteristics of teachers, the children mentioned

the rigidity of some teachers (strict or yelling at students), teachers not teaching at all (Greek informal context), having favorites in the classroom or giving excessive homework, punishments and punishment homework: "*Here, one thing I don't like at all is that only a few individuals in the class behave badly, they often punish everyone. You already have to suffer from the chaos of some classmates, then that of the teachers and in addition the punishment of all classmates*" (Italian primary school). At the same time, the high turnover of teachers is seen as a factor undermining well-being (Czech Republic and Poland).

Code: Identity

Finally, while we can say that in many cases identity was not directly addressed but present 'between the lines', in some cases it also emerged directly as an element undermining the well-being at school, as in the Polish primary school case and in the Italian informal context case, where children expressed concerns about self-image and the will to change themselves, their lives and their sense of being or feeling part of a 'lost youth'.

Transformative factors and proposals to change schools

Looking at the overall (across-country and age) distribution of the co-occurrences (see Figure 7), the thematic coding area that most frequently co-occurred with the over-code "Proposals to change schools" and inclusion was "School organization" (180 co-occurrences) - in particular the sub-codes "Space" (42 co-occurrences), "Learning" (35 co-occurrences) and "Teaching approach" (32 co-occurrences) - and Social relationships (120 co-occurrences), in particular the

sub-codes "Inclusion/Acceptance" (46 co-occurrences) and "Emotional support" (23 co-occurrences), with the sub-code "Language" (55 co-occurrences) from the thematic area "Identity".
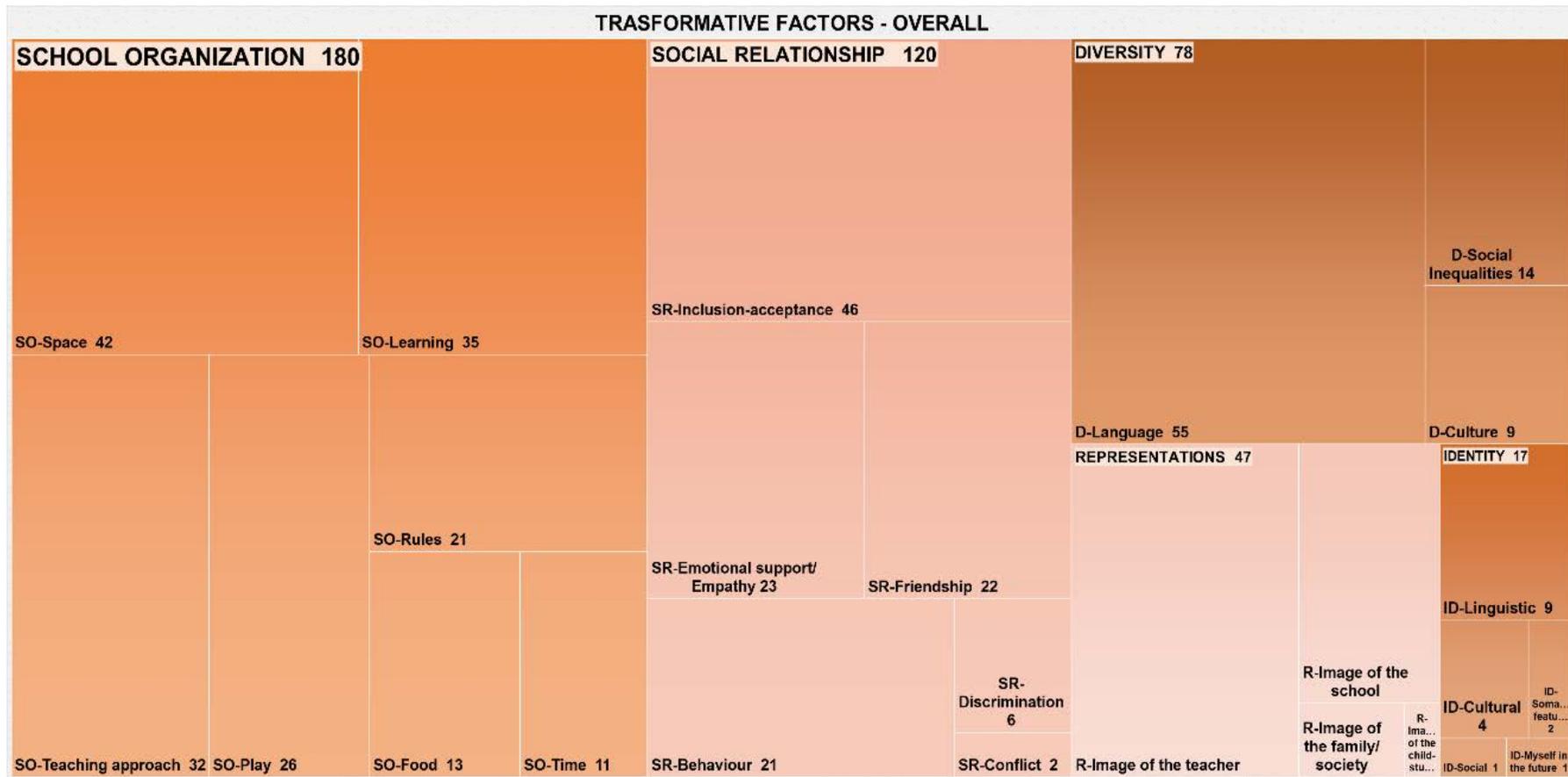
Figure 7. *Overall co-occurrence of Transformative factors per main thematic code and sub-code*
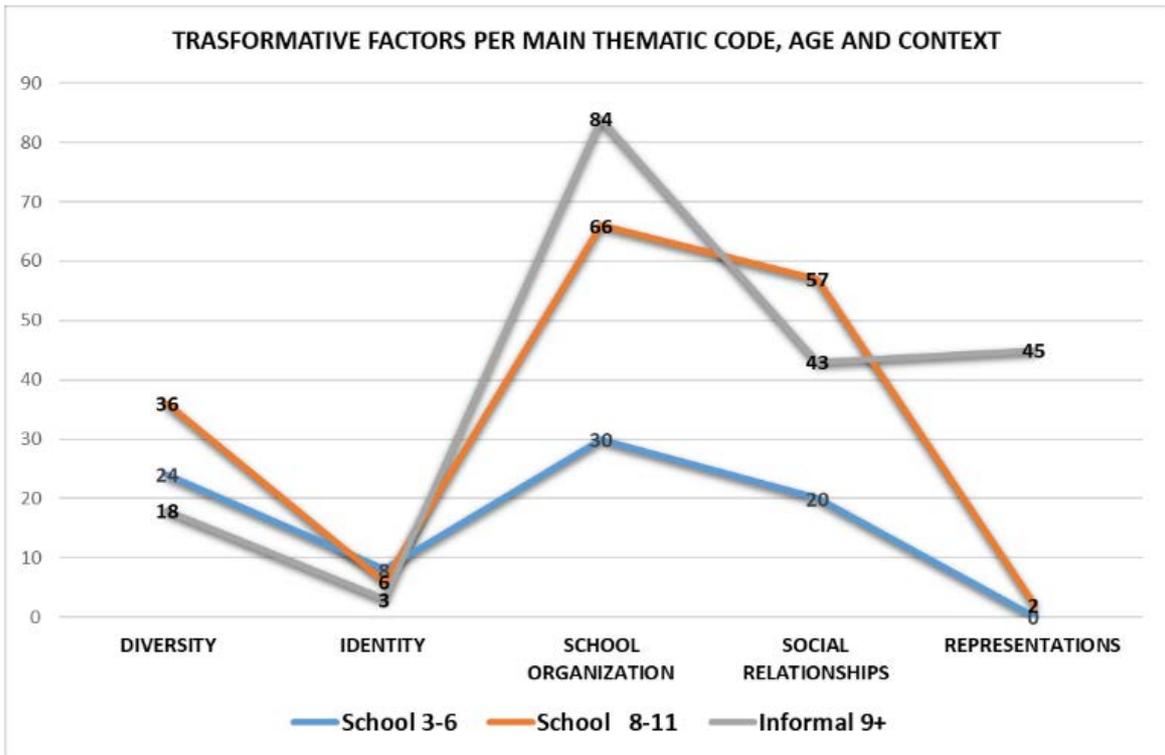
Figure 8. *Co-occurrence of Transformative factors per main thematic code, age and context*

TRASFORMATIVE FACTORS PER AGE AND CONTEXT
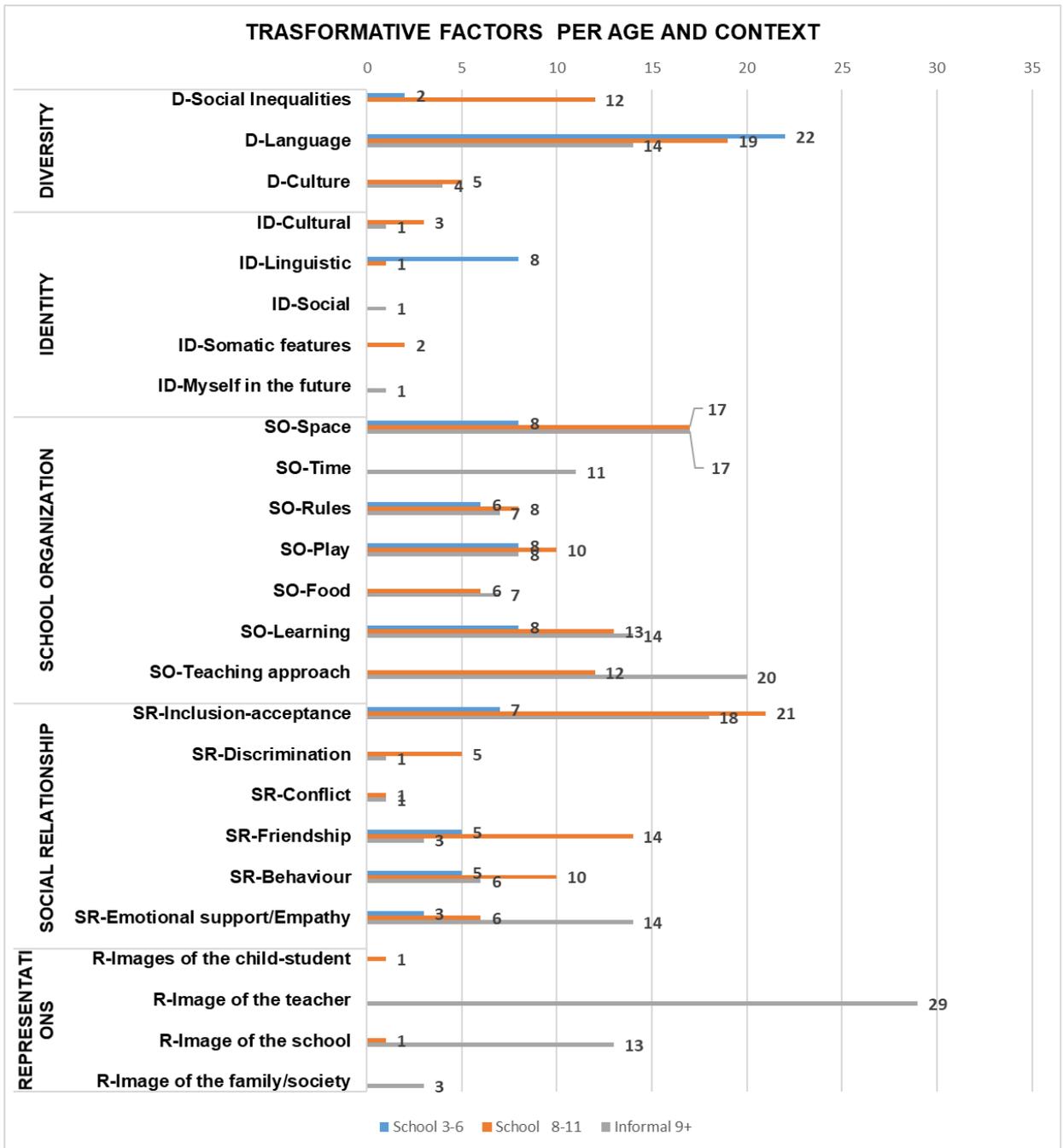
Figure 9. *Co-occurrence of Transformative factors per code, age and context*

The co-occurrence distribution per age and per context highlights continuities and differences (see Figure 9):

- regarding preschoolers, the thematic area most addressed was "School organization" (30 co-occurrences), namely the sub-codes "Space" (8 co-occurrences), "Learning" (8 co-occurrences) and "Play" (8 co-occurrences) and the sub-codes "Language" (22 co-occurrences) from the thematic area "Diversity" and "Linguistic identity" from the thematic area "Identity" (8 co-occurrences);

- regarding primary school students, the predominant sub-code was "School

organization" (66 co-occurrences) and in particular "Space" (17 co-occurrences). The others main sub-codes were "Inclusion" (21 co-occurrences) and Language" (19 co-occurrences) in the code the "Social relationship"";

- finally, in the informal context, children mainly mentioned the thematic area "School organization" (84 co-occurrences) and, in particular, "Teaching approach" (20 co-occurrences) followed by "Image of the teacher" (29 co-occurrences) in the code "Representation"; "Emotional support/Empathy" (14 co-occurrences) in the code "Social relationships" and "Language" (14 co-occurrences) in the code "Diversity".

Code: School organization

Sub-code: Space

Space was considered a salient aspect by the children who offered many proposals centered around some main themes:

- some proposals (Greek and Italian contexts) concerned a **more beautiful** and **decorated school and classroom** (with bright colors, smiling emoticons, more pictures): according to the children, if it was more welcoming and joyful, it could reassure newcomers (proposal by Italian preschoolers);

- in many contexts (Italy, Norway, Czech Republic and Poland) children proposed several ways of **introducing newcomers (especially non-native speakers) to the spaces of the school/preschool**: the Italian preschoolers created a digital mixed-media (visual and audio) tour of their school to present the different spaces/rooms and the rules, involving parents with immigrant backgrounds who provided written and audio translations in other languages for newcomers; the Italian primary school students proposed that a child "tutor" to accompany each new child around the school; the Norwegian preschoolers proposed showing newcomers places of significance that they themselves liked for their play, outdoor trips outside the preschool area and teaching them how to dress for outdoors (rain and cold weather); the Czech children prepared a school map for newcomers;

- others students (e.g. Greek and Polish contexts) proposed to improve the structural facilities of the school, especially those which were broken or not very comfortable for the children (such as squat toilets)

- some children (Polish context) proposed also **more space** for playing football and basketball, a swimming pool, a playground area or dancing space and suggested creating **new spaces** (e.g. a quiet rest area that would help the children who were tired of school noise or adding a second floor to the school);

- other transformative factors focused on the **outdoor spaces** (e.g. planting more trees in the garden or a forest in the playground, making clothes and boots easily accessible, more bins to keep their schoolyard clean);

- other students highlighted the children's need to recognize the **importance of individual preferences, spaces and personal belonging** (Dutch context).

Sub-code: Learning

Some proposals (Italian informal context, Czech and Norwegian primary school) were related to the sub-topic "Learning", more precisely:

- to change the subjects they found difficult or have easier subjects;

- to change the way of learning and make it more playful;

- abolishing stressful exams;

- providing newcomers with an extra teacher.

Sub-code: Teaching approach

Some proposals regarded the teaching approach and, more generally, teachers:

- In the Italian informal context, the participants suggested having younger, more competent teachers and that there be teacher continuity without too many changes over the years, as well as the possibility to choose some subjects and have more variety (e.g. foreign languages)

- Many children suggested less traditional teaching approaches (encouraging trips, computer science, the gym, the swimming pool and "learning lessons through games and not through the usual lessons");

- Children emphasized the relational aspect of learning and suggested way of learning "by playing (...) all in a circle"; "Because in class sometimes we are divided into pairs and we can all be together only during the break. Instead when you go on a trip, you make in line in pairs and we are all close"; more time to socialize; give the opportunity to do homework at school instead of having to do it at home alone.

Sub-code: Play

In their proposals, children talked about balancing studying and playing and suggested ways to combine playing and lessons (beside those who would like to "never have lessons."!), developing a more attractive set of extracurricular activities including field trips.

Children's proposals about friendship highlighted that play offered space for establishing and deepening friendships. In fact, play has a crucial role in welcoming newcomers: Italian preschoolers suggested letting newcomers play with their toys, inviting them to play together and read books they like as important factors for well-being, as well as hiding toys harmful for younger children. Children (Czech primary school) also underlined that playing was a way to help overcome language barriers with foreign newcomers.

Sub-code: Rules

Proposals concerning rules related to the following themes:

- informing newcomers about the rules and making them understandable (Norwegian and Italian preschool);

- making sure everyone respected the rules (e.g. not allowing older children to enter their school since they caused problems such as destroying facilities).

Sub-code: Food

Few children (Italian primary and informal context) asked for a more varied lunch with international dishes and dishes from the culture of the foreign children so that they could feel at home.

Sub-code: Time

The proposals concerning "Time" concerned to have right to self-determine the use of time (e.g. where to spend time during breaks and during afterschool time, Polish primary schools), to lengthen the break time and to start school later in the morning.

Code: Social relationships

Sub-code: Inclusion

In many countries (Netherlands, Czech Republic, Norway, Italy), many proposals aimed at welcoming newcomers and making them feel welcomed such as:

- choosing specific children to welcome newcomers, namely the most friendly ones;

- informing newcomers about the country's cultural traditions and about the city they lived in;

- introducing new children to classmates (e.g. preparing a chart with classmates and teachers);

- welcoming newcomers with drawings, multilingual posters, parties, cakes, songs and dances in the mother tongues, .

Children (from the Dutch context) also proposed over-arching bonding group symbols and preparing collective products (e.g. the 'group book').

Sub-code: Emotional support and empathy

Italian and Norwegian preschoolers' and primary school students' proposals included ways to provide emotional support to newly-arrived children such as:

- calming them down with a story;

- cuddling and kissing them;

- giving them food and care;

- being helpful and making children feel safe.;

- being kind;

- teaching exciting things;

- becoming friends;

- avoiding children's over-enthusiasm towards newcomers that could stress them.

Children also proposed institutional practices to welcome newcomers, such as placing a

bench for newly arrived children who have no friends yet so that other children could go to sit beside the "lonely ones".

More generally, children suggested increasing empathic attitudes: "Trying to communicate, even without speaking languages, for example. That is, it's enough that to understand what a person needs. As I said before, put yourself in their shoes. Not only knowing a language (...) you have to always put yourself in the shoes of that person and understand what they're saying, in that moment.

Sub-code: Friendship

Friendship was perceived as the most fundamental premise for inclusion into the group. Children proposed both institutional and individual practices to promote friendship among peers including newcomers. Friendly attitudes and institutional practices to facilitate the development of friendship were seen by Italian, Norwegian and Czech children as key transformative factors to improve the well-being of newcomers such as:

- making friendship bracelets;

- organizing learning activities that promote friendship.

Alongside institutional practices, children were aware of their active role in becoming friends with newly-arrived children.

Sub-code: Discrimination

Norwegian and Italian pupils were very concerned about the fact that discriminatory behaviors and teasing should not exist in the school environment. Respectful attitudes concerned religious, linguistic and cultural diversity and other students' opinions. Mutual respect (in particular for diversity) should come both from peers and teachers who should treat everybody as equals ("We are all like each other and at the same time we are different from one another. We are all worth the same and perfect.").

Italian students proposed activities to raise awareness on the theme of religious diversity and discrimination, such as videos and posters as channels to launch an anti-bullying message and a digital multi-religious calendar posted on the school website. They also proposed have friendly attitudes so a bully can stop acting like a bully and become "a normal friend who only has had a sad past".

Sub-code: Conflict

Czech students proposed talking things out together in case of fights or conflicts, involving the teacher or calling parents to school.

Code: Diversity

Sub-code: Language

There were a lot of proposals about language from both preschoolers and students of different countries. First of all, children proposed to show more solidarity and mutual help between classmates, finding ways to overcome language barriers with newcomers by:

- trying to communicate, even without speaking language or through *universal gestures* (e.g., hugs, kisses, caresses);

- using drawings or photos labelled with bilingual words;

- using peers and parents as linguistic mediators or having translators at school ;

- using their mother tongue - if they shared it,

- having peers to teach them the majority language (i.e. teaching new children words by repeating them when they looked at drawings and images)

- making small multilingual dictionaries of basic words, phrases, the alphabet and how to count

- helping them understand what was said

- teaching little by little so it does not become too much, so not so many things had to

  be kept in mind;

  creating a multilingual poster to welcome newcomers (with the word 'welcome' written in different languages).

Students also suggested institutional engagement in multilingualism and L2 teaching such as:

- creating extra-curricular language courses;

- providing an extra teacher supporting newcomers with the language;

- increasing the language and communication skills of the teachers;

- devoting more time to the new arrivals, showing them more attention and flexibility.

But language was not only a barrier for newcomers: some Greek children proposed postponing the year that children started studying religion, since there were a lot of difficult words.

Moreover, children proposed using language awareness approaches through institutional practices at school, namely:

- using various languages (e.g. celebrating by singing songs in different languages; counting in different languages) to offer everyone the chance to 'feel at home' and express themselves even in their home language.

- adding books in different languages and about classmates' countries of origin of to the school library;

- learning more languages at school

Sub-code: Social inequalities

In some countries (Greece and Norway), pupils suggested having free lunch from the school canteen and providing a school uniform. For newly-arrived, low-income students, they suggested free school trips to them.

ETHICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL HIGHLIGHTS AND CHALLENGES IN THE INTERNATIONAL STUDY

The international study *Children's views on inclusion and wellbeing at school* offers an interesting contribution in a seldom-explored field with respect to how to talk with children about delicate issues as inclusion and respect for social and cultural differences. In the ISOTIS Children Study, the focus was not to 'measure' identification or acculturation processes regarding the perception of discrimination (as is done in studies in the field of social psychology), but to enter into children's '*direct experience'*, in order to reflect with children on what they considered to be factors of well-being or discomfort in the school context.

One of the main methodological challenges was to elaborate a research protocol that would enable researchers to truly listen to children, that is, "taking full account of what they tell us" (Roberts, 2000, p. 225):

As Helen Roberts argues,

"It is clear that listening to children, hearing children, and acting on what children say are three very different activities, although they are frequently elided as if they were not (…). There have always been people who have listened, sometimes there have been people who have heard, and perhaps less often, those who have acted wisely on what children have to say" (2000, p. 238).

The research protocol we developed tried to meet the challenge of listening to children, hearing them and acting on what they said. In this sense, it was based on the idea that the research proposals needed to be adapted to the children according to their age and the context. For these reasons, different kinds of stimuli were provided in order to reach the same objectives and answer the same research questions. For instance, the stimuli for pre-schoolers needed to be very direct and concrete, whereas for teenagers the stimuli were more indirect, such as a letter from a researcher or clips from a movie.

Not only were different kinds of stimuli included in the research protocol, but it was crucial to provide a methodology with a high level of flexibility and customization, yet maintaining common elements across ages, target groups and countries. To guarantee this process of customization, a main pillar of the methodological approach was the observation of the context (and the negotiation with the professionals involved.

Given the variability of adults' ideas about children's ability (Garnier, 1995) and local pedagogical orientations, this preliminary step not only aimed at letting the children (and professionals) get to know the researchers and the research process, but also allowed the researchers to familiarize with the context, in particular with:

- the professionals' ideas about children, children's roles in the school life and in the learning experiences and children's ability to participate;

- the professionals' local pedagogical culture to listen to children and ask them for proposals.

These characteristics regarding each context were crucial variables that researchers had to take into consideration in order to define the ways, techniques and times required for the involvement of children in a research process characterized by a high level of **direct**

participation. Including children in a process of research, participation and reflection on the school context and proposing changes, required careful evaluation of the techniques and the time needed to avoid hastily evaluating children as incapable or not yet mature enough to participate. The negotiation of the research protocol and the timing with the professionals was thus a key point in the preparation of the fieldwork.

Ethical challenges were also significant in our research process, especially with regard to children's ages and the topics addressed (Bittencourt Ribeiro, 2017).

A key point of the theoretical and methodological framework that was a good choice was to adopt a positive and constructive stance in the research approach involving children, aiming at improving their critical analysis of their experiences at school and at improving the school context itself, avoiding focusing only on the negative aspects.

The children had the opportunity to talk about themselves and also to share painful experiences in and out of school. This self-revelation was not an end in itself and was not put in the spotlight by the researchers as the main object of research, but was welcomed within a path of constructive and positive work regarding the analysis of resources and the possibilities for improving the context.

The question of children's participation and the notion of children's voices have been critically addressed and deconstructed (Komulainen, 2007; Lewis, 2010). Research with children, especially with very young ones, gives rise to major ethical and methodological questions. In the existing literature, the inherent risks of oversimplification, hypocrisy, manipulation or practices that are more formal than substantive are highlighted (Atweh & Burton, 1995; Einarsdóttir, 2007); Fielding, 2004; Palaiologou, 2012, 2014). Notwithstanding this, children's voices need to be expressed and heard. These issues were taken into account, especially considering the very delicate issues addressed by the study such as inclusiveness, well-being and respect for diversity (Bittencourt Ribeiro, 2017).

The ethical questions that we addressed in designing the research methods regarded the positive involvement of young children in exploring and discussing inclusion/exclusion in school contexts characterized by cultural diversity and social inequalities by addressing of these issues in a sensitive yet meaningful way and aligning the research questions and methodology with the children's competence, motivations and interests.

The analysis of the studies conducted in the eight countries involved allowed us to identify some of the complexities and challenges encountered during the research process and identify some criteria and resolution strategies, which we present briefly as a contribution to the research to be carried out for future studies in this field.

From an ethical point of view, there was a formal plan that included aspects related to privacy and informed consent, also required from the children before starting and during the course of the activities in relation to their participation in the study as well as the possibility to photograph the children and/or their products or audio and video record them. An ethics process plan covered a multiplicity of aspects, also regarding methodology, on how subjects were involved during the course of the study. The ethics of the process allowed us to avoid "the risks of drifting towards ethical absolutism, when the types of ethical problems we encountered depended on the situation and social characteristics of the children in question." (Sarcinelli 2015, p. 9).

Formal ethics level

The 'formal-ethical' dimension was extremely relevant also from the point of view of the research process, as it represented the first form of communication regarding the involvement of the subjects, which was very delicate in this study for several reasons: the themes addressed by the study, the age of the children in some cases of pre-school age, the lack of mastery in the national language of the families of the children involved, the flexibility and openness required by operators and teachers.

The attention and care given to communicating the research aims, how children were involved and the use of data in respect of privacy in order to prevent resistance at the outset was of particular importance in order to avoid the counterproductive effects of resistance and suspicion, especially in families.

Communication and consent of professionals

This level of dialogue did not present any significant critical points, although in some cases it was important to negotiate the timing of the activities so that they were not excessively invasive within the flow of teaching. In this regard, the aims and timing of the research were not always in harmony with the aims and timing of the school and its program, but above all, the experience of children and the significance of their participation in the research, especially the continuity that this experience required, was not always at the center of attention on the part of teachers. From the very first communications and negotiations with the school context, the centrality of the children's experience was fundamental in the reflection and collaboration with teachers. Excessive segmentation of the research experience, especially with very young children, made the research process and the outcomes of the work qualitatively worse, in addition to an excessive concentration of the research work in a short period of time (as will be highlighted later).

In communicating with teachers, it was crucial to ensure that research aims and methodologies were fully understood because teachers, as well as other operators in extracurricular contexts, were 'mediators' of fundamental importance for the success of the study with both children and families; they were key informants on the characteristics of the local context and its actors and offered valuable suggestions in identifying the most appropriate communication methods and strategies during the early stages of research communication and consensus-raising.

Communication and consent of parents

In most of the studies, families gave their consent without making relevant criticisms and demands. However, in some cases difficulties were encountered: in the Czech Republic, in one of the schools, the communication from the school was initially imprecise and some of the parents refused to give their consent, also expressing doubts about the time that the activities of the study would take away from regular teaching. The research team had to meet this group of parents and modify the letter of consent based on the parents' requests and ensure that they would inform the parents the week before each activity about the activity itself. In the same

school, one parent maintained a hostile position to the project for ideological reasons, not sharing the project's inclusive aims with the Roma minority. This parent agreed to let his daughter participate in the study, but not to collect any data about his daughter.

This case highlights in particular the delicacy of communication with families in research work with children, even in a protected context such as school, where teachers and/or other operators were present at all activities and who contributed, at the request of researchers, to adapting the activities themselves.

Ethical questions also arose when a parent requested that his or her daughter not contribute to the research data, in opposition to the inclusive purpose that characterized the research work, also consistent with the school's educational project. It was not easy to explain to a child why, for example, their work would not be used in publications or shared with the local community, when she took part in the activities and perhaps showed appreciation for them. It was not easy to assess the extent to which a parent could express ideas that were radically opposed not only to the research project, but to those values in the educational project of the school chosen for that child.

In the Norwegian study, the letter of consent developed by local authorities in accordance with national guidelines, after a long process of screening for approval on the ethics of the research, was complex and the research team, in collaboration with teachers, had to rework the form to make it accessible to those parents who did not have Norwegian as their mother tongue. As the Norwegian colleagues pointed out, the letter almost had a "frightening potential" and it was essential to adapt it to the interlocutors. In addition to the difficulties regarding the period of the year when the research took place (during the Easter period, due to the long wait for approval by the local authority), among the possible causes of the non-enthusiastic support by parents was the lack of understanding the written communication. Other observations: the researchers found that other research had been carried out in the area and had aroused skepticism from ethnic and cultural minority families because they felt they had almost been damaged by the results of the research; the teachers, who supported the process of recruitment of parents by informing and motivating them in person, also pointed out that the parents did not consider the subject of the research and its aims relevant.

Communication from a distance must be very well constructed, responding not only to consistency with formal guidelines, but to the characteristics of the interlocutors, and it is necessary to meet the families personally, allowing local operators to mediate in this communication, leveraging the relationship of trust already established and built by them with the families. The involvement of children raises even more concerns and doubts than a study that only involves adults, and trust is to be won starting from the very first steps in the research communication. This is why it is very important that teachers have a very good understanding of the purpose and work methods.

The gradual trust placed by parents in researchers can also become a criterion for guiding the research process itself, as in the Czech case mentioned above. The researchers, in light of the fact that parents had expressed doubts about recording the focus groups with children, chose to postpone this activity to the last part of the journey, allowing parents to become familiar with the activities of the experience, where the researchers regularly communicated with parents, who in turn were able to observe the reactions of their children and their participation (as reported at home by the children themselves) over time.

Communication and consent of children

Regarding the children, researchers in all countries made efforts to guarantee that children were fully informed, providing them a genuine choice about whether to participate, ensuring that they had the option to choose not to participate. Children were provided with an oral explanation about the research, using age appropriate language with question time, stressing more than once that they were free to participate or quit whenever they wanted. During the study, the children's consent was seen as an on-going process, renegotiated verbally at each stage of the research, enabling children to withdraw at any time and asking children for their permission for audio and/or video recording.

In some cases, such as in the Polish study, the researchers asked for the consent of the children (aged 10/11 years) several times, asking for permission to photograph the work of the children for each activity, noting that in some cases the children refused without giving a specific reason. The researchers hypothesized that the children had taken the opportunity, probably not frequent in school, to express an opinion and make decisions, almost exacerbating this possibility. It was possible that the researcher's request for consent had to be made during the course of the experience without excess. For example, before the start of an activity, it is advisable to ask for consent, recalling during the process that it is possible to withdraw consent.

In the Italian case, some complexities arose with respect to the request for consent addressed to 4 and 5 year old children in preschool. The formulation of the consent form for children was designed after an extensive literature review on the topic, following the guidelines provided by the Ethical Research Involving Children (ERIC) project (Graham et al., 2013) and was agreed on with the class teachers, simplifying the content while maintaining the completeness of the information. The consent form was proposed to the children using a digital platform, integrated with figures and drawings. The researchers explained the aim of the research, its implications and their rights to each child, and then assisted them in the completion of the form. Most of the children completed the consent individually, while, following the teachers' suggestion, the shyest children went through the process together with one or two peers. At that age, some children were quite aware and ready to understand, even posing questions on the use of the video recordings (i.e. asking if videos would be published on YouTube), but several seemed to sign the consent form without understanding, despite all the efforts to provide further explanations, media and using simple language. The fieldwork observations made the researchers question the validity and the significance for children of proposing an informed consent form to children that young and raised interest in exploring alternative solutions. For example, it is possible to present children different requests for consent step-by-step (before being audio or video taped for instance) and monitor the children's participation and enjoyment during the research process, as will be highlighted regarding the process ethics.

Consent, required from both parents and children, had to be carefully coordinated to avoid situations of divergence, which even if well explained to the children, still generated some discomfort. For example, in primary school in Italy, some children gave consent to be videotaped and photographed where their parents refused consent. As far as the children were concerned, it was explained that the will of the parent is binding. Some of the children experienced the fact that they could not be included in the documentation of the research work as a limit, with respect to their classmates.

Process Ethics and Methodological challenges

The process of research with children, even more than with adults, presents numerous challenges that are often both ethical and methodological in nature. From the analysis of the empirical studies conducted in this international study, some particularly salient aspects can be identified.

The priority of the educational value and the pleasantness of the experience for the subjects

As already illustrated in the Technical Report and in the Manual that guided the research work, in all countries, beyond the formal requirements for research with young children, the methodological approach and the fundamental ethical criteria of the research framework gave priority to the formative value of the research experience for children (compared to the mere heuristic interest in knowing children's opinions) and to offering children an engaging experience of active participation with concrete effects on the school environment, in a pleasant atmosphere.

The choices regarding the activities, the adaptations made locally and the realization of at least part of the proposals of the children (which took place in many of the contexts involved in the study) represented the backbone of this positive, constructive and participatory approach, which was ensured by paying attention to the communication and relationship modes during the work and observing the behavior of the children in a sensitive way.

In all the country reports, the researchers observed how they tried to be as sensitive as possible in order to understand the situation and the perspective of each individual child during the activities and data collection. As effectively described in the Norwegian country report "If there was any indication that a situation became unpleasant for the children, the researchers considered carefully whether it was justifiable to continue or whether the child should be made aware that they could leave the situation, end the activity or adjust the activity without any problems".

The reasons why a research experience may become unpleasant are varied. In some cases, it may be fatigue or concentration difficulties due to activities that are not suitable for the participants' linguistic, cognitive, socio-cultural or social skills (such as the ability to work in groups), or to unsuitable times (e.g. activities carried out at the end of the day after an entire day of school as in the Italian informal context). Hence the importance of having a suitable setting, as discussed in more detail in the following pages. It is therefore crucial that researchers exercise constant adaptability, trying to grasp when it is time to end the activity or "lighten it".

Although in a constructive perspective, the research also brought out experiences of suffering. All researchers had to constantly seek the right balance between the right of children to express these experiences and the duty to protect them. Even apparently simple activities, such as interviews or individual conversations between the researcher and the child, required constant monitoring of the extent to which a child was enjoying the interaction, or if being asked questions created difficulty or boredom. In some studies, such as the English one, one of the researcher's strategies was to remind the children they could interrupt the conversation at any time. In the Italian study, following an interview interrupted by a moment of emotion

on the part of the interviewee, it was decided to include the presence of an educator during the interviews (initially conducted only by the researchers) so that children could have a point of reference able to handle these experiences of suffering, which would not just remain "research data".

In other situations, the discomfort arose during moments of group sharing, in some cases because of the lack of respect for confidentiality (when, for example, the children revealed events in which other children were protagonists, without realizing that the latter might not want to share them) or because of the fact of sharing their stereotyped opinions towards some ethnic groups. On these occasions, the adults (researchers and operators) intervened with a two-fold objective: on the one hand, to stem the situation to protect children who might feel offended; on the other hand, to seize the opportunity to pass on to children participation modalities that were respectful of others, their fragility and right to confidentiality. In the Italian case, the children were often reminded to share the facts without having to name the people involved.

It is clear, therefore, that even with an approach oriented towards elements of well-being, it is almost inevitable to find oneself in front of the suffering or discomfort of the participants, especially when it comes to stigmatized minorities or targets carrying multiple fragilities. Learning to welcome and contain suffering is therefore a sine qua non for researchers eager to open up to the voices of children, learning together with them the precious competence of listening to and welcoming the experience of young participants.

Time as a crucial variable for access to the world of children

As in the theoretical background illustrated in the Technical report, Welty and Lundy (2013; Lundy, 2007), four separate factors are highlighted to truly listen to children's perspectives and allow children to have meaningful experiences within research: space, voice, audience and influence. The research conducted allowed the emergence of a fifth key-factor that deserves great attention: time. Time is in fact a fundamental variable; it is essential to take the necessary time, both before and during the research.

Before the research, it took time to find the right context, familiarize with it and its actors, first and foremost the children.

First of all, procedures to find the right context and carry out acts related to formal ethics (e.g. collecting consent forms) can last longer than expected and cause delays that sometimes do not match very well with the tight timeframes of international research based on deadlines.

Secondly, it was necessary to have time to familiarize with the context, in particular the culture of local childhood, as well as the social characteristics of the group of children in question. This phase was fundamental to negotiate the presence on the field and the modalities of participation. At the same time, it took time for the professionals to understand the research process, the methodologies adopted, the needs, objectives and timing.

Finally, time was needed for researchers and participants to become familiar with each other: having access to children's voices implies building a relationship, however limited, based on trust and open dialogue. This is particularly important for research situations where there is a

significant distance between researchers and participants, both in terms of practices and representations (Duvoux 2014). In addition to the distance between adults-researchers and children-participants, in many case studies a socio-cultural and linguistic distance had to be faced. This moment of familiarization does not necessarily imply adopting "the least-adult role" (Mandell 1988) by concealing our own physical and symbolic differences between adults and children (Lignier 2008), but rather overcoming the symbolic boundaries that separate us from children and building a research relationship based on a non-authoritarian attitude without denying the status of adults and children (Mayall 2002; Brougère 2006). It is a matter of being able to familiarize with children "well enough to gain their trust and respect during the course of all activities" even if this time is "still not enough to know a classroom very well and to be able to trace the peer-relation patterns and interpret what was seen with relative ease", as explained in the Czech Republic report. This is why it is equally important to dedicate time to converse together and gather information with the professional involved, if not to involve them directly in the research, as will be discussed in the following points. The counter-proof of the fundamental importance of familiarization time is that collecting children's voices was very difficult in those contexts where this time was lacking. This was the case of one of the informal contexts in Greece where the 'children were hesitant, not very talkative and more skeptical to openly express their thoughts because they did not have the time to get familiar with the researcher and did not feel comfortable enough with the researchers to share their views'. Moreover, the quality of relationship did not enable researchers to cope with the misbehavior of some children.

In addition to these preliminary steps, the international study revealed how crucial and strategic good evaluation and negotiation with the professionals from the contexts involved regarding the time needed to carry out the research was. As the Norwegian report shows, for example, children needed a "slow and progressive time" to be able to open up and bring out their voices. The "slow and progressive time" is not only a question of quantity, but also of quality: 2 hours in the morning or at the end of the day after a long day spent at school are not the same thing, as can be seen from the report of the Netherlands which reports two very different experiences, one with children "floating" after a day in school, focused on their peers and difficult to engage in a structured activity with many distractions around them and the other characterized by structure in time and activities during the day that made it easier to decide on the best time-slot for research-activities. This "slow and progressive time" was often in contrast with the "tight and sometimes inflexible time" of the institutional contexts in which the research was carried out: contexts based on predefined times (such as the 90 minutes of motivational workshops held at the end of the day after an entire day spent at school) and on objectives and programs to be completed and which sometimes consider the research simply too time-consuming, as in the case of Norway. Giving space to "slow and progressive time" allows children's voices to emerge: the voice of shy and silent children, but also deeper experiences that were shared only during the second phase of the research, and this is even more relevant given the issues of the research (as underlined in the report from the Czech Republic).

The question of time is also closely linked to the age and skills of the children: for example, it was necessary to pay close attention to the fact that younger children have a limited attention span. Finally, it was necessary access different types of "times": not only formal times, but also informal times. As already stated in the technical report (p. 35), the time required cannot be foreseen, but could vary considerably (e.g. from class to class and depending on the medium

selected, such as drawing, writing, pictures, videos...). Finally, the opportunity to spend time with the students informally enabled researchers to gather rich data that is rarely expressed and shared during formal situations.

These considerations illustrate how important it is to make the professionals involved aware of the multifaceted dimension of time in order to find a good meeting point and balance between research needs and structural variables in respect of both the needs of research and the context in which researchers are hosted. In cases where it is impossible to allow oneself these times but being aware of them, one can find strategies that can facilitate the work, such as giving a preponderant role to the professionals, a subject that we will discuss later.

Silent children who spoke and children who were uncomfortable

In many cases (fortunately the most numerous), the methodology was particularly effective even with the shyest and quietest children regarding whom teachers expressed amazement at their participation and the number of ideas that the children expressed. This happened in the Norwegian case where researchers were advised of the presence of many "silent children". In the case of the Italian primary school, there were surprises, such as a newly arrived, not particularly talkative child who showed her exaltation and strong initiative when the time came to talk about her religion.

In some cases, the involvement of ethnic minority pupils was particularly difficult (for example in the Czech Republic and a Chinese child in the Italian informal group showed difficulties and embarrassment in sharing their experiences), and this obviously raised both ethical and methodological questions, since the research experience aimed to be a pleasant and formative opportunity, even if demanding.

When we tried to give voice to "those who have no voice", we were faced with the contradiction of finding ourselves in front of silent children, who did not seem to want to express their "voice".

Firstly, these difficulties further reinforced the need to understand the local culture and, in particular, the local pedagogy aimed at the theme of differences. If time helped to build a dialogue, sometimes it was not enough in institutional contexts where these topics had never been discussed or insurmountable symbolic-cultural boundaries that separated researchers from some stigmatized minorities such as Roma or from some ethnic groups (such as the Chinese).

Secondly, we needed to ask ourselves about the children's silence and take advantage of it. As Ann Lewis (2010) reminds us, the promotion of children's voice must take into account the challenges related to the very practice of collecting these voices, which are never universal but always the result of a specific individual and collective experience. If we think of the embedded nature of voice and the performative character of communication (Sarcinelli 2014), silence is also a research fact: voice (in the form of words, drawings, gestures or videos) and silence are two types of response, two doors to produce knowledge about a given social reality. This lack of participation can then be thought of not only as an obstacle but also as "a condition of the anthropological and sociological intelligibility of human societies" (Fassin 2008, p. 10) that allow us to better understand the life experiences of those children who remain silent in front of the

researcher. Silence is a voice that tells us about existing power relationships and different codes of communication that sometimes separate the researcher from their interlocutor-children belonging to minorities. This is the case in the Norwegian study, which was conducted in a municipality where the target population felt that the study featured them in an unfavourable way. Refusing to participate was an attempt at resistance that may also have affected (more or less directly) children.

The language barrier

However, children's silence was not always insurmountable. Sometimes it was enough to reflect and understand how to overcome silences that were not rejections, barriers or necessarily symbolic and cultural. The first barrier that separated us from these children was language (for example, the Chinese child was not very competent in Italian and the Czech Roma children feared making mistakes because of their lack of competence in the Czech language, a fear that was an indicator of the socio-cultural context (whether the context clearly allowed and legitimated the freedom for self-expression even for those with less linguistic competence). The Greek report underlined how the "perceived or objective weakness, fear, ambivalence or resistance to express themselves in a foreign language" was a potential obstacle or difficulty in children's participation. It is therefore necessary to understand the many ways to overcome this type of obstacle. In this vein, we can use the "hundred languages of children" (Edwards, Gandini, Forman 1998) as in the case in Norway, where drawings supported verbal communication with the children, allowing us to overcome or even avoid the language barrier. In other cases, the participants themselves preferred to express themselves in Romani language to a linguistic mediator. In these cases, the presence of a linguistic mediator (and another child who could act as a translator) were valid tools if children could only express themselves in languages not known by researchers. But the use of mediators is not always the best strategy: in some cases (as in the case of the informal Italian context), after careful reflection, it was decided not to involve a Chinese linguistic-cultural mediator to facilitate the participation of a very shy Chinese child, considering that an operator present "only" for him would have created even more in difficulty. Instead, more support was offered during the "individual" activities by the adults already present. This same obstacle was addressed differently, depending on the situation.

This problem was even more widespread with regard to competence in writing, either because of the developmental stage or due to insufficient school attendance, language acquisition problems and fear of judgement etc. As already stated in the manual and described in the technical report, in respect of Art. 13 of the International Convention on the Rights of the Child (UN 1989), children uncomfortable with writing or drawing were free to choose another way to participate. This was actually the case in several situations (e.g. in the Greek case) where other modes of expression proved to be more appropriate strategies to obtain children's participation and offered access to their views.

To sum up, welcoming children's voices also means giving them a choice among the "hundred languages of children" (Edwards, Gandini, Forman 1998), while the researchers' role was to make this possibility to choose concrete and effective.

The setting and choice of activities to capture and maintain the attention and interest of children

A further aspect to underline is the fact that the setting and customization of activities are fundamental in capturing and maintaining the attention and interest of children.

In the case of the informal Italian context, the space where the workshops took place did not guarantee the privacy of the interviewee and this effected concentration during the interviews. An office not usually used for activities was therefore used as a place dedicated to interviews. On the other hand, using the VLE or other mediation tools (e.g. the use of visual supports) to carry out some of the activities allowed on the one hand to capture the attention and interest of the children and, on the other hand, sometimes risked becoming a distractor, since the children were more interested in the medium (e.g. using the PC, watching a film, drawing, recording with the camera) than in the content.

Secondly, we had to make sure to propose activities that were concrete and close to the experience of children, especially those in preschool. The Greek report highlighted that the educators commented that the concept of "new children coming to school" to work on the relevant concepts and situations was quite abstract for such young children. On the other hand, in the Italian preschool the choice of making these "new children concrete" by taking advantage of a visit by a group of preschoolers as an occasion to welcome real children proved to be an effective methodological choice precisely because it was concrete and real.

Finally, it was necessary for the researchers' attention to be constant and always open to adapting the proposals, even during the course of work. Flexibility was one of the cornerstones of the methodological proposal envisaged, as illustrated in the technical report, and it proved to be so in the face of real experiences. This was the case of the Netherlands, where the activities were promptly adapted, "shortened, made concrete and adjusted to fit children's attention span according to their age and particular context".

Content validity of the questions and answers

Another important element was the understanding and content validity of the researchers' questions and of the children's answers. The importance of being understood by children was already foreseen in the manual (see D2.4, paragraph 3.5) and highlighted in some country reports: the UK report reflected on the relevance and possibility the effective use of how and why questions depending on the age of the children but also on whether they were bilingual or not; the Italian report stated that in the preschool, in order to ensure the content validity of the questions, the educators led the discussions and were able to "translate" the researchers' questions using words and examples that closer to the universe of the children, who they knew well.

As with silence, it was also important to ask questions about lies. This was the case in Greece, where two young people from an informal context declared that they had no problem with their school as far as language was concerned, whereas their teacher informed that these children had not attended school for a month because of language barriers. The problem of lies is very common in research situations (Mauger 1991, p. 139) and research with children is not exempt. Two reflections are needed in this regard. On the one hand, the researcher needs some

objective information. It is therefore necessary to resort to a "hermeneutics of suspicion" (Zaluar 2004) towards the material collected, i.e. to systematically compare and verify the information communicated with other sources of information. This was the case in the UK, where we tried to overcome this difficulty by comparing initial questions on children's attitudes towards a language through facial expression cards with the answers given to the open-ended questions or re-asking the questions through a facial expression card and open-ended questions.

Secondly, we need to ask ourselves about the significance of lies, in the same way as silence. What do the lies tell us about our interlocutors? Perhaps we can consider lies and hare-brained ideas as part of the "hundred languages of children" (Gandini et al. 1998), if we are able to listen, hear and interpret them.

The role of teachers and professionals in conducting activities

A final element concerned negotiating the role of researchers and professionals during the research. This aspect had already been dealt with in the manual, where the pros and cons and the need to evaluate on a case by case basis were highlighted (see D2.4, paragraph 3.5.3). One of the parameters that weighed heavily was the age of the children: with young children, the presence of a teacher or caregiver to whom they were accustomed was central. This was evident in some country reports which stated how important professionals were in helping to create syntony with children, unless the researchers really spent a lot of time, and how the absence of the teacher/caregiver had a great impact on the success of the experience.

The reports showed that there were often complementary advantages and disadvantages of co-conducting the activities with the teachers. On the one hand, actively involving teachers was often effective and valuable, especially during the initial phases of the study, when the children did not know the researchers well and the researchers only had a superficial knowledge of their characteristics, attitudes and personal stories. The active role of teachers contributed to ensuring a familiar, reassuring environment where children could more easily express their ideas. However, this was not always fundamental: a counterexample was in the Italian primary school, where the almost total absence of teachers did not prove to be an obstacle and trust was been created quite quickly during the week of observations.

On the other hand, even with young children, there were also some downsides of letting the teachers play an active role in conducting the activities, especially when the latter tended to direct the children's conversation instead of keeping it open to questions. This happened in some cases in the Italian pre-school but the situation was resolved after the researchers pointed it out to the educators.

In any case, in most cases collaboration with professionals was positive and their role was essential for the management of children's misbehavior, behavioral concerns or discomfort, allowing the researchers to have a complementary role. It was therefore of fundamental importance to invest a lot of energy in creating a relationship of trust and dialogue and a clear definition of roles with professionals, but also to give them an active role and the opportunity to contribute in a real way to the research through the possibility of customization, conducting or co-conducting.

CONCLUSIONS

This concluding part aims to enumerate some limits of the international study, some meta-reflections on the formative effects of the research according to the feedback collected on the work from the research participants (children, teachers or other professionals) as well as on the content of the study regarding the most relevant dimensions concerning well-being and inclusion at school, in order to identify some essential recommendations for practice and policies aimed at children and education.

Limitations of the study

Each country team indicated the limits of the study carried out by observing general and above all contextual aspects. Here we highlight only a few general limits that affected the international study as a whole. These are essentially:

- The dimension of time: time was a limiting variable, based on shared reflections regarding the fact that, particularly in a study with children, time is a crucial dimension for entering into contact with children in an appropriate manner and for ensuring good understanding of their point of view thanks to diversified tools and an extended timeframe. The study with the children took place over a few months, when many teams also had other project tasks and in many countries the negotiation for the ethical approval of the study with the authorities, who understandably carefully scrutinized the characteristics of the study, took a long time. The coincidence of the entry into force of the GDPR made this procedure even more complex. A second area of negotiation was with the schools and teachers with whom it was often difficult to reach an agreement, especially in the primary schools, where the curriculum was more structured and the fear of taking away too much time from the curriculum led to limiting the number of the hours dedicated to the project, in some cases too much time passed between one meeting and another. The case of Poland was the most extreme from this point of view, but in almost all countries, the topic/problem of the time presented itself.

- A second limit of the study concerned the use of only aggregated data concerning the ethnic-cultural, linguistic and economic-social backgrounds of the children, without being able to deepen the individual profiles / or group target profiles of the children in the analysis of the data. This choice was made at the beginning, in an effort to avoid additional complexity in the approval process regarding the ethical characteristics of the study by both the competent authorities, families and professionals. In some cases (in Norway and Poland) the researchers were not able to know the cultural and social backgrounds of the children in order to protect privacy, which was believed to have facilitated the understanding of what the children expressed during the course of the activities. However, both the ethnic-cultural and social dimensions of the groups of subjects involved in the research required specific attention and sensitivity in the way they were approached during the course of the field work so as to avoid that the research paradoxically became an amplifier of the perception of diversity and otherness by all subjects within the school or social community where the research took place.

- A third limit concerned the selection of materials used for verbal coding and analysis. In particular, when the research involved children aged 3-5, the integration of

communication occurred in the verbal dimension and in the non-verbal dimension (from facial expressions, to body gestures) and this was crucial for understanding the points of view of the children, however the study did not provide a shared mode for the transcription and coding of non-verbal data, although the research teams tried to keep track or through observational notes or, where possible, using video-recordings, even of non-verbal data.

- A fourth limit of the research concerned the language spoken by the researchers (with the exception of the English study). The majority language was chosen as the verbal means of expression for the children (including foreign and newly-arrived children). The research was carried out in the majority language, thus including an imbalance between native speakers/children with good competence in the majority language and the newcomers.

- Finally, among its characteristics and aims, the results of the study were not generalizable, however, we believe that the size of the sample and the analysis regarding the content, in addition to the methodological and ethical challenges, can offer a valuable contribution to studies in the field.

Main learning and reflections

In addition to the aspects concerning the methodological and ethical complexities of doing research with children, learning and reflections of interest concerned both the content that emerged in the words of the children as well as the effects of the research process on the subjects and contexts involved.

Educational and formative impact on children

With respect to the children involved in the research, a first point that can be observed, on a meta-reflexive level, is that the research process showed that the children of all ages who were involved, even at the early age of 3-5 years, took part in the work, proving they were capable and eager to express and reflect on well-being and inclusion at school, referring to the many differences that coexisted in the school and social contexts (from linguistic-cultural, religious to social aspects). This statement does not mean that this was immediate and simple and that it would happen under any conditions. In an even more compelling way than in research with adults, the researcher (or the professional educator in general) was responsible for creating the conditions for the emergence of the point of view of children in an atmosphere of welcome, psychological freedom, pleasure in expressing their ideas and to promote the progressive construction of ideas, approaching the issues in question through methodologies and experiential situations close to the children, their daily experience at school, in the family and in society. The participatory activities which were part of the Children Study enabled children to: reflect on complex topics (such as multiculturalism, factors promoting/undermining inclusion in their classrooms etc.); actively express their opinions, visualize their ideas, think about hypothetical situations, share their own experiences as well as present their own suggestions on how to solve concrete situation/problems (for example the arrival of a new child who could not speak the language at school). The research process not only offered them the opportunity

to express ideas, but it also represented a stimulating experience to progressively acquire critical-reflective thinking skills, to think of the context not as something to merely adapt to, but as where one could become an agent of change and a place for acquiring collaborative communication skills with peers and adults, modifying the relationship that, while remaining asymmetrical, takes on a different configuration: adults and children were collaborators in the construction of the context and the school experience.

The **participatory and transformative research experience** can have great educational value and models ***democratic life practice*** in a 'child-friendly' form in the school context, anchored to children's everyday experience. As stated in the first Chapter, the participatory and transformative research model is a form of education *through* democracy (Gollob et al, 2010), or, as in Dewey (1916), a 'practice and experience-based' active citizenship, offering a supportive democratic learning environment, which not only gives 'voice', but allows children to collaborate in decision making which in turn renders them active social actors who are responsible for their environment, albeit in a manner proportional to their psychological maturity. The interaction processes supported the development of children's agency, by talking, expressing opinions and ideas, reflecting alone and with the group, while the adults provided a coherent scaffolding to support these processes.

The guiding principles of participatory and transformative research are coherent and reinforce a socio-constructivist and active teaching approach, promoting a collaborative social and relational climate, respectful of different points of view, all salient factors in the improvement of children' learning and school motivation. But it is possible to say that they represent a step forward in children's participation, as they embrace the possibility for **children to be full-fledged protagonists of the school environment**, not only in the learning experiences but in the whole life of the school. Proposals for school innovations and their implementation augmented the participation and enthusiasm of the children involved (as has emerged in several country chapters, see chapter DE, IT, PL), confirming the opportunity to include these transformative and applicative aspects in research with children.

Of course, in this kind of research model, it is crucial to consider how much the context will allow for implementation of at least part of the children's proposals. In some countries a lack of time (like in the Czech Republic) represented an **obstacle for implementing proposals**. However, in general, it was very important that researchers and teachers or educators were attuned to the values and aims that inspired this research practice, and that all social actors involved were sensitized to offer concrete experiences of context transformation. It had to be part of the research agreement settled beforehand with professionals and it is relevant that, even if the proposals could not be put into practice, the professionals showed the children that they were heard, that the information they provided was useful, and explained how it could be implemented or why it could not be acted upon, always guaranteeing a "responsive feedback-loop", as suggested in the Dutch study. More over, the feasibility of the proposals should be weighed with the children themselves, helping them identify the right interlocutors at different levels (from the class teacher, the entire teaching staff and the principal, to local or national administrative levels). Children needed help in recognizing and discriminating among these different levels.

In all of the studies, moreover, the participation of the children was very high; they expressed motivation and pleasure in taking part in the activities, showing that they appreciated being put

in a position to express their ideas and to rethink the school context. If well-being and inclusion at school were the subject of reflection and rethinking to innovate the school context, the practices of welcoming new students and so on, at the same time the research process itself seems to have promoted well-being and inclusion among children. Indirectly (but also directly, as will be seen in the section on content), the children expressed the desire to be protagonists at school; to have the opportunity to express themselves to be heard; to be able to contribute to building the school context; to receive greater recognition for their capacity for self-determination. Despite the methodological complexities that were highlighted, children emerged as reliable interlocutors who could and did want to contribute to changing school contexts, they could also be drivers of change.

Educational and formative impact on children

Regarding the effects not only on children but also **professionals,** it is possible to observe **the personal enrichment and the stimulus to recreate their teaching approach and practice continuously and especially to re-consider who the children and tehir abilities.**

We believe that an interesting result of the analysis of the international research is the educational impact that this research experience has had on teachers or educators who have collaborated or at least witnessed the research work, as far as it was possible to detect in the short-term by the research teams. In several countries, the teachers or educators have shown amazement and appreciation for the ability shown by children, even very young ones, to participate in the research: some teachers who did think that the young age and language difficulties of the children would be an obstacle for achieving the goals of the study realized that these moments turned out not to be a barrier at all.Teachers were generally surprised that children were able to carry out activities like the ones proposed by the research protocol, such as working in groups or **formulating their opinions, being proactive** (CZ, IT). In brief, the research experience allowed teachers and educators to **think about and probably re-consider their ideas about children**, their potential and recognize that they were **underestimating the children's abilities** to give their opinions, evaluate the school and make proposals. First of all, the activities proposed allowed some children, often recognized by the teachers as negative leaders, to be put into a positive light and be valued for their qualities. The usually shy and bashful children started to actively participate in the activities proposed and freely expressed their ideas after the first few meetings (IT, NO). The activities enriched the class collective, because everyone could get better acquainted with each other. They also provided the teachers (Czech, Greek context) with some new information about the children's background and history, which otherwise perhaps would never have emerged and which gave them additional tools and knowledge for working better with the children. Only in few cases teachers had some critical comments on the activities (for example in Greece, preschool teachers considered some activities too abstract or the Italian primary school teachers who found the resaerch activities too demanding and disconnected from the "program"), but most teachers were likely to increment the activities involving children's participation and to extend them to other classes (like in IT, CZ). Teachers had also the opportunity to realize that the theme of "cultural diversity" and multilingualism was not (enough) included into their teaching systematically and into the class curriculum.

But, most important, teachers **realized how children were engaged in the research and**

conscious about positive and negative factors as in terms of well-being and inclusion at school, to what extent children are competent members of a social community able to provide meaningful contributions to the researchers if they are listened to in an appropriate context. Even those professionals who had high consideration of their children's competences (like the Italian preschool teachers), were surprised that they had such clear ideas about complex issues and advanced such sophisticated proposals.

All teachers could understand the importance to involve children in decision-making processes about different aspects of everyday pedagogical life (both school organization and social relationships). However, participatory reasearch is not an easy task and teachers had to admit that some children did have some difficulties explaining their opinions and with working in groups. This lead teachers to express the interest to develop these skills further and work with children in order to improve these yet underdeveloped skills, as well as to change their teaching approach. In some contexts, professionals decided to go forward, giving more space to the experience, dynamics and discomfort at school with the aim of creating greater awareness regarding the reflections of the children and involving them more actively in defining topics of extracurricular classes, as in the Polish context.

As stated in some national studies, for the maximum formative impact, it was crucial for teachers and educators to be actively involved so that they could become protagonists in the collaborative research work with children. This happened primarily in the preschool context compared to other levels and research contexts. It should be noted that, in this case, the research required a longer time for working with local professionals

Relevant dimensions for well-being and inclusion at school

The dimension of well-being and inclusion at school was broken down into the three sub-dimensions of the factors that promote, the factors that hinder and the factors of change proposed by the children themselves. The latter two graphs summarize the three dimensions while figure 10 illustrates the total value of the three factors distributed by code, by age and by context, and in figure 11, the total value of the three factors distributed only by thematic area and by code totals.

OVERALL FACTOR CO-OCCURENCE PER CODES, AGE AND CONTEXT
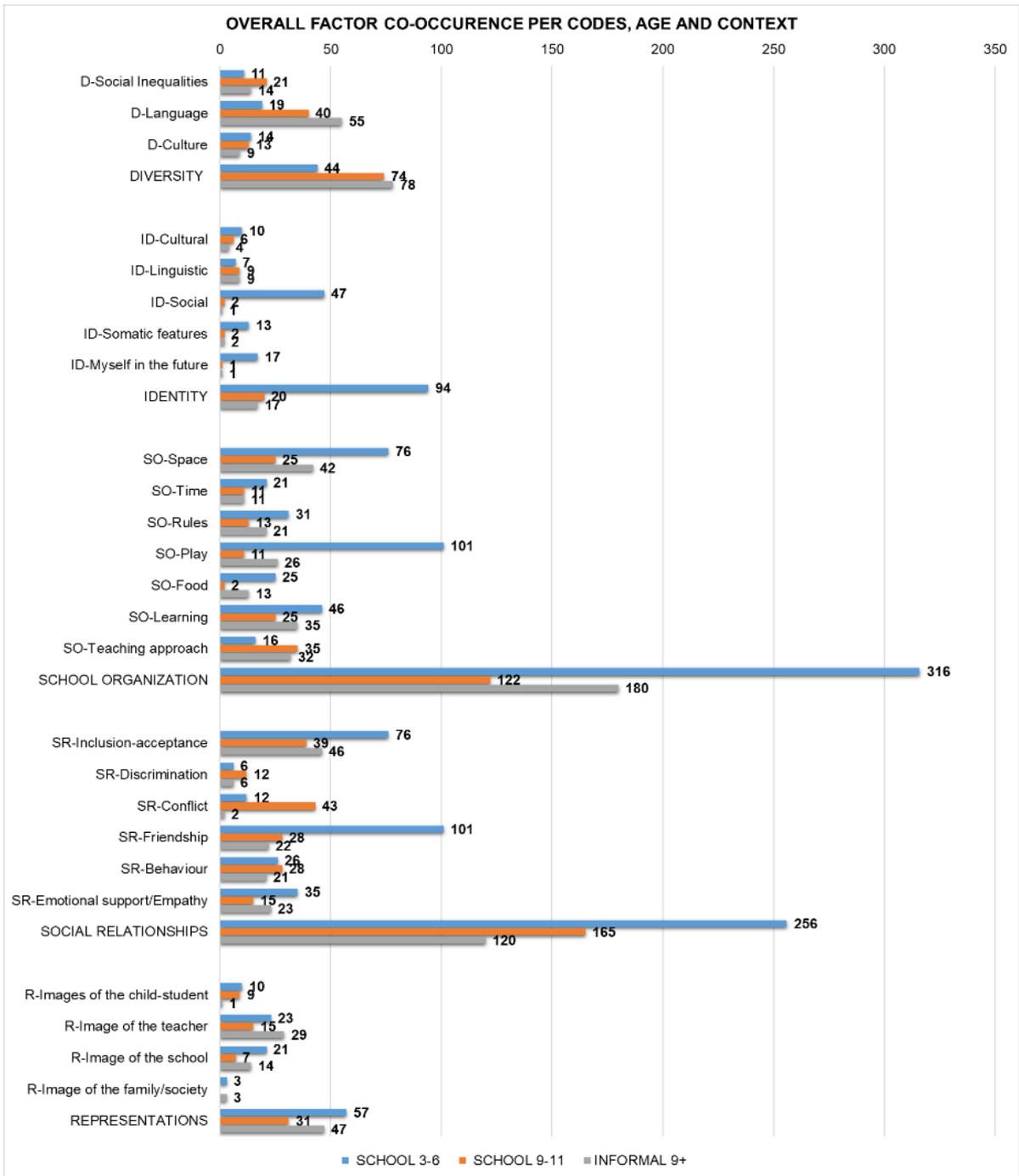
Figure 10. *Overall factors per code, age and context*

OVERALL FACTORS PER MAIN THEMATIC AREA AND CODE

SCHOOOL ORGANIZATION - 618
- SO-Space 143
- SO-Play 138
- SO-Rules 65
- SO-Learning 106
- SO-Teaching approach 83
- SO-Time 43
- SO-Food 40

SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS - 541
- SR-Inclusion-acceptance 161
- SR-Friendship 151
- SR-Emotional support/Empathy 73
- SR-Conflict 57
- SR-Behaviour 75
- SR-Discrimination 24

DIVERSITY 196
- D-Social Inequalities 46
- D-Language 114
- D-Culture 36

REPRESENTATIONS - 135
- R-Image of the school 42
- R-Image of the teacher 67
- R-Images of the child-student 20
- R-Image of the family/socie...

IDENTITY 131
- ID-Social 50
- ID-Linguistic 25
- ID-Myself in the future 19
- ID-Cultural 20
- ID-Somatic features 17

Figure 11. *Overall factors per main thematic area and code*

Many of the children in national studies expressed a positive image of school as a significant context ('my other home') for their well-being, for finding important relationships and opportunities for growth. With respect to well-being at school, the two thematic areas that emerged in a relevant way as salient with respect to all factors, all ages and contexts, were those regarding "School organization", the majority with respect to "Factors promoting well-being and Inclusion" and "Trasformative factors", and those regarding "Social relationships", the majority of which regarded "Factors undermining well-being and inclusion".

With respect to "**School organization",** the children showed particular attention to spatial and material dimensions, as well as to the characteristics of the activities, the curriculum, and teaching-learning.

From the analysis of the data, some basic themes emerged that were particularly salient in the experience of well-being and inclusion at school or, on the contrary, of discomfort, from the point of view of the children.

- In the first place, it emerged in a widespread way, both in contexts characterized by cultural and linguistic differences and those characterized by a disadvantaged population in socio-economic terms, that the **quantity** and the **quality of spaces and materials were considered very important factors for well-being and inclusion**. The quality criteria of the space and materials that emerged from the words of the children concerned first of all the physical characteristics of the spaces and objects: the children expressed their appreciation for large spaces for movement (gyms, gardens), but also for reserved, quiet and relaxing spaces, which were not always present in school structures, thus not allowing them to shelter themselves from crowded and chaotic places from time to time. The children talked about decorated, fragrant spaces, games and working materials available in sufficient quantities, especially in contexts where families may have difficulty in bearing the cost of purchasing materials, and materials and objects diversified for cultural and linguistic characteristics, especially in multicultural contexts. Among the material aspects, even tasty food, which might not be available at home, appeared to be a factor for well-being in sites of greatest economic hardship. In many other contexts of the research, food was presented as a symbol for sharing, exchange, welcoming even for newly arrived children, for mutual knowledge, due to discussions that take place during the meal, as wel as the possible exchange of foods from different cultural and religious traditions.

Spaces and materials welcomed and accompanied, therefore, moments of community life that children appreciated very much and which they identified with: the school community was relevant in their eyes, experiences able to leave very positive memories.

However, spaces and materials were only a part of a context that children also considerd in its **regulatory characteristics** (the rules of using spaces and materials) **and experiential** (the activities carried out). From this point of view, two major themes emerged that were relevant in the eyes of children in both pre- and primary school:

- **the desire to have greater freedom of choice, self-determination and self-regulation, both with respect to the use of spaces and materials, and to the timing of routines and activities during the day at school.** The contexts where we met children were certainly different from the point of view of freedom and the possibility for self-determination

given to the children.Iin different forms, their requests for greater self-regulation emerged in a widespread way. It could be simple access to materials (as in the case of Poland, where the teachers stated that they did not allow access to materials because the children did not know how to use them), or the possibility to use a space following their own ideas different from how the teachers allocated a place (for example, to play a symbolic game in a room where they generally did gymnastics and movement...). As effectively highlighted in the German report, the children expressed the need not only to feel part of a community, but to be able to participate actively, autonomously and competently in the use of spaces and materials;

- **The desire for more extra-curricular activities and more active, creative, 'non-traditional' activities**. The balance between play and work, play and learning, in the eyes of children seemed to be to the disadvantage of the former and there was not a sufficient balance, (especially in primary school) where it was possible to learn by playing and play while learning. Playing and getting involved in a variety of playful activities in the school context appeared to be important factors for well-being in many contexts and across ages, especially freely accessible play possibilities, and as crucial factors for strengthening inclusion and the well-being of newcomers. **Children wanted learning to become more enjoyable and interactive,** and activities to be carried out in an active, playful, group and dynamic way, including physically, both inside and outside school. Sitting at a desk for many hours generates demotivation and fatigue. In connection with this, the children expressed appreciation for all the spaces outside the classroom (such as the library, the art and crafts room, the computer and science lab, the gym, the playground) and school trips, and many of their proposals to change the indoor and outdoor spaces reflected their desire for more spaces. Specifically, inside school they suggested areas for recreational activities, dancing, relaxation in moments of fatigue and outside for plants, sports fields, playgrounds. If learning was perceived as a source of joy and enjoyment when connected to the possibility of learning new things, having new experiences, working together with other students, within "non-traditional" playful, play-like and creative teaching approaches, learning was frequently connoted by negative emotions such as boredom, nervousness, fear and also anxiety and stress, due to exams, grades and homework.

Consistently, school spaces and times were crucial in building a context welcoming diversity: many of the children's transformative proposals concerned having spaces where writing and objects from different languages and cultures were visible; presenting the spaces, the activities that take place in them and the rules to newcomers upon their arrival so that they would not feel disoriented; organizing the school calendar in a more respectful way for the holidays from different traditions and religions. In the same way, **playing together and sharing games were indicated as forms for welcoming and socialization** considered fundamental to build friendships, even to overcome language barriers.

With respect to the **social-emotional dimension**, social relationships were among the main codes promoting well-being and inclusion. The **peer group and the sense of community** were central in the children's representations of the school environment. All the research participants (both preschool, primary school and informal contexts) highlighted the importance of the socio-relational dimension of the school context as a main factor promoting well-being: this refers both to the teachers (i.e. in the teaching approach and in the relation with the students) and to

the peer group. The socio-relational dimension includes the importance of inclusion, emotional support and empathy both from teachers and from peers, and friendship among children. Two specific aspects can be highlighted:

- **Teachers had a fundamental role to play in promoting a good and inclusive relational climate**: much depended on how they related to the children themselves (kindness, availability, measured tone of voice, absence of punitive attitudes), the ability to propose activities that facilitated relationships and the creation of friendships, the approach to teaching, as we said, active, dynamic between spaces inside the classroom and the school, as well as outside, centered on the learning community of children rather than on individual work. **Teachers were also recognised as playing a significant role in supporting positive conflict resolution, especially if it was discriminatory, and in providing anti-discriminatory values and attitudes.** Children, especially in the informal context, expressed great dissatisfaction with those teachers who pretended they did not see or see what was happening before their eyes. If family, friends and society pushed towards racist or discriminatory ideas and attitudes, teachers might be the only point of reference for opening up to a different way of seeing things, as some children said.

- But above all, from the children's words it emerged that **the peer group and peer network were of great importance in dealing with difficulties and in feeling part of the local school community.** Friendship and making friends at school were perhaps the main factors of well-being at school, which made one feel part of the school community and protected and played a crucial role in the inclusion and welcoming of newcomers, children with minority backgrounds or those who did not speak the local language. Many of the children's proposals to make the school a warm, welcoming place on a relational level, and therefore inclusive because it was welcoming towards all differences (from somatic and physical differences to linguistic, cultural and religious differences), concerned different forms of promoting friendship and emotional support among children from their arrival at school. This could take the form of multiple gestures, some established as rituals and some entrusted to the initiative of individuals: from the simple friendship bracelets proposed by the preschool children, in recalling the sense of disorientation during the first days of school, underlining the importance of consoling, cuddling, hugging and playing with a newly arrived child, to the assignment of a 'buddy partner' who would be nearby during the first days and present the school, perhaps supported by a multilingual video-tour made by the children, by writing, dances and songs in multiple languages....

The social-emotional dimension was therefore connected to many of the children's reflections on the dimension of diversity, as seen in the detailed analysis of the data:

- **Student culture, language and food at school had a central place in the socio-emotional climate, in individual well-being and sense of identity.** To promote inclusion, children from different context have stressed the importance of the enhancement of cultural, linguistic and food traditions. On one hand, children stress the importance of showing to newcomers the majority culture and language and the institutional culture (by introducing newly arrived children to school organization, spaces and rules). On the other hand, children underlined the fact that all of the

children's cultures, languages and foods needed to be present in everyday life at school. Not only was the prohibition of speaking in one's own language of origin a factor that strongly undermined children's well-being in the school environment, but also the absence of language, culture and food from the children's origins was seen as a negative aspect in the long-term and their enhancement was present in children's proposals in all contexts.

Even in the English research, which has characteristics that differ in part from those of other studies, the interviews with children showed the perception of children. Although the family provided the ground for children to build their identity and embrace their heritage culture, experiences at school supported this or undermined it. Positive experiences with teachers, even bilingual, and peers provided children a safe space to cultivate their dual-identity, while negative experiences with peers or/and the unavailability of teachers/peers from similar backgrounds at school could lead to feelings of detachment, sadness, and shame.

- **Children demonstrated a high level of awareness regarding the position of language to communicate with and include non-native speakers, in socialization at school, in building friendships, in general its potential role for both inclusion and exclusion.** They highlighted the importance of helping classmates acquire the language of the school as well as speaking the language of the classmate and making it visible in the school written in his or her own language 'to make him or her feel at home'. Linguistic difference is not in itself an obstacle to making friends, but the children pointed out how the recognition of the mother tongue makes it easier and more heartening to overcome the perception of extraneousness in a new context, as well as having a partner who helps to translate between the two languages, reducing the risk of discomfort that children saw linked to the language barrier during the early days (being excluded from groups and games, being teased about their accent and poor linguistic ability in the new language, having difficulties in learning). These risks could certainly be even more remote, according to the children, if there were a greater number of multilingual teachers, and if the possibility of using the mother tongue in class was never prohibited. There were a lot of proposals about language from both preschoolers and students of different countries, some proposed to show more solidarity and mutual help between classmates. finding ways to overcome language barriers with newcomers, some proposed to innovate the school curriculum using language awareness approaches as institutional practices at school.

- Alongside this, particularly in the studies with preschool children, it emerged in some countries that preschool children did not pay particular attention to the ethnic characteristics of their peers, but rather to those of gender, age and family (such as the presence of siblings in the school), and tended to emphasize the importance of being welcomed in their individuality as competent members of the community rather than dealing with aspects related to differences.

Recommendations

Some recommendations can be drawn from the reflections and analyses carried out, both

for the sphere of school and educational practices and for those who deal with educational and social policies.

1. The study documented that **from an early age children have many ideas about the educational contexts they experience every day and that if put in a position to do so, they have the desire to express themselves and influence the improvement of these contexts, becoming promoters of innovation and change.** The first recommendation is to take this research evidence seriously and to put it at the centre of the debate on the quality of preschool and school services, and in teacher training.

2. With respect to the debate on the quality of educational and school contexts in terms of well-being and inclusion, results lead to focus, with an **increased awareness of the crucial role of participatory pedagogical models that include children's voices from an early age and involve them in the processes of decision making, in shaping pedagogical spaces, activities and times,** on both the proposals that can be presented by the children for the improvement of the school and on the effects on well-being, motivation and the development of skills and abilities for active citizenship that these forms of participation promote. We believe that this reflection becomes even more urgent in primary and secondary schools, also as a form of prevention of discomfort and early school leaving.

3. As highlighted**, this participatory and transformative research experience can have great educational value and models democratic life practice**. The reflection on the research methodology adopted and on the positive effects it had encourages further investment in these forms of research and urge the development of well-founded, complex skills in conducting research processes with children, paying attention to characteristics in relation to the phases of child development and to the many challenges and complexities that they present, illustrated in literature and to which we wanted to make a contribution.

4. At the same time, **teacher training in these forms of participatory research with children from an early age should receive more attention, especially through collaboration and action-research conducted with researchers**. The experience of participation in these forms of research can have significant repercussions, not only on children and on the quality of their school experience, but also on the professionalization of teachers, representing a powerful stimulus to review approaches to teaching, ideas regarding the role of children in school and of the school itself in children's lives. Teachers were able to experience a change in the image they had of children and re-evaluate their potential and skills. It is therefore crucial to train teachers to recognize the need expressed by children to take part in the life of the school community as competent members and to offer them progressively broader and more complex forms and ways of doing so.

5. The **material dimension of school, in its spaces and materials,** both in aesthetic terms and in the basic resources offered (from food to games and materials), emerged as a dimension to which children attributed great impact on their well-being, their attitudes towards the school environment and social and intercultural inclusion at school. We believe that it **represents a strategic area for intervention in policies and practices** addressed to schools and ECEC services, since it is a concrete aspect for investment that is more accessible and relatively simpler than other key components of school setting quality, and that can have a significant impact.

6. Positive relationships between children and friendships were identified as the most influential

factor in school well-being and the keystone of an inclusive social climate. In the light of the relevance attributed to the social-emotional dimension in the school, the study calls for **teacher training, both pre- and in-service, that includes a solid preparation in relational skills, starting from the awareness of both the role that children attribute to the teacher in the regulation of relationships between adults and children and in relationships between children, and the role that children attribute to the peer group in building a positive, warm and welcoming relational climate.** The promotion of positive relationships and friendships must become a priority in the pedagogical and didactic approach at all levels of the school system, especially where learning performances introduce sources of negative stress and emotions (such as anxiety, frustration, boredom).

7. Although learning is an unavoidably tiring and demanding process, **teachers should be sensitized in a renewed way to take care, in the teaching methodology and in the relational modalities, of emotions that children experience towards learning and the school performance required of them, because the emotional dimension significantly affects motivation, their sense of self-efficacy and the image that children have of themselves as learners.** School is a space to elaborate one's own social image and this is primarily linked to the trust that children have in being able to succeed at school as a form of emancipation from conditions of exclusion or economic-social minority.

8. On the subject of learning and, more generally, of life at school, **the children stressed the urgency for active, dynamic, interactive methodologies in large and small groups; for work spaces not only limited to the classroom, but diversified in multiple spaces inside and outside the school; for spaces that were not crowded, but private and quiet; for an offer of extra-curricular activities.**

9**.** On the issue of inclusion regarding linguistic, cultural and religious differences, from preschool on, children showed great awareness of the dynamics that can affect well-being at school or promote it, and showed that they can play a significant active and proactive role. Besides the many proposals made, we believe that **the enthusiastic participation of children is in itself a recommendation to follow up on forms of active involvement for students in welcoming newcomers and in promoting inclusion**. The process of building shared proposals to improve the school environment and reception practices, in addition to having produced a considerable number of sustainable and feasible proposals (some made during the study) also represented a significant path of awareness on the part of the children regarding aspects like the development of empathy, which we believe has important repercussions on the construction of inclusive contexts and well-being.

10. **To promote inclusion, children from different context have stressed the importance of the enhancement of cultural, linguistic, religious and food traditions**, that need to be present in everyday life at school. Although this issue is already present in numerous European and national guidelines and policy documents in many countries, it is important that the children themselves stressed the importance of the visibility and respect that each culture, language and religion must be able to see expressed in a tangible way in the school context. The dimension of reciprocity, of cultural exchange between those who arrive and those who are already part of a context, was placed at the centre, in a balanced way, recognizing the need of those who arrive to feel reassured both about the respect given to their cultural linguistic origins and about the need to understand the new context of arrival. Positive relationships and friendships can

blossom and be facilitated in the school context/environment where the enhancement of differences is concretely, explicitly and intentionally promoted in a widespread way in time, in space, in curricular content, in relationships.

11. **Language emerged as a crucial issue, both in relation to the enhancement of mother tongues and the acquisition of the language of instruction.** In particular, it is recommended to pay attention, in teacher training, to balancing these two aspects (teachers are often focused almost exclusively on the acquisition of a second language), to support children's biculturization and bilingualism, who find the first and fundamental place of growth in the family, but who need to be supported by teachers and the school context as well; to pay particular attention to the painful experiences that the language barrier for those who come to school from a different linguistic context can generate in the dynamics of relationships, socialization and learning. Preschoolers and students from different countries made many proposals about language, both to show more solidarity and for mutual help between classmates, finding ways to overcome language barriers with newcomers and to innovate the school curriculum using language awareness approaches as institutional practices at school.

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APPENDICES

A1.1 Supplementary material to Wolf et al.

A1.2 Supplementary material to Petrogiannis et al.

A3.1 Country reports of the child study will be made available at the ISOTIS website (www.isotis.org).

A1.1.1. *Measures*

	Construct	Example items	Reference	Used measure
Structural family characteristics	Material deprivation	13 items, examples: • Do you have two pairs of shoes in a good condition that are suitable for daily activities? • Could you tell me if your household replaces furniture (bed, sofa/ dresser, cupboard) when worn out or damaged?	Broekhuizen, Stevens, Wolf & Ereky-Moser (2018), p. 27f	Scale sum Range 0-13 M = 3.6, SD = 3.3 Cronbach's α = .69
	Family employment	Do you currently have a paid job? (yes, no) Does your partner currently have a paid job? (yes, no)	Broekhuizen, Stevens, Wolf & Ereky-Moser (2018), p. 27	0 - unemployed 1 - one earner 2 - dual earner
	Parental education / family's highest educational attainment	items on school and vocational qualification of parent and partner	Broekhuizen, Stevens, Wolf & Ereky-Moser (2018), p. 27	1 = low (ISCED 0, 1, 2) 2 = medium (ISCED 3, 4, 5) 3 = high (ISCED 6, 7)
	Group belongingness	dummy variables for country x group combinations, e.g., families with Turkish immigration background in England		Reference group = low SES native-born families in Germany
	Family status	Are you currently living with a partner? (yes, no)		1=living with partner 2=single parent

Orientations and beliefs	Life satisfaction in country	4 items, examples: • I feel at home in [national country] • I am satisfied in [national country] 5-point Likert scale from disagree to agree	Broekhuizen, Stevens, Wolf & Ereky-Moser (2018), p. 67	Scale mean Range 1-5 M = 4.3, SD = 0.9 Cronbach's α = .81
	Educational aspirations	What level of qualification would you like [^Target child's name] to complete?	Broekhuizen, Stevens, Wolf & Ereky-Moser (2018), p. 59	1 = ISCED 2 2 = ISCED 3 3 = ISCED 4 or 5 4 = ISCED 6 5 = ISCED 7 or 8
	Parenting self-efficacy	5 items, examples: • I feel sure of myself as a parent • I know I am doing a good job as a parent 5-point Likert scale from disagree to agree	Broekhuizen, Stevens, Wolf & Ereky-Moser (2018), p. 66f	Scale mean Range 1-5 M = 4.6, SD = 0.5 Cronbach's α = .77
Neighbourhood and support systems	Perceived quality of neighbourhood	How often do the following happen in your neighbourhood? 1. Violence or crime against people (e.g., fights, muggings, insulting or calling people names, etc.) 2. Violence or crime involving property (e.g., break-ins, car thefts, house/car vandalism, etc.) 3. General nuisance (e.g., graffiti, litter, abandoned cars/buildings, traffic noise, etc.) (1. never, 2. rarely, 3. sometimes, 4. often, 5. don't	Broekhuizen, Stevens, Wolf & Ereky-Moser (2018), p.	Recoded, scale mean Range 1-4 M = 2.3, SD = 0.9 Cronbach's α = .76

		know)		
	Diversity in neighbourhood	For parents with a Native-born background: What proportion of people who live in your neighbourhood have a non-[nationality] background? For parents with an Immigrant background: What proportion of people who live in your neighbourhood are [nationality]? For parents with a Romani background: What proportion of people who live in your neighbourhood are non-Roma? 1. (almost) none, 2. around a quarter, 3. around half, 4. around three-quarter, 5. (almost) all	Broekhuizen, Ereky-Stevens, Wolf & Moser (2018), p. 60f	Recoded to one item regarding the proportion of people in neighbourhood with another cultural background
	Amount of intergroup interaction in neighbourhood	How often, if at all, do you interact with people who have a non-[nationality]/[nationality]/non-Roma background in your neighbourhood? 1. never, 2. rarely, 3. sometimes, 4. often	Broekhuizen,Ereky-Stevens, Wolf & Moser (2018), p. 61	

Social support	People sometimes look to others for companionship, assistance, or other types of support. How often are each of the following kinds of support available to you, if you need it?	Broekhuizen, Ereky-Stevens, Wolf & Moser (2018), p. 40	Scale mean Range 1-4 M = 3.2, SD = 0.8 Cronbach's α = .88
	1. Someone to take you to the doctor if you needed it 2. Someone who shows you love and affection 3. Someone to help with daily chores if you were sick 4. Someone to share your most private worries and fears with 5. Someone to turn to for suggestions about how to deal with a personal problem 6. Someone to do something enjoyable with (1. never, 2. rarely, 3. sometimes, 4. often)		
Professional support	In the last six months, how many times has somebody visited you to talk about this/these issues related to bringing up your child? In the last six months, how many times have you visited a centre to talk about this/these issues related to bringing up your child? (1. once or twice, 2. more than two times, 3. once per month, 4. two or three times per month, 5. every week)	Broekhuizen, Ereky-Stevens, Wolf & Moser (2018), p. 51	Recoded to one item regarding frequency of professional support use at home and in centres 1. no use, 2. once or twice, 3. more than two times, 4. once per month, 5. two or three times per month, 6. every week

Family processes	Frequency of reading activities	How often does an adult in the home… 1. Read or narrate a picture book to [^Target child's name] 2. Read a story book to [^Target child's name] 3. Read a book on a topic of interest (such as history, dinosaurs, space…) to [^Target child's name] (1. every day, 2. several times a week, 3. once or twice a week, 4. once or twice a month, 5. less often, 6. (almost) never)	Broekhuizen, Ereky-Stevens, Wolf & Moser (2018), p. 53ff See also Wolf, Francot, Broekhuizen, Leseman & Anders (2018) for information on scale construction and measurement invariance of these scales.	Scale mean Range 1-6 M = 4.1, SD = 1.5 Cronbach's α = .82
	Frequency of conversation activities	How often does an adult in the home… 1. Talk with [^Target child's name] about your own or his/her everyday experiences? 2. Talk with [^Target child's name] about past events (such as a holiday, birthday) 3. Talk about topics of general interest (such as history, dinosaurs, space…) with [^Target child's name] (1. every day, 2. several times a week, 3. once or twice a week, 4. once or twice a month, 5. less often, 6. (almost) never)	Broekhuizen, Ereky-Stevens, Wolf & Moser (2018), p. 53ff See also Wolf, Francot, Broekhuizen, Leseman & Anders (2018) for information on scale construction and measurement invariance of these scales.	Scale mean Range 1-6 M = 4.9, SD = 1.1 Cronbach's α = .68
	Frequency of mathematical activities	How often does an adult in the home…	Broekhuizen, Ereky-Stevens, Wolf & Moser	Scale mean Range 1-6

	1. practice counting and simple math problems with [^Target child's name]	(2018), p. 53ff	M = 3.9, SD = 1.3
			Cronbach's α = .64
	2. measure and compare length, weight, and the size of objects with [^Target child's name]	See also Wolf, Francot, Broekhuizen, Leseman & Anders (2018) for information on scale construction and measurement invariance of these scales.	
	3. play with construction toys (like blocks) or board games, or do jigsaw puzzles with [^Target child's name]		
	1. every day, 2. several times a week, 3. once or twice a week, 4. once or twice a month, 5. less often, 6. (almost) never		
Frequencies of practical activities	How often does an adult in the home…	Broekhuizen, Ereky-Stevens, Wolf & Moser (2018), p. 53ff	Scale mean
			Range 1-6
	1. draw, paint or make creative things with [^Target child's name]		M = 4.2, SD = 1.1.3
		See also Wolf, Francot, Broekhuizen, Leseman & Anders (2018) for information on scale construction and measurement invariance of these scales.	Cronbach's α = .42
	2. demonstrate to [^Target child's name] practical skills, like how to cook, sew, repair things or do carpentry		
	1. every day, 2. several times a week, 3. once or twice a week, 4. once or twice a month, 5. less often, 6. (almost) never)		
Frequency of storytelling activities	How often does an adult in the home…		Scale mean
	1. tell made-up stories to [^Target child's name]		Range 1-6
	2. tell stories of the family's country of origin to [^Target child's name]		M = 3.0, SD = 1.3
			Cronbach's α = .57

3. tell stories with moral or religious content to
   [^Target child's name]

1. every day, 2. several times a week, 3. once or twice
a week, 4. once or twice a month, 5. less often, 6.
(almost) never)

A1.1.2. *Descriptive statistics per group and per country*

	Romani			Turkish			Maghrebian		
	Czech Republic	Greece	Portugal	England	Germany	Netherlands	France	Italy	Netherlands
N	117	92	123	117	134	115	137	142	144
Employment status in %									
Unemployed	49.6	34.1	93.5	15.4	12.0	19.1	16.4	9.3	31.5
One earner	42.7	58.2	5.7	56.4	51.9	49.6	49.3	75.0	49.7
Dual earner	7.7	7.7	0.8	28.2	36.1	31.3	34.3	15.7	18.9
Employment status of mother in %									
Employed	10.6	13.3	0.8	32.5	43.9	33.0	53.4	19.3	22.9
Material deprivation	5.95 (3.21)	7.78 (4.33)	5.95 (2.55)	1.81 (2.63)	1.09 (1.50)	1.33 (2.03)	2.05 (2.11)	4.05 (2.47)	2.41 (2.27)
Educational background in %									
Low	67.2	80.2	77.6	32.5	15.0	20.0	39.8	45.4	31.3
Medium	29.3	17.6	22.4	26.5	41.4	39.1	32.3	37.6	44.4
High	3.4	2.2	0	41.0	43.6	40.9	27.8	17.0	24.3
Mothers Educational level in %									

Low	74.5	84.3	86.1	36.3	29.5	26.1	54.9	58.2	43.8
Medium	23.6	14.6	13.9	21.6	37.9	40.9	25.6	31.2	43.1
High	1.8	1.1	0	42.2	32.6	33.0	19.5	10.6	13.2
Fathers Educational level in %									
Low	73.9	88.2	80.0	6.7	17.8	34.8	37.5	58.3	37.0
Medium	22.7	9.2	20.0	60.0	50.0	33.7	33.0	31.5	38.9
High	3.4	2.6	0	33.3	32.2	31.5	29.5	10.2	24.1
Migration generation in %									
1. generation	9.5	-	2.5	90.5	51,5	45.2	28.1	96.5	56.6
1.5. generation	3.4	-	0.8	4.3	4.5	4.3	1.5	2.8	15.4
2. generation	17.2	-	-	4.3	43.9	50.4	65.9	0.7	28.0
2.5. generation	18.1	1.1	1.7	0.9	-	-	4.4	-	-
No immigrant background	51.7	98,9	95,0	-	-	-	-	-	-
family status in %									
single parent	25.0	15.2	10.6	17.2	9.0	13.0	30.7	2.8	12.5
with partner, but not father/mother	13.8	1.1	1.6	0	0.7	0	2.2	0.7	0
with father/mother	61.2	83.7	87.8	82.8	90.3	87.0	67.2	96.5	87.5

parental well-being	3.26	3.64	4.11	4.03	3.81	3.98	3.87	3.54	4.07
	(1.36)	(1.42)	(1.24)	(1.07)	(1.04)	(1.05)	(1.01)	(1.16)	(0.92)
life satisfaction in the country	4.28	4.32	4.88	4.44	3.98	4.11	4.15	3.79	4.43
	(0.90)	(0.85)	(0.32)	(0.79)	(1.04)	(0.88)	(0.75)	(1.13)	(0.87)
Educational Aspirations	2.27	3.58	3.33	4.64	4.31	4.43	4.46	4.54	4.61
	(1.44)	(1.16)	(1.59)	(.69)	(.97)	(.81)	(.96)	(.88)	(.58)
parental self-efficacy	4.62	4.67	4.91	4.79	4.65	4.75	4.15	4.60	4.72
	(0.54)	(0.43)	(0.23)	(0.40)	(0.48)	(0.35)	(0.60)	(0.54)	(0.46)
Perceived neighbourhood quality	2.62	2.41	2.57	2.68	2.50	2.48	2.52	2.59	2.53
	(0.57)	(0.43)	(0.55)	(0.52)	(0.59)	(0.48)	(0.37)	(0.47)	(0.50)
diversity in neighbourhood	2.57	2.26	3.16	3.74	3.35	2.63	2.26	3.61	2.40
	(1.32)	(1.26)	(1.23)	(1.09)	(1.11)	(1.20)	(0.62)	(1.05)	(1.13)
intergroup interaction	2.94	2.66	3.41	2.25	2.36	2.37	2.99	2.99	2.33
	(1.11)	(1.21)	(0.97)	(1.09)	(1.12)	(1.09)	(0.70)	(0.88)	(1.05)
Perceived social support	3.10	2.56	3.74	3.45	3.46	3.48	2.47	2.53	3.41
	(0.73)	(1.09)	(0.44)	(0.77)	(0.68)	(0.61)	(0.68)	(0.78)	(0.64)
usage of professional support	.97	.28	1.13	.58	.60	.81	.25	.72	.81
	(1.61)	(.87)	(1.30)	(.91)	(1.33)	(1.31)	(.82)	(1.02)	(1.37)

Conversation activities	4.85	3.99	4.63	5.13	5.23	5.37	4.52	3.50	5.03
	(1.30)	(1.87)	(0.90)	(0.85)	(0.82)	(0.65)	(0.64)	(1.29)	(0.80)
Reading activities	3.69	3.05	3.15	5.11	4.65	4.51	3.99	2.96	4.53
	(1.58)	(1.78)	(1.41)	(1.03)	(1.27)	(1.03)	(1.05)	(1.38)	(1.14)
Mathematical activities	3.73	3.17	3.42	4.64	4.48	4.64	2.96	2.88	4.36
	(1.26)	(1.74)	(1.29)	(1.04)	(1.00)	(0.90)	(1.10)	(1.36)	(1.15)
Storytelling activities	2.75	3.46	2.93	2.91	3.18	3.38	2.43	3.12	3.56
	(1.21)	(1.75)	(1.28)	(1.36)	(1.10)	(1.09)	(1.29)	(1.26)	(1.14)
Practical/creative activities	4.38	3.05	3.92	4.33	4.42	4.42	3.74	3.15	4.24
	(1.37)	(1.60)	(1.33)	(1.08)	(1.02)	(1.06)	(.078)	(1.42)	(1.10)

	Low SES						
	Czech Republic	**England**	**Germany**	**Greece**	**Italy**	**Poland**	**Portugal**
N	123	92	90	81	99	109	117
Employment status in %							
Unemployed	35.0	48.9	21.3	21.0	4.0	22.9	68.4
One earner	48.8	36.7	33.7	40.7	31.3	46.8	24.8
Dual earner	16.3	14.4	44.9	38.3	64.6	30.3	6.8
Employment status of mother in %							
Employed	38.0	30.0	58.1	44.4	75.5	44.0	18.8
Material deprivation	4.86	3.09	2.78	3.88	1.95	3.12	6.48
	(3.68)	(2.26)	(2.67)	(3.06)	(2.33)	(2.22)	(2.77)
Educational background in %							
Low	30.9	36.5	10.1	9.9	37.8	21.1	48.7
Medium	53.7	41.2	49.4	53.1	44.9	40.4	51.3
High	15.4	22.4	40.4	37.0	17.3	38.5	0
Mothers Educational level in %							
Low	47.9	36.6	14.0	11.1	50.5	26.6	61.2
Medium	40.5	40.2	52.3	56.8	46.4	37.6	38.8

High	11.6	23.2	33.7	32.1	3.1	35.8	0
Fathers Educational level in %							
Low	26.1	33.3	11.1	13.4	51.9	18.8	64.5
Medium	60.9	66.7	47.6	62.7	28.4	43.5	35.5
High	13.0	0	41.3	23.9	19.8	37.7	0
family status in %							
single parent	43.9	54.9	26.7	16.0	11.2	31.8	41.4
with partner, but not father/mother	8.9	3.3	10.0	1.2	4.1	5.6	4.3
with father/mother	47.2	41.8%	63.3	82.7	84.7	62.6	54.3
parental well-being	3.04	3.87	3.45	3.99	3.43	3.39	3.64
	(1.17)	(1.06)	(1.03)	(0.92)	(1.04)	(1.03)	(1.24)
life satisfaction in the country	4.11	4.69	4.27	4.22	4.07	4.44	4.76
	(0.95)	(0.66)	(0.79)	(0.93)	(0.95)	(0.75)	(0.61)
Educational Aspirations	2.76	3.77	3.33	4.43	4.14	4.67	3.58
	(1.63)	(1.25)	(1.35)	(.74)	(1.08)	(.79)	(1.29)
parental self-efficacy	4.29	4.70	4.27	4.52	3.93	4.55	4.87
	(0.68)	(0.46)	(0.46)	(0.45)	(0.68)	(0.43)	(0.26)
Perceived neighbourhood quality	2.56	2.40	2.34	2.52	2.38	2.48	2.58
	(0.55)	(0.57)	(0.48)	(0.52)	(0.47)	(0.50)	(0.49)

diversity in neighbourhood	2.28	2.56	2.52	1.62	2.76	1.10	1.75
	(1.22)	(1.04)	(1.08)	(0.97)	(1.01)	(0.30)	(0.97)
intergroup interaction	2.74	2.70	2.58	1.80	2.79	1.78	1.97
	(1.17)	(1.12)	(1.13)	(1.07)	(0.98)	(0.91)	(1.18)
Perceived social support	3.16	3.60	3.60	3.64	3.26	3.36	3.54
	(0.72)	(0.56)	(0.49)	(0.44)	(0.65)	(0.66)	(0.62)
usage of professional support	1.13	1.32	1.43	.14	1.01	1.93	1.13
	(1.50)	(1.55)	(1.67)	(.47)	(1.45)	(1.82)	(1.32)
Conversation activities	5.01	5.39	5.33	5.25	5.02	5.05	4.78
	(1.26)	(0.79)	(0.66)	(0.66)	(0.82)	(0.98)	(0.85)
Reading activities	3.99	4.86	4.98	4.39	4.38	4.76	3.49
	(1.52)	(1.23)	(1.09)	(1.29)	(1.04)	(1.31)	(1.39)
Mathematical activities	3.89	4.69	4.25	4.12	3.85	4.31	3.89
	(1.28)	(0.91)	(0.90)	(1.13)	(1.19)	(1.06)	(1.13)
Storytelling activities	2.70	2.79	2.77	3.59	3.14	2.88	2.58
	(1.16)	(1.14)	(1.11)	(1.12)	(1.16)	(1.18)	(1.02)
Practical/creative activities	4.76	4.29	4.76	4.56	4.55	4.53	4.53
	(1.11)	(1.11)	(.87)	(1.03)	(1.00)	(1.12)	(1.25)

Table A1.2.1 *Statistically significant effects of ordinal regressions with one predictor variable and each one of the other predictors on the educational level mothers aspired their child to complete*

Group of variables	Variable	p-value
Child Characteristic	Country	0.000**
	Age	0.196
	Gender	0.008*
Family Structure	Children in the family	0.000**
	Material Deprivation	0.004*
	Educational level of participant mothers (ISCED based)	0.217
	Mothers' age of leaving the school	0.000**
	Family employment status	0.515
	Mother's working hours	0.084
Child ECEC history / School	ECEC attendance: Centre-based ECEC < 3 years]	0.099
	ECE attendance: Centre-based ECEC between 3 and 5 years	0.603
	% non-Roma in school	0.001*
	Child at statutory school age to attend a reception classroom	0.297
	Child currently attending primary school	0.736
	Has your child attended primary school (including reception) in the past years?	0.262
	How many years has your child been attending primary school (including reception)?	0.200
Family - school relationship	Perceived discrimination *by other parents* because of their ethnic-cultural background in their child's (pre-) school	0.038*
	Perceived discrimination by *teachers* because of their ethnic-cultural background in their child's (pre-)school	0.390
	Parent-teacher relationship	0.000**
	Roma mothers' interaction with non-Roma people at the preschool/school of their child.	0.000**
	Roma mothers' interaction with non-Roma people at the preschool/school of their child.	0.000**
Neighbourhood	Perceived neighbourhood quality	0.286

	Perceived discrimination by people because of their ethnic-cultural background in their neighbourhood	0.501

Table A1.2.2. *Statistically significant effects of ordinal regressions with two independent variables and each one of the other predictors on the educational level mothers aspired their child to complete*

Group of variables	Variable	p-value
Child Characteristic	Country	
	Age	0.254
	Gender	0.128
Family Structure	Children in the family	0.000**
	Material Deprivation	0.000**
	Educational level of participant mothers (ISCED based)	0.020*
	Mothers' age of leaving the school	0.033*
	Family employment status	0.039*
	Mother's working hours	0.298
Child ECEC history / School	ECEC attendance: Centre-based ECEC < 3 years]	0.040*
	ECEC attendance: Centre-based ECEC between 3 and 5 years	0.399
	% non-Roma in school	0.314
	Child at statutory school age to attend a reception classroom?	0.271
	Child currently attending primary school	0.790
	Child attended primary school (including reception) in the past years?	
	How many years has your child been attending primary school (including reception)?	0.741
Family - school relationship	Perceived discrimination *by other parents* because of their ethnic-cultural background in their child's (pre-)school	0.032*
	Perceived discrimination by *teachers* because of their ethnic-cultural background in their child's (pre-)school	0.318
	Parent-teacher relationship	0.004*
	Roma mothers' interaction with non-Roma people at the preschool/school of their child.	0.002*
	Roma mothers' interaction with non-Roma people at the preschool/school of their child.	0.069
Neighbourhood	Perceived neighbourhood quality	0.801

	Perceived discrimination by people because of their ethnic-cultural background in their neighbourhood	0.883

Table A1.2.3. *Statistically significant effects of ordinal regressions with three independent variables and each one of the other predictors on the educational level mothers aspired their child to complete*

Group of variables	Variable	p-value
Child Characteristic	Country	-
	Age	0.326
	Gender	0.157
Family Structure	Children in the family	-
	Material Deprivation	0.000**
	Educational level of participant mothers (ISCED based)	0.107
	Mothers' age of leaving the school	0.103
	Family employment status	0.053
	Mother's working hours	0.239
Child ECEC history / School	ECEC attendance: Centre-based ECEC < 3 years]	0.096
	ECEC attendance: Centre-based ECEC between 3 and 5 years	0.483
	% non-Roma in school	0.480
	Child at statutory school age to attend a reception classroom	0.339
	Child currently attending primary school	0.465
	Child attended primary school in the past years	
	Years child has been attending primary school (including reception)?	0.493
Family - school relationship	Perceived discrimination *by other parents* because of their ethnic-cultural background in their child's (pre-)school	0.070
	Perceived discrimination by *teachers* because of their ethnic-cultural background in their child's (pre-)school	0.495
	Parent-teacher relationship	0.024*
	Roma mothers' interaction with non-Roma people at the preschool/school of their child.	0.008*
	Roma mothers' interaction with non-Roma people at the preschool/school of their child.	0.143
Neighbourhood	Perceived neighbourhood quality	0.707

	Perceived discrimination by people because of their ethnic-cultural background in their neighbourhood	0.910

Table A.1.2.4. *Statistically significant effects of ordinal regressions with four independent variables and each one of the other predictors on the educational level mothers aspired their child to complete*

Group of variables	Variable	p-value
Child Characteristic	Country	
	Age	0.406
	Gender	0.174
Family Structure	Children in the family	
	Material Deprivation	
	Educational level of participant mothers (ISCED based)	0.300
	Mothers' age of leaving the school	0.256
	Family employment status	0.555
	Mother's working hours	0.218
Child ECEC history / School	ECEC attendance: Centre-based ECEC < 3 years]	0.095
	ECEC attendance: Centre-based ECEC between 3 and 5 years	0.655
	% non-Roma in school	0.550
	Child at statutory school age to attend a reception classroom	0.433
	Child currently attending primary school	0.375
	Child attended primary school (including reception) in the past years	
	Years child has been attending primary school (including reception)	0.377
Family - school relationship	Perceived discrimination *by other parents* because of their ethnic-cultural background in their child's (pre-)school	0.145
	Perceived discrimination by *teachers* because of their ethnic-cultural background in their child's (pre-)school	0.823
	Parent-teacher relationship	0.122
	Roma mothers' interaction with non-Roma people at the preschool/school of their child.	0.033*
	Roma mothers' interaction with non-Roma people at the preschool/school of their child.	0.292

Neighbourhood	Perceived neighbourhood quality	0.260
	Perceived discrimination by people because of their ethnic-cultural background in their neighbourhood	0.688

ISOTIS

INCLUSIVE EDUCATION AND SOCIAL SUPPORT TO TACKLE INEQUALITIES IN SOCIETY