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Multigenerational Postmigratory Psychological Adaptation: Exploring the Case of Migrant Families in Sant Roc

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Multigenerational Postmigratory Psychological Adaptation: Exploring the Case of Migrant Families in Sant Roc

Doctoral Thesis

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Dedication

*To all the kids who had to make
a home somewhere strange and new*

Acknowledgements

I'd like to thank…

Quisiera agradecer…

Moriah, who never let me stop believing in myself.

Franky, love you, bro.

Becca, who always saw the best in me.

Para Jess y Josué, felicitaciones en el día de su boda. Les deseo lo mejor en su vida juntos.

Allyson and Marc, the best D&D group, the source of my biggest refreshment and fun.

A mis papás que me apoyaron en todo sentido.

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descanses en paz. Jazz, who always looks at me like I'm the greatest person on earth.

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A la Fundación Ateneu, a Pilar, y a todos los voluntarios que le dieron la bienvenida al estudio y

a mí, que compartieron conmigo lo que hacen todos los días por la gente de Sant Roc.

Y por encima de todo, a los participantes del estudio por compartir sus historias conmigo…

About Me

       I come from a Colombian diplomatic family, my experience with migration started before I was even born. I was born abroad, with Colombian papers. I was introduced to my country of origin when I was a few months old, and returned to live then when I was two years old. Over the years my family moved abroad and then back to Colombia multiple times.

       Due to these patterns and learning multiple languages, I always connected more with other migrant and third-culture children. My life was filled with multiculturality growing up, during which time I also saw migration become more common. When I was younger being a migrant felt strange and unique. Now thirty years it seems a more average experience. The numbers reflect this anecdotal sentiment.

       Living in Colombia you see the effects of the political situation in Venezuela every day, as you encounter migrants searching for a better quality of life. Surrounded by these experiences it was only natural for me to desire to further understand the impact of migration, for myself and for others. The human experience has always been my biggest question, which is why I chose to study psychology, but my personal experience and filter through which I see the world of migration is what prompted this particular study.

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Summary

Title: Multigenerational Postmigratory Psychological Adaptation: Exploring the Case of Migrant Families in Sant Roc

Background: Due to the increased migratory waves entering Spain from Morocco, Pakistan, China, and Latin America (Finotelli & Rinken, 2023), it is all the more important to understand the process of adaptation and integration into the local culture, through understanding migrants' experiences of the practical and emotional details of the complex process of arrival, identifying the supports that contribute to their transition and their mental health (Ryan et al., 2008) throughout the process, specifically for children growing up in an environment with multiple risk factors (Belhadj et al., 2015).

Objectives: Describe the emotional experience of migrant parents and children under the different protective and risk factors in their current environments.

Place of study: Fundación Ateneu Sant Roc in Badalona, Catalonia, Spain.

Methodology: The study is a qualitative exploration of the lived experiences of migrant families, searching for commonalities in the emotional responses after migrating and through the process of adaptation, specifically the impact on children's lives in their unique current neighborhood of Sant Roc. The face-to-face semi-structured interviews were designed to cover questions from demographic information, migration history, physical and mental health, education, experiences of racism, and family dynamics. Through connecting with the Fundación Ateneu Sant Roc, located in a neighborhood with a high percentage of migrant population, the interviews were conducted with families - a parent and a child from 17 families of multiple origins.

Results: The families in this sample migrated in stages, going through periods of family transnationality, settling into the neighborhood of Sant Roc, and connecting with the Ateneu Foundation due to needs arising from postmigration challenges such as childcare, academic support, and language support. Several risk factors were identified including low socioeconomic status, family transnationality, bullying, low parental education, academic difficulties, discrimination, language barriers, acculturation stress, unavailable parents, and conflict with parents. In contrast, the protective factors identified were teacher support, positive family relationships, access to government aid, women's freedoms, informal community informational channels, and friendships with peers. Additionally, the study identified migrants' experiences and challenges living through the COVID-19 pandemic.

Conclusions: Migrants move to Catalonia looking for economic opportunities, academic opportunities, and better futures for their daughters. Although they find these, they are not without obstacles and challenges, that can be eased to provide an easier adaptation practically and emotionally. Providing multifaceted external support – like the Ateneu Foundation - to the family will be highly important to the adaptation of migrant parents and children, who face an additional amount of risk factors, especially in areas with high crime rates and poverty like the neighborhoods where migrant families commonly settle in.

Keywords: migration, families, mental health, adaptation, emotional experience

Resumen

Título: Adaptación Psicológica Postmigratoria Multigeneracional: Explorando el Caso de las Familias Migrantes en Sant Roc

Antecedentes: Debido al aumento de las olas migratorias que entran en España procedentes de Marruecos, Pakistán, China y América Latina (Finotelli & Rinken, 2023), es aún más importante comprender el proceso de adaptación e integración en la cultura local, a través un estudio de las experiencias de los migrantes sobre los detalles prácticos y emocionales del complejo proceso de llegada, identificando los apoyos que contribuyen a su transición y su salud mental (Ryan et al., 2008) a lo largo del proceso, específicamente para los niños que crecen en un entorno con múltiples factores de riesgo (Belhadj et al., 2015).

Objetivos: Describir la experiencia emocional de padres e hijos migrantes bajo los diferentes factores protectores y de riesgo en sus entornos actuales.

Ámbito de estudio: Fundación Ateneu Sant Roc en Badalona, Cataluña, España.

Metodología: El estudio es una exploración cualitativa de las experiencias de las familias migrantes, buscando puntos en común en las respuestas emocionales después de emigrar y a través del proceso de adaptación, específicamente el impacto en la vida de los niños en su actual y único barrio de Sant Roc. Las entrevistas cara a cara semiestructuradas se diseñaron para cubrir cuestiones de información demográfica, historia migratoria, salud física y mental, educación, experiencias de racismo y dinámica familiar. A través de la conexión con la Fundación Ateneu Sant Roc, situada en un barrio con un alto porcentaje de población migrante, se realizaron las entrevistas a 17 familias de múltiples orígenes.

Resultados: Las familias de esta muestra emigraron por etapas, pasando por periodos de transnacionalidad familiar, asentándose en el barrio de Sant Roc, y conectando con la Fundación Ateneu debido a necesidades derivadas de retos postmigratorios como el cuidado de los hijos, apoyo académico y apoyo lingüístico. Se identificaron varios factores de riesgo, como el bajo nivel socioeconómico, la transnacionalidad familiar, el acoso escolar, el bajo nivel educativo de los padres, las dificultades académicas, la discriminación, las barreras lingüísticas, el estrés de la aculturación, la falta de disponibilidad de los padres y los conflictos con los padres. Por el contrario, los factores de protección identificados fueron el apoyo de los profesores, las relaciones familiares positivas, el acceso a ayudas públicas, las libertades de las mujeres, los canales informales de información de la comunidad y las amistades con compañeros. Además, el estudio identificó las experiencias y los retos de los inmigrantes que vivieron la pandemia COVID-19.

Conclusiones: Los migrantes se trasladan a Cataluña en busca de oportunidades económicas, oportunidades académicas y un futuro mejor para sus hijas. Aunque las encuentran, no están exentas de obstáculos y retos, que se pueden suavizar para facilitar una adaptación práctica y emocional. Proporcionar un apoyo externo multifacético, como el de la Fundación Ateneu, a la familia será de gran importancia para la adaptación de los padres e hijos migrantes, que se enfrentan a una cantidad adicional de factores de riesgo, especialmente en zonas con altos índices de delincuencia y pobreza como los barrios en los que comúnmente se asientan las familias migrantes.

Palabras clave: migración, familias, salud mental, adaptación, experiencia emocional

Resum

Títol: Adaptació Psicològica Postmigratòria Multigeneracional: Explorant el Cas de les Famílies Migrants a Sant Roc

Antecedents: A causa de l'augment de les onades migratòries que entren a Espanya procedents del Marroc, Pakistan, Xina i Amèrica Llatina (Finotelli & Rinken, 2023), és encara més important comprendre el procés d'adaptació i integració a la cultura local, mitjançant un estudi de les experiències dels migrants sobre els detalls pràctics i emocionals del complex procés d'arribada, identificant els suports que contribueixen a la seva transició i salut mental (Ryan et al., 2008) al llarg del procés, específicament per als nens que creixen en un entorn amb múltiples factors de risc (Belhadj et al., 2015).

Objectius: Descriure l'experiència emocional de pares i fills migrants sota els diferents factors protectors i de risc als seus entorns actuals.

Àmbit destudi: Fundació Ateneu Sant Roc a Badalona, Catalunya, Espanya.

Metodologia: L'estudi és una exploració qualitativa de les experiències de les famílies migrants, buscant punts en comú en les respostes emocionals després d'emigrar i mitjançant el procés d'adaptació, específicament l'impacte en la vida dels nens al seu barri actual i únic Sant Roc. Les entrevistes de semiestructurades cara a cara es van dissenyar per recollir informació demogràfica, de la història migratòria, la salut física i mental, l'educació, experiències de racisme i dinàmica familiar. Amb l'ajut de la Fundació Ateneu Sant Roc, situada a un barri amb un alt percentatge de població migrant, es van realitzar les entrevistes a 17 famílies de múltiples orígens.

Resultats: Les famílies d'aquesta mostra van emigrar per etapes, passant per períodes de transnacionalitat familiar, assentant-se al barri de Sant Roc, i connectant amb la Fundació Ateneu per cobrir necessitats derivades de reptes postmigratoris com la cura dels fills, el suport acadèmic i lingüístic. Es van identificar diversos factors de risc, com ara el baix nivell socioeconòmic, la transnacionalitat familiar, l'assetjament escolar, el baix nivell educatiu dels pares, les dificultats acadèmiques, la discriminació, les barreres lingüístiques, l'estrès de l'aculturació, la manca de disponibilitat dels pares i els conflictes amb ells. Per contra, els factors de protecció identificats van ser el suport dels professors, les relacions familiars positives, l'accés als ajuts públics, les llibertats de les dones, els canals informals d'informació de la comunitat i les amistats amb companys. A més, l'estudi va identificar les experiències i reptes dels immigrants que van viure la pandèmia COVID-19.

Conclusions: Els migrants es traslladen a Catalunya buscant oportunitats econòmiques, acadèmiques i un futur millor per a les seves filles. Tot i que les troben, no estan exemptes d'obstacles i reptes, que es poden suavitzar per facilitar-ne una adaptació pràctica i emocional. Proporcionar un suport extern multifacètic, com el de la Fundació Ateneu, a la família serà de gran importància per a l'adaptació dels pares i els fills migrants, que s'enfronten a una quantitat addicional de factors de risc, especialment en zones amb alts índexs de delinqüència i pobresa com els barris on comunament s'assenten les famílies migrants.

Paraules clau: migració, famílies, salut mental, adaptació, experiència emocional

1. **Introduction**

1.1 Context

The study of the psychological effects of migration is the study of the future of humanity. Due to geopolitical conflict, economic instability, and climate change, at one point or another, most humans will have to relocate at some time in history. How we arrive and receive each other will define the peace and prosperity we can achieve together.

The migrant's adaptation process is far from utopian as the countries they arrive in, although often called more developed, are not perfect places with space to receive them, and the cultural narratives about their place in society often make it harder. The migrant's perspective of their country of destination will also play a role.

This research aims to identify how migrants experience their settling-in process, and what sources of stress and support play roles in how they experience postmigration. The subjects and their context are continuously evolving, with the variables at play changing, which is why research must be updated in step to reflect the realities of migration in this time, this economic context, these populations, this legal framework, and this culture.

This section will introduce the studies regarding the current context of migration, the problem this dissertation aims to answer, and the significance of identifying the emotional experience of migrating to one of Catalonia's popular initial settling post-arrival town of Sant Roc.

1.2 Research Problem

Migration mental health research has focused primarily on either adult migrants or child migrants – particularly unaccompanied children - but not both together, despite continued research

into children's mental health that identified their adaptation outcomes highly depend on their parents' mental health (Beiser et al., 2015). "Compared with other EU countries, Spain stands out for its lack of statistical data on family-related migration and for the scarcity of investigations that go beyond analysis of regulations regarding family reunion" (Gil Araujo & Pedone, 2013, p.341). This study focuses on both generations within the family because children's mental wellbeing is so closely tied to their families' characteristics and their parents' wellbeing in close connection with their experience of migration.

The geographic area this study focused on was an important element to highlight because Catalonia - and Barcelona specifically is a popular entry point into Spain and Europe in general (Østergaard-Nielsen, 2009). The neighborhood where many migrants initially settle, despite its high crime rates (IERMB, 2017), marks their adaptation process. Because the neighborhood has a history of being a primarily migrant area with significant struggles with poverty, violence, and absenteeism, there have been resources that emerged to support the needs of the community, such as the Ateneu Foundation. This dissertation will explore the experiences of families who settled in Sant Roc and found support in the Ateneu for academic challenges for their children, language barriers for mothers, and childcare for the families.

1.3 Questions & Objectives

Given the lack of research regarding family migration, this dissertation will focus on families migrating together, specifically children migrating within said families. The questions guiding the study are the following:

1. What is the current emotional and psychological experience of migrant families in Sant Roc?

2. What are the protective and risk factors for children of migrant families, and in particular the role of the Fundació Ateneu Sant Roc?

3. How does a family's migration trajectory impact a child's psychological and emotional health?

These questions formulated some sub-questions that were kept in mind during the interviews:

- What internal family characteristics help children with their emotional experience?

- How do migrant children feel at home in their current environment?

- How does the family serve as a protective factor to a child's emotional experience in the face of the risk factor of being a migrant?

- How does a migrant child feel about their family history as migrants?

- How do migrant families process their migration experiences together?

- How does migrating as a family unit affect the emotional experience of migration?

- Do migrant children struggle with their mental health?

- What environmental factors help children process their emotions?

- When parents are unable to help their children with their emotional experience what resources can they fall back on?

- How does having the Ateneu Sant Roc as a central point for multiple types of aid help migrant families?

- Are bullying due to cultural differences and racism risk factors for migrant children - even in a primarily migrant neighborhood?

- What are the primary forms of practical and emotional aid for migrants already identified and provided by the Ateneu Sant Roc?

The objectives were drafted at the beginning of the development of study II and underwent some adjustments during the process and as emerging themes required special attention, a procedure common in using a qualitative approach (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2018). The initial goal was to identify mental health issues impacting migrant families, particularly depression in children. The psychological focus shifted from evaluating a mental health perspective to a wider comprehension of the total emotional experience, considering the cultural differences in the perceptions around mental health, language barriers, the age of the children in the sample, and findings in other research encountered in a review of the literature (Study I) that suggested secondary characteristics of migration can incur trauma although migration itself was not inherently traumatic (Salazar et al., 2023), and avoiding a pathologizing perspective of the migration experience but rather allowing interviewees to explore both positive and negative aspects of their postmigration life.

Objectives were also adapted from initial considerations of studying just the family environment to including other spaces of support or stress in children's lives, such as schools, the neighborhood, and the Fundació Ateneu Sant Roc. Due to the mode of access to the sample and the shared characteristics of participants through the connection made with the foundation, specific wider communities encompassing or neighboring the family emerged. As the data collection progressed, it became more evident that the characteristically migrant neighborhood of Sant Roc, the public schools that all the children attended, and the foundation itself were important and essential communities in the families' lives, and even played important roles in the children's lives where issues due to migratory factors impeded the parents from performing certain protective roles for their children. Therefore, the objectives were slightly adjusted to the following.

General objective

Describe the emotional experience of migrant parents and children under the different protective and risk factors in their current environments.

Specific objectives

- Describe the emotional and psychological experience of migrant families in Sant Roc.
- Identify the characteristics of the protective and risk factors in migrant families' environment, including the role of the Fundació Ateneu Sant Roc.
- Explore how a family's immigration history and migrant identity impacts children's emotional experience.

1.4 Justification and Significance

This dissertation will contribute to the body of knowledge about how migration impacts a family, and specifically a child, in order to provide insight as to how to best support the child migrating accompanied by their parents, parents, siblings, or extended family members. Specifically, the role open centers like the Ateneu Foundation can play in easing and supporting the adaptation process, amid a complex set of factors that contribute to making migration a difficult experience for anyone, but particularly children (Wang et al., 2015).

Previous research shows a high prevalence of negative effects on people who undergo a migration, however, migration itself does not seem to be the cause, rather the circumstances around it such as policies, culture, difficult migration routes, racism, poverty, and other elements that can be improved through targeted support (Buchanan et al., 2018). More research is required to

understand and pinpoint how to make migration easier as it becomes necessary for more people. The purpose of this study is to describe how members of migrant families in a majority migrant neighborhood in Sant Roc feel about their migration experience, how they believe it impacts them, where they have found support, and the state of their emotional experience in their new settlement. In identifying, in their own words, what their protective and risk factors were to wellbeing, receiving systems may be able to respond and meet needs more effectively.

1.5 Structure of Dissertation

This dissertation will be divided into two studies conducted regarding the mental health of migrant children. The first was a scoping review of the studies conducted between the years 2015 and 2022 that examined migrant children's mental health, and associated psychological diagnoses from identified cognitive, behavioral, and emotional symptoms. From this study, the main themes emerging from this area of research were identified and cataloged into protective and risk factors to children's overall wellbeing, but particularly to their emotional and psychological health.

After completing the analysis of the results of the first study reviewing the current literature, a second study was designed, to speak to migrant families in Sant Roc, to further understand the elements of their environment that contribute to or affect their psychological wellbeing based on the themes identified in the first study. Families were interviewed, instead of just children, to understand the larger environment in which migrant children in Badalona live, as the relationship with their parents, the family dynamic, and the migrant parents' wellbeing were identified as some of the most significant factors to children's wellbeing. Motivation, agency, and premigratory trauma were significant contextualizing factors in children's postmigratory mental health outcomes. Thus, further research was conducted into how the characteristics of the families'

migration affect the migrant's mental health such as their origin, their method of journeying, their legal status, etc.

Current cross-cultural psychology responses focus on the resources available to migrants, economic and political circumstances as the primary protective factors while considering the premigratory trauma and postmigratory hassles as the main risk factors. Because little research has focused on the social resources' impact on migrants' postmigratory wellbeing, that was the focus of Study II, identifying their main spaces of community and how the relationships in migrant families' world impact their adaptation.

The interview guide for Study II was developed based on the theoretical framework in Chapter 2 that contextualizes the characteristics of migration and the current psychological understanding of its impact, and the results of Study I seen in Chapter 3.

Figure 1

Two Study Design
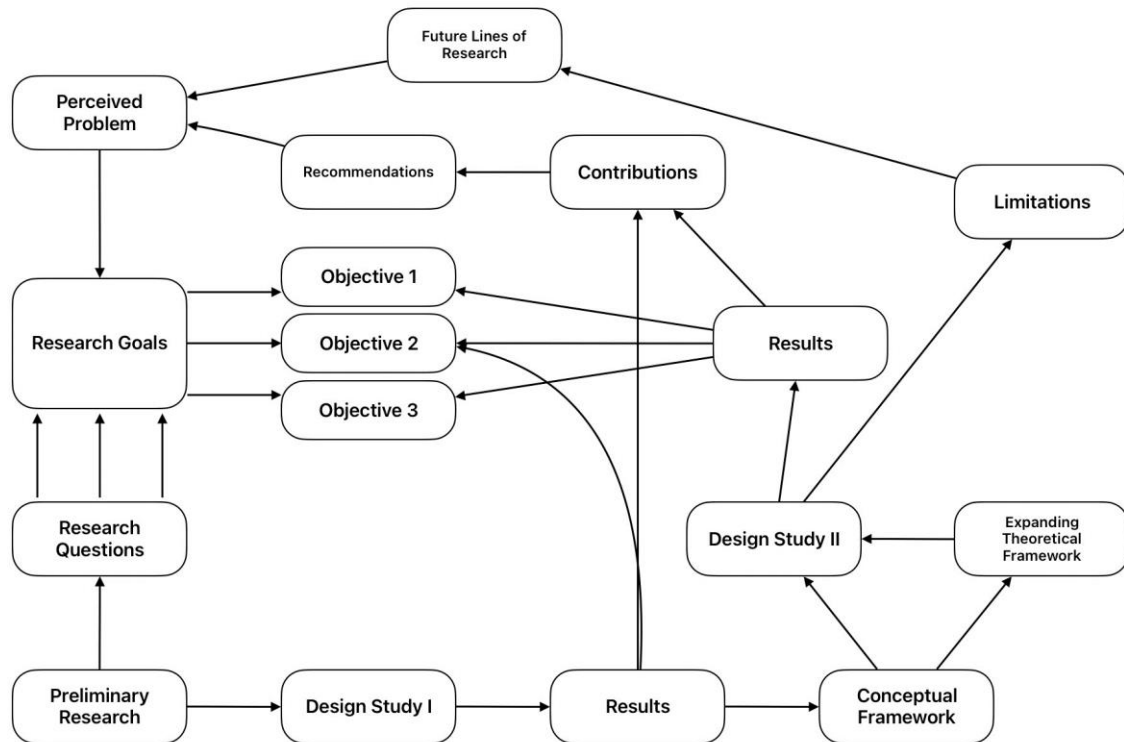
Then in Chapter 4 the details of the methods used to design and conduct the interviews are explained in the first section. The following section, Chapter 4.3 presents the results of the interviews of Study II are presented with the primary themes that emerged and the example quotes, which are then discussed in Chapter 4.4.

Finally, the conclusion of this dissertation can be found in Chapter 5, drawing the contributions of both studies and the recommendations of what these findings can contribute to the research and possibly to policy.

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1 Introduction

To answer the research questions established for this dissertation, a framework must be established regarding the current state of migration, the impact of current policies, studies into both adaptation and trauma, as well as the particular case of migration in Spain, to contextualize the characteristics surrounding the studies described in following sections and the state of current understanding and research on where migration and mental health unite.

Migration has evolved over the last century and significantly changes following and in line with historical trends, thus in order to understand the impact of present-day migration it must be examined under the context of present policies, conflicts, borders, economic crises, political instability, cultural attitudes to migrants, and climate change. With so many variables playing into the experience of migration, gathering the stories of people of different cultures, origins, ages, and genders undergoing a cross-cultural journey becomes increasingly relevant as each migratory journey reveals a particular experience. Identifying and defining said variables frame the following analysis, which is a unique set of variables that will be the sample chosen. The emotional impact of migration on families is a unique category of the intersection of different migrant ages in one system, going through different experiences while living together, traveling together, and supporting each other through one of the most significant events of their lives.

In this chapter, there will be a summary of the state of migration around the world in order to get the context of the current phenomenon, explaining motivators for migration and its consequences for different populations. Next, it will explore a framework of the present

understanding of the psychological impact of migration to assess the models through which it has been examined and the mental health symptoms associated with the consequences of migration. Finally, the case of migration in Spain will be surveyed.

The key subject-specific vocabulary used in the research on the topics described will be included in footnotes to clarify and standardize their use throughout the text. The definitions of these terms are those generally agreed upon in the wider research and policy regarding migration and were thus used accordingly in the scope of this study.

2.1.1 Global State of Migration

Assessing the state of migration at a global level requires putting together multiple measures and studies to understand how prevalent the process of relocation, rehoming, job transition, and cultural adaptation has become at present and its associated challenges. In 2020, there were 281 million international migrants, of which two-thirds were defined as labor migrants (IOM, 2022). Migration is a growing phenomenon that requires more attention and person-centered policy than is currently being given, particularly considering the impact climate change will have over the coming decades and centuries on the spaces that are currently populated but will soon become uninhabitable (Bittle, 2023). Climate refugees will increase in number, adding to the already large population of global refugees receiving poor support, and those would-be refugees who need to cross a border yet are not permitted to.

Additionally, the question of migrants' motivation arises as part of understanding the adaptation process, why they chose to leave their country of origin – or did not choose. Some migrated willingly, while others were forcefully displaced. Thus, labels such as *refugee* or *asylum-*

seeker create distinctions from *migrant* as if they were distinct journeys while many migrants may have been pushed to leave their homes without the legal status reflecting as such and would display similar mental health issues as refugees, in addition, these terms only have legal ramifications if the person crosses an international border. The refugee population has received particular attention and extensive research due to the increased trauma and symptomatology stemming thereof, requiring the most urgent psychological and medical interventions among the migrant population. This, however, does not mean that other types of migration journeys and migrants are not at risk as well. The full picture of the mental health crisis caused by migration does not always cross borders and is thus more difficult to count, but as of 2022, there were approximately 62.5 million internally displaced people around the world (UNHCR, 2023).

The UNHCR routinely reports record highs in migration around the world and predicts even higher numbers in the years to come. In 2015, the world hit a new record with 59.5 million forcibly displaced people. Then again in 2021, they reported 89.3 million globally, writing "the speed and scale of forced displacement is outpacing solutions" (UNHCR, 2022). Projections predicted as many as 100 million people to be forcibly displaced due to violence by 2022, however, the number was 108.4 million (UNHCR, 2023).

Figure 2

Global Migrations in Millions by Region
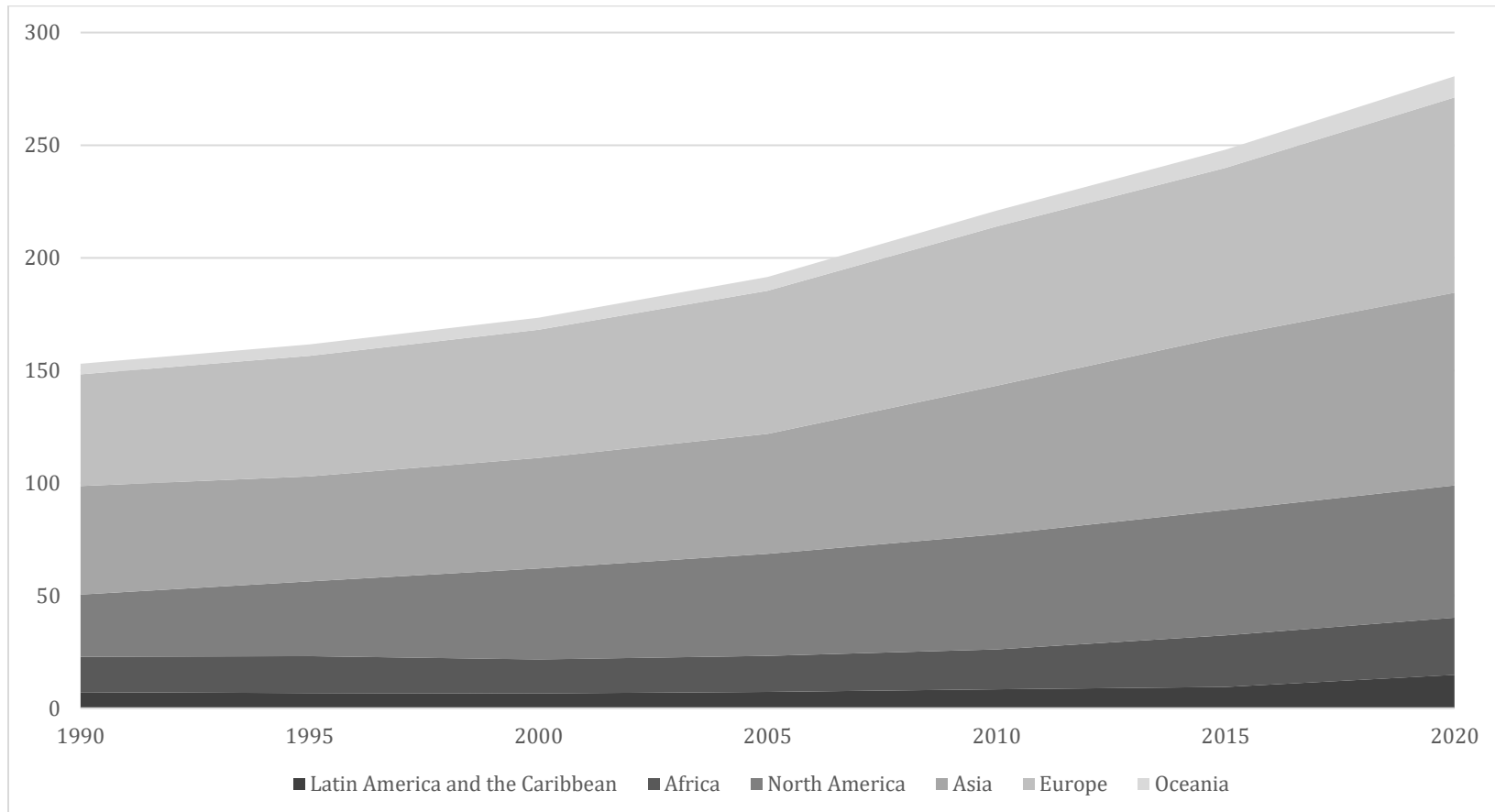
Note. Post-pandemic numbers on global migrations have yet to be published. The UN estimates migration globally slowed by 27% due to the COVID-19 pandemic. Adapted from UNDESA, 2023 and IOM, 2023 reports. Copyright 2023 by the United Nations and International Organization for Migration.

In addition, internal migration has to be added to said number to create a more complete picture of the number of people who have had to undergo the process of resettling into a new home, whether in a new city or country. Internal migrations include significant adaptations and cultural changes similar to international migrations, as often the transition from rural to urban living can be quite a stark change to acculturate to (Ye et al., 2016; Ying et al., 2019). Internal migrations are difficult to calculate though and obtaining an exact number comprehending all countries is currently impossible due to the accuracy and transparency of the numbers reported by or about certain countries.

One of the particularities of modern migration is the policies that have been put in place to control mobility and enforce borders, as opposed to prior to the 20th century, and any other time in history, borders have never been so impermeable. Migration and asylum policies have in recent decades become more hostile (Bhatia, 2020a). The process of migrating depends on many national policies but also on the interpretation and enforcement of said policies by functionaries, which can vary from official to official. Controls delegated to functionaries are referred to as "Street-level Bureaucracy", they have the power to define migrants' future, where migrants often do not have the legal power or economic resources to take action when policies are misapplied or when facing corruption (Alpes & Spire, 2014).

Complex bureaucratic processes can incur psychological wounds in the migration process itself through the application process, the processing times, the attitudes of paperwork processing officers, and the conditions in which migrants are held during the process of filing their paperwork. The COVID-19 Pandemic exacerbated state violence such as racism by allowing them to enforce harsh policies more aggressively. Particularly through the increasing trend of criminalizing aspects that were previously legal about the migration and asylum-seeking process, and the inclusion of

some actors in the migration process such as police which make the process threatening, while other actors that should be included such as health workers are usually left out (Bhatia, 2020b).

On a global level, migrants lost some of the few protections they had and had further hurdles added to their access to essential resources, yet they played an essential role in maintaining economies through multiple economic crises of the 21st century. People who applied for visas had no leverage to negotiate within their bureaucratic processes and the people who enact them according to their discretion often do not undergo any scrutiny or accountability. Visa applicants did not enjoy any protections like citizens of any country do, they were not protected under the umbrella of any citizenship rights. Visa processing officers are charged with protecting citizens and placing locals as a priority over foreigners (Alpes & Spire, 2014).

The pandemic affected migration in multiple ways[1], from mobility restrictions to affecting the labor market by reducing migrant worker availability, while also increasing demand for workers, for example, in the health sector, and increasing demand in the desire to emigrate from nations who were not managing the pandemic well (Anderson et al., 2021). Policy changes that were enacted during the pandemic, such as the requirements for entry, like vaccine passports and health checks, have been rolled back slowly, but others have not. It is unclear if the picture of migration after the pandemic will resemble its prior state or if it will be forever changed, but based on previous trends, migration evolves as the geopolitical landscape changes.

Restrictions on international travel during the pandemic impacted regular migratory flows and will thus present as an anomaly on future trend tracking and prediction charts. The OECD reported that migrations in 2020 decreased by 30% compared to previous years (Cuadrado & Montero, 2022).

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[1] When this dissertation began, the COVID-19 pandemic had not begun, thus as this is written the impacts of it have not yet fully been ascertained.

Increased mobility restrictions required an increased role of technology in the monitoring of migrants through facial recognition and fingerprinting, even undocumented migrants can be tracked and recognized through international shared databases collecting biometric data through surveillance technology at different points of entry and transportation migrants may go through. Many aspects of the migration journey have been dehumanizing by this stage, the added effect of technology removes the nuances of each migrant's story. Instead, computers and algorithms can be behind the decisions about the fates of people crossing borders. Many migrants are not adequately informed regarding the technology they are exposed to and do not have the option to consent or opt-out (Molnar, 2022).

> People on the move… are stuck in an ever-growing panopticon of technological experiments increasingly making their way into migration management. A whole host of actors and players operate in the development and deployment of migration control technologies, obscuring responsibility and liability, exacerbating racism and discrimination, and obfuscating meaningful mechanisms of redress. (Molnar, 2022, p.48)

Migrants experience certain unique struggles that will be described in the following section, of which many were exacerbated by the pandemic. Resources can be scarce for migrants due to different obstacles in access or policy, such as job opportunities and fair wages, healthcare, social services, education, access to living quarters, etc. In addition to the difficult access to essential resources and lack of support in navigating the process to access those resources, or even intentionally placed obstacles to keep them from enjoying said resources, many countries still excessively relied on migrant labor. When countries declared a state of emergency, including

closing borders and other mobility restrictions, hygiene and sanitary controls, and closing all commercial activities save those considered essential, such as agriculture and the food supply chain, many countries in Europe, such as particularly Italy and Spain, relied on migrant workers to continue feeding their populations despite the dangers to their health (Corrado & Palumbo, 2022).

2.2 Migration Causes and Motivations

Considering all types of migratory movements was important in order to obtain a panoramic picture of all the experiences, obstacles, and cultural distance issues children and parents could go through when migrating. Clarifying definitions around key terms and defining characteristics of the types of migrations seen around the world can be difficult due to the variety of presentations of this global phenomenon. Categorization and labeling definitions are important for comparing and contrasting the different impacts of different types of migration. For example, determining the premigratory factors included in an analysis of the impact of migration is crucial to a granular understanding of the postmigratory emotional response and adaptation process (Stuart & Nowosad, 2020).

The first set to consider is the diversity of characteristics of geographic movements, such as international (northward, southward, south to south, etc.)[2] or internal[3], which frame the types of

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[2] *South to North migration*: migratory flows from less developed countries (LDCs) towards more developed countries (MDCs) or more industrialized countries (Appleyard, 1991).
South to South migration: migratory flows between developing countries, often who share a border (De Lombaerde et al., 2014). Despite the acknowledgement that terms like "south" and "north" are problematic and inexact, as well as "developing" and "developed" to designate countries, it is still the most used vocabulary to describe the directions of these migratory flows (De Lombaerde et al., 2014).
[3] *Internal migration*: migratory movements within the borders of one state consisting in the redistribution of people within the national space (White & Lindstrom, 2005).

arrival experiences to their destination, such as the legal process (visas, border crossings, citizenship, access to government-funded resources), the cultural distance to the place of origin (process, ease, perceived discrimination, and speed of acculturation), language barriers, etc. However, for example, international migrations although clearly different from internal migrations, under certain authoritarian regimes can share similar fundamental characteristics to the migrant experience that require permission to move inside the country but may find themselves needing to relocate even without government permission[4].

A second important dimension is the person's motivation for choosing to migrate - the reason for leaving their home. This dimension speaks to what their hopes in migrating are, their future outlook, sense of self-efficacy, premigratory traumas, etc. Here, motivation was considered under two main umbrellas - economic and political. A third scenario is that of refugees and forcibly displaced people, where the individual had less of a choice in the matter and was forced to move against their will, such as fleeing political conflict or natural disaster. In parallel, the question of motivation does not apply directly to children, who are rarely consulted or included in the decision but are often moved by a parent or guardian without their consent or even understanding.

Campos & Lien (1995) argued that migratory flows[5] formed due to specific circumstances that motivated people to move away from uncomfortable situations in the search for better environments. Thus, in order to deal with unwanted migration, the host country had to adjust policies in response to these geopolitical circumstances, instead of imposing harsher laws that

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[4] The Hukou policy in China will be explained in a later section (2.2.1) which is an example of what is there described.

[5] *Migratory flow*: a dynamic measure of a high number of migrants leaving a country or area toward another country over the course of a specific duration. (Synonyms: migratory wave). (IOM, 2019). Although the UN avoids the use of the term "migrant wave" because it has been used by multiple media sources to fearmonger about migration, here the term "migratory waves" will be used because it captures the particular nature of migration in episodic flows in Spain, rather than a consistent ongoing migration corridor.

would close the migration corridor. This *push-pull theory* was considered a groundbreaking change in the way researchers proposed framing migration and how they proposed responding to it. The concept stood as the framework for understanding migrations for many years, explaining that the factors that *pushed* people to emigrate were poverty and economic instability. However, the theory had to be reworked as new factors emerged such as climate change. In addition, the theory never accounted correctly for the role of war and violence on migration (Campos & Lien, 1995).

The *pull* factor in the host country designated the better living conditions including better habitation, wages, and education (Campos & Lien, 1995). However, recent research has proven that examining a migrant's choice of destination country cannot be boiled down to a wage differential equation, but motivations are more complex taking into account cultural similarities, language, preexisting social groups, and perceived advantages aside from economic gain (Izquierdo et al., 2016). Each one of these *push-pull* factors will be examined in this section.

Distinctly, and lacking research due to its recent occurrence, a highly significant current issue affecting migration is the COVID-19 pandemic (Chakraborty & Maity, 2020). Other present issues include internal displacements in Syrian Aran Republic, Yemen, the Central African Republic, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and South Sudan, economic and political volatility in Venezuela and Afghanistan; and climate change-triggered mobility in China, the Philippines, Bangladesh, India, the United States, and Haiti (IOM, 2022). These are new mobility triggering issues – *push* factors - unseen before and thus updating the framing of our concepts of migration in which to contextualize the state of migration as it presents in our time.

When discussing *push-pull* factors, it is important to highlight that forced migration and self-motivated or voluntary migration are not always clearly differentiated, although *push* seems to highlight refugees as they are pushed out of their country and *pull* hints at voluntary migrations

seeking to improve their quality of life, many of the factors present in mixed situations or indirect variables. There can be a lot of overlap, especially for circumstances that slowly increase in discomfort to the population. For example, climate change indirectly contributes to forced migration through food or water shortages (Abel et al., 2019), thus being *pushed out* of one country and/or *pulled into* another country through an offer of essential resources or quality of-life opportunities. Research has previously found that *push* factors have a heavier impact on the decision to migrate than *pull* factors. For example, fearing food shortages due to climate change is more significant than the prospect of higher wages (Udahemuka & Pernice, 2010). Distinguishing the role of *push* factors as drivers to the desire to migrate or as necessities to migrate due to severe danger to personhood means it is difficult to distinguish a migrant from a refugee or a forcibly displaced person and put them in separate categories, although when crossing the border most migrants have to be classified under a specific term for the type of visa they are afforded or the reason they are turned away, legal classifications are not useful for academic research.

2.2.1 Poverty and Economic Volatility

For many migrants, migration is viewed as an investment to help lift them out of poverty, like paying for education, it is expected to yield dividends in the form of an increase in opportunity, wages, standard of living, and other conditions. Economic reasons for migrating are accompanied by an expectation of an overall betterment in the standard of living and self-perceived wellbeing (Melzer & Muffels, 2017).

Examining employment-motivated migration comprehends the main elements of wage differential, employment conditions, the cost of migrating, cultural sacrifices, overall cost

differences between countries (of origin and destination), the accumulated capital, and assessment of health opportunities. The most important factors affecting the migration flow of a country, for example, in Spain, incoming or outgoing, are unemployment rates, natural catastrophes, and war (Dustmann and Weiss, 2007). In this study, because the participants are migrants and not refugees or asylum-seekers, the focus will primarily be on the first factor, which will be discussed later in the section about labor migration (2.3.2 and the current state of migration in Spain in 2.5.).

The risks of the investment are different depending on the migration parameters and are understood better by some migrants than others. The postmigratory expectations that arise from premigratory calculations are then tested by the migrant's experience of structural integration (such as access to resources and work) and social inclusion (Paloma et al., 2020).

> For a risk neutral individual, migration occurs when the expected wage in the source country is less than that in the receiving country. A risk-averse individual migrates only when the difference in expected wages is large enough to overcome the possible increase in wage income risk. (Campos & Lien, 1995, p.25)

This view of migration, where the individual is highly logical and a mathematical calculator of risk tends to be seen among migration researchers as an overly simplistic look at human behavior (De Haas & Van Rooij, 2010). Accordingly, though, the data published by the Overseas Development Institute suggests for the most part, migrants are correct in assuming migrating will benefit them from an economic perspective. For example, workers who migrated to the United States have found their income increased 2.5-3 times compared to their earnings in their country of origin. Similarly, those who migrated to New Zealand earned 263% more income.

Specifically, Haitians who migrated temporarily or seasonally to work in the USA earned 1400% compared to what they earned in Haiti. Even south-to-south migrations have shown a clear increase in income by at least 60%. In addition, the benefits extend beyond the migrants to the host country. Multiple studies have found migrants add significant value to their country of destination's labor market (Hagen-Zanker et al., 2017).

However, popular cultural attitudes are not receptive to migrants entering the local economy. The idea of migrants "stealing local jobs" is a common line politicians use to encourage people to vote for anti-migrant policies and politicians.

> Global North-South relations are characterized by two contradictory processes. On the one hand, economic and trade policies aim at reducing barriers to transborder exchanges of goods and capital and, to a somewhat lesser extent, services. On the other hand, migration policies simultaneously aim at limiting flows and admitting only those with sufficient human and/or financial capital. (Vidal, 2011, p.122)

Countries develop policies in order to pick and choose which migrants permit to enter into their labor market, often reducing the entry to a certain ideal migrant while leaving those who need it the most out on the outside (De Haas et al., 2018). Conversely, data suggests locals can benefit from low-skilled labor migrants. Research points to migration encouraging locals to take on more skilled jobs while migrants work jobs that do not require specialization. In Denmark, for example, locals who specialized to work more complex jobs after being replaced by refugees found their earnings increased by at least 3% (Hagen-Zanker et al., 2017).

The poorest migrants and migrant families tend to engage in south-to-south international migrations and internal migrations because they cannot afford long distance mobility to reach the northern hemisphere or MDCs[6] (De Haan & Yaqub, 2010; Black et al., 2011).

Internal migrations tend to consist of rural-to-urban migrations. In fact, migration has been the largest factor impacting rural communities in recent decades, encouraging people to find work in stronger economies, depriving rural developing areas from essential workforce (De Haas & Van Rooij, 2010). Policies can have the unintended consequence of shifting where population gathers. As some industries become unsustainable internal migrations occur to search for a more profitable sector to work in. This does not apply only to LDCs[6]. In MDCs policies have had unintended consequences of triggering large rural to urban migrations, for which many MDCs then require seasonal labor migration to work in the agricultural sectors (White & Lindstrom, 2005).

A particular example of internal migrations in search of better economic opportunities worth highlighting as it involves a significant number of migrants is the rural-to-urban migration in China. Due to the high numbers of agricultural workers migrating into the cities, the Chinese government attempted to halt these migratory flows. The restrictions imposed (Hukou policy) did not have the intended effect of keeping people living in their areas of origin but produced a large number of illegal internal migration. A secondary effect of the measure was to create barriers for the poorest of the urban population to access important resources. Rural-born children had less access to quality education, social security, and health care after migrating to urban areas. Parents worked in unreported employment that underpaid them for their labor, often in dangerous and unregulated circumstances. The families lived in slums because they could not afford legal

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[6] "More Developed Countries" in comparison to LDCs "Less Developed Countries", a term to place development in comparison between countries and not on an ideal scale of development a country must attain. (Appleyard, 1991).

housing. However, even under all these poor living conditions, they still earned more than in their rural origins (Li & Jiang, 2018; Ye et al., 2016; Ying et al., 2019).

This segregation of social identities has also encouraged a culture of discrimination. When rural migrant children migrated into the city, they found rejection from their classmates, causing to escalate the mental health crisis of poorer children (Li & Jiang, 2018). Migrant poverty encourages congregating in clusters separated from local populations increasing instances of racism and high-crime neighborhoods, making integration all the more difficult (Hernández-Plaza et al., 2010).

In these conditions, Moroccan migrants are in serious danger of being excluded from the distribution of and access to community services (e.g., healthcare, social services, etc.). This is due to the lack of public transportation to access these resources in the segregated areas where they usually live, language problems, the lack of knowledge regarding their rights and the services available, the perception that these services do not fit to their needs, etc. (Hernández-Plaza et al., 2010)

Poverty, and the associated lack of access to resources, exposure to areas of higher crime rates, hunger, and malnutrition are common premigratory risk factors for migrant mental illness that can carry over postmigration if the country of destination does not have the appropriate safeguards, interventions, aids, and ease of access that can help migrants quickly find a place in their new society. If the responsibility is placed solely on the migrant to carve out a space for themselves and their career, this process will encounter significant delays as they learn to navigate the new labor market. If in addition, the country of destination places obstacles and hurdles to

achieving this, the delays can be even greater or permanent as the migrant never finds a legal job in which to participate in fair wages and reasonable access to resources (Hynie, 2018; Mucci et al., 2019).

An economic model of the migrant adaptation focuses on more practical aspects of adaptation in a new environment and the access to resources that impact well-being and successful integration, particularly their access to the labor market, and their ability to restore their career to its premigration levels, to find a suitable occupation to their skills and socioeconomic needs, or even to find improved labor conditions to what prompted their dissatisfaction in their home country and motivated their search for better opportunities (Ryan et al., 2008).

> [W]ell-being as the life satisfaction as expressed by an individual and assumes that it is a multilevel and value-dependent phenomenon, strongly related with access to resources, and therefore conditioned by norms and values of social justice in the receiving society. (Paloma et al., 2014)

Access to each of said resources was further hindered by the pandemic in unique ways, for example, in migrants' access to technology, which was already limited by their ability to afford devices that can connect to the internet or in accessing the internet, two resources that became essential during the pandemic when most in-person activities ceased (Martin-Shields, et al., 2022). For example, migrants were forced to process their migration paperwork online with no in-person options. Or even their children's access to education was limited or completely impossible.

In a study in Bogota, Colombia a research group compared the data gathered in wealthy countries on migrant use of technology to navigate their immigration status and paperwork processing, which were made available to be filed online. They concluded the following:

> [M]igrants are less likely to use e-government services than their local peers even after controlling for demographic characteristics and internet access… access is not a sufficient condition for migrants to access e-government services and there is a need for policy coordination to reduce bureaucratic "red tape" that may diminish migrants' likelihood of accessing to e-government services. (Martin-Shields, et al., 2022, p.450)

Poverty complicates the many hassles migration can create that impede easy adaptation, and migration complicates poverty in turn (Seglem et al., 2014). Although labor migration can be beneficial to lift a migrant out of poverty, it is not guaranteed for all, especially the poorest, as the high costs involved in migration itself can offset the benefits of labor migration, particularly when migrants are left with no options except undocumented migration or irregular work. Countries can contribute through policies to help migrants enjoy the benefits of migration for both the economies of their country of origin and destination (Hagen-Zanker et al., 2017).

2.2.2 Political Instability and Violence

Campos & Lien (1995) acknowledged many decades ago that the *push-pull* model did not correctly account for the role of political instability in migrants' decision-making process for leaving their homes. They proposed a model to account for it, arguing that political instability

discourages investments and other economic mediums for profit. Thus, the idea is that political instability is a subvariable of economic volatility and enters within the potential income assessment calculations a migrant makes.

Conflict and violence do not break out overnight but begin to increase over time. Thus, the decision to migrate is not an automatic response to perceptions of political instability. The decision begins to weigh the risk to migrant's personal safety and that of their assets according to the severity of the violence and the options they have of sources of aid. There is no doubt in the data that migration follows conflict (Raleigh, 2011).

Table 1

Factors Involved in Push-Pull Decision-Making under Political Instability

Main model	Factors Considered in Political Instability
Push	Risk to body (violence, malnutrition), risk to mind, risk to assets, unstable wages and lack of livelihood.
Pull	Relief and aid, absence of threat, social network who left, stable wages.
Stay	Social network who stayed, perception of short-term risk, culture of origin, inability to afford leaving, status quo.

Note. For the context of this dissertation, it is worth noting neither *push* nor *pull* factors include the impact on family or loved ones, which will be highly relevant to Study II and will be discussed further. Adapted from Raleigh (2011). Copyright 2011 by Elsevier Ltd.

Research around the turn of the century began to identify links between violence and climate change, through indirect links which some studies oppose, but through issues such as a scarcity of resources and occasional bouts of civic chaos ensued after natural disasters (Raleigh,

2011)[7]. International migrations are often motivated by political instability and violence since an internal migration would not be enough to escape the civil conflict.

> Conflict-related movements are often regarded as unpredictable, dynamic and hard to analyse… People exercise a great deal of agency when confronted with conflict and relocation is not an automatic reaction to macro political forces. Movement on the local level depends on nature, intensity, location, external influences and targets. Where and when to move depends largely on identity, class, assets, feasibility, assistance and social networks. (Raleigh, 2011, p. S85)

Within severe political instability, occasionally terrorism can arise and play a significant role in emigration, particularly of skilled workers, as investment both national and international decreases (Dreher et al., 2011). Terrorism worsens the population's quality of life and their working conditions.

> In times of terror, the returns to education decrease by, e.g., increasing socioeconomic insecurity and constraining entrepreneurial activity. From a skilled individual's perspective, the remaining skill premium may be considered too low to recoup the costs of a previous high-level education. (Dreher et al., 2011, p.42)

Although skilled migration is facilitated by host countries that create policies that encourage certain more educated migrants over low-skilled workers, this has commonly been

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[7] A section on climate change presently demands its own section, see 2.2.3.

referred to as *brain drain*, where a country loses its more educated population to MDCs in times of political crises (Dreher et al., 2011). Thus, the latter have a harder time emigrating when living conditions worsen and become victims on both ends of the policies of both countries. Conflict exacerbates issues of quality of life regarding health such as lowering the average age of mortality, disability and physical injuries, psychological trauma and mental health issues, and malnutrition. It is thus a rational and reasonable decision and weighted risk calculation for a migrant to search abroad for better living conditions (Abel et al., 2019).

2.2.3 Climate Change

An important rising concern is the impact of climate change on the future of migration as populations flee areas becoming uninhabitable by humans. Between 2008 and 2022, the UNHCR estimated a yearly average of 20 million people forcibly displaced by climate related hazards (flooding, erosion, droughts, sea level rise, storms, fires, extreme temperatures) (Little, 2023).

> [E]nvironmental change will alter an already complex pattern of human mobility, migration will offer opportunities as well as challenges. The greatest risks will be borne by those who are unable or unwilling to relocate, and may be exacerbated by maladaptive policies designed to prevent migration. (Black et al., 2011, p.447)

When the first studies came out about climate change motivated migration, researchers predicted migration would increase significantly with the increase of climate related events and catastrophes. However, in reviewing current numbers, the trends do not display as clear a

connection due to many households' inability to escape the less severe events and the cost of migrating. However, the risk for the family of staying where they are increases with the severity of climate events. Thus, climate-motivated migration is rarer among poor families. The further the migration the more expensive it is, thus many families can only afford to migrate internally, often resulting in rural to urban migrations, where cities are unsustainable and contraindicatory to long-term climate change solutions (Kaczan & Orgill-Meyer, 2020; Bittle, 2023).

The UN 2016 Summit for Refugees and Migrants recognized that climate change presented as a principle inducing factor for migration in our times, prioritizing it among their 2030 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) - "to facilitate orderly, safe, and responsible migrant and mobility of people, including through implementation of planned and well-managed migration policies" including but not limited due to migration (Kaczan & Orgill-Meyer, 2020).

Currently, escaping the consequences of climate change is left to the individual, there are no streamlined pathways to direct migration in a sustainable fashion to a new location, but individual strategies are unstudied and could be ineffective in the long-term (Szaboova et al., 2023). Many strategies have been proposed by the international community to handle climate change, but for many places it is already too late, and in the future more places will begin to suffer the effects beyond what humans can handle for reasonable habitation (Bittle, 2023). Migration has emerged as one of the necessary adaptations available for humans to respond to climate catastrophes by moving to an area unaffected, these migrations can be internal or international as larger areas become uninhabitable or the local economy is unable to recover from the destruction (Szaboova et al., 2023).

There are several types of climate change driven migrations. The immediate effects from sudden natural disasters such as a hurricane that destroys a town that is consequently not rebuilt.

There are also the slow effects of climate change such as drought which make an area uninhabitable. Then there is a third form of climate change induced migration where climate issues exacerbate political instability or economic productivity (McLeman, 2014). Lower income countries are disproportionally affected by land degradation, and climate events affect more severely poorer and rural households increasing the scarcity of their resources (Hermans & McLeman, 2021).

So far, research has identified that slow climate-induced migrations are the ones that most require migration as a solution, such as droughts, as opposed to sudden ones such as floods (Kaczan & Orgill-Meyer, 2020). "Droughts are significant drivers of land degradation, which in turn has adverse effects on resource-dependent rural populations and can potentially lead to livelihood losses and subsequent migration out of affected areas" (Hermans & McLeman, 2021, p.236). Droughts and water shortages are becoming more common in the north of Africa, including Morocco, making this a pertinent issue for Spanish migration, as a country that can offer more stable water availability and year-round agriculture for now (UNFCCC, 2023).

2.2.4 Future Opportunities

Although the previous categories of migration motivations overlap with this category, it's worth mentioning separately for its tie to migrant family motivations for migrating specifically. Poverty, economic and political instability, and unstable climates are usually the underlying causes for the feeling that there are no future opportunities at the country of origin. However, the emphasis on the future is greater for families as there is an inherently generational outlook. Parents are not thinking of only themselves and their own future, or even the immediate future, but more

importantly their children's future. Therefore, these motivators, even at lower levels of danger can trigger the motivation to migrate in the perspective that they make deteriorate down the line. While a few difficult seasons of changing climate reducing agricultural produce for a farmer in Morocco may not prompt the individual to consider alternatives, for a father calculating how to feed his children or if they'll be able to inherit the farm if there are no water sources, this is a more pressing matter (Fernández et al., 2019). Families often have to deal with hypotheticals and make more long-term predictions about where their children would be better off growing up (Bernzen et al., 2019).

A way to examine how important the *pull* factors were to the migrant is to examine return migrations. A systematic review by Mohamed & Abdul-Talib (2020) identified that discrimination and lack of opportunity are two main reasons why migrants return to their home country. *Pull* factors often represent a reputation of the country of destination abroad, and when migrants arrive, they experience firsthand if these assumptions were or were not based on reality, or the reality, they have access to.

The *push-pull* theory was developed during the 20th century when migration restrictions and policies were put in place. Once migration was more regulated and criminalized, it changed the panorama under which migrants make decisions and made the equation more complex, including their assessment of the risk of making illegal migrations (Hatton & Williamson, 2005). For migrants the assessment of the value of migration becomes more complicated as the bureaucratic process of entry and residency becomes more restricted.

Thus, the updating of the old theory frames it under a more complex set of *drivers* than the two opposing forces of *push-pull*. From *inception* to *perpetuation* of the migration there are

structural forces that play out with and against each other. For each person weighing the decision, the significance and value of each *driver* is assessed differently (Benson & O'reilly, 2009).

Figure 3

Migrant Decision-Making Process by Weighing Drivers
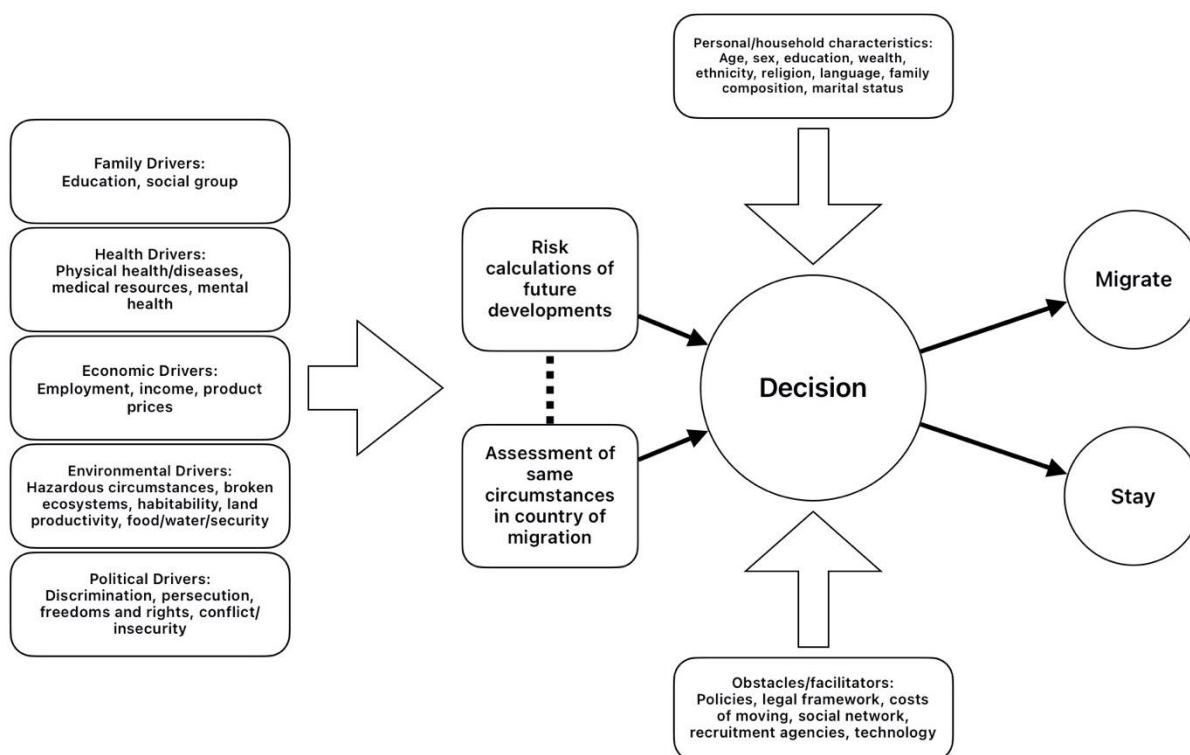
Note. Adapted from Black et al., 2011; Raleigh, 2011; De Haas & Van Rooij, 2010; and Vidal, 2011.

Drivers are the structural elements restricting, enabling, and encouraging the migrants, not in a deterministic sense but propelling them, making certain decisions and outcomes more likely (Van Hear et al., 2020). The framework of drivers accounts for a less deterministic and more complex context in which migrants make decisions. This applies especially for families where

there are multiple members who benefit in different ways from remaining where they are or migrating.

2.2.5 Family and Social Networks

People's social networks do not just influence if they migrate but to where they migrate (Czaika & Reinprecht, 2022). The family unit serves as the center of decision-making and negotiation about whether a migration is undertaken, but it cannot be assumed that communication and rationale are effective. But a family is more likely to consider migration if they have trusted sources that have already gone through the journey and experienced positive results. Especially if these migrants will contribute to their own migration through receiving them, such as friends or family. Preexisting links are drivers to migration by reducing the unknown and the risk. Thus, family serves as a structure and a driver for migrating (Castelli, 2018).

The main form of family migration is family reunification, which is when a member or members of a family reunites with a member or members of their family that migrated first. The majority of migrants entering developed countries enter through family reunification, after labor migrants. This makes sense if you consider for every migrant worker, they then bring over multiple of their family members (Kofman, et al., 2022). [8]

Not only have migrants seen their rights to bring in family members fluctuate in the past decades, but the very meaning of 'family' has changed considerably, bringing legal implications for both nationals and migrants, and redefining what falls under the 'family

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[8] More will be discussed about migrant families as a type of migrant in section 2.3.4.

migration' category. The question of who counts as family in family migration law owes a great deal to changing societal norms of family life and the quest for equal rights for all types of families[9]. (Kofman, et al., 2022, p.137)

Migrants seeking to improve their family's economic prospects, not just individual prospects, engage in migration (Castles, 2013). The assessment can comprehend labor migration for the parents and education migration for the children (Browne, 2017). For a family, investing in education for their children is not just a way of ensuring a better future for them, but a retirement plan for their parents, as they are expected to support them (Heckert, 2015).

2.3 Migrant Population Types

Despite the number of studies comparing the mental health of migrants to locals, most research cannot make clear generalizable conclusions about one group of migrants[10] being more at risk for mental illness over another. Several factors emerge as mediators such as age of migration, country of origin, and openness to foreigners at the country of destination (Bomba et al., 2017). It is thus important to account for all the demographic characteristics of the migrant to frame their risk in the appropriate context. Their characteristics also speak to the resources and rights they have access to, as well as the obstacles they may face and the deficits with which they may be traveling.

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[9] Often LGBTQ+ partners are not defined as family under many national regulations.
[10] *Migrant*: an umbrella term for a person who moved away from their place of residence, internally or internationally, voluntarily, or due to forced displacement, irrespective of their legal status (UNHCR, 2019).

Contemporary migration management [in Europe] largely operates by allocating differential rights to different categories of migrants through various mechanisms. The framework is operationalized through classification and selection processes, admission procedures, conditionalities and restrictions; they work along various axes, notably along nationality, skill level, socioeconomic status and gender. (Kraler & Kofman, 2009, p.4)

2.3.1 Refugees, asylum seekers and forcibly displaced people

With legal entry into countries made more difficult, the migratory journey became more dangerous. This created the added issue of migrant care considerations upon arrival. Whereas before there were concerns of premigratory trauma that contributed to the motivation for migrating, and the postmigratory trauma related to the migrant acceptance and adaptation difficulties, recently there has been the migratory journey trauma added to the mental health equation (Collyer, 2007).

The struggles of refugees[11] have been the subject of a lot of research, documenting their premigration trauma and postmigration psychological symptoms and their process of adaptation. Among the population, there are high incidences of depression and post-traumatic stress disorder (Lincoln et al., 2016). Steel et al. (2009) conducted a meta-analysis of 181 mental health studies on adult refugees and identified an average rate of 30.6% of PTSD and 30.8% in said populations. Asylum seekers are often found to suffer from more clinically significant psychological symptoms

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[11] *Refugee*: a legal term defined under international framework and national codes, as a person outside their country of origin because of a threat to their lives or freedom (UNHCR, 2019). (Synonym: asylum-seeker).
Displaced migrant: a person forced to leave their place of residence to avoid armed conflict, violence, human rights violations or natural disasters. (IOM, 2019).

than other migrant population types, not just due to the traumatic events that occurred during premigration, but the journey of escape is often traumatic, and the entry policies and harsh processes do not make arrival easy and comforting, there is no immediate relief in migration to the issues they escaped from in their country of origin (Bhatia, 2020b).

Due to inadequate reception by countries receiving refugees and asylum seekers, many do not find an easy path to entering the system and settle undocumented into informal camps with poor access to water or sanitation, working as seasonal workers in sectors such as the agri-food chain in poor conditions. Without clear delineation between migrant population types, an individual may fall into multiple categories, may be applicable for multiple visa types, and may yet lack access to a clear path to regularize their status and obtain legal documentation, without access to lawyers but rather street level bureaucracy to help them navigate these systems (Corrado & Palumbo, 2022).

Even being labeled as an asylum seeker may not bring the protections popular belief thinks it does. There has been evidence that delays in processing asylum applications and the complexities and timelines of the bureaucratic process that being an asylum-seeker implies have been linked to deprivation from resources, increased fear of deportation, and sensations of persecution that can trigger mental health symptoms. This has even been designated as "state racism" and can fit into a psychological violence paradigm, depriving asylum seekers of food, sunlight, water, sleep, legal advice, and even from seeing their families as they separate members of the same unit (Bhatia, 2020b).

Asylum seekers can be punished like criminals for violating complex systems that are created against them, exacerbating their trauma. This is sometimes referred to as *crimmigration*. The criminalization of the migration process through a policy framework that is structured in a

way that deliberately makes it difficult for people to access the help they seek, criminalizing the manner in which people cross borders or fill in paperwork (Bhatia, 2020a). For example, in the USA, commonly asylum-seekers cross the border without visas to request aid, but recently the cultural narrative has popularized the belief crossing the border unauthorized is always illegal, and upon entering the territory are treated as guilty until proven innocent[12] due to fears of the drug cartels' influence from Mexico (Cabot, 2014).

Some refugees do not manage to migrate internationally and must relocate within their own countries without protection or support systems. Obtaining accurate numbers of internally displaced refugees is incredibly difficult because it also assumes the state is in crisis and does not have the capacity to keep track (Raleigh, 2011). This is also an issue in refugees in south-to-south migrations, where tracking the wellbeing of refugees after settling and the responsibility to meet their psychosocial needs is debated, especially for countries that lack the capacity to do so (Silove & Ekblad, 2002).

2.3.2 Labor migrants

In 2017 migrant workers[13] made up 65% of all international migrants. Most of these workers were employed in MDCs[14] (Liem et al., 2021). Although labor is considered a cause, motivator, and driver for migration, there is another aspect to consider which is the fulfillment of said motivation. Finding employment is considered as an essential factor for the adaptation and integration in their host country. A job can provide more than income, it creates a social network,

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[12] This is in contrast to citizens who are assumed innocent until proven guilty.
[13] *Labor migrant*: the movement of an individual from one country or geographical area - usually the one they were born in - to another for the purpose of finding employment (IOM, 2008).
[14] More Developed Countries.

practice and exposure to the local culture and language, and regularization avenues (Lundborg, 2013). Labor migration is also not distinct from irregular migration, it is often a way migrants change statuses, from regular to irregular or from irregular to regular. Just because a migrant overstayed their visa or entered the country undocumented, does not mean they do not have access to work or do not participate in the economy. In fact, quite the opposite, for example, women who entered Spain through means deemed illegal were more likely to be employed than those who entered Spain through legal means (González-Ferrer, 2011a).

For many migrant women, the most available work was in domestic services, which due to its private nature put women on a fragile footing in the labor market, where they could be more easily fired, abused, or underpaid without regulation (del Rey et al., 2019). For many migrant workers, there are less protections available to them than other types of migrants or local workers. Migrant workers are more at risk for discrimination than other migrants, such as students. They are also more at risk of experiencing abusive work environments than locals (Liem et al., 2021). Migrant workers in agricultural systems live and work in precarious conditions without proper access to water, without electricity and without sanitary quarters, even in countries like Italy or Spain (Corrado & Palumbo, 2022).

Migrant workers contribute to the economies of both their country of origin (by sending money back to their families, usually an LDC[15]) and destination (usually an MDC) (Liem et al., 2021). Economic issues in either country thus play important roles in the *push-pull* flow of labor migration.

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[15] Less Developed Countries.

Receiving countries' immigration policy objectives since the 2008 global economic crisis have veered from boom time recruitment of cheap unskilled and skilled labour to recessionary labour market cutbacks, tightened immigration policies and, in some countries, mounting security concerns about terrorism. (Bryceson, 2019, p.3043)

The distinction between labor migration and family migration is not always clear cut as the worker may be the first member to migrate in a transnational family looking for an avenue for family reunification once the worker has settled in the country of destination. Particularly for women where they are the primary caregiver they are tasked with homemaking, but where they are also the primary or single earner, they also classify as a labor migrant, however, with limited opportunities. Usually in part because in a south-to-north migration, their country of origin usually had less opportunities for education and work for women, as is the case for women in Morocco (González-Ferrer, 2011a).

First, the vulnerable status of undocumented but also temporary female workers (subjected to periodical renewals of their permits) is what probably makes them particularly attractive for employers in search for cheap female labor. Secondly, it is possible that the higher probability of employment of women with temporary permits simply reflects lower reservation wage of women who hold the intention to return, in comparison to women with intentions to stay more permanently. (González-Ferrer, 2011a, p.14)

Policy implications have been based on the *push-pull* system to decide which migrants to entice with opportunities for labor migration, permanent or temporary, by offering economic

incentives. However, few countries examine the variety of utility people can experience by migrating and other incentives they could offer or added policies to make integration into their new employment easier, such as complimentary language courses for quicker and more efficient participation in the labor market (Bartram, 2010).

2.3.3 Irregular, Unauthorized, and Illegal Migrants

The concept of an illegal migrant is fairly recent, starting in the 19th and 20th centuries. Before most states enacted migration policies, most people could move freely and were considered welcome unless specifically exiled and deported for crimes (Chauvin & Garcés-Mascareñas, 2014). Now, there are eight ways in which someone can enter a country in violation of statutes: Illegal border crossing, using false documents, providing false information in legal documents, overstaying a visa or residence permit, losing legal status by failing to meet renewal requirements of a visa or permit, being born to irregular[16] parents, absconding during an asylum procedure, not leaving the state after receiving a negative decision from the state from a visa or asylum application (Morehouse & Blomfield, 2011). The increased regulations around migration have become a deterrent factor in the equation of drivers, "thus, while borders increasingly lose their significance as regulatory mechanisms for global flows of capital, goods, and services, they have enormously gained in importance for regulating or filtering flows of people" (Vidal, 2011, p.122).

The criminalization of certain forms of migration and harsher policies make deportation more common, which means more migrants are experiencing remittances or remigrations or return

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[16] *Irregular migration*: "movement of persons to a new place of residence or transit that takes place outside the regulatory norms of the sending, transit and receiving countries." (European Commission, 2021). The term "irregular migrant" has become a more politically correct term to use than "illegal migrant".

migrations (Chauvin & Garcés-Mascareñas, 2014). The stress of living under the constant possibility of deportation or being charged with a crime for entering a country illegally or without proper documentation can affect migrants' mental health, with the group presenting higher symptoms of anxiety and stress that also took a toll on their physical health, so much so that physicians even developed a term for it called "illegal syndrome" (Andersson et al., 2018).

Because irregular migrants do not have the option to integrate into their country of destination like their regularized counterparts, they have to rely on informal support networks and the underground economy (Chauvin & Garcés-Mascareñas, 2014). For example, most Moroccan migrants are unaware of how to manage certain procedures in Spain and only learn about them through informal channels such as immigrant associations, other migrant students, the internet, their families, traffickers, newspapers, their neighbors who inform them of the policies that could affect their migration status and the dangers that could lead to deportation and automatic repatriation (Zapata-Barrero, 2008). The process of regularization for migrants often entails the performance of deservingness, performing a certain identity of migrant that is preferred by countries (Chauvin & Garcés-Mascareñas, 2014).

2.3.4 Families

The most common reason people report for migrating is to seek financial stability in access to stable work – labor migration. Family migration or members of a family migrating, although sometimes considered its own category, is often a derivative of labor migration as the family relocates in order for the primary earner to find better opportunities (De Haas, 2019). Often a

secondary reason for families is for their children to have better future opportunities, which could also be considered a variation of labor migration.

Family migration can be studied from three perspectives, the conceptual dimension (definition of family), the legislative and political dimension (regulations around family migrations, and the subjective dimension (family reorganization, adjustments in gender and generational relationships) (Pedone et al., 2012).

Regarding the first point, this presents a cultural obstacle to consistency across countries' policies. Migration policies often fail by using a narrow western definition of family, the members that can request or receive reunification[17] benefits, are overly tied to conditions such as income, housing, the sponsor's legal status, and knowledge of the local language. They can be overly socially selective (Kraler & Kofman, 2009).

Admission procedures, conditions, restrictions, and prerequisites can assign migrants different rights according to their migrant category, creating new forms of inequality, as well as reinforcing preexisting social, economic, gender-based and generational divides. This is exemplified in family reunification policies, that some people would have access to being able to be with their family based on income or gender whereas others would remain divided by borders because they do not have the right job or gender (Pedone et al., 2012).

The decision to uproot the family for the chance of a better income is not an easy one, or worse to separate the family for an unknown period of time. The role of the family in the decision-making process has not been studied well, preferring to focus instead on the individual (Bryceson, 2019). Studies suggest that migrations are undertaken after decisions consulted with the majority

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[17] *Family reunification*: government plans to preserve the family unit by allowing non-nationals to enter a country where a family member legally resides (IOM, 2019).

of family members of large family networks, where the family becomes a space for negotiation and occasionally conflict. This is particularly true for Latin American migrant families (Pedone et al., 2012). The question of culture arises if this can be said for families from Muslim backgrounds. But it stands in stark contrast to a migrating individual who does not have to consult with anyone or coordinate migratory journeys with multiple people.

The new economics of labor migration (NELM by Oded Stark) suggested using the individual as the decision-making unit to motivate a migration was erroneous, but rather it was the *household* that was the appropriate unit to measure in research and analysis (De Haas & Van Rooij, 2010). "NELM views migration as the risk-sharing behavior of households, and thus integrates motives other than individual income maximization into migration decision-making" (De Haas & Van Rooij, 2010, p.44), as opposed to a neoclassical economic model (1970s) which focused on individual decisions to migrate based on *push-pull* dynamics.

However, considering either the individual or the household as a rational decision-maker including the correct factors in their calculations is erroneous, each unit of measurement will have its own biases, values, and priorities. But particularly the family unit will have contradictory factors that make up their decision, where the struggle of the decision to migrate creates conflict that is worth highlighting (Boyd & Grieco, 2023). In addition, the conception of migration as a transactional procedure between an individual and the state leaves out the experience of the migrating family and places the focus excessively on the experience of the male labor migrant as an additional productive member of society. The primary benefit he or she can offer the state in exchange for permission to entry and reside is a contribution to the labor market, whereas the contributions of the family are exponential (Pedone et al., 2012).

Transnational families

Transnational families[18] are families separated by international borders, due to the migration of some of the members but this separation is not considered by the members as permanent. The transnational family's connection rests on emotional ties and material exchange (Bryceson, 2019). An influential factor in the separation of families are migration policies and lack of finances to move the entire family at the same time. Often, the family intends reunification once finances are saved through the initial migrant's insertion in the country of destination's labor market and visa procedures are sorted (Eremenko & González-Ferrer, 2018).

> Diversifying family income to reduce the risk of income failure is a central strategic goal of migration. Families hope that the receipt of remittances from migrant members will provide a stable economic footing and/or sufficient investment capital to enhance production or raise the transnational family's standard of living. (Bryceson, 2019, p.3045)

There are different configurations of transnational families. The most common scenarios include where the father migrates leaving behind a wife and children, the mother may migrate first leaving children behind with extended family, and even occasionally where the children migrate leaving behind the parents (Shih, 2016). When mothers migrate before their children, their financial situation becomes more precarious can extend the period of separation from their children compared to when it is the father who migrates to create an economically viable situation to sustain

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[18] *Transnational family:* related members of familial groups that live in different nations separated for each other for some time, who maintain contact and close relationship, with the intention of reuniting at some time (Shih, 2016).

the family (Eremenko & González-Ferrer, 2018). However, studies have found migrant mothers make more economic sacrifices than fathers, in order to reunite with their family. Unfortunately, families where the mother migrates leaving behind the children experience more emotional problems compared to if the father migrates, often due to traditional gender norms where fathers are not as involved in the care of the children (Mazzucato & Schans, 2011).

Thanks to technological developments around communication, some governments think there is sufficient connection for transnational families and thus there is no urgency in their physical reunification (Evergeti & Ryan, 2011). Although the long periods of separation have helped families maintain cohesion even across borders, the level of contact and emotional proximity despite the separation is special and characteristic to people's value of the family unit and is particularly important for the children's mental health (Bryceson, 2019). Children who felt abandoned by their migrating parent often showed more behavioral problems (Mazzucato & Schans, 2011).

Migrations, especially international ones, trigger readjustments inside the family, of the relationships between men and women, of the relationships between generations[19]. On one level, negotiations of the family relationships can be observed. On another level, the migrating member organizes variations in the modalities of family reunification from a practical perspective affecting the family due to the constrictions of the journey and the documentation processing. On a third

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[19] *First generation migrant*: the first person in a family lineage, to reside in a country other than that of their country of birth (Harvard GSE, 2021).

1.5-generation migrant: an individual who migrated with their parent as a child into the country where they currently reside (Harvard GSE, 2021).

Second generation migrant: a person born of at least one migrant parent in the country of their immigration (European Commission, 2021).

Much of the migration research includes generation as part of the demographic characteristics of migrants in samples studied.

level, the lived experience of each migrating member is unique, in other words, there is no migrant family story of migration, but rather the experiences of members within a migrating family (Pedone et al., 2012, p.546). In other words, when evaluating the migratory characteristics of a migrant family there are three distinct aspects: the psychological family systems changes, the practical aspects of migrating as a family, and the experience of each member as a distinct migrant.

Family reunification

Family migrations are divided into three types. The first, family reunification, consists of members of a unit separated by the migration of one member reuniting in the country of destination. The second type of migration is when all the members of the unit migrate simultaneously and together. The third form of family migration is referred to as family formation, where a migrant joins a family at the country of destination through their migration, for example through a marriage to a non-migrant or settled migrant. The legal distinctions are difficult (Kraler & Kofman, 2009). But, because family migration became a popular means of migration, governments responded by increasing restrictions (Kraler & Kofman, 2009).

> Contemporary family reunification policies actually contribute to keeping immigrant families apart, whether in the geographical sense (family members are not able to migrate) or legal one (family members who have migrated are not able to acquire a legal status). (Eremenko & González-Ferrer, 2018, p.3)

Family reunification policies can hang on definitions as simple as what a family is. Cultural distinctions of what a family is can play into the legal definition (Pedone et al., 2012). For some cultures, a cousin or an aunt is just as important a family member as a child or a spouse, or LGBTQ+ partnerships may not be recognized.

In some countries, the popular discourse began to paint a distrusting picture of migrant families, rejecting them as the idea of the ideal migrant, which they had been considered. The concern consisted of the role of the father, who under certain traditional cultures could be an obstacle to children and wives' integration into society, forcing them to maintain traditional values and practices, particularly with the rise of Muslim migration, terrorism, and islamophobia (Kraler & Kofman, 2009; Corral et al., 2023).

This recognizes that family migration is particular because of the role of dependency, the legal notion of reliance. The rights family members can enjoy after migration can be limited and they remain contingent of the primary migrating member. For example, some countries bar spouses from working initially while the legal process of family reunification takes place, making them overly reliant on sponsors (Kraler & Kofman, 2009).

Political discourse and media representation present a homogenous story of migrant families whereas data presents a multitude of factors that influence their decision to migrate. Formal and informal regulations encourage civic and socioeconomic stratification, specifically in the case of migration due to family motivations. Despite the variety of backgrounds in gender, education, origin, socioeconomic origins, skills, and migratory projects, migrants are boxed into the same regulations over their income, residence, employment, and access to visas. The question arises of the necessity for the development of differentiated systems that can better respond to this

variety, especially in contrast to individual migrations or migrations including only adults (Pedone et al., 2012).

First- and Second-Generation Migrants

Most studies include migrant generations to the third generation, beyond then the descendants are considered to have intermarried and integrated sufficiently to blend into the rest of the population. By then many families have lost touch with their cultural roots. Historically, discrimination has made families hesitant to keep connections to their origins such as in not teaching children their native language, not practicing their religion, changing their family name, and ceasing other cultural practices such as a particular form of dressing. It is only recently that migrant families who migrated more than 100 years ago are trying to reconnect with their migration story through practices like examining their DNA with 23&Me or tracing their family line through sites like ancestry.com (Pew Research Center & Graf, 2020). In the future, as migration stories are more closely recorded it may be possible to examine fourth and fifth-generation migrants for further study and following migrant descendent adaptation through more generations.

Children of foreign-born people are exposed to more risk factors to their mental health than local peers such as poverty, reduced access to health care, and low parental education. Even after migrants have arrived at their destination, settled in, and formed a family, they are still at a disadvantage compared to local-born people (Georgiades et al., 2018). Migrant families and generations often experience little and limited social mobility. Their access to the labor market is limited. Comparing the education and income levels of second-generation migrants to local

counterparts sees them still at a disadvantage compared to locals. However, the longer the residence in the country of destination, the better the position of female migrants is in the labor market, thus second-generation women are in much better positions than their first-generation mothers (Haug, 2005).

Second-generation migrants can struggle more intensely with identity-related trauma due to often having more cultures to reconcile than first-generation migrants (Bomba et al., 2017; Georgiades et al., 2018). Meanwhile, second-generation migrants can experience as much racism and discrimination as their parents (Haug, 2005).

There are contradictory results from studies comparing the mental health of locals versus migrants and their ensuing generations. Studies comparing rates of mental disorders among adults have identified more instances of mental health problems in local-born groups over foreign-born groups. However, in controlling for the age of migration, they identified people who migrated as children before the age of 13 had higher rates of anxiety, mood, and behavioral disorders than their local peers (Georgiades et al., 2018). Other studies have identified that second-generation boys and first-generation girls may be more at risk for developing mental illness symptoms (Bomba et al., 2017).

However, there have been some consistent results in these comparisons. Substance use disorders have been found to be consistently lower across studies of migrants comparing them to their local-born counterparts (Georgiades et al., 2018). Many studies have found that first-generation migrants had a lower risk of suicide than local-born but second-generation migrants had a higher risk than local-born. Being that second-generation migrants have lower rates of poverty, marginalization, and morbidity, these would not explain their distress (Di Thiene et al., 2015). In addition, studies have found increased rates of schizophrenia in first- and second-

generation migrants compared to local-born people, as well as other forms of psychoses (Bourque et al., 2011). The prevalence rates can vary widely between studies. Some studies suggest migrants have more mental health problems by 3% whereas others have been recorded as high as 80% (Sieberer et al., 2012).

2.3.5 Women and migration feminism

Migration for women must be analyzed within a different framework than men's or households', for whom migration is often a cost-benefit analysis, particularly in economic terms. For women, however, considerations of a better future are not just about economic opportunities but rights and freedoms (Fleury, 2016). Before the 1970s, within the research, women were not considered to migrate alone and were not studied as such, they were considered to only migrate within a family and under the framework of a primary male migrant, and women's role to them as a wife, mother, or daughter. Thus, it was thought women did not participate actively in the decision to migrate as much as men (Boyd & Grieco, 2023). More gender-aware perspectives of migration and the experience of the migrant woman adjusted to include the woman's economic role within the migrant family and alternative contributions, such as, but not exclusively, reproduction, contributing to the population growth of the destination country, which in countries like Spain was a relevant factor in allowing migration due to the fertility decline (Pedone et al., 2012).

Migrant women are considered to be less contributive to the labor market because of their irregular career trajectories, often discontinued postmigration due to the family's perception that their value is greater as organizers of the household, an essential process in settling in (González-Ferrer, 2011a). "Low employment rates of immigrant women constitute a major concern in this

regard, given the crucial role of female incomes in avoiding household poverty, especially in contexts where two-earner households are becoming the norm" (González-Ferrer, 2011a, p.64).

Further research into the gender divides in migrations highlighted the lack of data on the migrant family. Migrant women are more commonly part of a migrant family than men and are more commonly the first link and primary migrant of migrant families, for example, from Latin America into Spain (Gil Araujo & Pedone, 2013). In Spain, the largest number of women migrants is flowing in from Latin America (Pedone et al., 2012).

Figure 4

Migrant Gender Difference by Percentage in 2019
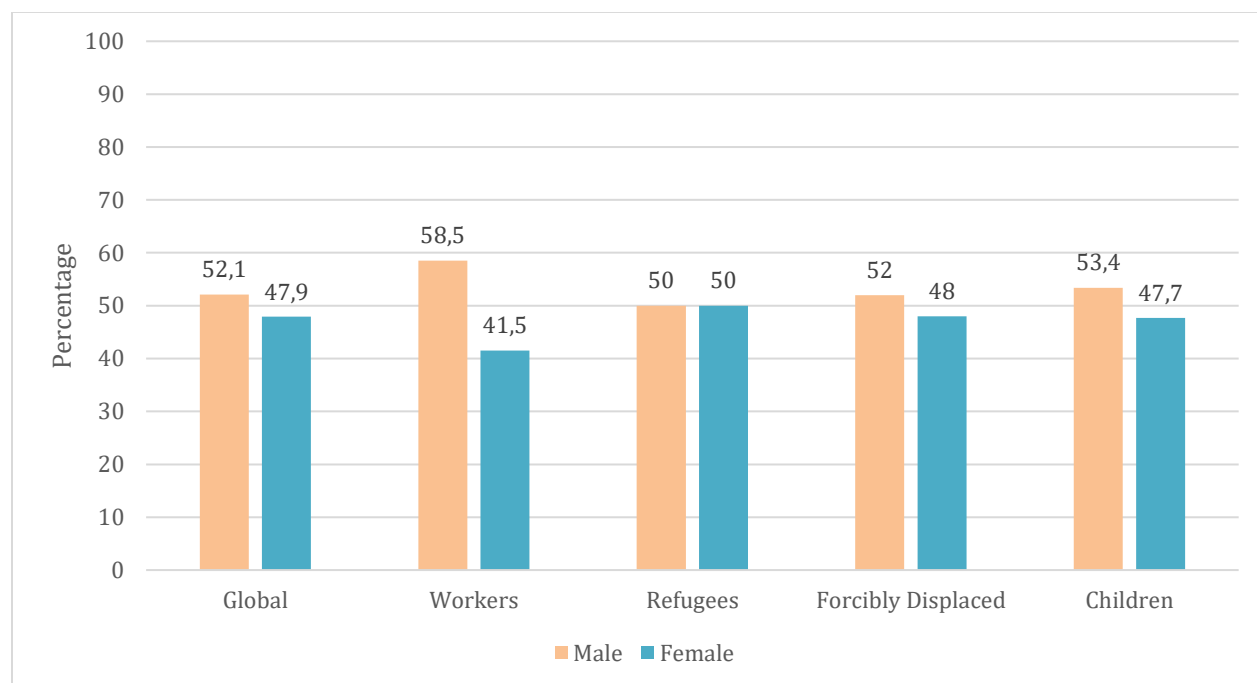
Note. Adapted from UNICEF, 2021 and Migration Data Portal, 2023.

Women who migrate in the context of their families from highly religious cultures or oppressive regimes can find their families to be obstacles to integration due to the continued

control exerted by the male head of the household, such as their father or husband. In some cases, these families can keep women from pursuing education and advancing in the labor market. (Kraler & Bonizzoni, 2010). Migration can be an act of emancipation and liberation for women leaving oppressive families or regimes (De Haas & Van Rooij, 2010).

A feature of the geographical proximity between northern Africa and Spain is the migration flow of Muslim populations into a non-Muslim country and the negotiation of religious culture and the newfound opportunities offered to women. Migrant Moroccan women and their descendants in Spain experience the liberties afforded by a more feminist culture and participation in the labor market. These changes allow them to not just access opportunities in the social sphere, but also within their homes (Mendoza et al., 2021).

Intersectional perspectives have studied how Moroccan women have lived within interconnected systems of subordination, migration to Spain offers opportunities for freedoms from most of those systems, and although their domestic situation may remain the same for a while if a male head of household - husband or father - attempts to continue traditional practices, often the new wider environment forces the family to modify their dynamics, or provides tools for the women to exit, such as access to higher education. Increased education in young women of Moroccan descent leads to more feminist interpretations of their religion and practices, refuting traditional gender roles, gaining increased authority in their own families, leading to changes in the family dynamics, roles, and relationships. The migrant family was the setting for the through negotiations between parents and the daughter for her to open a path towards education. However, many parents who migrate already perceive education as social prestige and value education, in which it was even a factor for migrating. However, there is still an expectation of maintaining their roles in the family. This can increase the felt pressure of expectations as they must perform in both

the academic role and the family role, meeting high expectations from two cultures instead of just one (Mendoza et al., 2021).

2.3.6 Child Migrants

Demographic factors such as age, gender, religion, and ethnicity are usually considered in describing a migrant, but in the case of children, there are a few more elements to add such as family composition, education, and age. Children and adolescents have more adaptation challenges than their adult counterparts because they are negotiating the cultural differences as well as their age specific development (García-Coll & Marks, 2009; Blanc et al., 2022). Three moments in children's development are more vulnerable to the development of psychiatric disorders, the first is the time right before and after the birth, second is the moment when the child begins attending school and the expansion of their social circle and their concept of community, and finally puberty and the beginning of adolescence. The combination of developmental transitions with cultural transitions creates a double challenge to identity formation (Bomba et al., 2017). Interestingly, research has begun to identify a significant increase of depression and associated symptoms for migrations that occurred during the period of adolescence, especially for girls (Avenevoli et al., 2008; Keles et al., 2017).

Migration can present a difficulty for the development of children, and adolescents in particular, because it causes a disruption, interruption, and disconnection of their social networks, which are essential to their wellbeing and development. In addition, the formation of new networks in their country of destination faces many obstacles such as language barriers, cultural differences, and discrimination in their peer circles (Lincoln et al., 2016). Social exclusion affects individuals'

sense of belonging, levels of self-esteem, and feelings of meaning. For children, in a school setting, social exclusion has been observed to correlate with high levels of dropping out, low academic achievement, skipping school, and low academic efficacy (Arslan, 2018). Behavioral, emotional, and psychological symptoms identified in children as a result of social exclusion in their primary circles include anxiety, depression, and physical violence and a reduction of their overall sense of wellbeing, a decrease in their reported levels of self-esteem, and their reported sense of security (Arslan, 2016; Li & Jiang, 2018).

Unaccompanied children

For a child to migrate in the confines of a family unit or alone (unaccompanied minor[20]) characterizes a large part of their experience of migration, from emigration to the journey to immigration. The journey for unaccompanied minors consists of five stages that each present different risk factors for the child: life in the country of origin where often they were exposed to poverty, violence or abuse; the migration journey which can include dangerous routes, falling into human trafficking, witnessing violence, being victims of violence, or malnutrition; crossing the border where they may be processed by border officials where they may be handled by aggressive police and be denied asylum and returned to their country; and postmigration settlement in youth centers, detention centers, foster care, or containment centers (Oldroyd et al., 2022).

In 1989, the UN adopted the Convention on the Rights of the Child declaring that children have the right to special assistance and protection due to their age. Thus, all countries belonging

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[20] *Unaccompanied minor*: "defined as being under the age of 18, outside their country of origin, and without their parents or previous legal/customary primary caregiver" (Seglem et al., 2014, p. 293).

to the UN that signed said convention have the obligation to care for unaccompanied children without conditions regarding their nationality, ethnicity, gender, language, or religion. For children age is all the more important, beyond a demographic characteristic, but an indicator of psychological vulnerability. Most unaccompanied minors migrate between the ages of 15 and 18, the peak of adolescence defined by large changes to their physiology, cognition, and identity (Vidal, 2011). "Health challenges for unaccompanied minors include nutritional deficiencies, dental caries, skin and gastrointestinal infections, low vaccination coverage, post-traumatic stress disorder, depression, and anxiety" (Maioli et al., 2021, p.882).

Unaccompanied minors are considered "neglected" of adult protection where any state has the obligation to step in. Children have special protections under international law due to the vulnerability of their age, but unaccompanied minors enjoy even more so protections. However, these protections are tied to their legal status as minors, when young people arrive undocumented, their age can often be an issue of dispute for border officials (Vidal, 2011).

Unaccompanied migrations can be dangerous, particularly for girls (Maioli et al., 2021). It is difficult to say if the same number of children emigrate and girls are caught on the journey so that they are unable to make it to their destination or if more boys emigrate than girls. Unaccompanied minors began arriving in Spain smuggled through dangerous routes, drawing international attention and demanding the government pay more attention to the rising issue (Vidal, 2011). Travel routes can become all the more dangerous as stricter restrictions are imposed at borders, forcing unaccompanied children to migrate under precarious conditions, including in using hired smugglers where the lines between migration and human trafficking blur (Maioli et al., 2021). Additionally, crossing the physical border does not guarantee safety. Being allowed to enter the country can lead to dangerous situations such as detention and containment in centers

where children remain without proper care and supervision and living in poor conditions (Maioli et al., 2021).

In Spain, the south-to-north migratory flow from Morocco is a particularly popular journey for unaccompanied minors, they migrate trying to escape poverty, inequality, low education, and limited job opportunities. The political relationship between the two countries has suffered throughout history due to multiple conflicts, and unauthorized migration has contributed to souring the relationship (Vidal, 2011). Moroccan boys have one clear avenue for obtaining a residence permit which is entering Spain unaccompanied and being declared a "neglected minor", which then offers opportunities for the rest of their family (Vidal, 2011). However, street-level bureaucracy initially handles these children's cases. Services to process and support unaccompanied minors are often overextended, and many countries illegally deport children who make legitimate claims for asylum (Maioli et al., 2021).

Figure 5

Unaccompanied Minors Registered in Spain by 2020 by Gender
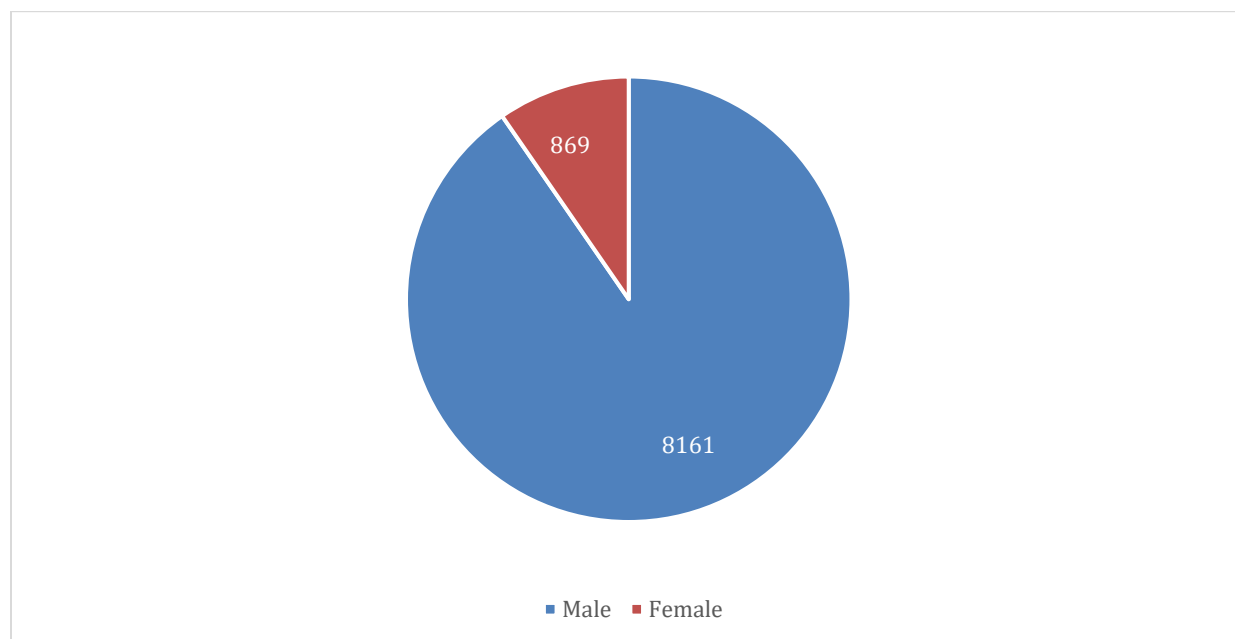
Note. Approximately 90% of unaccompanied minors arriving in Spain are boys. Adapted from Immigration and Borders General Commissariat, 2022.

Children in Families

Migration may complicate and obstruct the normal developmental markers children and adolescents go through (Migliorini et al., 2022), not just for unaccompanied minors but also for children who migrate with their family. Surprising findings in previous research suggest family does not necessarily offer protections or advantages to children's adaptation. Conflictive families make it harder for children to adapt to their country of destination, and migrant families have higher levels of conflict than locals (Posselt et al., 2015; Martínez García & Martín López, 2015; Lo et al., 2018). Children in migrant families had lower affluence and financial security than local children (Duinhof et al., 2020; Titzmann & Jugert, 2017). Children in migrant families reported

lower family satisfaction (Gao et al., 2015) and higher intrafamily violence (Müller et al., 2019). Migration destabilized the family unit, producing parentification (Stevens et al., 2015) and changes to family roles (Posselt et al., 2015). The more recent the migration, the higher the levels of family conflict (Salas-Wright et al., 2016; Lo et al., 2018). To further complicate the postmigration stage, family conflict made integration and adaptation more difficult for the child. Family support, in particular good communication with both mother and father, are essential for the adolescent's desire and ability to maintain a connection and practice with their culture of origin (Blanc et al., 2022).

In addition to risk factors for children's adaptation, family conflict was associated with suicide attempts and other mental health problems (Akkaya-Kalayci, et al., 2017). Parental mental health, income, and education are significant factors in the beneficial or detrimental role of the family to the migrant child (Buchanan et al., 2018). The impact of migration on children's development and mental health will be discussed in section 2.4. For a comprehensive view of migrant children's mental health risk and protective factors see Study I in Chapter 3.

2.4 Consequences of Migration and Settlement

2.4.1 Integration and Adaptation

There are multiple definitions and models of integration that can be used to measure migrant adaptation, and the factors contributing to or hindering the process. A five-dimensional model is popular (Economic/structural, health, subjective well-being, cultural assimilation, and civic/political integration) as well as an eight-dimensional model. Some of the dimensions overlap

and relate to each other, thus the underlying indicators of each dimension are important to clarify

and identify (Fajth & Lessard-Phillips, 2023).

Table 2

Eight-Dimension Model of Integration and Associated Indicators

Dimension	Indicators
Culture	Language, cultural understanding, values, cultural attitudes
Identity	Sense of belonging, self-identity
Social	Friendships, marriage, social mixing, interactions, acquaintances, social capital, isolation, membership in organizations
Discrimination	Perceptions of discrimination, hate crimes
Economic	Education level, socioeconomic status, income, occupation/employment
Civic/political	Citizenship, political representation, political participation
Spatial	Housing, residential segregation
Health/Medical	Physical health, mental health, self-reported wellbeing

Note. Adapted from Fajth & Lessard-Phillips, 2023, p.195.

Here the cultural, identity, and social models are gathered into one section. The

discrimination and medical section into another. The political, spatial[21], and economic dimensions

were addressed in previous sections.

Social Models

The social models acknowledge the impact of the two cultures the migrant must negotiate

as contexts for the adaptation process. Evaluating migrants' social resources is imperative to

understanding their support network and thus predicting not just their current wellbeing but future

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[21] More will be discussed about spatial factors in Table 3 and the theory of Third Places later in this section.

adaptation. Social inclusion and a sense of belonging are essential for migrants' wellbeing, particularly children among their peers at school (Li & Jiang, 2018). However, belonging to two cultures can bring contradictory values and thus requires the negotiation of two social identities. "These cultural[22] and identity[23] conflicts may determine the development of an identity crisis, representing an important risk factor for the onset of a psychiatric illness" (Bomba et al., 2017, p.2).

Identity for migrants can change in multiple ways, for example in suddenly becoming labeled as foreigners, in other words, the minority group, being a different religion whereas before they belonged to a community that all practiced the same religious beliefs (Phalet et al., 2018). Or for example, a non-culturally based example, but still an important part of their identity as their chosen career in their country of origin, which they may be unable to continue to practice in the country of destination. A career change can pose a threat to a person's developed self-concept (Blynova et al., 2020). Cross-cultural identity negotiations are each specific to each host country and each social context as well as how much each social context affects the individual and which are considered stressors[24] and complicate their personal experience of adaptation (Bomba et al., 2017).

These models have the advantage of considering variables pertinent to an underage population that other models would neglect, such as their social support network, in the overall understanding of how migration impacts mental health. The lack of stability, safety, acceptance,

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[22] *Sociocultural model*: the process through which the migrant integrates into their new community, through cultural negotiations, and measures their well-being and adaptation based on integrations and interactions, to effectively manage their new environment (Ryan et al., 2008).

[23] *Social identity model*: the process through which a person adapts is the internal renegotiation of their self-concept based on the context of their new ethnocultural network (Ryan et al., 2008).

[24] *Psychosocial stress model*: a person's adaptation process is not just an internal emotional experience, but added to it are multiple structural obstacles, environmental factors, and family dynamics that act as stressors to the negotiations of the process (Ryan et al., 2008).

warmth, and connection to a community at such pivotal ages of development tend to be considered as potential events for emotional wounds and even trauma, which can lead to feelings of depression, anxiety, and other mental health issues (Ryan et al., 2008).

Figure 6

Social Model Macro-, Meso-, and Micro-Environments Impacting Adaptation through Personal Competencies
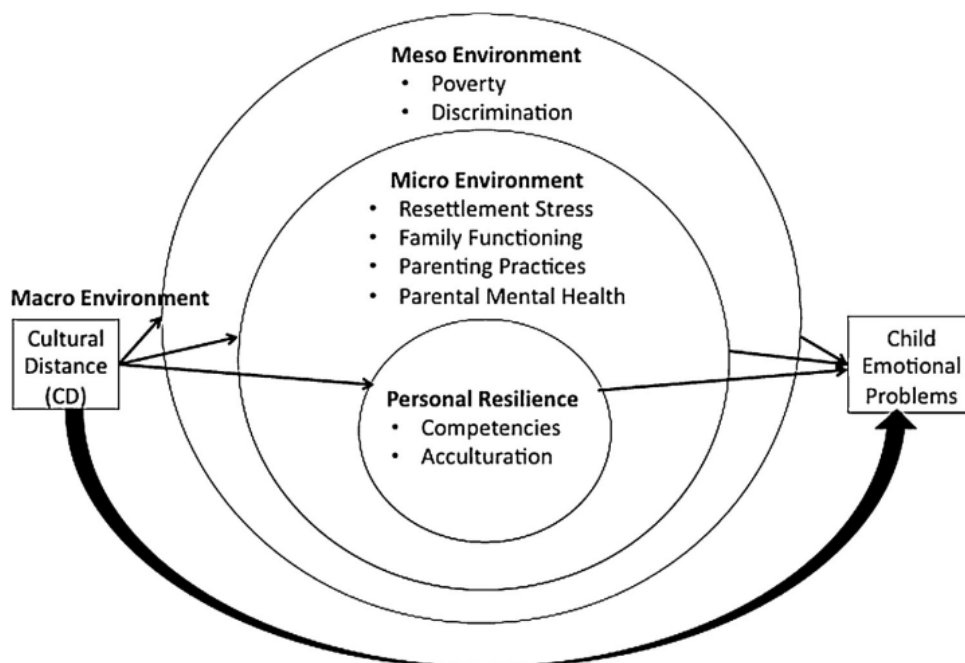
Note. The social model identifies three levels of social environments that act as stressors to the personal competencies a migrant has to negotiate coexistence in said environments. From Beiser et al., 2015, p.35. Copyright 2015 by Elsevier Ltd.

The larger the cultural distance[25] between the country of origin and their new environment after migration the more difficult the negotiations. For example, the larger the cultural distance, such as a change in the majority religion, language, and other cultural elements, the more time and effort the negotiation can take because the number of stressors the person must resolve is larger. Thus, the larger the cultural distance of the migration the greater the risk for mental health symptoms to arise postmigration (Beiser et al., 2015).

This model considers the capacity for adaptation as a result of the combination of a person's processing of stressors and mitigating factors. Social stress is defined by the demands of their new environment, which are countered by the psychological and external resources the person has to cope with resolving them. If they lack sufficient resources, stressors may outweigh the migrant's processing capacity and produce psychological distress. Stressors are mitigated by supporting relationships (external social resources) and resolved through the person's coping strategies (internal psychological resources). The lack of relational resources is a situation common to migrants as they leave their communities, friends, workplaces, religious groups, etc. Families are some of the few groups that may migrate together and thus provide an advantage in maintaining the primary relational resources almost intact. When studying families, a model that inherently considers the person's relationships as resources to help them cope with their adaptation process is a useful framework for designing interview questions that trace their support networks (Ryan et al., 2008).

To assess the state of wellbeing and adaptation, this model aims to gather a picture of the person's cognitive construct of their world, the meanings a person assigns to stressors can be

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[25] *Cultural distance*: the difference between the culture of a migrants' home country and country of resettlement, not numerically quantifiable but qualitatively different according to subjective perceptions of distance (Beiser et al., 2015).

completely different from another migrant in similar circumstances with similar resources. The assumption is that in a population with the same stressors and resources, their subjective experience is completely different, so exploring their inner world is where the answers lie to their resolving issues to adaptation that may be causing mental health problems. Thus, interventions under this model focus on the individual and teaching them effective coping skills to enlarge their arsenal of internal resources. This is common in individual cognitive-based talk therapies. A person's distress is no longer defined as dysfunction or pathology like under the *medical model* but a normal response to stress, where meanings and perspectives can be altered, and coping skills such as resilience can be taught and reinforced. However, this model does not propose altering their external resources. There is no consideration for social change, public policy, or systemic inequalities. This model does not consider how stressors may vary by demographic group or advocate for redistribution of external resources for a more egalitarian society (Ryan et al., 2008).

John Berry and Acculturation

John W. Berry is one of the most popular names in the field of migration psychology, studying the psychological impact of intercultural contact. He has contributed extensive research into how a specific form of acculturation[26] he designates as "integration" is related to overall well-being and fewer mental health symptoms emerging postmigration. Due to the sustained interactions with new cultures, the migrant undergoes multilevel changes such as measurable

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[26] *Acculturation*: the process of social and psychological adjustment and negotiation that a migrant goes through at the encounter of two cultures, their culture of their country of origin in which they began developing, and the culture of the country they migrated to (Berry, 2003).

cognitive, behavioral, and emotional markers, this is what Berry described as the acculturation process (2008).

Figure 7

John Berry's Acculturation Model

	Maintains native culture	Rejects native culture
Maintains host culture	Integration[27]	Assimilation[28]
Rejects host culture	Separation[29]	Marginalization[30]

Note. Adapted from Berry et al., 2011.

An advantage of this model is it considers both the acculturation of groups and individuals. Berry defines *acculturation* in groups as the changes to the internal structures of the group and its cultural practices. For the individual migrant, it is the changes in behaviors and their choice to engage in intercultural encounters. "Acculturation represents the dual process of cultural and

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[27] *Integration*: "the two-way process of mutual adaptation between migrants and the societies in which they live, whereby migrants are incorporated into the social, economic, cultural and political life of the receiving community" (IOM, 2019a). For the individual the process is felt by a decision to maintain their culture of origin whilst participating and coming in contact with the dominant culture of their destination and having the possibility by said culture being open to this contact (Berry, 2008).

[28] *Assimilation*: the process by which the individual of the non-dominant culture – the migrant – does not maintain their cultural identity but rather seeks regular contact and participation with the local dominant culture (Berry, 2008). It is noteworthy that the process of assimilation is a decision made by the migrant, when the rejection of the culture of origin and acceptance of the culture of destination is forced by the dominant culture this is referred to as *segregation* (Berry, 2008).

[29] *Separation*: the process by which the individual of the non-dominant culture – the migrant – wish to maintain their cultural identity and thus seeks to avoid regular contact and participation with the local dominant culture, and thereby separates from the culture they are surrounded by (Berry, 2008).

[30] *Marginalization*: the process by which the individual of the non-dominant culture – the migrant – does not wish to maintain their cultural identity and to avoid regular contact and participation with the local dominant culture, thereby remains on the margins of both cultures (Berry, 2008).

psychological change that takes place as a result of contact between two or more cultural groups and their individual members" (Schwartz & Unger, 2016, p.15).

Acculturation is described as a mutual process; change does not just take place in the migrant or migrant group but also in the receiving culture and its individuals as it welcomes foreigners and comes in contact with them. The cultural negotiations happen on both sides and together. Many models do not consider the role of the population at the country of destination, this makes this model a much more rounded approach, considering the inner world of the migrant, the group with which the migrant relocated, or those who have made a similar journey at other times, and the group receiving them (Berry, 2001; Berry, 2003; Berry, 2008; Berry et al., 2011).

The concept of continuous contact is important to *acculturation*, where the groups interact with regularity and for a prolonged amount of time. *Acculturation* cannot be measured in the early days of arrival. With enough time to get to know each group's cultural patterns, they begin to merge and transform each other. *Acculturation* of both cultures is referred to in old French research but is not commonly used called *interculturation*. If only one group adapts to the other (most often the arriving culture to that of the destination), Berry calls this *assimilation* and does not relate to psychological wellbeing as much as *integration* because it often requires the migrant to reject aspects of their cultural identity and imitate locals as closely as possible. The opposite reaction he calls *separation*, where the migrant holds on to their cultural identity and rejects that of the country of destination, and thus can only maintain close ties with other migrants of their same origin (Berry, 2008).

Finally, the fourth scenario, and most related to severe mental health problems, Berry calls *marginalization* where the migrant rejects both the culture at their destination and their culture of

origin, resulting in severe isolation and disconnect from their cultural identity without a formation of a new identity (Berry, 2001).

Positive Psychology and Migrant Wellbeing

The latter part of the 20th century saw a turn in psychological trends to focus less on abnormal behavior and diagnosing mental illness, to questioning what "normal" or "natural" human behavior was, and exploring what elements create happiness. Thus, positive psychology was born (Diener, 2009). However, branches of psychological research saw delays in following the trend. For example, migration psychology research overly focused on migration trauma and mental illness diagnoses most commonly identified in migrants (Hayward, 2019). It is only in the past decade that concepts such as migrants' sense of satisfaction, gratitude, positive future outlook and hopefulness have entered the vocabulary of migrant research and the impact on adaptation. Even less common than the migrants' internal resources' role in prospective migrant wellbeing[31], is the role of the space they migrate to, and the resources therein offered to their successful adaptation.

The wellbeing literature in general has revealed that in addition to individual factors (e.g., personal health, employment, finances), place characteristics are correlated to subjective wellbeing, including but not limited to civic engagement, access to good quality food,

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[31] *Wellbeing*: "a positive state of affairs in individual, relationships, organizations, communities, and the natural environment brought about by the simultaneous and balanced satisfaction of material and psychological needs; and the behavioral manifestation of material and psychological justice" (Prilleltensky, 2008, p. 359-360).

open/green space, retailing, and social support, sense of belonging, and housing/living

environment. (Zhuang & Lok, 2023, p.1)

One of the leading theories of space related wellbeing was that of the *Third Place*,

established by Oldenburg in 1982 and developed further in 1999 (Oldenburg & Brissett) into eight

characteristics describing a place aside from where people live (first place) and work (second

place) to have a well-rounded life that leads to wellbeing. These spaces are often public spaces or

privately owned public spaces where communities can gather that are:

Table 3

Eight Characteristics of Third Places

Characteristic	Definition
Neutral ground	neutral grounds where individuals are free to come and go as they please with little obligation or entanglements with other participants.
Leveler	spaces in which an individual's rank and status in the workplace or society at large are of no import. Acceptance and participation is not contingent on any prerequisites, requirements, roles, duties, or proof of membership
Conversation is main activity	conversation is a main focus of activity in which playfulness and wit are collectively valued
Accessibility & accommodation	must be easy to access and are accommodating to those who frequent them
The regulars	include a cadre of regulars who attract newcomers and give the space its characteristic mood
A low profile	characteristically homely and without pretension
The mood is playful	playful mood and marked by frivolity, verbal word play, and wit
A home away from home	are home-like: rootedness, feelings of possession, spiritual regeneration, feelings of being at ease, and warmth

Note. Table summarizing Oldenburg's 1999 characteristics of third places. Adapted from

Steinkuehler & Williams, 2006.

Migrants in particular, who must reconstruct a life in the country of destination lose the third places from their country of origin, and while finding first and second places priorities in resettling, third places are not prioritized, as well as the availability of such spaces which has decreased in the past decades. Third places are spaces for migrants to find community interaction and cohesion, social services, and access to shared ethnocultural resources (food, retail, music, and religious practices). The area type (rural or urban) where migrants settle affects how they will live their adaptation process due to the availability of official and social resources that serve as third places. However, the role of the physical, geographical place[32] in migrant adaptation has not been well researched (Zhuang & Lok, 2023).

Wellbeing, as defined among the key terms in the introduction, is a consideration of five domains in a positive locus – the individual to themselves, to their relationships, to their community, to connected organizations, and the environment in which they find themselves that produces a sense of satisfaction due to their needs being met. This is not just about positive relationships but justice in the access to resources - material and psychological (Prilleltensky, 2008; Ryan et al., 2008). Migrants experience a reduced experience of justice if their value as second-class citizens is diminished in their country of destination. Not that they experienced a fully rounded wellbeing in their country of origin, as this is often the motivation for migrating, due to material injustice such as poverty or war, or psychological injustice such as abuse, violence, discrimination, lack of freedoms, or lack of opportunity.

Wellbeing is by definition impossible to achieve alone without considering the individual's environment, migrant wellbeing is dependent on the environment to which they migrate, thus the onus is not solely on the individual to adapt in order to be well (Prilleltensky, 2008), but on the

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[32] See Table 2 about the eight-dimensional model of integration, specifically the spatial factor is underdeveloped in research.

environment to provide resources both social and material. Evaluating the migrant's social resources is an avenue to assessing their current and future wellbeing. The protective and risk factors that play a role in migrant wellbeing are complex, present on multiple planes combining to create dynamic and new conditions to which they must adjust, "objective and subjective… factors interact across ecological levels" (Prilleltensky, 2008, p.359).

The social plane of the family is a primary factor for children's wellbeing. A positive relationship with parents mediates connection to family country of origin culture, which mediates integration (Blanc et al., 2022). Maintaining a connection and open communication with their parents is important for children as they grow and develop autonomy in order to continue to connect to their culture of origin (Blanc et al., 2022), which as John Berry has identified, is important for well-being, integration is about the negotiation of their new culture and family culture, an abandoning of their family culture does not contribute to their overall well-being as much as learning to negotiate a co-existence and dual practice (Berry, 2001).

2.4.2 Trauma and Maladaptation

Stress, Migratory Hassles, and Coping Behaviors

In migration research on the negative effects of migration, there is a strong focus on trauma and clinical diagnoses, such as PTSD. However, recent studies have been finding a smaller yet just as significant issue to wellbeing and adaptation. "In the migrant and refugee literature, there is a growing awareness that hassles are equally strong, if not stronger, predictors of mental health

problems, especially depression, compared to traumatic and major life events" (Seglem et al., 2014, p.294).

Hassles are small, troublesome, inconvenient situations that cause concern and stress. There are three types of hassles to distinguish between in the research around small and low-level stressors evaluating the postmigration well-being of migrants: daily hassles, which are the irritations stemming from the demands of everyday life that are common to the general population, not just migrants. Then there are migratory hassles which are the inconveniences of being a foreigner in a different country, such as having to process paperwork, speaking in a second language, learning to navigate job applications in a new country, small racial insensitive remarks, etc. Finally, there are acculturation hassles, which arise from having to learn and adapt to a new culture as a minority ethnicity, such as learning a new language, new customs, making social faux pas, misunderstanding idioms, learning to dress for each occasion (Seglem et al., 2014).

Migrants experience stressors in all shapes and sizes, those unique to their experience, those common to migrants, and those common to locals. This is why examining the compound effect is crucial to a full-picture understanding of their risk factors. An increase in hassles has been found to be associated with an increased risk of mental health problems (Lincoln et al., 2016; Seglem et al., 2014).

Acculturation theory provides a framework for understanding the transition migrants make psychologically from one culture to another because migration is a geographical movement, but it is also a coping process with the negotiations of cultural compromises. The acculturation process is rooted in stress management and coping strategies. Exposure to new elements on such a consistent basis that happens to people when they migrate requires continuous management of stressors. Identifying the coping behaviors associated with better acculturation outcomes, certain

cultures prefer certain behaviors, thus it seems that some migrants from certain cultures have greater ease during the adaptation process (Kuo, 2014).

The Medical Model

The primary theoretical model through which the migrant experience, and particularly the plight of refugees, has been understood is the *medical model* - particularly since the standardization of the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM). The trend was to categorize symptoms into diagnostic disorders, conduct studies with an epidemiological focus, and place psychopharmacology as the center of interventions and solutions (Ryan et al., 2008). Refugees often present more externally observable symptoms and thus have been a preferred population for researchers to focus on, thus, the conclusion of the impact of migration centered for a long time around premigratory trauma, exposure to violence, and clinically significant PTSD[33] (Buchanan et al., 2018; Hameed et al., 2018).

> [T]he bio-medical model has, in many ways, become a 'regime of truth', with the power to define refugees' problems and thus shape the policies and services that affect their lives. While not denying that many refugee youth and their families may benefit from such therapeutic interventions, it is our contention that working with this population requires a significant expansion, diversification and transformation of the current paradigm informing social work practice to incorporate the multiple and unique cultures and contexts of this population. (Fennig & Denov, 2018, p.300)

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[33] Post traumatic stress disorder.

But trauma does not paint the full postmigratory picture of a refugee's experience, much less for those that did not migrate to escape danger or were forcibly displaced but left of their own accord and in their own time. With the growing popularity of positive psychology in the 1990s with the research of Martin E.P. Seligman, there was more discussion of concepts like resilience, hope, life satisfaction, well-being, self-esteem, and self-efficacy (Diener, 2009). The medical model also does not consider the individual's culture of origin, culture of destination, the communities they are part of, and environmental resources. This required a more systemic understanding of a migrant's environment, the social variables that played a part in their premigratory experience, and new variables encountered postmigration.

Premigration, Journey, and Postmigration Trauma

There is an assumption that in studying the significant events of a person's life, self-narrative, and self-identification this is what will reveal the core aspects of their current state, even if the events are largely in the past, that they define the present emotional being and behavior. The first hypothesis here is that migration is such an event, one that impacts and colors a life ever after because migration is often characterized as a complex loss triggering a grief period that can be resolved with the right inner and external resources to reach adaptation in their new culture. Migration is best divided into three distinct stages when discussing trauma and harm - premigration, the journey, and postmigration. Migrants experience significant loss at every stage of the process, during premigration they can lose homes, community, culture, and in extreme cases,

these losses are deaths due to political violence or climate calamities (Kelly, 2010; Wang et al., 2015).

During migration, the road to their destination can be dangerous, with many migrants witnessing the deaths of other migrants on the way, sexual violence, starvation, and getting caught in human trafficking (Cleary et al., 2018). Finally, after arriving at their destination, they may not find safety yet, encountering refugee settlement camps, discrimination, poverty, family separation at the border, and bureaucratic obstacles keeping them from accessing essential and vital resources (Posselt et al., 2015).

Exposure to premigration violence was established as one of the largest predictors of mental health symptoms emerging postmigration, nevertheless looking at only premigratory factors would result in an incomplete picture of the factors affecting their adaptation process as most migrants' cases comprehend a complex set of difficult experiences postmigration (Reed et al., 2012). Over time, certain risk and protective factors have been identified. Common risk factors identified for children migrants include exposure to premigration violence, settlement in a refugee camp, unaccompanied migration, perceived discrimination, witnessing postmigration violence, parental exposure to violence, low financial support, single-parent homes, and parental psychiatric problems. Protective factors that have been identified so far include high parental support and family cohesion, self-reported peer support (friendships), and self-reported positive school experience (Fazel et al., 2012).

Most studies of refugees (migrants who most commonly experienced premigration violence) focus on mental health problems and accompanying diagnoses, commonly post-traumatic stress disorder, depressive disorder, anxiety disorder, and conduct disorder. However, some refugees do not display mental illnesses despite severe trauma, yet little research has been

conducted in identifying the factors differentiating coping behaviors or adaptation strategies to psychological distress brought on by migration experiences, premigration, flight, and postmigration (Seglem et al., 2014).

There are many definitions of the circumstances and evoked emotions that precede the formation of trauma. But a pertinent definition to migration trauma research is prolific author and psychotherapist Peter A. Levine's (2008), "trauma is a loss of connection to ourselves, our bodies, to our families, to others, to the world around us." Postmigration trauma is largely associated with the difficulty in forming social networks, the loss of the previous networks, and the rejection of local groups, whereas premigration trauma is often associated with violence in the form of war, conflict, poverty, and malnutrition (Stuart & Nowosad, 2020).

2.5 Migration in Spain

Migration trends are highly influenced by political and economic changes, thus understanding the present impact of migration requires framing it within a recent historic context to understand the how migrants started to arrive in a particular country and how they are their children are faring and adapting (Izquierdo et al., 2016). This is why this framework needed to include an overview of Spanish migration history of at least the last 100 years to cover three generations of migrant experience. However, it is worth mentioning that Spain's history of migration is the oldest in the world, with fossil records identified dating back 1.4 million years (Nalewicki, 2022).

2.5.1 History of Migratory Movements and Policies in Spain from the 20th to the 21st Century

1900-1940

Beginning with the early 20th century, the political context in Spain was highly unstable much like the rest of the European continent. The turning of the century brought a lot of changes in multiple spheres of life. Changes in emigration and immigration trends can be traced back to the development of free movement laws and advances in healthcare changed mortality and fertility rates, economic stagnation, and four decades of political instability which defined the European continent (1898-1939). Migration significantly reduced during the first world war as Spain tried to maintain neutrality and avoid open war on its land (Izquierdo et al., 2016).

Both emigration and immigration were banned during the Spanish civil war (1936-1939) and at the beginning of the severe dictatorship under Francisco Franco. In 1946, migration was finally permitted again which triggered an outgoing migration wave as people fled the oppression and persecution. The immediate migration flow targeted South America, as the rest of the European continent was similarly politically unstable post-World War II. Argentina was the final destination at which most Spanish migrants settled (Izquierdo et al., 2016).

Thus, throughout the 20th century, Spain was known more as a country of emigration than immigration (Zapata-Barrero, 2008; Hooper, 2019; Finotelli & Rinken, 2023). Throughout the following decades, as Europe found some stability, Spanish emigration flows redirected to include spreading throughout the continent, particularly to France, Spain's bordering neighbor (Izquierdo et al., 2016).

1950-1970

Migration trends began to shift after the Spanish Civil War. Between the years 1960 to 1973, 1.3 million people emigrated out of Spain to other European countries such as France, Switzerland, and Germany as primarily unskilled labor migrants, seeking work in the agricultural, mining, and manufacturing sectors, less than in the previous decade but still a significant number of important workers that were not participating in the development of the economy (Hooper, 2019).

Migration flows out of Morocco originally went primarily towards France, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Germany in the 1960s. However, Moroccans were still a significant population in Spain as the largest migrant population (Zapata-Barrero, 2008). Migrants played a large role in the development of the economy as essential workers and Spain saw an industrial economic boom which helped the country recover from the conflict's devastation to its economy. This in turn made Spain an even more appealing destination for migrants looking for economic opportunities as an easy labor market in which to participate (Østergaard-Nielsen, 2009).

Due to the 1960's economic growth, emigration decreased by the 1970s and immigration increased. The country's international reputation of stability and development markedly changed, and on par with migration flow research, migration followed an increase in employment opportunities (Beine et al., 2019). The Spanish government responded to this sudden and marked increase in migration by increasing its restrictive migration policies and creating bureaucratic barriers to entry (Izquierdo et al., 2016). The political relationship between Morocco and Spain developed increased tension due to restrictions on the migration corridor (Carling, 2007).

In 1967, the government passed a Law of Religious Liberty that permitted the creation of non-Catholic religious associations. This enabled the modest Muslim population residing in Spain at the time to create several small associations during the years that followed. (Astor, 2014, p.1719)

Spain's change in population origins began a new period as the country tried to negotiate the integration of new cultures while regulating their role in society. This was particularly nuanced with the arrival of Muslim people and the increased practice of Islam. Allowing Muslim migrants to begin having a voice in the public arena was a recognition of their growing numbers as the primary minority group residing in Spain (Astor, 2014).

1970-1999

On the other end of this particular migration corridor, Moroccan dissatisfaction with their government and the general state of poverty had been rising for 30 years before the turn of the century. Despite rising average PCI (per capita income), Morocco also experienced an increase in unemployment rates and incidences of people living below the poverty line, indicating a lack of distribution of the increasing wealth. A 1998 survey revealed that 72% of the Moroccan population wished to migrate. The least expensive migration towards a wealthier country was clearly to their neighbor – Spain (Carling, 2007). Restrictive policies and denying work visas to irregular workers encouraged the black economy which saw many migrant workers suffering labor abuse. Riots and a clear increase in the population forced the Spanish government to consider integration policies, whose effectiveness is primarily evaluated through the easy absorption into the labor market which

at the time was booming, making officials assume integration was successful (Zapata-Barrero, 2008).

The marked increase in migration made the total population in Spain rise by 12%. The primary migrants were from other European nations, then from Latin America, and finally from Morocco (Izquierdo et al., 2016; Royo & Royo, 2020). The strong demand for labor could not be met just by the national population, which made the population more receptive to welcoming migrant labor compared to current attitudes initially (Paloma et al., 2014) and indeed the thriving economy could be attributed in part to the influx of foreign labor which resulted in fourteen years of uninterrupted flourishing from 1993 to 2007 during which every economic indicator of growth was increasing and positive (Royo & Royo, 2020).

However, by the end of the 20th century, the Spanish population was highly concerned about the rise in Moroccan immigrants and the accompanying crime rates reportedly committed by them in the media. The first use of the word "Islamophobia" in Spanish news media was in 1987 (Corral et al., 2023). The general discourse began to change. Thus, the country introduced even more new visa requirements for people coming from North Africa. This did not deter migrants but rather spawned the creation of smuggling services (Carling, 2007). The conditions of migration, through illegal border crossings, smuggling, and trafficking due to restrictive policies created a population that could not easily integrate into the regulated labor market (Finotelli & Rinken, 2023). The average condition of Moroccan migrants upon arrival in Spain was poor, with low quality of life conditions, urban segregation, and experiences of racism (Téllez Delgado & Ramírez Fernández, 2018).

2000-2008

Migration trends became more complex as popular attitudes responded to increases in migration (Izquierdo et al., 2016). Moroccans were viewed by the media and by some Spanish citizens as more dangerous than other migrants, such as compared to migrants from Ecuador (Bertoli et al., 2013). Migration bilateral agreements were signed with Eastern European and Latin American countries, but not with Morocco. The reasons for the omission were about how these nations had a cultural similarity to Spain, whereas the Spanish population's perception of Islam was as culturally opposite to themselves, despite Morocco and Spain's longstanding cultural and historical exchanges (Zapata-Barrero, 2008). In response to preferences in perceptions, Spain created welcoming migration policies to allow Equatorian migrants to enter Spain more easily, resulting in a large influx of people from Latin America when political instability there increased during the turn of the century (Bertoli et al., 2013; Blanc et al., 2022).

However, the proximity to Morocco contributed to the consistent flow of migrants despite legal measures to keep them out. Migration controls began to be implemented in Spain such as the Sistema Integrado de Vigilancia Exterior (SIVE) which surveilled the coastline through multi-format imaging connected to a centralized computer that produced a comprehensive picture of unauthorized entry points. This system was established in 2002 and by 2006 had covered 500km of Spain's southern coast (Collyer, 2007). In 2004, both countries agreed to create dual controls of Mediterranean migrant crossings through naval patrols (Collyer, 2007).

Migration controls were used as political plays in the two countries' bilateral relations, lifting controls or more strictly enforcing them (BBC, 2021) according to what they wished to communicate or negotiate. The media also participated in the altering of perceptions, connecting

footage of refugees at the border with criminal statistics (Zapata-Barrero & Díez-Nicolás, 2012). Spain officially operates under the Geneva Convention's definition of refugee and asylum-seeker as well as the appropriate response to migrants arriving on its shores. Unauthorized entry is not illegal according to the Geneva Convention if it is undergone to seek asylum. The term "illegal migrant" is most commonly used by politicians and media but avoided by international agencies for the derogatory connotation. However, the media does not respect those definitions or terms accordingly and cultural opinions of migrants in Spain became negative largely due to the portrayal of undocumented migrants making unauthorized crossings of the border in the media (Carling, 2007, p.5).

Political parties in Spain only began to include the immigration agenda in their electoral campaigns in the early 21st century, which has since become one of the most important concerns around electoral seasons, in particular, the issue of irregular migration and managing the country's borders (Zapata-Barrero, 2008). However, the average Spanish citizen did not look down on migrants as much as the media and politicians seemed to reflect in the early 2000s (Zapata-Barrero & Díez-Nicolás, 2012), data which has since changed.

2009- 2019

Spain, much like has been found in other countries, experienced changes in the migration flows that paralleled economic opportunities (Grogger & Hanson, 2011), however, the trends have become more complex in recent years (Izquierdo et al., 2016). Migration in Spain had unique characteristics, differentiating trends from other migration flows from developing to developed

nations due to Spain's struggle to recover from the 2008 economic crisis significantly more than its neighboring countries in the European continent (Izquierdo et al., 2016).

Figure 8

Spanish Population Distributed by Place of Birth in 2009
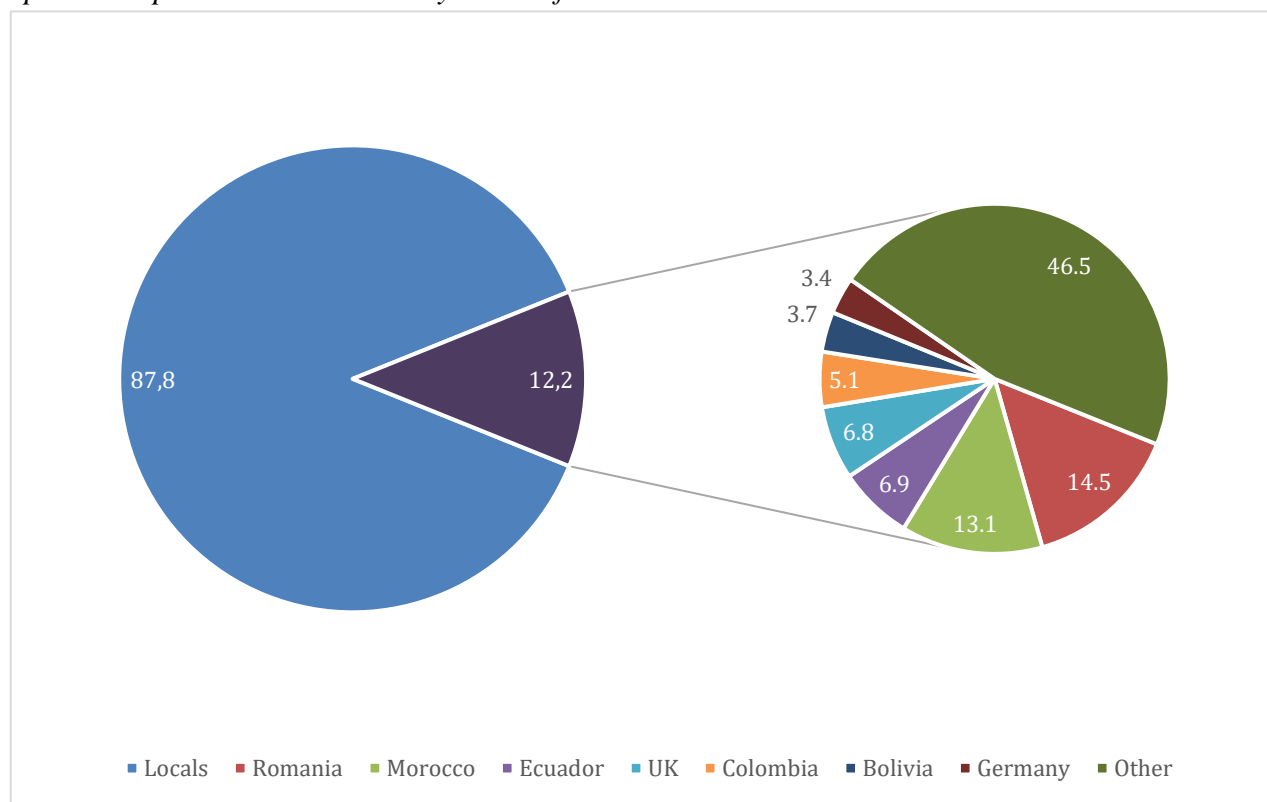
Note. The percentage of the Spanish population that was composed by documented and undocumented migrants was at an all-time high before the 2008 economic crisis halted increasing migratory flows. Adapted from INE, 2010 and Gil Araujo & Pedone, 2013.

In Spain emigration rates increased to the point of concerning researchers that the outgoing migration flow was stronger than was good for the stability and recovery of the country, however, this issue was rarely raised as a cause for concern in the media and the public discourse about a second wave of emigration similar to that of the mid-20th Century (Bermudez & Brey, 2017). In

addition, the economic crises saw a reversal of immigration trends to Spain, which came to a near standstill in 2008, particularly from its neighboring European nations. The only migration flow that rose during that time was incoming from Morocco, although unemployment in Spain remained high after the crisis due in part to the reduced cost of migrating from a close location and Spain's reputation in Morocco as a preferable destination to remaining locally (Bertoli et al., 2013; Izquierdo et al., 2016).

In addition, xenophobia - particularly islamophobia - was rising which did not dissuade or impact migration levels from Morocco, as well as a dislike for irregular migrants (Zapata-Barrero, 2008, Izquierdo et al., 2016). Irregular migration was a bigger issue in the late 20th century than it is at present due to a gap between the need for a worker influx into the labor market, and on the other hand, exceedingly restrictive policies. Yet the media presents the phenomenon of migration as primarily an issue with unauthorized migration and with irregular status (Finotelli & Rinken, 2023).

2020 – now

Migration in Spain and the impact of the pandemic, much like on a global level, inflow decreased compared to previous years. In 2019, Spain saw 666,000 individuals migrate to Spain. Whereas in 2020, the number decreased to 415,000. That constituted a reduction of 37.7% in immigration. In 2021, the outflow of foreign nationals and the inflow of migrants balanced out to almost no effective change in population, with an excess of 8,400 people staying in the country over those leaving – migrating elsewhere or returning to their country (Cuadrado & Montero, 2022).

The pandemic also produced a change in the countries of origin of migrants. Migration from other EU countries rose from 27% of the incoming migration numbers to 42% in 2021. International travel and transatlantic travel had greater restrictions throughout the pandemic, decreasing the number of migrants outside the legislative area. Thus, the migratory flow from South and Central America decreased from 47% to 26% in that same period. These changes impacted the Spanish economy, in addition to the difficulties added by the pandemic, with an overall reduction of workers available to enter the market, which had been increasing consistently prior to the pandemic, but for the first time saw a decrease in the labor force of 1.3% in 2020 (Cuadrado & Montero, 2022).

Figure 9

Immigrants Entering Spain per Semester 2015-2022
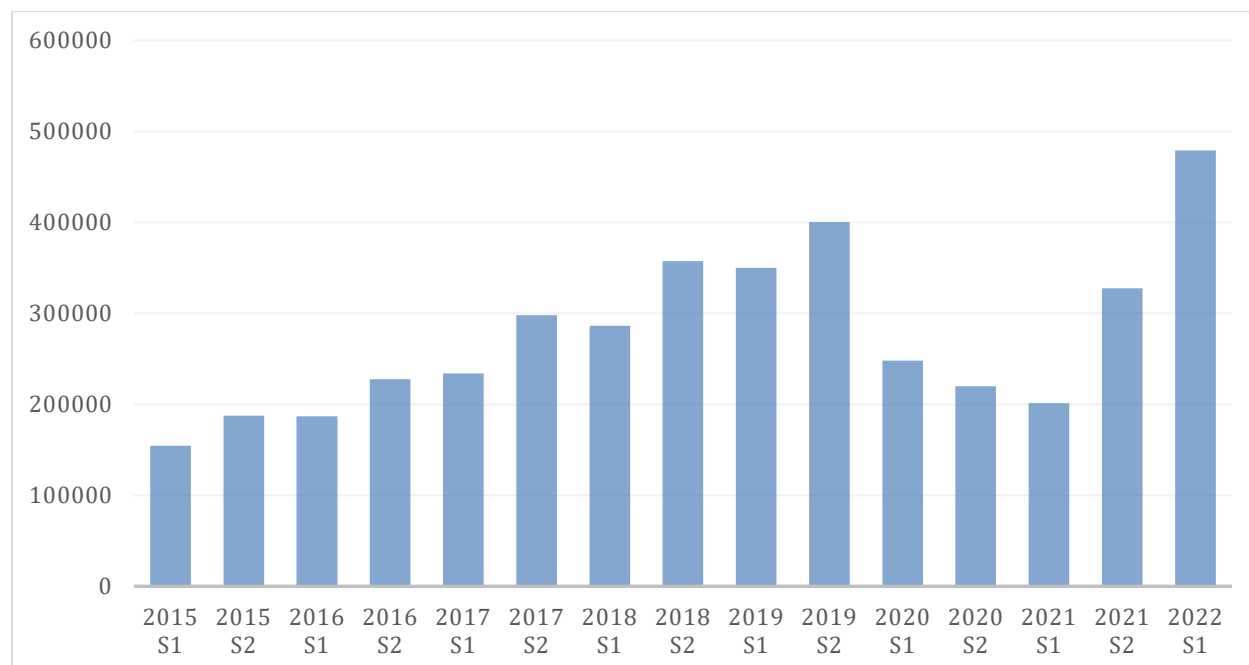
Note. Reduction in incoming migration during COVID-19. Adapted from INE, 2022a.

The UN had called out the Spanish government for migrant labor conditions in early 2020 before the pandemic started, due to migrants' difficulty accessing water, electricity, or sanitation, which were then exacerbated by COVID-19. Due to the labor shortage produced by border closings and quarantines during the pandemic, Spain, along with other countries in Europe, enacted measures to address migrant vulnerability, specifically those employed in the agri-food sector, by giving those undocumented the chance to regularize their status, an increase in their wages, and formalizing their work contracts (Corrado & Palumbo, 2022).

Figure 10

Spanish Population Distributed by Place of Birth in 2022
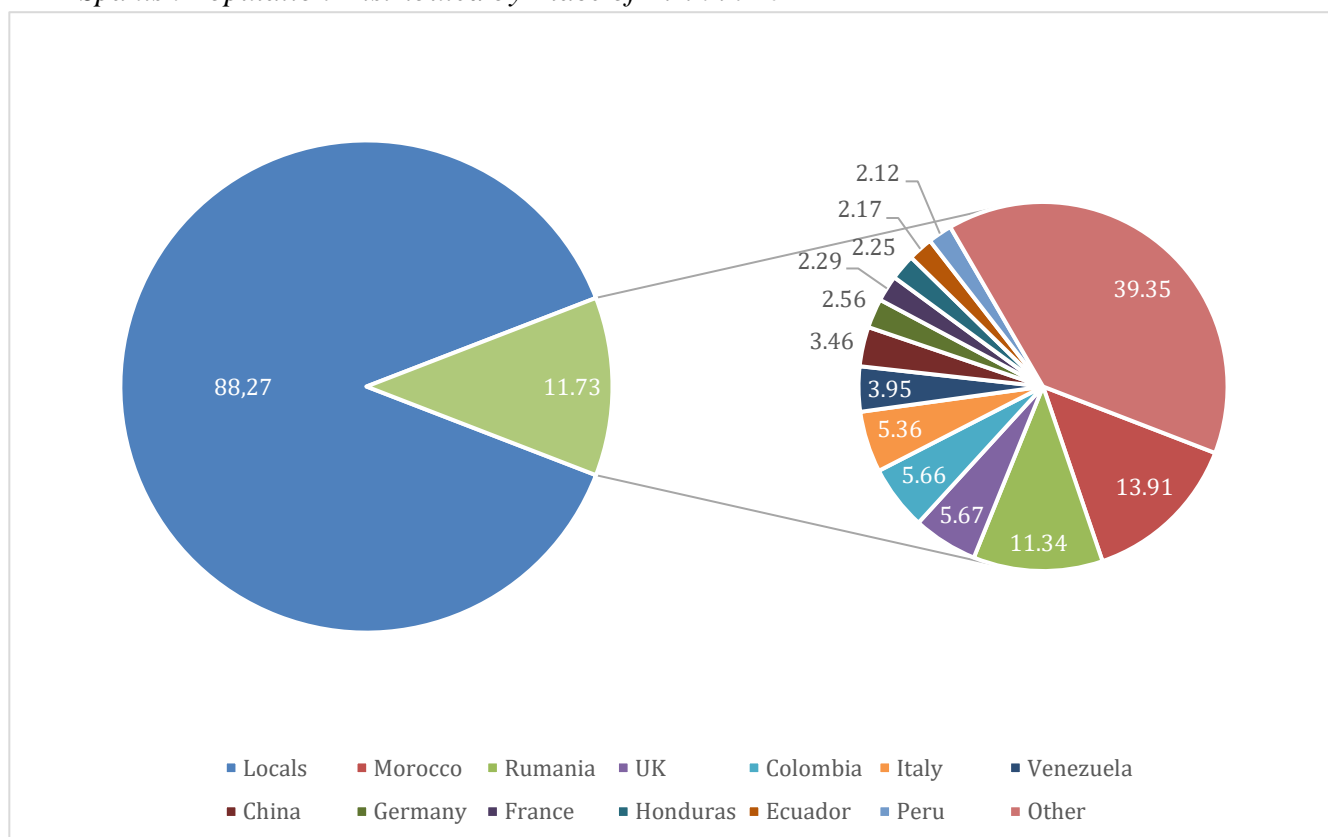
Note. Emigration and immigration have made the percentage of population that is from foreign origins stable since the 2008 crisis. However, the origins of the migratory flows have varied in country of origin. Adapted from Statista, 2023 and INE, 2023.

Notably, Spain's migratory flows differs from other European countries and developed countries with strong economies, the trends do not display steady increase in migration and from consistent geographical origins. Spain's alternating trends of emigration and immigration correlate with its struggles with political and economic stability. It remains to be seen how the pandemic and ensuing economic struggles impact migration flows, but it can be predicted that if immigration is permitted at previous levels to the pandemic or greater, the economy may recover and even thrive.

2.5.2 Current Cultural Attitudes to Immigration

Cultural and political attitudes towards migrants – and the subsequent policies voted in - often follow economic trends and perceived economic opportunities as political discourse pairs and contrasts the two (Izquierdo et al., 2016). Spain's unique economic trajectory marked a trend in attitudes and policies as one of the European countries that struggled the most following the 2008 economic crisis (Arango, 2013), which was then further complicated by the COVID-19 pandemic. Spain had not reached pre-2008 unemployment rates by the time the pandemic started (Royo & Royo, 2020), making it one economic crisis on top of another.

Researchers identified three factors that influenced the Spanish population's positive views on migration throughout the 20th century, the same three factors which then changed with geopolitical events, and thus were able to predict the shift in attitudes before they occurred. The three factors were first a belief that immigration had a positive effect on economic growth. Second, the political discourse framed immigration as an expression of democratic values. Third, migrants

consisted of such a low percentage of the population that they were rarely perceived by the general population, this low visibility made them seem a small, insignificant, unthreatening, and scattered group (Arango, 2013). For example, in Spain in 2006, 772,000 new jobs were created of which about 60% were held by migrants. Then in 2007, 50% of the employment growth was attributed to migration. Between 1995 and 2005, the population of Spain increased by 10.7% of which 78.6% were migrants. As opposed to other countries in Europe that saw an average demographic growth of 4.8% (Royo & Royo, 2020).

However, with rising unemployment, decades of liberal migration policies - and thus an increase in the migrant population, and election victories for the conservative party, public opinion of migration began to sour (Arango, 2013). The criticism of migrants' effect on society focused on the impact of Islam on Spanish culture, and crime rates created a conversation that fused migration policy with xenophobia, islamophobia, and racism, particularly due to the migration corridor between Morocco and Spain. Thus, since 2008, cultural attitudes towards migrants have become increasingly negative and voting for policies to reduce the allowance of entry has become more popular.

Islamophobia

Between the 17th and 20th centuries, there was an insignificant number of Muslims living in Spain after they were expelled from the territory. Thus, their recent arrival required new legal considerations. In 1978 with the passing of the new constitution, the country officially ceased being Catholic. However, the government left the Catholic church power over certain political aspects such as education. But by then Islamic communities could be officially recognized and

given legal power under the provisions for religious liberty and equal treatment. In 1980, the Religious Freedom Act further clarified the implications. Furthermore, specific agreements of participation and recognition were signed in 1992 with Evangelicals, Jews, and Islamic communities. The latter formed one entity called the Islamic Commission in Spain (CIE) which was recognized by the state as the signing entity for said agreement. Since then, this has been the framework with which judicial procedures are carried out by the Spanish government (Garcimartin, 2015).

Moroccans were the largest migrant group in Europe in the 1960s, residing primarily in France. Spain, in comparison to its neighbors, had a lower overall migrant population, but with the country's economic improvement, the migratory flow quickly changed. Within a short period, the largest Moroccan migrant population was residing in Spain. The Spanish population noticed the stark change in the average inhabitants' ethnicities and the cultural discourse began to shift from receptive to mistrusting (Zapata-Barrero, 2008).

Thus, discussing the cultural attitude towards migrants requires a specific focus on Muslim migrants as they compose a large portion of the incoming population, and it has become a popular issue to discuss in the public square. However, the opinions expressed by media and politicians may not have accurately reflected the opinions held by the average private Spanish citizens throughout the past few decades.

In Spain, there is a cultural perception that the othering happening to Muslim migrants is not based on race or skin color but rather on religion, as a threat to Spanish self-identity. Spanish identity has a history of being mixed in with Christianity since the Roman conquest in the 2nd century and has had a contentious history with other religions with multiple periods of persecution and expelling of populations of different religions (Zapata-Barrero & Díez-Nicolás, 2012).

The religious component in the self-identification of Spanish majorities is reproduced

today in the context of interactions with Muslim minorities in general – including Spanish

Muslims – and Moroccan Muslims in particular – who mix foreignness and religion.

(Zapata-Barrero & Díez-Nicolás, 2012, p.85)

Despite the Spanish identity slowly divorcing from religion after centuries of intertwinement, there is a current rejection of other religions because of their possible effect on culture, because of their self-perception as a primarily secular culture. Thus, the Spanish government has had to modify its relationship with the Catholic Church in order to move forward with the development of a secular state, in part as a reaction to Islam being included in governance, the secularization was emphasized (Zapata-Barrero & Díez-Nicolás, 2012).

A characteristic of the rejection displayed towards Islam and Muslim migrants is considered by researchers to be the challenge it seems to pose to the national identity, which was formed through centuries practicing Christianity. The transition to a secular state under Franco encouraged the continuance of religious practice as a private affair instead of a public banning of religion (Astor, 2014).

Thus, even after obtaining citizenship or even after multiple generations of residing in Spain, Muslims still feel foreign due to their religious beliefs. Despite most European states' guarantee of the freedom to worship and the variety of religious practices, including Spain, Islam is still considered a foreign religion. In examining the evolution of attitudes towards Islam, the government's relationship to religion can be an indicator of the population's perception of their openness to incorporating migrant practices.

An additional push against Muslims bringing public practice of their religion into the Spanish space has been argued by governing authorities that cultural Muslim practices oppose national values such as freedom, equality and human dignity, which are held as highly important even if not rooted in religious beliefs. Some of the more visible aspects of Muslim religious practices are about women's dress code which have been points of contention, debate, and conflict, which become representative of the totality of Muslim culture. Thus, the focus of racial profiling and policing is often directed at women's bodies. In 2010, Catalonia banned the wearing of burkas and niqabs in public buildings (Zapata-Barrero & Díez-Nicolás, 2012).

Marxist influences of the 20th century on cultural attitudes focused initial racism against Moroccan and Muslim migrants on their productivity and participation in labor, a discourse accusing them as poor workers and a drain on the communal effort to push the country forward, which later in the 21st century became more racially focused and the cultural impact of Islam on Spanish culture with terrorism and the creation of extremist groups (Téllez Delgado & Ramírez Fernández, 2018).

[P]eople perceived as Muslims are homogenized and associated with a series of characteristics that are assumed to be inherent (violence, dangerousness, misogyny, disloyalty, incompatibility with democratic values, etc.) and that justify the specific forms of discrimination and control exercised over them. (Gil-Benumeya, 2023, p.2)

Islamophobia in Spain is not unique among its European neighbors. Spanish people do not display larger rates of xenophobia than other European nations (Zapata-Barrero & Díez-Nicolás, 2012), what is unique to each nation are its particular political parties and the private media that

responds to each group's preferred viewing. Spain has seen the development of islamophobia similarly to other countries where Muslim populations are seen as one coherent group, characterized more than by a set of religious practices as a racial group. There is a dimension of religious discrimination and discussions of the freedom to practice religion. However, in Spain, the focus is primarily on the crime rates that impact feelings of safety in the culture (Gil-Benumeya, 2023).

The impact of terrorist attacks in the West and discussions about freedom of speech normalized the concept to popularity and made it a common word in the lexicon in 2015, with peak public interest reflected through Google trend data correlating to the 2017 terrorist attack in Barcelona[34] (Corral et al., 2023). Distinctly though, the train bombings in Madrid in 2004[35] did not significantly increase islamophobia in Spain or a negative view of Muslim migrants, rather they were seen as victims of the extremism as well. The Islamophobic trend has increased over the last couple of decades. Some argue that the xenophobia is not directed towards all Muslims but rather extremist terrorist groups, but the data does not support this. The discrimination has generalized (Zapata-Barrero & Díez-Nicolás, 2012).[36]

The Spanish government has found it difficult to balance measures of security against terrorism and the allowance of entry of refugees and migrants. Spanish measures towards immigration include balancing a double approach of extending aid and patrolling the border. There

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[34] Because the attack was carried out by youth indoctrinated by an Iman, there was a cultural rise in discourse against Islam and the continued practice of it among migrants in Spain (Frayer, 2017).

[35] After the terrorist attack in Madrid, the Partido Popular claimed the attack was done by the ETA (Euskadi Ta Askatasuna) – a Basque nationalist group, when the attack was carried out by the Islamic State in response to Spain's intervention in Iraq. This narrative has remained among people with right wing ideologies (Heller, 2024).

[36] Islamophobia has more relevance in the discourse in Catalonia where although in Spain the Muslim population is around 2%, most have settled in Catalonia where the Muslim population is around 8%. The local population felt and saw the increase more starkly than the rest of the country (Observatorio Andalusí & Unión De Comunidades Islámicas De España, 2020), (Statista, 2024).

are certain aspects and practices of Islam that the Spanish government struggles to resolve and accommodate the community and how to promote coexistence which are popular questions in the social arena (Zapata-Barrero & Díez-Nicolás, 2012; Zapata-Barrero, 2008).

The Ministry of Integration, Social Security, and Migrations (Ministerio de Inclusión, Seguridad Social y Migraciones) with the Spanish Racism and Xenophobia Monitoring Centre (Observatorio Español del Racismo y la Xenofobia) in 2019 surveyed perceptions of islamophobia from Muslims and non-Muslims. Specifically in the Barcelona area, 82.4% of responders blamed political discourse and 76.5% blamed communications media for the increase in Islamophobia. But conversely, 76.5% also blamed acts of terrorism by Muslim people (Aparicio & OBERAXE, 2020). 82.8% of people surveyed reported the levels of Islamophobia to be too high in Spain, 79.3% reported difficulties in places of worship, and 83.2% reported difficulty in accessing employment (Ali, 2020).

From 1981 to 2005, surveys revealed that Spanish people reported that 40% disliked living near Romani people[37] and 20% near Muslims. Another contrasting example, homosexuality was more poorly seen in the 20th century than Moroccan migrants. In fact, Spanish people tended to reject minority social groups such as drug addicts, alcoholics, and people with AIDs in greater proportion than ethnic minorities, such as Muslims, Jewish people, or Latin Americans (with the exception of the Romani). Islamophobia in Spain is more hidden in public attitudes than xenophobia towards gypsies which is three times more common. The political measures to dissuade Muslim migration seemed to be more a response to pre-election campaigning rather than a response to the real needs and demands of the Spanish people (Zapata-Barrero & Díez-Nicolás, 2012).

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[37] The study referred to this group as gypsies in the survey.

The framing of concepts around islamophobia and xenophobia are treated differently according to the media's political leaning, with right-leaning newspapers treating Muslim and Romani migration as a threat and left-wing newspapers relating it more to the victimization of the migrant population (Corral et al., 2023). "Anti-immigrant policies respond much more to rhetoric, an electoral strategy, rather than as a channel answering the demands of society and real needs of citizens" (Zapata-Barrero & Díez-Nicolás, 2012, p.96).

However, the continuous discourse against Muslims for the past decade since Zapata-Barrero & Díez-Nicolás published these results seems to have had an effect and these trends have largely changed. Muslim people represent 4% of the total population in Spain, which includes 42% as citizens, 38% from Morocco, and 20% from other countries. This amounts to over 2 million Muslims living in Spain. 47.3% of people surveyed believed migrants from Morocco did not easily fit into Spanish society. Hate crimes continue to increase from year to year, with four times as many reported attacks in 2020 as compared to 2019 with over 400 reported attacks. Finally, 25% of youth in Spain self-identify as xenophobic, coinciding with a marked increase in hate speech on social media targeting Muslim migrants (Gracia & Bolaños Somoano, 2023). Not all racial attacks and experiences of discrimination are reported, particularly by undocumented migrants who are left unprotected by the system and may even find it difficult to access their places of worship. Muslim petitions for their spaces of practice of religion have been limited by their citizenship status, such as permissions to build mosques (Zapata-Barrero & Díez-Nicolás, 2012).

Figure 11

Total Number of Recorded Hate Crimes per Year in Spain 2017-2021
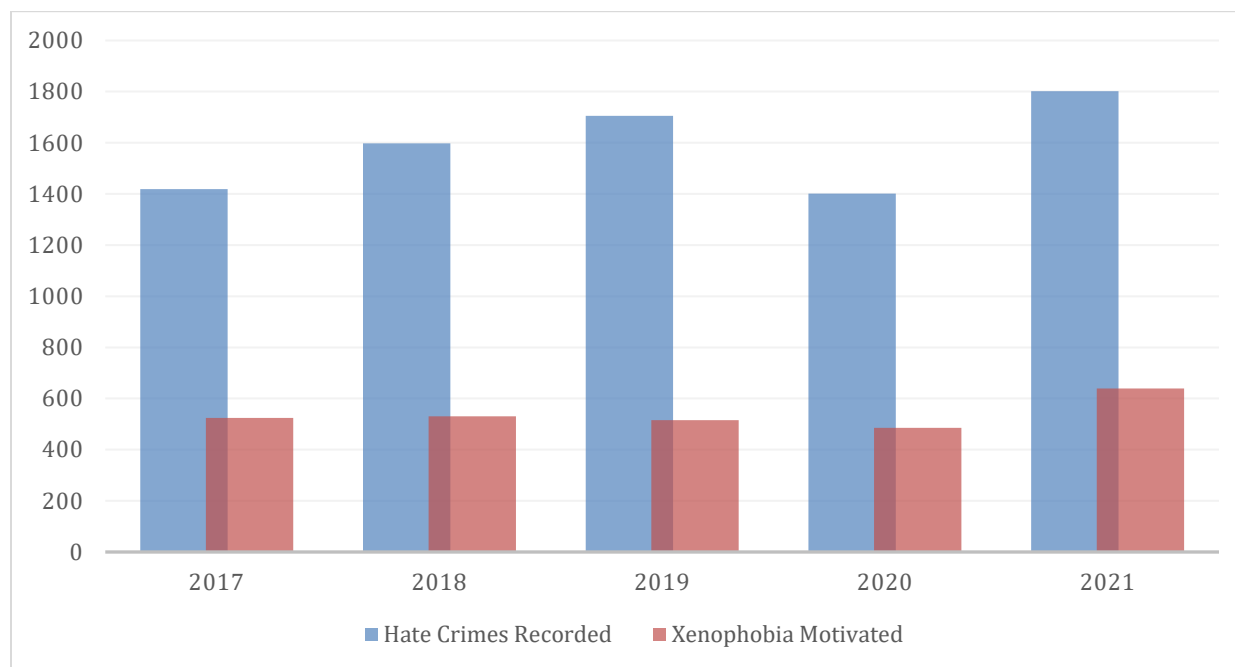
Note. The blue bar represents the total number of hate crimes recorded by the police that year, the red bar represents the number of those crimes that were racism and xenophobia related. For 2017-2019 there is no available information on how many were prosecuted and sentenced. In 2021 only 192 of the 1802 crimes were prosecuted and only 91 were sentenced. Adapted from OSCE & ODIHR, 2021.

For many migrants, the way of surviving within a rejecting culture is to internalize racist attitudes in an attempt to normalize the oppression, not as a denial of self-agency but as an unconscious strategy to reduce the discomfort of belonging to a minority in a xenophobic space. Some Muslim migrants thus reject visible signs of their Muslim beliefs in order to feel safe in their country of destination (Gil-Benumeya, 2023). Their adaptation may depend on an external

rejection of their cultural expressions, instead of focusing on *integration* they must practice *assimilation* (see section 2.4.1).

> We can ask why there is such a media and political interplay between Muslims and social conflict and wonder why there is such a contrast between the foundation of certain policies aimed at limiting the public expression of Muslims, and the public opinion and attitudes that show that Spanish people are not so Islamophobic as it is thought. (Zapata-Barrero & Díez-Nicolás, 2012, p.96)

The history of Islam and Muslims' place in society and their integration and adaption process is interrupted by islamophobia and geopolitical relationships with Muslim countries more than the average population's views of Muslim migrants (Corral et al., 2023).[38]

Certain organisms within the Spanish government have heard the petitions for integration rather than discrimination and have attempted to open official and legally protected spaces for Muslims. Religious diversification processes include the recognition of the place in society and subsequent accommodations that culture makes to open space (or lack thereof), and after an increase in population the role in shaping society and governance as they become a significant portion of the population demanding political representation and a voice in government (Astor, 2014).

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[38] For the impact of racial and cultural discrimination on the adaptation process see point XX.

Policies

Immigration has been highly politicized by sensationalist media and right-wing politicians, which tended to push opinions to extremes and made migration policies difficult to approve and implement as there is no compromise reached when migrants are considered a danger to the country, especially in times of crisis (Zapata-Barrero, 2008). After the 2008 economic crash, Spain saw high levels of unemployment, which at one point reached a high of 27%. The local population felt that the available jobs should be given first to locals because the Spanish economy had run out of space. However, compared to its neighboring countries, Spain had inclusive regulations, allowing easier paths to regularization than other European nations, and continued receiving high rates of migration (Finotelli & Rinken, 2023).

Before 1985 Moroccans did not need a visa to enter Spain. Thus, many entered for temporary agricultural work, education, or even tourism. Once visas were implemented with the first foreigner laws, there were only short-stay permits, they did not provide an access route to long-term stay as residents, workers, or the eventual filing of citizenship. The only way was for a migrant to marry a Spanish citizen. In 2000, the government realized integration should be a priority in migration policy, creating avenues for legal permanent residence. In addition, routes for regularization for migrants living in Spain undocumented were created without them having to return to their country of origin to apply for a new visa (Vidal, 2011).

Policies both reflect cultural attitudes and shape them. The Spanish population's openness to migrants varies in time and according to migrant characteristics. There is a concept popular in immigration policy called the *push-pull factor*, where governments focus on attracting certain kinds of immigrants and deterring other immigrants, however, these policies rarely produce the

intent but rather produce poverty among the *push* intended migrants (Zapata-Barrero, 2008). One subset of migrants that have positive cultural perceptions is the family. Migrants arriving with children are more positively seen than single men. Particularly because women and children are considered to be less dangerous than men and will thus not contribute to crime rates. Thus, family migration has become increasingly popular over the last decades and has been accompanied and facilitated by family reunification policies, however, there are financial challenges due to the number of members within a family increasing migration costs and the nature of children who cannot contribute financially to the family unit's income[39].

The ability and efficiency with which the migrating parents can obtain legal status are one of the most important steps in the family being able to access family reunification procedures and be joined together once again (Enchautegui & Menjívar, 2015), therefore it is relevant to mention Spain's specific regularization processes and family reunification policies. Because "even when migrants are able to comply with these requirements, a complex and lengthy procedure subjected to discretion (or even open arbitrariness) may create relatively unexpected difficulties for immigrants in bringing their children" (Eremenko & González-Ferrer, 2018, p.3). However, even once the primary migrant family member obtains the appropriate permits and paperwork, they are not guaranteed the ability to reunite with their family as there are still significant obstacles due to the expenses that stable housing, travel expenses, and other living expenses the country of destination may demand (Kraler & Bonizzoni, 2010).

In Spain, family reunification legal processes can take 2 years and are not always approved. The bureaucratic backlog can expand beyond the capacity of the state to keep up. In 2001, 17,000 applications were submitted, which resulted in 64 approvals, while the rest had still been

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[39] For a more general perspective on family migration see point 2.2.4.4.

unaddressed by 2002. Some parents, frustrated with the process, decide to take a more informal route to bring their children into the country (Enchautegui & Menjívar, 2015). Spain implemented an alternative regularization process for de facto reunited families. For example, relatives that arrived on a tourist visa and overstayed, offer a path to regularization for undocumented relatives already residing with their legal family members (Eremenko & González-Ferrer, 2018).

> The visa exemption procedure, which allowed obtaining a residence permit for someone already residing in Spain without them having to go back to the country of origin and applying for a visa for family reunification from abroad, was the most common procedure to regularize family members for a long time… [until] in 2004… the waiting time for instructing a family reunification application was reduced to 1.5 months, and a permanent regularization mechanism ("arraigo familiar") was introduced. (Eremenko & González-Ferrer, 2018, p.4)

Family reunification measures in Europe help many Moroccans migrate legally or regularize their status after migrating. Statistics gathered before the 2008 crisis estimated that there were 30 legally residing first-generation Moroccan migrants living in Europe for every 1000 Moroccan civilians (Carling, 2007).

Migrants in Spain have another popular route to legal residence by proving a history of employment. This approach highly favors labor migrants. However, even attaining a legal status did not guarantee that migrants would achieve a quality of life equivalent to the local population upon acquiring visas, residency, or even citizenship (Finotelli & Rinken, 2023).

Figure 12

Number of Immigrants Entering Spain in 2021 by Nationality
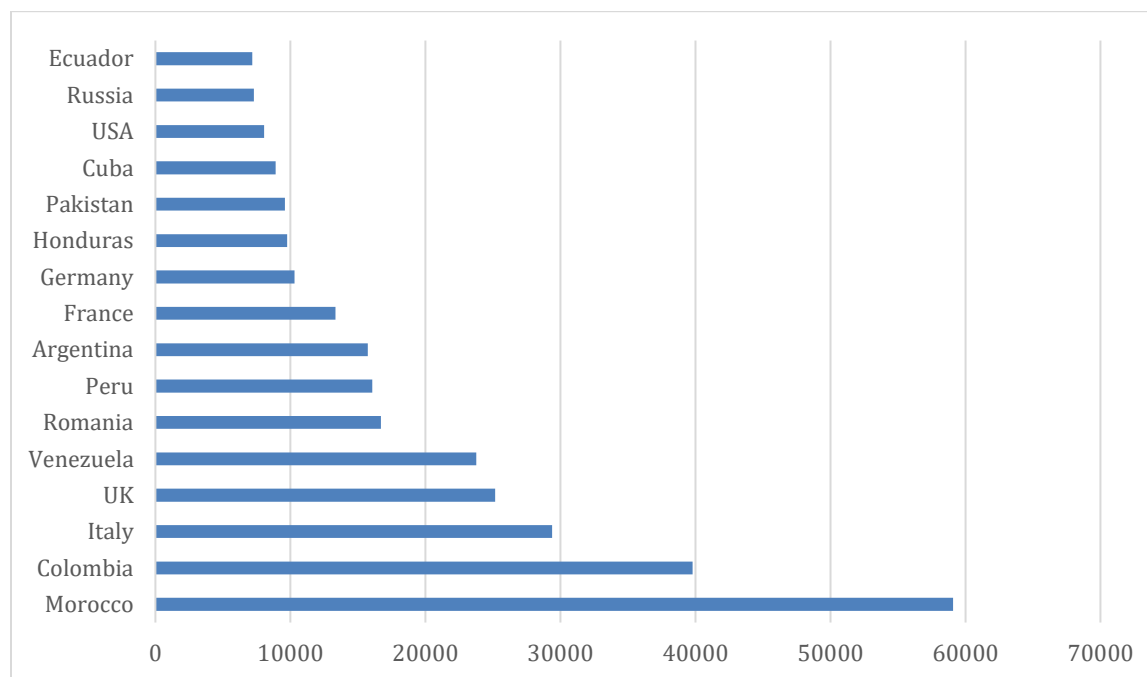
Note. Adapted from INE, 2022b.

Evaluating why people choose to migrate and how they choose their country of destination is a complex study. Language, wages, employment rates, welfare, cultural similarities, migration costs, policies, and barriers to entry are all elements that have been identified as factors taken into account when making the decision, but also importantly, migrants' social network (Bertoli et al., 2013). Unfortunately, the closed-off attitude towards migrants has made integration (the two-way process) a more difficult process because migrant wellbeing postmigration adaptation depends highly on the openness to diversity from the receiving community, cultural sensitivity, and residential integration (Paloma et al., 2014).

2.5.3 Badalona: Study II Setting

Catalonia as a unique and distinct region of Spain is worth highlighting its unique immigration trajectory. Moroccans are the second largest migrant population in Spain, but the first in Catalonia. It is also the largest point of inflow for migrants into Spain. The migration corridor for Moroccan immigrants is to enter Spain through Catalonia, 40% of those who stay to reside in Spain disperse through the rest of the country and the rest remain in the Barcelona area (Østergaard-Nielsen, 2009).

Catalonia began to suffer from declining fertility rates and dwindling population numbers, which were offset by incoming migration, to the point that at the beginning of the 21st century, migrants accounted for a third of the population in the region (Bonifazi & Crisci, 2013). Catalonia has enjoyed such a large economic boom over the past few decades that the influx of migration has contributed to it without taking jobs from locals (Moraga & Ferrer-i-Carbonell, 2008).

> Catalan co-development actors have heralded migrants as important development agents whose transnational networks and resources may not only contribute to processes of development in their localities of origin, but may also link up with their local incorporation and constitute an important bridge between their country of origin and that of residence. (Østergaard-Nielsen, 2009, p.1626)

The general attitude of distaste towards migration is associated with its impact on crime. Despite the large number of migrants, or perhaps due to it, there have been multiple campaigns in Catalonia to stop mosques from opening. People hung flags from balconies reading, "No drugs,

no mosque". Conflating, incorrectly, the presence of Muslims with the rise of drug sales in the area (Astor, 2016). Racism towards certain ethnic minority groups in Catalonia has focused over the last decade on Moroccans and on the Roma people who are blamed for the high crime rates, specifically in Badalona where politicians have made it part of their electoral campaigns, significantly in 2011 for municipal elections (Burchianti & Zapata-Barrero, 2012).

Figure 13

Registered Criminal Offences Badalona
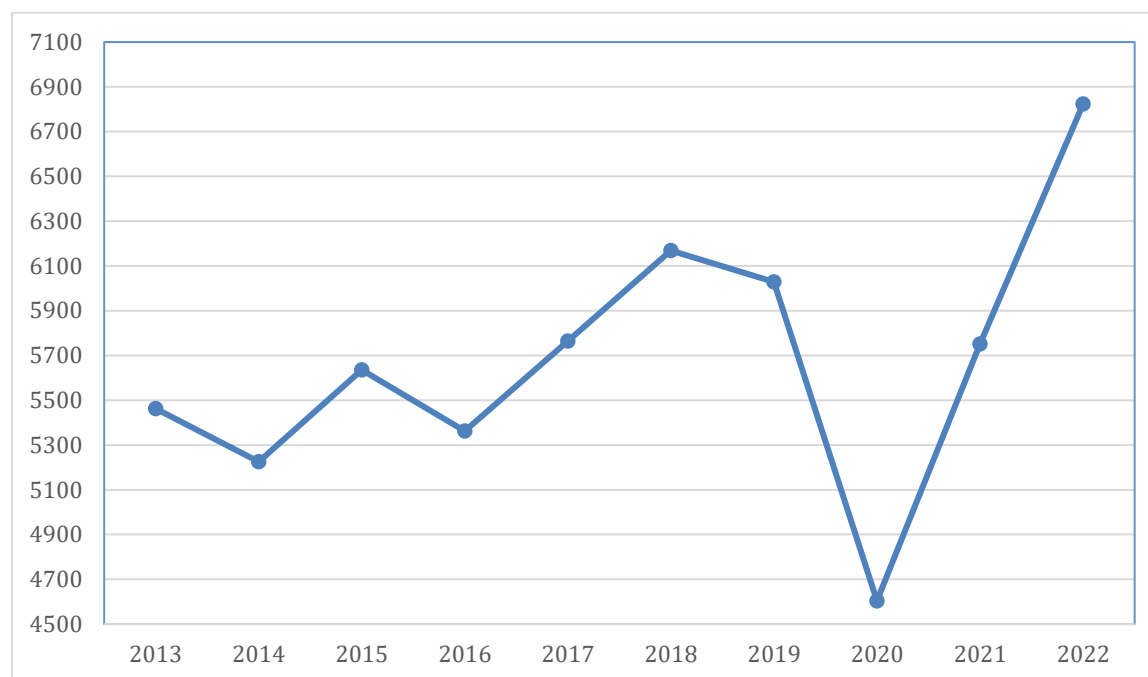
Note. Criminal offences include sexual aggression, homicide, theft, breaking and entering, aggravated assault and robbery, vehicle theft, drug trafficking for a neighborhood of 30,000 people. Adapted from Epdata, 2023.

The region of Catalonia has recognized the need for focused action to help Moroccan migrants integrate, through measures of participation in local initiatives focused on aid to their

country of origin, also referred to as co-development, engaging in transnational engagement, funded by the local government (Østergaard-Nielsen, 2009).

The Fundació Ateneu Sant Roc is one of these integration initiatives located in the neighborhood of Sant Roc in Badalona. This area has a rich history of being a point of settlement for arriving migrants. The neighborhood has seen its population follow closely with migratory trends and migration waves. Many populations eventually leave the neighborhood once they find some stability and financial success and resettle elsewhere in Spain. The neighborhood thus suffers from a sort of stagnation and overall low socioeconomic status. It is considered one of the more dangerous areas of Barcelona and its surroundings, troubled by drug activity and violence (IERMB, 2017). However, efforts from within the community to make the area safer and help it thrive have emerged. This space was chosen for the study into migrant families in Spain as it serves as a microcosm of the multitude of ethnic backgrounds and migration types seen around Spain, but also as an example of a community that took ownership of the acculturation process and intercultural contact and support between groups.

The first wave of migrants to arrive in the area were internal migrants from other parts of Spain that had suffered through the Spanish Civil War and were looking for job opportunities. In the 1940s, the outskirts of Barcelona became a hub for industrial work such as the construction of naval ships. The high demand for manpower became known and attracted people to relocate. This growth unfortunately was unregulated and unplanned. The infrastructure created by the 1000 families that arrived to participate in the growing industries created urban planning issues and resulted in poorly constructed housing and slum-like conditions.

In the 1960s, the neighborhood became the selected location for new government housing; low-quality structures were built and many families in other regions of the Barcelona area were

forcibly moved. Many of the Romani[40] population were also moved here. Seeing the population growth the neighborhood opened its first school. The neighborhood Sant Roc was taking shape and was designated and officially founded in 1966[41] (Fundacio Ateneu Sant Roc, 2023).

The Fundació Sant Roc (at that time went by a different name) was built in 1968 by adding a room to the local parish that was designated for social action in the community. In 1969 the whole building became the social cultural center. Over the years the meetings in this space were responsible for advocating for more schools, for paving the roads, adding lamp posts, creating an official market, a library, and other infrastructure for the betterment of the community. At one point the building even offered medical services due to the lack of a hospital or clinic in the area.

In the 80s, the center in Sant Roc decided to concentrate its efforts on helping the children in the area and created an autonomous branch that could offer education support, language support, and a safe space for play in contrast to the increasingly dangerous neighborhood. It became a staple of the neighborhood, a place where children longed to go that provided parents peace of mind.

In the early 2000s, housing prices increased rapidly prompting locals to leave while the neighborhood saw a marked increase in international migrants. In 2005, the center officially became a foundation, which changed its internal structure and projects offered.

Currently, they offer academic and homework support for children, guidance for youth in planning for their future careers or continuing education, language support for parents, childcare for toddlers, vacation activities and excursions for children, and community activities organized with the children to promote awareness about climate change, equal rights, and social cohesion. They receive government support and private donations to pay their small group of staff but are

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[40] Preferred respectful term for describing the population often colloquially referred to as "gypsy" including by the participants of the study when referring to experiences with the group in the neighborhood.
[41] https://fundacioateneusantroc.org/

helped by a large group of volunteers from within the community, such as retired schoolteachers who use their expertise to help the children with their schoolwork. All the families using their services and attending the space are migrant families of first, second, and third-generation.

3. Study I: Children's Emotional Protective and Risk Factors in Migration[42]

3.1 Introduction

Reports by the UN estimate there were more than 31 million child migrants globally - 13 million refugees, 936,000 asylum-seekers, and 17 million internally forcibly displaced in 2019 (IOM, 2019). Most of them traveled through migration corridors formed towards the nearest perceived stable nations along with many fellow adult nationals fleeing the same issues, each trajectory with its own set of characteristics and challenges which must be taken into account when studying their experiences. The study of children's experience of migration is important due to the inherent vulnerability of their age. Thus, a review of the literature was conducted into published studies of migrant children's mental health within the present context of migration.

There have been important changes that occurred to the nature of migration after significant economic and political events that have shaped the last century, such as, the end of WWII, the fall of the Berlin wall, the signing of NAFTA (1993) (De Haas et al., 2019), 9/11 (MPI, 2021), the 2008 economic crisis (De Haas et al., 2019), and the COVID-19 pandemic (Chakraborty & Maity, 2020). Migration is affected by such events as they modify borders, policies, cultural attitudes towards foreigners, and job availability, both in the countries of emigration as well as immigration.

Thus, as emigration increases due to political conflict, economic volatility, and climate change, receiving countries will need to update their policies to handle large influxes of groups of people at a vulnerable time. The necessity for established resources and efficient introductory systems was made apparent with the recent emigration from Ukraine, European countries

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[42] Preprint version (Salazar Andrade et al., 2023).

responded quickly through practical aid and streamlined visas (UNHCR, 2022), however, more remains to be done in the long-term for said migrants and for migrants from other origins.

Determining the premigratory factors that should be included in an analysis of the impact of a migration is crucial to a granular understanding of the postmigratory emotional response and the acculturation process. The first dimension to consider was the diversity of characteristics of geographic movements, such as if the journey is international (northward, southward, etc) or internal, which determines the type of arrival experience at a destination country, such as the legal process (visas, border crossings, citizenship, access to government-funded resources), the cultural distance to the place of origin (process, ease, and speed of acculturation), language barriers, etc. Considering all types of migratory movements was important to this review in order to obtain a picture of the whole panorama of experiences, obstacles, and potential trauma children may face when migrating, and in so add to the review by Belhadj, Koglin, & Petermann (2015) which was limited to migrations into North America.

A second important dimension was the person's motivation for choosing to migrate - the reason for leaving their home. This dimension speaks to what their hopes in migrating are, their future outlook, sense of self-efficacy, premigratory traumas, etc. Here, personal motivation was considered under two main umbrellas - economic and political, although in recent literature this has been further developed into submotivators. A third scenario is that of refugees, where the person had less choice in the matter of leaving their country of origin and was forced to migrate against their will, such as in fleeing political conflict or natural disaster. However, the question of motivation does not apply in direct equivalence to children as it is studied in adults, thus they do not fall into the categories and labels developed for adult migrants. Children are rarely consulted or included in the decision if they are accompanying a parent or guardian and do not have the

cognitive development to make the decision themselves if they do not have an adult to rely on when making said decision.

Finally, demographic factors such as age, gender, religion, and ethnicity are usually considered as the main categorizations of the people making up a sample in studying adult migrations, but there are a few more identifiers to add such as family composition and education in the case of children's migrations.

For all migrants, regardless of age, migration was lived as a complex loss triggering a grief period (Wang et al., 2015). The number of significant elements left behind by migrants seemed to determine the difficulty of adaptation postmigration. Thus, the overlap of migration and psychological research in children was the main focus of this review, how these losses incurred by migration affected children specifically. Acculturation is not just an internal emotional process, but it is affected by systemic obstacles, environmental factors, and family dynamics that add to the psychological impact of leaving home. Lack of stability, safety, acceptance, warmth, and connection to community at such pivotal ages are considered as potential experiences for emotional wounds that can lead to feelings of depression, anxiety, or other mental health issues and should be highlighted as particularly important to study to prevent psychological harm that need not occur as part of a migration be inflected due to ignorance or non-human-centered policy.

Further research is needed to ascertain the impact of migration on children, if they are in greater danger of trauma than their adult counterparts due to the vulnerability of the development process, or if, as some have suggested, the plasticity of their age may provide increased resilience (Fuligni & Tsai, 2015). Future lines of study should include comparative studies on the impact of migration on adults and children and long-term studies of how children who have experienced the phenomenon of migration develop into adults. For now, the purpose of this review was to identify

the characteristics of children's emotional responses after migrating by reviewing recent studies in order to specify symptomatology common to said population, and to identify the protective and risk factors that played a role in recovery from emotional distress by addressing the following questions:

- What are children's emotional and behavioral symptomatology after having migrated to a new city or country?

- What are current migratory characteristics contributing as risk or protective factors to affect children's response?

3.2 Methodology

This review of the literature followed the methodology set out by Arksey and O'Malley in the International Journal of Social Research Methodology (2005). The systematic search began by consulting the following databases: ProQuest, WOS, SCOPUS, and PubPsych, conducted by the author and independently checked by both J.S.R. and S.R.P. Studies were compiled into Mendeley for screening.

Relevant studies were located through the use of the following keywords:

· *Sample population age groups*: [child* OR adolesc* OR youth* OR boy OR girl OR infan* OR childhood] AND

· *Migratory experience*: [migration* OR national OR international OR immigration OR mobility OR migratory OR foreign-born OR first- generation OR resettl* OR relocat*] AND

· *Symptomatology*: [identity OR anxiety OR stress* OR behavioral OR depressi* OR emotion* OR mental OR health OR behavior OR psychopathology OR psychiatric OR affective OR disorder

OR conduct OR delinquency OR substance OR violence or well-being OR post-traumatic- stress OR suicide OR self-esteem OR resilience OR psychosomatic OR loneliness]

The inclusion and exclusion criteria used in the search are detailed in the following table to focus and define the studies gathered to answer the question: What is the current research identifying is the state of migrant children's mental health?

Table 4

Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria literature review

Criteria	Inclusion	Exclusion
Sample Characteristics	· Children ages 0 to 25 at the time of the study (aligning with age brackets of previous research into refugee children (McEwen et al., 2022) and the age at which a person is neurologically and developmentally adult). · Children who migrated alone or accompanied by family. · Children who migrated nationally (rural to urban) or internationally. · Refugees and asylum-seekers.	· Children who migrated under the context of international adoption. · Children moving within the same city or otherwise called "residential mobility". · Second and third-generation migrants, or children of a migratory or ethnic background who did not migrate. · "Left behind" children.
Article Characteristics	· Articles in English were included. · Articles published from 2015 to 2022.	· Articles published before 2015 because they do not represent current characteristics of migration.
Study Characteristics	· Studies with only migrant populations. · Studies comparing migrant populations to their local peers. · Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods studies. · Studies with unbalanced gender distributions were included due to the recurring lack of female participants in refugee samples.	· Studies that mixed first- and second-generation migrants in their sample into one group. · Studies with unreliable, biased, or flawed designs. · Studies with unclear age brackets, such as studies that collected population samples by college-level or school grade. · Studies about psychological interventions' results. · Case studies.
Measures of Mental Health	·Studies focusing on postmigratory emotional problems such as loneliness, hopelessness, stress, etc. ·Studies focusing on postmigratory behavioral problems such as substance abuse, suicide, violence, risky sexual behavior, etc. · Studies focusing on postmigratory mental health diagnoses such as depression, anxiety, ADHD, PTSD, etc. · Studies focusing on cognitive well-being such as self-esteem, resilience, mindfulness, etc.	· Studies that used children's academic achievement as a measure of emotional well-being. · Studies using cannabis use as an indicator of psychological problems. · Studies using BMI as a wellness measure.

The search process resulted in a total of 1459 articles. 63 articles were immediately eliminated because they were duplicates. The term migration is often used in a different context in the field of biology (cell migration) of which 148 articles were removed. Next, a screening was conducted through a preliminary reading of the title and abstract which resulted in the elimination of 802 more articles because they did meet the criteria in the table listed above. After a full-text

review, 361 more articles were also considered ineligible. Next, the remaining studies' quality was assessed through the use of the Q-SSP tool by Protogerou & Hagger (2020), and the Newcastle-Ottawa Quality Assessment Scale (NOS) for qualitative studies. The studies that did not meet a minimum quality rating of 3 out of 4 according to one-by-one assessments were eliminated.

Finally, 48 studies were organized in a table in Microsoft Excel according to the sample's characteristics (age, country of origin, country of destination,), the study's characteristics (sample size and measures used), and the results (protective and risk factors, comparisons to local peers, mental health diagnoses, and acculturation levels). The relevant data was extracted by identifying the symptomatology analyzed and the premigratory or postmigratory factors impacting or mitigating the children's responses to their specific type of migration. Studies were compared according to their objectives, their migratory movement, and the symptomatology, which was then compared and contrasted to extract similarities or contradictions. Finally, the most recurring themes were identified, highlighting such issues as discrimination, peer relationships, family relationships, legal obstacles, and depressive symptoms.

The entire process can be seen graphically depicted in the figure below through the PRISMA flow diagram commonly used in systematic reviews and meta-analyses, to help outline the process for gathering relevant materials.

Figure 14

PRISMA Literature Review
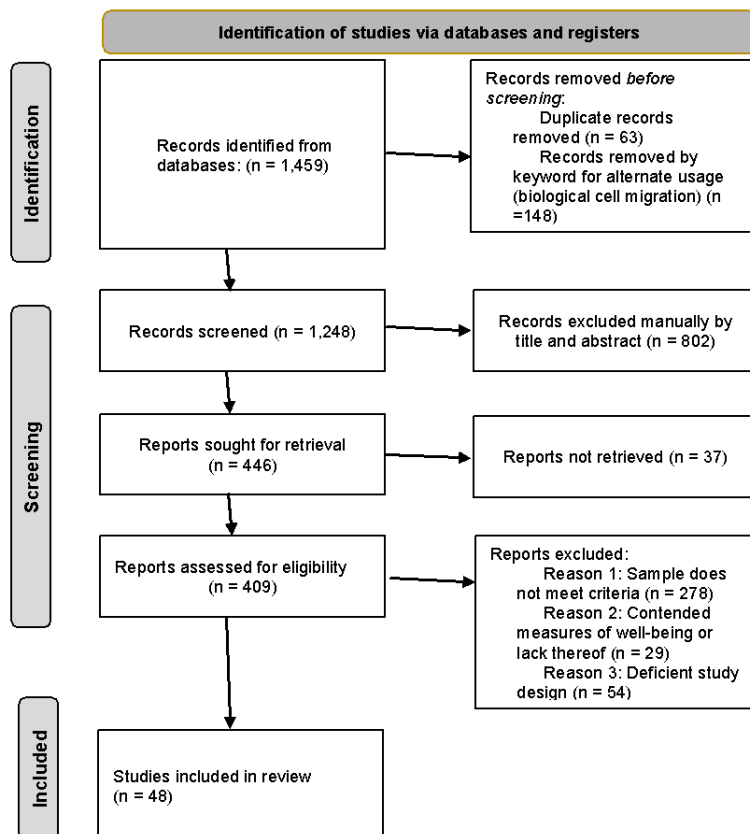
Note. Adapted from Arksey & O'Malley, 2005.

3.3 Results

3.3.1 Objectives of Reviewed Studies

The studies covered different objectives regarding migrant children's mental health (seen in table 3):

1. Postmigratory protective factors: to identify the child's personal internal (psychological and emotional) and external resources (relationships with caregivers, peers, teachers, parents) to cope with the transition,

2. Premigratory risk factors: to identify the impact of premigratory conditions and the circumstances of their migration (forced migration, violence, loss of family members) that affect their adaptation process,

3. Postmigratory risk factors: to identify environmental factors that affect children's acculturation (discrimination, socioeconomic status, legal status, access to medical, educational, and mental resources, language barriers, exposure to illegal activity),

4. Group comparisons: to compare migrants' mental health to refugees or their local peers,

5. Symptomatology: to identify emotional, behavioral, or psychological responses in children at their country of destination after migrating.

3.3.2 Study Characteristics

The 48 studies reviewed here included different types of geographical movements: 39 were international migrations, and nine were national migrations [1, 15, 16, 18, 24, 25, 30, 47, 48].

Table 5

Geographic Focus of Studies

Area of Emigration		Area of Immigration		Significant Geographical Pairings	
Africa	23, 26, 37, 40	North America	4, 11, 14, 17, 23, 35, 38, 39, 42, 43, 44	China (rural) – China (urban)	15, 16, 18, 24, 25, 30, 47, 48
Eastern Europe	1, 2	Western Europe	2, 3, 5, 6, 12, 13, 19, 20, 21, 26, 27, 29, 33, 36, 37, 40, 41, 43, 45	South America - USA	11, 38, 39, 44,

Asia	15, 16, 18, 24, 25, 30, 47, 48	Asia	15, 16, 18, 24, 25, 30, 47, 48	Africa – Western Europe	26, 37, 40
South America	9, 11, 27, 38, 39, 44	Eastern Europe	1, 10, 22, 32, 46	Syria - Turkey	10, 32, 46
Middle East	10, 14, 17, 22, 32, 46	Australia	7, 8, 28, 31, 34		
Various (Studies with more than 5 countries of origin)	3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 12, 13, 19, 20, 21, 28, 29, 31, 33, 34, 35, 36, 41, 42, 43, 45	South America	9		

In terms of the family composition of the population samples, most covered migrations as a family unit, only a few studies involved only unaccompanied minors [3, 19, 20, 21, 26, 33, 37, 38, 44]. Most studies managed to include samples with both boys and girls despite difficulties in accessing female migrant participants, in studies of unaccompanied minors, only two studies had solely male participants [27, 37]. Often genders were not equally distributed, but the studies included all required clear gender distributions. For example, one study had 90.7% males in their sample which was accounted for in the results [33]. One study in particular to highlight, included the option for children to select the option "nonbinary" as their gender in its survey [42]. It was unclear if gender differentiated the emotional response of migrant children, some studies found no difference between genders [4, 7, 8, 12, 21, 30, 40, 48], and yet others found significant differences [1, 2, 14, 15, 16, 18, 24, 25, 28, 41]. Studies identified girls as better at emotional regulation [14], had more hope for their future [15], and displayed more resilience [28]; however, other studies found they were more likely to be patients in clinics treated for attempting suicide [1, 2], and they scored lower in life satisfaction [24] although study found the opposite [16]. Boys were found to engage in antisocial behavior more often [18], had higher depression scores [46], externalizing behavior [16], delinquent behavior [25], and violent behavior [43]. Boys also reported more perceived discrimination than girls [28].

Most studies found no significant variance in symptomatology according to participants' ages [4, 7, 8, 12, 14, 21, 40, 48]. There was some evidence that the older children were when they

migrated the more they showed more externalizing behavior, lower family satisfaction, and lower school satisfaction than children [16, 35], and that life satisfaction was negatively related to age [24].

3.3.3 Summary of Study I Results

Table 6

Result Summary Table

	Author & Year	Location	Migrant Origins	Sample	Ages	Measure	Risk Factors	Protective Factors	Mental/ Emotional/ Behavioral symptoms	Relevant Findings	Objectives (listed 3.1)
1	Akkaya-Kalayci, et al. (2015)	Turkey	Turkey	165 internal migrants, 45 locals	6-18	Clinical Records Emergency Psychiatric Clinic	Cultural distance		Suicide, depression	21.05% of patients born in Istanbul. 78.95% migrated internally. 32.06% from Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia, areas with highest cultural differences to Istanbul.	4
2	Akkaya-Kalayci, et al. (2017)	Austria	Turkey, Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia	800 locals, 293 migrants	4-18	Clinical Records Emergency Psychiatric Clinic	Cultural distance, language barrier, family conflict, acculturation stress	Medical resources	Suicide, depression, acute stress disorder, behavioral problems	Significant differences found in reason for referral by nationality (p<.001). Austrian children referred for acute stress disorder (20.9%), Turkish patients for attempted suicide (23.1%), and Serbian/ Croatian/ Bosnian children for acute stress disorder (19.0%).	4, 5
3	Axelsson et al. (2020)	Sweden	Various	1,267,938 locals; 6,133 unaccompanied migrant minors; 54,326 accompanied migrant minors	18.33 mean	National databases	Limited access to social system	Unaccompanied minor status	ADHD, depression, PTSD, OCD, anxiety	Unaccompanied children had a higher likelihood and quicker average time to seek psychiatric help than accompanied migrants (p<.001), as well as outpatient care (p<.001). Unaccompanied refugee children have closer ties to the healthcare system and less barriers to access care.	1, 4
4	Beiser, Puente-Duran, & Hou (2015)	Canada	Various	2074 migrants	11-13	Self-report questionnaires	Cultural distance, resettlement stress, low parental mental health, SES	Social skills, warm parenting, resilience	Stress, depression	Larger cultural differences between country of origin and destination correlate with more negative emotions than smaller cultural distances (p<.001). Migrations with larger cultural distances characterized by higher resettlement stress (p<.001). Social competence skills and warm parenting mitigated some of the adverse effects. No significant differences between two subgroups found in depression scores.	3
5	Bianchi et al. (2021)	Italy	Various	201 locals, 48 migrants	9-18	Global Negative Self-Evaluation Scale, Classmate Social Isolation Questionnaire, Academic Achievement	School dropout intention, low school achievement, low SES	Social support, group belonging	Self-esteem	Peer acceptance at school was a protective factor to reduce school dropout intention (p=.02) and negative self-esteem (p<.001) among migrants.	1
6	Blázquez et al. (2015)	Spain	Various	43 migrants	14.59 mean	Psychiatric assessment	Parental separation, family breakdown, sexual abuse, physical abuse, verbal abuse, premigration trauma		Psychotic disorder, schizophrenia, affective disorder, depression, eating disorders, conduct disorders, PTSD	Migrants from Latin America displayed primarily diagnoses in psychotic disorders (27.6%), depressive disorder (20.7%), and bipolar disorder (17.3%). Migrants from Africa were primarily diagnoses with psychotic disorders (40%). Migrants from Asia were primarily diagnosed with psychotic disorders (50%) and anxiety disorders (50%).	5

7	Buchanan et al. (2018)	Australia	Various	106 refugees, 223 migrants	13-21	Self-report questionnaires	Premigratory trauma, low parental education levels, school adjustment, discrimination, language barriers, forced migration	Peer community, positive future outlook	Low self-esteem	Pre-migratory environment and migratory motivation differentiated groups of migrants and refugees significantly. Refugee children reported lower levels of self-esteem (p=.001) and school adjustment (p<.001) than migrant children.	2
8	Cameron, Frydenberg, & Jackson (2018)	Australia	Various	38 refugees, 19 migrants, 20 locals	12-18	Self-report questionnaires	Discrimination, peer conflict, premigratory trauma	Group belonging, peer support, religious beliefs	Stress, nonproductive coping strategies	Refugees were more likely to refer to others (peers, professionals, and deities) to cope with stressful situations like interpersonal conflict and discrimination than other groups (p=.001). Previous exposure to stressful life events was significantly associated with nonproductive coping strategies in interpersonal conflict (p<.001).	2, 4
9	Caqueo-Urízar et al. (2021)	Chile	Latin America	292 migrants	8-18	Child and Adolescent Assessment System, Child and Youth Resilience Measure (CYRM-12), Acculturation Stress Source Scale (FEAC)	Acculturation stress	Resilience, integration, interpersonal skills,	Stress	Integration and social competence have significant associations with resilience (p <.001) and indirect associations with acculturation stress (p=.009).	1
10	Celik et al. (2019)	Turkey	Syria	125 migrants, 168 locals	7-10	Demographic data form, Spielberger State and Trait Anxiety Inventory, Koppitz Draw-A-Person Test	Premigratory trauma, witnessing warfare		Anxiety	Migrants had higher anxiety scores than locals (p=.001). Locals displayed higher levels of shyness (p<.005).	4, 5
11	Cleary et al. (2018)	USA	Latin America	101 migrants	12-17	Traumatic Events Screening Inventory for Children (TESI-C), PHQ-9-Spanish, Spence Children's Anxiety Scale (SCAS), Child PTSD Symptom Scale (CPSS) (all in Spanish)	Premigratory trauma, postmigratory trauma		PTSD, depression, anxiety	44% experienced at least one traumatic event, 23% experienced two or more traumatic events. 59% experienced the traumatic event in their country of origin, 20% experienced a traumatic event during migration, 18% experienced it in the USA. 39% experienced a natural disaster, 34% experienced an injury/accident, 21% witnessed violence. There were significant correlations between experiencing traumatic events during and postmigration and PTSD (p<.001) and depression (p<.01). There was a significant correlation between premigratory trauma and anxiety (p<.01).	2, 3
12	Cotter et al. (2019)	Ireland	Various	8110 locals, 458 migrants	9-13	Open access data of GUI (2006-7 study "Growing up in Ireland")	Early life stressors, parents in prison, death of close family member, language barrier		Psychopathology, ADHD	No significant difference in psychopathology reports. Migrant children experienced significantly more stressful life events than non-migrant counterparts (p<.01). A greater proportion of migrant children showed hyperactivity problems in childhood (p =.04).	3, 4
13	Duinhof et al. (2020)	Netherlands	Various	5283 locals, 1054 migrants	11-16	Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire (SDQ), Dutch Health and Behavior in School Aged Children (HBSC) data	Family affluence, peer conflict		Behavioral problems, ADHD,	Migrant children reported lower family affluence than locals (p<.001) more conduct problems (p<.001), more peer relationship problems (p<.001), less hyperactivity-inattention problems (p<.001).	3, 4
14	Elsayed et al. (2019)	Canada	Syria	103 refugees	5-13	Self-report questionnaires, individual interviews with children and mothers	Daily hassles, premigratory stressors, parent life stressors	Family routines	Emotional regulation, stress	Children who engaged in more family routines after migrating scored better in anger regulation to stressors and daily hassles (p<.05). No significant difference in sadness regulation, authors suggest a larger impact of pre-migratory factors than their post-migratory experiences.	1, 5
15	Fang, Sun, & Yuen (2016)	China	China	301 internal migrants	10-18	Self-report questionnaires	Economic stress, access to resources, school resources	Friendships, school satisfaction, self-esteem, hope	Positive future outlook, acculturation	Hope for the future and teacher support were significant mediators to school satisfaction (p<.001 and p<.001). Positive academic outcomes were most influenced by positive family relationships (p<.01).	1
16	Gao et al. (2015)	China	China	808 migrants in private school, 211 migrants in public	9-15	Self-report questionnaires	Parental education level, SES, access to resources,	Educational resources, family satisfaction, school satisfaction	Externalizing and internalizing problems, depression	Migrant children attending private schools reported significantly more externalizing problems (p<.001), more internalizing problems (p<.001), lower family satisfaction (p<.001), lower friend satisfaction (p<.001), lower school satisfaction (p<.001), lower environment	3, 4

			school, 447 locals in public school			school resources			satisfaction (p<.001), and lower self-satisfaction (p<.001). Migrant children attending public schools and local children did not differ in scoring for items: externalizing problems, friend satisfaction, and school satisfaction.	
17	Grasser et al. (2021)	USA	Iraq	48 refugees	6-17	Self-report questionnaires, UCLA PTSD RI, SCARED	Forced migration		Post-traumatic stress, anxiety	38% scored possible anxiety score. 87.5% scored positive for separation anxiety. 9.5% had positive PTSD scores. 37.5% scored possible panic/somatic symptoms. No significant correlation between symptoms and age.	5
18	Jia & Liu (2017)	China	China	854 rural migrants	13.34 mean	Perceived Discrimination Scale for Chinese Migrant Adolescents, Classmate Climate Inventory, Child Behavior Checklist-Youth-Self-Report	Perceived discrimination, access to resources, school resources	Social support	Antisocial behavior	Perceived discrimination for rural migrants was positively correlated with antisocial behavior (p<.001) and negatively correlated with teacher support (p<.001) and classmate support (p<.001). Antisocial behavior was negatively associated with teacher support (p<.001) and classmate support (p<.001).	3, 5
19	Jore, Oppedal & Biele (2020)	Norway	Various	557 unaccompanied refugees	<18	Self-report questionnaire, Revised Social anxiety Scale for Adolescents (SAS-A), Center for Epidemiological Studies Depression Scale (CES-D), Youth Culture Competence Scale (YCSS)	Premigratory trauma, discrimination,	Cultural competence	Social anxiety, depression	79% reported at least 1 premigratory traumatic event and 50.9% reported experiencing 3 or more. There was no significant relation between premigration traumatic events and social anxiety. Social anxiety was significantly related to discrimination (p<.001) and depression (p<.001).	2, 3
20	Keles et al. (2017)	Norway	Various	229 refugees	13-18	Center for Epidemiologic Studies Depression Scale for adolescents, YCC Hassles Battery	Acculturation hassles, unaccompanied minor, economic hardship, peer conflict, achievement conflict, perceived discrimination, ethnic identity crisis, premigratory trauma	Length of stay	Depression	Significant relation between depressive symptoms and acculturation hassles remaining strong over each of the three observations over time (p<.001 each time). Relationship between depressive symptoms and premigratory war-related trauma decreased each time participants were observed (p<.001, p.<01, and then insignificant).	2
21	Keles et al. (2018)	Norway	Various	918 refugees	13-18	Center for Epidemiologic Studies Depression Scale for adolescents, YCC Hassles Battery, Host Culture Competence and Heritage Culture Competence	Acculturation hassles, premigratory trauma, unaccompanied minors	Host culture competence, heritage culture competence, length of stay	Depression	Participants were classified as resilient (142), vulnerable (148), clinical (212), and healthy (362) (50 as inconclusive) according to scores in a combination of measures. 58% of participants were in healthy and resilient clusters. Healthy group participants had stayed significantly longer in Norway (p=.021) and had less acculturation hassle experiences (p=.030).	3
22	Khamis (2019)	Lebanon, Jordan	Syria	1000 refugees	7-18	Interviews: Trauma Exposure Scale, Difficulties in Emotion Regulation Scale Short Form (DERS-SF), Kidcope, Family Environment Scale, School Environment Scale (SES)	Premigratory traumatic events,	time in host country, family relationships, school environments	PTSD, emotion dysregulation	45.6% of the refugees developed PTSD with excessive risk for comorbidity with emotion dysregulation. PTSD was associated with the host country, 3.31 times more children resettled in Lebanon tested positive for PTSD than those in Jordan (p<.0001). The prevalence of PTSD diagnoses was lower in children who had spent more time in their host country.	2, 4, 5
23	Kumi-Yeboah & Smith (2017)	USA	Ghana	60 migrants	16-20	Semi-structured individual interviews and focus group interviews	Discrimination, language barrier, educational system	Social support, resilience	Acculturation	Migrant students reported positive attitudes toward school, holding high aspirations, and being optimistic about the future. Participants reported the importance of teachers' and counselors' support in helping them adjust to new academic demands and cultural environment to improve their academic work. Children reported tense relations with peers, specifically with African American classmates,	1

										which contributed to cultural challenges and minimal social integration.	
24	Liu & Zhao (2016)	China	China	798 internal migrants	12-17	Self-report questionnaire, Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure, Rosenberg Self-esteem Scale	Perceived discrimination, parental education levels, access to resources, school resources	Group identity and belonging	Low self-esteem, low levels of life satisfaction,	Psychological well-being measured through two variables (life satisfaction and self-esteem) and found they correlated negatively with perceived discrimination (p<.001 for both) and positively with "group identity affirmation and belonging" (p<.001 and p<.01 respectively). The length of residence in the city was positively associated with life satisfaction and self-esteem (p<.001 for both), and negatively with perceived discrimination (p<.01). Children in private schools perceived more discrimination (p<.001) and had lower levels of self-esteem (p<.001) and life satisfaction (p<.001) than children in public schools.	1, 3
25	Lo et al. (2018)	China	China	741 urban locals, 497 rural migrants	13-14	Self-report questionnaires	Conflictual parental relationship, conflict with peers, economic strain, educational strain, access to resources, school resources	Social support	Emotional distress, depression, delinquent behavior	Chinese students' delinquency level was low in both groups. No statistically significant differences between the two groups were found in measures of either minor or serious delinquency. Rural migrants generated significantly higher measures for community disorganization (p=.04), mistreatment by teachers (p=.01), violent victimization (p=.03), educational strain (p=.04), and emotional distress (p<.01). They also had weaker parent-child relationships (p<.01) and knew a greater number of delinquent peers (p<.01).	3, 4
26	Longobardi, Veronesi, & Prino (2017)	Italy	Northern Africa	19 migrants	16-17	Strengths and difficulties questionnaire, Trauma Symptom Checklist for Children, ISPCAN Child abuse screening tool, Child and Youth Resilience Measure	Conflict with peers, premigratory trauma, postmigratory trauma, unaccompanied minors	Resilience, religious beliefs, social skills	Post-traumatic stress, anxiety, dissociation, depression	Participants had average scores in questionnaires regarding conduct problems, hyperactivity, emotional symptoms, prosocial behavior, anger, sexual concerns, resilience, and experiences of abuse. Scores in peer problems, post-traumatic stress, dissociation, anxiety, and depression differed from mean scores of the average Italian population by more than 1 SD.	1, 5
27	Martínez García & Martín López (2015)	Spain	Latin America	19 migrants	16-19	Semi-structured interviews	Conflict with peers, discrimination, low SES, conflict with parents, gang participation		Feelings of lack of safety	Young male members of violent gangs reported leaving their countries between 8 and 14 years old. None were consulted about the decision to emigrate; some were against it. The children reported difficulties integrating into the new culture due to doubts about emigration, loss of emotional reference points in country of origin, and weak relations with relatives living in Spain. Participants reported one or both of two reasons for joining violent groups: the group would facilitate positive relationships and/or it would increase their sense of safety.	2, 3
28	McEwen, Alisic, Jobson (2022)	Australia	Various	85 refugees	16-25	PMLD, Everyday Discrimination Scale, SLE, MIAS, RATS, HSCL-37A, CYRM-R,	Discrimination, male gender,	Resilience	PTSD, internalizing behavior	80% of participants scored high in PTSD symptoms. 55.29% scored high on internalizing symptoms. 84.42% scored low resilience. Males had more experiences than females of discrimination (p=0.02). Males reported significantly lower resilience than females (p=0.03).	5, 3
29	Müller et al. (2019)	Germany	Various	98 refugees	16.28 mean	Child and Adolescent Trauma Screen (CATS), Hopkins Symptom Checklist-37 (HSCL-37A), Everyday Resources and Stressors Scale	Witnessing violence, experiencing war, premigratory trauma, migratory trauma		PTSD	All children had experienced at least 1 traumatic event. Children reported on average 8.82 traumatic experiences. The most common traumatic event (96.6%) was a dangerous migration such as traveling in a small, crowded boat. 75% witnessed low level violence, 78.6% witnessed medium level of violence, 76.5% witnessed high level of violence. 76.5% experienced hunger and thirst for several days. 64.3% experienced war. 85.7% experienced interpersonal violence (such as within their family). 56.1% scored in clinical levels of PTSS, and 29.6% fulfilled criteria for PTSD.	2, 5
30	Ni et al. (2016)	China	China	1306 rural migrants	9-19	Self-report questionnaire, Bicultural Identity Integration Scale (BIIS- 1), Index of Sojourner Social Support, Subjective Happiness Scale,	SES, access to resources, school resources	Social support, identity integration	Well-being	Identity integration significantly related to social support (p<.01) and subjective well-being (p<.01). Social support positively associated with subjective well-being (p<.01). Migrant children attending public schools reported higher identity integration compared to children attending private schools (p<.01), and higher scores in subjective well-being (p<.01).	1

#	Author	Country	Origin	Sample	Age	Measures	Risk factors	Protective factors	Outcomes	Findings	Themes
31	O'Donoghue et al. (2021)	Australia	Various	277 migrants, 853 locals	15-24	Clinical psychosis diagnosis	Geographic area, cultural distance, drug use, premigratory trauma, asylum seeking		Psychotic disorder, schizophrenia	23.1% of migrants received a schizophrenia diagnosis compared to only 15.5% of locals. Migrants (15.5%) reported less methamphetamine abuse than locals (30.8%). Migrants from North Africa and the Middle East presented an increased risk for developing psychotic disorder (p=.06). Migrants from New Zealand showed no increased risk in being diagnosed with psychotic disorder.	4, 5
32	Öztürk & Güleç Keskin (2021)	Turkey	Syria, Iraq	200 migrants	6-17	CDI, Demographic information form	Forced migration		Depression	35% lost their relatives before and during migration. 35.5% stated that they missed their country. Participant scores did not indicate levels of depression. There was a significant relation between high depression scores and death of their father (p=.011), mother who was the primary breadwinner (p=.003), poor academic scores (p=.000), poor relationships with peers (p=.000), loss of a relative (p=.000), low satisfaction with new environment (p=.000), low adaptation (p=.000).	2, 4, 5
33	Pfeiffer et al. (2019)	Germany	Various	419 refugees	8-21	Child and Adolescent Trauma Screen (CATS)	Premigratory trauma, unaccompanied migration		PTSD, psychosomatic symptoms	90.7% of participants were male. Children had experienced an average of 7.47 traumatic events. The average CATS score was above the clinical cut-off. PTSD symptoms such as nightmares, psychological reactivity, and concentration problems were highly connected to exposure to traumatic events.	2, 3, 5
34	Posselt et al. (2015)	Australia	Various	30 refugees	12-25	Semi-structured interviews	Premigratory trauma, family conflict, acculturation, language barrier, educational strain, employment obstacles, access to resources		Maladaptive coping strategies, self-medication	Participants reported barriers in finding employment due to differences in language, culture, and education. Refugees reported high availability of substances, which led to ease of use as maladaptive coping strategies and self-medication. Reported changes in intra-family roles, father could no longer provide, and children had to work. Reported experiences of discrimination.	3
35	Salas-Wright et al. (2016)	USA	Various	23,334 locals; 1723 migrants	12-17	National Survey on Drug Use and Health (NSDUH)	Exposure to drugs, alcohol, delinquency, age of arrival, family income	School engagement, cohesive parental relationships, length of stay	Externalizing behavior	Migrants who had been in the US for five or more years were less likely to attack to injure (p<.05), to sell drugs (p<.05), and to use substances (p<.05). Those who arrived age 12 or older were less likely to get into serious fights (p<.05), to attack to injure (p<.05), to sell drugs (p<.05), and to use illicit drugs (p<.05). Those who arrived before turning 12 were less likely to attack to injure (p<.05), to sell drugs (p<.05), to carry a handgun (p<.05), to bring on alcohol or drugs (p<.05). Migrants who had lived in the US for five years or more had lower levels of parental conflict (p<.05), more school engagement (p<.05), and higher levels of disapproval of marijuana use (p<.05).	3, 4
36	Samara et al. (2020)	UK	Various	149 refugees, 120 locals	6-16	Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire, Self-report questionnaire	Premigratory trauma, bullying	Friendships	PTSD, behavioral problems, self-esteem, psychosomatic	Young refugee children reported more peer problems (p<.001), functional impairment (p<.001), physical illness (p<.01), and psychosomatic problems (p<.01) compared to locals. But older refugee children had lower self-esteem compared to the younger children (p<.05). The differences were explained by friendship quality and number of friends.	4
37	Sánchez-Teruel et al. (2020)	Spain	Africa	326 unaccompanied males	18-23	14 Item Resilience Scale (RS-14), Hope Herth Index, General Self-efficacy Scale GSE, Multidimensional Scale of Perceived Social Support (MSPSS), State-Trait Anxiety Inventory (STAI), Beck Depression Inventory (BDI-II) (in Spanish)	Unaccompanied minors	Employment	Resilience, self-efficacy, depression, anxiety	Having a job was the best predictor of high resilience (p<.01) and high self-efficacy (p<.01). Hope was related to interconnectedness (p<.01) and social support (p<.01). High resilience was related to hope (p<.05), and negatively correlated to anxiety (p<.01) and depression (p<.05).	1, 3
38	Schapiro et al. (2018)	USA	Latin America	56 migrants	15.5 mean	Health screening questionnaire	Premigratory trauma, caseworker language barriers, death of family member, lack	Early health and psychological screening, family,	Adjustment disorder, depressive mood, anxiety	28 (50%) reported academics as an asset to adapting, 15 (26.8%) mentioned sports, 14 (25%) pointed to good family relationships. 10 (17.9%) thought their good personality or feeling happy was their strong point. 39 children (69.9%) stated they were living with parents and	1

						of social support, unaccompanie d minors			17 (30.1%) with older siblings or other relatives because they had migrated alone.	
39	Schlaudt, Suarez-Morales, & Black (2021)	USA	Latin America	89 migrants	10-16	Revised Children's Anxiety and Depression Scale (RCADS), Acculturative Stress Inventory for Children (ASIC), Children's Automatic Thoughts Scale (CATS), Children's Acceptance and Mindfulness Measure (CAMM)	Negative automatic thoughts, language barriers, acculturative stress, SES, educational resources	Mindfulnes s	Anxiety	There was a relation between automatic thoughts and anxiety (p<.0001), introducing mindfulness did not have a significant moderating effect. Mindfulness reduced the relationship of acculturative stress to automatic thoughts (p<.0001), but it increased the connection of acculturative stress with anxiety. Acculturative stress and anxiety were significantly related (p=.0005). Mindfulness moderated the relationship (p=.048).	1, 3
40	Sleijpen et al. (2016)	Netherlan ds	Northern Africa	111 migrants	12-17	Posttraumatic Growth Inventory for Children, Children's Impact of Event Scale, Multidimension al Scale of Perceived Social Support, The Life Orientation Test, and the Satisfaction with Life Scale.	Traumatic events, negative future outlook, length of stay	Social support, perceived posttraumat ic growth	Life satisfaction	Participants experienced on average 8 potentially traumatic events. They reported high levels of PTSD. Perceived posttraumatic growth and PTSD symptoms were not found to be related. Perceived posttraumatic growth was positively associated with dispositional optimism (p<.01) and social support (p<.01). Dispositional optimism (p<.05) and social support (p<.05) positively predicted perceived posttraumatic growth. Perceived posttraumatic growth was positively related to satisfaction with life (p<.01). Length of stay had a negative relationship with satisfaction with life (p<.01).	3, 5
41	Spaas et al. (2022)	Belgium, Finland, Sweden, Denmark, Norway	Various	883 refugees, 483 non-refugee migrants	11-24	CRIES-8, SDQ (2001), questionnaire designed for study about overall well-being, family separation, and questions extracted from "Daily Stressors Scale for Young Refugees", questions extracted from Brief PErceived Ethnic Discrimination Questionnaire (PEDQ)	family separation, perceived discrimination, female gender, older age, daily material stress, refugee experience		PTSD, internalizin g behavior, externalizin g behavior, stress,	Refugees were more likely than non-refugee migrants to score within clinical range of PTSS (p=.001). 44.7% of refugees scored in the clinical range and 32.4% of non-refugees. 7.6% of refugees and 10.3% scored high in behavioral difficulties. 8.9% of refugees and 10.5% of non-refugees scored high on emotional problems, 6.2% of refugees and 8.2% of non-refugees scored high on conduct problems, 10.3 % of refugees and 11.3% of non-refugees scored high on peer problems, and 3.3% of refugees and 5.1% of non-refugees scored low on prosocial behavior with no significant differences between groups. 5.5% of refugees and 8.8% of non-refugees scored in hyperactivity, non-refugee migrants were more likely to score within a high range (p=.025). Perceived discrimination was associated with PTSS, internalizing behavior, externalizing behavior for all participants (p<.001 for all).	2, 3, 4
42	Stark et al. (2022)	USA	Various	205 locals, 152 migrants	15.65 mean	Survey	Stressful life events	Hope, school belonging, resilience	Suicidal ideation	Suicide ideation and resilience were negatively correlated (p<.001). Children with greater hope (p<.001) and school belonging (p<.001) reported higher resilience, while lower levels of school belonging correlated with higher levels of suicide ideation (p=.009). More stressful life events were associated with suicide ideation (p<.001), while fewer were correlated with resilience (p=.003). Being born outside the United States was associated with suicide ideation (p<.015), with this finding driven by those from the Middle East and North Africa region, who faced significantly increased risk of suicide ideation (p=.036).	3, 4, 5
43	Stevens et al. (2015)	Europe, North America	Various	4,053 migrants; 42,941 locals	11-15	Self-report questionnaire	Conflict with peers	Family affluence	Violent behavior, psychosom atic symptoms, life satisfaction	More emotional and behavioral problems were found in migrant sample than locals, as well as experiences of bullying. Migrant male children reported higher levels of physical fighting than local peers (p<.01). Differences in indicators of emotional and behavioral problems between migrant and native children did not vary significantly by receiving country. Lower levels of life satisfaction were found in migrants than locals (p<.01).	4

44	Tello et al. (2017)	USA	Central America	16 refugees	10-23	Counseling sessions	Unaccompanied minors, premigratory trauma, traumatic migration, delayed postmigration resettlement, discrimination	Early psychological intervention, religious beliefs, social support	Feelings of powerlessness, PTSD, depression, emotional and behavioral problems	The study identified three themes about what led participants to leave home: to help the family financially, to escape gang violence and death, and feelings of powerlessness. Participants described feeling loss of control and fleeing to take hold of their future. Present concerns included fear that discrimination would impact their ability to stay in the U.S. or cause them to be deported. Participants considered these concerns about their future to be directly related to a loss of future hope.	2
45	Titzmann & Jugert (2017)	Germany	Various	480 recent migrants, 483 longtime migrants	11-19	Self-report questionnaires	Discrimination	Language proficiency, academic achievement, social support, parental education, length of stay	Self-efficacy	Newcomers reported lower family financial security (p<.01), less social support (p<.01), less language use (p<.01), and more discrimination hassles (p<.01) than experienced migrants. Authors conclude that the transition to another country is related to a drop in self-efficacy, but with a subsequent recovery period.	3
46	Yayan & Düken (2019)	Turkey	Syria	738 refugees	7-18	CPTS-RI, CDI, STAIC-T (in Arabic)	Parental illiteracy, socioeconomic status, poor physical health, parental death,	State support	PTSD, depression, anxiety	Boys had significantly higher depression scores than girls (p<.005). Children without health problems had lower depression scores than children suffering from respiratory disease or anemia (p<.001). Anxiety, depression, and PTSD scores were higher in children who had lost a parent (p<.001), as well as for those whose mothers or fathers were illiterate (p<.001), and for those who had lower socioeconomic status (p<.001). There was a highly significant relationship between anxiety, depression, and posttraumatic stress (p<.01).	2, 3, 5
47	Ye et al. (2016)	China	China	384 migrants in public school, 337 migrants in private school	10.22 mean	Self-report questionnaires	Access to government resources, school resources, peer conflict, discrimination,	Resilience, social support,	Depression, well-being	Migrant children who could only enroll in the private school reported more verbal victimization (p=.01), more property victimization (p=.00), more depressive symptoms (p=.00), less social resources (p=.00), and less personal assets (capacity to cope with difficulties) (p=.00) than migrant children in public school. Peer victimization was positively associated with depressive symptoms (p<.001) and negatively associated with resilience (p<.001). Depressive symptoms and resilience were negatively correlated (p<.001).	3, 5
48	Ying et al. (2019)	China	China	437 internal migrants	10.87 mean	Self-report questionnaires	Access to resources, school resources, low SES, loneliness	Parental warmth, parent communication	Loneliness, depression	Economic pressure was positively correlated with loneliness (p<.01) and negatively correlated with parental warmth (p<.01). Loneliness was negatively correlated with parental warmth (p<.01). Maternal education level was positively correlated with parental warmth (p<.05) and mutual understanding of communication (p<.05), and negatively correlated with economic pressure (p<.05) and loneliness (p<.05).	3

3.3.4 Postmigratory Environmental Factors and Acculturation

A factor that became evident across studies was the impact of limited access to resources that migrants suffer upon arrival, varying by destination and each country's particular requirements and policies. Although many migrants choose their destination seeking the safety and economic opportunities a country has to offer, they do not enjoy the same benefits as locals, encountering obstacles such as legal issues, complicated visa paperwork, detention centers, language barriers,

and restricted job opportunities. These bureaucratic obstacles impact their acculturation process and consequently their mental health, with many migrants reporting lower life satisfaction, stress, and depression than locals. Fear of deportation or complications to their visa applications can keep them from seeking help. Language barriers impact children's education and parents' access to jobs. Migrants may also struggle with difficult relationships with caseworkers, difficulty navigating or accessing government health systems, and lack of funds were common hassles and stressors. Sometimes children had to step in to help their parents by translating documents or working to support the family, thus they were subjected to parentification. Overall migrant children experienced more bullying in school [43] and in general, significantly more traumatic events than local children (p<0.01) [12].

A particular example of the limitations placed upon migrants through public policies emerged in many studies in China - the HuKou household registration status, where restrictions on rural to urban migrations try to keep families from moving to the city, they must get permission to do so. Due to economic necessities, many migrate despite the difficulties they encounter accessing public education, job opportunities, unemployment aid, maternity benefits, food services, healthcare, retirement funds, and other public subsidies mirroring a status similar to illegal migration. Migrant children's sense of belonging in the city was highly related to feelings of well-being at school, and thus the level of hope for the future, happiness scores, and academic achievement. But most of them could not enter public schools and were left to attend illegal, unfunded, and unregulated private schools with other migrant children [16, 24, 30, 47]. In some cases, wealth could mitigate some of these obstacles, sidestepping some restrictions, setting wealthy migrant families apart with significantly fewer mental health problems and higher life satisfaction.

Thus, the studies that compared child migrant populations to local peers often highlighted increased negative emotional and psychological symptoms. In terms of emotional symptoms, migrants were found to experience more depression [1, 3], anxiety [10], lower life satisfaction [43], lower self-esteem [5], and distress [25]. Behavioral symptoms also emerged from the studies, migrant children had higher rates of suicide [1, 2, 42], hyperactivity [12], conduct problems [13, 43], and violent behavior [43]. The rates of official psychological diagnoses was also higher, with migrant children testing more often for schizophrenia and psychotic disorder [31].

3.3.5 Symptomatology and the Mental Health of Migrant Children

Migrant children were consistently found to be a significantly emotionally vulnerable population, with symptoms such as PTSD, OCD, suicide attempts, anxiety, emotional distress, and dissociation. The children reported feelings of powerlessness, low self-esteem, behavioral problems, feeling unsafe, low levels of life satisfaction, and loneliness. But, as can be seen from Table 4, depression and depressive symptoms were the most common and significant throughout most studies. Although, one study found levels of depression to be less related to premigratory trauma rather than postmigratory experiences [14], many other studies reported that cultural distance was positively correlated to levels of depression [1, 2, 4, 6, 31], the larger the cultural adjustment, the more emotionally affected the children were, as cultural negotiation was accompanied by stressful events and daily hassles such as learning a new language, adapting to new academic structures, discrimination, figuring out how to find a job, religious differences, etc.

Table 7

Symptomatology and Response Studied Related to Migration

Emotional		Behavioral		Cognitive		Psychological	
Hope	15, 37, 42, 44	Suicide (ideation or attempt)	1, 2, 42	Self-esteem	5, 7, 15, 24, 36	Depression	1, 2, 3 4, 6, 11, 16, 19, 20, 21, 25, 26, 32, 37, 38, 39, 44, 46, 47, 48
Loneliness	48	Violence	35, 43	Resilience	4, 9, 23, 26, 28, 37, 42, 47,	Anxiety	3, 6, 10, 11, 17, 19, 26, 37, 38, 39, 46,
Feelings of Powerlessness	44	Externalizing behavior	13, 16, 35, 41	Identity integration	20, 24, 30	PTSD	3, 6, 11, 17, 22, 26, 28, 29, 33, 36, 40, 41, 44, 46
Feelings of group belonging	5, 8, 24, 42,	Internalizing behavior	16, 28, 41	Self-Efficacy	37, 45	ADHD	3,12, 13, 26, 41
Satisfaction	15, 16, 24, 32, 40, 43	Drug use	31, 34, 35	Mindfulness	39	OCD	3
Feeling lack of safety	27,	Conduct problems	6, 13	Acculturation	9, 15, 20, 21, 23, 34, 39	Psychosomatic symptoms	33, 36, 43
Stress	2, 4, 8, 9, 12, 14, 15, 20, 21, 39, 41, 42, 45	Self-medicating	34			Adjustment Disorder	7, 38
Anger	14, 26	Delinquency	25, 35			Dissociation	26
		Antisocial behavior	18			Psychotic disorder	6, 31
						Schizophrenia	6
						Bipolar disorder	6
						Eating disorder	6
						Conduct disorder	6
						Stress disorders	2

3.3.6 Postmigratory Risk Factors and Social Support

Because migration is characterized by significant and permanent changes to their nuclear family, neighborhood, school peers, extended family, teachers, and religious communities it constitutes a loss of children's emotional reference points. The new configurations of social

support at their destination impact their acculturation, their hope for the future, and current life satisfaction as well as their capacity to deal with the daily hassles and stressful events the process of migration can incur [20]. Migrants frequently showed high aspirations for their future and a positive outlook at arrival [7, 15, 23, 44]. However, over time a negative outlook could replace it when faced with isolation, loneliness, lack of acceptance from new communities, and discrimination, which compounding with premigratory issues or trauma could lead to depressive symptoms [4, 27, 20, 40]. On the other hand, children who experienced social support in the form of family unity, positive peer relationships, and supportive teachers had a more positive future outlook, more ambition, higher levels of satisfaction, and an increase in academic achievement [20, 21, 24].

The family environment, children's primary source of social support, is inevitably destabilized after a migration due to family separation, death of a family member, parental trauma, and changes to their socioeconomic status because a parent is unable to find work [6, 7, 12, 14, 16, 24, 25, 27, 35, 38, 45, 46, 48]. Migration circumstances bring new struggles and conflicts for families, studies found migrant children had reported more negative parent-child relationships than local children [25]. Conflictive relationships with parents were a risk factor for their mental health and acculturation [1, 25, 27, 34]. Whereas, parental warmth, cohesive family routines, and good communication with parents served as protective factors [4, 14, 16, 35, 38, 48].

Discrimination, racism, bullying, and xenophobia were the most common experiences for most migrants and were thus the focus of many studies (see Table 5). In schools, bullying was an obstacle to integration, several studies highlighted how feeling excluded at school was detrimental to children's mental health, whereas feelings of group belonging correlated to better acculturation and well-being [5, 8, 24, 42]. Specifically, cultural discrimination significantly related to

depression and suicidal behavior [1, 2, 20], antisocial behavior [18], lower self-esteem [5, 7, 24, 36], and lower life satisfaction [24, 43]. Discrimination is part of migrants' experiences because of their ethnic differences and cultural distance - skin color, religion, accent, language, clothing, academic background, and/or lack of social connections. These differences tended to be larger and more marked in more culturally distant migrations [1, 2, 4, 31]. Protective factors such as appealing to help from teachers, peers, parents, or religious beliefs emerged as children's coping strategies and responses to discrimination [8, 15, 23, 25, 26, 44].

Table 8

Summarized Protective and Risk Factors

Protective Factors		Risk Factors	
School engagement	Bianchi et al. (2021), Buchanan et al. (2018), Fang, Sun, & Yuen (2016), Gao et al. (2015), Jia & Liu (2017), Khamis (2019), Kumi-Yeboah & Smith (2017), Liu & Zhao (2016), Ni et al. (2016), Salas-Wright et al. (2016), Schapiro et al. (2018), Stark et al. (2022), Ye et al. (2016)	Peer conflict or bullying	Duinhof et al. (2020), Keles et al. (2017), Kumi-Yeboah & Smith (2017), Lo et al. (2018), Martínez García & Martín López (2015), Öztürk & Güleç Keskin (2021), Samara et al. (2020), Spaas et al. (2022), Stevens et al. (2015), Ye et al. (2016)
Access to government and educational resources	Gao et al. (2015), Liu & Zhao (2016), Ni et al. (2016), Ye et al. (2016)	Cultural distance	Akkaya-Kalayci et al. (2015), Akkaya-Kalayci et al. (2017), Beiser, Puente-Duran, & Hou (2015), Blázquez et al. (2015)
Parental warmth and positive family relationships	Beiser, Puente-Duran, & Hou (2015), Elsayed et al. (2019), Fang, Sun, & Yuen (2016), Khamis (2019), 38, Ying et al. (2019)	Educational strain	Lo et al. (2018), Öztürk & Güleç Keskin (2021)
Teacher support	Fang, Sun, & Yuen (2016), Jia & Liu (2017), Kumi-Yeboah & Smith (2017), Lo et al. (2018)	Daily hassles	Elsayed et al. (2019), Keles et al. (2017), Keles et al. (2018), Titzmann & Jugert (2017)
Religious beliefs	Cameron, Frydenberg, & Jackson (2018), Longobardi, Veronesi, & Prino (2017), Tello et al. (2017)	Substance Use	O'Donoghue et al. (2021), Posselt et al. (2015), Salas-Wright et al. (2016)
Relationships with case workers	Cameron, Frydenberg, & Jackson (2018), Schapiro et al. (2018)	Experiencing or witnessing violence	Celik et al. (2019), Cleary et al. (2018), Tello et al. (2017)
Hopeful future outlook	Fang, Sun, & Yuen (2016), 37, Stark et al. (2022), Tello et al. (2017)	Experiencing natural disaster	Cleary et al. (2018)
Unaccompanied migration	Axelsson et al. (2020)	Detention centers	Buchanan et al. (2018), Cameron, Frydenberg, & Jackson (2018), McEwen, Alisic, Jobson (2022), Posselt et al. (2015)
Social competence skills and friendships	Beiser, Puente-Duran, & Hou (2015), 5, Buchanan et al. (2018), Cameron, Frydenberg, & Jackson (2018), Caqueo-Urízar et al. (2021), Fang, Sun, & Yuen (2016), Gao et al. (2015), Samara et al. (2020)	Unaccompanied migration	Jore, Oppedal & Biele (2020), Keles et al. (2017), Keles et al. (2018), Longobardi, Veronesi, & Prino (2017), Pfeiffer et al. (2019), Sánchez-Teruel et al. (2020), Schapiro et al. (2018), Spaas et al. (2022), Tello et al. (2017)
Length of time since arrival	Keles et al. (2017), Khamis (2019), Salas-Wright et al. (2016), Titzmann & Jugert (2017)	Stressful life events (SLEs)	Cleary et al. (2018), Cotter et al. (2019), Jore, Oppedal & Biele (2020), Khamis (2019), Müller et al. (2019), Pfeiffer et al. (2019), Sleijpen et al. (2016), Stark et al. (2022)

Mindfulness exercises	Schlaudt, Suarez-Morales, & Black (2021)	Refugee status	Buchanan et al. (2018), Cameron, Frydenberg, & Jackson (2018), Elsayed et al. (2019), Grasser et al. (2021), Jore, Oppedal & Biele (2020), Keles et al. (2017), Keles et al. (2018), Khamis (2019), McEwen, Alisic, Jobson (2022), Müller et al. (2019), Pfeiffer et al. (2019), Posselt et al. (2015), Samara et al. (2020), Spaas et al. (2022), Tello et al. (2017), Yayan & Düken (2019)
		Acculturation stress	Akkaya-Kalayci et al. (2017), Caqueo-Urízar et al. (2021), Fang, Sun, & Yuen (2016), Keles et al. (2017), Keles et al. (2018), Kumi-Yeboah & Smith (2017), Posselt et al. (2015), Schlaudt, Suarez-Morales, & Black (2021)
		Discrimination	Buchanan et al. (2018), Cameron, Frydenberg, & Jackson (2018), Jia & Liu (2017), Jore, Oppedal & Biele (2020), Keles et al. (2017), Kumi-Yeboah & Smith (2017), Liu & Zhao (2016), Martínez García & Martín López (2015), McEwen, Alisic, Jobson (2022), Posselt et al. (2015), Spaas et al. (2022), Tello et al. (2017), Titzmann & Jugert (2017), Ye et al. (2016)
		Low socioeconomic status	Duinhof et al. (2020), Stevens et al. (2015), Tello et al. (2017), Titzmann & Jugert (2017), Yayan & Düken (2019)
		Conflict with parents	Gao et al. (2015), Martínez García & Martín López (2015), Posselt et al. (2015), Salas-Wright et al. (2016)
		Death of family member	Cotter et al. (2019), Müller et al. (2019), Öztürk & Güleç Keskin (2021), Schapiro et al. (2018), Tello et al. (2017), Yayan & Düken (2019)
		Language barrier	Akkaya-Kalayci et al. (2017), Buchanan et al. (2018), Cotter et al. (2019), Kumi-Yeboah & Smith (2017), Posselt et al. (2015), Schapiro et al. (2018), Schlaudt, Suarez-Morales, & Black (2021), Titzmann & Jugert (2017)

3.4 Discussion

This review aimed to identify symptomatology in children responding to migration, as well as the protective and risk factors characterizing the circumstances around different types of migrations. This review found a significant pattern between the difficult experiences of premigration and postmigration that primarily manifested as symptoms of depression, regardless of the migratory movement, age, gender, or cultures involved. One study reviewing psychiatric hospital records found internal migrants made up the majority of their patients (78.95%) receiving emergency services (Akkaya-Kalayci, et al., 2015). The convergence of several negative experiences is characteristic of most migrations (Sandstrom & Huerta, 2013) and underdeveloped coping skills at vulnerable developmental stages (Fuligni & Tsai, 2015), make children susceptible to experiencing mental health problems after migrating, specifically in light of the safety nets migration removes and the social support lost, as well as cultural and political threats added

depending on how open a country is to welcoming migrants. Migration is a relevant and present phenomenon, an essential one, but it is not an issue or a problem in and of itself, rather it is the circumstances surrounding it that are more likely to compound into mental health problems.

Policy obstacles can look like procedural hoops many migrants have to jump through in visa applications that routinely change, unclear processes, or denying access to paperwork that provides access to essential resources (medical, educational, psychological, occupational, and nutritional). Children can face these legal hurdles for years, spending time in detention centers (Buchanan et al., 2018), they may have to navigate this without the help of a lawyer or translating important paperwork for their parents. Unsurprisingly, this can result in feelings of uncertainty, despair, depression, hopelessness, decreasing hope and future outlook, unable to move backward or forward (Ball & Moselle, 2016).

Several articles included in this review detail a particular type of national migration in China closely mirroring illegal international migrations due to restrictive internal movement policies (Hukou). These studies can help examine the acculturation struggles created by a lack of access to resources specifically without cultural factors intermingling into the risk factors children face. Children whose parents moved to the city without the approved paperwork displayed more depressive symptoms than those who had the right permits, in large part due to the inability to access government-funded education (Ye et al., 2016). Interestingly, internal migrants still experience significant discrimination and the multitude of psychological difficulties it produces (Jia & Liu, 2017). Internal migrations should not be discarded as easier than international migrations, any type of environmental change for a child is accompanied by many difficulties.

Racism and bullying are dangerously common experiences for migrant children; it is a most aggressive form of social rejection (Verkuyten & Thijs, 2006). Prolonged feelings of

rejection were psychologically harmful to children, whereas developing friendships with peers, social support, and a sense of group belonging were among the most important protective factors (Bianchi et al., 2021; Liu & Zhao, 2016). Discrimination does not only come in the form of verbal violence but can also escalate to physical violence. Children who migrated to find safety encounter a new environment that does not meet their expectations and they must learn to navigate new dangers. This can lead to a loss of hope, a negative future outlook, or looking for safety in dangerous connections such as joining a gang (Martínez García & Martín López, 2015; Tello et al., 2017). In addition to behavioral responses such as turning to delinquency or violence, a significant emotional response to perceived discrimination was high post-traumatic stress symptoms (Spaas et al., 2022). Peer victimization was negatively correlated to resilience and positively associated with depressive symptoms (Ye et al., 2016), some children experienced discrimination even from teachers (Lo et al., 2018). Designing interventions for this particular risk factor might be the most difficult; widespread cultural change takes time, in the meantime migrants can be warned and prepared about how to deal with these negative experiences, education in schools may help reduce bullying. Providing children with the tools to process racism and bullying is important to protect their mental health.

Although relationships to their new environment, such as with peers or teachers, are important, their primary source of support and possibly the primary protective factor if healthy, is the child's family. In most instances, migrating accompanied by their parents helped children negotiate cultural differences, find emotional support, overcome academic hurdles, and have access to better economic opportunities. In a few studies, however, the opposite results emerged - parental depression, difficulty with language acquisition, barriers to finding economically sustainable and legal jobs, or conflictive home environments produced further stress for the child

[3]. The family may become a burden to the child and a risk factor to their acculturation and mental well-being, in cases where they are the sole source of financial support for their family unit (Ponizovsky Bergelson, Kurmanb, & Roer-Strier, 2015). Culturally conservative parents could also present as an impediment to children's integration if the parent demanded the child reject the host culture for fear they might lose their traditions or religion (Oznobishin & Kurman, 2016), lack of acculturation and incapacity to negotiate acculturation hassles are detrimental to children's mental health (Berry, 2001; Keles et al., 2018). Children can develop a unique multicultural perspective and identity that helps them navigate the increasingly globalized world (Ball & Moselle, 2016), and allowing for an integrative acculturation process will benefit them, not only on a psychological level but could also give them an edge later in the job market. Parental warmth and good communication can be the foundation from which the child explores and discovers the new culture. Attachment theory expert advice has focused so far on urging governments to protect the family unit (Juang et al., 2018). There are different characteristics of parental support and the relationship to the child which can give contradictory results and require further study. Parental warmth was a protective factor in the face of economic pressure and loneliness (Ying et al., 2019). But illegal migrant children reported weaker parent-child relationships (Lo et al., 2018) and lower family satisfaction than non-migrant children or legal migrant children (Gao et al., 2015). Concerning access to resources, in Sweden, unaccompanied minors got more help from the government and had quicker access to mental health resources than accompanied minors (Axelsson et al., 2020). A third scenario where children can only migrate with one parent also creates unique emotional responses, for example, where children may lose one parent during the migration. Öztürk & Güleç Keskin (2021) found depression symptoms correlated with having only their mother and their mother having to work.

Further research is required to understand all the factors that go into family migrations. The family unit inevitably suffers under the conditions of migrations around the world, so the authors suggest schools can be a focal point for aid directed at children. To target aid to parents, another centralized location must be designed where parents can receive language support, health services, help finding a job, assistance applying for visas, help navigating other government systems, and legal aid. Migration services should be prepared to offer psychological aid in a manner that does not affect their visa applications, available throughout the process of adjustment, not just at arrival.

Interventions need to be designed and ready for implementation before migratory corridors begin to form, for them to be effective and efficient. Climate change, food shortage, and rising political conflicts will not decrease over the next few years, it is a certainty that we will see a marked increase in migrations of entire families and large communities (IOM, 2019). Recent UN data shows more migrants are fleeing natural disasters than war (UN, 2022), and yet 7,405,590 Ukrainian refugees were recorded across Europe (UNHCR, 2022). 2 million children exited Ukraine and 2.5 million were internally displaced (UNICEF, 2022). It is important to follow up on the well-being of both, internal migrations can be just as impacting, particularly considering the premigration trauma they share. There are inherent difficulties in studying the experience of certain migrant samples, such as illegal migrants or unaccompanied minor girls, but further research is important to protect these particularly vulnerable populations. In addition, more longitudinal studies are needed to understand the long-term factors that impact acculturation. China already, recognizing the need to reevaluate its practices for the sake of its young internal migrants, has begun loosening its approach to its Hukou system (Wang, 2020).

Conflict with peers, witnessing or experiencing violence, leaving home, adjusting to a new culture, changing schools, a liminal legal status, isolation, separation from family (physical,

emotional, or cultural), change or strain to the relationship with parents, parental depression, trauma, financial instability, and racial or cultural discrimination are risk factors and are all, unfortunately, characteristic of most types of migration. These produce a period of destabilization that children go through upon arrival, but over time they can learn to handle the changes, the acculturation hassles, and show an increase in self-efficacy (Titzmann & Jugert, 2017). The longer migrants had been in a country the more they reported more positive mental conditions and overall well-being (Keles et al., 2018; Salas-Wright et al., 2016). A migration does not have to add up to complex trauma with the right social support and access to resources.

Limitations

In order to provide a fully panoramic view into the current state of the factors affecting migrant children, it was important to consider a truly global perspective, so no geographical limitations were set for this review. However, this meant it was necessary to limit the time bracket from which articles were selected in order to keep the results pertinent to the aim of the study. A review of a more historical perspective should go back further to capture past trends, but this was beyond the scope of the present analysis. Time parameters were thus set from 2015 to 2022. This still resulted in a large collection of results which were reviewed by authors manually, which opens the results to human error and limits the article language that can be reviewed, here only articles in English were included, whereas migration being a global phenomenon should be studied in all languages. In terms of the studies included the availability of results from certain geographical areas were lacking. Migration from a developing nation to a developing nation abounds, however, there is a lack of funding for studies in said countries and thus there were more results about

immigrants in Europe and North America than in South America, Africa, or South-East Asia despite large migration corridors that have been forming in these areas in the last ten years.

3.5 Conclusion

This scoping review examined articles reporting on studies into children's mental health by identifying emotional and behavioral symptomatology as a response to migration. The authors gathered this literature in order to provide an overview of available evidence in the intersecting fields of child psychology and migration, to identify knowledge gaps in said research and identify key characteristics and factors related to the fields in hopes that this summary can offer guidance into future lines of study into what is yet unknown of the effects of migration and the responses children have to the experience in order to create more efficient interventions, design helpful policies that direct aid effectively and quickly to those who need it most urgently. As the policies in most countries currently stand, legal obstacles currently serve as risk factors to children's acculturation and subsequently their mental health. Cultural attitudes towards migrants also impact children's sense of safety. However, multiple protective factors were found, particularly of the positive effect social support can have on mitigating those negative experiences.

Further research is needed to follow the development of migrant children through long-term studies to track their acculturation, specifically those who have received psychological diagnoses, as well as those who receive aid to measure and improve interventions. More studies focused on the experience of migrant girls are necessary to illustrate their particular experience, or what factors may be hindering their migration to safer countries.

4. Study II: Emotional and Psychological Migrant Experiences of Children and Families Attending Ateneu Sant Roc Foundation

4.1 Introduction

In Catalonia, the diverse origins of immigrants necessitate intricate multicultural integration efforts, yet there is ongoing debate and lack of clarity regarding which entities and institutions are responsible for facilitating these processes and aiding migrant adaptation, a common issue for many governments globally (Fernández-Suarez, 2017; Carrasco & Valls, 2023). In the absence of a designated entity, various institutions, particularly schools, have informally assumed the responsibility of supporting migrant integration, despite schools not being designed or resourced for multicultural education and integration of immigrant children (Leiva Olivencia, 2016; Manzoni & Rolfe, 2019). Children from immigrant families face linguistic and cultural barriers, adverse experiences, and mental health challenges that hinder their academic success and concentration, necessitating supportive measures and resources for their adjustment and wellbeing (Free et al., 2014; Bianchi et al., 2021).

The Ateneu Sant Roc Foundation, initially established in 1969 for social action in the Sant Roc neighborhood of Badalona, on the outskirts of Barcelona, Spain. Over time, it became a social-cultural center, advocating for community improvements such as additional schools, street paving, public lighting, and the establishment of a market and library. In the 1980s, the center shifted its focus to providing support for area children, offering educational and recreational programs to counter neighborhood challenges. With the rapid rise in housing prices in the early 2000s, along

with the influx of international migrants, the center transformed into a foundation in 2005, adapting its structure and services to meet the changing needs of the community.

Today, the Ateneu Sant Roc Foundation continues its mission to provide academic support, career guidance, language assistance, childcare and community activities, serving primarily multi-generational migrant families. The foundation has become a pillar of the community, central to the neighborhood conversation about the migrant integration process, which is why researchers decided to conduct a study with families receiving this unique support.

> [E]l centre obert és una institució amb una especial proximitat cap al coneixement del menor i la seva situació de risc, element que fa que els professionals que treballen en aquests centres siguin facilitadors de la informació per poder treballar sobre aquestes situacions. A diferència d'aquesta afirmació, l'àmbit familiar no recull aquesta percepció de la situació de risc, i omet i/o relati-vitza la majoria dels indicadors de risc social dels casos. Finalment, l'escola, que juga un paper clau en el procés educatiu, es posiciona en un lloc més llunyà al coneixement del menor, i és poc conscient i poc coneixedora de les situacions de risc d'aquests nois. (Cónsola Párraga et al., 2018)

The presence of an open center like the Ateneu Foundation in a migrant neighborhood who has identified the risks these families are presented with and has developed targeted support makes this a particularly unique sample.

Based on the migratory context and psychological theories detailed in Chapter 2 and the results of Study I detailed in Chapter 3, a second study was designed to interview migrant families in Sant Roc about their experience. The interviews inquired into their migration journey, their family dynamics, their daily routines, their jobs and education, and their communities.

The purpose of the study was to gather the stories of both a parent and a child from migrant families to understand the multigenerational experience of settling and adapting in the Sant Roc neighborhood, where so many migrants entering Catalonia first live. The neighborhood presents several challenges such as drug and crime activity.

Chapter 4 will cover the methodology, the results, and the discussion of said interviews, seeking to answer the following questions:

1. What is the current emotional and psychological experience of migrant families in Badalona?

2. What are the protective and risk factors for children of migrant families, and in particular, the role of the Fundació Ateneu Sant Roc?

3. How does a family's migration trajectory impact a child's psychological and emotional health?

4.2 Methodology

4.2.1 A Qualitative Approach

In order to understand a particular experience that only certain human beings go through in their lives, in the case of this study – migration, it is important to give them the opportunity to tell their stories, to give them spaces to recount their journey, and to open a space for conversation about emotionally difficult subjects where people will feel comfortable sharing their feelings with a stranger. This vulnerable process contains both a rigorous and established research framework to provide a safe space to handle complicated subjects and keep the conversation on track, while also leaving space for a human connection. That is what a qualitative approach offers. Migration, although it has existed throughout history, has begun to look vastly different due to current geopolitical scenarios, modern borders, and globalization; and yet it is a highly personal experience, often filled with losses and trauma.

A qualitative perspective can explore the particular and distinct stories within a community to understand the essences of their shared experience through a descriptive approach (Flynn & Korcuska, 2018), while also identifying the shared behaviors and emotional responses due to the experience of migration to propose a framework for understanding their needs and propose a form of standard support to facilitate adaptation (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2018). For example, the unique recent migratory waves occurring over the last century in Spain –require updating our current understanding of the migrant experience. The goal of a descriptive approach is to explore how individuals perceive, describe, feel, make sense and talk about a lived experience (Marshall & Rossman, 2014).

In the process of a qualitative study design, it is common for emerging data to inform previous steps of the methodology, thus foundational elements are modified in order to adjust to data instead of conforming data to the hypothesis. Steps must be taken in a certain order, but then they are reinforced according to the direction the data begs to follow (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2018). Thus, the planning and the design detailed in the next section were revised as the interviews were prepared and administered. This feedback loop is important to the adherence and commitment to the data. "In the qualitative process, instrumentation can be modified when necessary to explore new insights and to address revised research questions." (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2018).

Figure 15

Looping Qualitative Research Methods Steps
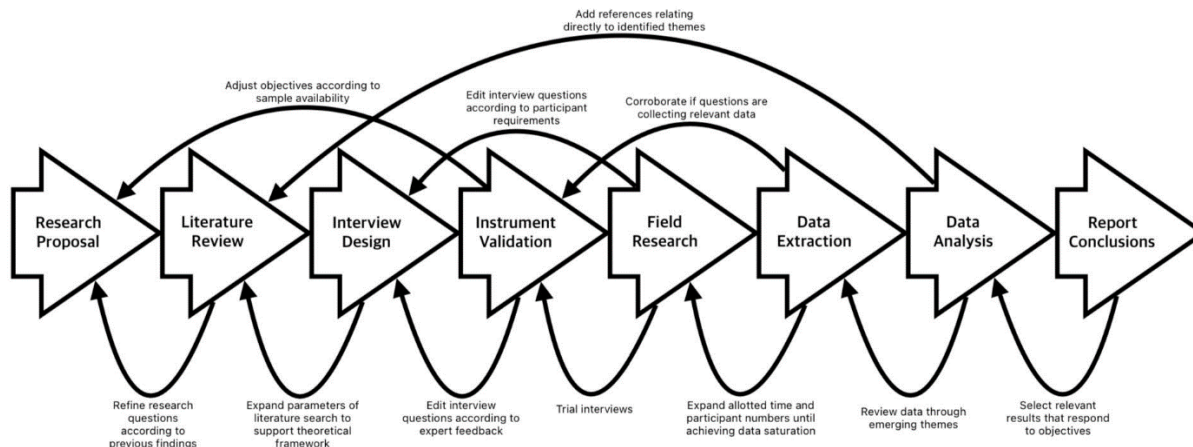
As Marshall & Rossman (2014) remark, the methodological currents of thought are the empirical strands that inform the conceptual framework. Here, the migrant was first and foremost an individual, a person, deserving of the time and attention to share their story, without adhering to a strict agenda or list of questions to check off. The philosophical underpinning of the

researcher's approach defines the methodological choice, which translates to the parceling of the data, and the handling during analysis (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2018).

In this study, the unit of analysis is the emotional expression of the migrants interviewed. Following their honest and authentic emotional expressions was important to gathering the desired data. The steps prepared to conduct a study of semi-structured interviews were planned according to the established procedure, undergoing expert verification and quality checks, as well as ethical approval through the ethics committee at the university. Then they were adjusted according to the needs arising during the interviews, in the corrective feedback loop fashion graphically presented above. The process is summarized below and will be detailed in the following sections. Although a qualitative approach is more flexible it is no less rigorous nor accountable, undergoing multiple stages of editing and refining as more information is gathered.

There is an assumption in deductive frameworks that the migrant experience shares commonalities across multiple migration routes, methods, and origins not just because the participants in the sample share the same country of destination, but at the most basic level because they are migrants regardless of where they migrated to. An important question for this study is then if the arrival in Catalonia and specifically their neighborhood of Sant Roc provided a unique experience compared to other migrants, that would make previous research not generalizable to this population. What makes their geographic location particular and special is its context as a primarily migrant neighborhood, a space that has experience receiving people that do not speak the local language or share the customs of the wider country, if it has developed methods of helping migrants' transition and integrate, specifically through its most unique feature – the Ateneu Foundation.

There are two types of phenomenological research analysis, descriptive and interpretive, the latter is also referred to as hermeneutical phenomenology (Birks & Mills, 2014). In this study both are employed due to the twofold objectives, not only to describe the migrant experience in Sant Roc, but gain a deeper understanding of their emotional experience, which cannot be defined in the same way one would describe their routines, migratory journey, or legal status. In the data collected, there was their demographic information and migration story, as well as their experience moving in their daily world, from which was interpreted their emotional reaction to their daily hassles and interrelational encounters. This study was primarily a descriptive study, using thematic analysis to identify the primary themes of the migrant emotional experience.

Interpretive phenomenological analysis is appropriate for use when studying the ways people in a particular experience draw or create meaning from that experience and thus interpret the value of it in their lives. This study focused on participants' perspective, which here complimented traditional phenomenology which searches for the communal experience (bracketing) (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2018). This study takes an inductive method, to capture both the universal essence of the migration experience, and the reported emotional reactions to said experience, and from there draw thematic patterns to summarize the experience of said group.

In this chapter, the process through which the research questions were formulated and consequently answered will be explained in detail, including the method used to prepare and conduct the interviews following a review of the literature. The responses collected were analyzed and organized, categorized, and ordered according to the objectives stated to understand the emotional experience of parents and children of migrant families in their present situations in order to prepare the data for a multilevel analysis.

4.2.2 Study Design

This section will detail and explain the chosen approach to the problem and the subsequent design according to the purpose of this study, and was therefore selected to answer the research questions. An initial review of the literature regarding the state of research into migrant mental health revealed contradictory results. There was a general assumption migrants have poorer mental health compared to the general population and their local peers (Close et al., 2016). When such a cursory overview reveals contradictions, a deeper examination of those assumptions becomes a prerequisite to developing a hypothesis, research questions, or a study proposal into migrant mental health since these faulty assumptions could influence the focus of the study.

This process revealed researcher bias into the assumption that migration is composed of solely negative and traumatizing experiences which could have affected the development of the interview questions had a review of current literature not occurred before the development of the interview guide, leaning unnecessarily into questions about depression and post-traumatic stress, and steering the conversation in the interview into a pathologizing of their experience and feelings. The literature review, expanded the scope of the study to families, by highlighting how much children's mental health depended on their parents and families, more than the conditions of their migration, as will be detailed later in the chapter.

Having identified the main themes in the life of a migrant and the main factors affecting their emotional experience, a path and structure for the interviews was defined in order to answer the research questions presented in the introduction. There are five recommended phases to develop the framework of the semi-structured interview study developed by Kallio, Pietilä, Johnson, & Kangasniemi (2016) that were followed here:

1. Ascertain the appropriate use of the semi-structured interview through rigorous data collection to identify key areas of the phenomenon based on previous knowledge.

2. Retrieving and using previous knowledge to identify the need for complementary empirical knowledge.

3. Formulating the preliminary semi-structured interview guide in a flexible and loose format.

4. Pilot testing of the interview guide.

5. Presenting the complete semi-structured interview guide.

This section will explain why the semi-structured interview was selected as the ideal and appropriate method in order to gather the relevant data. Then the following section will provide a step-by-step explanation of how it was developed.

After the first step of the literature review, it became clear that parental relationships in particular were the most variable factor in the migrant child's life. The relational dynamic, the parents' level of education, the parents' level of satisfaction, the parents' employment, the parents' income level, the marital relationship, and the presence of the parent in the child's life were all significant factors in the child's postmigratory adaptation (Salazar Andrade et al., 2023). To have examined the children's mental health without looking into their parents' influence on their lives was to see them in an artificial vacuum that could eliminate significant data. Thus, it was decided a study into migrant children's experiences in Sant Roc had to include interviews with the parents as well, in order to get a fuller picture of their true experience and the impact of their migration history.

Looking into previous research can help the interviewer identify issues that are meaningful to the participant and create a framework for the interview. The semi-structured interview is an ideal

method for studying participants' perceptions about complex phenomenon, particularly emotionally sensitive opinions by allowing them to speak freely (Kallio et al., 2016). Because the review of the current literature identified so many themes that were personal to the particular postmigratory experience and their adaptation process as the main influence on their emotional state and their mental health, it was deemed important to develop an instrument particular to the sample's experience, instead of using a preexisting instrument that may target more general data.

The main advantage of the "thematic interview" is the flexibility provided by allowing the interviewer to follow the theme instead of strictly following a strict set of questions. The format of the semi-structured interview guide consists of a list of questions that can be rearranged to allow for dialogue, creating a flexible, loose, and flowing movement from question to question in order to guide the conversation in the direction of the phenomenon studied but allowing the participant to set the path. Notably, the semi-structured interview has two levels of questions, the main themes which were predetermined in the guide developed beforehand, and secondly, the follow-up questions that arise on the spot and may vary from participant to participant. The follow-up questions can serve as reframes or reformulations of the questions of the main themes that may require further explanation, or questions that may emerge from the answers to the main theme questions (Kallio et al., 2016).

To gain access to the sample that would be relevant to the research questions – migrant families – it was decided to conduct the interviews through the Ateneu Sant Roc Foundation. There, migrant families have been congregating for decades, receiving multidimensional support in the challenges that migrants in Catalonia generally face, such as language barriers, academic difficulties, childcare, and economic issues. The families at the foundation were generous and open

to participating in this study and spoke openly about their experiences during the interviews, sharing their personal stories and experiences of adaptation.

4.2.3 Instrument Design

This section will detail how the semi-structured interview questions were designed in order to respond to the research questions and how the questions were directly inspired by the themes identified in the literature review.

The themes were identified through a review of the existing literature as measures for the migrant's level of adaptation (current satisfaction, family routines, sense of belonging, new community, cultural identity, experiences of racism, access to resources, education, job opportunities, medical access, connections to their culture of origin, relational support mechanisms, emotional wellness, mental health, physical health, future outlook, and present family). In order to gather migrant families in Sant Roc's responses to compare to the existing research, it was important to ask open ended questions that allowed participants to expand as they desired, and about a wide range of topics around the migrant experience.

To categorize the data, it was also important to understand the background of the person providing their story, thus gathering basic demographic information (sex, age, country of origin, method of migration, family configuration, language, work, and education). The structure of prepared questions combined with the flexibility of open-ended questions that allowed for on-the-spot follow-up questions was chosen to be the method for data collection under a qualitative approach.

4.2.3.1 Developing the Interview Guide

The interview guide was developed based off the results of the literature review as stated previously. The primary themes identified were organized into two categories – risk and protective factors. The themes covered concerns with premigratory trauma, migration motivation, migration and entry process, postmigration adaptation hassles, school environment, family dynamics, peer relationships, mental health symptoms, and economic status. These themes were then developed into questions and organized according to the three research objectives and a fourth category covering basic demographic information (see Appendix C.1).

The questions flow moved starting on lighter themes, to more in-depth emotional ones (Kallio et al., 2016). The questions and the theme that prompted their development can be seen in Table 9 below. The first section of questions began with the identifying characteristics that had no emotional impact and were just informative such as name, age, sex, country of origin, date of arrival, etc. This led naturally to section 2, which addressed their migration history which was addressed in objective 1. The questions thus covered their migration process, their motivation for migrating, their expectations, and whether they had found them fulfilled, including if they were content with their current life.

This led to questions about their life postmigration in Badalona, objective 2. Then the questions moved onto their routines during the week and the weekend, their work and leisure activities, friendships, community, ways they maintained a connection to their culture of origin, experiences of racism, experiences with law enforcement, etc. This would point toward what the participant was experiencing as positive and negative factors in their environment, leading to

objective 3. This included the impact of their relationship with the foundation and the support they received there.

The final section covered the most difficult questions, left at the end assuming at this point in the interview the participant would feel more comfortable answering more sensitive questions regarding their feelings and their mental health. This section covered questions about symptoms of anxiety, depression, or PTSD in the children, to get a better understanding of their mental health, part of what was set out in objective 2. The structure of the interview as well as the formulation of the questions was designed to encourage spontaneous, unique, descriptive, and in-depth answers.

The final question was about their feelings about staying in Sant Roc, moving home, or migrating to a third place to gage their level of satisfaction, integration, and adaption, as well as, their feelings about their future and any plans they may have.

The questions were adapted to the two types of participants - parents and children. The parents had more questions about the motivations for migrating, their work, their economic status, and their perception of their kids. On the other hand, the children had more questions about their experience at school, their preferences in play, and their perception of their parents, with simpler vocabulary that children as young as 8 years old could understand. The questionnaire for adults had 43 questions and the questionnaire for children had 52 as complex questions were divided into multiple simpler phrasings.

The questions were originally written in Spanish and then translated in English and French, accounting for the large number of migrant families that attended the Ateneu Foundation from Morocco and Pakistan, with many who had only recently migrated to Catalonia and could be expected to struggle with the local languages.

Table 9

Interview Question Development

Theme	Reference for Risk or Protective Factor	Questions Parent	Questions Child	Risk Factor	Protective Factor
Racism	Jia & Liu (2017) Jore, Oppedal & Biele (2020), Liu & Zhao (2016), Spaas et al. (2022)	Has your child shared with you any experiences of discrimination? Have you experienced racism?	Have you had an unpleasant experience due to being from another country? Has something or someone made you feel foreign?	Discrimination, perceived racism	
School	Bianchi et al. (2021)		Do you have friends at school?		Friendships
	Fang, Sun, & Yuen (2016), Lo et al. (2018)		What do you think of your teachers?		Teacher support
	Stark et al. (2022), Schapiro et al. (2018)	Does your child complain about school? Does he/she skip school frequently or try to avoid going?	Do you like going to school?		Academic satisfaction
	Kumi-Yeboah & Smith (2017)	What changed in your child's schooling compared to your country of origin?	How have you been handling the change of school? (Language, academic format, subjects)	Pedagogic changes	
Cultural identity construction	Keles et al. (2018)	Is it important to you to use your native language and teach it to your kids? Are there aspects of your culture of origin that you have felt is important to keep in your daily routine here?	Does your family talk about their country of origin?		Maintaining connection to culture of origin
	Beiser, Puente-Duran, & Hou (2015)	Do you think coming from a migrant family has marked your child's life in a significant way?	Do you feel that migrating was a significant event in your life?		
Parental wellbeing	Ying et al. (2019)	Have your expectations about life here been met?	Do you think your parents are happy here? Have you noticed anything bothering your parents?		Parental satisfaction, parent mental health
	Posselt et al. (2015)	What languages do you speak?	Do your parents speak Spanish or Catalan well?		Parental integration
Discipline	Longobardi, Veronesi, & Prino (2017) Blásquez et al. (2015)		When your parents say you're misbehaving are there usually consequences? [punishment, grounding] Which? Does this happen often or rarely?	Physical abuse, physical punishment	
Peer relationships	Salas-Wright et al. (2016), Posselt et al. (2015), Martínez García & Martín López (2015)	Has your child had any problems with the police or participated in illegal activities with friends such as theft, drug use or alcohol consumption?	Do you have friends who tend to get into trouble? Have any of your friends had trouble with the police? Do any of your friends use alcohol or drugs?	Peers who engage in criminality or substance abuse	
	Ye et al. (2016), Stevens et al. (2015)	Does your child have any peers that bother, bully or hit him/her? Does your child complain of conflicts at school?	Is there a schoolmate that frequently bothers you? Does he/she ever hit you?	Bullying	
	Samara et al. (2020)		Do you have friends? Do you have a best friend?		Feeling of belonging, peer connections
Future	Fang, Sun, & Yuen (2016)	What has your child said he/she wants to be when they grow up? How does your child talk about the future? Hopeful? Scared? Excited? Big goals?	What do you want to be when you're older?		Positive future outlook
Community	Sánchez-Teruel et al. (2020), Ni et al. (2016)	Where does your extended family live? Do you have other family members here in Spain? Are you close to them, do you see them frequently? Outside of the family, what community connections do you have, such as friendships, colleagues, classmates?	Where do your other family members live (aunts, cousins, grandparents)? Have you met them? Do you have other family members in Spain? Do you see them often? Do you play with other kids from your neighborhood?		Large community network
Adaptation	Schotte, Stanat, & Edele (2018) Jore, Oppedal & Biele (2020)	How has your child adapted to this country? What do you think your child expected coming here would be like? Do you think their expectations have been fulfilled? Do you think your child feels at home here?	Do you feel like you have adapted here? Is there something that you feel has made this difficult? How did you imagine your life before coming here? Did it turn out how you thought?	Separation	Integration, fulfilled expectations
	Keles et al. (2017), Schlaudt, Suarez-Morales, & Black (2021)	What new experiences make your child nervous?	What new experiences make you nervous?	Acculturation hassles	
	Schotte, Stanat, & Edele (2018), Öztürk & Güleç Keskin (2021)	When did you decide to migrate and why? How was your migration process? Would you like to return to your family's country of origin or stay here in Catalunya?	Would you like to return to your family's country of origin or stay here in Catalonia?	Marginalization	
Emotional support	Schapiro et al. (2018)		What do you talk about with your family? (Feelings, homework, behavior, etc.) When do you feel most comfortable at home? With whom? What do you like to do with your family? With whom? When you're worried or sad, who do you like to talk to? How do you usually react when something feels hard or overwhelming?		Parental support
Financial stability	Yayan & Düken (2019), Ying et al. (2019), Sánchez-Teruel et al. (2020)	What do you or your partner do for work? Have you ever been unable to pay for rent, electricity, or food? Do you have access to public healthcare? Do you receive any economic aid?	What do your parents do for work?		Financial stability
Cultural distance	Beiser, Puente-Duran, & Hou (2015) Cotter et al. (2019)	What is your country of origin? What languages do you speak?	What country are your parents from? Where were you born?	Cultural distance, language barriers	
Self-efficacy	Tello et al. (2017), Titzmann & Jugert (2017), Martínez García & Martín López (2015)	Who made the decision to migrate? Was there a conversation about it as a family?	Did your parents explain why they decided to come to Catalonia?		Self-efficacy

Family dynamics	Elsayed et al. (2019), Posselt et al. (2015)	What is a normal day for your family? What is a weekend like in your family? What activities do you do with your kids when they're not in school?	What does a normal day at your house look like? Does your family have a daily routine? What does your family do on weekends? What does your family usually do when you are on vacation from school? What do you do after school?		Family Routines
Mental Health	Ying et al. (2019)	Do you think your child feels lonely? Do you think he/she has enough friends, or do they lack community?	Have you felt lonely?		Friendships
	Longobardi, Veronesi, & Prino (2017)	Have you noticed any new emotional stress or strange behavior that you hadn't seen before in your child before migrating?	In the last few months have you felt sad or anxious? Why?	Anxiety	
	Pfeiffer et al. (2019)	Have you noticed changes in their appetite or sleeping habits? Do they seem more tired than usual?	Have you had moments when you felt very tired, and had a hard time sleeping or eating?	Premigratory trauma, depression	

4.2.3.2 Assessing the Instrument

The process to establish the questionnaire for the interviews underwent three initial stages of verification. The first step was evaluating it according to the quality assessment checklist for studies in psychology developed by Protogerou & Hagger (2020). The second step was expert verification by university professors, the board of the Ateneu Foundation, and an ethics committee. The final step was a pilot test according to the phases of conducting a semi-structured interview by Kallio, Pietilä, Johnson, & Kangasniemi (2016).

The expert validation covered began with an academic perspective by two professors at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona who reviewed the questions for researcher bias, question phrasing, and relevance. This resulted in the addition of questions deemed missing to collect the necessary data, such as questions about the use of social services and government aid, and the rephrasing of some questions to improved phrasing for common Spanish formulations (e.g. Using the term "escuela" instead of "colegio").

Once the questionnaire was approved by the university it was sent to the Ateneu foundation for review and approval. There the board filled in a quality evaluation table found in Appendix C.1. Each question was evaluated by relevance to the population, clarity, and respect of the participants' cultures. The general coordinator then met with the lead researcher to go over the board's feedback in detail. The total score was 262/270. The average quality of the questions was

4.8/5. There were three questions that were modified based on their feedback and one question was added about the impact of the foundation in the families' lives to gain a better understanding of their role in the community.

Then a summary of the study design and the question guide for the interviews was sent to the ethics community for approval for research with human subjects. Approval was received (CEEAH 5523) and the study was greenlighted.

The next step was to run a pilot test to measure the time required to complete an interview and the flow from one question to another. This made evident the necessity to create an introductory text to present the study and standardize the explanation of the consent forms and data protection methods. The introduction included a presentation of the researcher, the study parameters and objectives, a summary of the consent forms, and asked for a final verbal consent to begin recording the interview (see Appendix C.2 and C.3). This served as a preparation to the interview for both the researcher and the participant, and a special encouragement to the interviewee to answer the questions as freely as they desired (Kallio et al., 2016).

4.2.4 Sampling

This section will explain the process of selecting participants and describe the participants that were included in this study. The sample was selected based on the conclusions of the literature review. Although the literature review included studies specifically of the mental health of children, the conclusions highly suggest children's mental health was dependent and related to their relationship with their parents, thus it was considered important to interview parents as well

to gather a wider perspective of the experience within the child's family, the parents' mental health, the conditions of the family's migration story.

4.2.4.1 Sample Selection

The choice was made to recruit participants from the Ateneu Foundation for multiple reasons. The location of the foundation was an ideal location for intentional sampling in the first place. The neighborhood of Sant Roc in Badalona has a long history of receiving migrant families of multiple origins - forming a large population that shares the experience of migrating into Catalonia and having to adapt to both the Spanish and Catalan cultures. This was the ideal neighborhood to connect with migrants to interview. Migrants tend to settle into Sant Roc while they get the lay of the land and find some financial stability, and from there they usually move into Barcelona or other cities in Spain as the chairwoman of the foundation explained. For decades they've been serving the needs of the community, taking care of the children and helping mothers learn local languages. Thus, most of the migrant families consist of first arrivals, in other words, first generation migrants. Through word of mouth many women are advised to seek help there shortly after arriving. This allowed for the opportunity to interview families from multiple origins, languages, and lengths of arrival.

The second reason the foundation was chosen was the nature of the sample and their unique environment, the participants were selected from this population based on accessing an accurate sample of the current migratory waves arriving in Catalonia from Latin America, Morocco, and Pakistan (Statista, 2023; INE, 2023) to identify their particular protective and risk factors which evolve as migration evolves and in its present context.

The third reason was the accessibility and availability of the sample. The foundation was a convenient location from which to contact families as many families attend the premises regularly. In addition, the foundation was very generous in their support of the study and offered their help in putting the researcher in contact with the families. The families' trust in the foundation extended to trust in the researchers and the study by having the foundation help present the study.

Here a sample was chosen of migrants who had a unique source of support uncommon to most migrant populations which also offered the opportunity to examine that additional source of support and its role as a protective or risk factors. Initially, it was hypothesized the Ateneu has produced a significant difference in their experience of common migration hassles. Among the objectives of the study it was important to examine how the foundation's influence affected migrant families.

4.2.4.2 Contacting Participants

The foundation offered to serve as intermediary between the researcher and the participants in order to protect their private information. Every June and July families sign up to participate in activities in the foundation for another year. During the appointments to renew their registrations, the foundation informed them of the opportunity to participate in the study. If the family agreed, the foundation scheduled an appointment time where they could be interviewed in one of the offices in the foundation building. This reduced the amount of time participants would have to dedicate to participating in the study as they would not have to mobilize to another location. Instead, the researcher mobilized to the foundation every time participants were available. Most of the parents worked so the appointments were set at times they had other activities with the

foundation, so they did not have to take time off from their jobs. It was valuable to have had the opportunity to make it as convenient and easy for them to participate as possible.

The inclusion and exclusion criteria listed in the next section were shared with the foundation so they could extend the invitation out to relevant families. Over 30 families were invited to participate by the foundation. The 18 families that did agree to participate were then scheduled for interviews; the only personal data communicated to the interviewer was their name. Their phone numbers, emails, physical addresses, and Spanish ID were not shared to maintain privacy. The interviewer then only asked for minimal identifying information such as their name[43], age, and country of origin for the purpose of the study.

Of the 18 families that presented to their interview appointment and were once again made aware of their rights to privacy and the use of their data, all but one accepted to be interviewed. One mother declined participation so neither she nor her son were interviewed, she expressed that she wanted compensation for participating which the researcher was not permitted to offer. One child declined to participate despite his parent's participation and consent, so he was not interviewed but his mother's responses were included in the data. In the end there were 35 participants, 17 parents and 16 children. In Table 10, participants are listed along with their demographic information and family pairing.

4.2.4.3 Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria

A participant is here considered a person who signed a form of consent or whose legal guardian signed one for a minor (Appendix B) and responded to the interview questions found in

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[43] For the purpose of identifying their interview to their consent form.

Appendix C. From the families attending and receiving support from the Ateneu Foundation, the criteria that was given to foundation intermediaries to reach out to potential participants was the following:

Inclusion criteria:

- Adults had to be first generation migrants.

- Adults had to be parents of children, who were born either in Spain or in their country of origin.

- Children could be first- or second-generation migrants, but who had not chosen their migration, the presence in Spain was solely due to their parents' choice to migrate.

- Participants had to be able to speak English, French, or Spanish in order to be able to respond to questions by the interviewer.

- Children had to be at least 8 years old to be able to answer the questions, and at most 18 years old to still be considered minors and under their parents' care.

Exclusion criteria:

- Second or third generation adult migrants.

- Adults and children who only spoke mandarin, Cantonese, Hindi, or Darija.

No parameters were set on participants' date of arrival in Spain or their country of origin because it did not impact their status or lived experience as migrants. A key element of the universal characteristic identity of a migrant is that once someone is a migrant, they will always

be one, even if they undergo return migration[44]. In addition, no criteria were set around the legality of their status in Spain because for the purpose of this study there was no legal distinction to a migrant, legal, illegal or irregular.

No criteria about the parents' gender, age, country of origin, or marital status. It was considered important to hear the perspective of fathers, many were reached out to, and the foundation intermediaries were insistent in helping fill the data gap, however, only one father accepted to be interviewed.

No criteria were set about the length of time the families had to have been enrolled in the Ateneu Foundation or what services they received, and no total number of families to interview was set with the foundation, in order to reach out to as many as possible and interview as many as agreed to participate.

4.2.5 Participant Sample

Participants were given identifiers to protect their anonymity. Identifiers were categorized by A for adults, along with a number given in the order of the date of the interview, and C for child with a number as well by date. In the transcripts the names were redacted, and the transcripts were organized by their identifiers, as well as the results and quotes lifted from the transcripts. All references in the following sections to participants' responses are cited by these identifiers.

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[44] Forced or voluntary return migration is the term for a journey a person takes after emigrating from their country of origin to a different destination migrates back to their country.

Table 10

Participants Demographic Characteristics

Adult	Gender	Age	Country of Birth	Date of Arrival	Child	Gender	Age	Country of Birth	Interview language	Comments
A01	F	43	Morocco	2007	C06	M	12	Spain	Spanish	
A02	F	32	Morocco	2009					Spanish	C recording fail
A03	F	42	Bolivia	2006	C02	F	10	Spain	Spanish	
A04	F	37	Morocco	2001	C01	M	12	Spain	Spanish	Father from Pakistan
A05	F	42	Pakistan	2020	C08	M	11	Pakistan	English	
					C09	F	10	Pakistan	English	
A06	F	57	Morocco	1983	C03	F	11	Spain	Spanish	A06 is grandmother
A07	F	34	Morocco	2019	C10	F	13	Spain	Spanish	
A08	F	34	Honduras	2010	C04	F	12	Honduras	Spanish	Daughter arrived in 2019
A09	F	42	Morocco	2008	C07	F	11	Spain	Spanish	
A10	F	?	Morocco	2006	C11	F	11	Spain	Spanish	Mother age unknown (early 40s)
A11	F	38	Morocco	2006	C05	M	14	Morocco	Spanish	
A12	F	39	Morocco	2008	C12	F	11	Spain	Spanish	
A13	F	46	Pakistan	2011					English	Son refused interview
A14	F	37	China	2004	C14	F	12	Spain	Spanish	
A15	F	35	Bolivia	2003	C15	F	13	Spain	Spanish	
A16	F	52	Peru	2018	C13	F	13	Peru	Spanish	
A17	M	48	Pakistan	2018	C16	F	11	Pakistan	Spanish	Mother arrived less than a year ago with siblings

The final sample was made up of 33 participants, 16 children and 17 adults. The children's ages ranged between 10 and 14 years old. However, the range for the adults is harder to identify, there were two participants who were unsure of their exact age due to the difficulties in their past such as a rupture of the relationship with their parents and the lack of existing premigration

paperwork due to being born into poverty in a rural area. One of them provided an estimate assuming she might be a few months to maybe a year off. The other participant had no approximation, she was unsure by several years. Of the adult participants who knew their age, the youngest was 32 and the oldest was 57 at the time of the interview. There were 4 boys and 12 girls among the child participants, and 16 women and 1 man among the adult participants. Researchers were warned from early on by foundation workers that getting male participation would be difficult.

The majority of participants families' country of origin was Morocco, in accordance with migration trends seen in Spain over the last century (Gracia & Bolaños Somoano, 2023). Pakistan and Latin America were also represented according to current trends. An important rising trend is migration from China, thus it was expressed to the foundation to extend invitations to participate especially to Chinese families, one family accepted to participate.

Figure 16

Participants' Birthplace

Note. More than half of the child participants were second generation migrants.

4.2.6 Data Collection

This section will describe the method through which data was collected through semi-structured interviews and then organized and categorized to prepare it for analysis. It was necessary then to find a space where the interviews could be conducted to provide the adequate space, one where participants could attend comfortably without taking too much time away from their busy schedules, private so they could speak freely, and that would allow for regular disinfecting to take the necessary precautions for the COVID-19 pandemic. Thus, the Ateneu Foundation was assessed to be the best location to connect with families. The foundation chairman was the one who suggested its use and offered their classrooms as spaces where the interviews could take place.

This was an ideal location, so the parents did not have to miss any class or work, and the children could be interviewed in a place already sanctioned by their parents.

Interviews were scheduled first with the parents so a full explanation of the study could be given, then consent forms for themselves and for their children could be signed. The children were offered an assent form to sign, to honor their choice to participate as well.

The interviews were set to begin at the time the COVID-19 pandemic was still ongoing, so there were several delays while adjustments were made to care for both interviewer and interviewees[45]. Conducting the interviews via web chat or written survey was considered. However, it was deemed important to administer the interviews face-to-face due to the sensitive nature of some of the questions and the intention to gather participants' stories instead of short answers. It was important for the interview to feel like a conversation to encourage the participants to offer as much additional information as they wanted to. Previous research had found a reticence in migrants being interviewed about their experience in sharing the details of their migratory process if there were legal gray areas and any negative post-migratory experiences such as depression or difficulty adapting due to fears that they might hurt their visa applications (Bravo & Santos-González, 2017), so reassuring them of the confidentiality and privacy of their answers was important in meeting them personally and connecting on a human level.

Once the interview process had begun, a key element emerged to validate the chosen form of the interview that was not previously considered - multiple participants were unable to read or write and thus did not know how to use cellphones or computers and could not read the consent forms or even sign them. In these cases, verbal consent was obtained after the form was read aloud

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[45] Safety measures were put in place for the researcher and the participants - masks, regular disinfecting of the interview areas, open windows, and social distance were maintained at all times. Interviews were conducted from June 2021 to January 2022.

to them. Many of the adult women participants from Morocco had not been taught to read or write when they were young and although attempting to learn upon arrival were unable to.[46]

In addition, most adult and some child participants struggled with the local languages as is a common struggle among migrants. Thus, the flexibility of a semi-structured interview and the multilingual capacity of the interviewer proved helpful in being able to adapt the vocabulary or even change the interview language to clarify the questions to provide additional explanations. One question in particular proved to be quite difficult for participants to understand, the question about their cultural identity. It is unclear if it was a matter of vocabulary or cultural worldview.

As the interviews transpired a few follow-up questions that arose often were added to the interview guide. The children were asked if they had a best friend, in addition to asking solely if they had friends, as having a best friend is an important protective factor (Poulin & Chan, 2010). The children were also asked about pets, hobbies, and their favorite class to encourage further conversation about their interests as suggested to connect with participants by Kallio, Pietilä, Johnson, & Kangasniemi (2016).

Interviews were scheduled until data saturation was achieved. Thus, the preliminary analysis of the data was conducted in tandem with the collection of said data to identify when enough interviews had been conducted.

4.2.6.1 Data Collection Method

The data collection was carried out through in person semi-structured interviews that were recorded and then typed into transcripts for easy data analysis. Participants were asked to

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[46] In 2004, the literacy rate among women in Morocco was barely 39.6%. In 2019, it had increased to 53.9% (Haskouri, 2021).

participate between May and June 2021. Due to vacation months, COVID-19 contagions, and other scheduling issues, the interviews were finally conducted between June 2021 and January 2022.

The interviewer began by reviewing the informed consent paperwork, and after signatures were obtained the interviewer read over the introductory paragraph. Before the recording began the interviewer announced they were about to press record and asked for a final verbal consent. The interviewer had the printed questions as a guide but had memorized the questions in order to arrange them according to the participant responses and the flow of the conversation. After going through all the planned questions and follow-up questions, the interviewer then announced that it was the final question and asked the participant if they had any more comments they wanted to make or if they had any questions. If they had no other comments, the recording was turned off and labeled according to the anonymity identifier assigned to the participant and backed up to the cloud. Then, the participant was reminded of their rights over their responses and their data and thanked for their participation. After the participant left the meeting room, the area was disinfected again before inviting the next participant to enter.

Then transcripts were typed out verbatim to the recording with the participants' names redacted. Then a secondary version of the transcripts was created with the responses rearranged to follow the initial interview guide order for ease of comparison between participants.

4.2.6.2 Data Extraction Process

The recordings of the interviews were listened to multiple times and transcribed. The data was extracted not just from the text transcription but also from the audio, due to the relevant information about emotions revealed in tone and expressions. Statements about their migration

experience and emotions were highlighted and compiled to be compared. Similar statements were grouped together and categorized in the matrixes found in Appendix D.

The questions were designed to identify this sample's experience of their main migration experiences. There were two key elements about the migration experience and how it impacted migrants' sense of identity as a foreigner in a new land. Firstly, the intention behind the question design was to ask participants about their premigration situation, their motivation for migrating since it is considered an essential dimension of what defines the migrant identity. Questions about the journey stage covered their migration process, such as their traveling format, their paperwork process, the particularities of migrating as a family unit, and their arrival to Catalonia. Then, the questions covered their postmigration experience, such as their adaptation process, experiences with the culture such as the language, or common migratory hassles such as racism or slow paperwork. Beginning by understanding the migrant identity and experience was the foundation for analyzing and understanding the emotions produced by the experiences of said migration.

Data from these statements was extracted from two points of view, the experience of the children, the experience of the adults, and then combined to identify the experience of the families. The migrant identity for children, many being second-generation or not having made the decision to migrate themselves, are migrants by consequence of their belonging to a migrant family. Thus, the migrant identity here for this sample is examined in the context of the family. This was chosen purposefully because of the rare approach.

The parents' and children's responses were analyzed separately initially. Through a thematic analysis to identify the themes that were generally applicable to the lives and routines of the migrant families in Sant Roc. Then, a content analysis of the data extracted emotion statements, since participants mentioned outright some emotions, the ones that have less social stigma such as

gratitude and joy, and implied other emotions that were more difficult to express in non-intimate social contexts such as anger, fear, and disappointment.

A second revision was done highlighting the themes identified in the literature review. Then a matrix was compiled with the most common themes identified in both revisions. These themes were then divided into the categories of protective and risk factors according to the findings of the literature review.

Once the data was organized into compilations of similar experiences and emotions (codes and their categories), the patterns of emotions and migrant experiences were identified (themes). The thematic analysis led to the identification of two main emotional themes expressed by the children, the spaces where they felt safe and the spaces where they felt unsafe. The emotional themes by the adults revealed more complex emotional expressions so the matrix developed was more complex (Appendix D).

4.2.6.3 Interpreting Emotion-coded Data

The purpose of extracting emotion-related statements was based on the association that positive emotions were produced by safe interactions; relationships that made children feel all the emotions related to safety such as warmth, comfort, acceptance, support, friendship, availability, enjoyment, belonging, and environments where children felt comfortable asking for help, expressing frustration, inviting friends, engaging in play, and returned to willingly and excitedly. Thus, these spaces would serve as protective factors to their well-being, adaptation, and mental health in exposing children routinely to these relationships and producing these positive emotions.

In addition, the contrary would also be true. Spaces and relationships about which children expressed negative emotions associated with unsafe feelings would classify as a risk factor as

children in development and as migrants in adaption. Feelings such as rejection, unloved, loneliness, anxiety, and stress and environments that children preferred to avoid, where they felt threatened or that they didn't belong, were feelings classified under the umbrella term "unsafe".

The situations triggering these feelings of unsafety or safety were coded and analyzed in the following sections according to the spaces in which these experiences occurred. Across the totality of children's interview transcripts 402 emotion related statements were identified, 214 were associated with negative emotions and 188 were positive.

Figure 17

Emotion Coded Statements
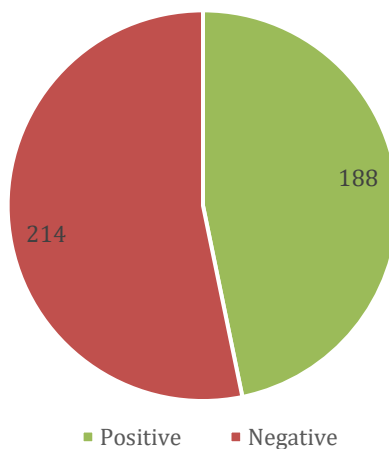
Note. Not all statements were identified as emotion statements, children made neutral statements responding to demographic information or stating facts about their lives and routines.

Through deductive thematic analysis, emotion-related statements were identified and then grouped by similar circumstances that triggered similar emotions. For example, all the responses where children said they were bullied in school and the anxiety of the experience made them feel

that they did not like going to school were grouped together differing from another group where children had a conflict with their friend and felt betrayed. Both of these examples were conflicts with peers at school, but the emotions around the experiences were different and thus had different codes.

Those codes with the largest groups of examples were labeled included in the matrix in Appendix D. The codes taking place in the same spaces of the routines of the child's life were grouped into the four main spaces – home, school, neighborhood, and the Ateneu foundation. Finally, if the code described a negative or positive experience it was sorted into the safe or unsafe dimensions.

Children's responses although complex and varied were categorized under two main umbrella emotion terms, safe and unsafe, according to the principal effect of the peoples and interactions of that space, approaching the data from a developmental perspective about children's adaptation, mental health, and well-being – safety being the prime relational and emotional environment to develop.

The process of extracting emotion-related data and classifying it as a positive or negative emotion required the first initial interpretation to identify what was an emotion statement versus a neutral statement. The second level of interpretation was for statements where the child hid or denied feeling something about a particularly emotive experience. The emotion statements that were stated outright, where the child labeled the emotion themselves, displaying highly developed emotional granularity and comfort in sharing vulnerably their feelings about an experience were easier to code, such as the following example.

Original quote C04	Translation	Emotions
¿Te has sentido solo/a?	*Have you felt alone?*	Lonely Angry

| Si, a veces por la pandemia, cuando me enfado con mi madre, porque pienso que no me quiere. | Yes, sometimes because of the pandemic, when I'm angry with my mom, because I think she doesn't love me. | Feeling unloved |

However, other statements had to be coded according to an interpretation from the context, the tone (from the audio interview file), and the subtext. For example, in the following quote, the child expresses that they are unbothered by the experience of a close friend's betrayal but by her phrasing and tone in the audio recording it is assumed she is feeling negative emotions and is struggling with the experience, thus it was counted as a negative emotion statement.

Original Quote C10	**Translation**	**Emotions**
¿Tienes alguna mejor amiga? No, porque no confío en ella, ósea, acabamos de separar… Da igual, ósea, confiaba en ella y ella confiaba en mí, pero no sabía que ella hablaba de mi hace como dos años, me da igual, eso pasa, no hay que confiar mucho.	*Do you have a best friend?* No, because I don't trust her, I mean, we just separated… It's all the same, I mean, I trusted her and she trusted me, but I didn't know she was talking about me for two years, it's all the same, it happens, you can't trust people too much.	Feeling betrayed

Drawing conclusions about why some children were more comfortable with emotional expressions than others was difficult with this small sample. This could have been due to cultural differences such as their country of origin or traditional gender norms, as well as language barriers or age, parenting styles, or emotional education. But there were very stark differences between children, and it is worth further examination and research.

Figure 18

Emotion Coded Statements by Children
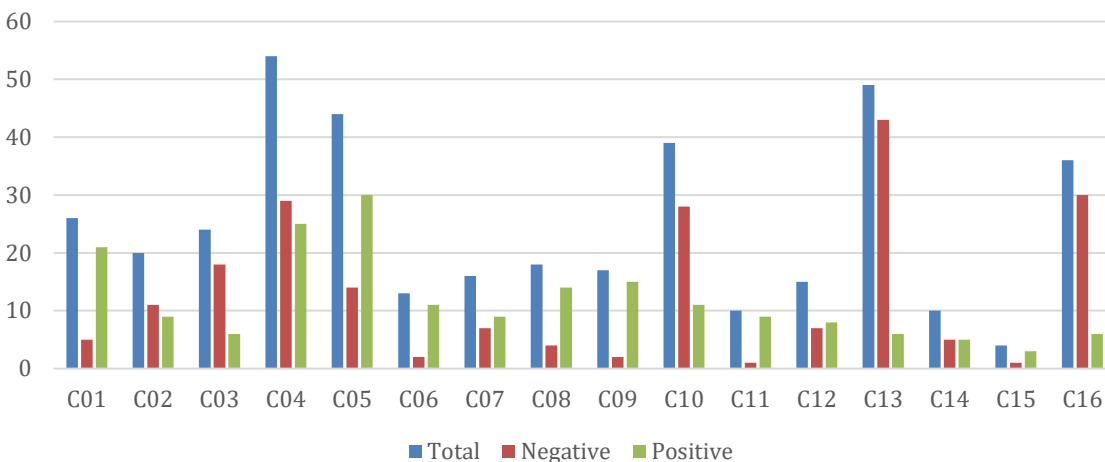
After the initial reading to identify positive and negative emotions, the decision to label the two terms under safe and unsafe was taken to highlight and describe the nature of the relationships in children's immediate environment and the impact of having to repeatedly move between the four main spaces in their lives, exposing them to these interactions on a routine basis, especially when the spaces reflect unsafe interactions.

4.2.7 Ethical Considerations

Birks & Mills (2014) write that the quality of a qualitative study must be evaluated according to two primary principles, the product and the process of the research. The process must include trustworthiness and accountability, and the product must demonstrate significance and value. The process begins with a selection of the subject, where here it is important to mention researcher bias as the preference to a particular subject, commonly because it is of a personal nature. The researcher's goal was to connect more deeply with an experience beyond theorizing

or numerical data that is the center of quantitative research (Smith et al., 2009). It is common in

qualitative research for the subject and the researcher to be intermingled in the process of data

collection (Brinkmann, 2007), the interviews usually yield more rich responses when the

interviewer and interviewee connect on a human level, which in this case was made easier in that

the researcher was also a migrant.

Moreover, in terms of evaluating researcher bias the question of the goal of the study must

be highlighted, too. Many qualitative researchers' underlying goal is considered to be social

justice, providing research to influence public policy change through a deep understanding of a

phenomenon in order to best propose solutions gathered directly from those most impacted

analysis (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2018). Here, the agenda was to eventually be able to advocate for

migrants and their acculturation experience by gathering the experience of families' arrival and

settlement. By partnering with the Ateneu foundation in this study the goal was to identify specific

ways the foundation was an additional protective factor to this particular group of migrants.

Hopefully, this study could lead to greater aid and protection through the establishment of more

foundations such as the Ateneu as in the process it was identified as a positive actor through which

the government can channel further assistance.

When conducting a study with human participants, especially children, it is important to

understand the ethical and legal considerations to mitigate any possible damage or danger. Thus,

this study was subject to an ethics committee that verified every aspect of the process before giving

approval. The subject matter could bring up difficult memories, as migration is often correlated

with trauma. It was made clear to all participants that they could skip any question they did not

wish to answer and always had the option to reach out to the researcher to remove their answers at

any moment. The setting of the interview was given privacy to help participants feel the space to

reveal personal information confidentially if they so desired. Every measure to protect their data and their responses was taken, by anonymizing their identifiers and storing the audio and transcripts in safe locations.

All of the questions were formulated as respectfully as possible, to their experience and their culture. The study was constrained regarding sample availability. Many people are private about their experiences and questions about migration make those with irregular statuses nervous. Many fathers refused to participate, as well as their teenage sons. This was assumed to be a cultural issue. The foundation reported that they often struggle with paternal participation as well. In addition, obtaining participation in pandemic times was difficult. Many people did not want to expose themselves unnecessarily and had ceased attending the foundation activities.

Sparkes & Smith's (2009) relativistic theoretical approach to evaluating the quality of qualitative research adopts the basis of context and purpose-specific criteria as the measure for semi-structured interviews. For example, factors such as the rapport and relational trust built between the interviewer and interviewee can be considered a measure considering the goal of qualitative research should be richness and depth of results rather than the quantity and the standardization of data (Marshall & Rossman, 2014). During the process of the interviews many participants expressed gratitude at being able to share their story, asked to take pictures with the interviewer, felt comfortable crying during the space, and asked to extend the interview beyond the prepared questions. It was important for the interview to not feel like an interrogation, but to feel like a conversation.

Original Quote C13	Translation
Esa era la última pregunta. Tienes alguna pregunta para mi o algún comentario.	*That was the last question. Do you have any questions or comments?*
¿Me puedes hacer más preguntas que me ha gustado esto?	Can you ask me more questions? I liked this.

4.3 Results

4.3.1 Introduction

This chapter will cover the emotion-related data identified from children's and parents' responses in conjunction with an analysis of the risk and protective factors in their daily environments based on the elements therein affecting their emotional wellbeing. As set out in the objectives, it was theorized that their emotional state was associated with the risk and protective factors in their main relationships such as their family, their identity as migrants, and the neighborhood their family settled into in Sant Roc. Thus, identifying the negative and positive emotions generated by the relationships and elements in their lives could identify the factors that were contributing to their adaptation to a space and contribute to the children's development and growing up as migrants.

First, a descriptive analysis was applied to the interviews around their migration-related experiences (4.3.2) and the social context (4.3.3) in which they live, and then an analysis of the emotional experiences of parents and children was tied to those identified migratory experiences and social environment.

The results of the data extracted from the interviews with the parents and children in the sample will be presented through example quotes relating to the codes and themes explored in each section. The quote is included in its original language and if required, a faithful translation[47] into English accompanying it.

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[47] A faithful translation seeks a balance between the precise context of the original meaning while adapting to the target language's grammatical structures, often transferring culture-specific words and lexical specificities according to the target syntactic structures. Faithful translation is the predominant paradigm for interpreter-mediated

The chapter will describe the results of the initial analysis, conducted first by age, children's responses were analyzed together, and parents were analyzed separately and organized into the matrixes available in Appendix D. The table below explains the terms and their meanings for their use in this dissertation.

Table 11

Example of Terminology

Term	Meaning bearing unit	Codes	Category	Theme	Dimension	Area
Definition	Paraphrased and summarized reported experiences	Labeling of groupings of reported experiences	Groupings of codes	Patterns of categories	Emotional category for positive and negative emotions	Social spaces

Tables 12 and 13 below present versions without the examples to display the structure of the analysis which will be detailed in narrative form in this chapter, the full versions are available in Appendix D.

Table 12

Summarized Themes of Child Response Matrix

Dimension	Area	Category	Meaning bearing units (Example quotes)	Dimension	Area	Category	Meaning bearing units (Example quotes)
Safe	Home	Emotionally available parents		Unsafe	Home	Unavailable parents	
						Economic adversities	
						Fractured family unit	
	School	Teacher support			School	Prejudicial bullying	
						Peer conflict	
		Peer relationships					
						Academic demands	

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interviews of migrants and refugees (Pöllabauer, 2006). Errors in syntax and grammar were imitated to keep the tone and context of the quote and the personality of the speaker.

	Neighborhood	Positive contrast with country of origin			Neighborhood	Negative contrast with country of origin	
		Recreation in public spaces				Perceived Racism	
	Ateneu	Community support			Ateneu	Loss of community	

Table 13

Summarized Themes of Adult Response Matrix

Dimension (Emotion)	**Category** (Reaction/action)	**Code** (Postmigratory circumstances)	**Meaning Bearing unit** (example quotes)
Hope	Building a better future	Academic opportunity	
		Female equality	
		Career opportunity	
Gratitude	Overcoming migration obstacles	Family reunification	
	Discovering unique benefits of host country	Medical resources	
		Community Support (Ateneu)	
Contentment	Making it home	Cultural Integration	
		Friendships like family	
	Prioritizing children	Self-sacrificial attitude?	
Frustration	Struggling with migratory hassles	Bureaucratic obstacles	
		Experiences of racism	
		Difficulty adapting	
		Language barriers	
	Negotiating disillusionment	False expectations	
Anxiety	Managing unexpected adversity	Financial difficulties	
		Pandemic	
		Unsafe neighborhood	
		Health problems	
Loneliness	Enduring sudden isolation	Family separation	
		COVID Quarantine	
		Difficulty making friends	

At the end of each section there will be a table summary clarifying and condensing the codes extracted from the quotes (the meaning bearing units), and the themes identified therefrom. The analysis of the results in this chapter will be discussed in the following chapter to explain how they answer the research questions.

4.3.2 Migratory Experience

Economic Advantages and Difficulties

Migrant families discussed many aspects of the economic experiences around migration, pre, during, and post. From their reason for migrating as a search for better labor opportunities to their postmigration jobs not meeting their expectations, their career journeys were fraught with difficulties. In addition, unexpected circumstances such as divorce and other forms of family separation put a financial strain on the family, as well as the pandemic and subsequent job losses. The codes that related to this category were varied due to the different aspects of economic difficulties that migrant families reported experiencing relating to their migration, postmigration, and indirectly related to their migrant status.

Participants widely reported their principal reason for migrating was to build a better life in Spain, which they primarily defined as finding a better job because their assessment of their job in their country of origin was insufficient to give them the life they wanted, for themselves and their family, not just due to the money they earned at said job but also the type of job and the career opportunities that could become available working in a country and a city with more resources. The lack of resources in their country of origin were multifaceted, such as climate change, lack of higher education institutions, and unsourced rural areas.

Original Quote A01 (Mother)	Translation
¿Por qué decidieron venir a Cataluña? Para que mejoramos nuestra vida. Allí vivimos en un pueblo pequeño donde todo es complicado, colegio con solo primaria. Para estudiar secundaria y universidad tiene que ir a la ciudad. El trabajo tampoco... Porque trabajamos en el campo. Por eso preferimos venir aquí. *¿Qué hacían allá?* Todo trabajo del	*Why did you decide to come to Catalonia?* To better our life. There we live in a small town where everything is complicated, school only primary. To study high school and university you have to go to the city. Work neither… because we work in the field. That is why we prefer here. *What did you do there?* All the work of the filed. We had cows, sheep.

| campo. Teníamos las vacas, las ovejas. Agricultura. Es una zona un poco seca, tampoco no hay mucha. | Agriculture. It's a dry zone, there is not much either. |

As parents, migrants considered their children's futures as a priority, thus assessing the shortcomings of their country of origin as unable to offer their children sufficient opportunities, prompted them to migrate to a country that would lack nothing they would need to build a better life than their parents. A key resource for many families was education.

Original Quote A01 (Mother)	Translation
¿Quién o quiénes tomaron la decisión de emigrar? Los dos, pero mi marido primero. Después yo también he dicho que claro que sí. Por eso siempre quiero un futuro mejor para mis hijos porque nosotros también, bueno no nos falta comer ni nada en el pueblo, pero nos falta muchas cosas, por ejemplo estudiar. La vida en el pueblo y en la ciudad no son igual. Y en Marruecos y aquí tampoco son iguales.	*Who made the decision to migrate?* The two, but my husband first. Then me too I said of course yes. That is why I always want a better future for my children because us too, well we did not lack food or anything in the town, but we lack a lot of things, for example study. Life in the town and in the city are not the same. And in Morocco and here also not the same.

The desire to find better opportunities for their children as a driver of migration was a sentiment communicated to the children, who in turn internalized it. They were well aware of their family's sacrifice and efforts for their benefit, even if they were too young when they migrated to remember how it happened or to remember the premigration conversations discussing their motivators, and often were not even involved in the decision-making despite being the central figures for which the migration took place.

Original Quote C04 (Daughter)	Translation
¿Tus papás te explicaron por qué querían venir a Cataluña? Estaría más bien. Por mi bien, para que estudie mucho y eso.	*Did your parents explain why they wanted to come to Catalonia?* I would be more better. For my good, so I study more and that.

In particular, parents from conservative cultures considered the futures of their daughters. The fear of their daughters' dependence on a husband to provide for them without the

ability to provide for themselves motivated the search for a destination where their education and labor would not be restricted. Although women could work in their country of origin, the jobs available were not ideal to give them a good life, particularly if they had kids. The dependence on a husband who could or could not take care of them was a condition they wanted their daughters to avoid entirely. Dependence on a husband was recognized to be a precarious economic situation, for them and their children, should their husband die or divorce them.

Original Quote A04 (Mother)	**Translation**
¿Por qué tus padres decidieron emigrar? Bueno mi padre, en mi país, ahí, estamos, mi padre estaba bien, no estamos viviendo mal… Mi padre solo tiene chicas. No tiene chico, entonces no tiene mucho futuro... Igualmente, si estudian, luego se casan. Hay lo que tienen carrera en mi país y trabajan, estudian y trabajan. Hay lo que casan, pueden tener suerte de casar y tu vives bien. Luego puede ser, te separas y tu quedas parada. Ya no tienes sueldo, no tiene que comer, y si tienes hijos ya peor. Entonces mi padre, él piensa que le trae nosotros a España. Fue pensamiento de mi padre el primero. Pero claro todos queremos venir a Europa…Él dice que era el futuro de vosotros mejor que trabajáis que igualmente si la vida puede ser buena después de casar. Puede ser que sigues con este matrimonio y puede te rompes. En mi país muy duro. Cuando separas vives mal. Después de divorcio vives mal. Mi padre tiene ese pensamiento. Son 6 niñas. Mi padre dice 6 niñas, ¿y si muero, y si pasa algo?	*Why did your parents decide to migrate?* Well, my father, in my country, there, we were, my father was well, we weren't living poorly… My father only has girls. He does not have boy, so he does not have much future… Even if they study, then marry. There are those that have a career in my country and work, study and work. There are those who marry, they can get lucky to marry and you live well. Then it could be, you separate, and you end up alone. You don't have income, you don't have anything to eat, and if you have children even worse. So my father, he thinks that he brings us to Spain. It was my father's idea first. But of course we all want to come to Europe… He says that it was the future for us better that you work that even if the life can be good after marriage. Maybe you continue with that marriage and maybe you break up. In my country very hard. When you separate you live poorly. My father had that thought. It's 6 girls. My father says 6 girls, and what if I die, and what if something happens?

However, the family's deference to the male figurehead continued even after migration. Families still functioned according to the permissions given by the male head of the household, particularly for the women to receive education or pursue a career. For the families in the sample, husbands valued education and careers and encouraged their wives and daughters to take

advantage of the opportunities offered in Catalonia, and that value of believing women can work

and can pursue education is in part what motivated their migration.

Original Quote A01 (Mother)	Translation
¿Se han cumplido las expectativas que tenía sobre su vida aquí? Si. Siempre me gustaría trabajar, ser un poco libre. Allí en nuestra tierra las mujeres son mujeres y los hombres son hombres, sabes como la cosa, pero aquí cuando he venido le dije a mi marido quiero estudiar, y dice bueno. Estudiar la idioma, aquí en el Ateneu, aprender castellano, catalán. Y me ayudaron para hacer, he hecho un curso de monitora. Me ha ayudado, me ha buscado donde lo hago y todo. Después trabajo en el cole como monitora de comedor. Bueno 4 años pero ya, como me ha pasado esto ahora estoy así [enfermedad].	*Have your expectations about your life here been fulfilled?* Yes. I always wanted to work, to be somewhat free. There in our land the women are women and the men are men, you know how it is, but here when I have come I told my husband I want to study, and he said ok. Study the language. Here at the Ateneu, learn Spanish, Catalan. And they helped me to do, I have done a monitor class. It has helped me, they have searched for where I can do that and everything. Then I work in the school as cafeteria monitor. Well 4 years but that's it, since this happened to me now I am like this [sickness].

Many families migrate to pursue goals that differ from their country of origin's priorities

for their children, such as education over marriage. They migrate to a space where the values match

the priorities they wish to pursue. They felt pursuing things like marriage for themselves did not

set them up for a good future, so they try to encourage their children to seek out a different path,

as a personal comparison and an effort to provide better options for them.

Original Quote A13 (Mother)	Translation
Así cuando yo quiero limpiar, después puede, para mejor vida tienes que estudiar mucho, yo pienso. *¿Qué quiere ser su hijx cuando crezca?* Yo siempre quiero que ellos estudian mucho. Abogado, abogada. Y profe. Como buena persona y estudia. Yo no quiero como muchos mis paisanos que no no no después casar. Yo no quiero que rápido casarse. Yo quiero que primero estudia mucho.	Like when i want to clean, then they can, for a better life you have to study a lot, I think. *What does your child want to be when they grow up?* I always want that they study a lot. Lawyer. And professor. Like a good person and study. I don't want like many of my fellow countrymen that no no no after marry. I don't want that marry fast. I want that first study a lot.

However, the initial excitement and positive outlook at being able to migrate was not

always fulfilled upon arrival. The ability to find a stable and well-paying job was not easy due to

multiple obstacles migrants faced, and they lacked the support system they had in their country of origin to connect them with available jobs or help them in between jobs with help such as housing or food or childcare. Although economic prosperity was a motivator for migration, migrants often found their lifestyles shrinking due to the high living costs and the low-skilled and low wage jobs available to migrants.

Original Quote A10 (Mother)	Translation
¿Se han cumplido las expectativas que tenía sobre su vida aquí? Estaba contenta cuando he venido. Cuánto quiero venir, estaba contenta mucho. Pero cuando he venido aquí, después he sufrido mucho. Tengo que trabajar. Si no trabajas no comes. Allí puede vivir con tu hermanos, con tu padres, juntos, aquí no. Hasta tu hermanos no puedes vivir con ellos, aquí muy diferente. Diferente cuando he venido. Y al final cuando he venido digo a mi madre porque ha venido aquí, las casa muy pequeñas. Porque pequeñas las casas, Marruecos muy grande las casas.	*Have your expectations about your life here been fulfilled?* I was happy when I have come. How much I want to come, I was very happy. But when I have come here, then I have suffered a lot. I have to work. If you don't work you don't eat. There you can live with your siblings, your parents, together, not here. Even your siblings you can't live with them, here very different. Different when I have come. And finally when I came I tell my mother why have I come here, the houses are very small. Because houses small, Morocco very big houses.

Th parents reported difficulty finding good jobs due to some elements they lacked such as references, education, certifications, experience, or language proficiency. The time they had to dedicate to training was time they spent without a salary, but which was necessary in order to obtain a livable wage. This edifying period could extend their adaptation process as they prepared their resumes in order to participate in the labor market and get access to an income where they could provide housing and other essential resources and services for themselves.

Original Quote A02 (Mother)	Translation
¿Se han cumplido las expectativas que tenía sobre su vida aquí? Si, el primer año es difícil. Después buscar trabajo, has hecho dos cursos, curso de limpieza, después no hay trabajo, después hecho curso de camarera de piso, y trabajo… Mi marido trabaja en restaurante. Yo trabajo camarera de piso.	*Have your expectations about your life here been fulfilled?* Yes, the first year is hard. After searching work, done two courses, cleaning class, then there's no work, then done a course house cleaning, and work… My husband works in a restaurant. I work as a cleaner.

Most migrants in this sample worked low-wage jobs, unable to accumulate savings but instead they had to live paycheck to paycheck, and requiring both parents to work to make ends meet. When one of the incomes was lost the family underwent crisis, which happened for multiple reasons such as unstable jobs, seasonal jobs, part time jobs, the pandemic, and economic crashes. This resulted in difficulty paying for basic necessities such as rent and food, despite living in an area with lower rents and government-funded housing.

Original Quote A10 (Mother)	Translation
¿En algún momento os habéis encontrado que no pudisteis pagar el alquiler, la luz, la comida? Si porque mi marido, casi un mes y 17 días que no ha trabajado, ha pasado, pero este mes está trabajando. Problema porque no está trabajando, entonces no podemos pagar querer y comer eso y al final menos mal mi marido ha tenido un poco de dinero ha pagado alquiler, pero venimos un poco… ha pasado.	*Has there ever been a time where you've been unable to pay for rent, electricity, or food?* Yes because my husband, almost a month and 17 days that he hasn't worked, has passed, but this month he is working. Problem because he is not working, then we cannot pay want and eat that and in the end at least my husband has had some money has paid the rent, but we were…behind.

In addition, the jobs migrant parents worked often had irregular schedules, requiring them to work weekends, nights, and seasonally without regular income and dependent on the availability of shifts. Jobs with irregular schedules make it difficult to find a second job because they cannot plan their week in advance, as well as participating in other regular activities such as classes because they work outside of 8 to 5 hours and weekends.

Original Quote A02 (Mother)	Translation
Depende, trabajar de mi marido cada semana cambiar del horario. También mi trabajo, cada mes cambiar la horario…mi marido trabajan fin de semana, y yo tengo un fin de semana cada mes.	Depends, my husband work every week change schedule. Also my job, every month change schedule… my husband work weekend, and I have one weekend every month.

The parents' atypical work schedules were opposite to school schedules; thus, the family members were unable to spend time together after the children finished their classes for the day, impacting their relationships. Families often did not have weekends or vacation times to enjoy recreational activities together. Additionally, while the parents worked, they had to arrange childcare which was an additional financial burden on the family as they lacked social networks like extended family that could care for their child during work hours.

Original Quote A17 (Father)	Translation
¿Estás contento en España? Mmm... si. 50%. Pero seguro que ellos también explorar hay mucha cosas, pero problemas de dinero también, no tengo mucho tiempo para pasar con la familia. Depende de mucha cosas.	*Are you happy in Spain?* Mmm… yes. 50%. But sure that they also have much to explore, but there are money problems too, I don't have much time to spend with family. Depends on many things.

Many families required both parents to work in order to support the family's essential needs due to low wages. When one parent lost their job the other was able to continue earning until their partner could find another job, and the family could scrape by in the meantime.

Original Quote A12 (Mother)	Translation
En algún momento os habéis encontrado que no pudisteis pagar el alquiler, la luz, la comida. ¿Cómo lo superasteis? No de momento gracias a dios. Estoy trabajando de momento. Aunque mi marido no trabaja, luchamos.	*Has there ever been a time where you've been unable to pay for rent, electricity, or food? How did you overcome it?* Not for now thank god. I am working right now. Although my husband isn't working, we're struggling.

However, some women did not have the safety net of a dual income. In this sample there were multiple single mothers due to separation, divorce, or abandonment by their partner. Low wages made single-parenting particularly difficult and precarious for the family. Some families reported even going hungry due to their economic difficulties.

Original Quote A07 (Mother)	Translation
Yo y mi hija alquiler una habitación. Antes yo trabajo cuidar con una señora mayor. Cuatro	Me and my daughter rent a room. Before I work take care with an older woman. Four

meses. Después ella no bien, viene una enfermera, ahora yo no tengo trabajo. Mira me ayudan mi padre y mi madre. Mi padre poco, mi madre poco. Y después una personas aquí ayudan poco. Ahora falta una mes de yo no pagar. Hablar con este por favor ayúdame porque yo no tengo ni trabajo ninguna, porque también mi hija ella enferma, tiene asma. Por favor ayúdame, sabes ahora yo no tengo ninguna cosa en casa. Yo quiero comprar una barra de pan, yo no tengo dinero. Yo llamar al teléfono. Sabes ahora cuánto, 6 meses, ninguna ayuda.	months. Then she no good, a nurse comes, now I don't have work. Look, my father and my mother help. My father some, my mother some. And then some people here help some. Now it's been a month of me no pay. Talk to this one please help me because I don't have any work, because also my daughter she sick, has asthma. Please help me, you know now I don't have anything at home. I want to buy a loaf of bread, I don't have money. I call the phone. You know how much, 6 months, no help.

Migrants reported lacking safety nets in times of crisis, some who had migrated many years prior recounted their experience with the 2008 economic crash and the measures they had to take to survive. They sold personal items because they could not find work. There were parallels to the pandemic triggered economic crisis beginning at the time the interviews were gathered. However, those families who had settled in Catalonia earlier did report more financial stability than those recently arrived.

Original Quote A04 (Mother)	Translation
¿Alguna vez han tenido problema para pagar alquiler o luz? Si, pase yo y mi marido antes un tiempo muy mal. Cuando estaba crisis en España. Pase muy mal este tiempo. Ya con tiempo ha pasado, gracias a dios ahora estamos viviendo muy bien. Pero antes fue experiencia muy mala. Cuando estaba crisis en España. De este tiempo mi marido no podía trabajar. Había tenido una empresa pequeñita y se ha perdido mucho. Y vendió mucho oro y yo no sabía antes que significa pido ayuda hasta que me dicen gente vendido todo, hasta que ya no tengo nada ya. Vendo horno vendo esto. No sabía antes yo que significa sociales y tal y no sé que, luego hasta que me enseña gente que tienen que va ahí y te ayudan. Tiempo estaba muy mal, y levantado de nuevo, gracias a dios	*Have you ever had difficulty paying rent or electricity?* Yes, me and my husband before had a very bad time. When Spain was in crisis. I had a very bad time then. Now with time passed, thank god now we are living well. But before a bad experience. When Spain was in crisis. From this time my husband couldn't work. He had had a small company and has lost a lot. And sold a lot of gold and I didn't know before what it means ask for help until they tell me people sold everything, until I have nothing. I sell oven I sell this. I didn't know before what it means socials and this and that, then until that people teach me to go there and they help. Time was very bad, and getting up again, thank god we don't still. We don't want to go back to that very bad time.

que seguimos así. No queremos volver a este tiempo muy mal.	

Presently, the pandemic was a similar economic crisis, most families reported job loss or a reduction of their paid hours. For some, social aid served as a safety net but some were unable to access services or did not know how to navigate the system. Families had to go into debt, ask for loans, or get charity.

Original Quote A11 (Mother)	Translation
¿En algún momento os habéis encontrado que no pudisteis pagar el alquiler, la luz, la comida? Si con este pandemia si, antes nunca. Como él trabajaba hace muchos años tiene fijo en este restaurante. Bueno pagamos el alquiler lo que debemos primero, lo que falta podemos vivir con él. Pero en este pandemia, uy como a veces que no cobraron quedamos así con 3 niños, pero gracias a [vivienda de interés social] ellos lo cubrimos hasta que cobramos el mes y después podemos pagar el alquiler. Es muy duro, pero gracias a dios como estamos aquí de verdad. Ha empezado este mes, un año y medio sin trabajo.	*Have you ever had difficulty paying rent or electricity, or for food?* Yes with this pandemic yes, before never. Since he worked for many years in this restaurant. Well we paid the rent what we owe first, what's left over we live with it. But in this pandemic, since sometimes they don't charge we were left like this with 3 kids, but thanks to [government services] they cover until we charged the month and then we can pay the rent. It's very hard, but thank god we are here really. This month has begun, a year and a half without work.

For recently arrived families, their migration coinciding with the pandemic further complicated their settlement process. Many systems were overloaded, there were few jobs, and the virus affected many of the participants who were infected at multiple points.

Original Quote A05 (Mother)
Has your family ever been unable to pay for rent or electricity? Yes, many times, when we came here, immediately after one month, my husband suffered from coronavirus. It was very difficult month for my family. It was only my husband who worked for the family. In March. It was very difficult for us to manage all the expenditures. We borrowed from friends, that is how we managed to pay the bills and the rent. But it was very difficult time.

Because migrants were unable to depend on family, they had to seek out other social support such as friends or the Ateneu foundation. They even depend on the kindness of strangers such as landlords.

Original Quote A08 (Mother)	Translation
Hablamos con la dueña, le dijimos que nos retrasaríamos sabes porque no podemos pagar luego, nos quería subir el alquiler, y bueno si no podemos pagar cómo nos va a subir el alquiler. Si si, bueno luego tuvimos que pagarlo, pero si si nos retrasamos bastantes meses.	We spoke with the landlord, we told her that we'd fall behind on payments because we can't pay, she wanted to raise our rent, and well if we can't pay how can she raise rent. Yes yes, well then we had to pay, but we really fell behind many months.

Another type of unexpected circumstances that were significantly and repeatedly associated with an ensuing economic crisis for families were the families' conflicts between members. Family conflicts such as separation and divorce were expensive legal procedures, expenses not all families could comfortably afford. Divorce was reported by several mothers interviewed, which immediately following the separation the family struggled to maintain their quality of life.

Original Quote A03 (Mother)	Translation
¿Por qué decidieron emigrar? La pregunta del millón, porque supuestamente, para buscar una mejor situación, él decidió, y pues bueno, decidí acompañarlo hasta que fracasó todo… *¿Cómo fue el proceso?* El comienzo bien, él no se acostumbró aquí… Él se devolvió. *¿Están separados o divorciados?* Si… *¿En algún momento has tenido problema para pagar alquiler, luz, o agua?* Si… Cuando me separé del padre de mi hijo.	*Why did you decide to emigrate?* That's the million-dollar question, because allegedly, to look for a better situation, he decided, and well I decided to accompany him until everything failed… *What was the process like?* At first it was good, but he didn't adjust here… He went back. *Are you separated or divorced?* Yes… *Has there been a moment when you have been unable to pay for rent, electricity, or water?* Yes… When I separated from my kid's father.

According to their country of origin's traditional values, the fathers in the families were in charge of finances, upon their leaving the family the mother had to take on the new responsibility of handling the expenses, which was a new skill they had to learn. The children felt the stress of

the transition, becoming more involved as the father's role left a vacuum. The interview guide for children included only one question about their family's socioeconomic status, in comparison to the adult guide which had several assuming they were more concerned and aware of the subject. However, the children brought up the subject on other questions as it was an issue that weighed on their mind, despite their young ages.

The child in the following quote denied feeling stress about it in words but was highly preoccupied about his mother and his brother being unable to adjust to the new family situation and budget appropriately in the same way he was. He brought up the subject of their financial difficulties several times outside of this direct question. His observations about his mother's handling of the situation and feelings of loss of trust in her ability to handle the family's newly limited budget suggested feelings of loss and anxiety at his father moving out of their house to which he refers in other parts of the interview and how they must now adapt to a new more limited lifestyle.

Original Quote C05 (Son)	Translation
¿Has notado a tus papás estresados por temas económicos? Si. Muchas veces. También tenemos nuestras temporadas. Cuando mis padres todavía no estaban divorciados la cosa estaba muy bien. Si que en verdad por algunos temas de electricidad y agua nos cobraron 120 euros por alguna cosa no sé por qué. Cuando mis padres se separaron la cosa está ya más dura. Claro mi madre recibe el pago de mi padre y otro pago aparte. Que pasa, somos 3 niños, a veces vamos a comprar cosas, decimos tonterías. Por ejemplo, mi hermano a veces le llora a mi madre quiero esto quiero esto. A veces se gasta el dinero. Más de una vez hemos estado números rojos. Ahora mismo supongo que ya debieron haber metido el dinero. Pero hace 2 días mi madre esta, creo que todavía sigue en números rojos. Menos 19 euros por X cosas, comisiones y esas.	*Have you noticed your parents stressing about finances?* Yes. Many times. We also have our seasons. When my parents had not yet divorced things were very good. Well, something about electricity and water they charged us 120 euros about something I don't know what. When my parents separated things got harder. Of course, my mother receives payment from my dad and another separate payment. What's the issue, we're three kids, sometimes we go buy something, we say silly things. For example, my brother sometimes cries to me mother I want this I want that. Sometimes he spends the money. More than once we've been in the red. Minus 19 euros for X things, commissions and such.

Some mothers left toxic relationships in emigrating from their country of origin looking for a better life. C10's mother did not have contact with her father to rely on for alimony. She and her mother rented a room in an apartment because they could not afford an apartment on their own. They lived with people they did not know. They could not rely on family for help like many people in her culture and in her country of origin usually did, but in Sant Roc they had a unique source of help in the Ateneu Foundation that most migrants do not have but which was essential to their survival.

In the following quote's particular case, the question was about the child's eating habits, a question included as a possible indicator of depression. In the interview guide this question was included in a section dedicated to a series of questions about the child's routine habits and to assess if there had been any changes due to particular stressors, including questions about their levels of overwhelm or anxiety. It was thus unexpected for the question to yield such a different yet significant result, that a change in habits around food could be due not to mental health but to poverty in even a country like Spain, pointing to a significant risk factor that had not been considered previously or identified during the literature review, which was malnutrition and hunger due to extreme poverty.

Original quote C10 (Daughter)	Translation
¿Has tenido momentos en los que te sentiste con problemas para comer? Porque mi madre hace como unos meses, pues ella no trabajaba, no teníamos dinero para comprar comida tampoco… *¿Quién vive en tu casa?* Yo y mi madre y tenemos compañeros de casa…	*Have you had moments where you had trouble eating?* Because my mother since a few months ago, well she wasn't working, we had no money to buy food either… *Who lives at your house?* My and my mother and we have roommates…

Because economic difficulties were often a reality for migrant families premigration, some parents were unable to migrate with their children, leaving them behind in their country of origin

with extended family such as aunts or grandparents, until they had created a lifestyle in Spain where they could save enough money and offer them a home to live in. This required families to spend long periods apart until they had income, an apartment, and could make the expense to pay for their children's plane tickets.

Original Quote A08 (Mother)	Translation
¿Cuándo decidieron emigrar y por qué? Decidí fue en el 2010… saqué mis ahorrillos que tenía allí y me vine... Sola, sola. No podía en ese momento. Ella vino hace dos años, mi hija, la traje hace dos años, en el 2019.	*When did you decide to migrate and why?* I decided in 2010… took my savings I had there and came here… Alone, alone. I couldn't at that time. She came two years ago, my daughter, I brought her two years ago, in 2019.

In addition, maintaining contact with family members in other countries, an important characteristic of transnational families who wish to maintain ties, involved a significant expense which many could not afford. Families could not afford to return to their country of origin to visit their family and maintain a connection to their culture. Families desired to regularly return to visit, for families from Morocco it was a smaller expense they could incur every few years. For families from latin America and Pakistan, the expense was much greater.

Original Quote A15 (Mother)	Translation
Mi madre en Bolivia está paralizada medio cuerpo. *¿Has ido a visitarla?* Hace un año que le ha dado. Justo le dio en la pandemia. *¿No has podido verla desde que pasó?* No, porque es imposible viajar con 4 billetes, mucho dinero.	My mother in Bolivia has been paralyzed in half her body. *Have you been to visit her?* It happened a year ago. Right during the pandemic. *You haven't been able to go since it happened?* No, it's impossible to travel with four tickets, too much money.

Significantly, despite all the reported stressors and negative experiences around their unstable economic status and precarious financial wellbeing, participants reported gratitude around the secondary effects of being able to be in Spain, because despite a low income, there were other financial benefits such as healthcare. Several families reported health issues for which they had

needed medical services which in Spain were of higher quality and more affordable than in their

countries of origin.

Original Quote A01 (Mother)	Translation
¿Qué tal fue tu experiencia con los servicios de salud? Muy bien, muy bien. Tenemos suerte que estamos acá. Si estoy allí es otro problema. Allí tienes que pagar todo. Si no tienes dinero no tienes derecho. Pero aquí por lo menos de verdad lo agradecemos mucho, aquí nos cuidan mucho.	*What was your experience with health services like?* Very good, very good. We are lucky to be here. If I was there it's another problem. There you have to pay for everything. If you don't have money you don't have right. But here at least we are really grateful, they take care of us.

Lastly, the families with older children were already seeing the positive effects to their

children's future perspectives, according to their original motivation, their children had benefited

from the educational opportunities and were moving on to find profitable careers.

Original Quote A01 (Mother)	Translation
El mayor está en el último año, ya empieza a trabajar. El mediano está haciendo prácticas por las tardes. Está bien. El Ateneu también me ayuda mucho por eso. Cuando estaban en el instituto y bachillerato siempre por las tardes vienen aquí. Hacer los deberes. Hacer actividades. No están en la calle para tener problemas. Porque aquí es como una familia, le protegen mucho. De verdad me encanta. Me gusta mucho. El Ateneu es como mi familia. [El mayor] ha hecho un modelo de robótica industrial y ahora está trabajando en un laboratorio de colonias allí en Badalona arriba. El mediana está estudiando transporte logístico y ahora está de prácticas también aquí.	The oldest is in his last year, he starts working soon. The middle one is doing trainings in the afternoons. He's good. The Ateneu also helps me a lot for that. When they were in school and high school always in the afternoons they come here. Do homework. Do activities. They're not on the street to get into trouble. Because here is like a family, they protect a lot. Really I love it. I really like it. The Ateneu is like my family. [The oldest] has made an industrial robotic model and is no working in a lab in Badalona up there. The middle one is studying transportations logistics and is doing trainings there too.

Children seemed optimistic about their futures and often responded to the interview guide

question about what they wanted to be when they grew up with highly educated positions such as

doctor or lawyer, whereas in comparison, their families back in their country of origin had been

farmers, their parents had not had education past middle school, and some of their mothers could

not even read.

Original Quote A08 (Mother)	Translation
¿Sientes que habla de su futuro positivamente? Muy positivamente, dice que va a tener muchísimo dinero, que va a trabajar duro, y además que es tan ahorrativa.	*Do you feel they talk positively about their future?* Very positively, she says she's going to have a lot of money, that she's going to work hard, and she's also good at saving.

Because this section was long, the following table was included, summarizing the meaning

bearing units, which are paraphrases and summaries of the quotes included above, then the codes

that were labeled onto those units, and the categories the codes were grouped into as patterns that

emerged from the economic-related experiences reported by parents and children.

Table 14

Summary of Codes, Categories, and Themes for Economic Experiences

Meaning bearing unit	Codes	Categories	Themes
Doing certification courses to find a job	Education for career opportunities	Career opportunities	Economic advantages
Study university			
Study high school			
Find a better job than those available in country of origin	Improve career opportunities		
Affordable healthcare	Affordable resources	Resources	
Affordable education			
Government funded housing			
Conservative culture	Female freedoms	Female careers and opportunities	
Religious restrictions on women			
Patriarchal family systems			
Divorce	Family conflict		
Separation			
Single parenting	Single income insufficient		
Abandonment by father			
Charity to get through economic crises	Lack of family safety nets	Institutional support	
Loans to get through economic crisis			
Government subsidies	Government resources		
Ateneu childcare after school hours	Ateneu support		

Ateneu financial support			
Unable to buy food	Limited access to basic resources	Low income	Economic difficulties
Unable to pay rent			
Small housing			
Lack of jobs	Limited career opportunities		
Unskilled jobs			
Low-income jobs			
Unstable jobs			
Part time jobs			
Irregular hours jobs			
Seasonal jobs			
Job loss due to the pandemic closures	Vulnerable jobs		
Job loss due to economic crisis			
Requiring dual income to meet expenses			
Lacking weekends, vacations, and rest hours	Unaffordable Rest		
Unable to afford travel			
Unable to afford migrating together	Migrating in steps	Family transnationality	
Unable to afford visiting family	Separation from family		

Among migrants' responses they referred to different stressors around the family's finances. Some were directed related to their history as migrants, such as their parents struggling to find a job due to delays in their permit process or arriving in the country lacking specific skills that would help them find a job. However, another reason that emerged was family fracturing, either due to parents being in different countries or their parents' separating due to marital problems. On the one hand, migration added stress to marriage relationships, but on the other hand, moving to a country that allowed new freedoms for women which gave them the option to end marriages they wanted to leave. Many of the families in the sample had experienced a reconfiguring of the family unit, through divorce, family separation, or remarrying. These changes applied financial stress to the family unit as well as an adaptation period to adjust to the new family structure.

However, these stressors were described as isolated and specific incidents due to one-off crises that could be overcome and were not a general state of being in the country of destination. The participants did not describe these experiences as disappointment of their migration motivators, rather as unique experiences that would not characterize their entire life post adaptation.

Language Barriers

In this section, phrases identified under the theme *language barriers* will be collated, this includes the reported evaluations of the role of the language difference in the host country as a difficult experience to navigate and a barrier to their adaptation. Migrants were faced with a particularity of the area - learning two new languages (Spanish and Catalan) - required of all people who live in Catalonia, while personally they valued the maintenance of their native language within their family (Urdu, Darija, or Chinese).

In general terms, participants reported language barriers as multifaceted and multidirectional difficulties. However, their framing of their experience with obstacles connected to language learning and use were personal, not as characteristic to the migrant adaptation process. Participants described errors in their language use as mistakes akin to personal failure, rather than an intrinsic part of the experience of being a foreigner in a learning curve. They did not express the feeling that making a mistake in the language was acceptable even if they were not speaking in their native language. Their unspoken expectations seemed to be that the goal was full fluency and proficiency after successfully learning and adapting, failure to do so was framed as their personal shortcoming.

Original Quote C16 (Daughter)	Translation
…pero no hablo mucho. Pero ahora, no sé cómo decírtelo, ya sé español, pero no tanto, como que tengo miedo, me equivoco de algo. *¿Se te han burlado por cometer errores hablando?* Si. Bueno, a mí no solo, a todos los niños. Sabes esa niña que siempre va con un grupito, pues esa.	…but I don't talk much. But now, I don't know how to tell you, I know Spanish, but not too much, like I am scared, that I make a mistake of something. *Have they made fun of you for making mistakes?* Yes. Well, not just me, all kids. You know that girl that's always in a little group, well her.

Children reported that the consequences of displaying deficiencies in the local language at school elicited reactions from their peers that made them feel rejected, embarrassed, and that they were failing at their adaptation process. An accent, grammatical mistakes, or not communicating efficiently were considered weaknesses that opened them to mocking, discrimination, or bullying. In addition, it was a barrier to making friends.

Original Quote A09 (Mother)	Translation
¿Cómo se adaptó tu hija cuando llegaron? El primer año muy difícil, el quinto ya empezar aquí, no tiene amigas, no sabe hablar. Ha pasado un año, dos años muy muy muy mal. Pero luego todo bien, está bien, con el cole, casal, tiene amigas.	*How did you daughter adapt when you arrived?* The first year was very hard, the fifth start now here, does not have friends, does not know how to talk. A year has passed, two years very very very bad. But then all ok, she's fine, at school, at casal, has friends.

Language barriers were not treated as part of the learning process even if their classmates knew they were recently arrived in the country. They were not given a grace period to learn and make mistakes freely. Instead, their linguistic mistakes were a source of bullying and discrimination, which was surprising because in this sample all the children attended public schools in the neighborhood of Sant Roc which had primarily migrant student body. Migrant children who handled the language better mocked those who struggled, isolating them, rejecting them from the main groups. Trepidation at making mistakes and the anticipation of the consequences were reported as sources of stress and negative emotions.

Additionally, for children language struggles in school made it difficult to understand the material taught in class, do their homework, and take their exams. Migrant children's struggle with language barriers brought on a complex set of issues from social isolation, bullying, and academic issues in one of the four spaces they spend the majority of their time.

Original Quote C04 (Daughter)	Translation
*Tu mamá me contó que repetiste el año…*Me costó mucho. Me puse muy triste, porque perdí a mis amigos… *¿Y el cambio de idioma?* En los primeros días me costaba mucho.	*Your mom told me you repeated your year…* It was really hard. I got really sad, because I lost my friends… *And the language change?* At first it was really hard.

A deficit in language skills cost migrant children their academic progress. Children reported academic failure soon after arrival and even being held back a year because of it, which came with secondary consequences of further loss to their social network of peers, separating them from the first group of friends they had managed to make after migration. Because language barriers were a significant obstacle to their social and academic well-being in school, it was reported as a distressing factor that occupied their mind in the months following their arrival in Spain.

The context for the study has the particularity of taking place in a bilingual Autonomous Community in which both Catalan and Spanish are spoken and are used as official languages. This means migrant children were immersed in a space actively using both languages, requiring them to learn both in their neighborhood and in their schools. This meant that even migrants from Latin America faced the process of learning a new language.

Original Quote A08 (Mother)	Translation
¿Qué idioma/s hablan en casa? Si, entre las niñas el catalán. En el colegio, la grande ya se va, le costó mucho al principio porque fue muy duro, no fue fácil, por el tema del catalán. Venir, ya grande. La pusieron en	*What languages do you speak at home?* Yes, between the girls in Catalan. At school, the oldest leaving now, she struggled a lot at first because very hard, not easy, because of the Catalan. Comes, already big. They put her in

| sexto grado, y claro ha vuelto a repetir porque lo ha pasado fatal. | sixth grade, and of course she has repeated because it was terrible. |

The age at which children migrated heavily impacted their process of learning the local languages, the older they were, the harder it was to learn and the longer it took. This was all the more true for older adults. Whereas young children learned the language quickly.

Original Quote A01 (Mother)	**Translation**
¿Cómo se adaptó/ha ido adaptando su hijx? ¿Les costó la transición? Los mayores un poco si, por el tema del idioma. Pero ellos ya sabes. Una máquina, una esponja. Los pequeños, 3 meses ya están hablando.	*How has your child adapted? Was the transition difficult?* The older ones a little yes, because of the language. But they you know. A machine, a sponge. The younger ones, 3 months they're already talking.

Language barriers with the Spanish language were not unique to children migrating from countries that speak different languages like Pakistan or Morocco. Even children from Latin America, who share the Spanish language were challenged and intimidated by dialectic differences as the child in the quote below describes.

Original Quote C13 (Daughter)	**Translation**
¿Qué nuevas experiencias te pusieron nerviosa? El primer día, cambiaron los nombres de las cosas de la escuela, como sacapuntas, era tajador en Perú. Cambiaron así las letras.	*What new experiences made you nervous?* The first day, they changed the names of things at school, like pencil pointer, it was pencil sharpener in Peru. They changed the letters.

Children reported the difficulty of the details about a language that presented challenges. Paying attention to the particularities of terms could cause anxiety and take time to learn. Smaller language barriers had shorter adaptation periods, so migrants from Latin America did have an advantage in a shorter learning period. In addition, the similarities of the etymological roots between Catalan and Spanish made it easier for them to learn Catalan, but they still had to take

classes in order to speak it at a level where they felt comfortable and could handle themselves at an academic level.

Language classes were the most common point of connection with the Ateneu Foundation for adults. Unlike among the schoolchildren, adult migrants supported each other through the language learning process, by recommending resources such as the Ateneu for language classes.

Original Quote C06 (Son)	Translation
¿Cómo conociste a la Fundación? Porque mi madre, cuando era joven, yo aún no había nacido, pues no sabía hablar y una amiga suya le dijo que aquí hacían clases para aprender a hablar catalan y español y eso. Y pues así.	*How did you hear about the foundation?* Because my mother, when she was young, I was not born yet, well couldn't talk and a friend of hers told her that here they had classes to learn to speak Catalan and Spanish and that. And well like that.

Teachers at the schools were aware that parents of migrant children required additional support and also recommended the Ateneu for additional support or provided brief aid themselves with concrete things such as understanding bills and other similar paperwork, that were difficult to understand due to lack of understanding of local languages, of procedures, or because the women could not read the written text.

Original Quote C05 (Son)	Translation
Por ejemplo, yo el año pasado tuve una tutora, muy buena persona, cuando tuvimos problemas del agua, de electricidad y eso, ella nos ayudaba. Ya que mi madre no entiende mucho de esto de las cosas, aquí también la ayudan mucho, y en la escuela también.	For example, I last year had a tutor, a very good person, when we had water problems, and electricity and that, she helped us. Since my mother doesn't understand a lot of these things, here they helped her a lot too, and at school, too.

Once connected with the Ateneu through word-of-mouth recommendations by other migrant mothers or teachers at the school, women were offered a variety of supports, the primary services used were the language courses for Spanish and Catalan. Adults reported how the

language gap was a barrier to adaptation and once they began to better understand and speak, they

felt more at home.

Original Quote A02 (Mother)	Translation
¿Te pareció difícil adaptarte? Si, con idioma. Si tu no sabes idioma hablar es difícil. *¿Tomaste algún curso de idiomas acá en el Ateneu?* Si el primer año con mi hija cuando esta pequeña. Después cuando nació mi hijo yo entro en grupo con las madres con niños pequeños todo la semana. Y aquí también aprender hablar con las madres.	*Did you find it difficult to adapt?* Yes, with language. If you don't know language speaking is hard. *Did you take any language courses here at the Ateneu?* Yes, the first year when my daughter was small. After when my daughter was born my son I joined a group with the mothers and small children all week. And here too learn to speak with the mothers.

Because children practiced the local language at school, they were exposed to and able to

practice the local languages more often, and thus, developed different proficiency levels than that

of their parents, speaking Spanish and Catalan more fluently. Children with the burden and

responsibility of teaching their parents the languages and supporting them in their functioning in

the host country constituted a reversal of traditional parent-child roles, also referred to as

parentification.

Original Quote C06 (Son)	Translation
¿Con tus papás en qué idioma hablan? En casa hablan en español y bereber. *¿Tus papás se comunican bien en castellano o catalán?* Más o menos sí.	*What language do you speak to your parents in?* At home they speak in Spanish and Bereber. *Do your parents communicate well in Spanish or Catalan?* More or less yes.

Another element that contributed to variations of proficiency with the local languages

within a family was the amount of time each member had resided in Spain, which varied because

migrant families had gone through periods as transnational families, members of the family had

spent different amounts of times in the country of origin and of destination, giving them different

levels of exposure and practice to one or another language. The members who arrived first had had

more time to practice and contributed to teaching the members that arrived later.

Original Quote C16 (Daughter)	Translation
¿Qué idiomas hablas con tu familia? Urdu e inglés mezclado. Un poquito de español para que aprendieran. Porque mi madre y mis hermanos llevan poco que vinieron aquí. Hace 3 o 4 meses.	*What languages do you speak with your family?* Urdu and English mixed. A little Spanish so they learn. Because my mother and my siblings haven't been here long. 3 or 4 months ago.

For migrant parents, language barriers often came with economic costs. Before they learned the language to a basic level, they were restricted in their job search, and with low proficiency levels they were only able to participate in low-skilled jobs.

Original Quote A05 (Mother)
My husband work, I do not, I want to, but at the moment I have to do different type of activities, master different type of skills…you know, language. After that I'm planning to do work, but it is not easy for my husband to take care of family, he is only breadwinner you know.

When migrant children spent more time in spaces outside the home or separated from their family, they struggled to learn their family's native language due to lack of practice and exposure to their family of origin's language. Thus, children did not have the opportunity to learn the native language of their family to the proficiency of their family and lost the ability to communicate with their family unit and their extended family or participate in cultural or religious traditions their family previously held. All parents reported wanting their children to learn their family's language of origin.

Original Quote A06 (Mother)	Translation
¿Qué idiomas habla? Mis hijos no hablan árabe. Porque yo siempre trabajar. Siempre están guardería, casal, guardería, casal, guardería. Y no me entienden nada. Ahora crecen y hacen amigos de árabe. Entienden un poquito. Hablan catalán. Mis hijos si hablan catalán directamente. Hablan español directamente.	What languages do you speak? My children don't speak Arabic. Because I always work. They're always at daycare, casal, daycare, casal, daycare. And they don't understand me. Now they grow and make Arabic friends. They understand a little. They speak Catalan. My children do speak Catalan directly. They speak Spanish directly.

Mixing languages was a way for each member to be able to use the language they felt most comfortable with. Migrant families may have to juggle two languages inside the house as some members were more proficient in one language and others in another. All the migrant families in this sample had multilingual households, of two or more languages.

Original Quote A02 (Mother)	Translation
¿Qué idioma/s hablan en casa? Con mi marido bereber, y también con mis hijos hablan bereber, pero ellos contestan con castellano. Ellos entienden bereber pero no hablan. *¿Te gustaría que ellos aprendieran?* Si para la familia, mis padres, mis hermanos, para hablar con ellos.	*What languages do you speak at home?* With my husband Bereber, and also with my children speak Bereber, but they answer in Spanish. They understand Bereber but they don't speak. *Would you want them to learn?* Yes for my family, my parents, my siblings, to speak with them.

In addition, with migrant families who were composed postmigration, where the two migrant parents met and married in the host country, the family had two different native languages to pass on to their children. Second-generation children's most comfortable language was the local language. There, concepts of first language, mother tongue, and native language were different and not interchangeable.

Original Quote A04 (Mother)	Translation
¿Qué idiomas hablas? En casa hablo árabe y castellano, es que yo y mi marido hablamos castellano en casa. Es que mi marido tiene otro idioma. Tiene urdu y yo árabe. *¿Y con tus hijos qué idiomas hablas?* Hablamos castellano. A veces hablamos árabe. Tengo mi hijo mayor poquito entiende y habla, pero el segundo nada, es español español. A veces voy al médico y me dice que habla y digo él no sabe más de español.	*What languages do you speak?* At home I speak Arabic and Spanish, because me and my husband speak Spanish at home. Because my husband has another language. He has Urdu and Arabic. *And with your children what languages do you speak?* We speak Spanish. Sometimes we speak Arabic. I have my oldest son understands a little and speaks, but the second one nothing, it's Spanish Spanish. Sometimes I go to the doctor and he tells me what he speaks and I say he only knows Spanish.

Due to the population of the neighborhood and because they had experiences in common, many of the migrant adults' main friendships were also migrant parents, who also shared a

language in common that was neither the local language or their native language, adding another

language they constantly spoke in, switching among multiple languages regularly.

Original Quote A05 (Mother)
In our home we normally when we and my husband speak in Urdu, and Panjabi. In front of the kids we have to speak Urdu. In offices castellano. When I communicate with different friends and relatives normally speak English.

Migrant parents reported an understanding of the value of knowing and speaking many

languages, and their desire for their children to learn as many languages as possible, a belief that

it will set them apart and give them an advantage for their futures, a priority motivator for their

migration.

Original Quote A04 (Mother)	Translation
¿Es importante para ti y tu marido que aprendan árabe o urdu? Yo me gusta mis hijos que saben más idiomas. No solamente árabe y urdu. Quiero que saben más idiomas.	*Is it important for you and your husband that they learn Arabic and Urdu?* I like my kids that know more languages. Not oly Arabic and Urdu. I wanted them to know more languages.

However, the preference for participants was speaking in the language in which they were

most comfortable, speaking in secondary or tertiary languages came with discomfort and lack of

ease, as well as the difficulty of language switching daily between environments or within the

same environment such as in a multilingual household.

Original Quote C13 (Daughter)	Translation
¿Qué idiomas hablas? ¿Yo? Pues español y ya está. *¿Y catalán?* Lo entiendo, pero no lo hablo, porque no me gusta hablar el catalán.	*What languages do you speak?* Me? Well, Spanish and that's it. And Catalan? I understand it, but I don't speak it, because I don't like speaking Catalan.

Language barrier stress was not just reported solely connected to the process of arrival and

adaptation but also presented as an issue for long-term migrants many years after they had settled.

The most significant language barrier stress that emerged in interviews was not between different

spoken languages, but between written language and spoken language. For many Moroccan woman, literacy was not within their reach. They were not taught to read or write when they were young and by the time they migrated they reported being too old to learn despite being given the opportunity upon arrival. For them, the country they migrated into revolved around written communication, a daily barrier no matter what language it was in, severely limiting them and embarrassing them.

Original Quote A09 (Mother)	Translation
Mucho tiempo, entrar aquí esto clase. Un año aquí, un año en otro cole. Pero no me entra en la cabeza. No sé por qué, no sabe escribir mi nombre.	Lots of time, come here class. A year here, a year another school. But it does not get into my head. I don't know why, not know write my name.

Because this section covered a lot of experiences, the following table summarizes the meaning bearing units, which are paraphrases and summaries of the quotes included above, then the codes that were labeled onto those units, and the categories the codes were grouped into as patterns that emerged from the language-related experiences reported by parents and children.

Table 15

Summary of Codes, Categories, and Themes for Language Experiences

Meaning bearing unit	Codes	Categories	Themes
Bullying for language troubles	Social impairments	School difficulties	Language barriers
Difficulty making friends			
Difficulty understanding class material	Academic impairments		
Difficulty taking exams			
Difficulty doing homework			
Being held back in school			
Illiteracy	Premigration education barrier	Premigration trauma	
Dialectic differences	Cultural language barriers	Acculturation hassles	
Cultural language differences			
Barrier to adaptation	Acculturation barrier		
Children teach parents language	Multilingual households		

Children low proficiency in native languages		Intrafamily language barriers	
Different language learning speeds and levels within families			
Multilingual neighborhood	Multilingual environment	Migrants neighborhood	
Friendships from same nationality, shared languages			
Discomfort speaking in second and third languages	Stress from multi language environment	Migratory hassles	
Language switching			
Language barriers limited jobs adults apply for	Arrival barriers	Economic difficulties	
Teacher support with language	Teacher language support	Teacher support	Language Support
Migrants referred each other to the Ateneu	Ateneu language classes	Ateneu support	
Ateneu helped learn language			

In summary, all participants reported the difficulties that handling multiple languages can produce in their interactions, both within and outside the family, for migrants who had arrived long ago, were even born there, and recent arrivals. Language barriers may decrease over time, but they never fully disappeared and with following generations new ones emerged as different family members learned different languages to different levels of fluency. However, despite the widespread commonality of said experience, participants framed the issue as a personal shortcoming, a problem it was their responsibility to overcome. Particularly mothers felt it was their responsibility to teach their children their family's native language and for themselves to take language classes to increase their proficiency in Spanish and Catalan, even if they felt it almost impossible or they disliked speaking in said languages.

The emotional distress arising from having to adapt, socialize, work, learn, and move around in a language that was not their mother tongue was highlighted by participants as a hassle in their daily life. For families with 1.5 and 2nd generation children, the barriers stretched into their

home. Having language barriers between parents and children is a unique issue for migrant families.

Language was the primary connecting bridge to their friends, family, and neighborhood, and the difficulties stemming from lack of proficiency subsequently divided them from their social network and environment. In addition, the cost to language barriers was not only social but also came with economic or academic costs, all which added to difficulties in their postmigratory adaptation.

Racism

This section will cover the reported experiences of racially based bullying, perceived discrimination, and racially motivated aggressions and attacks. Participants' experience of Spain was viewed through the lens of their time in their neighborhood of Sant Roc, which is a unique neighborhood of Catalonia, and may be unrepresentative of migrants' experiences of racism in other areas in Spain. With its uniquely high rates of drugs and crime the general levels of safety were perceived by migrants, concerning to parents, distressing to children, and driving families away from the area. In addition to the aforementioned, racism was another safety issue. Racism was not just a risk factor to migrants' adaptation or mental health, but also to their physical well-being. Several children reported experiencing racism in their neighborhood and schools, from children and adults they knew, and even comments from strangers as they walked by, in public transportation, or even violent aggression in the park and playground. Children described experiences of racism from Spanish people, Catalan people, Romani people, and other foreigners.

Adults reported personal experiences of racism but were more concerned for their children's experiences.

Some of the reported experiences of racially based discrimination were regarding interactions with the Romani people which are a large ethnic group living in Sant Roc, although their arrival was part of a migratory wave previous to the groups interviewed in this study and were thus usually third or fourth generation migrants, settled in the area for a longer time than Moroccan, Pakistani, Chinese, and Latin American migrants.

Despite living in a neighborhood of primarily migrant population and attending the public schools in the area, also composed predominantly of migrant children, most participants had experienced racial remarks while walking through their neighborhood.

Original Quote C13 (Daughter)	Translation
¿Has tenido alguna experiencia desagradable por ser de un país distinto? Si en la escuela y afuera también. Si porque cuando estamos en la calle, un chico supuestamente estaba hablando mal de los peruanos.	*Have you had a disagreeable experience because you're from another country?* Yes, in school and outside too. Yes, because when we're on the street, a boy was supposedly talking bad about Peruvians.

Children were not safe from these verbal aggressions. Strangers did not direct these comments solely to adults but also to children. And adults were not the only aggressors, children also directed offensive racial comments towards migrants. Adults did not report severe emotional distress from these experiences. However, children did experience significant emotional responses from experiences of racially based mocking or bullying.

Original Quote C03 (Daughter)	Translation
¿Hay algún compañerx que te moleste con frecuencia? ¿A veces te pega? Pegarme no. Pero bueno, sí que he sufrido mucho en el colegio que voy. *¿Por ser extranjera te han hecho comentarios?* Si, me han dicho que vete a tu país, no sé qué no sé cuánto.	*Is there a classmate that bothers you frequently? Do they sometimes hit you?* Hit me, no. But well, I have suffered a lot at the school I go to. *Because you're from another country?* Yes, they tell me go back to your country, I don't know and so on.

Experiences of racism made children feel unsafe in these spaces where they experienced these aggressions, wishing to avoid such spaces, including school or areas in their neighborhood. For children, racially based remarks of rejection made them question their identity, their sense of belonging in these groups that made up significant parts of their social network, isolating them from their available community by making them feel like they are part of a different group based on their race and origin, a group incompatible with the local group.

Original Quote C07 (Daughter)	Translation
¿Te sientes española? ¿O te sientes marroquí? Es que no me siento con nada. He nacido en España. Voy a Marruecos, me dicen ay la españolita. Vengo a España y me dicen... ay no. no sé.	*Do you feel Spanish? Or do you feel Moroccan?* It's that I don't feel with anything. I was born in Spain. I go to Morocco, they tell me of the Spanish girl. I come to Spain and they tell me… oh no. I don't know.

Adult migrants on the other hand reported a feeling of acceptance of racial remarks as part of being a migrant. They seemed to believe that it was inevitable to experience a level of rejection and verbal aggression from the local population, and therefore, the best reaction was to ignore it. They also seemed to identify that it most commonly came from people who were unwell or elderly and was thus interpreted it as an issue of the aggressors' responsibility and not their own fault. Adults, unlike children, did not place blame on themselves for being the victims of racial aggression, and did not believe there was anything they could do to avoid said experiences.

Original Quote A12 (Mother)	Translation
¿Ha tenido alguna experiencia de discriminación? Ay eso siempre, algunas, pero yo no contesto. La gente enferma. Yo no hago caso. ¿Para qué hago caso? Por eso te digo, no somos de personas que contestamos. Si hay una persona enferma o mayor, dejarlo. *¿Te pasa con gente mayor?* Si. La gente mayor, pero los jóvenes en el trabajo tampoco. En el metro tampoco.	*Have you had an experience of discrimination?* Oh, that always, some, but I don't respond. Sick people. I don't pay attention. Why would I? I tell you, we're not people that respond. If there's a sick or older person, leave them. Has it happened to you with older people? Yes. Older people, but also younger people. On the subway too.

For adults the concern was primarily their children and finding safe places for them to play and go to school. They did not seek to actively avoid racial aggressions for themselves but to guard their children from experiencing them. This looked like avoiding the parks in the neighborhood or other recreational activities in other areas.

Original Quote A13 (Mother)	Translation
Antes si, ahora cobramos renta, solo problema de barrio donde yo vivo, este barrio, la gente de mi barrio no, todo de fuera muy buenos, de colegio muy bueno, donde yo vivo no. Molestan. Cuando hay vacaciones yo llevo mi niñas un poco lejos. Aquí no pueden jugar. No deja. Siempre me dice cuando me ponen nerviosa, cuando de mi barrio chicos y chicas, me molesta, me dice vete de país, yo no quiero volver.	Before yes, now we pay rent, only problem in the neighborhood where I live, this neighborhood, the people from my neighborhood no, everything outside very good, of the school very good, where I live no. They bother. When there is vacation I take my daughters a little far. Here they cannot play. They won't allow. They always tell me when I get nervous, when from my neighborhood boys and girls, they bother, they tell me go to your country, I don't want to come back.

Finding safe spaces meant parents changed their children's schools to find better situations than the public schools in the area, which had many reports of racially based bullying. Many migrant families try to leave the neighborhood of Sant Roc when they can afford it to find an area that is safer to raise their children in.

Original Quote C07 (Daughter)	Translation
¿Has tenido alguna experiencia desagradable por ser de un país distinto? Bueno, es que yo he estado en dos escuelas, y ahora en el instituto, en la primera escuela como que siempre se metían y decían 'ay tu eres una mora, no sé qué, vete para tu país, vete, me estas robando mi comida, no sé qué, no sé cuantos'. Pero a partir de ahí me cambié cuando tenía 8 o 7 años a la otra escuela, la que estaba hasta sexto. Ahí no había ningún comentario.	*Have you had an unpleasant experience because you're from a different country?* Well, I have been in two schools, and now at the institute, in the first school they always messed with me and say, 'oh you're a moor, I don't know what, go back to your country, leave, you're stealing my food, etc.'. But from there I changed when I was 8 or 7 years old to another school, where I was until sixth grade. There were no comments there.

For one family in particular the experience of racial aggressions when in public became so frequent and unbearable they moved away to a different neighborhood and commuted to the schools and the Ateneu. They could not continue to live in the Sant Roc area.

Original Quote C16 (Daughter)	Translation
En el barrio que vivíamos antes había muchos gitanos... Le pegaba cada día a mis hermanos, mis hermanos llegaban llorando. Quieren que ósea nosotros nos vayamos, nos mudamos, y ellos se quedaran allí. Llevamos mucho tiempo llamando la policía. Pero cuando venían ellos se iban o no se iban y la policía no hacía nada.	In the neighborhood we lived in before there were a lot of gypsies. She hit my brothers every day, mi brothers came back crying. They wanted us to leave, we moved, and they stayed there. We had been calling the police for a while. But when they came they left or they wouldn't leave and the police wouldn't do anything.

The lack of safety in the neighborhood meant children were often confined to their homes and unable to play outside or walk to school alone without supervision. Some parents reported their concerns for the safety of their family escalated to the point of their calling the police, particularly when the aggression increased from racist verbal attacks to physical attacks. However, they did not receive adequate support from the police which left them feeling all the more frustrated and helpless.

Original Quote A17 (Father)	Translation
Ese barrio hay mucho gitanos. Yo no racistas. Pero hay problemas en respecto de los gitanos, niños, que cada día hay problemas. Que cada día, que cuando mi hijo ahora 9 años, quiere jugar en la plaza roja. Esa cerca Sant Roc, aquí también hay mucha familias, gitanos también viene para jugar los niños. Pero siempre que ellos en grupo 3, 4 niños, pelear y pegar y hablar mal. Eso hay muy grande problema. Muy muy muy grande. Hay familias de pakistanís que no viene. Las niñas, niños, hay diferente familias no vienen para jugar. Mi hijo no quiere estar en la piso siempre, quiere jugar	That neighborhood there's a lot of gypsies[48]. I am not racists. But there are problems regarding gypsies, kids, that every day there are problems. That every day, that when my son now 9 years old, wants to play in the red square. That one close to Sant Roc, here there are also many families, gypsies also come to play with the children. But always that they are in group of 3, 4 kids, fight and hit and talk bad. There are many big problem. Very very very big. There are families from Pakistan that don't come. The girls, boys, there are different families don't come to play. My son doesn't

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[48] Although this term is rejected by the group to which it refers, it was chosen to use the same word the participant used in Spanish, despite *Romani* being the appropriate term. Exact translations were chosen as the best way of communicating the full extent of participants' intent, with grammatical mistakes and their chosen terminology.

futbol, muy energética, él tiene que jugar futbol, pero yo siempre que hay problema. La madre también que sabes acompañar cuando él quiere jugar. A ella también. La hermana también, acompañar con él. Porque la madre también no se puede hablar castellano. Ese es la problema. Porque la madre de otros niños, que sabes también muy peligroso, entonces es que pelear. Y que llamar la policía, los mossos, mira que tengo problema, ellos no quiere que jugar en la plaza, es para todos, no solo para los gitanos. Esa muy serio problema. Ellos no aceptan extranjeros, como mi familia, los gitanos no quiere. Lo español está diferente costumbre. Parece. Yo no sé, esa la diferencia de la educación o hay otra cosa pero hay diferencia.	want to stay in the apartment always, wants to play soccer, very energetic, he has to play soccer, but I always have problem. The mother too that you know accompanies when he wants to play. For her too. The sister too, accompany with him. Because the mother also cannot speak Spanish. That is the problem. Because the mother of other children, that you know also very dangerous, so it is that fighting. And call the police, the mossos, see I have a problem, they don't want to play in the square, it is for all, not just for the gypsies. That is very serious problem. They don't accept foreigners, like my family, the gypsies don't want. The Spanish are different customs. Seems like. I don't know, that is the difference in education or there is another thing but there is a difference.

Unlike for adults who chose to migrate to Spain despite knowing migrants can experience racism, children of migrants, particularly 1.5- and second-generation children had the burden of dealing with cultural negotiations such as handling racist experiences or other crucial migratory experiences despite their having no role in making the decision to place themselves in that position.

Original Quote C07 (Daughter)	Translation
¿Cómo te hace sentir haber escuchado esas cosas? Bueno, a mí me daba igual, en realidad, yo sé que no lo hago, así que. Si estoy aquí es por algo y porque, bueno yo no he elegido estar aquí, aunque me gusta.	*How did it feel to hear those things?* Well, it was all the same to me, because really, I know what that I don't do it, so. If I'm here it's for a reason and because, well I did not choose to be here, even though I like it.

The following table summarizes the meaning bearing units, which are paraphrases and summaries of the quotes included above, then the codes that were labeled onto those units, and the categories the codes were grouped into as patterns that emerged from discrimination-related experiences reported by parents and children.

Table 16

Summary of Codes, Categories, and Themes for Discrimination Experiences

Meaning bearing units	Codes	Categories	Themes
Racial comments	Racist attacks	Racial violence	Racism
Racially motivated physical attacks			
Racially based bullying and mocking			
Unable to identify as Spanish	Struggling with Identity	Integration barrier	
Racism from Spanish people	Social rejection		
Racism from other migrants			
Racism from Romani people			
Unsupportive police			
Desire to skip school	Avoidance of spaces where racism was experienced	Unsafe spaces	
Avoiding public parks			
Wanting to move to another neighborhood			
Going to other neighborhoods for parks			
Racial comments on the street	Racism in common places		
Racial comments in public transportation			
Racial comments in school			

Racial aggressions were a significantly common report of the experience of living in the Sant Roc neighborhood and attending the schools in the area. Migrants' only solution was to avoid the spaces where they had experienced racially based comments, as they had no other source of support or aid towards solutions. This affected their capacity to feel a sense of belonging and integrate to their immediate community and the cultural context.

Family Reunification

Many of the families interviewed as part of the study were able to migrate multiple members through family reunification policies. Because these policies have certain requirements for the primary migrating member to be able to bring in the rest of the family, other members

remain in the country of origin while they await the right conditions. These waiting periods can span from a few months to many years during which the transnational families attempt to stay in touch and struggle with the emotions of missing each other, handling two households, two budgets, two separate living conditions, navigating the visa systems, and application processes.

The scenario consisting of the least number of members in the reunification, and to classify as such, entails the adults first marrying in the country of origin, deciding to migrate, the husband first, and shortly after bringing his wife over to Spain, and then having children postmigration who would all constitute as second-generation migrants such as in A11's case.

Original Quote A11 (Mother)	Translation
¿De qué edades? el mayor 14, el mediano 11 y medio, la pequeña 5 años. *¿Dónde han nacido?* Los tres aquí. *¿Cuándo decidieron emigrar?* Ahora casi 15 años…Casados ahí y él viene aquí primero, después arregla los papeles, me envía a mi los papeles y ya está.	*What ages?* The oldest 14, the middle 11 and a half, the youngest 5 years old. *Where were they born?* The three here. *When did you decide to migrate?* Now almost 15 years… Married there and he came here first, then he fixes the papers, sends me the papers and that's it.

In A09's case the whole process took several years during which she was separated from her husband. She bore a child during this time who spent little time with her father, then migrated when the child was still young, which would qualify her as a 1.5 generation migrant. The child had no memory of the migration, and grew up in Spain as if she had been born there, but without the paperwork of a second generation child. When they were reunited, they had more children who are labeled second generation migrants.

Original Quote A09 (Mother)	Translation
Mi país original Chefchaouen… Luego cuando casar Tánger, veni mi marido aquí, casi 4 años él está aquí sin papeles. Yo estaba con su madre. Tengo una niña de un año, ahora tiene 22. *¿Llevan acá 21 años?* No yo tengo aquí 12 años, 13. Mes que viene 13. Cuando arreglar papeles subirme con grupo familiar. Subimos aquí. Tengo una niña y un niño. Una niña de 9	My original country Chefchaouen… Then when I marry Tangier, my husband come here, almost 4 years he is here without papers. I was with his mother. I have a one year old girl, now she's 22. *Have you been here 21 years?* No I am here 12 years, 13. Next month 13. When fix papers bring me here with family group. We came up. I have a girl and a boy. A girl of 9

años, un niño de 2 años o más… Cuando está aquí, ha parido 2 niños aquí, una niña tiene ahora 12 años, él tiene 5 años… Ahora está divorciada. Casi un año.	years old, and a boy of 2 years old or more… When here, I birthed 2 children here, the girl now 12 years old and he is 5 years old… Now divorced. Almost a year.

The age the children were at reunification impacted how they experienced their family's migration, and the characteristics of the migrant family. The experience of the oldest child who was a first-generation migrant like their parents, was highly different from the youngest child who was a second-generation migrant. As well as a child who was above the age of five when they migrated remembered and participated the experience of migration more than a child who was a toddler and was not conscious of what the family was experiencing, labeled as a 1.5-generation migrant. Thus, migrant generations are not equivalent to family generations.

Original Quote A01 (Mother)	Translation
¿Cuántos hijos tienes? Tres. *¿De qué edades?* El mayor 21, el mediano 19 y el pequeño 12. *¿Ellos donde nacieron?* Los dos mayores en Marruecos y el pequeño aquí. *¿Por qué decidieron venir a Cataluña?* Para que mejoramos nuestra vida. Allí vivimos en un pueblo pequeño donde todo es complicado. *¿Cómo fue el proceso de inmigración?* Ha venido mi marido primero, después me ha traído a mí y a los niños también, reagrupación familiar. El mayor tiene [tenía] 7 años y el otro tiene 5, están contentos cuando los digo vamos a España con el papá, "queremos ir, queremos ir".	*How many kids do you have? Three. What ages?* The oldest 21, the middle 19, and the youngest 12. *Where were they born?* The two oldest in Morocco and the youngest here. *Why did you decide to come to Catalonia?* To better our life. There we live in a small town where everything is complicated. *What was the immigration process like?* My husband has come first, then he has brought me and my children too, family reunification. The oldest is [was] 7 years old and the other is 5, they are happy when I tell them we got to Spain with dad, "we want to go, we want to go".

In some cases, family reunification took so many years that children grow up without one parent. In A05's case it took 16 years from when she married her husband to her joining him in Catalonia. Her oldest child was 14 years old, he thus spent 13 years living in a different country than his father. Flying back and forth while keeping a job and saving money was very difficult, thus sometimes, they spent years without seeing each other.

Original Quote A05 (Mother)
When did you decide to emigrate? I decided to emigrate as soon as I got married in 2004. My husband was living here in Barcelona. He came here in 1999 and we got married in 2004. Immediately after that I started discussing the issues that are not comfortable with his family. And I want to live with you. I want to go in Spain and live together. But there were certain situations, certain circumstances that he could not maintain. From 2004 until 2019 I was discussing. It was in 2019, end of 2019 and beginning of 2020 that he managed us to bring here. *In the meantime, did he travel back and forth?* He travel to Pakistan after every one year. His last visit in 2016. After that we came here in 2020. *So, you went a period of 4 years without seeing each other?* Yes, Three and a half years we been living apart, I was in Pakistan, he was in Barcelona. we met in January 16, 2020.

In some cases, the last member to migrate, left behind by the rest of the family was the child who was separated from both parents for a season, living with extended family such as aunts or grandparents. They become attached to their new primary caregivers. When they finally migrate to join their parents, they miss the family they grew up with, and the separation is as difficult as the separation from a parent.

Original Quote A03 (Mother)	Translation
¿Cuándo decidieron emigrar? Yo me vine en el 2006. *¿Vinieron con tu marido?* Él se vino primero, después de un año me vine yo, y a los dos años trajimos a mi hijo.	*When did you decide to migrate?* I came in 2006. *Did you come with your husband?* He came first, after a year I came, and two years later we brought my son.

In some cases, the reunification is less clear due to situations that do not meet the definitions clearly. Due to family disapproval in Morocco, A10 was not allowed to marry her husband. She had to find her way to Spain in order to marry him and classified for regularization postmigration through her marriage.

Original Quote A10 (Mother)	Translation
¿Cuándo decidieron emigrar y por qué? 2006 estoy aquí. Mi marido ha venido dos años antes de mi. 2004. *¿Cómo fue el proceso de inmigración?* Nosotros conozco ahí Marruecos. Queremos casar ahí a Marruecos y mi hermano no quiere porque yo vivo con él.	*When did you decide to migrate and why?* 2006 I'm here. My husband has come two years before me. 2004. *What was the process of immigration like?* We met there Morocco. We want to marry there Morocco and my brother don't want because I live with him. In

En su casa… él estaba aquí 2 años, después juntamos y casamos.	his house… he was there 2 years, then we got together and married.

Most significantly to this study, families reported the emotional impact of the separation to the family and the relational reunification in addition to the geographic reunification was a complex process that took longer than the legal reunification. Reuniting spouses and parents and children went through a period of learning to relate again and reestablish new family dynamics.

Original Quote A05 (Mother)
I was also thinking that I will go to Spain, I will live with my husband, things will get better. In that particular scenario, relationship with my husband, relationship with my children with my husband, is in process. Still in process. We meet after such a long period.

None of the families in this study migrated at the same time. They all went through these periods of separation, from months to decades. The following chapter will analyze further what these separations could mean for families and children's mental health.

Bureaucratic obstacles

One of the common experiences that emerged for adult migrants was the struggle with application processes related to their visa status, work permits, and other paperwork that gave them access to resources such as education, health, a living space, or even food. There was no particular question in the interview guide regarding this subject but there were questions inquiring into the family's migration process. Yet participants brought up struggles in other sections, particularly postmigration during the settling in stage.

For many migrant adults the process of filing for permits was delayed, with unknown timeframes around which they had no legal recourses other than waiting before they could work.

Some chose to wait if they had a spouse who could work in the meantime, others chose to work under the table while they waited to be able to get legal work.

Original Quote A17 (Father)	Translation
¿Tu esposa trabaja? No en momento no. Porque ella ahora aprende idioma, después puede ser. Ahora falta permiso de tarjetas. Yo no sé qué el ministerio ahora, sabes que no reciben las tarjetas para trabajar.	*Does your wife work?* Not at the moment no. Because she now learns the language, after maybe. Now missing the card permits. I don't know what the ministry now, you know they don't receive the cards to work.

Navigating the systems is complicated and many migrants do not know how to work through them, because of language barriers or lack of technological education, or because the systems are made complex. They must make multiple attempts with some failures along the way before they figure out while in the meantime deprived from essential help.

Original Quote A10 (Mother)	Translation
¿Han recibido alguna ayuda? No. Porque … no sabía cómo voy a pedir, entonces estoy esperando que hasta que me voy a la asistencia social. Tengo el día 2 con asistencia social. Ha tenido el día 30 este mes pasado, pero ha dicho que no está ella tiene que coger otra cita y ahora tengo el día 2. De este mes que viene. Para aplicarme como voy a hacer con esta tarjeta que lo he cogido ahora de enfermedad. Pero estamos bien gracias a Dios, si tienes salud tiene todo. Si es salud que es más importante.	*Have you received any aid?* No. Because… I didn't know how to ask, so I am waiting until I go to the social aid. I have the 2nd go social aid. I had the 30th of last month, but they said that she not there she has to get new appointment and now I have the 2nd. Of the following month. But apply me how I'm going to do with this card that I have for the sickness. But we are alright thank God, if you have your health you have everything. Yes health is the most important.

Having a place where migrants could go for help in navigating processes that required filing paperwork and navigating bureaucratic obstacles was essential, and the Ateneu informally filled that function in the neighborhood. Migrants often referred each other for help there, with understanding and translating the language of the paperwork, receiving help and guidance in how to respond or the requirements.

Original Quote A13 (Mother)	Translation

| Cuando no estaba puedo hablar, ellos me ayuda mucho... Me acuerdo que… un señor que aquí está afuera de barba, que muy bien, cuando yo una carta viene para echar de piso, él me ayuda mucho, me dice que hay un señor de plataforma él puede ayudarte... De aquí, todo, todo me ayuda, siempre cuando yo no entiendo una cosa, yo vengo aquí, ellos me explican muy bien. | When I was not could talk, they helped me a lot… I remember that.. a man that's there outside with the beard, that very well, when I got a car to kick out of flat, he helps me a lot, tells me there is a man of platform he can help me… From here, everything, everything he helps, always when I don't understand a thing, I come here, they explain to me very well. |

All the usual delays were further complicated with the pandemic which closed down offices, limited workers to their homes, and overwhelmed the system. Migrants were kept from accessing essential services due to backlog, threatening their well-being.

Original Quote A05 (Mother)
Did you use any social aid services? Yes, but when we came here immediately there was no type of service available for us, because all the system was collapsing due to coronavirus, it was lockdown. When we came here, we don't, there was different type of aid programs for the families. Initially we don't understand what type of program and how to process them and how to apply for them. And when we spend time here, day by day we came to understand there are different type of program and get the support of the government. Initially we got support of food. In school and for family. After that we applied for income tax [muffled] they are paying familia numerosa. Numerous family members. We also applied for the rent habitatge but there is no response. We also applied for the Social security seguridad renta minima a type of aid for the families with kids. A couple of weeks ago my husband told that it was rejected.

For families with children, particularly multiple children, there were special government aids that were essential to cover basic necessities. Without access to this type of extra support parents had to increase their work hours to cover costs with low wages.

Original Quote A17 (Father)	**Translation**

| Hay mucho problemas. Y la vida es no más fácil que como que yo pensar. Bueno hay mucho normas también. Después es la COVID. Sabes que hay mucha oficinas, que las citas, muy largas de tiempo que no se puede cumplir. Por ejemplo las tarjetas de mi niños y de mi mujer, que ahora casi 5 meses pasado, que no llegar, que no recibo las tarjetas, que no las proceso. Por ejemplo, de familia numerosa. La ministerio quiere las tarjetas físicamente, no solo número, pero ahora 5 meses pasado no recibo las tarjetas. Que hay muchas cosas no cumplir en concepto de la ayuda familiar. Muy atascada en ese concepto. Que yo trabajo larga horas para pagar alquiler, para pagar las gastos, comidas. Que la vida ahora que ya sabes que yo pienso que la vida en España es mejor, pero de momento tengo mucho problemas. | There's a lot of problems. And life is not more easy than what I thought. Well there's a lot of rules too. Then is the COVID. You know there's a lot of offices, that the appointments, very long times that can't be met. For example the IDs for my kids and my wife, that now almost 5 months past, that they don't come, that I don't receive the IDs, that they don't process. For example, the numerous family. The ministry wants the physical IDs, not just the number, but now almost 5 months passed I don't receive the IDs. That there are a lot of things that don't happen in time as the family aid. Very stuck. That I work long hours to pay rent, to pay expenses, food. That life now as you know that I think the life in Spain is better, but for now I have a lot of problems. |

For some migrants, circumstances in their home countries were so dire they decided to migrate through non legal avenues, and regularized their situation after arriving in Spain, which meant they spent some time during the process without access to legal forms of work or housing.

Original quote C05 (Son)	Translation
¿Cuándo llegó tu familia a Cataluña? Primero llegó mi padre, las cosas… en Marruecos estaban muy complicadas, y no había mucho trabajo. Llegó con un señor que nos llevó con un barco. Claro, él intentó 2 veces, la primera no le salió bien, la policía los pilló y les devolvieron a Marruecos. Pero la segunda sí que llegaron, buscó un trabajo y ya.	*When did your family arrive in Catalonia?* First arrived my father, things… in Morocco were very complicated, and there was not a lot of work. He came with a man that brought us with a boat. Of course, he first tried 2 times, the first didn't turn out well, police saw them and returned them to Morocco. But the second time he did arrive, looked for a job and that's it.

This opened them to abuses by people wishing to take advantage of their situation. Some migrants found people who did not treat them well and some found kindness in strangers.

Original Quote A08 (Mother)	Translation

Claro cuando en principio cuando no tienes documentos, pues es, claro, no es lo que diga una, te salen personas buenas, personas que no te dan tus derechos. Pero me ha ido bastante bien, no me puedo quejar.	Sure when at first when you don't have documents, well it's, well, it's not what one says, you'll meet good people, people who don't give you your rights. But things have gone pretty well for me, I can't complain.

In addition, lack of the required paperwork meant migrants could not apply for family reunification, which kept them from being with their family for years while they underwent first their own regularization process and then the application for reunification.

Original Quote A09 (Mother)	Translation
Luego cuando casar Tánger, vení mi marido aquí, casi 4 años él está aquí sin papeles. Yo estaba con su madre. Yo tengo aquí 12 años, 13. Mes que viene 13. Cuando arreglar papeles subirme con grupo familiar. Subimos aquí. Tengo una niña y un niño.	Later when marry Tangier, my husband came here, almost 4 years he is here without papers. I was with his mother. I have been here 12 years, 13. Following month 13. When fix papers he bring me up here with family group. We come up. I have a girl and a boy.

For some children, they were aware of the danger of lacking the appropriate paperwork and pushed their parents to undergo the necessary regularization processes for their parents to be safe. Second-generation children did not have to file for citizenship or get a permit to be allowed to stay in Spain, whereas their parents did. Parents and children could have different legal statuses or nationalities which was something families had to consider and contend with.

Original Quote A11 (Mother)	Translation
¿Te parece que su hijx se siente en casa en este país? Me parece que sienten españoles. Yo no tengo nacionalidad española, ellos tienen, mi marido también tiene. A veces dicen mamá cuando vas a sacar el carnet, yo digo que carnet! Dice carnet de la nacionalitat. Sabes, tienen ganas que yo cojo la nacionalitat. Bueno por eso me siento así. Por ejemplo a veces digo no tienes que hablar conmigo árabe, dicen no estamos aquí en España tenemos que hablar español. Así yo me siento que ellos tienen mucho carácter de aquí, de Marruecos no.	Do you think your child feels at home in this country? I think they feel Spanish. I don't have Spanish nationality, they do, my husband also does. Sometimes they tell me mom when are you going to get a permit, I tell them what permit! They say the nationality permit. You know, they want me to get the nationality. Well that's why I feel like that. For example, sometimes I say no you have to talk to me in Arabic, they say no we are here in Spain we have to speak Spanish. That's how I feel they have a lot of character from here, not from Morocco.

Female Freedoms and Equality

An unforeseen theme that emerged from the interviews was *female freedoms* comprehending the experiences of equality and opportunities women found by migrating to Spain reported by multiple mothers in the study. For women from countries that primarily practice Islam, they experienced a cultural and religious lack of freedoms in education and in their careers at the hands of the culture, their fathers, or their husbands. Migrating to Spain gave them the freedom to pursue the courses and jobs they wanted for which they reported gratitude and joy. For many forward-thinking parents, giving their daughters these opportunities was a priority and motivator for their migration.

Some of the women's reports about the abuses they experienced in Morocco were severe. They were withheld from education in order to work as children, they were unwanted to their parents who preferred sons, and were physically abused by their own families who controlled every decision over their lives including arranging or prohibiting their marriages. For them, the migration to Spain was an escape to freedom.

Original Quote A06 (Mother)	Translation
A Marruecos. Mi abuela no puede hacer nada. Porque como mi padre todavía está vivo… a un juez… Siempre gana mi padre. Porque soy hija. No soy hija para te quiere, no no, para ser criada por otra mujer. Cría 7 hermanas, de él y, un chico. Yo no estudia. Me hacen un criada de casa. Trabajas, haces pan, lavas, no hay lavadora, no a mano. Lava ropa de las niñas, llévalas al colegio. Ducharlas. Bueno eso un criada. Criada tiene valor.	In Morocco. My grandmother can't do anything. Because my father is still alive… a judge… My father always wins. Because I'm daughter. I'm not the daughter he wants, no no, to be raised by another woman. Raises 7 sisters, from him, and a boy. I don't study. They make me a maid for the house. Work, make bread, wash, there's no washing machine, no by hand. Wash girls' clothes, take them to school. Bathe them. Well that's a made. A maid has value.
Llega a Holanda y queda allí un tiempo ahí. Despúes de Holanda, me hacen un abogado aquí. Porque yo tiene mis tíos policía de mi	Arrive in Holland and there stay a while. After Holland, they make me a lawyer here. Because

| madre, policía de Madrid. E hacen un juez, un abogado. Me hacen un DNI español. De allí trabaja, luchar, hacer mis hijos. | I have uncles policemen of my mother, Madrid police. And they make a judge, a lawyer. They make me a Spanish ID. From there, work, fight, make my children. |

For those fortunate to have been born to parents who wanted a better future for their daughters and feared that their country of origin would not provide a safe environment for them, they migrated as a precautionary measure.

Original Quote A04 (Mother)	Translation
En mi país, hay, estamos, mi padre estaba bien, no estamos viviendo mal... Mi padre solo tiene chicas. No tiene chico, entonces no tiene mucho futuro… Hay lo que casan, pueden tener suerte de casar y tu vives bien. Luego puede ser, te separas y tu quedas parada. Ya no tienes sueldo, no tiene que comer, y si tienes hijos ya peor. Entonces mi padre, él piensa que le trae nosotros a España. Fue pensamiento de mi padre el primero. Pero claro todos queremos venir a Europa. Es que mi padre él piensa de nosotros más de él. Él dice que era el futuro de vosotros mejor que trabajáis que igualmente si la vida puede ser buena después de casar. Puede ser que sigues con este matrimonio y puede te rompes. En mi país muy duro. Cuando separas vives mal. Después de divorcio vives mal. Mi padre tiene ese pensamiento. Son 6 niñas. Mi padre dice 6 niñas, ¿y si muero, y si pasa algo? Mi padre estaba pensando así. Y dicen bueno más o menos voy un país, ya pueden vivir chicas libres, pueden estudiar.	In my country, there, we were, my father was good, we weren't living badly… My father only has girls. He doesn't have boy, so he has not much future… There's those that marry, they can be lucky to marry and you live well. Then can be, you separate and are stuck. Now you have no salary, you have nothing to eat, and if you have children worse. So my father, he thinks that he brings us to Spain. It was my father's thought first. But of course we all want to come to Europe. Because my father he thinks more of us than of him. He says that your future better if you work and also the life can be good there after marrying. Maybe you continues in that marriage and maybe if you break up. In my country very hard. When you separate you live bad. After divorce you live bad. My father has that thought. It's 6 girls. My father says 6 girls, and if I die, and if something happens? My father was thinking that. And says well more or less I go to a country, the girl can live free, can study.

Although women missed some of the aspects of their country of origin, such as and especially their family, they recognized overall their lives in Spain were better due to the career opportunities uniquely offered there.

Original Quote A02 (Mother)	Translation

| También no puedo ir a Marruecos quedar ahí un mes o dos meses, solo dos semanas, máximo 3 semanas ya está, volver aquí. No puedo [risa]. *¿Por qué?* Porque ahí hay mi familia, porque me gusta aquí. Hay de todo, hay trabajo, para mujeres. Allí Marruecos es difícil encontrar trabajo para mujer. | Also I can't go to Morocco stay there one month or two months, just two weeks, maximum three week that's it, come back here. I can't [laughter]. *Why?* Because there I have my family, because I like it here. There's everything, there's jobs, for women. There Morocco it's hard to find work for women. |

Arriving in Spain, in order to work they had to pursue more education. Their education had been severely limited in their country of origin and were thus unprepared to apply to certain jobs. In addition, they had to learn the language which was difficult when their education was limited. For some women who were not even taught to read and write, learning a new language proved almost impossible.

Original Quote A09 (Mother)	**Translation**
Mucho tiempo, entrar aquí esto clase. Un año aquí, un año en otro cole. Pero no me entra en la cabeza. No sé por qué, no sabe escribir mi nombre.	Lots of time, come here class. A year here, a year another school. But it does not get into my head. I don't know why, not know write my name.

But they were happy to have the opportunity to do so and grateful for the educational offers the Ateneu had. They took the classes offered by the Ateneu to try and learn the language, difficult as it was.

Original Quote A01 (Mother)	**Translation**
Siempre me gustaría trabajar, ser un poco libre. Allí en nuestra tierra las mujeres son mujeres y los hombres son hombres, sabes como la cosa, pero aquí cuando he venido le dije a mi marido quiero estudiar, y dice bueno. Estudiar la idioma, aquí en el Ateneu, aprender castellano, catalán. Y me ayudaron para hacer, he hecho un curso de monitora. Me ha ayudado, me ha buscado donde lo hago y todo. Después trabajo en el cole como monitora de comedor. Bueno 4 años pero ya, como me ha pasado esto ahora estoy así.	I always wanted to work, to be free. There in our land women are women and the men are men, you know how it is, but here when I come I tell my husband I want to study, and he says ok. Study the language, here in the Ateneu, learn Spanish, Catalan. And they helped me to do, I did a monitor course. He has helped me, he looked for where I do it and everything. Then work in the school as cafeteria monitor. Well 4 years and that's it, since this has happened to me now I am like this.

However, most of the women in the study recognized that their cultural values still held in their family, as they had to ask their husbands or fathers for permission to pursue said educational opportunities. Fortunately for the women in this sample, the patriarchs of the families were very open to their female family members pursuing further education and held no beliefs to the contrary.

Original Quote A05 (Mother)
Have your expectations for coming here been met? There are two types of expectations. Expectations from my husband and expectations from the government. All the, all my stay over here. Yes, when I'm talking about the, it is very long discussion.

Significantly, even though multiple mothers brought up the issue of opportunities for women, none of the children mentioned it. For 1.5 and 2nd generation children the issue of equality was not on their minds, despite it being so important to their parents.

4.3.3 Social Environment

In addition to the family's migratory experiences impacting how they are adapting and settling in Badalona, the essential social networks were important to highlight. The communities where migrants spent the most time on a routine basis were their own families, the children's schools, the neighborhood of Sant Roc, and the Ateneu foundation. These four spaces were the main places where migrants formed relationships that supported them emotionally and practically.

Home

Reported interactions between parents and children were compiled here, particularly around their living space at home. Family relationships were the most significant factors to migrant

wellbeing identified in the literature review. Some of the difficulties to the internal family dynamics were related to their history of migration, their identity as migrants, and the cultural negotiations the family had to undertake to maintain their culture of origin. Other reported difficulties were unrelated to migration, such as a divorce between the parents, but it intensified migratory difficulties.

A difficulty for migrant families was the separation from members who were left behind in the country of origin. Whether they intended to migrate later or not at all, the families reported the element they missed most about their country of origin was their family who stayed.

Original quote C13 (Daughter)	Translation
¿Sientes que te has adaptado acá? No. Extraño Perú. Extraño mi padre. Porque como no está conmigo aquí. *¿Como te imaginaste tu vida acá?* Un poco triste porque me separé de mi padre, yo era muy apegada a mi padre.	*Do you feel like you have adapted here?* No. I miss Peru. I miss my father. Because since he is not with me here. *How did you imagine your life here?* A little sad because I separated from my father, I was very attached to my father.

The relationships within the family unit that did migrate became all the more important as they were the sole blood-relation support-system for the members. For many migrants from more community centered cultures, they were not used to living without their extended family.

Original quote A17 (Father)	Translation
… me parece que aquí hay en España, ellos no tenemos una familia aparte de mi hijos y esposa. Que hay amigos y amigas.	… i think that here in Spain there's, they don't have a family apart from my children and my wife. There are friends.

Reuniting with family members who they had been separated from by borders and oceans emotionally and physically were two different processes. Transnational families who later reunited reported struggling emotionally with the reunion, taking more time to reconnect than expected and struggling with the slow nature of the relationship repair.

Original quote A05 (Mother)

> I was also thinking that I will go to Spain, I will live with my husband, things will get better. In that particular scenario, relationship with my husband, relationship with my children with my husband, is in process. Still in process. We meet after such a long period.

Additionally, being in the same country again did not guarantee the members could spend more time together due to the excessive hours parents had to work in order to make ends meet. Parents' busy schedules were points of stress, making the home a space where children did not always feel safe being open about their emotions with their parents because they had become emotionally estranged. Some children reported their homes as lonely spaces where they did not find relationships available for support.

Original quote C04 (Daughter)	Translation
¿Te has sentido solo/a? Si, cuando me enfado con mi madre, porque pienso que no me quiere. Quiero que pase tiempo con nosotros, siempre pasa trabajando. Siempre estamos en casa, solo los fines de semana salimos.	*Have you felt alone?* Yes, when I get angry with my mother, because I think she doesn't love me. I want her to spend time with us, always working. We're always home, we only go out on weekends.

An interesting point that emerged was the lack of leisurely activities families reported doing together due to lack of weekend or vacation time they could take off from work and the high cost of entertainment activities. Families lacked time to play together and rest together, key times to build their relationships and connection.

Original quote C13 (Daughter)	Translation
¿Qué hace tu familia cuando tienes vacaciones de la escuela? Estos días no hemos ido de vacaciones porque hemos estado en la tienda todo ocupado. Estamos justos.	*What does your family do when you're on vacation?* These days we haven't gone on vacation because we've been busy. We're barely making ends meet.

Multiple migrant families had experienced divorce at different points. Some families got divorced premigration and migrated to get away from an abusive situation with an ex-partner. Other families divorced postmigration due to the stressors of the migration and one of the parents

returned to the country of origin creating separation from their children. Other families divorced due to circumstances unrelated to migration, however, the divorce made their economic status more complicated in dividing one household into two, but both spouses remained living in the country of destination and were learning to navigate coparenting. Each of these family configurations struggled with maintaining relationships between parents and children.

Original quote C05 (Son)	Translation
¿Quién vive en tu casa? Actualmente vivimos yo, mi hermana pequeña, mi hermano más pequeño aún, y mi madre. Mi padre y mi madre están separados. *¿Tienes contacto con tu padre?* Cada fin de semana o cuando podemos vamos con él, salimos damos una vuelta… *¿Qué hace tu papá?* Mi papá es chapista, es un buen trabajo para lo que es aquí en España. *¿Trabaja los fines de semana o solo entre semana?* Claro lo que pasa es que, en el trabajo de chapista, cuando puede hace horas extra y cuando no no. Pero normalmente no suele hacer ya que los sábados y los domingos suele estar con nosotros…	*Who lives at home with you?* Currently we live me, my younger sister, my youngest brother, and my mother. My father and my mother are separated. *Do you keep in touch with your father?* Every weekend o when we can we go with him, we go out… *What does your father do?* My dad is a metal worker, it's a very good job for what it is here in Spain. *Does he work on weekends or only during the week?* Of course what happens is that, in the metal working, when he can he works overtime and when no not. But usually he doesn't on Saturdays and Sundays since he's with us…

Family relationships with ex-spouses or estranged fathers were reported to be stressful for many years after the separation occurred, delaying the adaptation process, and prolonging economic distress. The transition in the dynamics of the family system was slow and emotionally difficult.

Original quote C10 (Daughter)	Translation
¿Crees que tu mamá está contenta acá? Mi madre está contenta, y siempre estuvo contenta, pero por motivos está un poquito triste. *¿Te puedo preguntar hace cuanto se separaron tus papas?* Cuando yo nací. Ósea dejó a mi madre cuando ella estaba embarazada… Los problemas familiares son de mi papá y mi mama sabes por eso.	*Do you think your mother is happy here?* My mother is happy, and she was always happy, but for some reasons she's a bit sad. *Can I ask you how long ago your parents separated?* When I was born. I mean he left my mother when she was pregnant… The family problems are about my dad and my mom because of that.

In addition, after the divorce some mothers remarried which created new intrafamily

tensions and difficulties in the process of adapting to the new dynamic. Stepparents were a new

experience to adapt to, which were reported as a negative experience.

Original quote C13 (Daughter)	Translation
¿Qué tal te llevas con tu padrastro? Fatal. Es que, a ver, no es como mi padre. Me cae mal porque a veces se enoja. Me la hace muy mal.	*How do you get along with your stepfather?* Terrible. Because, you see, it's not like with my father. I don't like him because he gets mad sometimes. He ruins it for me.

However, some children and parents reported good relationships, built on time spent

together and mutual trust.

Original quote C07 (Daughter)	Translation
¿De qué cosas hablas con tu familia? De escuela, amigos, de casi todo, porque tengo confianza con ellos.	*What do you talk about with your family?* About school, friends, almost everything, because I trust them.

Children described these relationships as full of open communication, the ability to share

their personal issues with their parents and also share fun experiences.

Original quote C10 (Daughter)	Translation
¿De qué cosas hablas con tu mamá? Reírme con ella, hablar de cosas como graciosas, dedicar más tiempo a mi madre contándole de mis cosas, ella a mí me cuenta de sus cosas.	*What things do you talk about with your mom?* Laughing with her, talking about funny things, dedicate more time to my mother telling her things, she tells me about her things.

Children described transparency and openness as their definition of good communication,

where they could vent to their parents and express their emotions.

Original quote C05 (Son)	Translation
¿De qué cosas hablas con tu familia? Cualquier cosa yo hablo con mis padres, yo soy totalmente transparente con mis padres. Siempre que me pasa algo, o necesito algo, quiero desahogarme, hablo con mis padres. Mis padres no tienen ningún problema.	*What things do you talk about with your family?* I talk about anything with my parents, I am totally transparent with my parents. Any time something happens to me, or I need something, I want to vent, I talk with my parents. My parents don't have any issues.

On the other hand, mothers praised their children for their accomplishments more than their relational proximity, such as their ability to help around the house, their good grades, or their good behavior. Yet this mother for example, A10, still highlighted the importance of their slow morning weekends together as bonding experiences.

Original quote A10 (Mother)	Translation
¿Cómo es un fin de semana en su familia? Fin de semana siempre especial. Comida, a veces hacemos couscous, hacemos carne. Cositas bonitas. Para nosotros por que como estamos fiesta sale más bien, levantamos tarde un poco, y comemos por la mañana la almuerzo, quedamos hablando, mi marido queda hablando con niños, le gusta jugar con niña, y entonces después levantamos. Cada uno hace loza, no solamente yo, mi hija también ayuda. La otra arregla su habitación. El otro se va arregla también lavabo. Bueno si ayuda, no es mucho, pero si un poquito porque está pequeña todavía.	*What is a weekend like in your family?* Weekends are always special. Food, sometimes we make couscous, we make meat. Nice things. For us because we are party comes out nice, we get up late, and we eat in the morning the lunch, we stay talking, my husband stays talking with the children, he likes to play with the girl, and then we get up. Each one washes dishes, not just me, my daughter also helps. The other organizes her room. The other one organizes the washing too. Well, if he helps, it's not much, but yes a little because she's still young.

Parents reported an important function they had to fulfill was teaching their kids about their religion, in order for them to be good people and good citizens. They taught them about prayer, religious practices, and their values.

Original quote A05 (Mother)
Are there aspects of your culture of origin that are important to keep in your daily routine here? Yes, there are different things, very small, very big. We have to keep in mind. We used to recall to our children that we are Muslims. That is why we have to manage the different things. We have to keep it in mind that whatever we are eating is halal. Whatever we are doing is according to there, is according to our culture, our norms, our value, our customs. First of all, we have to pray five times. We have to read Qur'an; we have to recite holy Qur'an. My elder son is [muffled] he is reciting and learning Qur'an. That is why we have to manage. All these things we have it make it possible for him to practice all these things. For my daughters, for my sons. We have to keep in mind that our daughter is growing up. I am not strict about the burka, I am not strict about the dress, but I want my childrens to be dressed in properly and presentably. Whenever somebody see them, appreciate them in a proper way. Not just because we are Muslim, but we are good citizen, we are responsible citizen. That is why we have to be, we have to behave in appropriate manner. From dressing, from head to toe, we have to be a presentable person. Neat, clean. Neat and clean and healthy. From proper dressing, proper way of sitting, proper way of behaving, proper way of talking. Not a pressure I'm going to build on my children.

> Do this or do not that. Nothing is like that. I am having an atmosphere where we normally discuss things.

The following table summarizes the codes emerging from the quotes selected above and the analysis of the patterns and groupings identified around the reports of parents and children about their experiences with their families.

Table 17

Summary of Codes and Themes of Home Space

Meaning bearing unit	Codes	Category	Dimension	Themes	Area
Parents offer support for bullying in school and intervene	Open communication	Emotionally available parents	Emotional Safety	• Family transnationality	Home
Parents offer emotional support					
Family talks about everything and anything				• Economic difficulties	
Family goes on trips, vacations, weekend activities together	Spending time together				
Family engages in daily routines together such as meals, chores, or homework				• COVID-19 Pandemic	
Family practices religion together				• Unavailable parents	
Parents work weekends or at night		Unavailable parents	Feeling Unsafe		
Family does not take trips or vacations together due to work					
Parents work part time or shift jobs with irregular hours					
Difficulty affording groceries	Low wages	Economic adversities			
Difficulty paying rent					
Loss of job during the pandemic	Unique economic crises				
Divorce limited family budget					
Close family member stayed in country of origin	Family transnationality	Fractured family unit			

Family member returned to country of origin					
Extended family lives in country of origin					
Sickness or death of family member in country origin					
Family reuniting after long period apart					
Parents separated or divorced	Marital conflict				
Parents remarried and new family was added					

School

School is one of the main spaces in which children spent time and was the place where they formed primary friendships. However, it was also significant for parents, as a place where they became friends with other parents and received guidance from teachers about navigating arrival as a migrant family. However, the pandemic disrupted schedules modifying their routine so they spent less time there than they usually would during the time in which the interviews were conducted. It was an important place for social connection which quarantines kept them from.

The literature review yielded many risk and protective factors associated with school which is why there was a large portion of questions dedicated to families' experience there in the interview guide. The main relationships children encountered at school were with peers and teachers, relationships which largely impacted migrant children's ability to adapt, particularly in their sense of belonging in their country of destination. The schools the children in the sample attended were public schools in the neighborhood of Sant Roc with the exception of one family that moved their children to a public school in a neighboring area due to bullying. These schools have large populations of migrant children in attendance, which was assumed would change the experience of children in this sample of racial bullying, however, it did not.

Children's relationship with their peers was the main factor in defining how children felt about school, if the relationships were positive, they did not mind the obligation of having to attend every weekday. The friendships children formed at school were their primary friendships and the space where children had met their best friend. The child in the quote below points out how socializing is an important aspect of the school experience. This was something the children pointed out they missed out on during the pandemic, being able to see their friends or even just be around their classmates.

Original Quote C05 (Son)	Translation
¿Te gusta ir a la escuela? Si, claro se estudia y también a veces hacemos actividades divertidas dentro de lo que cabe. Socializamos. Y hacemos muchas cosas.	*Do you like going to school*? Yes, of course there's studying and also sometimes we do fun activities within what's possible. We socialize. And we do a lot of things.

If on the contrary the interactions with peers at school were negative, they started developing the desire to avoid certain classes or school altogether.

Original Quote C12 (Daughter)	Translation
¿Hay algún compañerx que te moleste con frecuencia? ¿A veces te pega? A ver molestar si, bullying no. *¿Molestar más como amigable?* Molestar algunas veces cuando quiere pelearse. *¿Te molesta mucho eso?* Algunas veces. *¿Le has comentado a algún profesor o a tus papás?* Si. *¿Y no ha parado?* Desde primero, toda esa clase la odio.	*Do you have a classmate that bothers you frequently? Do they hit you sometimes?* Let's see, bothering yes, bullying no. *Friendly bothering?* Bothering sometimes when they want to fight. *Do they bother you a lot?* Sometimes. *Have you told a teacher or your parents?* Yes. *And they haven't stopped?* From first, I hate all that class.

Children asked for help to handle bullying from parents and teachers, who were more effective at ending the bullying than the children.

Original Quote A16 (Mother)	Translation
¿Su hijx tiene algún compañerx que le pegue, lo moleste consistentemente? ¿Se queja de conflictos en la escuela? Si, unas compañeras le hacía bullying. Tuvo que intervenir y logró que se detuviera. *¿Su hijx*	*Does your child have a classmate that hits them or bothers them regularly? Do they complain about conflict at school?* Yes, one of her classmates bullies her. Had to intervene and managed to get it to stop. *Does your child*

se queja de su escuela? ¿Falta con frecuencia o trata de evitar asistir? Al principio no le gustaba el colegio, lo cual era raro porque solía ser una estudiante responsable y puntual. Al resolverse el bullying le volvió a gustar.	*complain about school? Do they try to avoid going?* At first, she didn't like school, which was weird because she used to be a responsible and punctual student. When the bullying was resolved she liked going again.

However, not all bullying was successfully halted, and the effects of the bullying were had begun to take a toll on the child's behavior and mental health, including the beginning symptoms of eating disorders and depression.

Original Quote A15 (Mother)	**Translation**
¿Su hijx tiene algún compañerx que le pegue, lo moleste consistentemente? ¿Se queja de conflictos en la escuela? En el colegio la niña sí. Voy mucho. He ido como 3 veces ya el mes pasado. Por lo que ella se ha engordado mucho. Le dicen Frankfurt. Es que la insultan de gorda, tonta. Hace 2 años pasó lo mismo y el mismo niño. Entonces ya dejó de comer porque le dicen gorda. Ahora otra vez lo mismo. Ya fui a hablar con la directora. Se ha acabado este mes. Pero es un niño, un compañero de ella.	*Does your child have a classmate that hits them or bothers them regularly? Do they complain about conflict at school?* At school the girl yes. I go a lot. I've gone like 3 times already this past month. Because she has gotten very fat. They call her "Frankfurt". They insult her as fat, dumb. Two years ago the same thing happened and the same boy. So she stopped eating because he calls her fat. Now the same thing. I already went to talk to the teacher. This month it ended. But it's a boy, a classmate of hers.

Bullying was such a common experience reported that teaching children to deal with bullying was at the forefront of parents' thoughts and concern in this sample. Just like the racism experienced in public in their neighborhood, parents had known it to be an inevitable part of the migrant experience.

Original Quote A10 (Mother)	**Translation**
¿Su hijx tiene algún compañerx que le pegue, lo moleste consistentemente? ¿Se queja de conflictos en la escuela? Si, me ha dicho una, una sí que molesta mucho. Me dice mamá tú me has enseñado a mí no tengo que pegarle niños, pero una siempre me pega, siempre me habla mal, siempre me chilla. Le digo mi niña tú tienes que hablar con la profesora. La	*Does your child have a classmate that hits them or bothers them regularly? Do they complain about conflict at school?* Yes, they've told me of one, one that bothers them a lot. They tell me mom you have taught me I don't have to hit kids, but one always hits me, always talks badly to me, always bothers me. I tell her darling you have to talk to the teacher.

| profesora si habla con ella primera vez no contestado, segunda vez no contestado, tú tienes que decirlo a mí, yo tengo que defender a ti. Al final ella hablado con la profesora, y la profesora una vez no contestado, me ha dicho que fue una niña también como tú. Así niños. Niños así. Siempre pelear, al final se vuelve los dos. Ha dicho solamente es pequeños. Yo dicho vale, pero tienes que castigarla para no hacer estas cosas. A mi mis niños cuando hacen mal por cursillos, por el teléfono, para jugar la casa, así tengo que castigarlos, cosas que le gusta para no hace esas cosas mal. A su madre tienes que hacerlo así. No dejar a su niña para pegar niños al cole. Y al final ya está. Me ha dicho que ya está. Mamá ella no hablas conmigo mal ni chillas conmigo. Pero niños así, al final tu piensas siempre hay niños así, cuando estas pequeño es así, tiene mucho problema. [Risa]. Qué vamos a hacer. | The teacher does talk to her first time hasn't answered, second time no answer, you have to tell me, I have to defend you. In the end she has talked to her teacher, and the teacher has not responded, she has told me it was a girl also like you. That's kids. Kids like that. Always fighting, in the end it becomes two. She told me only small. I said ok, but you have to punish them so they don't do these things. For me my kids when they do bad because of classes, because of the phone, to play at home, like that I have to ground them, things that they like to not do bad things. As their mother you have to do it like that. Not let your daughter to hit kids at school. And in the end that's it. She told me it's done. Mom she doesn't talk to me or bother me. But kids like that, in the end always kids like that, when you're little that's how it is, have many problems. [Laughter]. What are you going to do. |

The children described different types of bullying, such as physical attacks, verbal abuse, mocking, or being annoying by a classmate. However, they did not always label it as bullying, possibly due to the normalization of said behaviors.

Original Quote C16 (Daughter)	Translation
¿Tienes algún compañero que te moleste o te pegue? De pegar no, pero de molestar si, ósea yo soy una niña que no hablo mucho ósea en el cole, pero no sé, me siento como, no sé. A mí me gustaba más mi colegio antiguo porque ya era, no era, yo creo que debía ser desde mi primer día hablar más con la gente para conocerlos más, pero ahora le conozco, pero no hablo mucho. Pero ahora, no sé cómo decírtelo, ya sé español, pero no tanto, como que tengo miedo, me equivoco de algo.	*Do you have a classmate that bothers or hits you?* Hitting no, but bothering yes, I mean I'm a girl that doesn't talk much at school, but I don't know, I feel like, I don't know. I like my old school more because it wasn't, I think that it must have been from my first day talking more with people to know them more, but now I know them, but I don't talk much. But now, I don't know how to say it to you, I know Spanish now, but not so much, like I'm afraid, of making a mistake.

Bullying often took the form of prejudice-based attacks, drawing from the child's ethnic and cultural differences to create their insults. The children also experienced racism in the streets

from strangers, but it was a more hurtful experience to receive racist remarks in a school full of

migrant children, in an environment that many would assume to be safe from racism.

Original Quote C03 (Daughter)	Translation
¿Hay algún compañerx que te moleste con frecuencia? ¿A veces te pega? Pegarme no, pero bueno, sí que he sufrido mucho en el colegio que voy. *¿Por ser extranjera te han hecho comentarios?* Si,[en el colegio] me han dicho que vete a tu país, no sé qué no sé cuánto.	*Do you have a classmate that bothers you frequently? Do they hit you sometimes?* Hit me no, but well, I have suffered a lot in the school I got to. *Have they made comments because you're a foreigner?* Yes, [at school] they have told me to go back to your country, I don't know and what not.

Racially based bullying was common for migrant children and particularly hurtful, drawing

on their appearance, specifically their ethnicity.

Original Quote C07 (Daughter)	Translation
¿Has tenido alguna experiencia desagradable por ser de un país distinto? Bueno, es que yo he estado en dos escuelas, y ahora en el instituto, en la primera escuela como que siempre se metían y decían 'ay tu eres una mora, no sé qué, vete para tu país, vete, me estas robando mi comida, no sé qué, no sé cuántos.'	*Have you had a bad experience due to being from another country?* Well, it's that I have been at two schools, and now in the school, in the first school they always came up to me and said to me "oh you're a moor, and so on, go back to your country, go away, you're stealing my food, and so on, and so forth".

A different form of bullying reported by children with their classmates, different from

bullying or racial discrimination, was the conflict between the child and another child who used to

be their friend. Many children reported conflict with former friends who had experienced a form

of betrayal and then their former friends had begun bullying them or spreading rumors about them.

This was a third form of peer conflict that was identified as a risk factor to children's feelings of

safety at school.

Original Quote C13 (Daughter)	Translation
¿Qué tal son tus amigas? Bien, alguna a ver que son así que hablan mal de espaldas, ya no. Amigas que son falsas no. Ahora, no sé cuándo fue, acabo de enterar. Me explicó una amiga	*What are your friends like?* Good, some are the type to talk bad about you behind your back, not anymore. Friends that are false, no. Now, I don't know when it was, I just found out. A

que estaba hablando mal de mi a mis espaldas. Y pues no me gustó.	friend explained that she was talking bad about me behind my back. And well I didn't like it.

The stress of navigating social relationships when children were so young, and they were still learning to be part of social groups was high. Conflicts were difficult experiences to manage, and children had not yet learned the skills to sort through the situation and accompanying emotions, often without the guidance of adults. Children were still learning how to build and maintain friendships and thus conflicts with peers were a common reported experience that highly frustrated the children and impacted how they spent time in one of the four main spaces in their day, a long portion of their day spent at school.

Original Quote C10 (Daughter)	Translation
¿Tienes alguna mejor amiga? No, porque no confío en ella, ósea, acabamos de separar. Ósea, confiaba en ella y ella confiaba en mí, pero no sabía que ella hablaba de mi hace como dos años. Me da igual, eso pasa, no hay que confiar mucho.	*Do you have a best friend?* No, because I don't trust her, I mean, we just separated. I mean, I trusted her and she trusted me, but I didn't know that she talked about me for two years. It's all the same to me, that happens, you can't trust much.

In addition, some of the friends they had made throughout their time at the school had behavioral issues who could influence them in dangerous directions for use of substances or rebellious behaviors.

Original Quote C16 (Daughter)	Translation
¿Tienes amigos se metan en líos frecuentemente? Creo que, no diría amiga, porque se había peleado conmigo como enemiga, antes éramos como mejores amigas ... No sé, porque ella se mete con todos. Yo creo que habrá tenido con policía porque ella, aunque sea más pequeña, tiene 11 años como yo, pero ella yo la vi una vez que ella estaba fumando… ella estaba con su madre fumando.	*Do you have friends that regularly get into trouble?* I think, I wouldn't say friend, because she had fought with me like an enemy, before we were like best friends… I don't know, because she messes with everyone. I think she's had issues with the police because she, even when she was younger, she's like 11 years old like me, but once I saw her smoking… she was smoking with her mother.

These peer conflicts and sharing school space in a neighborhood that has high crime rates made some parents nervous. One family in particular decided to pull their children out of local schools and enroll them in a school in a safer neighborhood.

Original Quote A13 (Mother)	Translation
Solo tenemos problema de mi barrio. Ya está. Por eso yo no quiero, desde pequeñas yo llevo las dos niñas lejos de mi casa. Santa Mari. Hay un colegio. No quiero cerca de mi casa más problema. Con mismo niño no quiero que problema. Por eso. Hay todo niños y niñas. Mi niñas en colegio y en instituto con profes con todo niñas y niños felices. Por eso, para llegar ahí 30 min, pero no pasa nada.	We only have problems in the neighborhood. That's it. That's why I don't want, since they were little I take the two girls far from the house. Santa Mari. There's a school. I don't want near my house more problem. With the same boy I don't want that problem. That's why. There's boys and girls. My girls in primary and in school with teachers all girls and boys happy. That's why, to get there 30 minutes, but that's ok.

For parents, making sure their children had good schooling was highly important as it was one of their primary drivers for migration.

Original Quote A01 (Mother)	Translation
¿Por qué decidieron venir a Cataluña? Para que mejoramos nuestra vida. Allí vivimos en un pueblo pequeño donde todo es complicado, colegio con solo primaria. Para estudiar secundaria y universidad tiene que ir a la ciudad. El trabajo tampoco... Por eso siempre quiero un futuro mejor para mis hijos…en el pueblo, pero nos falta muchas cosas, por ejemplo, estudiar. La vida en el pueblo y en la ciudad no son igual. Y en Marruecos y aquí tampoco son iguales.	*Why did you decide to come to Catalonia?* To better our lives. There we lived in a small town where everything is complicated, school with only primary. To study high school and university you have to go to the city. Work neither… that's why I always want a better future for my children… in the town, but we lacked a lot of things, for example, studying. Life in the town and in the city are not the same. And in Morocco and here are also not the same.

Parents held as a core belief that education opened opportunities for a better future, it was a value they passed on to their children, who reported it as their motivation, for themselves and in order to help their families.

Original Quote A10 (Mother)	Translation
¿Su hijx se queja de su escuela? La [daughter name redacted] mucho. Cuando está mala	Does your child complain about school? [Daughter's name redacted] a lot. When she's

también tienes que ir al cole. Le gusta estudiar, para ayudar papi, papá está solo, tu estas malita, no puede trabajar, tengo que estudiar para ayudar mi padre cuando este grande. Porque su padre es muy bueno ellos, conmigo, con todo verdad. Gracias a dios.	not feeling well also has to go to school. She likes to study, to help dad, dad is alone, you're sick, he can't work, I have to study to help father when I'm big. Because her father is very good to them, with me, with everything really. Thank god.

Teacher support emerged as an important protective factor during the literature review, thus a specific question regarding children's relationship with teachers was included in the interview guide. The relationship with teachers was not just an academic one, there was a social aspect, where teachers could be more than just an imparter of information and knowledge but could also be a source of inspiration and friendship, contributing to children's social support network.

Original Quote C09 (Daughter)
What do you usually do when something feels really hard? I like speak with another, with a teacher.

Although it was not required of teachers in their role, children remembered the teachers that made an impact beyond just the subject they taught. A fuller and more complex and varied social network served as a protective factor for children, where they could find support in multiple people. Teachers also served the role of mediators in their relationships with peers, offered their parents support in understanding the school system, and even offered their parents friendship, protective factors not just to the child but the family unit.

Original Quote C05 (Son)	**Translation**
¿Te sientes cómodo hablando con tus profesores? Justamente tengo una profesora. Hay dos tipos de profesores. Profesores que están ahí para enseñarte. Y otros profesores que van más allá. Están ahí para ayudarte, lo que quieras, enseñarte, si no entiendes algo te ayudan. Por ejemplo, yo el año pasado tuve una tutora, muy buena persona, cuando tuvimos problemas del agua, de electricidad y eso, ella nos ayudaba. Ya que mi madre no	*Do you feel comfortable talking to your teachers?* Actually, I have one teacher. There's two types of teachers. Teachers that are just there to teach you. And other teachers that go beyond that. They're there to help you, with whatever you need, teach you, if you don't understand something they help you. For example, last year I had a tutor, a very good person, when we had water problems, with electricity and such, she helped us. Since my

| entiende mucho de esto de las cosas webs, aquí también la ayudan mucho, y en la escuela también. | mother didn't understand a lot of the website stuff, here they help us a lot too, and at school too. |

School was not just a source of support for children but also for their parents. Teachers were aware of the struggles migrant families faced and often made themselves available to parents for help. One family even highlighted the help a teacher had been given throughout a mother's cancer diagnosis as support to her and to her child.

| **Original Quote A01 (Mother)** | **Translation** |
| *¿Cómo reaccionaron o procesaron tus hijos tu enfermedad?* Bueno, el pequeño que está un poco…preocupado, y orando. Pero delante de mí no. Pero en el cole siempre cuando la profesora le pregunte como está, en el cole, me dice está muy preocupado. Me dice que muchas veces ha venido y hablado conmigo, "es que la mama esta enferme, es que no sé qué." Pero los mayores no, no muestran. Siento que tienen miedo, pero no lo muestran, como todo normal como no pasa nada. El pequeño está un poco así pero ahora está bien. Siempre me dice, me dice "mamá no te preocupes, no te vas a morir, porque es que hay mucha gente que tiene cáncer, es que se le ha caído el pelo, y todo, pero después ya tienen su pelo y están bien". Él ve de otra manera, se preocupa el pelo. Y le digo "si si hijo, no te preocupes, que esto es una enfermedad, como la gripe, cuando tienes fiebre te curas y ya está. Yo también me voy a curar y ya está." Y está un poco preocupado, pero ahora está bien… ha hablado con la profesora si habla mucho, porque la profesora que tuvo cuando me pasó todo esto, yo trabajaba en su casa, tenemos mucha relación. | How did your children process your illness? Well, the little one is a little… worried, and prauing. But not in front of me. But at school always when the teacher asks how he is, at school, tells me very worried. Tells me many times he has come and talked to me, "it's that mom is sick". But the oldest no, they don't show. I think they are afraid, but they don't show it, like everything is normal like nothing is happening. The youngest is a little like that but is fine now. Always tells me, tells me "mom don't worry, you're not going to die, because there are a lot of people who get cancer, that their hair falls, and everything, but then their hair comes back and they're fine." He sees things differently, he worries about the hair. And I tell him "yes yes son, don't worry, this is just a sickness, like the flu, when you have a fever and then you get better and that's it. I'm also going to get better." And he's been a but worried, but now he's fine… he has been talking with the teacher, yes talking a lot, because the teacher he had when all this happened to me, I worked at her house, we had a close relationship. |

Children mentioned their relationships with teachers under other questions, apart from those dedicated to that relationship in the interview guide, such as in questions about bullying and

children's interactions with peers at school. Teachers were expected to help children navigate their

social interactions when at school and moderate negative experiences by intervening on their

behalf in cases such as bullying. Teachers did not just offer academic support, but emotional

support, which children noticed and highly valued.

Original Quote C04 (Daughter)	Translation
¿Qué te parecen profesores? Muy bien. Mi profesora nos ayudan mucho. Hacen buenas personas. Nos habla. De como de mayores tenemos que hacer nuestra vida. Nos ayuda mucho.	*What do you think of your teachers?* Very good. My teacher helps us a lot. They make good people. She talks to us. About how when we're older we should do our lives. Helps us a lot.

All of the children in the study attended public schools in the area, which have high migrant

populations. Many of the teachers were themselves migrants. Unlike many of the migrant children

samples included in the literature review, this sample did not report any bullying from teachers,

which emerged as a risk factor for children's mental health. However, children did report a sense

of betrayal at their teachers' failure to intervene in cases of bullying. Bullying was a significant

issue in schools that was hard to curb even by adults.

Original Quote C10 (Daughter)	Translation
¿Hay algún compañerx que te moleste con frecuencia? Me acabo de cambiar de clase por eso. Porque mi mejor amiga y mis amigas que estaban, ósea eramos cuatro mejores amigas, y todas esas tres se pusieron contra mí, me estaban haciendo bullying y eso hace como dos semanas, me tiraron los lápices por la ventana, me insultaban en clase al lado de los profesores. Los profesores no decían nada tampoco. Hablaba con mi tutora siempre, voy a poner un porte pero nunca pone, me cambiaron de clase y ahora estoy mucho más mejor.	*Do you have a classmate that bothers you frequently?* I just changed classes because of that. Because my best friend and my friends were, well we were four best friends, and all those three turned against me, they were bullying me and that was like two weeks ago, they threw pencils out the window, they insulted me in class next to the teachers. The teachers didn't say anything either. I spoke with my tutor always, I'm gonna put a stop to it but never did, they changed me to another class and now I'm doing much better.

Children reported one additional source of support when it came to school, which was the Ateneu. The Ateneu provides scheduled spaces for children to do their homework, with the support of volunteers to help them with any questions that may arise, particularly for those entering higher grades and finishing school about to graduate and help prepare them for final exams and applying for university.

Original Quote A11 (Mother)	Translation
¿Les ayudas con tareas? No. Ahora como son niveles más alto que yo, entonces no… Pero con los otros mayores tienen un nivel, por eso mi hijo mayor viene aquí [Ateneu], ellos que pueden ayudarle en estudios.	*Do you help them with homework?* No. Now since they're levels higher than me, so no.. But with the other older ones they have a level, that's why my older son comes here [Ateneu], they can help them with their studies.

The Ateneu provided help with learning the local languages, which was essential for children to keep up with the curriculum. The academic support they received there was multifaceted.

Original Quote A08 (Mother)	Translation
¿Qué idioma/s hablan en casa? Si, entre las niñas el catalán. En el colegio, la grande ya se va, le costó mucho al principio porque fue muy duro, no fue fácil, por el tema del catalán. Venir, ya grande. La pusieron en sexto grado, y claro ha vuelto a repetir porque lo ha pasado fatal.	*What languages do you speak at home?* Yes, between the girls in Catalan. At school, the oldest goes, it was hard for her at first because it was very very hard, not easy, because of the Catalan. Came, already big. They put her in sixth grade, and of course she repeated because it was terrible.

Cultural issues of changing to a new curriculum could be challenging to children due to cultural or religious differences, particularly in changing from a conservative culture to a liberal culture, such as with biology and sex education.

Original Quote A05 (Mother)
But when children talk about their experiences in school. there are different things which came into my notice and we discuss with my son he get upset, but it is you know, there are some type of information about sex education, it is a point where my elder son get stuck, get worried, what is that. You know, he used to ask me questions and I'm going to answer, my husband going to answer them, it is a part of the study, it is not that horrible. It is the time that

he should learn, he should know all these things so that you get ready for your future. And you should also study things that are new to get better understanding of things.

Other minor cultural change issues were, for example, related to school schedules. Several children complained about the long hours, since in their country of origin school days were shorter.

Original quote C04 (Daughter)	Translation
¿Cómo te ha ido con los cambios del formato del colegio? Muy difícil la verdad. Porque aquí se viene en la tarde y en Honduras no. Da mucha pereza ir en la tarde otra vez. Pero ahora solo vamos por la mañana.	*How have your fared with the changes in the schooling system?* Very hard actually. Because here they come in the afternoon and not in Honduras. I really don't feel like going in the afternoon again. But now we only go in the morning.

Or other differences like struggling with the local dialect at school, which could bring mocking while children learned to take on the local specificities of vocabulary.

Original Quote C13 (Daughter)	Translation
¿Qué nuevas experiencias te pusieron nerviosa? El primer día, cambiaron los nombres de las cosas de la escuela, como sacapuntas, era tajador en Perú. Cambiaron así las letras.	*What new experiences made you nervous?* The first day, they changed the names of things at school, like sharpener, was pencil pointer in Peru. They changed the letters.

Apart from bullying, peer conflict, and academic adaptation issues such as language barriers or cultural differences in the curriculum, there was one additional major source of stress around children and parents' experience with school which was the interruption of the COVID-19 pandemic. School related issues around the pandemic were many and complex.

Original Quote A01 (Mother)	Translation
¿Cómo le fue con la escuela durante la pandemia? Bien. *¿Hacía las clases por internet?* Este año no. El año pasado sí, cuando empezó la pandemia. Si. Pero este año solo por ejemplo clase de mi hijo lo han confinado solo una vez. Ahí solo esos 10 días ha hecho clase online pero después clase normal.	*How was school during the pandemic?* Good. *Did he do classes online?* Not this year. Last year ye, when the pandemic started. Yes. But this year only for example my son's class was confined one time. There only those 10 days he did class online but then normal class.

Children had to continue school activities from the home, with the help of their parents, without the help of teachers, peers, or the Ateneu. They had to remain accountable with the school by phone or by email. Some of their parents had not received an education to be able to help them, some of their mothers could not read or write, or had low proficiency levels in the local languages.

Original Quote A02 (Mother)	Translation
¿Como hicieron con la escuela durante la pandemia? ¿En línea? No, ellos envían por le mail y ya está. A veces llaman, con llamada y ya está. *¿Te tocaba a ti ayudar?* Si hacer deberes con ellos, y hacíamos fotos, enviamos al… es difícil.	*How did they do school during the pandemic? Online?* No, they sent it by mail and that's it. Sometimes they called, with a call and that's it. *Did you have to help?* Yes, do homework with them, then take pictures, send them… it's hard.

The following table summarizes the codes emerging from the quotes selected above and the analysis of the patterns and groupings identified around the reports of parents and children about their experiences with their children's schools.

Table 18

Summary of Codes and Themes for School Space

Meaning bearing unit	Codes	Category	Dimension	Themes	Area
Enjoys school	Enjoyment of learning		Emotional safety		School
Extracurricular activities					
Favorite classes					
School is for socializing	Making friends	Peer relationships			
Making friends at school					
Favorite teacher	Teacher friendliness	Teacher support			
Teacher befriending mother					
Teacher referring migrant families to Ateneu	Extracurricular teacher role				
Teacher support against bullying					

Mocking for physical characteristics	Racism	Bullying	Feeling unsafe		
Racial remarks					
Hitting	Conflict				
Verbal Abuse					
Changing school systems from country of origin	Academic difficulties	Academic demands			
Failing the year					
Difficulty with vocabulary	Language barriers				
Difficulty understanding local languages					
Repeating a grade	Loss of friendships	Peer conflict			
Friendship betrayal					
Gossip					

Neighborhood

The space designated as the neighborhood was the time participants spent between the other three spaces. The public spaces of the streets, parks, supermarkets, and public transportation in the neighborhood of Sant Roc constituted a space where migrants spent a large portion of their time, had significant interactions, and navigated their identities as migrants. The neighborhood represented their primary connection to Catalonia and local culture. Their interactions with locals in the streets and at their jobs contributed to their feelings of integration, as well as their interaction with the geographical spaces in which they had settled.

Some complaints about the neighborhood were related to the poverty of the neighborhood. Multiple children complained about the size of their homes. They were impacted by the transition of living in a house, with large spaces, to being reduced to living in the small apartments common

to the neighborhood that their parents could afford, particularly the government funded apartments

were very small.

Original quote C16 (Daughter)	Translation
¿Hay algo que extrañes de Pakistán? Si, la familia. Mi casa. Aquí son pisos. Pero en Pakistán son casas que son como grandes. Aquí un piso es muy pequeño.	*Is there something you miss about Pakistan?* Yes, family. My house. Here it's apartments. But in Pakistan houses are bigger. Here an apartment is really small.

Children felt less space and freedom to play and make noise because in apartments they

would receive noise complaints. They were not used to living in small and feeling crammed into

their spaces.

Original quote C04 (Daughter)	Translation
¿Sientes que te has adaptado a tu nuevo país? …en el principio no. No sé cómo explicarlo. No me sentía a gusto, este país es más diferente que allá. Acá vivimos en pisos y allá en casas. No podemos saltar tanto.	*Do you feel you have adapted to your new country?* … at first no. I don't know how to explain it. I didn't feel comfortable, this country is more different than there. Here we live in apartments and there in houses. We can't jump around as much.

Interestingly, children were not the only ones who complained about the size of the houses,

adults too. They drew a comparison to how, despite migrating for a better quality of life, on a

practical level that did not always apply. The cost of living was greater than in their countries of

origin.

Original quote A10 (Mother)	Translation
¿Se han cumplido las expectativas que tenía sobre su vida aquí? Estaba contenta cuando he venido. Cuánto quiero venir, estaba contenta mucho. Pero cuando he venido aquí, después he sufrido mucho. Tengo que trabajar. Si no trabajas no comes. Allí puede vivir con tu hermanos, con tu padres, juntos, aquí no. Hasta tu hermanos no puedes vivir con ellos, aquí muy diferente. Diferente cuando he venido. Y al final cuando he venido digo a mi madre porque ha venido aquí, las	*Have the expectations you had about your life here been met?* I was happy when I came. How much I wanted to come, I was very happy. But when I came here, then I suffered a lot. I have to work. If you don't work you don't eat. There you can live with your siblings, with your parents, together, not here. Even with your siblings you can't live with them, here very different. Different when I came. And in the end when I came I told my mother why have I come,

casa muy pequeñas, [risa]. Porque pequeñas las casas, Marruecos muy grande las casas.	the houses are very small [laughter]. Because small houses, Morocco very big houses.

The expectations of moving to a country with a reputation for greater wealth and development were not always experienced once there. Their expectations of modernity and an abundance of resource was the reputation of Spain abroad.

Original quote C04 (Daughter)	Translation
¿Cómo te imaginaste tu vida acá antes de llegar? Pues me imaginaba como las calles cuando era otoño que caían las hojas en el suelo. Que iba a ser como el futuro. Muy moderno. *¿Y te ha parecido así?* Si, me parece moderno. Hay más recursos.	*How did you imagine your life here before coming?* Well, I imagined how the streets were in autumn that the leaves fell on the floor. That it would be like the future. Very modern. *Has it felt like that?* Yes, it seems very modern. There are more resources.

However, not all migrants felt that to be true or fulfilled for them. Many of them reported the difficulty of having to work excessively in order to survive and the feeling of the lack of safety nets such as depending on family.

Original quote A05 (Mother)
Living in Europe is a dream come true. But things are not too much good as I was thinking. But they are not too bad. As people said that Europe is this this this. But nothing is like that. You have to struggle. Life is struggle. But you have to struggle when you came in some new place. You have different challenges. You have to face and you have to tackle these challenges.

Other complaints about the neighborhood were more concerning, such as safety issues. One family reported multiple break ins at their apartment, where thieves came in at night and took items of value multiple times.

Original quote A13 (Mother)	Translation
¿Cuándo pasó, estaban uds en el piso o habían salido? Si nosotros estaban durmiendos. Por la noche 3 y media cuando todo. Solo coge cosas y se van… Donde puedo ir con mi niñas, yo no puedo dejar. Muy difícil. Por eso yo y mi mayor hija no	*When it happened, were you in the apartment or had you gone out?* Yes we were sleeping. About 3:30am when it happened. They just take things and go… Where can I go with my girls, I can't leave. Very hard. That's why me and my oldest daughter can't sleep peacefully. Look at my

podemos tranquilamente dormir. Mirame los ojos… 3 veces vienen en mi piso y cogen móviles, ordenador de mi hija, solo cogen cosas. Por eso miedo. Y no puede dormir. Por eso yo hace muchos años que yo he pedido en habitatge un piso, yo quiero cambiar solo barrio, no quiero muy grande piso bien estado, solo quiero cambiar. Yo he entregado todo papeles en habitatge para cambiar este piso todavía no sabemos.	eyes… three times they come to my apartment and take cellphones, my daughter's computer, they just take things. That's why fear. I can't sleep. That's why for many years I've asked habitatge for another apartment, I just want to change neighborhoods, I don't want a big apartment, I just want to change. I've turned in all the paperwork in habitatge to change apartments we don't know.

Migrants that did not feel safe in the neighborhood tried to move away or spent their leisure time outside the immediate neighborhood. They did not feel safe using the public spaces such as the parks of the area.

Original quote A13 (Mother)	Translation
¿Alguna vez han tenido problemas para pagar arriendo o luz? Antes si, ahora cobramos renta, solo problema de barrio donde yo vivo, este barrio, la gente de mi barrio no, todo de fuera muy buenos, de colegio muy bueno, donde yo vivo no. Molestan. Cuando hay vacaciones yo llevo mi niñas un poco lejos. Aquí no pueden jugar… Siempre me dice cuando me ponen nerviosa, cuando de mi barrio chicos y chicas, me molesta, me dice vete de país, yo no quiero volver.	*Have you ever had issues paying for rent or electricity?* Before yes, now we charge rent, only problem is the neighborhood where I live, this neighborhood, the people in my neighborhood no, everything aside is good, the school is good, where I live no. They bother. When there's holidays I take my girls far away. They can't play here… They always tell me when I get nervous, when from my neighborhood boys and girls, they bother, they tell me go to your country, I don't want to come back.

Another safety issue migrants had to deal with was racism in public spaces. Some were verbal aggressions, which were psychologically damaging.

Original quote C13 (Daughter)	Translation
¿Has tenido alguna experiencia desagradable por ser de un país distinto? Si en la escuela y afuera también. Si porque cuando estamos en la calle, un chico supuestamente estaba hablando mal de los peruanos.	*Have you have a bad experience for being from another country?* Yes, at school and outside too. Yes because when we were on the street, a boy supposedly was talking bad about Peruvians.

They experienced them in public transportation or on the street from strangers, they tried to ignore these comments to not escalate the situation.

Original quote A12 (Mother)	Translation
¿Su hijx le ha compartido alguna experiencia de discriminación? Ay eso siempre, algunas, pero yo no contesto. La gente enferma. Yo no hago caso. Para que hago caso. Por eso te digo, no somos de personas que contestamos. Si hay una persona enferma o mayor, dejarlo. *¿Te pasa con gente mayor?* Si. La gente mayor, pero los jóvenes en el trabajo tampoco. En el metro tampoco. Una vez me pasó con la anciana.	*Has your child told you about experiences of discrimination?* Oh that always, some, but I never respond. Sick people. I don't pay attention. Why pay attention. That's why I say, we're not the people that respond. If there's a sick person or an older, leave them. *It happens to you with older people?* Yes. Older people, but also young at work. In the metro as well. Once it happened to me with an old lady.

However, for some migrants, racism escalated to physical violence, for which they were highly concerned, but did not receive adequate support from authorities such as the police.

Original quote A17 (Father)	Translation
¿Su hijx tiene algún compañerx que le pegue, lo moleste consistentemente? Si. Eso también. Porque mi niños. Barrio Badalona. Ese barrio hay mucho gitanos. Yo no racistas. Pero hay problemas en respecto de los gitanos, niños, que cada día hay problemas. Que cada día, que cuando mi hijo ahora 9 años, quiere jugar en la plaza roja. Esa cerca Sant Roc, aquí también hay mucha familias, gitanos también viene para jugar los niños. Pero siempre que ellos en grupo 3, 4 niños, pelear y pegar y hablar mal. Eso hay muy grande problema. Muy muy muy grande. Hay familias de pakistanís que no viene. Las niñas, niños, hay diferente familias no vienen para jugar. Mi hijo no quiere estar en la piso siempre, quiere jugar futbol, muy energética, él tiene que jugar futbol, pero yo siempre que hay problema. La madre también que sabes acompañar cuando él quiere jugar… La hermana también, acompañar con él. Porque la madre también no se puede hablar castellano. Ese es la problema. Porque la madre de otros niños, que sabes también muy	*Does your child have a classmate that regularly hits or bothers them?* Yes. That too. Because my kids. Badalona neighborhood. That neighborhood has a lot of gypsies. I not racist. But there are problems regarding the gypsies, kids, that every day there are problems. That every day, when my son now 9 years old, want to play in the red square. That one near Sant Roc, here also a lot of families, gypsies also come to play the kids. But always that they in group of 3, 4 kids, fight and hit and talk badly. There is a big problem. Very very very big. There are families there from Pakistan that don't come. The girls, boys, there's different families don't come to play. My boy doesn't want to be in the apartment always, wants to play football, very energetic, he has to play football, but I always there's a problem. The mother too you know accompany him wants to play… The sister too, accompany him. Because the mother too can't speak Spanish. That is the problem. Because the mother of the other children, also very dangerous you know, so it's that fight. And then call the police, the mossos,

| peligroso, entonces es que pelear. Y que llamar la policía, los mossos, mira que tengo problema, ellos no quiere que jugar en la plaza, es para todos, no solo para los gitanos. Esa muy serio problema. Ellos no aceptan extranjeros, como mi familia, los gitanos no quiere. Lo español está diferente costumbre. Parece. Yo no sé, esa la diferencia de la educación o hay otra cosa pero hay diferencia. | look at what problem I have, they don't want to play in the square, it's for everyone, not just for gypsies. It's a very serious problem. They don't accept foreigners, like my family, gypsies don't like. The Spanish is a different custom. Seems. I don't know, that is the difference in education or something else but there's a difference. |

This same experience was described by his daughter.

Original Quote C16 (Daughter)	Translation
En el barrio que vivíamos antes había muchos gitanos... Le pegaba cada día a mis hermanos, mis hermanos llegaban llorando, un día le pegue yo a esa niña… *¿Alguna vez has tenido alguna experiencia de racismo por ser de otro país?* Si… en mi barrio. Algunas personas de la misma familia esa, los niños más grandes me decían vete si no te voy a pegar como le pegaste a esa niña. Quieren que ósea nosotros nos vayamos, nos mudamos, y ellos se quedaran allí. Llevamos mucho tiempo llamando la policía. Pero cuando venían ellos se iban o no se iban y la policía no hacía nada.	In the neighborhood we lived in before there were a lot of gypsies. She hit my brothers every day, mi brothers came back crying, one day I hit her that girl… *Have you every experienced racism for being from another country?* Yes… in my neighborhood. Some people from the same family as her, the bigger kids told me to leave or else I will hit you like you hit that girl. They wanted us to leave, we moved, and they stayed there. We had been calling the police for a while. But when they came they left or they wouldn't leave and the police wouldn't do anything.

However, some participants did report positive things. They enjoyed a better and more peaceful life having migrated to the neighborhood.

Original quote A13 (Mother)	Translation
Cuando alquiler mi 200. Ellos pagan 250. De parte todo pagan gobierno. Por eso ellos no quieren dejar España. Estudian bien para seguridad. Ahí todo tranquilo… me gusta todo, de parque, de gente.	When rent my 200. They pay 250. From part everything pay government. That's why they don't want to leave Spain. Study good for safety. There everything peaceful… I like everything, the park, the people.

Children reported their favorite moments with their family and friends playing in the park.

Original quote C01 (Son)	Translation

| ¿*Cuándo te sientes mejor? ¿Haciendo qué?* Bueno, cuando voy al parque con mis padres. Se quedan hablando ahí y yo juego. Pues todo está tranquilo y está bien. | *When do you feel better? Doing what?* Well, when I go to the park with my parents. They sit there talking and I play. Well everything is peaceful and it's good. |

Some children even felt so safe they walked the neighborhood alone routinely, without fear for their wellbeing.

Original quote C07 (Daughter)	**Translation**
¿*Qué hacen en tu familia los fines de semana?* Depende del fin de semana. Normalmente estoy en mi casa o salgo al río o a pasear, a Badalona central.	*What does your family do on weekends?* Depends on the weekend. Usually I am at home or I go to the river and take a stroll, or to central Badalona.

The following table summarizes the codes emerging from the quotes selected above and the analysis of the patterns and groupings identified around the reports of parents and children about their experiences in the neighborhood of Sant Roc where their family settled in after migrating.

Table 19

Summary of Codes and Themes about the Neighborhood Space

Meaning bearing unit	Codes	Category	Dimension	Themes	Area
Government subsidized housing	Affordable housing	Positive contrast of living spaces to country of origin	Emotional Safety	• Racial Incidents	Neighborhood
Playing in the park	Quality public resources				
Nature recreation					
Modern public spaces				• Acculturation Hassles	
Small houses	Confining homes	Negative contrast of living spaces to country of origin	Feeling Unsafe		
Thin walls					
Can not live with family				• Economic Difficulties	
Expensive living quarters	Poverty				
Break ins at apartment	Unsafe neighborhood				
Crime in neighborhood					
Want to move to a different neighborhood					

Unprotected by police	Racial discrimination			• Satisfaction and comparisons	
Racist attacks in parks					
Racist comments in public transportation					

Ateneu

A section of the interview guide was dedicated to the participants' experience with the Ateneu Foundation because the support received from the foundation was a unique element to this particular group of migrant children and parents. Attendance to the foundation and its activities were a regular part of the families' routine and the relationships they created there built essential support systems with both mentors and peer friendships for both the mothers[49] and the children.

The principal aspect that arose among families' responses about the role the Ateneu foundation played in their lives was regarding how the foundation served as a community space. Although their primary connection was usually made in search of language courses. In other words, their time at the foundation was mainly framed as a space where they have gotten the opportunity to connect with people from the neighborhood and create meaningful relationships with migrants going through similar experiences as well as receive support in navigating their arrival.

Unlike with the school space, where the main objective of children's attendance was learning and training, for the children the foundation was a space to play and spend time with other children. For parents, the Ateneu was a central point in which to find multidimensional aid and support, such as with language difficulties, childcare, guidance navigating social services, and even providing food when they were unable to purchase it themselves. They were usually referred

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[49] Few fathers participate in Ateneu activities.

there by other members in their community who had been in their shoes just a few years prior, and

so migrant families pass on the information in the neighborhood.

The arrival process could be very stressful and confusing for migrants. When sharing with

other migrants about their struggles, they were often recommended to seek help at the Ateneu. The

Ateneu has served the community for decades and has earned the name of a reputable source of

practical and emotional support.

Original Quote A05 (Mother)
How did you find out about the Ateneu? I feel like it is my second home. When I came in Spain I first met [Ateneu functionary name redacted]… They are very cooperative, humble. I came for language course, but I explored many things. All the people are very, they always want to help you. They are helping people. Very comfortable. There is no other way that they discourage you. They all the time encourage you with their words, verbal communication, non-verbal communication, all the time they are welcoming you.

Sometimes referrals were passed on through mothers or through the teachers at schools,

but also through the recommendations of the children to other children, anyone in previous

connection with the Ateneu spoke well of it.

Original Quote C03 (Daughter)	Translation
¿Cómo conociste a la Fundación? En mi clase, una amiga mía me habló del Ateneu, y entonces yo pasé por ahí pero no sabía lo que era, y vi muchos niños entrando y le dije a mi abuela mira que chulo entonces ella fue a la Clara, que es una profesora y se lo dijo.	*How did you hear about the foundation?* In my class, a friend of mine told me about the Ateneu, and so I went by and I didn't know what it was, and I saw a lot of kids going in and I told my grandma look how cool so she went to Clara, a teacher and told her.

For many women the arrival in Spain opened doors for them to pursue an education and

they highly valued their place in the Ateneu as the bridge towards furthering those opportunities.

Original Quote A13 (Mother)	Translation

Cuando llego aquí, mi marido me deja para clase. Cuando yo aquí va una profe [name redacted] estaba aquí me dice no hay plaza y estaba lloraba, yo no sé qué porque tensión, depresión estaba, yo lloraba… me llama [Ateneu functionary] que hay plaza, no llora. Y de verdad ellos siempre cuando yo tengo problemas ellos me ayudan mucho. Todo muy buenas.	When I arrived here, my husband lets me go to class. When I here goes a teacher [name redacted] was here and told me no space and I was crying, I don't know why the stress, I was depressed, I cried… he called me there's space, don't cry. And really they always when I have problems help me a lot. Everything very good.

The support upon arrival and through the adaptation process was not only for parents but for children, too. Parents credited their children's stability and wellbeing growing up as migrants to the foundation's support.

Original Quote A03 (Mother)	Translation
¿Tu hijo tuvo algún problema de adaptación? No, lo llevó bien porque incluso que fue cuando cumplió los 5 lo entré aquí [Ateneu] y estuvo participando hasta los 12 años.	*Has your child had any adaptation problems?* No, he was fine because actually that when he turned 5 I put him here [Ateneu] and he was participating until 12 years old.

Most of their parents worked every day, including at night and weekends. Their families did not have the time due to their work schedule or lacked financial means to do special activities on weekends such as take trips, go to cultural attractions, go to the movies, go out to restaurants, or more generally – go on long vacations. Many parents worked every day and worked weekends, too. The Ateneu's variety of activities included special excursions and activities which provided the children with unique opportunities to be exposed to new things such as going to the beach or museums, allowing kids to swim and play and see new things. In addition, their irregular work schedules meant they could not watch their kids after school or weekends.

Original Quote A17 (Father)	Translation

¿Cómo conoció la Fundación? Cuando dos hijas vivir conmigo, tengo problema, porque trabajo la noche también. Después de horario de colegio. Y yo necesita que haya una plataforma o instituto que ellos estar en centro y también que aprendes que o cumplir actividades de la colegio, trabajo de la colegio. Yo pregunto diferente personas. En la primera en la colegio. Ellos dicen que hay una casal, y ayudan conocer lugares, trabajo de colegio, aprendes más. Esa más cerca. El Ateneu, antes que yo vivo en frente de Ateneu. 2, 3 minutos de otra parte de la carretera. Esa más cerca. Esa mas mejor que mi hijas en ese centro.	*How did you hear about the foundation?* When two daughters live with me, I have problem, because I work night as well. After the school time. And I need there to be a platform or institute that they be in the center and also learn or do school activities, schoolwork. I ask different people. First at the school. They tell me there's a casal, and help me know places, schoolwork, learn more. It's closer. The Ateneu, before I live in front of the Ateneu. 2-3 minutes on the other side of the highway. It's closer. It's better my daughters are in this center.

Because the neighborhood is unsafe, many parents did not feel comfortable letting their children stay home alone while they worked or play outside alone, but they could not afford privatized care, so the Ateneu offered them the support they would have traditionally had from friends or extended family in their country of origin.

Original Quote A01 (Mother)	**Translation**
¿A tus hijos les gusta la escuela? Los mayores ya son mayores. El mayor está en el último año, ya empieza a trabajar. El mediano está haciendo prácticas por las tardes. Está bien. El Ateneu también me ayuda mucho por eso. Cuando estaban en el instituto y bachillerato siempre por las tardes vienen aquí. hacer los deberes. hacer actividades. No están en la calle para tener problemas. Porque aquí es como una familia, le protegen mucho. De verdad me encanta. Me gusta mucho. El Ateneu es como mi familia.	*Do your kids like going to school?* The eldest are already older. The oldest is in his last year, he's already starting to work. The medium one is doing apprenticeships in the afternoons. He's doing well. The Ateneu also helps me a lot with that. When they were in school and high school they came here all the afternoons. Do homework. Do activities. They're not on the street to get into trouble. Because here is like a family, they protect them a lot. I really love it. I like it a lot. The Ateneu is like my family.

The Ateneu produced a sense of safety and support for the families in this sample providing an environment where children could go when their school or their parents were unable to watch them, where they would not get in trouble, instead they would be making friends, be entertained, and do their homework.

Original Quote A13 (Mother)	Translation
Yo nunca he dejado mi niña sola. [Points to daughter outside the window]. Chaqueta rosa. Al final. Viene aquí. Desde pequeña las dos vienen Ateneu. Me ayuda del Ateneu mucho.	I have never left my daughter alone. [Points to daughter outside the window]. Pink jacket. At the end. She comes here. Since she was little, both of them come to the Ateneu. The Ateneu helps me a lot.

Children's routines before the pandemic were consistent, but at the time of the interviews had been significantly disrupted. Without the opportunity to attend the Ateneu like they regularly did, children did not get to experience and explore the city or do special activities like swimming or playing soccer anymore. But, once quarantine lifted, they were able to return to the Ateneu facilities, with masks and social distancing, restricted to activities that could be done on site, where their parents could be sure they were being well taken care of again outside the home.

Original Quote C03 (Daughter)	Translation
¿Qué tipo de actividades te gusta hacer acá en la fundación? Antes hacíamos natación y eso es lo que me gusta.	*What type of activities do you like to do at the foundation?* Before we did swimming and that's what I like.

The Ateneu's support extended beyond entertaining activities or meeting with their friends, but specifically, academic support was a large part of what parents appreciated. The foundation recruits teachers from the schools in the area who have retired to volunteer and help children with their homework. They also offer language courses to help migrant children raise their comprehension levels. Finally, they also offer them career guidance in preparing for university, vocational training, or finding a job.

Original quote C10 (Daughter)	Translation
¿Te parece que te han apoyado con temas del colegio? Mucho mucho. Me encanta venir aquí. Porque, ósea, solo vengo del insti, digo ay qué hora qué hora es porque ósea quiero venir. Y los días que estoy enferma o algo digo uf por qué no ir.	*Do you feel they've helped you with school?* A lot, a lot. I love coming here. Because, well, I come from school, I wonder what time what time is because I want to come. And the days that I'm sick or something I say oof because I can't come.

Often parents felt out of their depth to help their children because of the language barrier and the education they lacked in their country of origin, so they felt relief that the Ateneu could help their children after school with their homework, in addition to providing accountability and a space to make sure the homework got done.

Original Quote A11 (Mother)	Translation
¿Les ayudas con tareas? No. Ahora como son niveles más alto que yo, entonces no. Con mi hija pequeña si a veces, muchas veces, dice vamos a pintar, vamos a hacer las mandalas, esto sí. Pero con los otros mayores tienen un nivel, por eso mi hijo mayor viene aquí [Ateneu], ellos que pueden ayudarle en estudios.	*Do you help them with their homework?* No. Now they're at higher levels than me, so no. With my youngest daughter yes sometimes, many times, she says lets paints, let's do mandalas, that yes. But with the other older ones they have a level, because of that my older son comes here [Ateneu], they can help him in his studies.

One of the key points of need for migrants was language support, which was not just for children but also for adults and how most migrants got connected with the Ateneu.

Original Quote A04 (Mother)	Translation
Es que como yo no sé catalán, a veces me traen cosas. Y me voy el traductor, mejor que vengo aquí que me ayudan de algo.	Because I don't know Catalan, sometimes they bring me things. And I go to the translator, better I come here and they help me with something.

Struggles with the language made every aspect of migrant life difficult and the Ateneu offered support not just with classes but with translations of important documents and guidance with filing paperwork.

Original Quote A13 (Mother)	Translation

| Cuando no estaba puedo hablar, ellos me ayuda mucho. Más cosas también. Me acuerdo que [Ateneu employee] y un señor que aquí está afuera de barba, que muy bien, cuando yo una carta viene para echar de piso, él me ayuda mucho, me dice que hay un señor de plataforma él puede ayudarte. [Ateneu employee] de aquí, todo, todo me ayuda, siempre cuando yo no entiendo una cosa, yo vengo aquí, ellos me explican muy bien. | When I was couldn't talk, they help me a lot. More things too. I remember that [Ateneu employee] and a man that here is outside with the beard, that very good, when a letter comes to kick me out of the apartment, he helps me a lot, tells me there is a man from platform can help you. [Ateneu employee] from here, everything, everything help me, always when I don't understand a thing, I come here, they explain very well. |

Another type of support given to adults and to the families was practical aid in the midst their financial struggles. The literature review highlighted a common migrant experience and risk factor to their mental health - poverty. Even though most migrants migrated principally due to a desire to seek out better economic opportunities, they did not find an easy transition in their work upon arrival. In this sample, many parents struggled financially, and the children were aware of the difficulty. Thus, the Ateneu's multi-dimensional aid was highly appreciated to moderate stress.

Original Quote A07 (Mother)	Translation
¿Recibes alguna ayuda social? No ninguna. Aquí Ateneu ayudan…, cosas de comida… porque yo no tengo ni trabajo ninguna, porque también mi hija ella enferma, tiene asma. Yo quiero comprar una barra de pan, yo no tengo dinero.	*Do you receive some type of social aid?* No none. Here at the Ateneu they help…, food items… because I don't have a job, because my daughter she is also sick, has asthma… I want to buy a loaf of bread, I don't have money.

The Ateneu, although it was not created as a space for practical aid such as for helping migrants find jobs, navigating social services, translating paperwork like bills, letters from children's schools, or the government, it has become a central point where migrants can find guidance and help.

Original Quote A05 (Mother)
Whenever I have some concern or questions I came here in Ateneu, there is a professor, at different time he used to help me and he used to tell me about these types of services [social aid]. I mean they are such a nice people, humble, they don't even get frustrated. They are always here to help you.

In a community with high levels of poverty, it was inevitable for a space that was so willing to help to start offering help even with groceries. Families reported times when they had run out of money so severely, they had nothing with which to feed themselves and the Ateneu stepped in, outside of their official duties, to help them. Even if the Ateneu itself could not help them, migrants knew they could provide guidance and point them in the right direction or connect them to someone who could, such as in helping them file the appropriate paperwork for social aid.

Original Quote C10 (Daughter)	Translation
mi madre hace como unos meses, pues ella no trabajaba, no teníamos dinero para comprar comida tampoco, y pues mi abuelita nos mandaba dinero para pagar la habitación. Y como que pagamos la habitación con 300 euros, no podíamos ahorrar, porque 300 euros es mucho para una habitación. Y pues no podíamos tampoco coger comida y eso, el Ateneu también nos han ayudado.	My mother a few months, well she didn't work, we didn't have money to buy food either, and my grandma sent us money to pay for our room. And we paid the room with 300 euros, we couldn't save money, because 300 euros is a lot for a room. And well we couldn't get food and that, the Ateneu helped us too.

Due to the dedicated spaces in the foundation for different activities and the helpfulness of functionaries and volunteers, it created environments for children to create connections with the adults who work or volunteer at the foundation as mentors and with other children. According to the children, of the significant elements that constituted their lives, the Ateneu was among the main ones. They reported such fond opinions of it that they included it among the principal things about Catalonia they would miss if they had to migrate again, as explained by the child in the quote below. The disruption of the pandemic to their routines was felt in their inability to attend the variety of Ateneu activities and meet with their friends.

Original Quote C10 (Daughter)	Translation
¿Quisieras volver al país de origen de tu familia o quedarte en Cataluña? A visitar me gustaría ahora mismo. A vivir también, pero no	*Would you want to return to your family's country of origin or stay here in Catalonia?* To visit I'd like that now. To live too, but I can't

| puedo dejar a mis amigos, al Ateneu, a muchas cosas. | leave my friends here, the Ateneu, a lot of things. |

Most families that joined the Ateneu remained there for many years as all their children grew up and out of the ages for which activities were offered. They enjoyed being part of the community until all their children turned 18 years old and even then, they continued to participate and volunteer in other ways.

Original Quote A09 (Mother)	Translation
¿Hace cuánto tiempo está conectado con la Fundación? 11 años. Siempre llevar bien aquí. Me gusta mucho el Ateneu.	*How long have you been connected to the foundation?* 11 years. Always very good here. I like the Ateneu a lot.

The Ateneu foundation was the place where children most often reported feeling safe. Children looked forward throughout the day to the moment they got to attend. One child even expressed her regret when she fell ill at being unable to go. This was one of the main spaces in which children formed friendships (on par with school) and received support with cultural differences and academic challenges. Most importantly, it was their main space for play. The table below summarizes the themes and codes identified in relation to the Ateneu.

The following table summarizes the codes emerging from the quotes selected above and the analysis of the patterns and groupings identified around the reports of parents and children about their experiences with the Ateneu Foundation.

Table 20

Summary of Codes and Themes for the Ateneu Space

Meaning bearing unit	Codes	Category	Dimension	Theme	Area
Brought a friend to the foundation	Friendships	Community Support	Emotional safety	• Support from Ateneu	Ateneu foundation
Made friends at foundation					

Felt support from workers and volunteers	Bonds with employees				
Scheduled play times at foundation	Play	Scheduled activities			
Organized team sports and sporting activities (e.g. swimming)					
Summer excursions, (museums, beach)	Excursions				
Financial support	Poverty	Practical Assistance			
Help with paperwork	Bureaucracy				
Language support	Academic support				
Homework support					

Pandemic Isolation

When the study objectives were set out and the interview guide was created in early 2020 based on the literature review, the COVID-19 pandemic had not yet begun. Thus, it was not foreseen that many of the questions included would evoke data about the pandemic. This is a category that emerged solely from the context and time in which the interviews were held about an experience or circumstance that was not unique to the migrant community – as it impacted the entire world – but it did impact them in a particular way as the participants themselves reported. One of the effects important to underline was how it isolated them from their primary social networks, in some ways related and unrelated to their circumstances as migrants, which for migrants was particularly difficult as they had already been separated from their primary social networks when they migrated and had been working hard to build new ones when they were interrupted by the pandemic.

For migrants who migrated during the pandemic, the effects of the isolation were amplified. They had not had enough time to build relationships in their primary spaces such as school when they were sent home to do distance learning.

Original Quote A05 (Mother)
First my children was very upset because when we came here it was lockdown. They could not manage to go to school, they were very depressed and dejected.

The mandated isolation of quarantine forced all people in Barcelona to stay indoors for three months. Children had to stay home from school, and schools had to find creative ways of continuing their curriculum. Some schools managed to do online courses, but others lacked resources and had to use less technological methods. Parents had to help their children without detailed support, for which they reported struggling.

Original Quote A02 (Mother)	Translation
¿Como hicieron con la escuela durante la pandemia? ¿En línea? No, ellos envían por le mail y ya está. A veces llaman, con llamada y ya está. *¿Te tocaba a ti ayudar?* Si hacer deberes con ellos, y hacíamos fotos, enviamos al… es difícil.	*How did they do school during the pandemic? Online?* No, they sent it by mail and that's it. Sometimes they called, with a call and that's it. *Did you have to help?* Yes, do homework with them, then take pictures, send them… it's hard.

These alternative methods were continued when children had to stay home even after schools reopened due to contagions, so they would not miss more classes. If they or someone in their family tested positive for COVID-19 they could not go to school.

Original Quote A01 (Mother)	Translation
¿Hacía las clases por internet? Este año no. El año pasado sí, cuando empezó la pandemia. Si. Pero este año solo por ejemplo clase de mi hijo lo han confinado solo una vez. Ahí solo esos 10 días ha hecho clase online pero después clase normal.	*Did they do online classes?* Not this year. Last year yes, when the pandemic started. Yes. But this year only for example my son's class was confined only one time. There only those 10 days he had class online but then normal class.

Students often tested positive multiple times, meaning they stayed home multiple times. This was reported as an annoying isolation. Frequent contagions were highly frustrating for children who missed their friends and their normal activities.

Original Quote C13 (Daughter)	Translation

¿Qué tal estuviste en la pandemia? Hicimos cuarentena porque mi padrastro dio positivo. Antes de navidad agarró el COVID otra vez. Y como me salió más o menos la realizó otra vez.	*How were you during the pandemic?* We quarantined because my stepfather tested positive. Before Christmas he caught COVID again. And because I tested so so he did it again.

There was a different loneliness when the child was forced to stay home when all their peers were allowed back to the loneliness they felt when everyone had to stay home. They described the feeling that they were missing out on important experiences.

Original Quote C16 (Daughter)	Translation
¿Qué hace tu familia cuando tienes vacaciones de la escuela? La última vez no sé porque mí, yo me fui en, yo tenía COVID y me quedé en la habitación y cuando acabé acababa de salir, de colonias del casal, no sabía que habían hecho.	*What does your family do when you're on vacation from school?* The last time I don't know because me, I left, I had COVID and I stayed in my room and when I was done had just left, I didn't know what they had done during the organized activities [Ateneu].

For example, C15 was scheduled to be interviewed but then had a positive COVID test so the interview was conducted over the phone during which she expressed the loneliness of the unique situation that was her present confinement. Multiple other children expressed feelings of loneliness due to their quarantine periods.

Original Quote C15 (Daughter)	Translation
¿Te has sentido sola? Ahorita si.	*Have you felt lonely?* Right now yes.

However, it was not only children who reported the loneliness from being separated from friends, parents too had to cease certain activities and were kept from spending time with their friends.

Original Quote A04 (Mother)	Translation
¿Tienes amigas del Ateneu? Si, tengo chicas. Estabamos corriendo cuando estaba joven. Pero ahora ha cambiado la vida con esto [pandemia].	*Do you have friends from the Ateneu?* Yes, I have girls. We were running when I was young. But now life has changed with this [pandemic].

In addition, quarantines, confinements, and closures meant many adults lost their jobs or had their hours cut down, resulting in a significant loss of income.

Original Quote A02 (Mother)	Translation
¿Cómo les ha ido en la pandemia? Fatal. Ahora estoy inerte. Mi marido acabo de volver a trabajar hace dos semanas, pero media jornada.	*How have you been during the pandemic?* Terrible. Now I'm stuck. My husband just went back to work two weeks ago, but half time.

The COVID-19 pandemic had both small and large disruptions to participants' routines. Keeping them from activities they enjoyed outside with other people and limiting them to hobbies that could be carried out at home alone, which for children was often on their technological devices.

Original Quote C01 (Son)	Translation
¿Qué haces después de la escuela? Juego un poquito a la play, el móvil. Depende del día. Tengo que venir aquí a hacer casal, jugamos a algo. Actividades. Antes iba al fútbol, pero me desapunté por el COVID. Pero luego ya me apuntaré. Cuando ya todo esté bien.	*What do you do after school?* I play a bit on the playstation, cellphone. Depends on the day. I come here to do casal, we play something. Activities. Before I went to football, but I had to skip because of COVID. But I'll sign back up then. When everything is fine.

In addition, weekly routines of family visits and get togethers had to be interrupted in order to follow quarantine rules and to protect older members, separating families from seeing each other.

Original Quote A04 (Mother)	Translation
Bueno solamente con el confinamiento con el pandemia, yo no me voy por mi madre, no llevo mis hijos por mi madre. Tengo miedo si pasa algo.	Well only with confinement with the pandemic, I don't go because my mother, I don't take my children because of my mother. I'm afraid if something happens.

Furthermore, long-term or yearly routines were also disrupted by travel bans. Most migrant families from nearby countries such as Morocco made the effort to visit their extended families at

least once every one or two years, which was already a difficult amount of time for them to go

without seeing their families. This time was prolonged doubly during the pandemic.

Original Quote A12 (Mother)	Translation
¿Van a Marruecos con frecuencia? Si. Bueno últimos años del COVID no fuimos, pero vamos cada año.	*Do you go to Morocco often?* Yes. Well the last years of COVID we did not go, but we go every year.

These family separations were additionally hard when family tragedy struck and families

were unable to be together during those times, particularly during sickness and death.

Original Quote A15 (Mother)	Translation
Mi madre en Bolivia está paralizada medio cuerpo. Hace un año que le ha dado. Justo le dio en la pandemia. *¿No has podido verla desde que pasó?* No, porque es imposible viajar con 4 billetes, mucho dinero.	My mother in Bolivia is paralyzed half her body. It happened a year ago. It happened to her during the pandemic. *You haven't been able to go see her since it happened?* No, it's impossible to travel with 4 tickets, too much money.

The loss of multiple family members due to COVID as well as the distance to be unable to

participate in mourning liturgies and traditions was a reported source of distress for participants,

missing their family all the more.

Original Quote C13 (Daughter)	Translation
¿En los últimos meses te sentiste triste o ansioso? ¿Por qué? Triste, ayer estaba triste. Por una tía abuela que se murió por el COVID, tengo 3 que se han muerto y pues no lo puedo superar tanto. He vivido momentos con ellas. Estaban en Perú.	*In the last months have you felt sad or anxious? Why so?* Sad, yesterday I was sad. Because my great aunt died of COVID, I have 3 that have died and I can't get over it much. I lived moments with them. They were in Peru.

Apart from the isolation and separation from friends and family resulting in feelings of

loneliness and isolation, there was the issue of government overwhelm from the amount of people

requiring aid, where government officials were unable to respond to demand and left many people

to fend for themselves alone, leaving them without a final safety net.

Original Quote A15 (Mother)	Translation
¿En algún momento os habéis encontrado que no pudisteis pagar el alquiler, la luz, la comida? Si. *¿Recibieron alguna ayuda?* La verdad que no, la pandemia y eso, no, como eran muchos los que habían solicitado, al final no se pudo.	*At some point were you unable to pay for rent, electricty, or food?* Yes. *Did you receive any aid?* Not really, the pandemic and such, no, because so many people signed up, in the end it didn't work out.

Family that was traveling when the pandemic struck were left stranded abroad unable to return to their family's due to travel bans and the bureaucratic backlog created while offices were closed, making paperwork difficult to renew in order to give them the ability to return to Spain legally.

Original Quote A13 (Mother)	Translation
¿Tu marido vive contigo? Si, conmigo. Ahora está enfermo. Cuando se va en Pakistán. Murió su padre. Ahí cuando estaba corona. Su carnet acabó ahí. Todavía no puede [volver].	*Does your husband live with you?* Yes, with me. Now he is sick. When he leaves to Pakistan. His father died. There he was when corona. His ID ended there. He can't come back yet.

The results about the pandemic experience were included under the section about migrants' social environment because their primary reports were the loneliness the pandemic produced and how it separated them from their communities.

4.3.4 Emotional Experiences

The following section will compile the emotional evaluations that migrants gave of the previous points of migratory experiences and the social environments they encountered postmigration. Their responses regarding their feelings about the difficulties of migration and the benefits of living in Spain were collected and labeled. For children the emotions were simple and categorized according to positive or negative feelings about the spaces through which they

routinely moved and experienced their primary interactions. For their parents, the descriptions of their emotions were more complex and nuanced, so the labels assigned reflected that multifaceted account.

Comparisons

Under this section, statements made by participants revealing their assessment of the positive or negative aspects of their family's migration will be compiled. Comparisons reveal their valuations of what was gained and what was lost in their migration, particularly around their expectations and the drivers of their migration being met or being still unfulfilled. Thus, it covered the their feelings about for future opportunities, academic opportunities, career opportunities, etc.

Satisfaction in their country of destination was a common protective factor for migrants' mental health, which was composed from a sense of an improvement of multiple factors such as future opportunities, present resources, greater freedom, and safety. The experiences and emotions around these aspects of life in Sant Roc were different among migrant children, depending on personal and individual experiences, as well as their families' premigration conditions and postmigration hassles.

Nine of the children in the sample were born in Spain and 7 were born abroad. However, even the second-generation children made comparisons to their family's country of origin since the family maintained strong ties to said country, visiting regularly[50]. Some children reflected on what their life could have been like had their family not moved. Some of the comparisons revealed positive contrasts where Catalonia was praised as a great place to make a life, where they were

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[50] Aside from the pandemic when travel was banned or restricted.

grateful to be, and had overall positive associations. Some of the comparisons were more negative, about the limitations they had unexpectedly encountered upon arrival.

The comparisons revealed emotions about their migration based on the contrasts between countries, such as can be seen in the examples below. A positive contrast pointed to positive emotions about their migration such as satisfaction and gratitude, whereas a negative contrast pointed to negative emotions about their migration such as disillusionment and frustration.

Comparison	Original Quote	Translation
Positive Contrast	*¿Crees que tus papás están contentos acá?* Si, mi padre y mi madre están muy contentos. Creo que preferirían estar aquí antes que en Marruecos ya que la cosa en Marruecos no es muy fácil que digamos. (C05)	*Do you think your parents are happy here?* Yes, my father and my mother are very happy. I think they would prefer to be here rather than in Morocco since things in Morocco are not very easy.
Negative Contrast	*¿Como te imaginaste tu vida acá antes de llegar?* Me imaginaba que íbamos a ser muchos más felices, que íbamos a vivir una vida especial y todo eso, pero no era lo mismo que pensaba. En verdad vivía ahí en Marruecos más mejor que aquí ahora. (C10)	*How did you imagine your life here before moving?* I imagined that we were going to be much more happy, that we would live a special life and all that, but it wasn't like what I thought. In reality I lived there in Morocco more better than here now.

Some comparisons were generalized as to the emotions they felt about their whole postmigration experience as seen above, but some were more detailed relating which elements about Sant Roc or their country of origin prompted said feelings, particularly resources and opportunities, these were highlighted with one example for each item.

Table 21

Examples of Comparison Statements

Comparison	Reason	Quote	Translation
Positive contrast	Medical Resources	*¿Qué tal fue tu experiencia con los servicios de salud?* Muy bien, muy bien. Tenemos suerte que estamos acá. Si estoy allí es otro problema. Allí tienes que pagar todo. Si no tienes dinero no tienes derecho. Pero aquí por lo menos de verdad lo agradecemos mucho, aquí nos cuidan mucho. (A01)	*How was your experience with health services?* Very good, very good. We are lucky that we are here. If I am there it is another problem. There you have to pay everything. If you don't have money you have no right. But here at least we really are very grateful, here they take care of us a lot.

	Educational Resources	*¿Por qué decidieron venir a Cataluña?* Para que mejoramos nuestra vida. Allí vivimos en un pueblo pequeño donde todo es complicado, colegio con solo primaria. Para estudiar secundaria y universidad tiene que ir a la ciudad. El trabajo tampoco... Porque trabajamos en el campo. Por eso preferimos venir aquí…. Por eso siempre quiero un futuro mejor para mis hijos porque nosotros también, bueno no nos falta comer ni nada en el pueblo, pero nos falta muchas cosas, por ejemplo, estudiar. La vida en el pueblo y en la ciudad no son igual. Y en Marruecos y aquí tampoco son iguales. (A01)	*Why did you decide to come to Catalonia?* To better our lives. There we live in a small town where everything is complicated, school only primary. To study secondary and university you have to go to the city. The work neither… Because we work in the field. That is why we prefer come here… That is why I want a better future for my children because us too, well we don't lack food or nothing in the town, but we lack a lot of things, for example, study. Life in the town and in the city are not the same. And in Morocco and here not the same.
	Career opportunities	*¿Quién o quiénes tomaron la decisión de emigrar?* Dice que aquí hay la educación, la colegios, la universidad, más mejor que Pakistán. Que la económica está bien. Que hay mucha cosas aprendes. Por ejemplo, que mi hijo quiere jugar futbol, que hay más plataforma, más maneras de cumplir. En mi país hay muy poco oportunidad. En ese caso ellos utilizar bien, un día cumplir sueño que ellos quieren. (A17)	Who made the decision to emigrate? Say that here are education, schools, university, better than Pakistan. That the economy is good. That there are many things learn. For example, that my son wants to play soccer, that there is more opportunity, more ways to accomplish. In my country there are few opportunities. In this case they use good, one day accomplish their dreams they want.
	Overall lifestyle	Positive is that when they compare themselves to their cousins in Pakistan, they think they are in better position, whenever, the health system and schooling system and all the lifestyle here in Spain, they think they are positive, they took it in a positive way. (A05)	
	Female Freedoms	Yo siempre quiero que ellos estudian mucho... Yo no quiero que rápido casarse. Yo quiero que primero estudia mucho… Por eso yo quiero que mi niñas aquí estudia bien. Yo quiero y mi marido también. A veces de mi país, no todo, a veces no dejan para clase, para actividades. Pero mi marido siempre me dice que si, tu puedes hacer clase de castellano. Él me deja para grupo de plataforma, yo voy, él no dice nada. Yo contenta. No puedo hablar muy bien pero quiero aprender. (A13)	I always want that they study a lot… I don't want them marry fast. I want them study a lot… That's why I want my girls here study good. I want and my husband too. Sometimes from my country, not all, sometimes don't let them class, for activities. But my husband always tell me, you can do Spanish class. He lets me for platform group, I go, he says nothing. I happy. I can't speak well but I want to learn.
	Development	*¿Cómo te imaginaste tu vida acá antes de llegar?* Pues me imaginaba como las calles cuando era otoño que caían las hojas en el suelo. Que iba a ser como el futuro. Muy moderno. *¿Y te ha parecido así?* Si, me parece moderno. Hay más recursos. (C04)	*How did you imagine your life here before moving?* Well I imagined like the streets when it was autumn that the leaves fell on the ground. That it would be like the future. Very modern. *Has it seemed like that?* Yes, it seems modern. There's more resources.

	Daily hassles	Living in Europe is a dream come true. But things are not too much good as I was thinking. But they are not too bad. As people said that Europe is this this this. But nothing is like that. You have to struggle. Life is struggle. But you have to struggle when you came in some new place. You have different challenges. You have to face and you have to tackle these challenges. (A05)	
Negative Contrast	Lack of extended family	*¿Se han cumplido las expectativas que tenía sobre su vida aquí?* Bueno siempre no vas a cumplir todas las cosas. Porque si estas extranjera, no sé, falta la familia, falta cariño. Aunque tienes toda, tu hijo, tu marido, tu casa. Pero siempre falta el cariño de mi familia. (A12)	*Have your expectations about your life here been fulfilled?* Well always you won't accomplish everything. Because if you are foreign, I don't know, missing family, missing affection. Even if you have everything, your son, your husband, your house. But always missing affection from my family.
	Greater dependence on family unit	Aquí hay, me parece que aquí hay en España, ellos no tenemos una familia aparte de mi hijos y esposa. Que hay amigos y amigas. Pero no [muffled], la familia un grupo que ellos hablar y hay problemas que hay mucha cosas que hablar. (A17)	Here, I think here in Spain, they don't have a family apart from my children and my wife. There are friends. But no [muffled], the family a group that they talk and there are problems that there's a lot of things to talk.
	Smaller homes	*¿Hay algo que extrañes de Pakistán?* Si, la familia. Mi casa. Aquí son pisos. Pero en Pakistán son casas que son como grandes. Aquí un piso es muy pequeño. Extraño mi casa, también la comida de Pakistán, bueno la hace mi madre aquí. La casa, allí como que he nacido en mi país desde pequeña yo vivía en esta casa. (C16)	Is there something you miss about Pakistan? Yes, the family. My house. Here there are apartments. But in Pakistan there are houses than are big. Here an apartment is very small. I miss my house, also the food in Pakistan, well my mother makes it here. The house, there where I was born since I was little I live in this house.
	Higher cost of living	*¿Se han cumplido las expectativas que tenía sobre su vida aquí?* Estaba contenta cuando he venido. Cuánto quiero venir, estaba contenta mucho. Pero cuando he venido aquí, después he sufrido mucho. Tengo que trabajar. Si no trabajas no comes. Allí puede vivir con tu hermanos, con tu padres, juntos, aquí no. Hasta tu hermanos no puedes vivir con ellos, aquí muy diferente. Diferente cuando he venido. Y al final cuando he venido digo a mi madre porque ha venido aquí, las casa muy pequeñas. Porque pequeñas las casas, Marruecos muy grande las casas. (A10)	*Have your expectations about your life here been fulfilled?* I was happy when I have come. How much I want to come, I was very happy. But when I have come here, then I have suffered a lot. I have to work. If you don't work you don't eat. There you can live with your siblings, your parents, together, not here. Even your siblings you can't live with them, here very different. Different when I have come. And finally when I came I tell my mother why have I come here, the houses are very small. Because houses small, Morocco very big houses. (A10)
	Lack of Religious festivals	*Do your children talk about Pakistan?* Yes. *Do they miss it?* Yes. They do miss it. Many times, when there are festivals, when there are cultural or religious celebrations, festivals… it is the time they miss it a lot…they recall… they have nostalgia about Pakistan. (A05)	

Because the parents were the ones who made the decision to migrate, who weighed the migratory drivers and costs, they are the ones who formed expectations of the betterment of their

lives. These expectations were either met or not met. This framed the way they reported their valuations of their postmigratory experiences, such as if they feel like their expectations were met, they felt gratitude, for the fulfilment of their hopes, and even negative experiences were viewed through the lens of being in Badalona as being an overall positive experience, and one negative experience was an outlier or a small price to pay.

The comparisons for adults speak to their expectations in undertaking a migration, many of the statements about negative contrasts were unexpected downsides of migrating. Some were unexpected standalones, such as the size of the houses. Some were in direct opposition to their migration drivers, such as the difficulty in finding a profitable job, which was more disappointing than the prior element because it motivated their migration, whereas they did not migrate to live in a bigger house. Therefore, the disappointment at the difficulty of finding better economic opportunities was an emotion described as a greater negative experience, labeled in analysis as disillusionment by their descriptions.

Identifying increased granularity of the emotional spectrum of parent migrants was easier due to their direct mention or descriptions of said emotions (see Appendix D). Whereas children described the spaces in which they felt comfortable or that they wished to avoid with stories of positive or negative experiences therein, thus their emotions were categorized under safe and unsafe labels.

Children's comparisons to their country of origin were also less detailed due to the little time they'd spent there, and their experiences of Sant Roc were more positive as they did not struggle as much with the language barrier or cultural differences.

An element that tainted all participants' experience of their environment was the pandemic. It did not arise in the comparisons. None of the participants directly contrasted their country of

origin's handling of the COVID-19 pandemic with Spain's, even those that migrated after the pandemic had begun. However, many participants did contrast the medical resources available to them in Spain due to cancers in the family, which affected four of the 15 families in the study, another family struggled with asthma, and two with psychiatric diagnoses. These families did express the safety they felt and gratitude at having been able to migrate before they experienced these health problems.

In addition, of all the migratory experiences mentioned in section 4.3.2, not all of them emerged in the comparisons, for example, none of the participants made statements about the experiences of racism being unique to Spain and something that detracted from the enjoyment of their migration, even though they did not experience racism in their country of origin.

Spaces in the Routine

Children's emotional responses focused more on the present state of their lives, and less on a reflection of their family's migration. An analysis of the daily schedules of children revealed a pattern in their routines, children's main experiences revolved around four main environments where they interacted with specific and distinct groups of people. Children moved between these different areas in their day-to-day: school, the Ateneu foundation, home, and their surrounding neighborhood. For each space they reported positive or negative experiences with the community that inhabited that space, that made that space feel like a space to visit or conversely that made them wish to avoid the space due to negative experiences.

The following table summarizes the way each term was used and how the codes that emerged about each space were classified according to the emotions provoked by the relationships

in each space. In addition, it clarifies which emotional descriptions the children made that were

labeled with the terms safe and unsafe (the full matrix can be found in Appendix D).

Table 22

Child Response Matrix Terms Defined

Dimension	Area	Code
Safe: This was the umbrella term for positive emotions related by children about the relationships they encountered in the principal areas of their life representing concepts such as feelings of inclusion, comradery, support, warmth, a sense of belonging, connection, etc.	**Home**: This term was used for the space children inhabit with their family, parents, or guardian. This includes the apartment or room the family rents, the place where they sleep, and their address.	**Emotionally available parents**: This code was for relationships with parents where the children felt like they could easily talk to their parents, share their feelings and difficulties, go to them for help with problems or obstacles such as bullying or homework because their parents were open to communication and physically available to spend time with them on weekends, vacations, and/or after school.
	School: This space category was used for the school children attended. All the children in the sample went to public school in the neighborhood or the neighboring neighborhood.	**Teacher support**: This code described positive interactions between children and their teachers, where children expressed an emotional connection to their teacher, positive regard, and feelings that they could find support from them in dealing with obstacles such as bullying or academic challenges.
		Peer relationships: This code was used for the positive connections migrant children made at school with other children of similar ages, their feelings of friendliness, a sense of belonging, developing friendships, and reports of having a best friend.
	Neighborhood: This designated space was used for the geographic area of the neighborhood of Sant Roc. In practical terms it covered the spaces between the other three spaces, such as the walk to school, the grocery store, the park by their house, the streets, and the leisure areas.	**Positive contrast with country of origin:** This code was used for the statements children made comparing their life in Sant Roc to their life in their country of origin and drew conclusions that they had a better quality of life in their country of destination due to better resources, better opportunities or other.
	Ateneu: This term was used for the building and activities outside the main building covered by the children's participation and attendance with the Fundació Ateneu Sant Roc.	**Community support**: This code covered the statements children made expressing feelings of support from the multidimensional aid and varied activities offered by the foundation such as homework aid, language courses, practical financial support, and play based activities.
Unsafe: This was the umbrella term for negative emotions reported by children about the relationships they encountered in the principal areas of their life representing concepts such as feelings of isolation, rejection, loneliness, conflict, etc.	**Home**: This term was used for the space children inhabit with their family, parents, or guardian. This includes the apartment or room the family rents, the place where they sleep, and their address.	**Unavailable parents**: This code comprises the negative statements children made about their interactions at home with their parents, such as feelings of a distant relationship, inability to communicate with them, or lack of shared time due to their busy schedules.
		Economic adversities: This code summarizes the statements children made regarding the stress, discomfort, or fear about their family's socioeconomic status and the experience of living in poverty as a migrant.

		Fractured family unit: This code covered children's experiences with family separation due to migration circumstances with a parent or an extended family member with whom the child was close, and parental separation such as divorce or abandonment by a parent.
	School: This space category was used for the school children attended. All the children in the sample went to public school in the neighborhood or the neighboring neighborhood.	**Prejudicial bullying**: This code covered experiences the children related about bullying they experienced by peers at school concerning aspects such as their race or culture.
		Peer conflict: This code covered experienced the children shared about conflict with their peers, such as friends' betrayal or the end of friendships they had considered important and close.
		Academic demands: This code covered children's reports of struggling at school with their curriculum and classes due to various reasons such as language barriers, the difference in the curriculum compared to their country of origin or entering a new school year and struggling with the new level.
	Neighborhood: This designated space was used for the geographic area of the neighborhood of Sant Roc. In practical terms it covered the spaces between the other three spaces, such as the walk to school, the grocery store, the park by their house, the streets, and the leisure areas.	**Negative contrast with country of origin**: This code was used for the statements children made comparing their life in Sant Roc to their life in their country of origin and drew conclusions that they had a better quality of life in their country of origin due to larger living spaces, proximity to family, or other, and were thus frustrated with their current situation and nostalgic for their homeland.
		Perceived Racism: This code compiled the experiences children related of experiences of racism in their public spaces such as parks, public transportation, or on the street that made them feel unsafe and like they did not belong in their country of destination.
	Ateneu: This term was used for the building and activities outside the main building covered by the children's participation and attendance with the Fundació Ateneu Sant Roc.	**Loss of community**: This code summarized statements about feelings of loss of valuable relationships due to the structuring of age groups and group activities in the Ateneu foundation.

Through focusing on the emotions and emotion-related language in connection with their physical environment and their experiences with the people they encountered in these spaces, it became apparent that children tended to speak of certain spaces more positively than others. Those spaces were their favorite moments of the day, the spaces in which their emotion-related language was on the positive end of the spectrum. Children reported clear preferences of certain spaces over others, spaces that they enjoyed inhabiting versus the spaces they wished to avoid based on the connection they felt to the people in these spaces, as opposed to the loneliness or rejection experienced in the others. The four main spaces revealed the interactions that made the space feel safe or unsafe. As seen in the Figure below, the themes which emerged from the children's reports of each space.

Figure 19

Circumstances Reported by Children Causing Positive or Negative Emotions
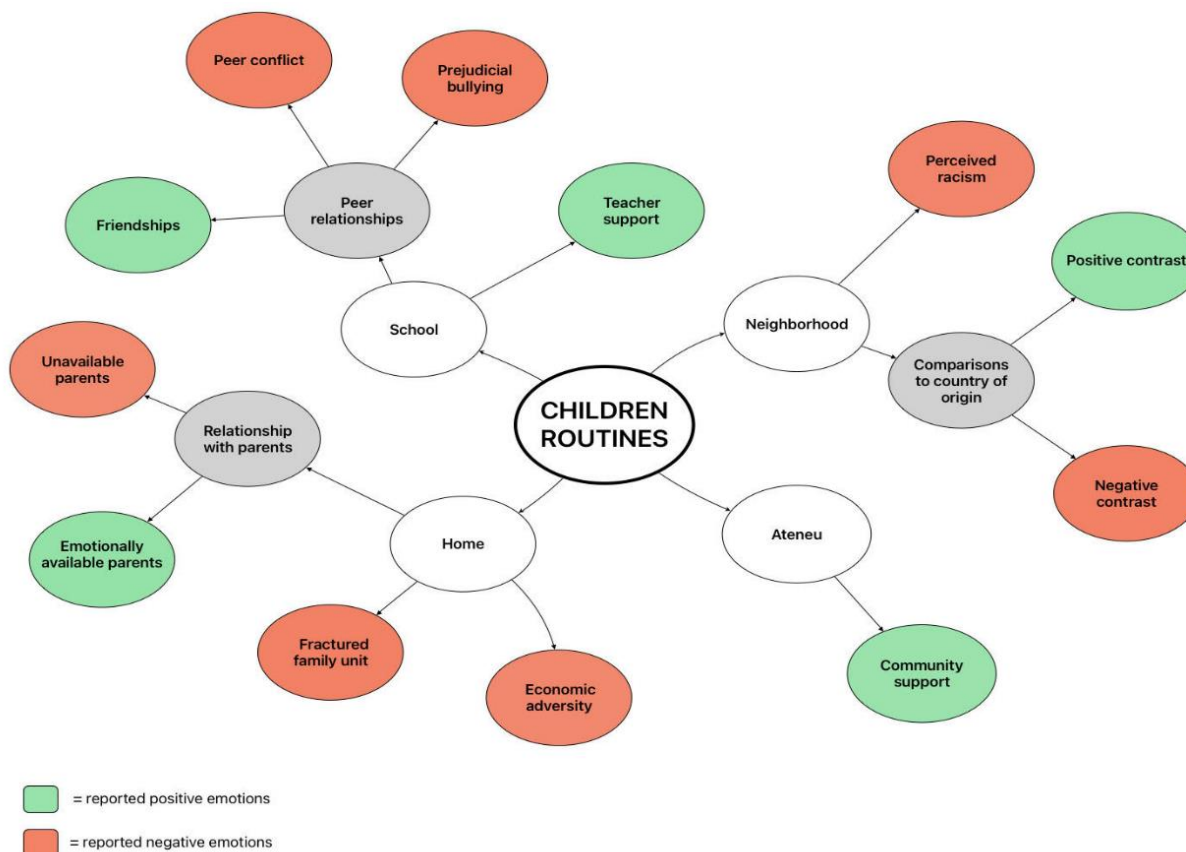
The four spaces had mixed statements transversely across all the children, for example, for one child their home was spoken of with mainly positive statements, whereas for another child they reported mostly negative emotions regarding their home. However, each assessment was based on the experience of the same relationship type. For one child their home felt like a safe environment in which they enjoyed spending time due to a close relationship with their parents, whereas for another child they felt unable to openly communicate with parents and preferred to avoid being home because they did not feel safe in said space.

The home space designated the apartment where children lived with their family, which included a parent or parents, siblings, stepparents, extended family, friends of their parents, and

roommates. The literature review concluded that children's relationships with their parents encompassed the most important risk or protective factors to their adaptation and overall well-being. Thus, it was important to start with this space as the central point in children's routine, from which they moved out to the other spaces, and as the space where children back to at the end of the day, and to identify the principal emotions reported about it.

After compiling all the emotion-related statements about the home space, two main themes emerged, children's relationship with their parents, which had both positive and negative emotion statements, and the family's socioeconomic status, which had only negative emotion statements. Children's relationship with their parents was categorized according to positive or negative statements. The positive statement children reported were labeled by the openness and availability of their parents to communicate with their children about anything from hobbies to difficult emotions. Children's negative statements were labeled according to the reported unavailability of their parents due to busy work schedules or lack of openness to discuss their children's emotions or help them through challenges.

The space *school* was where most migrant children met peers, which as the children got older became more important relationships, essential to their socialization and development. However, for this sample the children also had the Ateneu as a place to interact with other children their age. Additionally, the pandemic removed them from the physical school space for a few months. Even so, school was one of the spaces in which they spent the most time during the day, therefore the quality of their interactions was a significant factor in their wellbeing. Their relation to other students and teachers were the primary factors in feelings of safety therein, but also their handling of the academic demands and the local languages were a secondary factor.

The space included in label *neighborhood* covered the space between the other three spaces which the children regularly inhabited. Children moved through their neighborhood such as in morning walks from their house to their school, when they played in the public parks, took the bus, or ran errands like grocery shopping with their mothers. The main interactions in these spaces were encounters not with friends or family they encounter regularly and from whom they know what to expect, but it was the space in which they interacted with strangers. Thus, the feelings of safety or unsafety from being surrounded by unknown people were more dependent on the country of destination's cultural attitude towards migrants.

Finally, the Ateneu was a space that for the children was a multifaceted source of support. The main reports from families were positive emotions in associations with the relationships built there with other migrants and with staff and volunteers, as well as the practical aid offered.

Protective and Risk Factors

The following table combines the matrixes with the parents' and children's responses (in Appendix D) in order to tie the positive emotions with protective factors and the negative emotions to risk factors to their wellbeing and postmigration adaptation.

Table 23

Summary of Codes and Themes related to Identified Risk and Protective Factors

Summary	Participants	Dimension	Category	Code
Protective Factors	Children	Safe	Home School Neighborhood Ateneu	Emotionally available parents Teacher support Peer relationships Positive contrast with country of origin Community support
	Adults	Hope Gratitude	Better future	Academic opportunity Female equality

		Contentment	Overcoming migration obstacles Benefits of host country	Career opportunity Family reunification Medical resources Community Support (Ateneu) Cultural Integration Friendships like family Self-sacrificial attitude
Risk Factors	Children	Unsafe	Home School Neighborhood	Unavailable parents Economic adversities Fractured family unit Prejudicial bullying Peer conflict Academic demands Negative contrast with country of origin Perceived Racism Loss of community
	Adults	Frustration Anxiety Loneliness	Struggling with migratory hassles Negotiating disillusionment Managing unexpected adversity Enduring sudden isolation	Bureaucratic obstacles Experiences of racism Difficulty adapting Language barriers False expectations Financial difficulties Pandemic Unsafe neighborhood Health problems Family separation COVID Quarantine Difficulty making friends

Among the four main spaces analyzed as part of children's daily lives, the Ateneu was the space that had the most positive emotions associated with it and the least negative experiences or interactions reported. Due to their longstanding presence in the community, the Ateneu has identified the principal ways of helping migrant families. The Ateneu often filled the role of and felt much like a family space. It served as a space for comfort, connection, and support – elements that had been commonly offered by the family, but the extended family was specifically something that migrant families had lost and left behind. An intrinsic characteristic experience of migration was the loss of relationships, community, and relational support systems. Thus, the Ateneu's role as a substitute for some of the roles played by relationships lost was a major factor in children and families' lives of positive and safe emotions. And consequently, as a space where migrant families

could connect and interact, it was also a space where they could form new relationships and play the role of families for each other going forward.

The emotions around the home families shared were more complex, leaning towards the negative rather than positive. A few children reported they had close relationships with parents, but most families did not report that intimacy and proximity. But rather their dynamics were complicated by work hours, language and cultural barriers, family separation, and poverty. Their parents' focus was more on their children's futures than intrafamily relationships.

The reports of the relationships at school for children were filled with reports of bullying and discrimination, producing fear, isolation, and anxiety. Teachers and parents could intervene to provide some protection, but it was really other friendships and supportive peers that changed children's feelings of safety at school.

Finally, the emotions reported around the neighborhood were of fear from the crime rates and experiences of racism. The children had some areas in Sant Roc they enjoyed visiting, primarily the main park of the neighborhood. But the parents also had fears of allowing them to remain in those spaces unsupervised. In addition, the general feelings about the types of buildings, apartments, and living spaces in the area were generally negative, with annoyance at the cramped and small spaces of social housing and the cheaper building built in the neighborhood, and the lack of protection by the police of the spaces of the neighborhood.

The purpose of analyzing participants' responses was to gather emotion-coded data from their statements to identify what elements in their daily lives were producing positive or negative emotions and thus could present a risk or protective factor to their well-being in general and to their adaptation and integration in their environment as migrants.

Categorizing the factors by the spaces under which the children routinely encountered their communities and social environments. The more time children spent in spaces in which they felt unsafe, the more likely these interactions were to affect their development and wellbeing. In order to identify what spaces the children felt safe in, due to the main relationships and interactions they had within that space was important to identify the protective factors that made up their support system.

Because children spent significant amounts of time in each of these four areas, they were considered the sources of the main risk and protective factors in their lives. Their experiences in these spaces defined the environmental impact, the primary social community of support or rejection, and the main source of formal, informal, and non-formal education (academic, lingual, social, religious, cultural, emotional, etc.).

Their neighborhood and their schools were spaces with many migrant families, where the migrant identity was either something shared and valued and to compare their experiences to the results of the global experiences of migrants identified in the literature review. This sample's unique difference to other migrant samples was that of attending the Ateneu foundation which emerged as a significant protective factor, compensating for many of the risk factors migrant children experienced in the other three spaces. In the following section these protective and risk factors will be further discussed in connection to factors identified in previous research and what this contributed to create a comprehensive list of factors affecting migrant families.

4.4 Discussion

4.4.1 Introduction

This study explored migrant parents' and children's experiences postmigration in the neighborhood of Sant Roc. This chapter will discuss the psychological impact of their family's migration, of living in this area, and the data collected about the pandemic since this research coincided with the COVID-19 pandemic.

The key findings suggest that although these families migrated in search for a better life, they found a complex set of circumstances that affect them positively and negatively daily. They have found protective factors to their mental health compared with the circumstances they had in their country of origin, and risk factors to their mental health that complicate their adaptation and integration process. Parents and children reported high levels of stress due to difficult experiences associated with their migrant identity and their social environments.

The discussion chapter intends to answer the three research questions set out in the introduction:

1. What is the current emotional experience of migrant families in Sant Roc?

2. What are the protective and risk factors for children of migrant families, and in particular the role of the Fundació Ateneu Sant Roc?

3. How does a family's migration trajectory impact a child's psychological health?

The themes that were identified responded to the questions listed above in different ways, thus they will be discussed from these different angles. Thus, themes will be divided into three

sections, the first section will include the results relating to the experiences the participants reported as their experiences associated with being migrants in a migrant neighborhood. The second section will cover the elements that arose as protective and risk factors for children and their families, including a highlighting of the unique protective role of the Ateneu foundation. And finally, the third section will discuss the psychological aspects of migration, their mental health, and their adaptation process.

Objective 1: Migratory Experiences

This research explored the experiences migrant families in Badalona have had in relation to their migration, specifically after arriving and settling down in Sant Roc. Through semi-structured interviews the stories of these families were conveyed, particularly those which were of concern to them in the present. The findings suggest that although their arrival involved multiple obstacles, hassles, and difficulties, the families did not regret that migration. Within the sample interviewed most of the reported migratory experiences were consistent with migratory experiences reported by migrants in other studies analyzed in Study I and with the problems highlighted in the theoretical framework. Issues that reported by participants that had not arisen as points of concern for migrants in previous research were the freedoms of women as a motivator or driver for migration, and obviously the difficulties stemming from the COVID-19 pandemic.

Much of the data compiled during interviews was consistent with that of other studies regarding what are common migrant experiences postmigration, such as struggling with a low socioeconomic status, experiencing hassles with their chosen migration method, struggling to learn local languages and navigate the space due to the language barrier, and finally, experiencing

physical and verbal racial attacks. However, because this sample had an uneven gender distribution, favoring female voices unlike most migrant samples which skew male, the description of their experiences added the perspective of female freedoms as a major benefit in their lives solely due to having migrated. In addition, the interviews were conducted during the COVID-19 pandemic, so data about migrant experience through this crisis emerged unplanned.

The migratory experience is one full of issues from small to large, such as from daily hassles to potential traumas. However, the surprising valuation migrants reported of their migration, despite not yielding the consequences they intended for the effort of migration, was still hope, gratitude, and contentment. Many participants after reporting all the things that their family had struggled with since arriving, such as significant bureaucratic delays, racial aggression, and economic problems, still made a surprising conclusion of satisfaction with their decision to migrate.

Objective 2: Protective and Risk Factors

The second question this dissertation sought to answer was what the protective and risk factors for children of migrant families were. Because this sample had the unique support of the Ateneu foundation, it was important to identify if it served as a protective factor as it was its intended function. The baseline of previously identified risk and protective factors were gathered in Study I through conducting a review of the literature, a list of factors to which compare the factors gathered in Study II.

Firstly, the premigratory factors of children's country of origin were significant influences on the potential development of trauma (exposure to war, deaths in the family, poverty, hunger,

witnessing violence and sexual violence). Secondly, postmigratory difficulties can create hurdles to adaptation affecting their mental health (experiences of racism, educational strain, bureaucratic obstacles, etc.). However, because many people migrate due to fleeing dangerous political and economic circumstances, the postmigratory feelings of hope, gratitude, freedom, and safety greatly influenced future positive mental health. But most importantly, the quality of children's relationships in the country of destination were the most significant factors to their wellbeing (positive dynamics with their parents, forming friendships with peers, support from their teachers, and not experiencing discrimination) (Salazar Andrade et al., 2023). Migrant wellbeing, current and predictive, can be ascertained through an assessment of their social resources (Prilleltensky, 2008).

These elements were classified into the two categories - risk and protective factors, which then were the basis of the questions of the interview guide developed for Study II to compare that sample's responses and identify if there were any factors that did not apply or additional ones that did not emerge in the review of the current literature. The themes identified as risk and protective factors are here deconstructed into subfactors and discussed.

Similarly, to the risk and protective factors identified in the scoping review, the relational factors were highly significant. The particularity of this population was the additional relational support found in the Ateneu, both in friendships with peers and mentorships with the adult volunteers and employees for the children. For adults, friendships with other parents attending classes and the friendships and additional support of the volunteers and employees. Reports in this sample confirmed assumptions that external relational supports to the family serve as protective factors to the family. Similarly, difficult, conflictive, and rejecting social interactions were risk factors to migrants' mental health, by isolating them, removing social support, and inciting feelings

that they are unwelcome in the spaces that they were meaning to inhabit as their new country, which after rejection they try to avoid. Significantly, the Ateneu foundation emerged as a safe space for children accumulating multiple situations of high risk, a by-product of their condition as a member of a migrant family and of settling in a dangerous neighborhood.

Objective 3: Psychological Impact of Migration

This study explored the psychological impact of being a migrant family in the neighborhood of Sant Roc in Catalonia. Through open-ended questions about their stories, these families conveyed struggles both practical and emotional, as well as the feelings of gratitude and relief at the opportunity to live in the greater Barcelona area. Themes that answered the third objective focused on discussing the results through the lens of previous research into the psychological impact of migration, such as symptoms that referred to their mental health, how their experiences impact them according to adaptation and acculturation frameworks.

Findings suggest that some of the difficulties the families experienced were having long-term effects on the members. According to previously established frameworks for migrant wellbeing and mental health, the migrants in this sample were experiencing obstacles to adaptation. The responses gathered suggested that some children were struggling with symptoms of depression, anxiety, and eating disorders in accordance with previous research, specifically, the most significant symptoms were associated with the pandemic isolation, bullying at school, and parental unavailability. In addition, the stressful life events the parents went through in migration were passed on to their children through family dynamics. The psychological experience of

migration in turn affects their capacity for adaptation for greater ease or a complicated adaptation process.

The three elements that make up adaptation (*acculturation* in Berry's preferred terminology) are psychological, economic, and sociocultural (Berry, 2008), in this sense, the concept of integration is a rounded perspective on adaptation and can be evaluated by asking migrants about the postmigratory state of these three elements in their lives. The study thus asked migrants about these three aspects of their experience, in addition to questions where they compared their lives in their country of origin with their destination, of which the majority of comparisons reflected a positive contrast in favor of Spain.

Within John Berry's four types of migrant adaptation (Berry, 2008), he identified integration, in other words the cultural negotiation of maintaining the culture of origin and adding the local culture, the best type of adaptation for positive mental health outcomes postmigration. Thus, it was an important part of the study to identify families' attitudes towards their own culture and the local Catalonian culture, as well as the freedom they felt to participate in the expressions of both cultures.

4.4.2 Migration Method

Objective 1

The experiences of the migration journey were surprisingly similar for all the families. There seems to be a general cultural assumption that most families migrate together, or parents migrate first and have second-generation children postmigration. However, one of the common experiences in this sample was family transnationality during their migration. Transnational family

configurations were often an in-between step before family reunification (Eremenko & González-Ferrer, 2018). In this study many families lived through a time period where they lived in separate countries.

The method of migration was described under five stages, the exit from the country of origin, the arrival of the primary migrating member, the bureaucratic process of the initial member, the bringing over of the remaining family, and finally the bureaucratic process of the secondary migrating members. Their exit hinged on their making the decision based on economic drivers. Previous research identified family migration as a type of labor migration, where the initial driver is a better job for the primary migrating member (De Haas, 2019). The participants in this study did not describe government-based violence in the country of origin as a motivator for leaving, thus they were not legally classified as refugees upon entry. However, a few adult women did describe family violence as a motivator for emigrating to escape abuse.[51]

The stories families shared of their migration were different depending on the origin from where participants migrated. Those migrating from Latin America often mothers migrated first, leaving their children behind with extended family and then bringing them to Spain when they had found saved sufficient income and had a stable apartment to bring them to. Those migrating from Morocco and Pakistan had the father migrate first, often entering Spain undocumented or through irregular means, and then bringing his family over through family reunification once he had processed his own papers. The families from multiple origins described difficulty and delays in the paperwork processing stage of their arrival, which extended the time the family spent separated, as previous research warned about the dangers of family transnationality migration processes (Eremenko & González-Ferrer, 2018). Thus, the third and fifth stages of migration for families

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[51] Discussed in further detail in section 4.4.9.

were described as stressors more than border crossings.[52] Because bureaucratic processes delayed the reunification of family members, some families reported spending anywhere from a few months apart to decades. Restrictive policies were identified in the literature as contributing to longer separations (Kraler & Kofman, 2009; Pedone et al., 2012).

The deciding members weighed the risks and benefits of migration and the modality of migration (Bryceson, 2019; Pedone et al., 2012). Parents decided the economic benefits of migrating in the long-term as worth spending a period of separation from their family, children were not reported to be part of the decision. Although there may be a lack of awareness as to the extent of the emotional consequences of separation. Governments have not prioritized maintaining the family together, making it difficult for families to do so even if it was their preferred path to stay together (Enchautegui & Menjívar, 2015; Hong, 2014). The findings of this study suggest that family migration to Sant Roc does not match what policies and research define as family migration, and policies need to be put in place to prioritize keeping the family together.

Periods of transnationality for this sample reported two separations from significant caregivers. The first, where one or both parents migrate, leaving the child behind with one parent and extended family. Then the second separation, where the child migrates to join the primary migrating parent and leaves behind the extended family with whom they had been residing.

For two parent families, this was the father migrating to first find a job, an apartment, and figure out the bureaucratic process, and then later the mother and the children joined him. This placed stress on their marriage, an excess of responsibility on the mother in the country of origin who depended on extended family to be able to manage day-to-day responsibilities and raise the

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[52] In Catalonia, migrant children do not need to have identification paperwork to be able to attend school, so these delays did not affect their education. But they reported it did delay their ability to apply for government funded housing or numerous family aid (further discussed in section 4.4.11).

children they had had. Moreover, children also felt stress from prolonged separation from one parent. Then when the child migrated with their mother, they had to leave their extended family behind.

In single parent families, the mother migrated and left children behind with extended family (between a year and 10 years). The bonds they created with the extended family who cared for them while they awaited reunification became that of attachment to primary caregivers. Who they then had to leave behind, such as grandparents, aunts, and cousins, and reported missing significantly postmigration, without expectation of reunification as they had with their parents.

An additional difficulty analyzing the experience of a transnational family is the narrow definition that does not encompass the real-world experiences of transnationality. Accepted definitions include "the intention of reuniting through migration" as an element characterizing the transnational family (Shih, 2016). However, this was not always the case, particularly with the separation of extended family.[53] Or, for example, in cases of divorce or separation among the parents, the children lived in a different nation than one of their parents who had no intention of migrating to join them, but they should still be classified as a transnational family[54].

Objective 2

The data collected from this study suggests these separations could be more impactful and significant issues than the current literature identifies. Among the studies analyzed in the scoping review, no study looked into the psychological impact of living as a migrant transnational family

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[53] Some cultures' definition of family is not just the unit of parents and children but includes the extended family (Kraler & Kofman, 2009).

[54] See the case of C13 whose parents are separated, she lived with her father in Peru while her mother arranged for her arrival in Spain, but her father has no intention of migrating later to join her. C13 expressed distress at the separation from her father. Their situation as a transnational family is not circumstantial but permanent.

or the potential trauma that could be incurred by the children. Family separation at the border or when fleeing the country of origin has been evaluated in refugee populations as a risk factor to children's mental health (Posselt et al., 2015; Spaas et al., 2022). The distinction between refugee and labor migrant is not clear cut, the decision to leave a child behind was not made unless they had no other choice, in general it is considered refugees leave because they have no option to stay, and migrants have more liberty to make said choices. Agency is a key part of the decision-making process to evaluate the necessity for migration (Raleigh, 2011). Agency should include more than just the decision to migrate but the accompanying circumstances around that migration.

Furthermore, family reunification, the chosen method of migration for families in this study, designates the legal process (Kofman, et al., 2022), but also describes the emotional process families have to undergo once the other members join the primary migrating member. Reunification was described as emotionally difficult, in reconnecting both between spouses and between the parent and the child. Families kept in touch thanks to technology during the wait (Evergeti & Ryan, 2011). However, they reported difficulty reconnecting once they lived again in the same space, particularly those who had to spend more time apart. The reunification process is not well-researched and needs further study.

The issue of family transnationality emerged as a risk factor because it included separation from extended family, spending prolonged periods without one or both parents, and emotional reunification with a parent the child has been separated from.

Objective 3

Separation from primary caregivers was hurtful to children. This was doubly so for children who have a first separation from their parent who migrated first, then they lived with extended

family who they became attached to and then they underwent a second separation when they could finally migrate to join their parents. Migration involves a series of losses, particularly relational losses (Kelly, 2010). For children, processing multiple losses of significant caregiver relationships can be difficult and if unprocessed can be detrimental to their mental health. Further research into how separation periods affect families should be conducted.

4.4.3 Racism

Objective 1

Racially based bullying, violence, and discrimination were reported to be common experiences for this migrant sample. Experiences of racism have been identified in previous research as a part of postmigration around the world, so this was an expected theme (Molnar, 2022). Although migrants from Latin America reported comments about their nationality in public, it was participants from Pakistan and Morocco who reported the more severe experiences. Apart from racial discrimination, they also reported experiencing religious discrimination. Islamophobia has been on the rise in Spain (Corral et al., 2023). The data suggests that racism was a common problem for migrants in this neighborhood that should be paid special attention to, particularly because participants reported it escalated to physical violence and affected their religious liberties. Migrants reported that when they reported these experiences to authorities such as police, they felt unsupported.

Objective 2

Research has shown experiences of racism and discrimination negatively affect migrants'

mental health, particularly children as seen in Study I. Regarding the regularity of racially-based

bullying in schools reported by children, it seems the repeated exposure is a stressor in a space in

which children should be protected. Children reported feeling rejected by their peers due to

characteristics about their physical bodies which they cannot change like the color of their skin,

even if they had been born in Spain and were legally of Spanish citizenship. Racial discrimination

was described as social rejection, affecting their sense of belonging to the group, and their identity

formation (Jia & Liu, 2017), which classify it as a risk factor to children's mental health. While

their parents seemed less bothered by their own experiences because they stemmed from strangers

and not friends, it does not mean that it is not experienced as a significant migratory hassle

(Titzmann & Jugert, 2017), affecting their capacity to integrate with the local culture (Paloma et

al., 2014).

Objective 3

Agency for migrants in a new country is not just about theoretical access to resources like

healthcare, public transportation, utilities, education, social housing, social services, and public

spaces (Hernández-Plaza et al., 2010), but racism can impede this access through cultural attitudes

against them due to their foreign ethnicity. Racism plays a role in the power dynamics between

populations, restricting the ability for migrants to achieve wellbeing depriving them of resources

through structural or cultural barriers (Paloma et al., 2014). In theory, migrants should have access

to public transportation, school, public parks, or even the sidewalk. However, participants in the

sample reported negative comments and even physical violence when they attempted to fill these

spaces in this neighborhood. Even when reaching out to police to enforce their rights to be there,

they felt unsupported. Children similarly reported experiencing this when reaching out to teachers for help dealing with their bullies, occasionally they found support but other times they did not and continued to experience mocking, producing a desire to avoid school altogether. These cultural barriers to spaces seemed to complicate migrants' adaptation by creating perceived barriers from integration, even if they want to engage with the host culture, they felt rejected from it, encouraging them to stay within their own culture, forming migrant bubble communities.

The Ateneu Foundation counteracts these experiences by being a welcoming space. Although migrants felt rejection in their some spaces in their neighborhood by certain populations, such as the Roma people, the Ateneu in contrast has spent decades helping families adapt in Sant Roc.

4.4.4 COVID-19 Pandemic

Objective 1

Although the pandemic was not a unique experience to migrants, it was a significant experience to this migrant sample. Migrants reported job loss, separation from friends, difficulty applying for government aid, sickness, difficulty keeping up with school curriculum, separation from extended family, inability to travel, and inability to engage in usual hobbies because of the pandemic and associated restrictions.

Many migrants had low-wage low-skill jobs that tend to be more vulnerable and less stable, particularly during crises (Corrado & Palumbo, 2022). Adults reported losing their jobs, not getting paid, having their hours cut down, and being unable to perform their jobs because of contagions. Families required external help to get through the economic crisis accompanying the pandemic.

The pandemic created a circumstance where people depended more on technology than on average (Martin-Shields, et al., 2022; Molnar, 2022), requiring skills in navigating technology to communicate with government processes, with family, or with children's schools. Which for migrant families in this sample were skills they lacked due to language barriers where they could not read online text or read in the local languages.

The alternative support systems offered for people during the pandemic were less effective for migrants than in normal times, when they are not particularly effective either. This meant migrants had to depend on the charity of strangers and friends, or the Ateneu. This is an important result to highlight for future crises, applicable to other emergency situations aside from pandemics.

Objective 2

Due to the particular circumstances of the COVID-19 pandemic, the theme of *pandemic isolation* emerged, as an important impact was to migrants' access to their networks of social support. As mentioned prior, all types of relational support are important protective factors, thus the severing or distancing of relationships due to social isolation and quarantining was a significant risk factor.

The pandemic was not a risk factor specific or characteristic to the migratory journey, as it affected the global population, it isolated every person from their communities. But the migrant experience was particular to highlight, because they tend to have less social support than local peers because they had to begin rebuilding social connections postmigration and left multiple significant relationships behind, such as extended family (Samara et al., 2020).

Social distancing impacted relationships in multiple ways according to the reports by participants. By requiring people to stay home, they were removed from spaces in their routine in

which they interacted with significant relationships such as school, the park, work, and the Ateneu foundation. Without being able to see their friends or acquaintances, for both adults and children, they reported feelings of loneliness – a risk factor clearly identified in the scoping review as negatively affecting mental health (Ying et al., 2019).

The pandemic isolation also exacerbated other risk factors identified in Study I, thus it contributed to further complications of several identified under other themes. Isolation separated migrants from informal information channels, in a time where information was more valuable and understanding complicated language around policy or medical procedures was crucial. The isolation also meant they had to provide academic support for their children doing school from home, a support they expressed difficulty providing, unable to rely on teachers or Ateneu staff. Children without social support for academic work struggled more with academic success (Bianchi et al., 2021). Finally, the isolation from outside spaces, confined into the home, meant they relied more heavily on the relationships within the home, with family members. This also exacerbated the risk factor for children with conflictive relationships with parents or stepparents (Lo et al., 2018).

Objective 3

The pandemic affected how migrants lived their postmigration adaptation in how they applied for their legal paperwork, how they put their kids in school, how they worked, how they found where to live, how they learned the local language, and how they learned to navigate the culture. Migratory hassles and loss of social support systems are indicators of complicated adaptation and risk factors to mental health, but the exact effects are still to emerge. Identifying

the psychological impact of the pandemic will be the subject of further research, particularly the long-term effects of deprivation from resources and social isolation.

4.4.5 Language Barriers

Objective 1

Among the experiences reported about being a migrant in Sant Roc, migrants spoke about their struggles navigating a space with two official languages. Many adult migrants tried to learn both but did not achieve proficiency. Particularly the women who had low premigration education levels who had not been taught to write, had a harder time learning new languages. Having a significant spoken and written language barrier made doing certain jobs difficult, helping their children with their homework, applying for paperwork like visas and government aids.

Upon arrival migrants reported setting the goal of developing language proficiency, however, overtime the ability to attend language courses was diminished due to their need to work or raise their children. In addition, they felt discouraged to continue their efforts due to slow improvement results, their explanation of these hurdles was their low levels of education premigration that did not give them intellectual resources and foundation to develop advances skills such as speaking and writing multiple languages.

Overtime migrants adapted strategies to navigate through spaces in languages foreign to them, such as leaning on their children's higher proficiency to translate for them and identifying informal channels such as friends, teachers, and employees at the Ateneu.

Objective 2

Gathered data observed that migrants had substantial struggles with the local languages which was reported as a significant source of stress in their daily lives with multiple practical inconveniences. This result highlights the state of vulnerability migrants are left in – both practically and personally felt – due to the inability to converse, read, or understand complex and even simple Spanish or Catalan.

Language barriers presented as a risk factor for families because it made it more difficult for adults to get stable jobs, well-paying jobs, and high-skill jobs. These jobs were more vulnerable during times of crisis and were sometimes non-legal. For children their parents' language barriers were risk factors to their wellbeing, low education in parents was identified as a risk factor in Study I (Buchanan et al., 2018).

Children's their own language barriers left them vulnerable to bullying (Stevens et al., 2015), to academic failure success (Bianchi et al., 2021), and made it more difficult for them to make friends (Samara et al., 2020), all three of which were risk factors to children's wellbeing. Additionally, children struggled to maintain their family's language of origin, making it harder for them to communicate with their parents and with their extended family, or keep a connection to their family's culture of origin, resulting in assimilation instead of integration (Berry, 2008).

Objective 3

Participants framed the issue of their language struggles as a personal shortcoming, a problem it was their responsibility to overcome, where the local spaces had no responsibility to provide means to meet them at their level. However, the sense of failure in the lack of vocabulary, the heavy accent, and the grammatical errors seemed to influence their self-esteem, sense of

belonging, and hopefulness for improving their career opportunities. They reported the Ateneu's language classes gave them hope for improvement, however, many mothers were unable to continue attending courses until they reached their desired proficiency level, and thus to get the jobs they wanted and integrate with the local culture. Life satisfaction and sense of belonging with the group were important for migrants' self-esteem (Liu & Zhao, 2016) which language barriers directly impacted.

Overwhelmingly, language barriers limited the integration of adults into local culture, of children to their culture of origin, and within families, the connection between parents and children.

4.4.6 Ateneu Support

Objective 1

The research yielded one response common across all participants, the fondness of the connection with the Ateneu foundation, its services, and above all, its employees and volunteers. The question of how this sample's connection with the Ateneu influenced their experience postmigration was essential to this study, as this migrant sample had an additional source of support and community area that most migrants in other studies do not. What migrants reported was support across the board such as with adaptation, with their jobs, with school, with family care, with food, with navigating government systems, with play and recreation, and with the local language. This comprehends all types of migrant struggles. The Ateneu unfortunately could not help them with their experiences of racism and crime in the neighborhood, but it has become a space where these experiences do not occur within the premises and migrants can go there to feel

safe where in other spaces in the neighborhood they do not. Similarly, among the friendships children had, they did not report bullying or fighting with the friends they made at the Ateneu, only regarding those at school.

Objective 2

Thus, the theme of the Ateneu and associated codes were immediately identified in the analysis as a protective factor from the descriptions of the multifaceted aid and social connections found therein. The primary function of the Ateneu was practical aid. They offer language courses for parents and academic support for children, which serves the function of after school care as well. But migrant responses highlighted codes regarding the social connections they made there as the significant experience associated with the Ateneu.

As a space for academic support for children, the Ateneu served a protective function. Academic failures were a common risk factor identified during Study I. The Ateneu provided structured spaces for children to do their homework, with volunteers to provide help academic and language support. For most children, their parents were unable to provide that same support due to low premigratory education levels and low local language proficiency, which were identified as risk factors to children's adaptation in the scoping review. Additionally providing the parents language courses also helped mitigate said risk factor for children.

Although migrant responses highlighted the gratitude for those services, there were many responses that focused on things the Ateneu has contributed to their lives outside essential functions, such as practical support like providing groceries, translating official documents, helping them fight evictions, or guiding them in identification paperwork processes. The Ateneu

became an essential informal informational channel[55]. Because so many migrants congregate in the space, at different stages of their postmigration, the ones ahead in the journey could provide information for those beginning the process, as well as the employees who overtime learned the common hurdles migrants in the area had to face. The families interviewed felt they could always count on receiving clear answers and even help filling, translating, or helping them read (for the women who could not read or write) official paperwork and guidance in filing and following complex bureaucratic systems.

A final important protective function to highlight of the Ateneu was the social and emotional support migrants found there, through friendships with other migrants and friendships with functionaries.

Objective 3

The primary protective functions of the Ateneu were practical and social. The space to congregate as a community and offer multifaceted support. The Ateneu embodies the definition of a third space (Oldenburg, 1982), a concept thought to be essential to people's wellbeing. The physical location of the Ateneu serves as a place that is constantly inhabited during the day where people can stop by at any moment (neutral ground), where participation is not contingent on status or skills (leveler), accessible, and low profile. Additionally, in the community there are regulars, plentiful conversations, and a playful mood. The final eighth criteria described by Zhuang & Lok (2023) is that the place be a "home away from home", which was the exact terminology used by some migrants when describing their experience with the Ateneu functionaries.

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[55] Term in 2.*2.3.2 Cultural Attitudes toward migrants* (Zapata-Barrero, 2008).

4.4.7 Peer Conflict and Bullying

Objective 1

This study observed that peer conflict and bullying were common experiences for children, occurring in spaces such as the park and school. No bullying was reported at the Ateneu foundation despite such long periods of interaction and play with peers. Bullying was defined by children in this study as a public mocking of personal characteristics such as ethnicity, body measurements, language abilities, and physical aggression such as pushing or punching.

In addition to bullying, children described multiple incidents of conflict with peers, where previous friends fought, mocked, or gossiped about them producing feelings of betrayal, rejection, and exclusion. Several children reported losing friends over these incidents.

Both experiences involved rejection by peers, in a pivotal developmental stage where their social context with other children their age is important, and building friendships is important to their wellbeing (Fazel et al., 2012). Thus, these experiences, which are not unique to migrant children, are impactful to migrant children who lack other community support systems such as extended family or social groups they would have had in their country of origin. Many migrant children had relationships with peers severed when they migrated, such as cousins or other children in their family or town their age, and friends from the schools they attended in their countries of origin. Migrant children had to build new friendships with children in their neighborhood and at their public schools.

Objective 2

Peer conflicts and racially based bullying were clear risk factors identified in Study I. The ability to create social relationships in their school was important for academic success (Bianchi et al., 2021). Whereas children who reported bullying in this sample developed the desire to avoid going to school. For migrant children, the sense of belonging to groups, such as classmates, was particularly important (Liu & Zhao, 2016). Bullying and betrayal by friends was experienced as social rejection.

In addition, children reported bullying about their bodies, behavior associated with the development of eating disorders. Their parents reported trying to put them on a diet to help reduce bullying at school which is an additional contributing factor to creating a disordered relationship to their bodies and to food. Because Study I identified eating disorders were more common in local populations than in migrant children (Blázquez et al., 2015), it was surprising for this issue to emerge in multiple responses by children and parents.

Thus, bullying and peer conflict emerged as two risk factors significant to migrant children's mental health, the former was identified in Study I, but the latter was unique to Study II.

Objective 3

As Arslan (2018) described the effects of social exclusion on school children causing school avoidance behaviors such as absenteeism and dropping out, and disengagement with school activities such as with classes or homework, are behaviors associated with a decreased sense of personal safety because of rejection by social communities heavily affects children's mental health (Arslan, 2016; Li & Jiang, 2018). For children, the process of integration is primarily within their schools and peer environments, rejection by the local culture, even if it does not represent the wider

Spanish culture because it was made up of other migrant children, was still a barrier to their adaptation. Much of the framework of integration assumes the culture to which migrants must adapt is the local culture. But migrant poverty encourages congregating in clusters separated from local populations increasing instances of racism and high-crime neighborhoods, making integration all the more difficult (Hernández-Plaza et al., 2010).

4.4.8 Economic Difficulties

Objective 1

All of the migrant families in this study reported dealing with poverty, either through low-wage jobs, loss of a job, and inability to afford basic resources. Families' economic difficulties were directly related to their low premigratory education levels for parents, lack of legal paperwork allowing them to work in regulated industries, and low premigratory economic status. Their primary motivation for migrating was to find a better job, associating better income with improved quality of life (Paloma et al., 2014; Melzer & Muffels, 2017). However, migrants in this sample had not found significant improvements to their economic living conditions, and for some they found their conditions decreased in quality. Their improvements were in other resources available to them in Sant Roc such as education, healthcare, and women's rights, which were unrelated to their income and jobs.

In addition, the economic crisis brought on by the pandemic exacerbated multiple economic difficulties, many parents lost their jobs or had their hours reduced, thus a significant reduction in wages.

Objective 2

Low economic status was a common risk factor to migrant wellbeing (Raleigh, 2011) and adaptation (Seglem et al., 2014; Li & Jiang, 2018). The stress was not just on the parents but also on the children who realized what was happening to their family (Fang et al., 2016). Common sources of support for economic difficulties were not always available to migrants in general because they did not know how to navigate local systems or could not speak the language. And in particular, during the pandemic, the systems collapsed so that even the migrant families who knew how to navigate formal channels did not receive aid. Some families received help from informal sources which helped alleviate some of the stress, such as the Ateneu, landlords, and friends, new social circles can be protective factors from economic difficulties.

Participants reported hopefulness that this issue was just a temporary problem and did not report frustration at their migration nor did they blame it for their economic difficulties. Post traumatic growth was associated with a positive future outlook, life satisfaction, and dispositional optimism (Sleijpen et al., 2016) in previous research. This sample reported positive future outlook of their economic opportunities, and even more so for their children's economic prospects once they graduated.

Objective 3

Participant responses showed that stress over economic difficulties was prevalent among the families. As identified by previous research, including Seglem et al.'s (2014), small inconveniences, irritations, and frustrations on a regular basis can be more detrimental for migrants than the big traumatic events. Economic difficulties presented in daily hassles prior to the pandemic and as larger issues such as access to food during the pandemic. Regular hassles reported

by this sample included difficulties with paying their bills and managing their family budget, managing their work and school schedules as families with children and arranging childcare, and distributing household tasks. Reported difficulties with income and jobs made this sample's ability to integrate difficult, in keeping migrants in a primarily migrant low-income neighborhood, occupying most of their time at work to try and support their family, unable to enjoy the cultural activities offered by the country of destination, and living in unstable government housing. Evaluating this sample's life satisfaction from a purely economic model (Ryan et al., 2008) would yield results of dissatisfaction, unwellness, and unhappiness, yet the results do not reflect that interpretation.

4.4.9 Women's Freedoms

Objective 1

The study delineated that women's freedom acted as a motivator for migration among multiple families. These findings, unexpectedly diverged from prior research, underscored a previously overlooked facet. Historically, migrant movements have been predominantly attributed to the pursuit of enhanced economic prospects, including an income increase and occupational mobility (Raleigh, 2011; Beine et al., 2019). Although previous research identified women experienced wage increase through migration, it attributed it to working in a richer economy (González-Ferrer, 2011a). It was not associated with the rights and freedoms that they experience from leaving a conservative religious culture which is often the cause of female oppression.

Additionally, previous research did not highlight how the family served as a motivator for migration, such as the improvement of their family members' lives, from children's education to

women's freedoms. This was a driver that was satisfied and fulfilled by the migration, unlike economic drivers.

Objective 2

Women in the sample reported gratitude for the rights and freedoms their migration granted them, that they did not experience in their countries of origin. The results in this particular theme highlight high levels of satisfaction, gratitude, and a positive future outlook regarding their migration. Additionally, there were protections for the women did not expect premigration, such as the ability to divorce an abusive partner or receive specialized high-quality healthcare.

Poverty or family abuse restricted women from education, which created obstacles to necessary resources, even postmigration, however, they were working to overcome these challenges, and were hopeful their daughters would not face those barriers. Lack of parental education (Buchanan et al., 2018) was identified as a risk factor, whereas access to jobs was a protective factor (Sánchez-Teruel et al., 2020) for children's mental health. The effects of the restrictions these women lived would impact their children despite their mothers living in freedom in the present, the effects of restrictions lingered postmigration.

Objective 3

Study I identified that stressful premigratory life events were one of the biggest predictors of mental health symptoms postmigration (Cleary et al., 2018). Thus, in Study II it was important to ask participants about their premigration life was like and why they desired to migrate to leave it. For this sample, none of the common premigratory traumas listed in previous research were reported by migrants. Common traumatic experiences were, for example, death of a family

member, environmental catastrophe, witnessing violence, experiencing physical or sexual violence. However, the women in the sample reported escaping a different type of premigration trauma. Women reported abusive experiences with extended family that drove them to emigrate to escape physical and emotional violence.

The medical model (Ryan et al., 2008) was also useful as diagnostic language for those with traumas considered less severe than for example, experiencing war or natural catastrophe. As was the case for many female participants, whose trauma resided in the experiences of oppressive cultures that empowered toxic patriarchal family systems and abusive family dynamics.

The abuse had long-term effects postmigration. Restricting resources can be considered abusive in how it had traumatic consequences. Adult women reported low premigratory education levels, which resulted in psychological distress postmigration. Some of the women in the study could not read or write, many had not finished high school in their country of origin. This made it difficult for them to learn the local language, file paperwork, read letters from the government or school, apply for most jobs, etc.

For the Muslim population interviewed there were responses that expressed a desire to continue to adhere to practices of their religion. This maintained the patriarchal dynamics they experienced in their countries of origin, in contradiction with Spanish law about women's liberties. The women interviewed reported deferring to their husbands or fathers for permission to study or work. All the husbands in the sample agreed to let them pursue these opportunities and even encouraged them. But the cultural requirement for permission from their male head of the household endured postmigration, pointing towards *separation* and not full *integration* in their adaptation process based on their values and priorities (Berry, 2008).

4.4.10 Relationship between Parents and Children

Objective 1

Children described parents being practically unavailable due to long and irregular work schedules, separation and divorce, or because they lived in another country. But they also described an emotional unavailability, where conversations about their emotions, struggles, or daily lives were not something they felt they could have with their parents. Both unavailabilities resulted in the child expressing feelings of loneliness, rejection, and a lack of support.

Parents also expressed regret at the long hours they worked that they could not spend with their children, as well as the difficulty of the period of family separation during migration.

Some children, however, reported good relationships with their parents. These positive reports were characterized by relationships with open communication. Children felt they could tell their parents about their friends, their experiences at school, what they wanted to be when they grew up, etc. These families also emphasized the importance of their routines, weekend activities, and vacations together.

Objective 2

Study I identified that migrant children's mental health is dependent on their parents' mental health (Beiser et al., 2015). Additionally, a conflictive relationship with parents emerged as a risk factor (Lo et al., 2018) and a supportive relationship with parents as a protective factor (Ying et al., 2019). Previous research also identified that conflict with parents increased soon after the migration and decreased with length of stay (Salas-Wright et al., 2016). A few children in this sample reported conflicts with their parents or stepparents. However, more reported distress to the

unavailability of their parents. This was emotional and practical unavailability. Although unavailability may be less severe than conflict, it still presented as a risk factor due to the effects it had on children, producing feelings of loneliness and lack of support. Poverty was associated with parental conflict (Ying et al., 2019), which children reported some of the conflict and the feelings of rejection stemmed from their parents' long work hours, feeling abandoned by their parents' always being at work, including at night and on weekends.

Parental absence also left children open to other influences, such as peer pressure from problematic peers or even adults. C13's case was particularly concerning. Due to her mother's physical and emotional absence, she opened an account on a dating app and started regularly contacting another account claiming to be an older woman who she called her best friend. Isolated and lonely children tend to be a prime target for predators.

Some parents who believed children should not be left alone reported gratitude to the Ateneu for caring for their children while they were at work, because they knew the dangers of children being alone at home or on the street, especially the streets of Sant Roc with high crime and drug availability. Thus, the risk factor of parental unavailability was not only the emotional toll on their children, but other physical dangers such as violence, predators, substances, and other crimes.

Objective 3

Migration affected the relationships between parents and children, and subsequently children's mental health. Families reported the separation of family transnationality affected their intrafamily relationships.

Study I identified maternal education was associated with parental warmth (Ying et al., 2019) and parental illiteracy was associated with anxiety and other mental health symptoms (Yayan & Düken, 2019). Relevant to this sample, was the low education levels of many mothers, and their children's report of emotional distance and unavailability.

Parents deferring to children for help navigating the migration process produced parentification (Stevens et al., 2015) and changed family roles (Posselt et al., 2015).

Finally, effective family support, particularly characterized by good communication with both maternal and paternal figures, was indispensable for adolescents' desire and capacity to uphold a bond with, and engage in the cultural practices of, their heritage (Blanc et al., 2022).

5. Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to gather, describe, and analyze the reported experiences of migrant families in the unique neighborhood of Sant Roc. Their postmigration experience was impacted by their environment and the social spaces therein formed, offering specific risk and protective factors by the communities with which they interact on a routine basis.

The significance of this research extends beyond academia, as it offers valuable insights for policymakers, practitioners, and community leaders involved in supporting migrant families. By understanding the emotional and psychological needs of migrant families and identifying key protective factors, interventions can be tailored to provide targeted support and facilitate smoother transitions for migrant children and their families. Particularly, highlighting the importance of promoting more open centers like the Ateneu Foundation, which provides protection to vulnerable families. Moving forward, it is imperative to continue advocating for policies and programs that prioritize the wellbeing of migrant families and foster inclusive communities. Further research is needed to explore the long-term impacts of migration on family dynamics and the efficacy of various support mechanisms in promoting cultural integration and psychological wellbeing.

This dissertation underscores the importance of acknowledging the emotional journeys of migrant families and working collaboratively to create environments that nurture their wellbeing by supporting their needs and encouraging the knitting of social networks. Integration is the desired outcome of not only the migrant entering a culture but equally of that culture receiving them.

5.1 Limitations

This dissertation had eight limitations which will be discussed in this section related to the study design, the methods, and conclusions that can be drawn from it.

The first limitation was the small number of participants which made generalization and extrapolation difficult. The researcher anticipated that recruitment of participants would be difficult due to the pandemic and the busy schedules of migrant adults who work long and irregular hours, however, for qualitative research small samples are common and was sufficient to achieve data saturation.

A second limitation was also related to how much time could be required of participants. Interview guides cast a wide net of questions covering all aspects of their migration and current lives without sufficient time to delve into each appropriately. Access to funding for future studies can compensate participants for the use of their time and produce more in-depth interviews with a greater number of participants. Given more time a more extensive battery of tests would have been administered to assess their mental health instead of picking out certain questions from standard testing included in the interview guide designed for this study to assess the main indicators of their mental health status.

The third limitation was the unique characteristics of the sample. Random sampling instead of convenience sampling would have yielded more generalizable results however, this unique sample yielded unique results adding to the research in a particular way. This sample had two unique characteristics, living in Sant Roc and attending the Ateneu Foundation. Sant Roc is a neighborhood with particular characteristics, it has a high concentration of people of Roma ethnicity, drug trafficking, crime, and violence. Because of this, the price of housing is lower, and

the migrant families who settle there are usually newly arrived families who cannot afford housing in other neighborhoods, but as soon as their economic situation improves, they usually move to other less conflictive neighborhoods. This limits the extrapolation of the data to other neighborhoods or towns in Catalonia. The second unique characteristic of the sample was their support by the Ateneu Foundation, many migrants do not have the significant support of similar open centers, which made it possible to analyze the role that this type of institution plays in the integration and emotional health of children from migrant families.

The fourth limitation was the language barriers between the researcher and participants. There were communication limitations during the interviews which would have been eased with the presence of a translator. In particular, a translator for Chinese families would have been a valuable resource as the language barrier was greater than anticipated. More pertinent data about the increasing China to Spain migration could have been gathered had the language barrier been able to be overcome.

The fifth limitation of this study was the gender distribution of participants, many more females participated than males, for both adults and children. Although this skew is opposite to most other migrant studies that skew male, a gender balance would have yielded more results about the male experience. The focus on the female experience yielded unique results to this study that were not identified in the literature review and resulted in a unique contribution of this study.

The sixth limitation of the study were the results regarding the risk and protective factors of migrant families, although this study added to the existing list, it cannot yet be called comprehensive and exhaustive, and the factors added in this study should be confirmed and validated by other studies.

The seventh limitation was the age of the children who were too young to conduct in depth analysis of their experience, a long-term study could revisit the interviews with these children down the road after they had grown more and could offer more insight about their experiences.

Finally, the eighth and most important limitation to highlight was how the preparations for the study were complicated by the conditions of the COVID-19 pandemic, yet it yielded unique results about migrant experience during this strange time. The study was intended to gather information about migrants' experience regarding migration as a life impacting experience, however, the pandemic intercepted as a significantly concurrent impacting experience.

5.2 Conclusions

In conclusion, this dissertation has sought to describe the emotional and psychological experiences of migrant families, particularly focusing on children migrating within said families, within the context of Badalona. Through a two-study approach, this research has attempted to fill the gap in existing literature by exploring the lived experiences of migrant families and the factors that influence their adaptation and emotional wellbeing. The sample in this study had a difficult neighborhood environment affecting their postmigratory adaptation, but the additional support of the Ateneu Foundation who have been helping migrant families in the neighborhood for decades.

The findings from the scoping review conducted in Study I revealed a myriad of protective and risk factors impacting the emotional and psychological health of migrant children. From premigratory trauma to postmigratory hassles, and from family dynamics to social resources, it became evident that the adaptation process was multifaceted and influenced by various

interconnected factors. This review provided a foundation for understanding the landscape of migrant children's mental health research and paved the way for a deeper exploration in Study II.

Study II, which consisted of interviews with migrant families in Sant Roc, shed further light on the emotional experiences of these families and elucidated the critical role of their environment, particularly the Ateneu Foundation and the migrant-dense neighborhood of Sant Roc, in their adaptation process. Through thematic analysis, the complex interplay between individual, familial, and environmental factors was explored, highlighting the importance of social resources and community support in mitigating the challenges of migration. The questions that guided the study were the following:

1. What is the current emotional and psychological experience of migrant families in Sant Roc?

2. What are the protective and risk factors for children of migrant families, and in particular the role of the Fundació Ateneu Sant Roc?

3. How does a family's migration trajectory impact a child's psychological and emotional health?

In response to the first question, this study investigated the migration experiences of families settling in Sant Roc. Interviews revealed their challenges, which ranged from bureaucratic hurdles to COVID-19 complications. Despite the hardships, most families expressed satisfaction with their decision to migrate. Their experiences in the routine spaces in which they moved were dependent on the social networks within those spaces. Although their neighborhood was a difficult space to navigate, the Ateneu Foundation served as a safe space. Because the families had young children,

schools were significant places that played a role in their postmigration life, where children were beginning to form social networks and experiencing conflict such as bullying or forming their primary friendships. Finally, their families within their homes were adapting their dynamics to postmigratory life, with cultural differences, family reconfiguration, and reconnecting emotionally after periods of transnationality. The study highlighted gender differences for the families, particularly in reported benefits, such as newfound freedoms for women.

The research aimed to identify protective and risk factors for migrant children in order to respond to the second question, especially in the context of the Ateneu foundation's support. Postmigratory challenges like racism and bureaucratic obstacles, and the quality of relationships in the destination country emerged as significant factors. Although Catalonia has passed multiple policies to receive and respond to the waves of migrant arrivals, many families felt their arrival was complicated by social and systemic obstacles due to the neighborhood's poverty and crime. However, they found welcome and support in the Ateneu Foundation. The final results integrated findings from the scoping review and interviews to explore how social, economic, and academic resources impacted migrant children's wellbeing.

Examining the psychological impact of migration in Sant Roc, the study uncovered ongoing struggles for families in response to the third question. Children faced symptoms of depression and anxiety, exacerbated by pandemic isolation and bullying. Family dynamics played a crucial role, with parental stress affecting children's mental health. Adaptation, encompassing psychological, economic, and sociocultural aspects, was explored, with unique social supports emerging as the favorable for positive mental health outcomes, where school and home spaces could not support children sufficiently.

The concept of wellbeing, as defined by Prilleltensky (2008), and used in this dissertation, intricately intertwines with the individual's surrounding environment, where community ties serve as significant predictors of positive mental health outcomes. As expounded upon in previous chapters, the social frameworks underscore the pivotal roles of adaptation, integration, and acculturation, all of which hinge on community connections. Migration disrupts individuals' ties to their primary communities, necessitating the task of rebuilding social networks in the destination country. However, the formation and quality of these new communities are far from assured, particularly in environments where foreign newcomers face hostility and barriers to acceptance.

The participants in this sample had some unstable communities, such as conflictive relationships with peers at school and some distant relationships with parents, and additionally experiences of violence due to discrimination and crime. However, unlike other migrant samples, they had an additional space for forming important social connections in the Ateneu, where they felt supported in practical and emotional difficulties, and had a space for play and enjoyment. Despite their experiences of racism at school, work, and in public spaces, and other types of social rejection even within their homes, the migrants in this sample had a space of guaranteed acceptance in the community that gathered within the Ateneu foundation.

5.3 Recommendations

Creating policies to help migrants adapt to the host country is important to help avoid "poverty traps", especially for those migrating under high-risk conditions who are more vulnerable during the process (Black et al., 2011). Vulnerable migrants in this study were children and mothers. Additionally, the high crime rates of the neighborhood made all migrants vulnerable to

the space in which they settled. Policies that make bureaucratic processes efficient are important to not make migrants more vulnerable populations by delaying regularization, allowing them access to legal resources quickly. Unfortunately for this sample, the pandemic delayed the normal speeds of the resources Catalonia has made available for migrants, an unforeseen crisis that can be learned from for future unpredictable events.

Good policies have a dual consideration, providing additional support and removing barriers. Providing support can look like helping migrants navigate the visa application processes assuming they might struggle with the language and cannot afford legal support. Removing barriers on the other hand may be removing requirements of the primary migrating member to qualify for family reunification (Eremenko & González-Ferrer, 2018). Forming policies not based on data can create environments that make adaptation and integration more complicated, obstacles to migrants' settlement. It is beneficial for a government that migrants achieve integration.

The purpose of identifying the impact of a cultural adaptation on development is to pass policy around health and education primarily to correspond to multicultural individuals' needs (Berry, 2008). Public schools in migrant areas seem unable to meet the demands of migrant children and their families, thus additional support is needed in these neighborhoods, such as non-formal education open centers like the Ateneu Foundation. Providing language support is an urgent and important intervention, as it is the basis for any future support, aid, or intervention such as certification and career opportunities, making government aid available, and helping their children adapt. As well as integration seems impossible without basic access to the culture, which language is the first bridge to reach out to it. The primary suggestion of this dissertation is the promotion of open centers for migrants such as the Ateneu Foundation due to the protective functions and safe space it was observed to have and be for this vulnerable sample.

5.4 Contributions

This dissertation offers several contributions regarding migrant families' experiences, the risks and protective factors that affect them, and how they described migration impacted them emotionally and psychologically.

A first contribution regards a large gap in the research, which is the female experience of migration. Most samples studying migrant experience have struggled with unequal gender distributions, skewing male. This study had a majority female sample which provided a new perspective, identifying the experience of migration as beginning with the motivation to seek freedom for themselves, and for fathers and husbands for their wives and daughters. The political and religious freedoms of women did not emerge among previous research's lists of motivators and drivers. Then postmigration, the satisfaction of attaining said rights was highly reported.

Because this study interviewed families it could further investigate the impact migrant parents had on their children. Previous research on accompanied migrant children identified many risk and protective factors stemming from their relationship with their parents and their parents' economic and educational situation. Studying the unit together revealed further factors such as the distancing and unavailability of parents through their work schedules, family transnationality, and parental separation. In addition, it confirmed the burden on children placed by their parents' low education and their families' low income.

Regarding the *push-pull* factors (Raleigh, 2011) commonly identified within the motivators of migration, many factors around family were not included. This study identified families often do not meet the factors included in these lists in the motivator that triggered their migration. Families consider the wellbeing of their children and other members such as the women in the

family. Not just their physical wellbeing, but their education, future career, rights, and freedoms. As well as reuniting with members who already migrated, such as close or extended family. Knowing family who already resides in their country of destination also eases their own migration, reducing the risks. Family is a multifaceted and important *push* factor, but also a *pull* factor.

Importantly, because the study coincided with the COVID-19 pandemic it yielded unique results about how migrants in Spain experienced this unique time. Apart from the results about the pandemic, it highlighted the importance of migrants' social context. Because the pandemic isolated them from their communities, it underscored the importance of them for their wellbeing, and the spaces through which migrants routinely interacted with them.

This study emphasized the importance of the geographical space to which migrants moved into, which is the foundation of migration yet was not mentioned in the research. Housing was a factor identified in the *spatial* dimension of the *Eight-Dimension Model of Integration and Associated Indicators* (Table 2) (Fajth & Lessard-Phillips, 2023). In this study, the spatial dimension considers many more spaces such as schools, parks, open education centers, public transportation, etc.

Because the Ateneu was a unique source of support among migrant populations, it revealed characteristics that provided aid and protective factors for migrants that were highlighted by migrants. Due to years of experience with migrant families in this area, they had identified the type of aid that would be effective and helpful for them. This provided further information about protective factors, such as language courses, childcare, and central channels of informal information.

This study added to a list of risk and protective factors to children's mental health. The factors identified in Study I and II are summarized in the table below.

Table 24

Comprehensive Risk and Protective Factors Identified in Results

Protective Factors		Risk Factors	
Premigratory	**Postmigratory**	**Premigratory**	**Postmigratory**
Religious beliefs		Unaccompanied migration	
Unaccompanied migration		Stressful life events (SLEs)	
Parental warmth and positive family relationships**		Low socioeconomic status**	
Hopeful future outlook**		Family Transnationality *	
	Teacher support**	Experiencing or witnessing violence	Peer conflict or bullying **
	Mindfulness exercises	Experiencing natural disaster	Cultural distance
	Relationships with case workers	Death of family member	Educational strain**
	Access to government and educational resources**	Low parental education**	Daily hassles**
	School engagement	Experiencing intrafamily abuse*	Discrimination **
	Women's freedoms*		Detention centers
	Open center of informal education*		Refugee status
	Informal community information channels *		Acculturation stress**
	Friendships**		Language barrier**
	Social competence skills		Unavailable parents *
	Length of time since arrival		Substance Use
			Conflict with parents **
			Health quarantine *

Note. Risk and protective factors identified in Study I are without an asterisk. * Identified in Study II. ** Confirmed in study II.

5.5 Future Studies

Based on the results of this study, future investigations can be proposed as a logical following to identify more data relevant to corresponding to family migration.

- Most studies of migrant adaptation and mental health have been conducted in North America, Australia, and somewhat in Europe, but there is little literature on the process in Asia, Africa, and South America where the majority of migrants currently live (UNHCR, 2023). Similar studies should be conducted for south-to-south migrations and the risk and protective factors that could be exacerbated by limited resources in the receiving country.

- In addition, the most studied migrant populations are labor migrants, refugees, and unaccompanied children, migrant families are understudied (Gil Araujo & Pedone, 2013; Kofman, et al., 2022). Further research into transnational families as a particular source of emotional trauma and impact also seems like an important and urgent field of study.

- The development of a standardized assessment of migration trauma should be developed to quickly identify migrants that require additional postmigratory support, similar to the ACE[56] scores (Krinner et al., 2021). This would identify how many of the risk factors identified complicating a migration experience such as poverty, parental education, transnationality, death of a family member, witnessing violence, language barriers, experiences of discrimination the child migrant was exposed to premigration, during migration, and that they could face in the first year postmigration. Not just to provide psychological aid and practical support, but medical support, many of the adult participants in this sample reported severe medical problems.

- The Ateneu emerged as an important protective factor, a unique support compared to other studies into migrant wellbeing. Further studies of similar centers should be conducted to

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[56]"Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACEs) are defined as stressful or traumatic events that happen during the first 18 years of a person's life in the confines of a person's home environment or within close relationships" (Krinner et al., 2021, p.1). ACE scores count the amount of identified adverse experiences children go through and assign a number to reflect the level of adversity children faced, which has been associated proportionally with mental and physical health problems.

generalize the identified supportive characteristics. Additionally, comparative studies to identify the specificities of the Ateneu's impact on migrants should be conducted between migrants who attend centers like it and those who do not.

- Long-term studies into the growth of migrant children following them at multiple points in their lives would also be beneficial to identify the expression of previously identified potential trauma, and the long-term effects of being exposed to the risk factors here identified. Further research is needed to understand if children are in greater danger of trauma than their adult counterparts due to the vulnerability of the development process, or if, as some have suggested, the plasticity of their age may provide increased resilience (Fuligni & Tsai, 2015). Future lines of study should include comparative studies on the impact of migration on adults and children and long-term studies of how children who have experienced the phenomenon of migration develop into adults.

- Studies about migrant children generally classify them as first- or second-generation, but migrant generations are not neatly distinct like the classifications given to them. In fact, in this study most child participants fell under the category of 1.5-generation migrants. There should be further studies to understand the characteristics of this halfway generation.

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Appendix

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A. Study Informative Sheets
A.1 Adult Informative Sheet Spanish

Información General Sobre el Proyecto de Investigación

UAB
Universitat Autònoma
de Barcelona

En el contexto de la tesis doctoral de la estudiante Alejandra Salazar, hemos desarrollado un proyecto de investigación sobre la **Experiencia Emocional de Familias Migrantes en Cataluña**. Vamos a recolectar las historias de miembros de treinta grupos familiares, niños entre 8 y 20 años y su padre/madre a través de entrevistas semi estructuradas. Este es un resumen del proyecto para su información sobre lo que estamos pidiendo de su participación.

El proyecto de investigación con familias migrantes de Latinoamérica, África, Asia y Europa del Este busca conocer la experiencia específicamente de los niños y niñas que han inmigrado junto con sus padres o que nacieron de padres recientemente llegados a Cataluña. Durante una revisión bibliográfica (Salazar et al. 2023) sobre el impacto emocional de una inmigración en niños y niñas identificamos una variedad de factores que afectan su salud emocional o apoyan su proceso de adaptación. Buscamos entender mejor como es el proceso de llegada para los grupos familiares con niños y el rol de entidades de apoyo a migrantes a través de entrevistas en estos centros.

Las preguntas previstas serán sobre su motivación para migrar, el procedimiento de la salida de su país y de entrada a España, los obstáculos que enfrentaron en el camino, la experiencia a nivel emocional en cada etapa de la transición, la relación con los miembros de su familia, la ayuda que han recibido por parte de fundaciones y de otras organizaciones y sus sentimientos en el presente sobre su país de origen, su nuevo hogar y la esperanza sobre su futuro en Cataluña.

Objetivos:

1. Conocer la experiencia emocional de familias con niños y niñas que han migrado a Cataluña.

2. Identificar las características del entorno de las familias que juegan un rol en el proceso de adaptación.

3. Analizar el papel protector de entidades como la Fundación Ateneu Sant Roc.

Antes de realizar la entrevista, se solicitará el consentimiento informado de los participantes para ser entrevistados, asimismo se les informará que no necesitan responder a las preguntas que no quieran, y después de la entrevista también pueden solicitar que la información proporcionada sea excluida del estudio sin ninguna consecuencia para el/la participante.

La entrevista será grabada (audio) para asegurarse de recopilar las respuestas cómo fueron formuladas por los participantes. Las grabaciones serán destruidas un año después de que se hayan hecho las entrevistas, y no se harán públicas. El tratamiento de los datos seguirá el Reglamento 2016/679 del Parlamento Europeo, que entró en vigor en mayo de 2018. El equipo de investigación se compromete a garantizar la confidencialidad de las respuestas. Sin embargo, de conformidad con las directrices europeas de investigación, si durante la entrevista surge información de que algún joven está en grave riesgo o está poniendo a otras personas en grave riesgo, la investigadora deberá informar. La información recopilada será anonimizada antes de ser analizada. Los datos recogidos durante el estudio se almacenarán en un servidor seguro de la universidad.

El protocolo de protección de datos, junto con todo el procedimiento previsto en el estudio, ha sido aprobado por la Comisión de Ética para la Experimentación Animal y Humana de la Universidad Autònoma de Barcelona (CEEAH 5523). Se asegura que no hay ningún riesgo físico, ni psicológico de participar en el estudio.

Los resultados del estudio servirán para analizar las necesidades de apoyo a las familias migrantes y a sus hijos, y serán publicados a través de diferentes mecanismos, como informes, artículos y otras vías de difusión. En estas publicaciones no aparecerá ningún dato que pueda identificar a los participantes. Así mismo, los resultados serán compartidos y analizados conjuntamente con las entidades participantes. Si quieres, te enviaremos los resultados del estudio.

Si tiene preguntas sobre el proyecto, retirar sus datos o respuestas, o retirar su participación del proyecto puede contactarnos o pedir nuestra información de contacto a la Fundación Ateneu Sant Roc.

Datos de contacto de investigadoras:
Josefina Sala Roca
935813188
fina.sala@uab.cat

Alejandra Salazar
632 185 416
alejandra.salazar@e-campus.uab.cat

Sara Rodríguez
rodriguezpsara@uniovi.es

A.2 Child Informative Sheet Spanish

Hoja de información para Menores de Edad
Participación en un Estudio de Investigación
Inmigración en Familia

Hola

Nos presentamos, somos investigadoras de la Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona en áreas de psicología y educación. Estamos haciendo un proyecto sobres familias que inmigraron a Cataluña a través de entrevistas a padres e hijxs para que nos compartan sus historias de migración.

¿Qué inspiró este proyecto?
Nos dimos cuenta qué no ha habido muchos estudios sobre las migraciones en familia. Decidimos que queríamos obtener más información para poder pasarle a las fundaciones que les ayudan en sus comunidades. Queremos hacerles preguntas a los niñxs y a los papás de varias familias para conocer sus historias y cómo se están adaptando aquí para entender cómo los podemos ayudar.

¿Qué pasa si acepto participar en el proyecto?
Te haremos una breve entrevista con algunas preguntas planeadas y otras de acuerdo a tus respuestas. Te pediremos algunos datos sobre la llegada de tu familia a Cataluña. Tu participación es voluntaria, y si después de la entrevista no quieres ser parte del proyecto puedes pedirnos que saquemos tus respuestas de nuestros datos sin que esto tenga consecuencias.

¿Cómo son las preguntas?
En la entrevista hacemos preguntas sobre la vida de tu familia antes de emigrar y que ha cambiado con su llegada a Cataluña, cómo es actualmente tu vida con tu familia y sus rutinas, cómo te sientes aquí y que te parece que ha ayudado a tu familia en este cambio. La información que nos compartas nos permitirá conocer no sólo tu experiencia de vida y la de tu familia y si necesitas más apoyo.

¿Quién va a saber lo que te estoy diciendo?
El equipo de investigación se compromete a garantizar la confidencialidad de tus respuestas, es decir, recopilaremos la información que nos des y antes de analizarla eliminaremos tu nombre y otra información que te pueda identificar. Así que nadie sabrá quién dijo qué. De hecho, tampoco sabrán exactamente qué jóvenes participaron en el estudio. Sin embargo, si nos dices algo que indique que tu o alguien más se encuentra en una situación de peligro muy grave, tendríamos la obligación de informar.

Te pediremos permiso para grabar la entrevista para que el equipo de investigación pueda recopilar tus respuestas como tú las dijiste. Después de un año, las grabaciones serán destruidas. Sin embargo, si no quieres que te grabemos (audio), podemos hacer la entrevista de todos modos sin grabarte. Y después de cinco años eliminaremos todos los datos que recopilamos durante el estudio.

¿Qué pasa si no me siento cómodo con alguna pregunta?

Si no te sientes cómodo respondiendo alguna pregunta o no tienes ganas de hacerlo, no pasa nada. Sólo díselo a la entrevistadora y pasará a la siguiente pregunta. De la misma manera que, si durante la entrevista decides que no quieres continuarla, sólo tienes que decirlo, y podemos parar.

¿Cómo vamos a hacer la entrevista y cuánto tiempo tardaremos en hacer la entrevista?
La entrevista se realizará en la Fundación Ateneu Sant Roc. Estaremos entrevistando a tu mamá o papá y si tienes hermanxs también.
Las entrevistas durarán unos 30 minutos.

¿Qué pasa si en algún momento quiero salir del estudio?
La participación en el estudio es completamente voluntaria. Por esta razón, si en algún momento quieres dejarlo, sólo tienes que decirnos y no habrá ningún problema. Y si quieres que se borre todo lo que nos has dicho, lo borraremos.

¿Qué van a hacer con mis respuestas?
Vamos a recopilar las respuestas de varios niñxs y varios adultos para analizarlas y compararlas. Los resultados se informarán a todos aquellos que estén interesados, la fundación Sant Roc, otros investigadores, etc. Si quieres, te haremos llegar los resultados.

¿Cómo puedo ponerme en contacto con las personas responsables del proyecto si tengo alguna pregunta o quiero modificar o cancelar mis datos?
Si después de la entrevista tienes alguna pregunta, o quieres cambiar o eliminar algo que dijiste, o simplemente quieres decirnos algo, solo tienes que comunicarte por correo electrónico o por teléfono con Josefina Sala al correo (fina.sala@uab.cat) o su teléfono (935813188), Alejandra Salazar al correo alejandra.salazar@e-campus.uab.cat o llamar a 632 185 416. Si pierdes esta hoja, la Fundación Ateneu Sant Roc tiene nuestra información de contacto o puedes encontrarnos por internet a través de la página web de la Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.

¡Muchas gracias!

B. Consent Forms
B.1 Adult Consent Form

Consentimiento informado
Participación en un estudio de investigación

UAB
Universitat Autònoma
de Barcelona

Título del proyecto: Experiencia Emocional de Familias Migrantes en Cataluña
Investigadoras: Josefina Sala Roca, Alejandra Salazar, Sara Rodríguez
Departamento: Departament de Psicologia Bàsica, Evolutiva i de l'Educació

Fecha: _____

Sr./Sra. (nombre) _____   **DNI** _____

DECLARO que he leído la hoja de información del proyecto de investigación, que he podido hacer preguntas al respecto y que he recibido suficiente información por parte del investigador/de la investigadora que me ha explicado los detalles, incluyendo:

1. El objetivo de la investigación o la línea de investigación a la que consiento de recolectar experiencias e historias de miembros de familias que han migrado y que tienen hijo/as entre 8 y 20 años a través de entrevistas semi estructuradas.

2. Los posibles riesgos o beneficios por el hecho de participar en el estudio.

3. La posibilidad que pueda ser contactado posteriormente por el/la investigador/a con el fin de aclarar algún dato u obtener más información.
4. El derecho de revocar este consentimiento y sus efectos, incluida la posibilidad de la destrucción de mis respuestas e información, pero que estos efectos no se extenderán a los datos resultantes de la investigación.
5. La garantía de confidencialidad sobre la información que he proporcionado y de mi identidad ante las personas que tendrán acceso a mis datos personales.
6. El/la investigador/a recogerá datos de audio, y doy mi consentimiento para que el/la investigador/a, el/la supervisor/a y otros miembros del proyecto de investigación tengan acceso a estos datos.
7. Que he recibido un duplicado de este formulario.

Declaro, además, que comprendo que mi participación es voluntaria, por lo que puedo retirarme de la investigación en cualquier momento sin tener que dar explicaciones y sin consecuencias negativas. Puedes ejercer tus derechos reconocidos por el Reglamento europeo de protección de datos personales dirigiéndote a (incluyendo datos del responsable del estudio del nombre y correo electrónico) con tu solicitud y una fotocopia de tu DNI. Las solicitudes para ejercer tus derechos están disponibles en la web de la Oficina de Protección de Datos de la UAB (https://www.uab.cat/web/coneix-la-uab/itineraris/proteccio-de-dades/drets-de-les-persones-interessades-1345764799916.html).

También puede presentar un reclamo ante la Autoridad Catalana de Protección de Datos (https://apdcat.gencat.cat/ca/contacte), o contactar el delegado de protección de datos de la UAB (proteccio.dades@uab.cat).
En todos los casos, recibirá una respuesta por escrito dentro del plazo legal, indicando qué medidas se han tomado.

Cinco años después de la finalización del proyecto, los datos de la investigación serán destruidos.

Firma del participante: **Firma del investigador:**

_____   _____

Nombre: **Nombre:**
Fecha: **Fecha:**

Si tienes alguna pregunta puedes contactar a las investigadoras:
fina.sala@uab.cat   alejandra.salazar@e-campus.uab.cat
935 813 188   632 185 416
Este documento se firmará por duplicado; el investigador se queda con una copia y el participante con la otra. Estudio aprobado por la Comisión de Ética para la Experimentación Animal y Humana de la Universidad Autònoma de Barcelona (CEEAH 5523).

—— End of form ——

B.2 Parent/Guardian Consent Form

Autorización del padre/guardián de menor de edad para participación en un estudio de investigación

UAB
Universitat Autònoma
de Barcelona

Título del proyecto: Experiencia Emocional de Familias Migrantes en Cataluña
Investigadoras: Josefina Sala Roca, Alejandra Salazar, Sara Rodríguez
Departamento: Departament de Psicologia Bàsica, Evolutiva i de l'Educació

Fecha: _____

Sr./Sra. (nombre) _____ de **DNI** _____
representando al menor de edad (nombre) _____ de **DNI**_____
DECLARO que he leído la hoja de información del proyecto de investigación, que he podido hacer preguntas al respecto y que he recibido suficiente información por parte del investigador/de la investigadora que me ha explicado los detalles, incluyendo:

1. El objetivo de la investigación o la línea de investigación a la que consiento de recolectar experiencias e historias de miembros de familias que han migrado y que tienen hijo/as entre 8 y 20 años a través de entrevistas semi estructuradas.

2. Los posibles riesgos o beneficios para mi hijo/a por el hecho de participar en el estudio.

3. La posibilidad que pueda ser contactado posteriormente por el/la investigador/a con el fin de aclarar algún dato u obtener más información.
4. El derecho de revocar este consentimiento y sus efectos, incluida la posibilidad de la destrucción de mis respuestas e información, pero que estos efectos no se extenderán a los datos resultantes de la investigación.

5. La garantía de confidencialidad sobre la información que he proporcionado y de mi identidad y la de mi hijo/a ante las personas que tendrán acceso a mis datos personales.
6. El/la investigador/a recogerá datos de audio, y doy mi consentimiento para que el/la investigador/a, el/la supervisor/a y otros miembros del proyecto de investigación tengan acceso a estos datos.
7. Que he recibido un duplicado de este formulario.

Declaro, además, que comprendo que mi participación y la de mi hijo/a es voluntaria, por lo que puedo retirarme de la investigación en cualquier momento sin tener que dar explicaciones y sin consecuencias negativas. Puedes ejercer tus derechos reconocidos por el Reglamento europeo de protección de datos personales dirigiéndote a (incluyendo datos del responsable del estudio del nombre y correo electrónico) con tu solicitud y una fotocopia de tu DNI. Las solicitudes para ejercer tus derechos están disponibles en la web de la Oficina de Protección de Datos de la UAB (https://www.uab.cat/web/coneix-la-uab/itineraris/proteccio-de-dades/drets-de-les-persones-interessades-1345764799916.html).

También puede presentar un reclamo ante la Autoridad Catalana de Protección de Datos (https://apdcat.gencat.cat/ca/contacte), o contactar el delegado de protección de datos de la UAB (proteccio.dades@uab.cat).
En todos los casos, recibirá una respuesta por escrito dentro del plazo legal, indicando qué medidas se han tomado.

Cinco años después de la finalización del proyecto, los datos de la investigación serán destruidos.

Firma del padre o guardián: **Firma del investigador:**

_____   _____

Nombre: **Nombre:**
Fecha: **Fecha:**

Si tienes alguna pregunta puedes contactar a las investigadoras:

fina.sala@uab.cat   alejandra.salazar@e-campus.uab.cat
935 813 188   632 185 416

Este documento se firmará por duplicado; el investigador se queda con una copia y el participante con la otra. Estudio aprobado por la Comisión de Ética para la Experimentación Animal y Humana de la Universidad Autònoma de Barcelona (CEEAH 5523).

—— End of form ——

B.3 Child Assent Form

Asentimiento informado
Participación en un estudio de investigación

UAB
Universitat Autònoma
de Barcelona

Título del proyecto: Experiencia Emocional de Familias Migrantes en Cataluña
Investigadoras: Josefina Sala Roca, Alejandra Salazar, Sara Rodríguez
Departamento: Departament de Psicologia Bàsica, Evolutiva i de l'Educació

Nombre _____   **Fecha:** _____

CONFIRMO que he leído, o la investigadora me ha leído, la hoja de información del proyecto de investigación y que he podido hacer todas las preguntas que tengo. Entiendo que:

1. El objetivo de la investigación es conocer historias de familias que han cambiado de país.
2. Las posibles consecuencias positivas y negativas que tiene participar en el estudio.
3. La posibilidad que me contacten después de la entrevista para aclarar alguna respuesta.
4. Puedo pedir que borren todas mis respuestas y mi información en cualquier momento sin que tenga alguna consecuencia para mí.
5. Lo que diga se tratará confidencialmente, es decir no se pondrá mi nombre, ni nada que me identifique en ningún informe.
6. La investigadora va a grabar la entrevista en audio y que es posible que las otras investigadoras escuchen esa grabación.
7. He recibido una hoja de información de la investigación y del papel que estoy firmando.
8. Mi participación es voluntaria, es decir que no estoy obligado a participar, que no tengo porque contestar a todas las preguntas, y que puedo abandonar la entrevista en cualquier momento sin tener que explicar por qué y sin malas consecuencias para mí.
9. La información que doy será borrada cinco años después de que termine el proyecto.

Firma del participante: **Firma del investigador:**

_____   _____

Nombre: **Nombre:**
Fecha: **Fecha:**

Si tienes alguna pregunta puedes contactar a las investigadoras:
fina.sala@uab.cat   alejandra.salazar@e-campus.uab.cat
935 813 188   632 185 416
Este documento se firmará por duplicado; el investigador se queda con una copia y el participante con la otra.
Estudio aprobado por la Comisión de Ética para la Experimentación Animal y Humana de la Universidad Autònoma de Barcelona (CEEAH 5523).

—— End of form ——

C. Questionnaire Templates
C.1 Question Validation Table

	Niños	Padres	Importancia pregunta (0 – 5)	Comprensible (Si/No)	Comentarios o propuestas alternativas de redacción
1.	¿Cómo te llamas?	¿Como se llama?			
2.	¿Cuántos años tienes?	¿Cuántos años tiene?			
3.	*Anotar sexo*	*Anotar sexo*			
Objetivo n3: Identificar las características internas de la familia que la hacen un factor protector o de riesgo para el proceso emocional del niñx ante una migración.					
4.	¿De qué país son tus padres?	¿Cuál es su país de origen? ¿De qué región?			
5.	¿Dónde naciste?	¿Dónde han nacido sus hijxs?			
6.	¿Cuándo llegó tu familia a Cataluña?	¿Cuándo decidieron emigrar y por qué? ¿Cómo fue el proceso de inmigración?			
7.	¿Qué idiomas hablas? ¿Qué idiomas hablas con tu familia? ¿Tus padres se comunican bien en castellano o catalán?	¿Qué idiomas habla? ¿Qué idioma/s hablan en casa? ¿Es importante para ud mantener su lengua de origen y enseñársela a sus hijxs?			
8.	¿Quién vive en tu casa? ¿Qué edades tienen?	¿Quiénes viven en su casa? ¿Qué edades tienen?			
9.	¿Dónde viven tus otros familiares (tías, primos, abuelos)? ¿Los conoces?	¿Dónde viven sus otros familiares (tías, primos, abuelos)? ¿Los conoces?			

	¿Tienes otros familiares aquí en España? ¿Los ven con frecuencia?	¿Tiene otros familiares aquí en España? ¿Qué relación tiene tu familia con ellos, los ven con frecuencia?			
10.	¿Tus papás te explicaron por qué querían venir a Cataluña? ¿Quiénes en tu familia emigraron?	¿Quién o quiénes tomaron la decisión de emigrar? ¿Hubo alguna conversación de familia?			
11.	¿En tu familia hablan de su país de origen? ¿Te gustaría ir/volver algún día?	¿Su hijx habla del país de origen o hace preguntas sobre sus raíces?			
12.	¿En que trabajan tus papas?	¿En que trabaja usted o su pareja? [*ahora te voy a hacer unas preguntas que si no quieres no tienes por qué contestar*] En algún momento os habéis encontrado que no pudisteis pagar el alquiler, la luz, la comida. ¿Como lo superasteis?			
13.	¿Cómo es un día normal en tu casa? [¿Tu familia tiene alguna rutina?]	¿Cómo es un día normal para ustedes, su rutina de familia? ¿Hay elementos de su cultura de origen que les ha parecido importante mantener en su vida diaria acá?			

14.	¿Qué hacen en tu familia los fines de semana?	¿Cómo es un fin de semana en su familia?			
15.	¿Crees que tus papas están contentos acá? ¿Hay algunos problemas que crees que les preocupan a tus papas?	¿Se han cumplido las expectativas que tenía sobre su vida aquí?			
16.	¿Hay cosas que tus padres no te dejen hacer que hagan la mayoría de los niños/as de tu edad?				
17.	¿De qué cosas hablas con tu familia? (sentimientos, tareas, comportamientos, etc.)				
18.	¿Cuándo te sientes mejor en casa? ¿Haciendo qué? ¿Con quién? ¿Qué cosas te gusta hacer con tu familia? ¿Con quién específicamente?				
19.	¿Cuándo tus padres dicen que te portas mal tiene alguna consecuencia? ¿Cual? ¿Esto sucede pocas veces o muchas veces?				
20.	¿Qué tareas tienes asignadas en casa?	¿Qué tareas de la casa les han asignado a sus hijxs?			
21.		¿Alguien en vuestra familia tiene un problema de salud física o psicológica, más allá de los resfriados y problemas puntuales?			

		¿Como y quien lo/la cuida?			
22.		¿Tenéis acceso a los servicios médicos públicos? ¿Recibís alguna ayuda económica? ¿Necesitáis alguna ayuda que no estéis recibiendo? ¿Cuál?			
Objetivo n.2a: Identificar factores ambientales que protegen o afectan el proceso emocional del niñx y de la capacidad de la familia para desarrollar su papel protector.					
23.	¿Qué hace tu familia cuando tienes vacaciones de la escuela?	¿Qué actividades hacen con sus hijxs cuando no están en la escuela? ¿Por las tardes o durante el verano?			
24.	¿Tienes amigxs? ¿Cuántos mejores amigxs tienes? De donde son (¿escuela, barrio, actividades extraescolares, familiares, etc.?)	¿Fuera de la familia, qué conexiones comunitarias tiene (amistades, familia extensa, colegas de trabajo, compañeros-as de la escuela)?			
25.	[A partir de los 12 años] ¿Tienes amigxs se metan en líos frecuentemente? ¿Alguno de tus amigxs ha tenido problemas con la policía?	¿Su hijx ha tenido algún problema con la policía o ha participado en actividades ilegales con sus amigxs como robos, hurtos, consumo de drogas o alcohol?			
26.	[A partir de los 12 años] ¿Tienes amigxs que consumen alcohol o drogas? ¿Y tú has participado también?				
27.	¿Cómo es tu relación con tus vecinos?	¿Qué relación tienen con sus vecinos, su hijx tiene amigxs en el vecindario?			

	¿Juegas con otros niñxs de tu vecindario/barrio?				
28.	¿Hay algún compañerx que te moleste con frecuencia? ¿A veces te pega?	¿Su hijx tiene algún compañerx que le pegue, lo moleste consistentement? ¿Se queja de conflictos en la escuela?			
29.	Cuándo estás preocupado o triste ¿con quién te gusta hablar?				
30.	¿Cómo te ha ido con los cambios escolares (idioma, formato de educación, temas académicos)?	¿Como cambió la escolarización con respecto a su país de origen?			
31.	¿Te gusta ir a la escuela?	¿Su hijx se queja de su escuela? ¿Falta con frecuencia o trata de evitar asistir?			
32.	¿Qué te parecen tus educadores/profesores/docentes?				
33.	¿Tienes amigxs en la escuela?				
34.	¿Qué haces después de la escuela?				
35.	¿Tienes algún lugar en tu vecindario donde te gusta jugar?				
36.	¿Has tenido alguna experiencia de desagradable por ser de un país distinto? ¿Algo o alguien te ha hecho sentir como extranjero?	¿Su hijx le ha compartido alguna experiencia de discriminación?			
37.	¿Sientes que te has adaptado a tu nuevo país? ¿Hay algo que te impidió adaptarte?	¿Cómo se adaptó/ha ido adaptando su hijx?			

Objetivo n.2b: Analizar el papel protector que tienen entidades como la Fundación Ateneu Sant Roc en la acogida de los niñxs y acompañamiento de los padres para desarrollar su papel protector.					
38.	¿Cómo conociste a la Fundación?	¿Como conoció la Fundación?			
39.	¿Quién en tu familia participa en actividades de la fundación?	¿Hace cuánto tiempo está conectado con la Fundación?			
40.	¿A qué tipo de actividades te gusta ir? ¿Y a tu familia?	¿Qué servicios de la Fundación utiliza?			
41.	¿En qué te ha ayudado o apoyado la fundación?	¿Hay algo que le ayudaría a su familia en el proceso de adaptación que se podría ofrecer a través de la Fundación?			
42.	¿Has hecho amigxs en la fundación?	¿Su hijx ha hecho amigxs en la fundación?			
43.	¿Cuándo tienes problemas en la escuela o en la casa sientes que la fundación te puede apoyar?	¿Siente que cuando no puede ayudarle a su hijx puede acudir a la fundación para apoyarlo, por ejemplo con tareas escolares?			
44.	¿Has invitado amigxs a la fundación?				
Objetivo n.1: Determinar el estado emocional del niñx y su reacción emocional a varios elementos que caracterizan la experiencia inmigrante.					
45.	¿Qué quieres hacer cuando seas mayor?	¿Qué quiere ser su hijx cuando crezca? ¿Cómo habla de su futuro?			
46.	¿Cómo te imaginaste tu vida acá antes de llegar? ¿Resultó como pensaste?	¿Qué crees que se esperaba tu hijx de su vida acá? ¿Crees que se han cumplido sus expectativas?			
47.	¿Te sientes como en casa aquí?	¿Le parece que su hijx se siente en casa en este país?			

48.	¿Qué nuevas experiencias te pusieron nervioso?	¿Qué nuevas experiencias ponen nervioso a su hijx?			
49.	¿Cómo reaccionas cuando algo se siente difícil o abrumador?	¿Cómo reacciona su hijx cuando se siente abrumado?			
50.	¿Has tenido momentos en los que te sentiste muy cansado/a, con problemas para dormir o comer? ¿Cuál será la causa?	¿Ha notado cambios de apetito o de sueño o cansancio en su hijx?			
51.	¿Sientes que emigrar/ser migrante fue un evento/identidad significativo en tu vida? ¿Porqué? ¿Qué nuevas experiencias te afectaron?	¿Le parece que el hecho de ser una familia migrante marcó la vida de su hijx? ¿Cómo?			
52.	¿En los últimos meses te sentiste triste o ansioso? ¿Porqué?	¿Ha notado algún estrés emocional o comportamiento extraño que no veía en su hijx antes de migrar?			
53.	¿Te has sentido solo/a?	¿Le parece que su hijx se siente solo/a, le faltan amigxs o no tiene comunidad?			
54.	¿Quisieras volver al país de origen de tu familia o quedarte en Cataluña?	¿Tienen planes de volver a su país de origen o prefieren quedarse en Cataluña?			

Comentarios (han identificado algo que haga falta o quieren añadir algo):

C.2 Adult Questionnaire Table Template

Entrevista Adulto #_____

Fecha _____

Antes de empezar la entrevista voy a repetir algunas de las cosas que ya leíste en la hoja informativa.

Te recuerdo que en cualquier momento puedes parar la entrevista, no tienes que responder a alguna pregunta que no quieras, y si al final estas incomodo/a con lo que contestaste me puedes pedir que borre tus respuestas.

Voy a estar grabando nuestra conversación. Las únicas personas que tendrán acceso al audio seremos las del equipo de investigación, mis dos supervisoras y yo. Toda tu información personal estará protegida.

¿Tienes alguna duda o pregunta sobre la entrevista o la investigación en general?

_____

Before we begin the interview, I'm going to repeat some of the things you read in the information sheet.

Just a reminder that at any moment you can stop the interview, you can skip answering any questions you don't feel comfortable with, and if at the end you're uncomfortable with your answers you can ask me to erase your responses.

I will be recording our conversation. The only people that will have access to the audio will be the research team, which consists of my two supervisors and myself. All your personal information will be protected.

Do you have any questions about the interview or the research study in general?

	Parents	Padres	Comments
1.	What is your name?	¿Como se llama?	
2.	How old are you?	¿Cuantos años tiene?	
3.	*sex*	*Anotar sexo*	
Objetivo n1: Identificar las características internas de la familia que la hacen un factor protector o de riesgo para el proceso emocional del niñx ante una migración			
4.	What is your country of origin? From what region?	¿Cuál es su país de origen? ¿De qué región?	
5.	How many children do you have?	¿Cuántos hijos tiene? ¿De qué edades?	

	How old are they? Where were your children born?	¿Dónde han nacido?	
6.	When did you decide to migrate and why? How was your migration process?	¿Cuándo decidieron emigrar y por qué? ¿Cómo fue el proceso de inmigración?	
7.	What languages do you speak? What languages do you speak at home? Is it important to you to use your native language and teach it to your kids?	¿Qué idiomas habla? ¿Qué idioma/s hablan en casa? ¿Es importante para usted mantener su lengua de origen y enseñársela a sus hijxs?	
8.	Who lives in your house? How old are they?	¿Quiénes viven en su casa? ¿Qué edades tienen?	
9.	Where does your extended family live? Do you have other family members here in Spain? Are you close to them; do you see them frequently?	¿Dónde viven sus otros familiares (tías, primos, abuelos)? ¿Los conoces? ¿Tiene otros familiares aquí en España? ¿Qué relación tiene tu familia con ellos, los ven con frecuencia?	
10.	Who made the decision to migrate? Was there a conversation about it as a family?	¿Quién o quiénes tomaron la decisión de emigrar? ¿Hubo alguna conversación de familia?	

11.	Does your child talk about your country of origin or ask about their roots?	¿Su hijx habla del país de origen o hace preguntas sobre sus raíces?	
12.	What do you or your partner do for work? [I'm going to ask you some questions now that you don't need to answer if you don't want to] Have you ever been unable to pay for rent, electricity, or food? How did you get through this?	¿En que trabaja usted o su pareja? [*ahora te voy a hacer unas preguntas que si no quieres no tienes por qué contestar*] En algún momento os habéis encontrado que no pudisteis pagar el alquiler, la luz, la comida. ¿Como lo superasteis?	
13.	What is a normal day for your family? Are there aspects of your culture of origin that you have felt is important to keep in your daily routine here?	¿Cómo es un día normal para ustedes, su rutina de familia? ¿Hay elementos de su cultura de origen que les ha parecido importante mantener en su vida diaria acá?	
14.	What is a weekend like in your family?	¿Cómo es un fin de semana en su familia?	
15.	Have your expectations about life here been met?	¿Se han cumplido las expectativas que tenía sobre su vida aquí?	
16.	What house chores have you given your kids?	¿Qué tareas de la casa les han asignado a sus hijxs?	
17.	Does anyone in your family have a physical or mental health problem? How and who cares for them?	¿Alguien en vuestra familia tiene un problema de salud física o psicológica, más allá de los resfriados y problemas puntuales?	

		¿Como y quien lo/la cuida?	
18.	Do you have access to public healthcare? Do you receive any economic aid? Do you need a form of aid that you are not currently receiving? Which?	¿Tenéis acceso a los servicios médicos públicos? ¿Recibís alguna ayuda económica? ¿Necesitáis alguna ayuda que no estéis recibiendo? ¿Cuál?	
Objetivo n.2: Identificar factores ambientales que protegen o afectan el proceso emocional del niñx y de la capacidad de la familia para desarrollar su papel protector.			
19.	What activities do you do with your kids when they're not in school? In the afternoons? During the summer?	¿Qué actividades hacen con sus hijxs cuando no están en la escuela? ¿Por las tardes o durante el verano?	
20.	Outside of the family, what community connections do you have, such as friendships, extended family, colleagues, classmates?	¿Fuera de la familia, qué conexiones comunitarias tiene (amistades, familia extensa, colegas de trabajo, compañeros-as de la escuela)?	
21.	Has your child had any problems with the police or participated in illegal activities with friends such as theft, drug use or alcohol consumption?	¿Su hijx ha tenido algún problema con la policía o ha participado en actividades ilegales con sus amigxs como robos, hurtos, consumo de drogas o alcohol?	
22.	What relationship do you have with your neighbors, does your child have friends in the neighborhood?	¿Qué relación tienen con sus vecinos, su hijx tiene amigxs en el vecindario?	

23.	Does your child have any peers that bother, bully or hit him/her? Does your child complain of conflicts at school?	¿Su hijx tiene algún compañerx que le pegue, lo moleste consistentement? ¿Se queja de conflictos en la escuela?
24.	Does your child complain about school? Does he/she skip school frequently or try to avoid going?	¿Su hijx se queja de su escuela? ¿Falta con frecuencia o trata de evitar asistir?
25.	What changed in your child's schooling compared to your country of origin?	¿Como cambió la escolarización con respecto a su país de origen?
26.	Has your child shared with you any experiences of discrimination?	¿Su hijx le ha compartido alguna experiencia de discriminación?
27.	How has your child adapted to this country?	¿Cómo se adaptó/ha ido adaptando su hijx?
Objetivo n.3: Analizar el papel protector que tienen entidades como la Fundación Ateneu Sant Roc en la acogida de los niñxs y acompañamiento de los padres para desarrollar su papel protector.		
28.	How did you find out about the foundation?	¿Como conoció la Fundación?
29.	How long have you been connected to the foundation?	¿Hace cuánto tiempo está conectado con la Fundación?
30.	What services do you use or participate in at the foundation?	¿Qué servicios de la Fundación utiliza?
31.	Is there something that could help your adaptation process that the foundation could offer?	¿Hay algo que le ayudaría a su familia en el proceso de adaptación que se podría ofrecer a través de la Fundación?

32.	Has your child developed any friendships at the foundation?	¿Su hijx ha hecho amigxs en la fundación?	
33.	Do you feel like in the case you would be unable to help you child with something you can ask for help or support at the foundation?	¿Siente que cuando no puede ayudarle a su hijx puede acudir a la fundación para apoyarlo, por ejemplo, con tareas escolares?	
Objetivo n.4: Determinar el estado emocional del niñx y su reacción emocional a varios elementos que caracterizan la experiencia inmigrante.			
34.	What has your child said he/she wants to be when they grow up? How does your child talk about the future? *Hopeful? Scared? Excited? Big goals? Nervous?*	¿Qué quiere ser su hijx cuando crezca? ¿Cómo habla de su futuro?	
35.	What do you think your child expected coming here would be like? Do you think their expectations have been fulfilled?	¿Qué crees que se esperaba tu hijx de su vida acá? ¿Crees que se han cumplido sus expectativas?	
36.	Do you think your child feels at home here?	¿Le parece que su hijx se siente en casa en este país?	
37.	What new experiences make your child nervous?	¿Qué nuevas experiencias ponen nervioso a su hijx?	
38.	How does your child react when he/she is overwhelmed?	¿Cómo reacciona su hijx cuando se siente abrumado?	
39.	Have you noticed changes in their appetite or sleeping habits? Do they seem more tired than usual?	¿Ha notado cambios de apetito o de sueño o cansancio en su hijx?	

40.	Do you think coming from a migrant family has marked your child's life in a significant way? How?	¿Le parece que el hecho de ser una familia migrante marcó la vida de su hijx? ¿Cómo?	
41.	Have you noticed any new emotional stress or strange behavior that you hadn't seen before in your child before migrating?	¿Ha notado algún estrés emocional o comportamiento extraño que no veía en su hijx antes de migrar?	
42.	Do you think your child feels lonely? Do you think he/she has enough friends, or do they lack community?	¿Le parece que su hijx se siente solo/a, le faltan amigxs o no tiene comunidad?	
43.	Would you like to return to your family's country of origin or stay here in Catalunya?	¿Quisieras volver al país de origen de tu familia o quedarte en Cataluña?	

C.3 Child Questionnaire Table Template

Entrevista Niñx #_____

Fecha_____

Antes de empezar la entrevista voy a repetir algunas de las cosas que ya leíste en la hoja informativa.

Te recuerdo que en cualquier momento puedes parar la entrevista, no tienes que responder a alguna pregunta que no quieras, y si al final estas incomodo/a con lo que contestaste me puedes pedir que borre tus respuestas.

Voy a estar grabando nuestra conversación. Las únicas personas que tendrán acceso al audio seremos las del equipo de investigación, mis dos supervisoras y yo. Toda tu información personal estará protegida.

¿Tienes alguna duda o pregunta sobre la entrevista o la investigación en general?

_____

Before we begin the interview, I'm going to repeat some of the things you read in the information sheet.

Just a reminder that at any moment you can stop the interview, you can skip answering any questions you don't feel comfortable with, and if at the end you're uncomfortable with your answers you can ask me to erase your responses.

I will be recording our conversation. The only people that will have access to the audio will be the research team, which consists of my two supervisors and myself. All your personal information will be protected.

Do you have any questions about the interview or the research study in general?

	Niñxs	Kids	Comments
1.	¿Cómo te llamas?	What's your name?	
2.	¿Cuántos años tienes?	How old are you?	
3.	*Anotar sexo*	*Sex*	
Objetivo n1: Identificar las características internas de la familia que la hacen un factor protector o de riesgo para el proceso emocional del niñx ante una migración			
4.	¿De qué país son tus padres?	What country are your parents from?	
5.	¿Dónde naciste?	Where were you born?	
6.	¿Cuándo llegó tu familia a Cataluña?	When did your family arrive in Catalunya?	
7.	¿Qué idiomas hablas?	What languages do you speak?	

	¿Qué idiomas hablas con tu familia? ¿Tus padres se comunican bien en castellano o catalán?	What language/s do you speak with your family? Do your parents speak Spanish or Catalan well?	
8.	¿Quién vive en tu casa? ¿Qué edades tienen?	Who lives at your house? How old are they?	
9.	¿Dónde viven tus otros familiares (tías, primos, abuelos)? ¿Los conoces? ¿Tienes otros familiares aquí en España? ¿Los ven con frecuencia?	Where do your other family members live (aunts, cousins, grandparents)? Have you met them? Do you have other family members in Spain? Do you see them often?	
10.	¿Tus papás te explicaron por qué querían venir a Cataluña? ¿Quiénes en tu familia emigraron?	Did your parents explain why they decided to come to Catalunya? Who in your family migrated?	
11.	¿En tu familia hablan de su país de origen?	Does your family talk about their country of origin?	
12.	¿En que trabajan tus papas?	What do your parents do for work?	
13.	¿Cómo es un día normal en tu casa? [¿Tu familia tiene alguna rutina?]	What does a normal day at your house look like? [Does your family have a daily routine?]	
14.	¿Qué hacen en tu familia los fines de semana?	What does your family do on weekends?	
15.	¿Crees que tus papás están contentos acá? ¿Hay algunos problemas que crees que les preocupan a tus papás?	Do you think your parents are happy here? Have you noticed anything bothering your parents?	

16.	¿Hay cosas que tus padres no te dejen hacer que hagan la mayoría de los niños/as de tu edad?	Is there something kids your age usually do that your parents won't let you do?	
17.	¿De qué cosas hablas con tu familia? (sentimientos, tareas, comportamientos, etc.)	What stuff do you talk about with your family? (Feelings, homework, behavior, etc.)	
18.	¿Cuándo te sientes mejor en casa? ¿Haciendo qué? ¿Con quién? ¿Qué cosas te gusta hacer con tu familia? ¿Con quién específicamente?	When do you feel most comfortable at home? With whom? What do you like to do with your family? With whom?	
19.	¿Cuándo tus padres dicen que te portas mal tiene alguna consecuencia? [castigo] ¿Cuál? ¿Esto sucede pocas veces o muchas veces?	When your parents say you're misbehaving are there usually consequences? [punishment, grounding] Which? Does this happen often or rarely?	
20.	¿Qué tareas tienes asignadas en casa?	What chores do you have at home?	
Objetivo n.2: Identificar factores ambientales que protegen o afectan el proceso emocional del niñx y de la capacidad de la familia para desarrollar su papel protector.			
21.	¿Qué hace tu familia cuando tienes vacaciones de la escuela?	What does your family usually do when you are on vacation from school?	
22.	¿Tienes amigxs? ¿Cuántos mejores amigxs tienes? De donde son (¿escuela, barrio, actividades extraescolares, familiares, etc.?)	Do you have friends? Do you have a best friend? Where did you meet them (school, neighborhood, afterschool activities, family members, etc.)?	
23.	[A partir de los 12 años] ¿Tienes amigxs se metan en líos frecuentemente? ¿Alguno de tus amigxs ha tenido problemas con la policía?	[12 and over] Do you have friends who tend to get into trouble? Have any of your friends had trouble with the police?	
24.	[A partir de los 12 años]	[12 and over]	

	¿Tienes amigxs que consumen alcohol o drogas? ¿Y tú has participado también?	Do any of your friends use alcohol or drugs? Have you ever participated?	
25.	¿Cómo es tu relación con tus vecinos? ¿Juegas con otros niñxs de tu vecindario/barrio?	Do you get along with your neighbors? Do you play with other kids from your neighborhood?	
26.	¿Hay algún compañerx que te moleste con frecuencia? ¿A veces te pega?	Is there a schoolmate that frequently bothers you? Does he/she ever hit you?	
27.	Cuándo estás preocupado o triste ¿con quién te gusta hablar?	When you're worried or sad, who do you like to talk to?	
28.	*¿Cómo te ha ido con los cambios escolares (idioma, formato de educación, temas académicos)?*	*How have you been handling the change of school? (Language, academic format, subjects)*	
29.	¿Te gusta ir a la escuela?	Do you like going to school?	
30.	¿Qué te parecen tus educadores/profesores/docentes?	What do you think of your teachers?	
31.	¿Tienes amigxs en la escuela?	Do you have friends at school?	
32.	¿Qué haces después de la escuela?	What do you do after school?	
33.	¿Tienes algún lugar en tu vecindario donde te gusta jugar?	Is there a place in your neighborhood where you like to play?	
34.	¿Has tenido alguna experiencia desagradable por ser de un país distinto? ¿Algo o alguien te ha hecho sentir como extranjero?	Have you had an unpleasant experience due to being from another country? Has something or someone made you feel foreign?	
35.	*¿Sientes que te has adaptado a tu nuevo país? ¿Hay algo que te impidió adaptarte?*	Do you feel like you have adapted to your new country? Is there something that you feel has made this difficult?	

	Objetivo n.3: Analizar el papel protector que tienen entidades como la Fundació Ateneu Sant Roc en la acogida de los niñxs y acompañamiento de los padres para desarrollar su papel protector.		
36.	¿Cómo conociste a la Fundación?	How did you learn about the foundation?	
37.	¿Quién en tu familia participa en actividades de la fundación?	Who in your family participates in activities at the foundation?	
38.	¿A qué tipo de actividades te gusta ir? ¿Y a tu familia?	What are your favorite things to do at the foundation? And your family's?	
39.	¿En qué te ha ayudado o apoyado la fundación?	What has the foundation helped or supported you with?	
40.	¿Has hecho amigxs en la fundación?	Have you made any friends at the foundation?	
41.	¿Cuándo tienes problemas en la escuela o en la casa sientes que la fundación te puede apoyar?	When you're having trouble with school or at home do you feel like the foundation can help?	
42.	¿Has invitado amigxs a la fundación?	Have you invited friends to the foundation?	
	Objetivo n.4: Determinar el estado emocional del niñx y su reacción emocional a varios elementos que caracterizan la experiencia inmigrante.		
43.	¿Qué quieres hacer cuando seas mayor?	What do you want to be when you're older?	
44.	*¿Cómo te imaginaste tu vida acá antes de llegar? ¿Resultó como pensaste?*	How did you imagine your life before coming here? Did it turn out how you thought?	
45.	¿Te sientes como en casa aquí?	Do you feel at home?	
46.	¿Qué nuevas experiencias te pusieron nervioso?	What new experiences make you nervous?	
47.	¿Cómo reaccionas cuando algo se siente difícil o abrumador?	How do you usually react when something feels hard or overwhelming?	
48.	¿Has tenido momentos en los que te sentiste muy cansado/a, con problemas para dormir o comer? ¿Cuál será la causa?	Have you had moments when you felt very tired, and had a hard time sleeping or eating? What do you think was the cause?	

49.	*¿Sientes que emigrar/ser migrante fue un evento/identidad significante en tu vida? ¿Porqué? ¿Qué nuevas experiencias te afectaron?*	*Do you feel that migrating was a significant event in your life? Why? What new experiences affected you?*	
50.	¿En los últimos meses te sentiste triste o ansioso? ¿Porqué?	In the last few months have you felt sad or anxious? Why?	
51.	¿Te has sentido solo/a?	Have you felt lonely?	
52.	¿Quisieras volver al país de origen de tu familia o quedarte en Cataluña?	Would you like to return to your family's country of origin or stay here in Catalunya?	

D. Response Matrixes with Examples

Matrix Child Responses

Dimension	Area	Category	Quote Examples	Dimension	Area	Category	Quote Examples
Safe	Home	Emotionally available parents	*Cuándo estás preocupado o triste ¿con quién te gusta hablar?* Con mi madre. (C12) *¿Cuándo te sientes molesta o tienes algún problema, hablas con tus papas?* Si. (C11) *¿De qué cosas hablas con tu familia?* De escuela, amigos, de casi todo, porque tengo confianza con ellos. (C07) *¿Cuándo te sientes mejor en casa?* Jugando, hablando con mis padres. (C06) Yo soy totalmente transparente con mis padres. Siempre que me pasa algo, o necesito algo, quiero desahogarme, hablo con mis padres. (C05) *¿De qué cosas hablas con tu mamá?* Reírme con ella, hablar de cosas como graciosas, dedicar más tiempo a mi madre contándole de mis cosas, ella a mí me cuenta de sus cosas. (C10)	Unsafe	Home	Unavailable parents	*¿Te has sentido solo/a?* Si, cuando me enfado con mi madre, porque pienso que no me quiere. Quiero que pase tiempo con nosotros, siempre pasa trabajando. Siempre estamos en casa, solo los fines de semana salimos. (C04) *¿Y a qué horas vuelve tu mamá del trabajo?* A veces se demora un poco, como a las 9, las 10 por ahí. (C13) *¿Te parece fácil compartir tus sentimientos con tu mamá?* A ver, te voy a decir la verdad. Yo y mi mama no tenemos tanto contacto. Hija madre no hablamos tanto. Porque no tengo tanta confianza con mi madre. Tengo confianza con otra persona. Esa persona es como supuestamente madre. (C13) *¿De qué cosas hablas con tu familia?* No hablo tanto con familia por lo que estoy estudiando no hablamos tanto. (C13) *¿Sientes que es fácil hablar de tus sentimientos con tus papás?* No. (C14) *¿Dónde está tu papá?* No me ha dicho. Me ha dicho que es una pequeña sorpresa. Yo estoy muy ajuntada con mi padre y se fue cuando yo estaba durmiendo. (C16)
						Economic adversities	*¿Has notado a tus papás estresados por temas económicos?* Si. Muchas veces. También tenemos nuestras temporadas. Cuando mis padres todavía no estaban divorciados la cosa estaba muy bien. (C05) *¿Has tenido momentos en los que te sentiste con problemas para comer?* Porque mi madre hace como unos meses, pues ella no trabajaba, no teníamos dinero para comprar comida tampoco. (C10) *¿Quién vive en tu casa?* Yo y mi madre y tenemos compañeros de casa. (C10) *¿Qué hace tu familia cuando tienes vacaciones de la escuela?* Estos días no hemos ido de vacaciones porque

							hemos estado en la tienda todo ocupado. Estamos justos. (C13)
							En verdad vivía ahí en Marruecos más mejor que aquí ahora. Porque ahí mi madre trabajaba muy bien, ganaba mucho dinero en su trabajo, pero aquí como que casi no trabaja y pues tenemos muchas problemas. (C10)
						Fractured family unit	*¿Quién vive en tu casa?* Actualmente vivimos yo, mi hermana pequeña, mi hermano más pequeño aún, y mi madre. Mi padre y mi madre están separados. (C05)
							¿Crees que tu mamá está contenta acá? Mi madre está contenta, y siempre estuvo contenta, pero por motivos está un poquito triste. *¿Te puedo preguntar hace cuanto se separaron tus papas?* Cuando yo nací. Ósea dejó a mi madre cuando ella estaba embarazada…Los problemas familiares son de mi papá y mi mama sabes por eso. (C10)
							¿Qué tal te llevas con tu padrastro? Fatal. Es que, a ver, no es como mi padre. Me cae mal porque a veces se enoja. Me la hace muy mal, el 20 de octubre, fue el año, pues como no fue, me sintió como algo feo. (C13)
							¿Sientes que te has adaptado acá? No. Extraño Perú. Extraño mi padre. Porque como no está conmigo aquí. (C13)
							¿Como te imaginaste tu vida acá? Un poco triste porque me separé de mi padre, yo era muy apegada a mi padre. (C13)
	School	Teacher support	*¿Qué te parecen tus profesores?* Pues muy bien, a mí me encantan. (C01)		School	Prejudicial bullying	*¿Hay algún compañerx que te moleste con frecuencia? ¿A veces te pega?* Pegarme no, pero bueno, sí que he sufrido mucho en el colegio que voy. *¿Por ser extranjera te han hecho comentarios?* Si,[en el colegio] me han dicho que vete a tu país, no sé qué no sé cuánto. (C03)
			¿Qué te parecen profesores? Muy bien. Mi profesora nos ayudan mucho. Hacen buenas personas. Nos habla. De como de mayores tenemos que hacer nuestra vida. Nos ayuda mucho. (C04)				*¿Has tenido alguna experiencia desagradable por ser de un país distinto?* Bueno, es que yo he estado en dos escuelas, y ahora en el instituto, en la primera escuela como que siempre se metían y decían 'ay tu eres una mora, no sé qué, vete para tu país, vete, me estas robando mi comida, no sé qué, no sé cuántos'. (C07)
			Justamente tengo una profesora. Hay dos tipos de profesores. Profesores que están ahí para enseñarte. Y otros profesores que van más allá. Están ahí para ayudarte, lo que quieras, enseñarte, si no entiendes algo te ayudan. Por ejemplo, yo el año pasado tuve una tutora, muy buena persona, cuando tuvimos problemas del agua, de electricidad y eso, ella nos ayudaba. Ya que mi madre no entiende mucho de esto de las cosas webs, aquí también la ayudan mucho, y en la escuela también.(C05).				*¿Qué nuevas experiencias te pusieron nerviosa?* El primer día, cambiaron los nombres de las cosas de la escuela, como sacapuntas, era tajador en Perú. Cambiaron así las letras. (C13)

			¿Qué te parecen tus educadores/profesores/docentes? Depende de qué profesor, me gusta más o menos, por la forma en la que nos enseña, pero no hay ninguno que diga ay no lo quiero ver en mi vida. (C07) *What do you usually do when something feels really hard?* I like speak with another, with a teacher. (C09) *¿Qué te parecen tus profesores?* Me gustan. (C12)			*¿Has tenido alguna experiencia desagradable por ser de un país distinto?* Si en la escuela… (C13) *¿Te sientes española? ¿O te sientes marroquí?* Es que no me siento con nada. He nacido en España. Voy a Marruecos, me dicen ay la españolita. Vengo a España y me dicen... ay no. no sé. (C07)
		Peer relationships	*¿Tienes amigos?* Si, de escuela, aquí mismo, también tengo de fuera. Bueno, muchos amigos tengo. (C05) *¿Te gusta ir a la escuela?* Si, claro se estudia y también a veces hacemos actividades divertidas dentro de lo que cabe. Socializamos. Y hacemos muchas cosas. (C05) *¿Hay algún compañerx que te moleste con frecuencia?* No, nada, me llevo bien con todos. (C06) *¿Tienes mejores amigxs?* Si, tengo 2 mejores amigos. Los dos son de la escuela. (C06) *¿Tienes alguna mejor amiga?* Si, está aquí [en el Ateneu]. Y va a mi escuela, hacemos casi todo juntas. (C07) *Do you have friends here in school?* Yes very. One from Colombia and one from Pakistan, and Maroc and here. (C08)	Peer conflict		*¿Hay algún compañerx que te moleste con frecuencia?* Me acabo de cambiar de clase por eso. Porque mi mejor amiga y mis amigas que estaban, ósea éramos 4 mejores amigas, y todas esas 3 se pusieron contra mí, me estaban haciendo bullying y eso hace como dos semanas, me tiraron los lápices por la ventana, me insultaban en clase al lado de los profesores. Los profesores no decían nada tampoco. Hablaba con mi tutora siempre, voy a poner un porte pero nunca pone, me cambiaron de clase y ahora estoy mucho más mejor. (C10) *¿Tienes alguna mejor amiga?* No, porque no confío en ella, ósea, acabamos de separar. Ósea, confiaba en ella y ella confiaba en mí, pero no sabía que ella hablaba de mi hace como dos años, me da igual, eso pasa, no hay que confiar mucho. (C10) *¿Hay algún compañero que te moleste con frecuencia?* Pegue no, molesta. *¿Hace que a veces no tenga ganas de ir al instituto?* Si, a veces. (C13) *¿Hay algún compañerx que te moleste con frecuencia?* A ver molestar si…algunas veces cuando quiere pelearse. Desde primero, toda esa clase la odio. (C12) *At school is there someone in your class that bothers you or hits you or bullies you?* Yes. *Does he hit you?* Very. (C08) *¿Qué tal son tus amigas?* Bien, alguna a ver que son así que hablan mal de espaldas, ya no. Amigas que son falsas no. Ahora, no sé cuándo fue, acabo de entrar. Me explicó una amiga que estaba hablando mal de mi a mis espaldas. Y pues no me gustó. (C13) *¿Tienes algún compañero que te moleste o te pegue?* De pegar no, pero de molestar si, ósea yo soy una niña que no hablo mucho ósea en el cole, pero no sé, me siento como, no sé. A mí me gustaba más mi colegio antiguo porque ya era, no era, yo creo que debía ser desde mi primer día hablar más con la gente para conocerlos más, pero ahora le conozco, pero no hablo mucho. Pero ahora, no sé cómo decírtelo, ya sé español,

							pero no tanto, como que tengo miedo, me equivoco de algo. (C16) *¿Tienes amigos se metan en líos frecuentemente?* Creo que, no diría amiga, porque se había peleado conmigo como enemiga, antes éramos como mejores amigas, y yo creo que si porque, si no, no sé, si nada. No sé, porque ella se mete con todos. Yo creo que habrá tenido con policía porque ella, aunque sea más pequeña, tiene 11 años como yo, pero ella yo la vi una vez que ella estaba fumando y puede tener bueno, puede meter con la policía también, porque la policía, claro la parará. (C16)
						Academic demands	*¿En los últimos meses te sentiste triste o ansioso?* Pues, un poquito. Por la escuela. Porque he tenido bastantes pruebas de mate. (C02) *Tu mamá me contó que repetiste el año…*Me costó mucho. Me puse muy triste, porque perdí a mis amigos. (C04) *¿Y el cambio de idioma?* En los primeros días me costaba mucho. (C04)
	Neighborhood	Positive contrast with country of origin	*¿Cómo te imaginaste tu vida acá antes de llegar?* Pues me imaginaba como las calles cuando era otoño que caían las hojas en el suelo. Que iba a ser como el futuro. Muy moderno. *¿Y te ha parecido así?* Si, me parece moderno. Hay más recursos. (C04) *Do you feel at home here?* Yeah. *Are you excited to live here?* Yeah. (C08) *Do you think being here is better than Pakistan?* Yes. (C09) *¿Tus papás te explicaron por qué querían venir a Cataluña?* Para un … como se llama… para un mejor futuro. (C07) *¿Crees que tus papás están contentos acá?* Si, mi padre y mi madre están muy contentos. Creo que preferirían estar aquí antes que en Marruecos ya que la cosa en Marruecos no es muy fácil que digamos. (C05)		Neighborhood	Negative contrast with country of origin	*¿Hay algo que extrañes de Pakistán?* Si, la familia. Mi casa. Aquí son pisos. Pero en Pakistán son casas que son como grandes. Aquí un piso es muy pequeño. Extraño mi casa, también la comida de Pakistán, bueno la hace mi madre aquí. La casa, allí como que he nacido en mi país desde pequeña yo vivía en esta casa. (C16) *¿Sientes que te has adaptado a tu nuevo país?* …en el principio no. No sé cómo explicarlo. No me sentía a gusto, este país es más diferente que allá. Acá vivimos en pisos y allá en casas. No podemos saltar tanto. (C04) *¿Como te imaginaste tu vida acá antes de llegar?* Me imaginaba que íbamos a ser muchos más felices, que íbamos a vivir una vida especial y todo eso, pero no era lo mismo que pensaba. En verdad vivía ahí en Marruecos más mejor que aquí ahora. (C10) *¿Cómo te ha ido con los cambios del formato del colegio?* Muy difícil la verdad. Porque aquí se viene en la tarde y en Honduras no. Da mucha pereza ir en la tarde otra vez. Pero ahora solo vamos por la mañana. (C04)
						Perceived Racism	*En* el barrio que vivíamos antes había muchos gitanos. Una niña que vive, que estaba aquí, está aquí en mi grupo. Le pegaba cada día a mis hermanos, mis

| | | Recreation public spaces | *¿Cuándo te sientes mejor? ¿Haciendo qué?* Bueno, cuando voy al parque con mis padres. Se quedan hablando ahí y yo y yo juego. Pues todo está tranquilo y está bien. (C01)

¿Tienes algún lugar en tu vecindario donde te gusta jugar? El parque de las pirámides y en la plaza roja. (C02)

¿Qué cosas te gusta hacer con tu familia? Estar juntos. Salir, cuando vamos a la playa, salir todos en familia. Me gusta mucho. (C04)

What does your family do on weekends? Playing. Going park. (C08)

What do you like to do after school? Going on park. (C09)

¿Qué hacen en tu familia los fines de semana? Depende del fin de semana. Normalmente estoy en mi casa o salgo al río o a pasear, a Badalona central. (C07) | | | | hermanos llegaban llorando, un día le pegue yo a esa niña. (C16)

¿Alguna vez has tenido alguna experiencia de racismo por ser de otro país? Si… en mi barrio. Algunas personas de la misma familia esa, los niños más grandes me decían vete si no te voy a pegar como le pegaste a esa niña. Quieren que ósea nosotros nos vayamos, nos mudamos, y ellos se quedaran allí. Llevamos mucho tiempo llamando la policía. Pero cuando venían ellos se iban o no se iban y la policía no hacía nada. (C16)

¿Has tenido alguna experiencia desagradable por ser de un país distinto? Si en la escuela y afuera también. Si porque cuando estamos en la calle, un chico supuestamente estaba hablando mal de los peruanos. (C13) |
| | Ateneu | Community support | *¿Has invitado amigxs a la fundación?* A una. (C02)

¿Qué tipo de actividades te gusta hacer acá en la fundación? Antes [de la pandemia] hacíamos natación y eso es lo que me gusta. (C03)

¿Has hecho amigos en el Ateneu? Si. (C04, C09, C10)

¿Qué actividades te gusta hacer en el Ateneu? En verano ir a la playa, las colonias, y jugar. (C04)

No teníamos dinero para comprar comida tampoco, y pues mi abuelita nos mandaba dinero para pagar la habitación. Y como que pagamos la habitación con 300 euros, no podíamos ahorrar, porque 300 euros es mucho para una habitación. Y pues no podíamos tampoco coger comida y eso, el Ateneu también nos han ayudado. (C10)

¿Te parece que el Ateneu te ha apoyado con el colegio? Mucho mucho. Me encanta venir aquí. Porque, ósea, solo vengo del insti, digo ay qué hora qué hora es porque ósea quiero venir. Y los días que estoy enferma o algo digo oof por qué no ir. (C10) | | Ateneu | Loss of community | *¿Se te ha dificultado hacer amigos [en el Ateneu]?* Si, ósea, no es como que no hable por completo, es como hablo muy poco. Antes hablaba como en mi casa… Nos cambiamos de grupo como el año pasado, pero no era el inicio del año pasado, era el final. Ya llevo como 11 meses en este grupo. Algunos días no quiero venir al Ateneu es por este grupo. (C16)

¿Te has sentido solo/a? Si, en el casal. Pero hay algunas personas ya, sabes ya se conocían desde antes, ya tienen un grupo, y los otros que quedan ya tienen un grupo, y yo tenía solo un grupo que ya se había ido. Y yo con esos niños hablaba más, ya no, me siento como sola, porque ya no es como antes. Que estaban todos allí y eran menos y alguien más grande o alguien de mi edad. (C16) |

| | | | *¿Quisieras volver al país de origen de tu familia o quedarte en Cataluña?* A visitar me gustaría ahora mismo. A vivir también, pero no puedo dejar a mis amigos, al Ateneu, a muchas cosas. (C10) | | | | |

Matrix Adult Responses

Dimension	Category	Code	Example Quotes
Hope	Building a future	Academic opportunity	*¿Quién o quiénes tomaron la decisión de emigrar?* Dice que aquí hay la educación, la colegios, la universidad, más mejor que Pakistán. Que la económica está bien. Que hay mucha cosas aprendes. Por ejemplo, que mi hijo quiere jugar futbol, que hay más plataforma, más maneras de cumplir. En mi país hay muy poco oportunidad. En ese caso ellos utilizar bien, un día cumplir sueño que ellos quieren. (A17) Yo siempre quiero que ellos estudian mucho. Abogado, abogada. Y profe. Como buena persona y estudia. Yo no quiero como muchos mis paisanos que no no no después casar. Yo no quiero que rápido casarse. Yo quiero que primero estudia mucho. (A13) Y la pequeña está muy feliz, contenta. Ahí no problema. En colegio, instituto no hay problema… Mi niñas en colegio y en instituto con profes con todo niñas y niños felices. Desde pequeñas yo llevo las dos niñas lejos de mi casa. Santa Mari. Hay un colegio. Por eso, para llegar ahí 30 min, pero no pasa nada. (A13) Es que mi familia todo niños y niñas estudia mucho. En doctor. Doctoras. Engineer. Todo. Por eso yo quiero que mi niñas aquí estudia bien. Yo quiero y mi marido también. A veces de mi país, no todo, a veces no dejan para clase, para actividades. Pero mi marido siempre me dice que si, tu puedes hacer clase de castellano. Él me deja para grupo de plataforma, yo voy, él no dice nada. Yo contenta. No puedo hablar muy bien pero quiero aprender. (A13) *¿Por qué decidieron venir a Cataluña?* Para que mejoramos nuestra vida. Allí vivimos en un pueblo pequeño donde todo es complicado, colegio con solo primaria. Para estudiar secundaria y universidad tiene que ir a la ciudad. El trabajo tampoco... Porque trabajamos en el campo. Por eso preferimos venir aquí. (A01) Por eso siempre quiero un futuro mejor para mis hijos porque nosotros también, bueno no nos falta comer ni nada en el pueblo, pero nos falta muchas cosas, por ejemplo, estudiar. La vida en el pueblo y en la ciudad no son igual. Y en Marruecos y aquí tampoco son iguales. (A01) Yo hablar con mi hija estudiar bien, este yo no estudiar, yo no trabajar bien, después tu mejor. También yo hablo con ella no, este cosas no bien déjala. Ahora pensar tu siempre para estudiar este cosa de la vida de tu. (A07) *¿Se han cumplido las expectativas que tenía sobre su vida aquí?* Si. Mi niñas también no quieren volver. Por eso aquí medico muy bien, colegios, profes. (A13)
		Female equality	Siempre me gustaría trabajar, ser un poco libre. Allí en nuestra tierra las mujeres son mujeres y los hombres son hombres, sabes como la cosa, pero aquí cuando he venido le dije a mi marido quiero estudiar, y dice bueno. Estudiar la idioma, aquí en el Ateneu, aprender castellano, catalán. Y me ayudaron para hacer, he hecho un curso de monitora. Me ha ayudado, me ha buscado donde lo hago y todo. Después trabajo en el cole como monitora de comedor. Bueno 4 años pero ya, como me ha pasado esto ahora estoy así. (A01) En mi país, hay, estamos, mi padre estaba bien, no estamos viviendo mal. Hay una manera de chicas. Mi padre solo tiene chicas. No tiene chico, entonces no tiene mucho futuro… Hay lo que casan, pueden tener suerte de casar y tu vives bien. Luego puede ser, te separas y tu quedas parada. Ya no tienes sueldo, no tiene que comer, y si tienes hijos ya peor. Entonces mi padre, él piensa que le trae nosotros a España. Fue pensamiento de mi padre el primero. Pero claro todos queremos venir a Europa. Es que mi padre él piensa de nosotros más de él. Él dice que era el futuro de vosotros mejor que trabajáis que igualmente si la vida puede ser buena después de casar. Puede ser que sigues con este matrimonio y puede te rompes. En mi país muy duro. Cuando separas vives mal. Después de divorcio vives mal. Mi padre tiene ese pensamiento. Son 6 niñas. Mi padre dice 6 niñas, ¿y si muero, y si pasa algo? Mi padre estaba pensando así. Y dicen bueno más o menos voy un país, ya pueden vivir chicas libres, pueden estudiar. (A04) También no puedo ir a Marruecos quedar ahí un mes o dos meses, solo dos semanas, máximo 3 semanas ya está, volver aquí. No puedo [risa]. *¿Por qué?* Porque ahí hay mi familia, porque me gusta aquí. Hay de todo, hay trabajo, para mujeres. Allí Marruecos es difícil encontrar trabajo para mujer. (A02) A Marruecos. Mi abuela no puede hacer nada. Porque como mi padre todavía está vivo… a un juez… Siempre gana mi padre. Porque soy hija. No soy hija para te quiere, no no, para ser criada por otra mujer. Cría 7 hermanas, de él y, un chico. Yo no estudia. Me hacen un criada de casa. Trabajas, haces pan, lavas, no hay lavadora, no a mano. Lava ropa de las niñas, llévalas al colegio. Ducharlas. Bueno eso un criada. Criada tiene valor. Llega a Holanda y queda allí un tiempo ahí. Después de Holanda.

			Ma hacen un abogado aquí. Porque yo tiene mis tíos policía de mi madre, policía de Madrid. He hacen un juez, un abogado. Me hacen un DNI español. De allí trabaja, luchar, hacer mis hijos. En casa. (A06)
		Career opportunity	*¿Quién decidió emigrar?* Él primero. Él decía que venir porque no tiene trabajo ahí. No está bien ahí. (A11) *¿Cuándo decidieron emigrar y por qué?* Mi marido estaba aquí, y luego subí con él. Él para buscar el trabajo. (A12) *¿Qué quiere ser su hijx cuando crezca?* Todavía sabes dicen otra cosa diferente. El mayor como tiene las cosas claras, dice que ser profesor de mates o bueno las cosas de las ciencias, como le gusta. El mediano, no sé, me parece va a buscar trabajo pronto, no va a estudiar mucho, yo no juzgo hasta que sigue. Digo los niños se cambian, cada año pueden cambiar las ideas. Lo que quieren van a hacer seguro. Porque yo y su padre no que no estamos de la gente que dice que tienes que hacer esto, no, hacen lo que ellos para que se pueden dar, no puedo mandarles que hacer la cosa que yo quiero. (A11) *¿Se han cumplido las expectativas que tenía sobre su vida aquí?* Si. Siempre me gustaría trabajar… Estudiar la idioma, aquí en el Ateneu, aprender castellano, catalán. Y me ayudaron para hacer, he hecho un curso de monitora. Me ha ayudado, me ha buscado ya, como me ha pasado esto ahora estoy así. (A01) Porque yo siempre hablar con ella yo trabajo y tu estudiar. Estudiar bien. Después tu quieres trabajo. Ahora no. Yo siempre pensar para ella bien. (A07)
Gratitude	Overcoming migration obstacles	Family reunification	Yo casé, mi marido estaba aquí, y luego subí con él. Él para buscar el trabajo, yo consigo mi marido, donde vaya estoy con él. (A12) *¿Cómo fue el proceso de inmigración?* Ha venido mi marido primero, después me ha traído a mí y a los niños también, reagrupación familiar… El mayor tiene [tenía] 7 años y el otro tiene 5, están contentos cuando los digo vamos a España con el papá, "queremos ir, queremos ir". (A01) Yo me vine en el 2006. Él [marido] se vino primero, después de un año me vine yo, y a los dos años trajimos a mi hijo. (A03) *¿Cuándo decidieron emigrar y por qué?* 2006 estoy aquí. Mi marido ha venido dos años antes de mí. 2004. (A10)
	Discovering unique benefits of host country	Medical resources	*¿Qué tal fue tu experiencia con los servicios de salud?* Muy bien, muy bien. Tenemos suerte que estamos acá. Si estoy allí es otro problema. Allí tienes que pagar todo. Si no tienes dinero no tienes derecho. Pero aquí por lo menos de verdad lo agradecemos mucho, aquí nos cuidan mucho. (A01) *¿Tiene algún diagnóstico formal?* No sé cómo se llama. Tiene "sizmek". No sé que es. Como se llama este. Cuando era pequeño como un poco lejano, no habla mucho con la gente. Cosas de autismo, no es autismo autismo. Pero aparece, cosas de aparecer autismo. Está aquí. Tu has verlo, está jugando. Como decimos, es especialista, tiene algunas cosas. Para mí no tenía problemas con él. Yo descubrió cuando tenía dos años. cuando jugaba en el parque, jugaba con los niños. Le gusta solo jugaba con su hermana, lejano jugaba solo. Notó cosas diferente. La mayoría descubrieron en el cole. Hay clase. Yo no. Si digo si no le gusta gente rara, hay niños no acostumbran rápido. Después ahí me dijeron, es que tal tal. No yo tengo problemas, si hay cosas para resolver no pasa nada. A mí me da bien que mi hijo está bien. Seguimos así sabes. *¿Uds pagan el psicólogo de tu hijo?* No. (A12) As far as technology, facilities, health system… things are much better here in Spain and Europe. But as for a country like Pakistan, a few people are very rich and majority of population is suffering a lot. (A05) *¿Se han cumplido las expectativas que tenía sobre su vida aquí?* Si. Mi niñas también no quieren volver. Por eso aquí medico muy bien. (A13) Aquí mucha cosas diferente con Marruecos. Aquí estudiar bien. Médico bien. Mucha cosas. (A07) El niño tiene problema, ahora tiene catorce años y medio, todavía hace pipi a la cama. Ese le que muy mal. Ahora tiene pastillas, pero si quitar pastillas hace pipi no sé por qué. Ahora con el médico intentamos, pero el médico quiere hacer régimen poquito, él no quiere hacer régimen… A ver si operar… el médico le ha dado papeles, pone de que come, pone el no hace caso. Yo siempre chilla con él. Habla bien. Habla chillar. Él no hace caso. Hace 2 meses hace caso ha bajado 2 kilos. Yo digo sigue por favor, mi hijo, sigue hace, hace régimen, come verduras, no quiero. El médico le ha dicho come verduras mucho. No quiero verduras, no quiero. Que vamos a hacer. (A09)

			Después venir asma. Yo quiero con médico, siempre pagar. Mucho caro. En Marruecos mucho caro. Después no mirar bien. (A07)
		Community Support (Ateneu)	*¿Les ayudas con tareas?* No. Ahora como son niveles más alto que yo, entonces no… Pero con los otros mayores tienen un nivel, por eso mi hijo mayor viene aquí [Ateneu], ellos que pueden ayudarle en estudios. (A11)

Yo nunca he dejado mi niña sola. [Points to daughter outside the window]. Chaqueta rosa. Al final. Viene aquí. Desde pequeña las dos vienen Ateneu. Me ayuda del Ateneu mucho. (A13)

¿Hace cuánto vienes? ¿Cuándo llegaste? Si. De primera vez cuando yo estaba en casa, que yo estudia en Pakistán mucho. Cuando llego aquí, mi marido me deja para clase. Cuando yo aquí va una profe [name redacted] estaba aquí me dice no hay plaza y estaba lloraba, yo no sé qué porque tensión, depresión estaba, yo lloraba, yo en colegio de mi hija para dejar ahí me llama [Ateneu functionary] que hay plaza, no llora. Y de verdad ellos siempre cuando yo tengo problemas ellos me ayudan mucho. Todo muy buenas. (A13)

Cuando no estaba puedo hablar, ellos me ayuda mucho. Más cosas también. Me acuerdo que [Ateneu functionary] y un señor que aquí está afuera de barba, que muy bien, cuando yo una carta viene para echar de piso, él me ayuda mucho, me dice que hay un señor de plataforma él puede ayudarte. [Ateneu functionary] de aquí, todo, todo me ayuda, siempre cuando yo no entiendo una cosa, yo vengo aquí, ellos me explican muy bien. De colegio también. (A13)

Y aquí también, la [Ateneu functionary], todos me han ayudado mucho, me vienen a visitar, como estaba [sick with cancer], me preguntan siempre. (A01)

Los mayores ya son mayores. El mayor está en el último año, ya empieza a trabajar. El mediano está haciendo prácticas por las tardes. Está bien. El Ateneu también me ayuda mucho por eso. Cuando estaban en el instituto y bachillerato siempre por las tardes vienen aquí. Hacer los deberes. Hacer actividades. No están en la calle para tener problemas. Porque aquí es como una familia, le protegen mucho. De verdad me encanta. Me gusta mucho. El Ateneu es como mi familia. (A01)

¿Tu hijo tuvo algún problema de adaptación? No lo llevó bien porque incluso que fue cuando cumplió los 5 lo entré aquí [Ateneu] y estuvo participando hasta los 12 años. (A03)

Es que como yo no sé catalán, a veces me traen cosas. Y me voy el traductor, mejor que vengo aquí que me ayudan de algo. (A04)

Whenever I have some concern or questions I came here in Ateneu, there is a professor, at different time he used to help me and he used to tell me about these types of services [social aid]. I mean they are such a nice people, humble, they don't even get frustrated. They are always here to help you. (A05)

How did you find out about the Ateneu? I feel like it is my second home. When I came in Spain I first met [Ateneu functionary]… They are very cooperative, humble. I came for language course, but I explored many things. All the people are very, they always want to help you. They are helping people. Very comfortable. There is no other way that they discourage you. They all the time encourage you with their words, verbal communication, non-verbal communication, all the time they are welcoming you. (A05)

Aquí Ateneu ayudan poco, cosas de comida y ya está. Yo siempre bien con asista social de salud. Hablar con este por favor ayúdame porque yo no tengo ni trabajo ninguna. (A07)

¿Hace cuánto tiempo está conectado con la Fundación? 11 años. Siempre llevar bien aquí. Me gusta mucho el Ateneu. (A09)

¿Les ayudas con tareas? No. Ahora como son niveles más alto que yo, entonces no… Pero con los otros mayores tienen un nivel, por eso mi hijo mayor viene aquí [Ateneu], ellos que pueden ayudarle en estudios. (A11)

¿Cómo conoció la Fundación? Cuando dos hijas vivir conmigo, tengo problema, porque trabajo la noche también. Después de horario de colegio. Y yo necesita que haya una plataforma o instituto que ellos estar en centro y también que aprendes que o cumplir actividades de la colegio, trabajo de la colegio. Yo pregunto diferente personas.

			En la primera en la colegio. Ellos dicen que hay una casal, y ayudan conocer lugares, trabajo de colegio, aprendes más. Esa más cerca. El Ateneu, antes que yo vivo en frente de Ateneu. 2, 3 minutos de otra parte de la carretera. Esa más cerca. Esa mas mejor que mi hijas en ese centro. (A17)
Contentment	Making it home	Cultural Integration	*¿Quisieras quedarte en Cataluña? ¿No querrías volver a Pakistán?* No, mi niñas no quieren, le gusta. Amigas de aquí, alimentos me gusta, de médico me gusta mucho de colegios, todo me gusta de aquí… Música mi niños les gusta de aquí, no de Pakistán. Yo cuando ellos quieren escuchar yo también, ahí con ellos. Comida de Pakistán, de aquí, tortilla, pasta, de aquí. De Pakistán también, alimentos y médico, de verdad que de España muy bien. Top class. (A13) Cuando hemos venido aquí es un cambio radical para nosotros. Pero para bien. No para mal. Y ahora sentimos mucho que somos más de aquí que de allí. Otro día le he dicho a la Pilar, nosotros sentimos si me preguntas el primer país tuyo, digo aquí España. Aquí hemos vivido mejor aquí que allí. De verdad. Desgraciadamente la enfermedad también quitó... Estoy aquí, también es algo muy importante, para mí. (A01) Respeto fiestas de España, respeto de fiestas de Marruecos. Cada uno tiene. Hacemos fiestas de aquí también. Cuando hay fiesta aquí en el Ateneu, en el cole, yo tengo de todo, de Marruecos y de España. Yo hace de todo, tengo respeto de aquí y de ahí. (A09)
		Friendships like family	Tengo dos amigas que son españolas que son como mi familia, son mi familia de verdad, son mis hermanas, son mi familia. (A01) *¿Tú tienes amigas?* Si, como mi familia. Si tengo amigas como mis hermanas, sabes, cuando estoy enferma o ellos están enfermos o tenemos una cosa alegre, un bautizo de mi hija o un bautizo de ellos, alguna fiesta, unimos muchos, y más que esto, como familia, pueden llamarme cada día para preguntarme cómo estoy, yo también a ellos, bueno somos como familia aquí. Sus hijos me llaman tía, mis hijos le llaman a ellos tía. Como familia. Además, yo del norte y ellos del sur de Marruecos. Pero cuando vinimos aquí bueno, como tenemos casi mismo carácter, misma cultura, misma esto, bueno estamos bien. (A11) *¿Tienes amigas del Ateneu?* Si, tengo chicas, que van mi hijos del cole también vienen aquí… Tengo una amiga amiga. Cuando nació mi hija traenme regalos. Estaban mi vecinas españolas. Pero vecinas vecinas, amigas. Estabamos corriendo cuando estaba joven. (A04) Yo tengo una amiga aquí. Yo casa de ella 3 meses. Antes yo estudiar, no estudiar, este de como se llama, limpieza. Un curso de limpieza. (A07) Si tengo una amiga que es amiga hablamos de todo. (A10)
	Prioritizing children	Self-sacrificial attitude?	*¿Quisieras volver al país de origen de tu familia o quedarte en Cataluña?* Pues no sabemos, de momento estoy aquí con mis hijos. Cuando estas joven piensas para tus hijos más. Pero cuando más mayor eso diferente, piensas diferente. Pero de momento yo con mis hijos hasta que se hacen su vida. No sabemos dónde vamos a quedar, las cosas si cambian. Pues cada uno prefiere se regresa a su país, tiene el corazón hacia su tierra, pero no sabemos, puede ser. (A12) Pero yo y su padre luchamos a ver, ahora está luchando el solo, yo estoy luchando por casa, y voy yo para estudiar, ayudo ellos para muchas cosa. A ver si puedo llegamos ellos a lo que quieran. A ver. Yo tengo un sueño a ver, lo que no puedo yo a ver si ellos pueden. Él también me dice mi marido a ver si podemos luchar para que ellos algo. (A04) *¿Sientes que estás mejor acá?* Si. Yo pensaba el futuro de mi hijos no para mí, el mío ya está, yo con mis hijos. (A09) *¿Cuándo decidieron emigrar y por qué?* 2006 estoy aquí. Mi marido ha venido dos años antes de mí. 2004. *¿Sí? ¿Te gustaría volver?* A mí me gusta pero yo no puedo, mi niños aquí, no puedo. (A10) And I am going to see the picture where there is hope, that we are lucky. We are contributing for our country, contributing in Spain, we are contributing in our family, and we should get, feel in a lucky way. It is a home, for our kids. (A05)
Frustration	Struggling with migratory hassles	Bureacratic obstacles	*¿Tu esposa trabaja?* No en momento no. Porque ella ahora aprende idioma, despúes puede ser. Ahora falta permiso de tarjetas. Yo no sé qué el ministerio ahora, sabes que no reciben las tarjetas para trabajar. (A17) *Did you use any social aid services?* Yes, but when we came here immediately there was no type of service available for us, because all the system was collapsing due to coronavirus, it was lockdown. When we came here, we don't, there was different type of aid programs for the families. Initially we don't understand what type of program and how to process them and how to apply for them. And when we spend time here, day by day we came to understand there are different type of program and get the support of the government. Initially we got support of food. In school and for family. After that we applied for income tax [muffled] they are paying familia

numerosa. Numerous family members. We also applied for the rent habitatge but there is no response. We also applied for the Social security seguridad renta minima a type of aid for the families with kids. A couple of weeks ago my husband told that it was rejected. (A05)

Hay mucho problemas. Y la vida es no más fácil que como que yo pensar. Bueno hay mucho normas también. Después es la COVID. Sabes que hay mucha oficinas, que las citas, muy largas de tiempo que no se puede cumplir. Por ejemplo las tarjetas de mi niños y de mi mujer, que ahora casi 5 meses pasado, que no llegar, que no recibo las tarjetas, que no las proceso. Por ejemplo, de familia numerosa. La ministerio quiere las tarjetas físicamente, no solo número, pero ahora 5 meses pasado no recibo las tarjetas. Que hay muchas cosas no cumplir en concepto de la ayuda familiar. Muy atascada en ese concepto. Que yo trabajo larga horas para pagar alquiler, para pagar las gastos, comidas. Que la vida ahora que ya sabes que yo pienso que la vida en España es mejor, pero de momento tengo mucho problemas. (A17)

Claro cuando en principio cuando no tienes documentos, pues es, claro, no es lo que diga una, te salen personas buenas, personas que no te dan tus derechos. Pero me ha ido bastante bien, no me puedo quejar. (A08)

Luego cuando casar Tánger, vení mi marido aquí, casi 4 años él está aquí sin papeles. Yo estaba con su madre. Yo tengo aquí 12 años, 13. Mes que viene 13. Cuando arreglar papeles subirme con grupo familiar. Subimos aquí. Tengo una niña y un niño. Ahora está divorciada. Casi un año. El primer día de pandemia empezar el lío. (A09)

¿Han recibido alguna ayuda? No. Porque todavía no ha cogido este, no sabía cómo voy a pedir, entonces estoy esperando que hasta que me voy a la asistencia social. Tengo el día 2 con asistencia social. Ha tenido el día 30 este mes pasado, pero ha dicho que no está ella tiene que coger otra cita y ahora tengo el día 2. De este mes que viene. Para aplicarme como voy a hacer con esta tarjeta que lo he cogido ahora de enfermedad. Pero estamos bien gracias a Dios, si tienes salud tiene todo. Si es salud que es más importante. (A10)

		Experiences of Racism	*¿Alguna vez han tenido problemas para pagar arriendo o luz?* Antes si, ahora cobramos renta, solo problema de barrio donde yo vivo, este barrio, la gente de mi barrio no, todo de fuera muy buenos, de colegio muy bueno, donde yo vivo no. Molestan. Cuando hay vacaciones yo llevo mi niñas un poco lejos. Aquí no pueden jugar. No deja. Siempre me dice cuando me ponen nerviosa, cuando de mi barrio chicos y chicas, me molesta, me dice vete de país, yo no quiero volver. (A13)
			¿Su hijx le ha compartido alguna experiencia de discriminación? Ay eso siempre, algunas, pero yo no contesto. La gente enferma. Yo no hago caso. Para que hago caso. Por eso te digo, no somos de personas que contestamos. Si hay una persona enferma o mayor, dejarlo. *¿Te pasa con gente mayor?* Si. La gente mayor, pero los jóvenes en el trabajo tampoco. En el metro tampoco. Una vez me pasó con la anciana. (A12)
			¿Su hijx tiene algún compañerx que le pegue, lo moleste consistentemente? Si. Eso también. Porque mi niños. Barrio Badalona. Ese barrio hay mucho gitanos. Yo no racistas. Pero hay problemas en respecto de los gitanos, niños, que cada día hay problemas. Que cada día, que cuando mi hijo ahora 9 años, quiere jugar en la plaza roja. Esa cerca Sant Roc, aquí también hay mucha familias, gitanos también viene para jugar los niños. Pero siempre que ellos en grupo 3, 4 niños, pelear y pegar y hablar mal. Eso hay muy grande problema. Muy muy muy grande. Hay familias de pakistanís que no viene. Las niñas, niños, hay diferente familias no vienen para jugar. Mi hijo no quiere estar en la piso siempre, quiere jugar futbol, muy energética, él tiene que jugar futbol, pero yo siempre que hay problema. La madre también que sabes acompañar cuando él quiere jugar. A ella también. La hermana también, acompañar con él. Porque la madre también no se puede hablar castellano. Ese es la problema. Porque la madre de otros niños, que sabes también muy peligroso, entonces es que pelear. Y que llamar la policía, los mossos, mira que tengo problema, ellos no quiere que jugar en la plaza, es para todos, no solo para los gitanos. Esa muy serio problema. Ellos no aceptan extranjeros, como mi familia, los gitanos no quiere. Lo español está diferente costumbre. Parece. Yo no sé, esa la diferencia de la educación o hay otra cosa pero hay diferencia. (A17)
		Difficulty adapting	*¿Te parece que ella se sentía en casa en España o porque decidió volver?* No se ella [hija] me ha dicho me gusta Marruecos y yo le dije. No sé, me ha dicho aquí tiene que levantar a las 5 de la mañana a trabajar. En Marruecos yo no trabajo. A veces trabajan con Vodafone. Su marido trabajar. A ella le gusta aquí y le gusta Marruecos, pero su marido no le gusta vivir aquí. Él quiere irse marruecos yo también, cuando yo quiero subir aquí, subir. No tienen problema, tienen papeles. (A09)
			¿Qué nuevas experiencias ponen nervioso a su hijx? Como hemos venido allí de un pueblo, cuando llegamos aquí para nosotros es un cambio radical. A ellos y a mí también. Allí vivimos como un pueblo pequeño, poca gente, nuestra mente es como está cerrada de allí, nunca viajamos mucho ni nada. Pero cuando hemos venido aquí es un cambio radical para nosotros. (A01)

			¿Por qué decidieron emigrar? La pregunta del millón, porque supuestamente, para buscar una mejor situación, él decidió, y pues bueno, decidí acompañarlo hasta que fracasó todo. El comienzo bien, él [marido] no se acostumbró aquí. Él se devolvió. (A03)
			¿Quisieras volver al país de origen de tu familia? Me gustaría, si. (A03)
			Cuánto quiero venir, estaba contenta mucho. Pero cuando he venido aquí, después he sufrido mucho. Y al final me he quedado, me gusta mucho después, pero dos años tres años. Así me gusta mucho. Ahora ya tampoco yo no puedo vivir allí ya Marruecos. Pero me gusta. Pero puedo vivir yo, pero mis niños no quiere, no puede. (A10)
		Language barriers	*¿Cómo se adaptó/ha ido adaptando su hijx?* Desde que han venido aquí han estado contentos, son muy sociables, no son niños así que son cerrados, sociables, no les cuesta mucho. A nosotros los mayores un poco si, por el tema del idioma. (A01)
			¿Cómo se adaptó tu hija cuando llegaron? El primer año muy difícil, el quinto ya empezar aquí, no tiene amigas, no sabe hablar. Ha pasado un año, dos años muy muy muy mal. Pero luego todo bien, está bien, con el cole, casal, tiene amigas. Aquí todos le quieren mucho. Siempre preguntarme como esta, que hace, tiene bebe o no tiene, habla con ella en el móvil. Los primero muy difícil. (A09)
			En el colegio, la grande ya se va, le costó mucho al principio porque fue muy duro, no fue fácil, por el tema del catalán. Venir, ya grande. La pusieron en sexto grado, y claro ha vuelto a repetir porque lo ha pasado fatal. (A08)
			My husband work, I do not, I want to, but at the moment I have to do different type of activities, master different type of skills…you know, language. After that I'm planning to do work, but it is not easy for my husband to take care of family, he is only breadwinner you know. (A05)
			¿Te pareció difícil adaptarte? Si, con idioma. Si tu no sabes idioma hablar es difícil. (A02)
			¿Se han cumplido las expectativas que tenía sobre su vida aquí? Si, el primer año es difícil. Despúes buscar trabajo, has hecho dos cursos, curso de limpieza, después no hay trabajo, después hecho curso de camarera de piso, y trabajo. (A02)
	Negotiating disillusionment	False expectations	*¿Estás contento en España?* 50%. Pero seguro que ellos también explorar hay mucha cosas, pero problemas de dinero también, no tengo mucho tiempo para pasar con la familia. Depende de mucha cosas. (A17)
			¿Se han cumplido las expectativas que tenía sobre su vida aquí? No. *¿Te esperabas mejor o peor?* Mejor. (A15)
			Living in Europe is a dream come true. But things are not too much good as I was thinking. But they are not too bad. As people said that Europe is this this this. But nothing is like that. You have to struggle. Life is struggle. But you have to struggle when you came in some new place. You have different challenges. You have to face and you have to tackle these challenges. (A05)
			¿Se han cumplido las expectativas que tenía sobre su vida aquí? Bueno, poco, poco, poco. Porque hay mucho problemas. Y la vida es no más fácil que como que yo pensar. (A17)
			¿Se han cumplido las expectativas que tenía sobre su vida aquí? Pues bueno, a veces si, a veces no. Sinceramente, claro. A veces, no en todos los trabajos como que eso. A veces quieres una cosa luego claro cuando en principio cuando no tienes documentos, pues es, claro, no es lo que diga una, te salen personas buenas, personas que no te dan tus derechos. (A08)
			¿Se han cumplido las expectativas que tenía sobre su vida aquí? No al cien por ciento, pero tampoco me dejaré… (A03)
Anxiety	Managing unexpected adversity	Financial difficulties	*¿Alguna vez han tenido problema para pagar alquiler o luz?* Si, pase yo y mi marido antes un tiempo muy mal. Cuando estaba crisis en España. Pase muy mal este tiempo. Ya con tiempo ha pasado, gracias a dios ahora estamos viviendo muy bien. Pero antes fue experiencia muy mala. Cuando estaba crisis en España. De este tiempo mi marido no podía trabajar. Había tenido una empresa pequeñita y se ha perdido mucho. Y vendió mucho oro y yo no sabía antes que significa pido ayuda hasta que me dicen gente vendido todo, hasta que ya no tengo nada ya. Vendo horno vendo esto. No sabía antes yo que significa sociales y tal y no sé que, luego hasta que me enseña gente que tienen que va ahí y te ayudan. Tiempo estaba muy mal, y levantado de nuevo, gracias a dios que seguimos así. No queremos volver a este tiempo muy mal. (A04)

			¿En algún momento has tenido problema para pagar alquiler, luz, o agua? Si. Cuando me separé del padre de mi hijo. (A03) *Has your family ever been unable to pay for rent or electricity?* Yes, many times, when we came here, immediately after one month, my husband suffered from coronavirus. It was very difficult month for my family. It was only my husband who worked for the family. In March. It was very difficult for us to manage all the expenditures. We borrowed from friends, that is how we managed to pay the bills and the rent. But it was very difficult time. (A05) Yo y mi hija alquiler una habitación. Antes yo trabajo cuidar con una señora mayor. 4 meses. Después ella no bien, viene una enfermera, ahora yo no tengo trabajo. Mira me ayudan mi padre y mi madre. Mi padre poco, mi madre poco. Y después una personas aquí ayudan poco. Ahora falta una mes de yo no pagar. Hablar con este por favor ayúdame porque yo no tengo ni trabajo ninguna, porque también mi hija ella enferma, tiene asma. Por favor ayúdame, sabes ahora yo no tengo ninguna cosa en casa. Yo quiero comprar una barra de pan, yo no tengo dinero. Yo llamar al teléfono. sabes ahora cuánto, 6 meses, ninguna ayuda. (A07) Hablamos con la dueña, le dijimos que nos retrasaríamos sabes porque no podemos pagar luego, nos quería subir el alquiler, y bueno si no podemos pagar cómo nos va a subir el alquiler. Si si, bueno luego tuvimos que pagarlo, pero si si nos retrasamos bastantes meses. (A08) *¿En algún momento os habéis encontrado que no pudisteis pagar el alquiler, la luz, la comida?* Si porque mi marido, casi un mes y 17 días que no ha trabajado, ha pasado, pero este mes está trabajando. Problema porque no está trabajando, entonces no podemos pagar querer y comer eso y al final menos mal mi marido ha tenido un poco de dinero ha pagado alquiler, pero venimos un poco… ha pasado. (A10) *¿Se han cumplido las expectativas que tenía sobre su vida aquí?* Estaba contenta cuando he venido. Cuánto quiero venir, estaba contenta mucho. Pero cuando he venido aquí, despés he sufrido mucho. Tengo que trabajar. Si no trabajas no comes. Allí puede vivir con tu hermanos, con tu padres, juntos, aquí no. Hasta tu hermanos no puedes vivir con ellos, aquí muy diferente. Diferente cuando he venido. Y al final cuando he venido digo a mi madre porque ha venido aquí, las casa muy pequeñas, [risa]. Porque pequeñas las casas, Marruecos muy grande las casas. (A10) *¿En algún momento os habéis encontrado que no pudisteis pagar el alquiler, la luz, la comida?* Si con este pandemia si, antes nunca. Como él trabajaba hace muchos años tiene fijo en este restaurante. Bueno pagamos el alquiler lo que debemos primero, lo que falta podemos vivir con él. Pero en este pandemia, uy como a veces que no cobraron quedamos así con 3 niños, pero gracias a [vivienda de interés social] ellos lo cubrimos hasta que cobramos el mes y después podemos pagar el alquiler. Es muy duro, pero gracias a dios como estamos aquí de verdad. Ha empezado este mes, un año y medio sin trabajo. (A11) *En algún momento os habéis encontrado que no pudisteis pagar el alquiler, la luz, la comida. ¿Cómo lo superasteis?* No de momento gracias a dios. Estoy trabajando de momento. Aunque mi marido no trabaja, luchamos. (A12)
		Pandemic	*¿En algún momento os habéis encontrado que no pudisteis pagar el alquiler, la luz, la comida?* Si. *¿Recibieron alguna ayuda?* La verdad que no, la pandemia y eso, no, como eran muchos los que habían solicitado, al final no se pudo. (A15) *¿Tu marido en que está trabajando?* En restaurante. Pero ahora con el tema ese de la pandemia está en el paro. Bueno vivimos justo justo. (A01) *¿Cómo les ha ido en la pandemia?* Fatal. Ahora estoy inerte. Mi marido acabo de volver a trabajar hace dos semanas, pero media jornada. La mitad. (A02) Bueno mi marido estaba trabajando y parando. (A04) *¿En algún momento os habéis encontrado que no pudisteis pagar el alquiler, la luz, la comida?* Claro, en la pandemia tuvimos problemas la verdad porque imagínate un año estuvo parado recién ha empezado que han abierto. (A08) *¿La pandemia que tal estuvo?* Estaba trabajando yo también, mi marido estaba en paro, yo no paré de trabajar. Si paro yo si hay problema. Estamos luchando aún. (A12)
		Unsafe neighborhood	*¿Ha notado cambios de apetito o de sueño o cansancio en su hijx?*

			No grande no. Mayor no. Por eso tenemos problemas de barrio. 3 veces vienen en mi piso y cogen móviles, ordenador de mi hija, solo cogen cosas. Por eso miedo. Y no puede dormir. Por eso yo hace muchos años que yo he pedido en habitatge un piso, yo quiero cambiar solo barrio, no quiero muy grande piso bien estado, solo quiero cambiar. Yo he entregado todo papeles en habitatge para cambiar este piso todavía no sabemos. (A13) *¿Cuándo pasó, estaban uds en el piso o habían salido?* Si nosotros estaban durmiendos. Por la noche 3 y media cuando todo. Solo coge cosas y se van. Todo de mi barrio. A veces gente por eso hacen así que yo dejo este piso para ellos. Yo cuando dejo donde podemos ir. Donde puedo ir con mis niñas, yo no puedo dejar. Muy difícil. Por eso yo y mi mayor hija no podemos tranquilamente dormir. Mirame los ojos. (A13) Cuando alquiler mi 200. Ellos pagan 250. De parte todo pagan gobierno. Por eso ellos no quieren dejar España. Estudian bien para seguridad. Ahí todo tranquilo. Aquí cuando pelea de mi barrio todo junto. Este problema. Solo este. Este problema grande. Que mi hija a veces cuando durmiendo y después grita mama mama mama, quien viene, quien cosa coge. Ahora tiene cabeza. Ahora cuando ella habla conmigo, no quiero así, mama ya esta. Yo sé que mi hija no estaba así. Solo tenemos problema, este grande problema. Me pone nerviosa, tengo tensión alta. Solo este problema de mi vida no me gusta de España. Otro me gusta todo, de parque, de gente. (A13)
		Health problems	*¿Tu marido qué hace?* Antes cuando yo venía aquí, trabaja de obra, y taxista también. Pero después cuando no hay trabajo y él muy enfermo. ahora tiene [discapacidad]. No sé cuánto. Pero tiene azúcar muy alto. problema de piernas también. *¿Diabetes?* Si, muy alto. Y hígado también. Problema de hígado. Muy mal de salud. (A13) *¿En qué trabaja usted o su pareja?* Yo antes estaba trabajando, pero desgraciadamente tengo una enfermedad, un cáncer de mama, y ahora no estoy trabajando… Me gustaría trabajar. La enfermedad me ha quitado mucho. Siente como un pájaro que le quitan las alas. Te quedas parada. Es difícil. Esperemos, recuperemos un poco, que este bien y volver a trabajar. (A01) Estaba mucho tiempo trabajando, pero después estoy enferma. Tengo mal de la espalda y pierna, y tengo problema de los nervios, no sé cómo se llama. Tengo roto un poco. Entonces ya dejado el trabajo. De 15 años. Estaba trabajando, dejado el trabajo así, salido sin nada, un mes de vacaciones. (A10) *¿Ha notado cambios de apetito o de sueño o cansancio en su hijx?* Hay veces duerme bien, pero a veces levanta por la noche, ella habla sola. Siempre guardo la llave, si puede coger la llave se abre la puerta y sale yo tengo miedo, yo siempre guardo llave. O dejo arriba de la puerta. (A10) [daughter sleepwalks]
Loneliness	Enduring unexpected isolation	Family separation	Aquí hay, me parece que aquí hay en España, ellos no tenemos una familia aparte de mi hijos y esposa. Que hay amigos y amigas. Pero no [muffled], la familia un grupo que ellos hablar y hay problemas que hay mucha cosas que hablar. (A17) Mi madre en Bolivia está paralizada medio cuerpo. Hace un año que le ha dado. Justo le dio en la pandemia. *¿No has podido verla desde que pasó?* No, porque es imposible viajar con 4 billetes, mucho dinero. (A15) *¿Se han cumplido las expectativas que tenía sobre su vida aquí?* Bueno siempre no vas a cumplir todas las cosas. Porque si estas extranjera, no sé, falta la familia, falta cariño. Aunque tienes toda, tu hijo, tu marido, tu casa. Pero siempre falta el cariño de mi familia. (A12) Fue duro de primero. Mi vida fue muy dura de primero. Cuando llegué a España me quedé 10 años no bajé a mi país. Bajan mi familia y estaba trabajando. (A04) I decided to emigrate as soon as I got married in 2004. My husband was living here in Barcelona. He came here in 1999 and we got married in 2004. Immediately after that I started discussing the issues that are not comfortable with his family. And I want to live with you. I want to go in Spain and live together. But there were certain situations, certain circumstances that he could not maintain. From 2004 until 2019 I was discussing. It was in 2019, end of 2019 and beginning of 2020 that he managed us to bring here. (A05) I was also thinking that I will go to Spain, I will live with my husband, things will get better. In that particular scenario, relationship with my husband, relationship with my children with my husband, is in process. Still in process. We meet after such a long period. (A05) Many times, when there are festivals, when there are cultural or religious celebrations, festivals… it is the time they miss it a lot. (A05)

			We are the one side of the picture is that we are lucky that we are living here. The other side of the picture is that we are very unlucky people, we are living without families. But it is our perspective how we see the picture. (A05) Positive is that when they compare themselves to their cousins in Pakistan, they think they are in better position, whenever, the health system and schooling system and all the lifestyle here in Spain, they think they are positive, they took it in a positive way. But when they compare themselves with other family members living in Pakistan, living together, sharing things together, when there are marriages in Pakistan, birthdays, then there are certain times when they feel uncomfortable. (A05) *¿Cuándo decidieron emigrar y por qué?* Decidí fue en el 2010. Ella [hija] vino hace dos años mi hija, la traje hace dos años, en el 2019. (A08) *¿Se han cumplido las expectativas que tenía sobre su vida aquí?* Si la mayoría de las cosas. Bueno tengo los sentimientos mezclados sabes, ojalá que si vivo esta vida en mi país. Sabes, con mi familia, con mi madre, con mis hermanos, pero gracias a dios que hay el Whatsapp, como si fuera estoy con ellos, pero me gusta vivir aquí. *¿Hablas con ellos con frecuencia?* Cada día. Con mi madre y dos hermanas cada día. hermanos ya sabes, casados y tienen hijos. Con sus mujeres un poco. Pero con mi hermanas y madre si cada día. (A11)
		COVID Quarantine	*¿Van a Marruecos con frecuencia?* Si. Bueno últimos años del COVID no fuimos, pero vamos cada año. (A12) *¿Tu marido vive contigo?* Si, conmigo. Ahora está enfermo. Cuando se va en Pakistán. Murió su padre. Ahí cuando estaba corona. Su carnet acabó ahí. Todavía no puede [volver]. (A13) *¿Como hicieron con la escuela durante la pandemia?* Ellos envían por le mail y ya está. A veces llaman, con llamada… hacer deberes con ellos, y hacíamos fotos, enviamos al [colegio] es difícil. (A02) Bueno solamente con el confinamiento con el pandemia, yo no me voy por mi madre, no llevo mis hijos por mi madre. Tengo miedo si pasa algo. (A04) First my children was very upset because when we came here it was lockdown. They could not manage to go to school, they were very depressed and dejected. (A05) *¿Tienes amigas del Ateneu?* Si, tengo chicas. Estabamos corriendo cuando estaba joven. Pero ahora ha cambiado la vida con esto [pandemia]. (A04)
		Difficulty making friends	*Have you made friends here, connections with other women?* Yes. With Pakistani women, with Indian women, with Moroccans. As far as connections yes. I don't want to say that I am an educated person and they are not educated. But I am a university educated person and they are not. Sometimes I find it very difficult. They come to me and they discuss their with me, but whenever I want to discuss, get relaxed. I have nobody here. You can understand my feelings. (A05) Cuando empezar mi hijo en el cole, yo estaba sufriendo de este tiempo. Pero yo no sabía. Yo no conozco mucha gente. Estaba solo yo. Pero cuando entré el cole conozco gente y poco poco claro, yo no voy decir a gente que estoy sufriendo. Solo una chica empezamos hablar. Pero bueno llevo casi dos años muy mal, pero ya bien ahora. Ahora gracias a dios que estamos bien. Pasamos tiempo muy mal por todo el mundo, pero ya estamos. (A04)
			¿Estás contento en España? 50%. Pero seguro que ellos también explorar hay mucha cosas, pero problemas de dinero también, no tengo mucho tiempo para pasar con la familia. Depende de mucha cosas. (A17) *¿Se han cumplido las expectativas que tenía sobre su vida aquí?* No. *¿Te esperabas mejor o peor?* Mejor. (A15) Living in Europe is a dream come true. But things are not too much good as I was thinking. But they are not too bad. As people said that Europe is this this this. But nothing is like that. You have to struggle. Life is struggle. But you have to struggle when you came in some new place. You have different challenges. You have to face and you have to tackle these challenges. (A05) *¿Se han cumplido las expectativas que tenía sobre su vida aquí?* Bueno, poco, poco, poco. Porque hay mucho problemas. Y la vida es no más fácil que como que yo pensar. (A17)

			¿Se han cumplido las expectativas que tenía sobre su vida aquí? Pues bueno, a veces si, a veces no. Sinceramente, claro. A veces, no en todos los trabajos como que eso. A veces quieres una cosa luego claro cuando en principio cuando no tienes documentos, pues es, claro, no es lo que diga una, te salen personas buenas, personas que no te dan tus derechos. (A08)
			¿Se han cumplido las expectativas que tenía sobre su vida aquí? No al cien por ciento, pero tampoco me dejaré… (A03)

End