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Children in Communication about Migration

CHICAM

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EU RESEARCH ON SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES

Children in Communication about Migration

CHICAM

Final report

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Preface

Within the Fifth Community RTD Framework Programme of the European Union (1998–2002), the Key Action 'Improving the Socio-economic Knowledge Base' had broad and ambitious objectives, namely: to improve our understanding of the structural changes taking place in European society, to identify ways of managing these changes and to promote the active involvement of European citizens in shaping their own futures. A further important aim was to mobilise the research communities in the social sciences and humanities at the European level and to provide scientific support to policies at various levels, with particular attention to EU policy fields.

This Key Action had a total budget of EUR 155 million and was implemented through three Calls for proposals. As a result, 185 projects involving more than 1 600 research teams from 38 countries have been selected for funding and have started their research between 1999 and 2002.

Most of these projects are now finalised and results are systematically published in the form of a Final Report.

The calls have addressed different but interrelated research themes which have contributed to the objectives outlined above. These themes can be grouped under a certain number of areas of policy relevance, each of which are addressed by a significant number of projects from a variety of perspectives.

These areas are the following:

- ***Societal trends and structural change***

16 projects, total investment of EUR 14.6 million, 164 teams

- ***Quality of life of European citizens***

5 projects, total investment of EUR 6.4 million, 36 teams

- ***European socio-economic models and challenges***

9 projects, total investment of EUR 9.3 million, 91 teams

- ***Social cohesion, migration and welfare***

30 projects, total investment of EUR 28 million, 249 teams

- ***Employment and changes in work***

18 projects, total investment of EUR 17.5 million, 149 teams

- ***Gender, participation and quality of life***

13 projects, total investment of EUR 12.3 million, 97 teams

- ***Dynamics of knowledge, generation and use***

8 projects, total investment of EUR 6.1 million, 77 teams

- ***Education, training and new forms of learning***

14 projects, total investment of EUR 12.9 million, 105 teams

- ***Economic development and dynamics***

22 projects, total investment of EUR 15.3 million, 134 teams

- ***Governance, democracy and citizenship***

28 projects; total investment of EUR 25.5 million, 233 teams

- ***Challenges from European enlargement***

13 projects, total investment of EUR 12.8 million, 116 teams

- ***Infrastructures to build the European research area***

9 projects, total investment of EUR 15.4 million, 74 teams

This publication contains the final report of the project 'Children in Communication about Migration', whose work has primarily contributed to the area 'New perspectives for learning'.

The report contains information about the main scientific findings of CHICAM and their policy implications. The research was carried out by seven teams over a period of three years, starting in November 2001.

The abstract and executive summary presented in this edition offer the reader an overview of the main scientific and policy conclusions, before the main body of the research provided in the other chapters of this report.

As the results of the projects financed under the Key Action become available to the scientific and policy communities, Priority 7 'Citizens and Governance in a knowledge based society' of the Sixth Framework Programme is building on the progress already made and aims at making a further contribution to the development of a European Research Area in the social sciences and the humanities.

I hope readers find the information in this publication both interesting and useful as well as clear evidence of the importance attached by the European Union to fostering research in the field of social sciences and the humanities.

J.-M. BAER,

Director

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Abstract

CHICAM was concerned with the actual experiences, contributions and opinions of refugee and migrant children. This "action research" project established media clubs in six European countries (U.K, Italy, Sweden, Germany, the Netherlands, Greece). In each club a researcher and a media educator worked with recently arrived refugee and migrant children to make visual representations of their lives and their experiences in their new locations. Using the Internet, a communications network was established between the clubs to facilitate the sharing of the clubs' media productions. Through focusing on 4 research themes (peer relations, experiences of school, family relations and visual communications) the project investigated how these children represented and expressed their experiences of migration and how their use of new media might enable their perspectives to inform the development of European educational and cultural policies.

The children in the CHICAM clubs made over 50 media productions. These included many different representations of their lives and beliefs and drew on their varied experiences of media forms and genres. These ranged from animations, documentaries, music videos, drama and role play to free form expressions. The project researchers examined the social and technical processes of production, visited the children's homes and neighbourhoods, spent time in their schools and analysed the internet communications and final productions. From this data the project was able to gain an in depth understanding of the children's lives: their experiences of social inclusion/exclusion, their aspirations and the different roles that media play in every aspect of their personal and social lives. Their primary aim was to fit in and belong in their new locations of residence, to build effective local connections and social and linguistic skills that would allow them to sustain culturally diverse local and global family and peer networks. Crucially, their everyday situations encouraged them to resist the label 'refugee' and often to hide their experiences of migration and discrimination.

Thus the recommendations arising from CHICAM address several policy areas: Youth and Citizenship, Social In/exclusion, Education, Broadcast Media, Media Literacy and Immigration. In the first two areas there is a clear need for more organised, local leisure-oriented spaces enabling children and young people to mix and communicate across cultures. There is also a need for facilities allowing children to meet and mix with others who have had similar migration experiences, thus gaining support to combat exclusion. These social provisions should also include language acquisition and maintenance,

support for adults and children, access to media expression, including opportunities for more active participation in local and national decision-making through media use.

These developments have implications for Education policy. Links between home and school need to be strengthened and given more support. While teacher training needs to be more focused on meeting the needs of an increasingly diverse European population and the particular needs of refugee and migrant children, the teachers themselves need consistent support in school to ensure that they are able to meet these children's needs and ensure their long term academic and economic success. More attention needs to be paid to the school design and facilities in order to promote an environment that allows inclusion and safety. Training of Media teachers is also a priority. This should include the promotion of more creative uses of ICT to include visual expression, communication and intercultural communication and understanding. Schools are well placed to alleviate the worst effects of a growing digital divide that can affect refugee and migrant children in particular. There is a need to take a wider view of the role of media in learning. In this light, there is also a need for effective evaluation of media programmes both in the formal and informal sectors.

Broadcast Media also play a role here. There is a need for the media productions of young people to reach a wider audience and for forums encouraging cross cultural expressions and discussions aimed at improving youth participation in public debate. Representations of the cultural diversity of Europe are required in the everyday media of national broadcasters, not as special events but as everyday expressions of daily life.

In all these areas the special focus on the needs of children should not be lost. This is of special concern in the case of policy concerned with Immigration. There is a need to create a common age sensitive immigration and asylum policy in order to improve the protection and reception of these children across Europe. The EU needs to ensure that the chances of migrant children – and their future mobility – are not impeded by their parents' legal or social situation. Immigration policies cannot be divorced from the need to promote programmes that foster intercultural exchange and understanding and on activities that put the onus not only on the incomers to adapt and integrate but also on the receiving countries to learn and adapt.

I. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1. Objectives

Discussions about refugees and migrants coming to Europe have often paid little attention to the actual experiences, contributions and opinions of the children involved. Yet children are at the front line in building the new social contacts necessary for successful social integration in their new countries and communities. European countries have very different histories of migration, different expectations of incoming migrants and different policies regarding their education, employment and social inclusion and these affect the processes of social inclusion or exclusion in different ways. Yet as the CHICAM project demonstrates there are common shared themes and issues that need to be addressed in order to improve the lives of these children and to improve the possibilities of social inclusion and cross cultural understanding and communication in the European context.

Again as CHICAM confirms media play an increasingly important role in children's lives both locally and globally. They are key factors in the experience of migration, facilitating continued contact with the countries of origin and in maintaining diasporic communities. They are also central to building connections in and understanding of the new countries of residence, facilitating social integration as well as language acquisition. For young people in particular they become the currency of everyday interaction, identity formation and belonging. Thus national and pan European policies with regard to broadcast media and media education are important areas for promoting cross cultural understanding and social inclusion.

Examining the role of youth media production in promoting, exploring and sharing the experiences of migration and settlement was one of the innovations of the CHICAM project. The fact that new digital technologies now allow much easier access to media expression by young people and offer the possibility of communicating and sharing these experiences both locally with immediate peers but also across national borders has several important implications for policy in the areas of social inclusion, education and media.

CHICAM addressed three major aspects of structural change in contemporary European society: the increase in global migration, the uses of new communication technologies, and the specific needs of children. The project established media clubs in six European countries (U.K, Italy, Sweden, Germany, the Netherlands, Greece). In each club a researcher and a media educator worked with recently arrived refugee and migrant

children to make visual representations of their lives and their experiences in their new locations.

Using the Internet, a communications network was established between the clubs to facilitate the sharing of children's media productions. The project investigated how these children represented and expressed their experiences of migration and how their use of new media might enable their perspectives to inform the development of European educational and cultural policies. In the process, the project sought to identify how particular experiences of reception; educational practice, social policy and community involvement could more effectively promote social inclusion and economic and cultural integration.

The main objective was to identify the potential of new media technologies as means of promoting social inclusion between refugee/migrant children and their peers across Europe, at both interpersonal and institutional levels. Within this we identified four broad sub-objectives:

- To analyse how new media and communications technologies are changing social relations within migrant communities, paying particular attention to the position of children, and their relations with the family, the peer group, the community and the school.
- To identify how these technologies can be used to promote inclusion, both social and institutional, by building bridges between migrant/refugee children and members of the host societies.
- By enabling such children to communicate with each other across national boundaries, to identify the potential of these media as means of intercultural communication, and to investigate how this potential can be more effectively exploited by educational and cultural organisations.
- Through the use of these technologies, to raise the voice of migrant and refugee children in decision-making at local, national and European Community level in relation to policies that directly affect their social and economic well-being.

In attempting to achieve these broad aims, the project addressed a number of more specific objectives in the form of specific research themes: peer relations, experiences of education, family relations, media production and intercultural communication. These themes were selected as being areas that are key European policy concerns as well as being central to the children's everyday lives. They are also areas in which media play an

important role and about which children have important and varied experiences that could inform policy.

2. Research Design

The research approach the partnership took could be described as participatory, and as ethnographically styled. This was an in-depth study of small groups of children or young people, their social relationships and experiences of schools and communities, the processes of them making media and of the media productions themselves. Taking an approach based within the 'New Sociology of Childhood' we saw the children as active participants in their communities and in the experiences of migration and not merely as outcomes of social, psychological or developmental processes. Our intention, then, was to regard the children as active participants in the research process. This entailed an ongoing attempt to construct shared understandings and meanings between the researchers and the researched; efforts to consult with participants about the nature and direction of the research; and an attempt to access children's 'voices' in as unmediated a manner as possible. These general orientations are increasingly common in childhood research but the added dimension made possible in this project was the fact that the children themselves were constructing visual (and audio-visual) representations of their own lives.

CHICAM was an action-research project. The main sites of data gathering were media clubs set up during the project in each participating country each of which operated for between 12 and 18 months. The clubs were designed more as case studies working in parallel rather than as comparable sites. Each club comprised between 10 – 12 children between the ages of 10 –14 years old. The children came from many different countries and spoke a correspondingly wide range of languages. Clearly, since refugees and migrants enter Europe from well recognised international trouble zones, there were children from similar countries in several of the clubs. For example, in more than two of the clubs there were children from Somalia, The Democratic Republic of Congo, Columbia, Turkey and Afghanistan. However, due to the location of some of the clubs there was a predominance of one or another ethnic group in some clubs. This decision was made on the basis that we wished the club groups to be as representative of the location and that location's migration community as possible. Nevertheless, it is clear from the reports that many problems and experiences the children explored in the course of their media productions were shared across the clubs despite their differences and this makes the research findings and policy recommendations particularly pertinent.

Over the period of the club activity the researchers spent a considerable amount of time within the field sites, engaged in a range of informal activities as well as in the observation of specific research activities. They visited the children's families, went out and about in the cities and towns in which the children lived and sat in on lessons. 'In between' settings - that is, opportunities for observation that arise in the spaces between structured activities or institutional contexts - contributed considerably to the "thick" description (Geertz 1973) we have been able to develop of the lives of the children who are at the centre of this study.

This participatory use of media has several methodological advantages. The processes of production (planning, shooting, editing, presentation) involve negotiation with others as well as making decisions about what will be represented, why and how, and indeed what is allowed to be represented within the institutions within which participants live. The final products are seen in the context of these negotiations but in many cases can also stand alone as strong statements of the children's lives and experiences. In the same way the processes of production throw light onto the children's lives, beliefs and experiences and are fertile ground for observation and analysis. The times when the children were simply 'hanging out' and chatting while preparing to film, setting up equipment, editing and sharing ideas were all important opportunities for data collection. Much of the talk and play would inevitably revolve directly and indirectly around our key research themes. This was all rich material both for the study of the children's interactions with each other but also for the study of representation and identity formation of particular individuals and groups of children. Taken alongside interviews and observations in other settings, this use of visual methods offers us extremely rich data.

One of the main aims of the project was to explore the potential of media production as a means of 'empowerment' - specifically for children who risk social and political disempowerment because of their circumstances as migrants and refugees. We sought to explore this potential in two main ways. Firstly, we considered the nature of children's learning about the media in the context of the project (and then potentially in their application of these skills and understandings elsewhere). Secondly, we were keen to investigate the potential of media production as a means for children to intervene in areas of policy formation that directly affected their own lives.

It is widely recognised that the experience of media production plays an important role in developing children's greater understanding of media generally (Buckingham, 2005). Through participating in media production, their perceptions of the media in their everyday lives can take on a different light. What they watch, play or read is no longer distant and elevated; they develop a different sense of audience and of critique. They

understand that they too can participate in presenting and representing their experiences and the worlds in which they live.

There were three main aspects of this that became clear during the project. The first was that the children were able to develop their technical skills in camera and computer use. This developed their confidence both personally but also, in several reported cases, in their school work. Secondly they were able to experiment with forms of representation – such as animation and music videos – that they had seen on television and had heard about, again developing technical skills but also greater understanding of the possibilities of media communication. Again, this was important for their confidence but also for their understanding of the ways in which media messages and different forms of communication operate in the wider society (Vryzas, 1990). Thirdly, they developed a sense of the different audiences that media productions can be made for, why certain messages need to be presented in different ways for different audiences and the fact that there are indeed different audiences and different modes of address (Buckingham and Harvey, 2001). These are all skills and levels of awareness that are necessary for children to learn if they are to communicate effectively both at an everyday level and via mediated productions in the wider public sphere.

3. The Work Programme

There were three phases to the work:

- the state of the art report (Deliverables 1 and 2), organising the club locations and membership and establishing communications links, a one month pilot;
- working in the clubs, establishing the communications between the clubs, data collection and initial analysis;
- final analyses and writing of the remaining Deliverables, dissemination.

In disseminating the results of our work, we have placed a central emphasis on the use of visual media, in the form of a DVD summarising the key concerns and findings, as well as in compilations attached to the research reports and in the project website. The project produced over 50 finished videos most of which are available for viewing. We certainly hope that these materials will be used to inform discussions of these issues among policy-makers, and by organisations working in this field; and we believe that the use of visual and audio-visual methods provides a powerful approach that can provide a unique and distinctive contribution to the debate.

4. The Contexts of the Research

4.1. Migration

There are significant historical and political differences across Europe that make it impossible to speak of a single experience of migration. This diversity is complicated further as a result of the methodological difficulties entailed in gathering and comparing data, such as the fact that categorisations of ethnicity are often confusing, appearing to mix nationality, language, region, skin colour and religion. This means that certain groups are highlighted while others become invisible. These terms also change over time to reflect different political imperatives and understandings. Strict categorisations disallow self-determination, and tend to ignore 'mixed' racial backgrounds.

At the same time, terms such as 'minority' and 'majority' imply fixed immovable categories. This implies that the 'majority' is somehow homogeneous, while the minorities will have more in common with other minorities than with the majority. Such categorizations take no account of differences of class, region, gender age etc. within each category. Likewise, many documents do not differentiate between newly arrived ethnic migrants and those who have been here for several generations. This implies that all ethnic minorities are somehow 'foreign', and makes it difficult to take account of the different experiences of first and second generation immigrants.

Several of these difficulties are particularly compounded when it comes to children. Children do not appear separately in the statistics from adults, and it is often necessary to read between the lines in order to get a picture of where children sit or the main issues that affect them. These difficulties further contribute to the marginalisation – or indeed invisibility – of migrant children.

Having said this, there are similarities, differences and trends that can be noted and that framed the research undertaken by CHICAM. CHICAM took place in the context of changing migration and media climates. The six participating countries all had very different histories of immigration ranging from long term post colonial migration as in the case of the UK and the Netherlands to countries such as Greece and Italy who have only recently become receiving rather than sending countries. Migration is usually undertaken by young people, and children are very much part of these movements. In addition a small but growing number of child migrants are unaccompanied minors many of whom are refugees.

Globalisation has brought about a growing interdependence between sending and receiving regions. People migrating in one direction send back remittances, images, ideas

and values (Castles and Miller, 1998). Developing new technologies increasingly facilitate this. Family and social relations are less and less contained within one nation state and transnational and diasporic ways of living are more common. Globalized living threatens the nation state in that migration inevitably will lead to a questioning of the myth of cultural homogeneity, common history and common destiny on which the legitimacy of the nation state rests (Castles and Davidson, 2000).

Thus integrating migrant populations into receiving societies brings the whole question of political rights and citizenship for migrants to the fore. Increasingly citizenship does not only represent membership of a state but also encompasses social, linguistic and cultural dimensions. In the context of increasing globalisation this can lead to contradictory expectations for children and families who are wanting to maintain their global connections whilst also belonging within the country in which they now reside. This has important implications for educational and social policies

All the countries are receiving countries for refugees from recent and longer standing war zones as well as increasing levels of migration from countries with no previous historical link. The definition of who can be defined as a refugee is increasingly problematic and under challenge. How refugees are received and who is allowed to remain varies greatly across Europe and continues to be a major social and political issue. CHICAM included both refugee and migrant children for several reasons. While the generally accepted working definition of a refugee (although increasingly disputed) remains that which is enshrined in the UN Convention on Refugees, 1951, the categorisation and de facto separation of children would be difficult to sustain in a project of this nature. For children in schools such information is often confidential especially if they are awaiting a decision about whether they will be allowed to remain. Asylum seekers are increasingly under threat of abuse across Europe. Secondly while many refugee children have particular experiences of trauma and dislocation other experiences of migration and settling will have similarities. It was these less personal narratives that the project sought to explore.

4.2. Media

Broadly speaking, the media landscape across Europe is characterised by two key developments: the growing importance of global cultures, reflected in imported television or cable and satellite, both for children and adults; and the increasing significance of new media, for example in the form of mobile phones, computer games and the Internet.

Children in the industrialised countries of Western Europe are increasingly participating in a global or transnational culture of childhood and youth. Children's experiences of media are therefore characterised by a complex interaction between the global and the local.

Different media systems, as well as different culturally specific definitions of childhood, mean that children do still live in distinctive 'media cultures' that combine the global and the local in quite particular ways. Children's media use is situated in the context of other social activities; and as such, it can only be understood in the light of broader social and cultural differences. Thus, the media that are available to children depend upon factors such as the size of the country or the language community (and hence the ability to sustain national production) and the average level of income among the population, as well as on policies concerned with media regulation and technological innovation. Family structures and education systems vary between countries, creating different opportunities and constraints in terms of children's leisure experiences. The ethnic, cultural and linguistic diversity of the population is also significant here – as is the extent to which that diversity is acknowledged in cultural policy in the first place. All these factors affect the kinds of media that are available, and the extent to which children can gain access to them.

New media technologies offer significant new opportunities for young people to engage in media production in their own right. The retail price of video camcorders, digital cameras and multimedia PCs has steadily fallen as their capabilities have increased; and potentially at least, the internet represents a means of communication and distribution that is no longer exclusively controlled by a small elite. It is important, however, not to exaggerate the scale of these developments. Research suggests that relatively few children are exploiting the creative potential of digital media: their home computers are primarily used for playing games and for word-processing homework and the findings of CHICAM confirm that creative uses of new technologies in schools is also rare.

There are very few studies that have looked in any detail at the media experiences of migrant children (or even 'ethnic minority' children more broadly). As Riggins (1992) suggests, 'ethnic minority media' may have a dual role. They can function as a means of cultural maintenance or survival – although in doing so, they clearly need to recognise cultural change as well as cultural tradition. On the other hand, they can also function – however unintentionally – as a means of assimilation, in so far as they enable minorities to inform themselves about the dominant values and practices of the host society.

There appears to be different patterns of media use among different generations of migrants. To some degree, these differences might appear to follow the 'logic of assimilation' with parents preferring to watch satellite or cable channels originating from or broadcasting in the language of the country of origin while their children prefer the national broadcasting of the country of residence or broadcasting aimed at a global youth market. These patterns are reflected to some degree in our CHICAM findings. However,

this 'generation gap' is not always quite so straightforward. Children and young people may turn to the media of the host country for some purposes, and to transnational media for others; and this is likely to depend upon a range of factors, not least those of production quality. The overwhelming impression is that the younger generations are taking a 'pick and mix' approach. Where they have access, they watch transnational satellite or local specialist programming (often for language retention) but not as intensively as their parents, often preferring to watch host national programming.

In all these debates there is the central difficulty of separating ethnicity from other variables. Both socio-economic status and gender are significant factors in youth access to new technologies, for example. There are also some universals. Soap operas, both national and global, are among the most popular programmes crossing national and ethnic divides. The debate on these issues implicitly raises broader issues to do with access to the public sphere. The presence of diverse ethnic voices within the public sphere potentially disrupts the seamless production of the 'imagined community' of the nation. Yet the question of how ethnicity itself is defined and recognised in debates around media policy is very complex. 'Ethnic groups' are clearly heterogeneous in themselves and ethnicity is only one dimension of identity. At the same time, it is vital that the increased provision for ethnic minorities is not seen to sanction a form of 'media apartheid'.

5. Research Themes and Findings

The first three research themes, peer relations, school life and family relations all form central areas of children's lives, platforms for identity formation and areas in which media play an important social role. They are also areas in which policy can make a difference to the children's successful inclusion into the societies into which they are arriving. Our main focus in these themes was the role of media. In the fourth theme, visual communications, we looked at the children's uses of the diverse media available to them, the ways in which digital media can be utilized to promote personal explorations of the experience of migration and the ways in which they could be used for promoting intercultural communication. Below we outline some of the findings arising under each research theme. In the following section we then relate these to the main policy areas relevant to policy debates within the EU.

5.1. Peer Relations

The aim of this research theme was to study the peer relations of the children in the clubs and their experiences of building and maintaining friendships in their everyday lives outside the clubs. The report and accompanying CD 'Children's Social Relations in Peer Groups: inclusion, exclusion and friendship' (Deliverables 7 and 8) discussed the children's peer relations. The opportunity and ability to make and maintain friends is one of the most significant factors in the lives of children of this age and an important indicator of social inclusion (Petridou and Davazoglou, 1997; Papageorgiou et al. 2000). What we were particularly interested in, however, was how the processes of migration affected their experiences of friendship and what consequences this had for social inclusion and exclusion. In addition, we were particularly interested in the role of media in the formation and maintenance of friendships. This is an area that has not previously received much attention in research (though see Gillespie, 1995; de Block, 2002).

The CHICAM clubs were made up of a variety of children who had a migration background, as did their families. We found many similarities in the problems and difficulties that the children faced in terms of integrating into the new society, no matter whether they were the children of economic migrants, or were themselves asylum-seekers or refugees, and no matter whether they had been in the new country for a short or a long period. The children in our research had very clear categories of friends that appeared to fulfil different functions, both to maintain community, ethnic or family links but also to allow explorations beyond this. For example, in a 'brainstorm' discussion in one club the children categorised their friends as follows: home, school, primary school, same language, religious, family, long distance, chat room. The shared experience of being a refugee or of racism was often the basis of friendship and would cut across both ethnic and religious divides. Being 'foreigners' and being 'different' were the labels that they all had to experience and/or fight against. The common experience of loneliness and nostalgia was expressed and communicated in the production made in the Greek club about friendship (*Ali and Vladimir*).

In all the clubs the children's primary concern was with understanding and fitting into their local contexts, both within the club and, more significantly, their new national context. There was often a lack of social spaces where migrant children could socialize with local children. Problems with neighbourhood safety reduced the opportunities children had to build new local friendships. The social dimension of the clubs was very important for the children who experienced them as opportunities to meet and socialize with other children in a safe environment.

Discussions of friendships in the clubs were often passionate and emotional. It was also clear that there were areas that were painful and hard to broach. The children experienced shared difficulties that arose directly from their status as refugees and/or migrants (Rousseau, Drapeau and Corin, 1997; Rutter, 2001; Candappa, 2003; de Block, 2002). All the children spoke about their first months in their new countries in particular as being the hardest. The role of the school and how the children were initially received into their school was seen as very important.

Exclusionary practices were mainly manifested through bullying and discrimination. Although such practices are common among children in most schools or playgrounds, they become accentuated when specific categories of children appear to be 'weaker' and more vulnerable (MacDonald, Bhavnani, Khan and John, 1989). Being foreign, in itself, makes migrant children more prone to be excluded by their peers, especially in places where peer groups are already formed and in particular during their initial period in a new country.

Language is an example of this. Not speaking the language well, making mistakes and not getting the accent right are often grounds for teasing. This attitude goes beyond the issue of language use itself and indicates a wider tendency to exclude and castigate not simply what is 'different', but mainly whatever is not the 'same' - the same as 'us', 'our' shared codes, 'our' established networks, hierarchies and power relations. Such discriminations are acted out at very local levels. The frequent relocations that children with refugee and migration background experience thus become seriously disruptive and work against inclusion.

Victims of exclusion often reiterate those practices that they have suffered from, imposing them on others who may be in an even weaker position. Such cases were also characterised by reversing silence and turning it into aggression. Some children emphasised on a number of different occasions that they needed to fight in order to protect and assert themselves. However other children in the clubs often preferred to remain silent rather than to talk about the exclusion they experienced. They were nervous of further exposure and by remaining silent they hoped to avoid further incidents.

Leisure and youth culture was the main arena for building friendships. There were definite gender differences in styles of chat (both verbal and physical) and choices of sport. Sports and games offer the possibility of developing a 'link' culture that develops alongside local cultures and becomes the arena for greater communality. Football was particularly important for boys (both playing it and talking about it), not least because it

offered the opportunity of inclusion despite language and other differences. Music and dancing were important and were enjoyed in different ways both by boys and by girls in the clubs. The children demonstrated a knowledge and enjoyment of a wide variety of styles from modern global to ethnic. Music and dancing were also significant carriers and symbols of cultural identity. Several of the children had music from their countries and regions of origin on their mobile phones or carried CDs and tapes with them. In most cases the girls appeared to be more restricted in their movements around their neighbourhoods although both boys and their parents also expressed some anxiety about issues of safety.

As our discussion suggests, the negotiation of friendships is an important way in which social inclusion and exclusion are lived out in daily life. For migrant children, who may have experienced considerable disruption in their personal and family relationships, friendship can be a particularly fraught and intense experience. As we have shown, friendships are also mediated, via the discussions that surround global media phenomena such as music, sports and television. Our clubs thus provided one arena in which the tensions and possibilities of these processes could be worked through via the use of symbolic media. The importance of facilities promoting friendship and thus social inclusion within and across cultural groups was clearly demonstrated and forms a major element of CHICAM's policy recommendations.

5.2. School

A further focus of analysis was the relationship between migrant/refugee children and educational institutions. Our discussion focused in particular upon the school as an institution, including its everyday "bricks-and-mortar" appearance, and on the children's experiences of daily life in school. A full account of this work is presented in the report and accompanying CD, 'School as an Arena for Education, Integration and Socialization' (Deliverables 9 and 10).

While there are great variations in the ways countries in Europe deal with the integration of migrant children in relation to their educational policies and practices, initial school placement was universally a time of great stress for both children and parents (Cicardi, 1994; Refugee Council, 2000; Back Row Desks (group of educationalists), 2000). In several cases we noted a tendency to consider cultural integration as being on a par with linguistic integration. This means that multiculturalism as a holistic approach to comprehension and exchange between different cultures is often reduced to the integration of migrant pupils in the predominant social context through the acquisition of the host country language.

Recognition of religious and cultural differences was extremely important for the children, marking to what extent they and their cultures were accepted. This included the larger curriculum issues of language and religion but also related issues of food and dress. The data we collected indicated how complex and important these issues were for the children, often leaving them caught between conflicting ideas and agendas. For example, during the time that the clubs were operating, the French government, prompted by the media, took the official decision to ban the wearing of headscarves in schools. In Sweden and in Italy, the debate had also started quite recently. This issue also arose in some of the CHICAM clubs. In the German context the teachers had made it clear on several occasions in front of the children that they did not approve of the wearing of the headscarf and that they considered it to be a symbol of female oppression. On the other hand, in the UK context, wearing the hijab was normal practice in the school: it was entirely accepted and not seen in a negative light. The teachers did not make comments on it and indeed such remarks would not have been tolerated by the school management. The different institutional attitudes appear to have had a great influence on the children. The experience of these children in this school in Germany placed them in potential conflict with home and community or excluded them from the school community. The experience in the UK school offered the children an experience of being accepted into an institution that respected their cultural and religious differences.

In addition while refugee and migrant children have high educational aspirations these are often not supported by the pastoral and educational practices in schools. One particular area of concern in the formal sector is the lack of policies and practice in relation to long-term language acquisition. This involves support for the development of the new language and the retention and utilisation (e.g. for examination success) of their other languages. The initial language support the children received did not continue beyond the first levels. There was a general frustration expressed by both children and parents in our research about this situation. In addition there was no or very little support given to encourage children to maintain and develop their first (or more) language/s. Mother Tongue Language provision was very limited and generally not part of mainstream schooling. This appears to be highly counterproductive, as often the children had achieved high levels in languages that they could have taken to exam level and thus boosted their qualifications.

There appeared to be a difference between old and new receiving countries in the extent to which schools were able and prepared to recognise and support the needs of refugee and migrant children and their families. In general, the schools in Italy and Greece were less able to offer support, and much of the support appeared to be *ad hoc* or on short term funding. Some schools had a social worker or specialist support teacher available

but in other cases there was no organised support. Thus, while the schools acted as a major social centre (and therefore site of socialization) for the children, organising particular additional extra curricular and social provision and support appeared to be quite problematic.

Teachers were a major topic of conversation among the children. The children in our CHICAM clubs generally experienced teachers as distant authority figures, and several children complained that they were not able to find sympathetic adults to talk to when they were having emotional or work related problems. In terms of our investigations of how children experienced schools and their need for support in developing social connections with both adults and children, this is troubling. Again it puts into focus how complex the adjustments to new school life, routine, hierarchies and systems are for newly arriving children and their families and the need for proper induction processes and training.

School attendance was an issue in some clubs, notably in the UK and Greece. Several of our research findings in this and the other research reports were confirmed by the reasons children gave for non attendance. These included fears over assessment and language acquisition, a perception that the school was unfriendly and the work irrelevant to the needs of the family. Indeed the school design itself seemed to have an impact here determining whether the children felt safe and able to participate in school life both socially and academically. We found that the children made clear distinctions between central (public) spaces and marginal (private) spaces in the schools. How this operated within each school had a significant effect on how much the children felt they belonged within the school community and how safe, particularly those more vulnerable children felt.

In terms of CHICAM's policy recommendations arising from this work we stress the need for consistent language teaching and support and the importance of building and maintaining consistent home/school links and the provision for informal socialising and working across cultures. There are important implications for teacher training that we highlight. In addition the consideration of school design is an area that we feel has been neglected and needs further consideration and the provision for informal socialising and working across cultures.

5.3. Family Relations

The third dimension of the project involved an analysis of family relationships and communication across the generations. We sought to understand how children in the CHICAM clubs saw themselves positioned within these relationships, and to explore how their perceptions were articulated through media and in the process of making media. The findings of this aspect of the research are presented in the report: 'Home is Where the Heart is: family relations of migrant children in media clubs in six European countries' (Deliverable 11, with accompanying CD, Deliverable 12).

Children in our CHICAM clubs did not talk about the family easily or spontaneously. In most clubs the family theme was addressed on an individual basis. The children showed "elasticity" in their definitions of home and family. Domestic groups of several kinds were of crucial importance for these children, and were often deliberately created in order to secure basic necessities and to provide a social framework that would otherwise have been lacking. The majority of migrant children involved in the CHICAM clubs lived with their nuclear families in the reception countries. However, many nuclear families were split, with their members living in different countries. On the other hand, people who were not members of the immediate or nuclear family often lived within the household, thus creating a domestic group extending beyond family ties.

Photographs seemed the most concrete proof of the family past and they played an important role in family life (Spence and Holland, 1991). They were used to keep memories of their family in their former location alive and to enable them tell stories of people and the place that were important to them. As Kambooye from Somalia in the Dutch club exclaimed: *'you should only know how often we look at them!'* However, for many refugees such concrete memories are lacking because they have not been able to collect and retain such media texts during their various journeys.

Migrant children in particular often have to contribute to the family's financial needs. Dropping out of school or absenteeism is often related to urgent financial needs at home. A child (especially a girl) may have to quit school in order either to work, or to help at home (looking after younger children or doing household chores). It is often the case that children will have to help in the family business or to work independently. Financial issues are a constant source of stress. All the families in our research had modest or limited means, while some lived in conditions of poverty and overcrowding. For many families, further migration to another country, especially one that appears to be wealthier or more supportive in terms of rights and opportunities towards immigrants and refugees or where there are existing family and community connections, is often a desired option.

This mobility makes integration into one place difficult. Attempts to become established somewhere and to form social relations are threatened by the lack of resources and the uncertain outcome of asylum or residence applications, as in the case of Elisabeth in the UK club, who was deported during the course of our project.

In the clubs the issue of cultural identity was often raised in the context of discussions of language, religion and day-to-day aspects of living such as food and dress. Some children talked about celebrating the major festivals of both their own religion but also those of the majority Christian society of which they were now part. Religious holidays and events that took place during the year therefore entered the club as a natural part of the children's lives. From their stories about how these holidays and events were being celebrated at home and within the community as well as from our direct observations, we noticed how family routines (for instance, fasting) and traditions are often structured by religion and that many of the children follow the family's way of practicing religious laws and rules. In some cases where the parents declared themselves to be atheist, the children still followed the religious traditions of their country of origin, again confirming community ties and acting to draw families together.

The social networks that such events promote were of primary importance for the refugee children and their families. In constructing and sustaining the social network in the new country, children played a major role and took on a great responsibility. They were the ones who learnt the language first (mainly at school but also through everyday use in the neighbourhood, playground or their other activities) and who in turn acted as translators and mediators for older family members.

In migrant families, certain specific roles are often reversed. The educative role of the parents is often taken up by the children. The children are frequently charged with the responsibility of educating their parents in the ways of the new society (Hamilton and Moore, 2004) As Rengin's father in Greece said during an interview: *'being a refugee is to learn from your children instead of teach them yourself'*. Although learning the new language was one of the primary prerequisites in terms of adapting to life in the new country (e.g. in Sweden, immigrants are expected to pass tests in Swedish), it was often the case that adults did not learn it, nor did they ever speak it at home. Not being able to speak it could turn into a source of distress, as it rendered them marginal in social and economic life, and could lead to a heavy reliance on the children for dealing with public services and legal procedures (Kohli and Mather, 2003). For the adults, learning a widely spoken language (such as English) was often more valued than learning the language of the country in which they lived (e.g. Italian), as it would be useful for their further plans as opposed to what they considered a temporary residence.

As we have noted, media played a very important role in the family lives of the children in the project and often served to bring the family together both locally and internationally. Television was the most important and the most talked about medium. Satellite television was mainly used to watch programmes they used to watch before migration and to watch programmes in their own languages and from their regions/countries of origin. Telephone (increasingly mobile phones) were a central means of keeping in contact. These media were essential items on the family budget.

In summary the families in the CHICAM project demonstrated very different forms of family structure, reasons for migration and patterns of settlement. Yet there were common strands. Media played an important role in maintaining family and personal memories and connections, even when family life had seriously disrupted. It was also used to maintain diasporic connections. The children were actively involved in making connections and often acted as the major link between the family and the new communities and places of residence. This was often difficult and put pressure on both the children and the parents. Employment, housing and economic hardship were all major causes of stress and tension. Religious and cultural events were very important for the children and helped to maintain continuity and security.

The policy recommendations arising from this research theme stress the need for increased support for informal spaces for socialising initiatives to build and maintain home/school links and other educational provision and support for family maintenance.

5.4. Media Issues

The aims of our research in this area were fourfold: to examine the ways in which the children in the clubs used media in their everyday lives; to study the ways in which they produced their own media in the contexts of the media clubs; to study the role of media in the intercultural communications between the children; and to examine the media educational issues that arose in planning and carrying out the work in the clubs. The full findings of this dimension of the project are presented in two reports: 'Visions Across Cultures: migrant children using visual images to communicate' (Deliverable 14, with accompanying CD, Deliverable 15) and 'Picture Me In: Digital Media Making with Socially Excluded Children' (Deliverable 13).

Media played a central role in all aspects of the children's lives. All the children participating in the clubs had constant exposure to media, both local and international. Coming to the new country, they were exposed to different media patterns and to a different symbolic milieu. The children's media uses were directly related to the children's social contexts and purposes and can be placed in three different categories: a. diasporic,

where media products from the home country or region are used to maintain cultural, emotional and linguistic links with both the past and current changes occurring in countries of origin; b. national, where the emphasis is on using media products to facilitate integration, make friends, negotiate new identities and acquire a new language; c. global, which is particularly important for accessing global youth culture as well as news.

Television was very much the dominant medium. Television programmes formed an important part of the children's biographies. Most children had very strong memories of programmes they had watched with friends and/or family in their countries of origin. The majority of children watched several hours a day. As we have seen, one of the main roles that television plays for the parents is to maintain continuity with their past lives and their countries of origin, to keep both themselves and their children connected (d'Haenens, 2000; Gillespie 1995; Halloran et al, 1995; Hargreaves 2001; Siew-Peng, 2001; Weiss and Trebbe, 2001). Keeping in contact with the country of origin took different forms: watching news programmes, watching familiar programmes that they used to watch before they moved, and maintaining the mother language. In other cases it is not so much connection with the country of origin itself that is important but the continuation of activities that the family used to enjoy before their migration.

Many families watched several sources of news and often the children were very well informed on world events when compared with their peers from the host culture. The news station Al Jazeera was mentioned by many, as was CNN. Many children argued that national news often gave a limited view of international events. During the war in Iraq, TV was particularly important to the children and for many was seen to give a more impartial view and to support their argument that the war was unjustified.

For most families the issue of language maintenance is important. Diasporic television offers great possibilities for both adults and children to keep in touch with their mother languages and parents generally encouraged this. At the same time, however, several parents reported that they actively encouraged their children to watch national television to assist their acquisition of the new language and that they themselves also used television in this way (Gregory and Williams, 2000).

While television plays an important role in maintaining informational and emotional ties with the place the children had come from, it was also important in helping children (and their families) settle in and find out about the new country. The social pressure to participate in this culture was very apparent, and several children talked about needing to watch certain programmes in order to 'keep in' with their peers at school. Television

was therefore used by the children both to negotiate their new identities in their new locations and to negotiate a shared space with their peers across culture.

Watching films on video was very popular. Nearly all the families had a video recorder, and some had a DVD player. Going to the cinema was a social activity for the UK children but in most other clubs this was less common. Watching videos took its place. Again the children's choices reflected both their cultural origins and their need to build new peer relations and maintain their family links. Hollywood blockbusters were popular but, particularly amongst the girls, Hindi films were also widely enjoyed even where Hindi was not the first language.

Most of the children listened regularly to both traditional and modern music from their countries of origin. However, global popular music played an important role in building peer connections and was thus their main interest. Television channels such as MTV and music related web sites were very popular and played a major role in children's media and social lives. Music was the most important point of initial contact between the clubs and was able to cut across language and cultural differences. In many cases the form taken by popular songs appeared to be more important than the words and, in many cases, the children appreciated the performances that accompanied the music.

One of the important findings in this area was that there was a marked difference in home computer and Internet access across the clubs. This reflected a north/south European divide, but also an economic divide within countries. It was particularly marked that the refugee children had less access to new media technology than any other group. This is an area that needs to be addressed as it affects education, employment and civic participation.

Thus, the patterns of media use both across and within the clubs revealed a considerable amount of diversity. Children enjoyed different levels of access to particular media, and while these were clearly to some extent a matter of disposable income, they were also related to their tastes and preferences, and to the different purposes or functions to which the media were put. While some of these differences must be seen as characteristic of cultural differences, they also reflected the children's positions in terms of age and gender.

5.4.1. Children as Media Producers

Media production provides an important opportunity to integrate verbal and non-verbal forms of communication and expression. The process of making media productions in the clubs, which were a quasi-leisure space, allowed the children to explore a more varied approach to representing their experiences of migration than is normally possible in more formal educational settings. It also triggered reflection and discussion during different phases of the production process. Seeing videos from other European countries both brought to the fore and challenged stereotypes and, through their observations of the details, raised discussions about the different national contexts of the clubs.

In their media productions the children drew on existing resources derived from four main sources: 1) the symbolic systems they knew from their home countries; 2) the symbolic world of their new country of residence; 3) the symbolic field of global media; and 4) hybrid 'street' cultures. Looking at the videos that were produced in the different clubs, it is possible to trace the various ways in which these different resources were appropriated and combined in the productions they made. While some of these were immediately recognisable and appealing to the other children, some were not. Other productions used forms that are probably to be found – albeit in different variations – in many cultures: for example, some films contained conventional symbols, such as the heart as a symbol of love in the German film *Dog*. While some films contained verbal language, some also had English subtitles. Others worked without linguistic codes, but with non-verbal forms like body-language, facial expression, music, sound and objects. More broadly, most of the films derived from established media genres: the police/crime series (*Bank*, Germany); the news report (*Report from Iraq*, Greece; *Positive/Negative*, Germany); the MTV-style video clip (the Italian *Hello* video); the celebrity interview (*Layla's Crib*, UK), the short narrative film (*St Nikolaas*, Netherlands; *Friendship*, Italy; *Ali and Vladimir*, Greece; *The Teddy that Disappeared*, Sweden).

The awareness of audience is a central dimension in any form of communication. One of the aims of the CHICAM project was to encourage the participants to develop a sense of audience for their productions by enabling them to distribute and exchange their work. Nevertheless, building a meaningful sense of the audience was a slow process, which developed gradually over the course of the year (Buckingham and Harvey, 2001). The children's developing sense of the variety of audiences available to them and of different modes of address was an important element of their developing media expertise.

The 'texts' that the children produced were multi-layered and 'open' to many readings, and can be interpreted on different levels. In some cases the children set out to express

their positions as migrants very forcefully (*Song (Tragoudi)*, Greece), and in others they selected themes that clearly expressed their everyday negotiations of inclusion and exclusion. In other cases, however, they set out precisely to avoid depicting the migrant experience. Most of the children did not necessarily want to be seen primarily as migrants, or to speak from that position – and some attempted quite strongly to disavow it. However, this can tell its own story of exclusion or attempted inclusion. Many of the children in our study had good reason to want to preserve their own privacy, and that of their families. Some of these were perhaps typical of children of their age; although others were quite specifically to do with their status as refugees or migrants. Several of the children's families had left their country of origin under threat of violence, and their permission to remain in the host country had only been granted temporarily or was still being granted. This precarious status made them – and their families – justifiably suspicious of public visibility. 'Speaking as a migrant' was therefore the very last thing many of them would have wanted to do. For these reasons, our aim of enabling the children to represent and express perspectives that were specific to the migrant experience was, to say the least, quite problematic.

5.4.2. Intercultural Communication

One of the main aims of the CHICAM project was to foster and examine intercultural communication between the children, both within the clubs and, indeed primarily, between the clubs. There were several reasons why we wanted to foster such communication. We set out to explore ways in which new media could enable children to participate in a wider public political arena and influence policy decisions that affect them. Given that we were working with refugee and migrant children, we also wanted to find ways in which their experiences could be more widely heard among their own age group and by those professionals working with them in different settings. Our aim here was both to promote intercultural understanding and empathy and to enable children to enter new worlds. In a globalising, yet divided world new media are often seen to offer a route to promote personal connections across space and culture, and to create new forms of cultural understanding: this, at least, is the claim of many of their most enthusiastic advocates (Tapscott, 1998).

However, as we have noted, local social relations were of primary importance for the children themselves. The process of intercultural communication between the clubs was often hesitant and tentative, and occasionally quite problematic. All the clubs began by learning how to use the equipment and by making some initial productions together, with the assistance of the media educator. When viewing each other's productions, the children noticed details about the other children in the videos: age differences, who was

good looking, who they thought they might like to be friends with. For some clubs the videos did present important challenges to stereotypes. The Swedish club remarked on the dark skin of one of the UK girls. In Italy they thought that the German film came from Morocco because the girls were wearing the *hijab* (head scarf). The Dutch club asked where the mountains and snow were in the Swedish film. Comments about locations were also important. They compared the appearance of their respective school buildings, the Swedish and UK schools comparing favourably against the Greek and Italian. The rural location of the Swedish club surprised the children in the UK. All clubs noted the stereotypical London red bus in the UK video. There was then some exchange of questions and answers between the clubs, a checking of ages, enquiries about who had done what in making the films, and more. However, these initiatives were largely adult-led. The children were unsure how to respond to these videos. On the whole they ignored the content and were only interested either in what others in their own local groups were saying or noticing. There was little feeling that the other children were "people like us".

We referred above to the importance of music in the children's lives. This became one of the shared platforms that encouraged the children to communicate with each other. There were several videos that utilized music both different types of global music cultures, Eminem, Tupac and Turkish/Kurdish musical traditions and adapted them to their own needs and interests and contexts. These constituted the most successful exchanges. The use of global music represented an important shift of emphasis in the project as a whole. The productions that were initially released for exchange in the project- portraying students interviewing each other or their teachers in the school environments – did not create very much excitement or curiosity. They followed a dominant narrative paradigm, a closed narrative, and perhaps also a set of 'official' educational expectations. By contrast, the use of music enabled the children to recognise that CHICAM could be about their own lives and cultures, rather than being another 'school project'.

There were several fictional dramatic narratives acted out and filmed in the clubs. However, these were harder for the children in other clubs to follow, both because they involved greater use of verbal language (which was hard to understand) and also, notably, because they were seen by the children to compare unfavourably with more professional productions they were familiar with on television. Animation, specifically, claymation was a popular format for telling simple stories. As well as allowing humour more easily, this form also allowed children to address painful and/or personal aspects of their lives in a more distant manner. This can be used therapeutically with some children.

There were different types of exchanges that cut across genres. These reflected a more general use of the project for forms of identity play that are characteristic of adolescence. Yet ultimately, and with some of the exceptions discussed above, the internet largely failed to fulfil its promise of creating a meaningful intercultural dialogue. There were several reasons for this, which can be identified. Communication problems using the Internet were experienced; technical factors such as poor levels of access to the Internet; the need for central control; the website design being seen as not playful enough; as well as the fact that the orientation and expertise of some of the media educators was geared more towards production of videos than communication across the clubs. Also hindering communication were motivational factors such as having to use written language, especially when the children were not confident with literacy skills, and above all the fact that the children's primary interest was in developing local contacts rather than new international ones, which meant that they were not necessarily motivated to use the internet in the way we had expected. Both these technical and motivational factors have implications for implementing similar programmes in school and for educational and youth policies in this area.

5.5. Policy Recommendations

The four research themes discussed above lead to policy recommendations in several areas: Youth and Citizenship, Social In/Exclusion, Education, Broadcast Media, Media Literacy and Immigration. In section V of the main report we have set out a list of recommendations under each of these headings. However, many of the research findings and therefore the policy recommendations cross these policy separations and demand that they be addressed in different ways by different policy areas and that they are not exclusive to one policy strand.

In the first two areas there is a clear need for:

- more organised, local leisure-oriented spaces enabling for children and young people to mix and communicate across culture;
- facilities allowing children to meet and mix with others with similar migration experiences, thus gaining support to combat exclusion.

These social provisions should also include:

- opportunities for language acquisition and maintenance;
- support for both children and their families;

- access to media expression;
- more active participation in local and national decision making through media use.

These developments have implications for education policy. Schools are the major institution in which social exclusion can be actively combatted. They therefore need to be equipped to provide and sustain initiatives in this area:

- links between home and school need to be strengthened and given more support.
- teacher training needs to be more focused on meeting the needs of a more diverse European population and the particular needs of refugee and migrant children
- support to teachers in schools needs to ensure that they are able to meet these children's needs and ensure their long term academic and economic success
- better induction procedures need to be provided
- language teaching and support should be sustained over the longer term.
- more attention needs to be paid to the school design and facilities in order to promote an environment that allows inclusion and safety.

Training of media teachers and wider provision of media education in schools is also a priority. Expanding media literacy provision and training should include:

- the promotion of more creative uses of ICT to include visual expression, communication and intercultural communication and understanding;
- a wider view of the role of media in learning;
- effective evaluation of media programmes both in the formal and informal sectors;
- an effective programme to alleviate the worst effects of a growing digital divide that can affect refugee and migrant children in particular.

Broadcast media also play a role here:

- the media productions of young people need to reach a wider audience and forums need to be created to encourage cross cultural expressions and discussions aimed at improving youth participation in public debate

- more representations of the cultural diversity of Europe are required in the everyday media of national broadcasters, not as special events but as everyday expressions of daily life.

In all these areas the special focus of the needs of children should not be lost. This is of special concern in the case in policy concerned with immigration. There is a need to create a common age sensitive migration and asylum policy in order to improve the protection and reception of these children across Europe. The EU needs to ensure that the chances of migrant children – and their future mobility – are not impeded by their parents' legal or social situation. Immigration policies cannot be divorced from the need to promote programmes that foster intercultural exchange and understanding and on activities that put the onus not only on the incomers to adapt and integrate but also on the receiving countries to learn and adapt.

CHICAM has made a start in exploring the role that new media can play in the lives of refugee and migrant children in increasing their social inclusion and public participation. The project has raised many important issues that have a direct bearing on policy and practice. There are several important avenues in which future research should build on our work. These include: a more extensive examination of the media uses of specific ethnic communities in terms of social participation, intergenerational and gender relations; an examination of existing international and European internet exchanges that are being promoted in formal and informal settings in terms of their social and educational outcomes; an examination of how 'intercultural communication' is understood and practiced in different European contexts, both business and educational; and a more extensive European wide examination of the role of media in the different aspects of children's social lives and identity formations (both migrant and non migrant).

II. BACKGROUND AND OBJECTIVES OF THE PROJECT

1. Rationale

CHICAM was funded under the second call of Framework 5 under the key action 'Improving the Socio-economic Knowledge Base'. The call's aim was 'to improve our understanding of the structural changes taking place in European society in order to identify ways of managing change and to involve European citizens more actively in shaping their futures.'

CHICAM focused on the relationship between three major aspects of structural change in European society: the increase in global migration, the uses of new communication technologies, and the specific needs of children. By building bridges of communication between refugee and migrant children and their peers across Europe, the CHICAM project aimed to identify the potential of new technologies to promote social integration. We aimed to investigate how these children represent and express their experiences of migration in their new countries of residence in Europe, and how their use of new media might enable their perspectives to inform the development of European educational and cultural policies.

The project focused on the social and cultural worlds of refugee and migrant children in six European countries. We included within this group children who have been forced to flee their home countries as a result of persecution or the fear of being subjected to cruel or degrading treatment (that is, refugees); as well as children whose parents or carers have made a 'voluntary' decision to move, for example in the hope of improving their economic circumstances (that is, migrants). Our central focus was on first generation refugees or migrants – that is, children for whom the experience of re-location is relatively recent.

CHICAM explored the potential of media and communication technologies as means of empowering these children and enabling them to realise their potential. Its main empirical focus involved studying groups of migrant/refugee children, aged 10-14, who were using new communications media in order to represent their perspectives and concerns, and to communicate with each other across national boundaries. In each participating country, researchers collaborated with media educators and youth/community workers to establish media 'clubs' in which the children would come together to work on short productions using digital media. Using the internet, they established a communications network that facilitated the sharing of these productions, and generated ongoing dialogues between them. CHICAM's broad aim was to research

the potential of these connections for addressing EU policy priorities in the areas of social inclusion (on the part of both individuals and groups) and the promotion of a sense of European identity among socially excluded communities.

CHICAM was conceived as a form of 'action research'. It used new communications media to generate dialogues and a sharing of experiences and perspectives among the diaspora communities across Europe. Through the children's use of these media, we sought to identify how particular experiences of reception, educational practice, family life and community involvement may more effectively promote social inclusion and economic and cultural integration. The project generated a range of original data that provided new insights into the experiences and perspectives of migrant and refugee children; and it also provided innovative, evidence-based models of educational and cultural practice involving new communication media.

2. Objectives

Within the overall aim stated above (to identify the potential of new media technologies as means of promoting social inclusion between refugee/migrant children and their peers across Europe, at both interpersonal and institutional levels) we identified four broad sub-objectives:

- To analyse how new media and communications technologies are changing social relations within migrant communities, paying particular attention to the position of children, and their relations with the family, the peer group, the community and the school.
- To identify how these technologies can be used to promote inclusion, both social and institutional, by building bridges between migrant/refugee children and members of the host societies.
- By enabling such children to communicate with each other across national boundaries, to identify the potential of these media as means of intercultural communication, and to investigate how this potential can be more effectively exploited by educational and cultural organisations.
- Through the use of these technologies, to raise the voice of migrant and refugee children in decision-making at local, national and European Community level in relation to policies that directly affect their social and economic well-being.

In attempting to achieve these broad aims, the project addressed a number of more specific objectives in the form of specific research themes: peer relations, experiences of

education, family relations, media production and intercultural communication. These themes were selected as being areas that are key European policy concerns as central to the children's everyday lives and in which media play an important role. These are also areas about which children have important and varied experiences that could inform policy:

3. The Research Partnership

The six countries and seven partners that formed the CHICAM research partnership were selected to bring the greatest relevant expertise and experience to bear. Northern European countries have traditionally been the recipients of the greatest numbers of refugee and migrant peoples. Different national strategies have been adopted to include them in socio-economic and cultural life. Taking these issues into consideration, we included four countries that are traditional recipients: Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden and the UK. Typically migrants have passed through southern European countries on their way north. This situation has been changing over the last few years, both in terms of the groups concerned and in terms of their propensity to settle for longer periods in these first countries; new policies and actions have been needed to respond to this situation. We therefore included two "new immigration" countries, Greece and Italy.

The partners reflected a breadth of academic and social expertise across the relevant disciplines, including sociology, psychology, media/communications studies, technology and education. They also reflected previous working partnerships and long standing connections, which supported the work and the management of the project.

Given its particular combination of concerns, the CHICAM project was necessarily multi-disciplinary and inter-disciplinary. It brought together the combined expertise of researchers in several major fields of socio-economic research:

- the study of global communications media, and particularly of media reception;
- the study of media pedagogy, particularly in relation to children's media production;
- the sociological and psychological study of childhood;
- the study of migration, ethnicity and 'race';
- the study of intercultural communication.

While the Directors in each centre were highly experienced European academics, as were most of the researchers, the research team included several researchers for whom CHICAM was their first experience of professional research. The project thus aimed to

support new researchers by offering the experience of working in a cross-European and cross-disciplinary partnership. It was also therefore necessary to build appropriate support strategies into the work programme and project meetings.

The media production component of the project was a central feature and each partner employed a media educator to work alongside the researcher (in the Netherlands our partner employed the media expertise of Mira Media). Thus the partnership was multidimensional, bringing together different disciplines and countries but also developing close working relationships with practitioners in a related field. For most of the media educators this too was their first experience of incorporating the requirement of research into their practice.

III. SCIENTIFIC DESCRIPTION OF PROJECT RESULTS AND METHODOLOGY

1. Research Design and Methodology

1.1. Participatory Research with Children

The research approach the partnership took could be described as participatory and ethnographically styled. This was an in-depth study of small groups of children or young people, their social relationships and experiences of schools and communities, the processes of them making media and of the media productions themselves. Taking an approach based within the 'New Sociology of Childhood' (Corsaro, 1997; James and Prout, 1997) we saw the children as active participants in their communities and in the experiences of migration and not merely as outcomes of social, psychological or developmental processes. Our intention, then, was to regard the children as active participants in the research process. This entailed an ongoing attempt to construct shared understandings and meanings between the researchers and the researched; efforts to consult with participants about the nature and direction of the research; and an attempt to access children's 'voices' in as unmediated a manner as possible. These general orientations are increasingly common in childhood research (cf. Christensen and James, 1999); but the added dimension made possible in this project was the fact that the children themselves were constructing visual (and audio-visual) representations of their own lives.

Thus, what the children said, how they acted and how they negotiated and challenged their positions vis-a-vis each other and within the social institutions they encountered were of paramount importance. A range of different types of data was gathered during the course of the site-specific case studies. These included: detailed field notes based on participant observation of groups at work; video and audio tapes of discussions and practical activities; pre- and post-production interviews, and on-going briefing interviews, with participants; interviews with facilitators/tutors; feedback from local audiences (for example, parents and peers); and, of course, the children's productions themselves, in the form of photographs, drawings and digital video productions. The aim here was to have a detailed record of the social process that led up to the finished product: how the research themes were discussed, what the children felt could and couldn't be said, how they prioritised and negotiated, how the dynamics and power relationships operated within the group, how they brought their own personal experiences (as set out in the interviews) into the process, what they made public and what remained private in the group, how they conceptualised their audience, and so on.

Over the year of the club activity the researchers spent a considerable amount of time within the field sites, engaged in a range of informal activities as well as in the observation of specific research activities. They visited the children's families, went out and about in the cities and towns in which the children lived and sat in on lessons. 'In between' settings - that is, opportunities for observation that arise in the spaces between structured activities or institutional contexts - contributed considerably to the "thick" description (Geertz, 1973) we have been able to develop of the lives of the children who are at the centre of this study.

Methods for subsequent analysis of these data were informed by the specific disciplinary approaches of the partners as well as with an awareness of the children's input. Obviously, the experience of migrant children is not homogenous; and in addition to examining differences between the partner countries, the analysis needed to focus on key variables such as gender, religion, socio-economic status, country of origin and status (refugee/migrant). Beyond this descriptive level, there was considerable common ground among the partners regarding the need for a fully social analysis of learning processes - that is, an analysis which took account of the situated, contextual nature of learning, the role of linguistic (and in this case particularly, para-linguistic) dialogue among learners, and the role of learning as a means of identity formation. Learning, in this respect, was centrally understood as a form of social practice (cf. Lave and Wenger, 1993).

More detailed methods of analysis for specific instances of data reflected this broad theoretical orientation, and therefore drew on methods developed within social semiotics, hermeneutics, discourse analysis and critical psychology (e.g. Hodge and Kress, 1988; Wetherell, 2001; Walkerdine, 2001). In analysing the visual data, we needed to draw on formal semiotic and narrative analysis and on visual sociology and anthropology (e.g. Burn and Parker, 2004; Pink, 2001; Emmison and Smith, 2000). These approaches needed to pay attention to questions of aesthetic form as well as to substantive content. Again this required the participation of the children in assisting the researchers to understand the motivations and content for the productions.

1.2. Media Production as a Participatory Research Tool

Media consumption and production are an increasingly important platform from which children (and adults) negotiate their social relationships with others and with the institutions of society. Increasingly, visual methods of data collection (photographs, drawings, film and video) are used in research (cf. Pink, 2001; Banks, 2001). However, up to this point it has generally been the researcher who has operated the cameras. As media have become more accessible to children, it has become possible for children to participate in the research process by taking control of the cameras themselves. They are more able to represent their own experiences and, through their visual representations, researchers can gain a more privileged 'inside' view of their lives and thoughts (cf. Niesyto, 2001a; Buckingham and Harvey, 2001). In this respect, our use of media had a dual aspect: we were simultaneously investigating the role media played in the children's lives, as well as utilizing media as a research tool.

This participatory use of media has several methodological advantages. The processes of production (planning, shooting, editing, presentation) involve negotiation with others as well as making decisions about what will be represented, why and how, and indeed what is *allowed* to be represented within the institutions inside which participants live. The final products are seen in the context of these negotiations but in many cases can also stand alone as strong statements of the children's lives and experiences. In the same way the processes of production throw light onto the children's lives, beliefs and experiences and are fertile ground for observation and analysis. The times when the children were simply 'hanging out' and chatting while preparing to film, setting up equipment, editing and sharing ideas were all important opportunities for data collection. Much of the talk and play would inevitably revolve directly and indirectly around our key research themes. This was all rich material both for the study of the children's interactions with each other but also for the study of representation and identity formation of particular individuals and groups of children. Taken alongside interviews and observations in other settings, this use of visual methods offers us extremely rich data.

Furthermore, the children with whom we were working had varying levels of fluency in the language of their new country of residence. Working with visual media production as part of the research had the advantage that the children could use a variety of means to convey what they wished to express and did not have to be totally reliant on verbal communication. Since the research also touched on emotional - often traumatic - experiences, being able to approach such topics less directly through different forms of expression was an advantage for both the researcher and the children. This 'therapeutic' use of visual media (generally in the form of drawing) is increasingly popular in

organisations that work with such children, such as (in the UK) the Medical Foundation for the Care of Victims of Torture.

Involving children directly in the research process through their uses of media technology meant that the research agenda, while remaining within the set themes of the project, needed to allow some flexibility. The children could intervene to affect the research agenda and were able to highlight areas of concern or interest that may otherwise not have been addressed. It meant that the researchers needed to be open to new ideas and directions. On occasion this provoked some tensions. Working in this way with children over a long period inevitably meant that the researcher developed quite close relationships with the children and their families. This has a particular significance where some of these children and families were experiencing social and economic insecurities due to their refugee and migrant status. At times it was difficult to balance the research needs of the project with the social needs of the children. For example, it was necessary from time to time to prioritise the immediate needs that the children brought to the clubs (friendship problems, instances of bullying, home commitments) over the interviews planned for that day or the editing that needed completing. In other cases we needed to respect the children's decision to withdraw from an activity or not to place a video on the project intranet. On several occasions, children left the club suddenly due to relocation, deportation or family crises. The researchers needed to work with great tact and with ethical considerations clearly in mind.

The project involved sustained long term contact with the children. The children needed to be motivated to participate; here again the media played a key part. Media have high status and acquiring the production and editing skills and having access to the equipment gave the children a considerable social status with their peers. Parents were also keen for their children to participate, partly as they saw this as a way of their children acquiring technical skills that would stand them in good stead in school and for future careers. However, in some cases sustained interest was hard to maintain once the children had acquired the basic skills and made their first productions. As we will discuss below, the questions of why and for whom they were making the videos became a key issue in the research.

Working in this way therefore raised several interesting methodological and ethical issues. As we have already stated, the clubs were established specifically as research sites. We needed to be aware that they were therefore potentially artificial settings and that the relationships formed and the work done within the clubs were essentially created for purposes of the research. In this sense the project could be seen as primarily a form of action research (Altrichter, Posch and Somekh, 1993; Reason and Bradbury, 2000).

However, we would argue that the composition of the clubs and the ways in which the media work was undertaken reflected the ways in which such clubs have operated elsewhere and would operate if such clubs continued to be organised in these settings. The data collected about the children's everyday lives outside the clubs and the relationships the children brought with them into the clubs (several of the children were already friends) were ongoing and not research-related. The clubs – and the use of media within the clubs – thus also served as a vehicle for data-gathering of a more conventional kind. In this sense, the research combined action research with more traditional sociological ethnographic research.

The research also relied on a working relationship between the researcher and the media educator in which both were necessarily taking on aspects of the other's work and focus. The two planned sessions together and, often, both wrote up field notes and shared research-related observations that formed part of the data. In settings of this type the researcher could not merely act as observer but had, on occasion, to become involved in the media production work. The media educator was often in a better position to observe interactions and actions that were important to the research themes. This was thus a complementary relationship crucial to the success of the project. It was also one that was sometimes hard to negotiate and manage. In many ways the children treated both adults as media educators and it was difficult during club sessions to differentiate the roles. The researchers were, from time to time, frustrated at not being able to act purely as observers and the media educators were often unsure about taking on the role of researcher.

This issue generated considerable discussion at the final project meeting. It was felt that future projects incorporating the use of media production should also build in training in the management and skills needed for both to be able to work together effectively. In the planning stages CHICAM had not anticipated the importance of the ability for both parties to be able to take on aspects of the other's work. In practice, this crossover had been crucial to the data gathering and analysis. It therefore becomes essential in projects of this kind that media educators are trained in research methodologies and that researchers are more able to participate effectively in the field of media education. Future projects should take account of these training needs.

1.3. Media Production and Communication as Empowerment

One of the main aims of the project was to explore the potential of media production as a means of 'empowerment' – specifically for children who risk social and political disempowerment because of their circumstances as migrants and refugees. We sought to explore this potential in two main ways. Firstly, we considered the nature of children's learning about the media in the context of the project (and then potentially in their application of these skills and understandings elsewhere). Secondly, we were keen to investigate the potential of media production as a means for children to intervene in areas of policy formation that directly affected their own lives.

It is widely recognised that the experience of media production plays an important role in developing children's greater understanding of media generally (Buckingham, 2005). Through participating in media production, their perceptions of the media in their everyday lives can take on a different light. What they watch, play or read is no longer distant and elevated; they develop a different sense of audience and of critique. They understand that they too can participate in presenting and representing their experiences and the worlds in which they live.

There were three main aspects of this that became clear during the project. The first was that the children were able to develop their technical skills in camera and computer use. This developed their confidence both personally but also, in several reported cases, in their school work. Secondly they were able to experiment with forms of representation – such as animation and music videos – that they had seen on television and had heard about, again developing technical skills but also greater understanding of the possibilities of media communication. Again, this was important for their confidence but also for their understanding of the ways in which media messages and different forms of communication operate in the wider society (Vryzas, 1990). Thirdly, they developed a sense of the different audiences that media productions can be made for, why certain messages need to be presented in different ways for different audiences and the fact that there are indeed different audiences and different modes of address (Buckingham and Harvey, 2001). These are all skills and levels of awareness that are necessary for children to learn if they are to communicate effectively both at an everyday level and via mediated productions in the wider public sphere.

Ultimately, only time will tell whether or not this project has realised the potential for media production to provide a means for children to intervene in public policy debates. In disseminating the results of our work, we have placed a central emphasis on the use of visual media, in the form of a DVD summarising the key concerns and findings, as well as

in compilations attached to the research reports and in the project website, which is now available for public access. We certainly hope that these materials will be used to inform discussions of these issues among policy-makers, and by organisations working in this field; and we believe that the use of visual and audio-visual methods provides a powerful approach that can provide a unique and distinctive contribution to the debate.

2. Organisation of the Work Programme

The research was organised on several levels with the aim of maximising the use of very local research contexts as well as the European wide partnership and expertise.

Site-specific case studies

Similar or parallel work was carried out simultaneously in all centres in the children's media clubs. Initial processing and analysis of the data was undertaken by each partner.

Infrastructural

The clubs were linked through a project web site and two intranets, one for the children and one for the researchers. The website changed and developed as the project produced new publications and videos.

Thematic analyses

Each research theme was led by two collaborating partners who drew up data collection and analysis guidelines for each theme. Comparative analyses of each theme were undertaken.

Summative analysis

A summative analysis was developed according to agreed guidelines. This built upon the site-specific case studies and the more developed thematic analyses. These formed the project deliverables, which consisted of a report on each theme plus a CD of the related video productions.

Dissemination

The project deliverables have been put on the project website as downloadable PDFs along with the related videos (www.chicam.net). A DVD has been prepared outlining the main research findings and policy recommendations and with a selection of videos for each research theme. Dissemination is ongoing in the form of publications, seminars and conference presentations as well as local practice-oriented meetings (see section V).

The **first year** of the project was spent working on the state of the art report (Deliverables 1 and 2), organising the club locations and membership and establishing communications links. A one month pilot was undertaken before the club work proper got under way in order to ensure that the clubs were viable, that the staff were able to undertake the work and that the media infrastructure was practicable. Several adjustments were undertaken as a result of the pilots. This was mainly in the make up of the clubs, some staff adjustments and a re-timetabling of the club sessions, project meetings and deliverables.

The **second year** was spent on working in the clubs, establishing the communications between the clubs, data collection and initial analysis. The researchers kept in regular contact via the project intranet. Additional project meetings were timetabled into the second year to ensure that the data arising from each research theme was properly discussed and that the teams were able to complete the work to meet the project deadlines.

The **final year** was spent on the final analyses and writing of the remaining Deliverables. Dissemination was ongoing on different levels. The clubs held local meetings, the researchers attended and presented at relevant seminars and conferences and some publications were completed. In Section V we elaborate on the ongoing dissemination.

3. The CHICAM Clubs as Parallel Case Studies

The main sites of data gathering were the media clubs set up during the project in each participating country. The clubs were designed more as case studies working in parallel rather than as comparable sites. Each club comprised between 10 – 12 children between the ages of 10 –14 years old. The children came from many different countries and spoke a correspondingly wide range of languages. Clearly, since refugees and migrants enter Europe from well recognised international trouble zones, there were children from similar countries in several of the clubs. For example, in more than two of the clubs there were children from Somalia, The Democratic Republic of Congo, Columbia, Turkey and Afghanistan. However, due to the location of some of the clubs there was a predominance of one or another ethnic group in some clubs. In Sweden, for example, nearly all the children were from Kosovo. We were therefore operating with many different variables (language, age, religion, gender, migration experience and status, country of origin and media experience). This decision was made on the basis that we wished the club groups to be as representative of the location and that location's migration community as possible. Nevertheless, it is clear from the reports that many problems and experiences the children explored in the course of their media productions

were shared across the clubs despite their differences and this makes the research findings and policy recommendations particularly pertinent.

However, the children in the CHICAM clubs also had very different needs when they entered the clubs, as they represented different categories of immigrants and refugees. Some were seeking asylum, having either arrived recently or already experienced a long period of temporary permits or living in reception centres. Clearly, these children had different needs from those whose families had been granted asylum. Thus, for some children, life in the new country was unsafe and fragile, whereas for others the situation was more secure as their families had started a new life and were planning for the future. Naturally, such different conditions affect how children establish bonds and ties with others (Black, 1994; Virta and Westin, 1999; Fedeli, 1998).

The CHICAM clubs functioned partly as arenas of social interaction and identity formation. We were able to observe dimensions such as self-representation and identity, and the formation and organization of peer relations. We were able to study how the children's notions of friendship are expressed in the new country in addition to how children conceive of their friendship relations with their country of origin. We also had the opportunity to explore friendship relations in media productions, as specific tasks focussed on explicitly visualizing or dramatising friendship. We observed that when children were negotiating and discussing their friendships and peer relations, they were inspired by popular media such as Reality TV – a format that invites children and teenagers to talk about their affectionate relations with friends, love affairs and so on (Hill, 2004).

The concept of “difference” is ubiquitous, permeating language, appearance, education, social status, parental employment status, clothing (dress codes), religion and social codes (Hargreaves, 2001). To use French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu’s terminology, we could say that the ‘habitus’ (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977) of these children does not always match that of the predominant culture. In addition, there might be cultural differences within an immigrant group in terms of status and prestige, creating feelings of inferiority, insecurity and confusion at a stage in life when it is so important to feel equal to others.

The level of group consciousness and the sense of belonging to a group (in this instance, the CHICAM club itself) built up slowly but steadily. Inside the clubs, we tried to foster this with various activities and 'symbols' such as cups or T-shirts. We further encouraged the creation of as free a space as possible inside the clubs, trying to make the children set their own rules and perceive it as an open, warm and comfortable space. From the

children's side too, interest in 'doing things together' at CHICAM was expressed (e.g. going on an excursion, having a party etc.). Yet, the infrastructure was already there: some groups were pre-formed through different channels of acquaintance and/or affiliation, and in most cases the children were members of the same school community.

The groups started bonding slowly. Different roles and personalities developed from the very beginning and changed over time while different skills and characteristics surfaced. During the club, work sub-groups were formed, and alliances were created. The latter were certainly not static at all, but shifting and dynamic. There were also cases of children who remained relatively marginal to the group. The researchers and the media educators needed to ensure that this did not become destructive. In one case in the Greek club, a girl preferred to remain as an observer to the group. In Sweden, the researcher needed to intervene actively to bring the children together. In the UK club, it was agreed that one of the children would prefer to do other activities and left the club. These processes of affiliation and disaffiliation from the group also formed part of the research data. The children saw the clubs as an opportunity to create their own, identifiable space, where things that could not be articulated elsewhere, could be brought up and discussed. The CHICAM clubs functioned as alternative spaces and as grounds for socialisation where differences were accepted and respected.

In summary, the children had different needs, which related to their individual circumstances. The clubs functioned as spaces for social interaction and identity formation. Researchers and media educators tried to foster a sense of belonging to a group, and were able to focus extensively on what 'friendship' meant and entailed for the children. While working with media was the main activity it was clear that the social dimension of the clubs was of primary importance for the children. Meanwhile talk about media (television and films) was an important platform on which these social relationships were negotiated.

4. Framing the Issues

4.1. Children and Migration

There are significant historical and political differences across Europe that make it impossible to speak of a single experience of migration. This diversity is complicated further when it comes to researching the experiences of migration as a result of the methodological difficulties entailed in gathering and comparing data, when it comes to researching the experience of migration: for example, categorisations of ethnicity are often confusing, appearing to mix nationality, language, region, skin colour and religion. This means that certain groups are highlighted while others become invisible. For

example in some countries 'Turkish' people are often classified under 'white', so they do not appear as a separate group although their circumstances and needs might be different from those of the mainstream 'white' population. These terms also change over time to reflect different political imperatives and understandings. Strict categorisations disallow self-determination, and tend to ignore 'mixed' racial backgrounds.

At the same time, terms such as 'minority' and 'majority' imply fixed immovable categories. This implies that the 'majority' is somehow homogeneous, while the minorities will have more in common with other minorities than with the majority. Such categorizations take no account of differences of class, gender age, region, religion etc. within each category. Likewise, many documents do not differentiate between newly arrived ethnic migrants and those who have been here for several generations. This implies that all ethnic minorities are somehow 'foreign', and makes it difficult to take account of the different experiences of first and second generation immigrants.

Several of these difficulties are particularly compounded when it comes to children. Children do not appear separately in the statistics from adults, and it is often necessary to read between the lines in order to get a picture of where children sit or the main issues that affect them. These difficulties further contribute to the marginalisation – or indeed invisibility – of migrant children. Having said this there are similarities, differences and trends that can be noted and that framed the research undertaken by CHICAM.

4.1.1. Overview

The six countries participating in the Chicam project are all nation states with one dominant national group and one national language. Germany, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands, Sweden and the UK have population sizes that vary considerably - from 82.2 million in Germany to 8.9 million for Sweden. All countries have experienced large-scale migration. The stock of first generation migrants in these six countries alone is over 16 million, approximately equalling the total population of the Netherlands. If we include their children we arrive at a figure of between 25 and 30 million. Refugees are an increasing part of the migrant stocks. Despite attempts to control and contain migration to Europe by national governments, the flows to Europe in the 1990s were larger than ever before. Moroccans are among the largest migrant groups in Italy and the Netherlands. Turkish migrants are the largest category in Germany and one of the largest in the Netherlands. Migrants from former Yugoslavia are an important category in Germany and Sweden. There are also large communities of Romanians in Italy, Italians and Greeks in Germany, Finns and Iranians in Sweden, Surinamese and Indonesians in the Netherlands, and Indians, Pakistanis, Bangladeshis and Afro-Caribbeans in the UK.

Albanians constitute the largest migrant groups in Italy and Greece. Migration is usually undertaken by young people, and children are very much part of these movements. This means that migrant populations are younger than host country populations.

Whereas many migrants to Italy and Greece can find work in the agricultural sector, migrant labour is mainly found in industry and the service sector in Germany, Netherlands, Sweden and UK. Quite a large share of the migrant population is in small business (from street vending to tobacconists and takeaway food stores). Migrant populations are generally urban and tend to live in segregated neighbourhoods. Residential segregation carries over into other social domains. Young migrant children then go to schools that tend to reflect the segregation of the neighbourhood. Racism is prevalent in all six countries although its forms of manifestation vary. Ethnic minorities merging into mainstream society tend to be regarded as a problem by the receiving country. European nation states are coping with the situation through two different policies - multiculturalism, the aim of which is to incorporate ethnic minorities, and immigration control, which in practice means to close as many gates of immigration as possible. The goals are not reconcilable and can lead to conflicting outcomes.

Children migrate with their families, often through the family reunification entitlement. A small but growing number of child migrants are unaccompanied minors, who are sent off on their own, sometimes to escape conscription and the hazards of living in war zones, sometimes to prepare the ground for other family members in a receiving country, but sometimes as victims in the hands of traffickers. For example, there are approximately 5,000 unaccompanied minors living officially in Germany as refugees; although the number of refugee children living unofficially in the Republic is unknown. Most of these children come from Turkey, the Near East, West Africa, Sri Lanka and, more recently, from Eastern Europe and North Africa (Pro Asyl, 1996). This pattern is mirrored in the other countries across Europe.

The definition of who can be defined as a refugee is increasingly problematic and under challenge. How refugees are received and who is allowed to remain varies greatly across Europe and continues to be a major social and political issue. CHICAM included both refugee and migrant children for several reasons. The categorisation of children would have been difficult to sustain in a project of this nature. For children in schools information about their immigration status is often confidential, especially if they are awaiting a decision about whether they will be allowed to remain. Asylum seekers are increasingly under threat of abuse across Europe. Secondly, while many refugee children have particular experiences of trauma and dislocation, other experiences of migration

and settling will have similarities. It was these less personal and traumatic narratives that the project sought to explore.

4.1.2. Contrasting Patterns of Migration

Europe represents considerable diversity with regard to cultures, histories, economic development and immigration experiences. Immigration to Europe started on a large scale after World War II. The United Kingdom, France and the Netherlands had large intakes of migrants from former colonies in the 1950s and 1960s, although more recent immigrants have come from a wider range of countries. In the Netherlands, about 300,000 repatriates who had Dutch nationality came during the period 1945 – 1958 from Indonesia. Migrants from other former colonies came during the seventies, as did many migrant workers from Spain, Portugal, Greece, former Yugoslavia, Turkey, and Morocco. Ethnic migrants constitute 9 percent of the total Dutch population. Immigration to the UK during the 1950s and 1960s consisted mainly of British subjects from the Caribbean, East Africa and the Indian subcontinent, as well as the vast Irish migration. Migrants from the Indian subcontinent and the Caribbean settling in the UK were technically speaking not immigrants because they were already British subjects. The bulk of this post-colonial migration was of 'visible' minorities. Thus the issue of race and racism was on the political agenda earlier in these countries than elsewhere in Europe.

Germany, Austria, Switzerland and the Scandinavian countries resemble each other with regard to a large intake of manpower in the 1950s and 1960s, mainly from southern Europe - Italy, Greece, former Yugoslavia and Turkey. Sweden also had an intake of labour from Finland. The German guest-worker policies represent a diametrically different case to the British post-colonial immigration model. Guest workers were not entitled to naturalize, and were not even recognized as migrants.

By contrast, the situation in Southern European countries is generally quite different. Italy, historically one of Europe's major sending countries, is now an important recipient of migrants. About 150,000 new migrants enter Italy annually and the number of immigrants has reached 1.5 million. Most of them are in Italy for work (850,000). Another 520,000 are in Italy with family permits, although this does not preclude labour force participation. There are 55,000 "religious" immigrants, mostly in and around the Vatican in Rome. Another 45,000 are wealthy foreigners who have chosen to live in Italy, and a further 35,000 are foreign students. There are at least 280,000 immigrants under 18, and most of these are young children. The Greek situation is somewhat similar. Greece has received refugees from Albania and other Balkan countries as well as a return migration from the Greek diaspora, both former labour migrants in Western Europe and

the classic diasporic communities around the Black Sea. According to statistics from the Ministry for Public Order and the Greek Refugee Council, the refugee population in Greece at the end of 2000 consisted of approximately 7000 – 7500 people, the majority hailing from countries in the Middle East (Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan, Turkey).

4.1.3. Globalisation, the Nation State and Citizenship

Globalisation has brought about a growing interdependence between sending and receiving regions. People migrating in one direction send back remittances, images, ideas and values, developing transnational and diasporic ways of living and perceptions of the world. Developing new technologies increasingly facilitate this. Once chains of migration based on kinship establish they tend to assume a momentum beyond the control of the authorities (Castles and Miller, 1998). Yet this contrasts with the need and desire for governments to manage population movements and social and economic structures. For example the developed welfare states of the North need to handle a number of tasks – managing urban problems and distributing goods, welfare, education and social integration. The nation state in its liberal democratic version proved to be a successful model through its control of territory, people and political power. Yet globalized living threatens the nation state in that migration inevitably will lead to a questioning of the myth of cultural homogeneity, common history and common destiny on which the legitimacy of the nation state rests (Castles and Davidson, 2000). Ethnic minorities merging into mainstream society tend to be regarded as a problem by the receiving country.

Integrating migrant populations into receiving societies brings the whole question of political rights and citizenship for migrants to the fore. The concept of citizenship is being broadened in several respects. Various states have reluctantly accepted dual citizenship as a possible solution and this goes some way towards a recognition of different international patterns of living and of identity. While most European states follow the *ius sanguinis* principle of granting citizenship (the principle of soil in which citizenship is conferred to persons who are born in the territory of the state), Germany being a notorious example, some countries follow the *ius soli* interpretation (according to which citizenship is conferred on the strength of blood relationship), most notably the UK. Other principles of granting citizenship are also being discussed, for example a tentative *ius domicilii*. Another idea is that citizenship does not only represent membership of a state but also encompasses social, linguistic and cultural dimensions. One specific background to this development is the move to recognise a Supra-national European citizenship. Policies in this area have become principal instruments for integrating increasingly multicultural societies.

These different contexts of immigration and ethnic relations, and the social and economic development of the countries in question, have shaped a wide range of policies and strategies to deal with increasing diversity, problems of inter-group relations, racism and discrimination in the labour market. For example, the Netherlands has viewed itself as having a long tradition of immigration and providing refuge for persecuted minorities. The country has strong liberal traditions and is known for its toleration of life-styles on the margins of society. Assimilation of newcomers was never an explicit requirement. Despite some backlashes of racist violence, indications until recently were that the Netherlands was managing to accomplish some aspects of integration as an objective – although violent clashes following the recent popularity and murders of the right wing politician Pim Fortuyn in 2003 and the film director Theo van Gogh in 2004 have cast some doubt over this. In Sweden, on the other hand, the official policy is to promote integration; although there is a hidden agenda indicating that assimilation is the desired outcome. This can be summed up as follows: “Ethnic diversity is all very well, but things should be done according to the Swedish model!” These conflicting goals have furthered a situation of segregation rather than integration. The UK has no direct integration policy comparable to the Dutch or Swedish initiatives. On the other hand, the fight against racism and discrimination has a much longer history and stronger position than in any of the other countries in our partnership. The challenge today is how to maintain ethnic diversity, how to support minority groups, and how to voice ethnic and cultural interests.

Nevertheless, the situation in these countries is now changing significantly. In the 1950s and 1960s, when labour was in demand, discrimination did not noticeably affect unemployment rates. It was experienced in more subtle ways through limited career opportunities and prejudicial attitudes. Ethnocentrism and xenophobia were present but the full impact of racism did not emerge until the 1970s and 1980s when new categories of migrants started to appear on the scene - asylum-seekers from non-European countries. A clear example of this trend can be seen in the changes to immigration and asylum laws and the ways in which such changes and their effects are represented and perceived by local populations. For instance, since the mid 1980s, restrictions on refugees entering the UK have gradually increased. This has meant that increasing numbers have been forced to enter the country illegally. This in turn has brought a perception of refugees as ‘illegals’ and as scroungers (Harding, 2000). The term ‘bogus’ has become a common prefix to ‘asylum seeker’ and there has been a rise in anti-refugee sentiment, which also directly affects children, increasing bullying in schools and other peer problems. The 1999 Immigration and Asylum Act aimed to restrict freedom of movement and discourage more applications. It brought in a dispersal scheme whereby asylum seekers were housed in areas decided by the authorities, often away from

support networks and in communities that were actively hostile to them. While the Netherlands and Sweden represent a mid-way position, accepting foreign workers as migrants and seeking to incorporate them into society through the mechanisms of the welfare system, here too pressures to limit immigration have grown.

Meanwhile, despite the fact that Germany has received more immigrants than the USA over the past fifty years, paradoxically it has not seen itself as a country of immigration. Consequently it has not recognized people of migrant origin as a permanent part of its population. No targeted integration policies have been enforced pertaining to the guest workers and their descendants since these groups were never intended to settle permanently in Germany. Social exclusion is the logical outcome of this approach, although a certain degree of integration has nevertheless taken place through the economic system and participation in educational institutions and the labour market.

By contrast, in Italy and Greece, policies have not yet developed to incorporate migrants into the host society, and relatively little has been done to counteract racism and discrimination. The lack of clear policies is creating a situation of confusion and panic, to which children are often particularly vulnerable. For example, our project found that the difficulties faced by children from various groups attending school stems not from legal prohibitions but from bureaucratic barriers which start from the time they try to enrol in school. This is confirmed by other studies (Markou, 1976).

4.1.4. Discrimination and Racism

The New Right is seen as a reaction to globalization and multiculturalism. Across Europe right wing parties have increased their proportion of the vote significantly using the issue of immigration as a platform (Van Donselaar and Rodrigues, 2001). During the forty years of the Cold War, liberal western democracies conceived of Soviet Communism as their moral, political and existential antithesis and thus their principal contrasting identity. Soviet Communism represented an image of the 'Other'. When the Cold War came to an end this contrasting identity just evaporated. However it was soon replaced in popular thought by the traditional and historically more salient stereotype of the Muslim as the archetypal 'Other' (Morley and Robins, 1995; Runnymede Trust, 1997). The renewed focus on the Muslim as the 'Other' in popular perceptions adversely affected the large Muslim populations present in western European countries. Muslims were stereotyped as a culturally alien and non-assimilable part of the population, a perception that the new right willingly exploited and disseminated. Since the attacks on New York in 2001 and the war in Iraq this situation has continued to deteriorate.

Thus in the Netherlands, the discussion about migration and integration has become more confrontational in the last few years. The social climate, the effects of the attacks on the U.S., the issue of the acquisition of the Dutch language, and also beliefs about the number of migrants involved in crime all contribute to this situation. The consequences of increasing segregation are clear. There are increasing numbers of 'black' (ethnic minority and immigrant) schools. A disadvantage in terms of integration is that these schools sometimes prove a hindrance to learning Dutch, which is an important requirement for successful schooling and for climbing the social ladder in the Netherlands and increasingly for citizenship. There is an increasing need for special pre school language provision in some areas. In many areas the native population is ageing and the numbers of migrant children and youth are growing. There is little communication between these groups.

The situation in Germany is similarly difficult. Here too young people from migrant backgrounds are discriminated against in the compulsory education system with its monolingual orientation. Their native language, or language of the country of origin, is often perceived as being a handicap when learning German, rather than as a competence in its own right (Yiliz, 2001). The important role of the school in social positioning and as an empowering factor is emphasised: "It is also in school that decisions are arrived at as to who legitimately belongs to a society and whether he is 'at the top' or 'at the bottom'. In the current situation the mono-cultural school system serves the interests of the autochthonous population in preventing immigrant groups from rising within the society" (Hamburger, 2001). Confirming anecdotal accounts of rising racism, young people in the member states of the EU were asked, within the framework of the Eurobarometer 47.2 (1997), about their attitude to foreigners. 40 % of the young people interviewed in Germany said they agreed with the statement: "Es gibt zu viele (Fremde)" ("There are too many" foreigners) (ibid).

In the UK, while the government has pursued an overt multiculturalist strategy since the 1970s, the MacPherson report (1999) confirmed in a radical manner the presence of institutional racism across the country. Similarly, racial harassment remains a serious problem. The results of a PSI survey (Virdee, 1997) report that in a 12 month period 20,000 people were racially attacked, 40,000 were the victims of racially motivated damage to property and 230,000 people were racially abused. Repeat attacks were a marked feature of these incidents. These contrast sharply with official police figures, which, in 1994-5, showed a total of 12,000 reported incidents. The fact that racial harassment has also been perpetrated by the police themselves confirms a picture of distrust between police and ethnic minorities.

In Italy a widespread perception of immigrants as criminals and carriers of social ills, reinforced by the media and exploited by some political parties, is a real barrier to social inclusion. The media tends to portray 'foreigners' as criminals or as very poor people, and Italians tend to consider immigration to be a threat. These sentiments have been exploited by a number of political parties, especially by the National Alliance (neo-fascists) and above all by the xenophobic Northern League. The former party would like to impose rigid conditions for entry in Italy; the second would like to have either no immigration or, at most, a labour migration system as once used in Germany. The overall effect on children is to create a climate of instability and insecurity, in which their administrative and social future is cast in doubt.

A recent Eurobarometer survey shows that Sweden comes out quite well in a European comparison when it comes to attitudes towards immigrants. However, although Sweden officially does follow more egalitarian policies towards migrants than some other European nations, there is reason to question the reliability of this survey. For foreign citizens the unemployment index is consistently higher than for Swedish citizens, and much higher for non-Europeans than for Europeans (Westin, 2000). This may be due to the large influx of refugees in recent years that have not yet established themselves in the labour market. However, the Iranians should have had the time to establish themselves but they face a seriously high level of unemployment. These data reflect forces of discrimination operating in a subtle manner in the labour market. In turn this situation tends to reinforce negative stereotypes and prejudiced views of immigrants as being unwilling to work.

Migrants in Greece work in agriculture, in the building industry, in workshops and also provide services in the home (cleaning, care of the sick and old) and in the tourist industry. Some of the older and/or more 'successful' have managed to become self employed in small businesses (e.g. small scale selling). They represent a flexible labour force, underemployed or with many jobs in irregular employment and frequently without guaranteed social rights (Ioasafidis, 2001; Markova, 2001; Canete, 2001; Psimmenos, 2001) stresses that migrants working in Greece are characterised by being temporary, subservient and entrapped. A specific category of workers are approximately 10,000 sex workers (Vovou, 2001), usually women, who work under extreme subordination to their "employers". Integration and multi-cultural policies aimed at including migrants and refugee youth often completely fail to take account the real vulnerability of the children of these immigrants. While their parents work either illegally or in low-income, low-status jobs, and await the results of immigration hearings, young migrants and refugees are often not able to participate fully in Greek society.

There have been no consistent studies across Europe as to how refugee and migrant children experience these issues and this is an area that needs to be addressed. CHICAM was conceived as a contribution in this direction.

4.2. Children and Media

4.2.1. Europe: the Media Landscape

Broadly speaking, the media landscape across Europe is characterised by two key developments: the growing importance of global cultures, reflected in imported television or cable and satellite, both for children and adults; and the increasing significance of new media, for example in the form of mobile phones, computer games and the Internet. In many cases (mobile phone use, chatrooms, gaming culture) the new media are increasingly amenable to user-determined, local social uses and needs. Nevertheless, it is also important to note continuing inequalities of access across age and socio-economic groups, albeit with wide variations across the countries represented. Levels of access to all media are generally higher in the UK, Germany, Sweden and the Netherlands; and this applies across age groups, with growing numbers of children owning their own televisions and, increasingly, computers. By contrast, in Italy and Greece, though access to television is also available in almost all households, access to computers is much lower, and access to the Internet lower still. The impact of socio-economic status on media access is much more marked in less wealthy countries: in Greece, for example, poverty extensively limits ownership of new technologies (Panagiotopoulou, 2001), whereas in Sweden, a majority of families who measure lowest on socio-economic indicators have computers in the home. There is some evidence that availability of computers at school can improve access for children in less wealthy countries, allowing up to half of children to use computers; though even in schools, levels of access to new technologies in such countries are reported as much lower than elsewhere in the EU. Also, there is no reliable data to suggest how school-based ICTs might provide opportunities for specific types of use that young people might require; or how they might redress unbalanced access for particular social groups or for girls.

There are cultural variations across Europe in terms of the kinds of media that tend to dominate. The major research study conducted in the late 1990s, *Children and their Changing Media Environment* (Livingstone and Bovill, 2001), found that countries varied in terms of the 'clusters' of media use. The UK, for example, was more oriented towards screen entertainment, while Sweden was more oriented towards print media and the internet. There are also stubborn gender differences, particularly in respect of interactive media, especially games. Nevertheless, our research confirms one of the main

observations of that earlier study, which is to do with the dominance of television. Even here, however, it is necessary to take account of significant variations in provision – for example, in the balance of domestic as against imported programming, cable and satellite provision, and provision of programming for children, both domestic and imported. For example, in the UK cable/satellite packages have at least six dedicated children's channels, whereas four children's satellite channels are available in Italy and the Netherlands; and only one in Greece. Domestic public service production for children has a long tradition in the UK, and in Sweden, where children will watch Swedish programmes by choice, especially soap operas. In the Netherlands, the evidence suggests that younger children's viewing is often steered towards children's programmes on the public (non-commercial) channels, whereas older children watch more of the imported children's channels. However, children's viewing preferences generally are moving both towards imported children's programmes, and towards programming for a general or adult audience, whether domestic or imported. These trends were generally reported across this study, and were even more pronounced where domestic output is small, as in Greece.

Regulatory regimes also vary across the countries, though some form of regulation intended to protect children operates in all of them. This ranges from a low (but increasing) regulatory regime in the Netherlands, which has only recently introduced a TV rating system; through broad indications of timing for children's programming, including threshold times in the UK and Italy; to strict categorisation of programmes in Greece, along with strict restrictions on the advertising of children's toys. (This in turn has had a limiting effect on the extent of cable and satellite broadcasting for children, due to their loss of advertising revenue).

4.2.2. Children as Consumers

Children are not passive recipients of transnational media output: like adults, they interpret and 'filter' global media through their own local cultural experiences (Tomlinson, 1991). For example, global studies of the reception of the American soap opera *Dallas*, conducted in the 1980s, showed that the programme was attributed with very different ideological meanings, and responded to in very different ways, by different national and ethnic groups (Ang, 1985; Liebes and Katz, 1990; Silj, 1992). Furthermore, different cultures continue to perceive and define 'childhood' in diverse ways, not least in terms of the kind of access children gain to the media (Stephens, 1995).

Two recent international studies address some of these issues in contrasting ways. The Global Disney Project studied the reception of Disney texts and products in a variety of

national contexts – albeit primarily among young adults, rather than children (Wasko, Phillips and Meehan, 2001). While there were several differences among the countries studied, Disney was found to be globally pervasive; and there was also a broad consensus about the 'values' that the company was seen to purvey. Yet the study also suggests that there is considerable resistance to Disney, and particularly to its perceived 'commercialism', even among its most enthusiastic consumers. In terms of cultural identity, there was frequently a degree of ambivalence here. While a minority rejected Disney as a force of 'Americanization', others saw it as representing universal values rather than culturally specific ones. However, most read Disney more selectively, rejecting negative aspects as 'American', while simultaneously celebrating positive aspects as universal – or at least as being more in line with their own national cultures. The 'Americanness' of Disney was often recuperated – or in some instances, simply ignored. As one of the young Danish respondents in Drotner's (2001b) study put it, 'Donald [Duck] seems so Danish'. In a related instance, the detailed ethnographic studies undertaken for the Pokémon Project (Tobin, 2004) suggest that some children manipulate, adapt and play with the artefacts of global culture in creative – and in some instances, subversive – ways.

It is possible to see then, that children's experiences of media are characterised by a complex interaction between the global and the local. As such, we should expect there to be some significant differences – as well as similarities – in the media experiences of children in the European member states. Different media systems, as well as different definitions of childhood, mean that children do still live in distinctive 'media cultures' that combine the global and the local in quite particular ways. The recent Europe-wide comparative study *Children and their Changing Media Environment* (Livingstone and Bovill, 2001) sees children's media use as a phenomenon that is situated in the context of other social activities; and as such, it can only be understood in the light of broader social and cultural differences. Thus, the media that are available to children depend upon factors such as the size of the country or the language community (and hence the ability to sustain national production) and the average level of income among the population, as well as on policies concerned with media regulation and technological innovation. Family structures and education systems vary between countries, creating different opportunities and constraints in terms of children's leisure experiences. The ethnic, cultural and linguistic diversity of the population is also significant here – as is the extent to which that diversity is acknowledged in cultural policy in the first place. All these factors affect the kinds of media that are available, and the extent to which children can gain access to them.

Language is also a crucial variable in the response to globalisation: children in countries with smaller language communities tend to favour imported TV programmes, whereas those in larger communities (where more funding can be invested in production) are more inclined to favour domestically-produced material. Meanwhile, children in more 'family-oriented' cultures tend to have less private access to media, as compared with those in more 'peer-oriented' cultures, where a media-rich 'bedroom culture' tends to dominate. Countries with strong national policies on ICT provision tend to be ahead of others in this respect; although in some instances, there are discrepancies between provision in the home and in school.

Despite these differences, (Livingstone and Bovill, 2001) identify a number of general patterns that seem to emerge across Europe, which include:

- the increasingly restricted, domestic character of children's leisure time;
- the 'privatisation' of children's media use, via the provision of television and other media in the bedroom;
- inequalities of access to new media (ICTs) in the home, in terms of socio-economic status;
- gender differences in terms of uses and preferences for particular media or genres;
- the ongoing struggle for control over access to media between parents and children;
- the continuing dominance of television, and the exponential take-up of digital media.

In general, their study concludes that children in the industrialised countries of Western Europe are increasingly participating in a global or transnational culture of childhood and youth. We also take the view that where media are concerned, at least, globalisation is more accurately seen as a reconfiguration of the relations between the global and the local, rather than simply as a matter of the global destroying the local. Yet however we perceive it, the globalisation of media has significant consequences in terms of cultural identities (Morley and Robins, 1995). For example, public broadcasting has traditionally been seen as a means of unifying the nation, overcoming inequalities and differences of cultural capital, and providing access to a shared public sphere. According to Eckhardt (2000) the significance for migrants of using media to become integrated in their host country is often not sufficiently recognised. On the one hand, the growing commercialisation of media could be seen to undermine this tendency; yet on the other, the commercial competition and the necessity of 'niche marketing' may also encourage

the recognition of cultural difference and diversity, and create the possibility for more plural public spheres. In this context, children are becoming a valuable market. For instance, in contrast to provision even two decades ago, most private (commercial) and public television channels in Germany now broadcast programmes at specific times that are intended specifically for children, and there are several new dedicated channels.

Generational or age differences may be particularly significant in this respect (Drotner, 2001a). In terms of broadcasting, for example, the most popular programmes among adults generally remain those which are produced in the home country; although this is less the case with children and young people, whose preference for imported programming may represent a more general rejection of the somewhat paternalistic approach of much domestic material. Likewise, children and young people are likely to be the most enthusiastic users of new media technologies, particularly those (like the internet and mobile phones) that offer possibilities for interpersonal communication. In these respects, the international dissemination of media has undoubtedly encouraged the emergence of global youth cultures (and children's cultures) that transcend national and cultural differences. Here again, some have welcomed these developments as evidence of a growing 'global consciousness' among the young (Taspcott, 1998); while others fear that the continuities between generations may have been lost – and that children today may have more in common with children in other countries than they do with their own parents (Ohmae, 1995).

4.2.3. Children as Producers

At least in principle, new media technologies offer significant new opportunities for young people to engage in media production in their own right. The retail price of video camcorders, digital cameras and multimedia PCs has steadily fallen as their capabilities have increased; and potentially at least, the internet represents a means of communication and distribution that is no longer exclusively controlled by a small elite. A growing number of European teenagers have home computers in their bedrooms that can be used to create music, to manipulate images or to edit video to a relatively professional standard. These technologies also permit a highly conscious, and potentially subversive, manipulation of commercially-produced media texts, for example through sampling and re-editing found material, alongside 'original' creative production. In the process, they make a mockery of copyright and of notions of intellectual property.

It is important, however, not to exaggerate the scale of these developments. Research suggests that relatively few children are exploiting the creative potential of digital media: their home computers are primarily used for playing games and for word-processing

homework (Sefton-Green and Buckingham, 1998; von Feilitzen, 2001). Levels of access will certainly increase significantly in the coming years, as prices fall; yet there is also a growing polarisation here between the 'technology rich' and the 'technology poor'. In the UK, for example, fewer than half as many working-class children have access to a PC at home, as compared with middle-class children; while the percentage with internet links is one tenth of the figure for middle-class children (Livingstone and Bovill, 2001). As with other new technologies (not least television in the 1950s), those with greater disposable income are almost always the 'early adopters': they have newer and more powerful equipment, and more opportunities to develop the skills and competencies that are needed to use it.

The possibility for children to become producers of media also varies considerably across the countries participating in the project. As yet, most research in this field has focused on the uses of media production in educational contexts; and this has been particularly evident in countries with a relatively strong tradition of media education (for instance Germany and the UK). Accounts of more 'spontaneous' or 'informal' media production by young people have been few and far between; and those that do exist are brief and largely descriptive (von Feilitzen and Carlsson, 1999; Vergaftig, 1996). In Greece and Italy, there is little evidence of child-production in any medium being recognised in any sustained way. To a greater or lesser extent, this is true of social and educational policy elsewhere also; though one-off media production community projects are reported in Germany, the UK and the Netherlands, sometimes addressing specific social concerns; and school-based media production work is increasing in these countries. However, Sweden alone reports a mandatory element of media production in its educational programme across the age phases.

The VideoCulture project, which involved two of the partners in the CHICAM project (Buckingham, 2001; Niesyto, 2003) was one documented example of research which investigated how young people from different countries produce, exchange and interpret each other's video productions. In general, however, there has been very little discussion in the research literature of children's involvement in media production. The international contributors to Livingstone and Bovill's (2001) comparative study, for example, make no mention of children's access to cameras, video camcorders or the production possibilities of multimedia computers. Yet such work clearly is taking place, in the context of the home, in 'informal' educational settings such as youth projects, and in the more 'formal' context of media education in schools.

4.2.4. Migrant Children and Media

There are very few studies that have looked in any detail at the media experiences of migrant children (or even 'ethnic minority' children more broadly). In this section, we look first at the nature of provision for migrant communities in general, both in mainstream and in specialist media; and secondly at patterns of use for children in particular. In several European countries, there has been an ongoing debate about 'ethnic minority' or 'multicultural' media, both on mainstream channels and in the form of specialist cable/satellite channels, or in other media. As Riggins (1992) suggests, 'ethnic minority media' may have a dual role. They can function as a means of cultural maintenance or survival – although in doing so, they clearly need to recognise cultural change as well as cultural tradition. On the other hand, they can also function – however unintentionally – as a means of assimilation, in so far as they enable minorities to inform themselves about the dominant values and practices of the host society. While mainstream channels in Europe – particularly public service stations – have made attempts to provide specialist programming for particular groups over the years (Husband, 1994), this has frequently been criticised as tokenistic and inadequate. Meanwhile, ethnic minority producers and audiences are both keen to see greater representation in mainstream programmes, not least because they believe this serves an educational function for the population as a whole (Ross, 2000). Ethnic minority audiences clearly do not wish to be 'ghettoised' – although as audiences for television and other media have become increasingly fragmented, the notion that the media might serve as a form of social integration may itself be somewhat outdated (Mullan, 1996).

This debate also applies to the provision of specialist cable/satellite channels. As Frachon and Vergaftig (1995) point out, the existence of more than 13 million people 'of foreign origin' across Europe represents a lucrative market for niche channels – and indeed the growth of television channels and other media catering for minorities could be seen as an ironic consequence of media deregulation (Tsagarousianou, 1999). Economic and technological developments suggest that there is likely to be even greater segmentation of the audience in the coming years, not just along the lines of ethnicity, but also in terms of generational differences (Husband, 1998). Yet while subscriptions to specialised channels and the readership of 'ethnic' newspapers have grown steadily – and the media outlets themselves have proliferated – there is concern among ethnic minority groups that they may come to serve as a substitute for more satisfactory representation in the mainstream media (Mercer, 1989). As Mullan (1996) points out, the high start-up costs of such channels mean that they tend to operate by recycling old material (particularly music, soap operas and movies), or constantly repeating newer programmes (although of course this is a feature of cable/satellite channels in general). In some instances, they

are able to rely on the enormous stock of films and programmes from countries like India and Hong Kong, which may be particularly attractive for first-generation immigrants; but second-generation immigrants also wish to see the realities of their current lives represented in locally-produced programming (Frachon and Vergafig, 1995; Mullan, 1996). Yet as Tsagarousianou (1999) indicates, economic pressures seem to result in a homogenising of diverse communities. However, while some of these channels are owned by powerful global players (e.g. Murdoch's Star TV), they can nevertheless provide a powerful alternative to the mainstream channels – not just in the host country, but also in the home country. In this respect, the controversy surrounding the role of the Arabic channel Al-Jazeera in the recent Afghan and Iraqi wars is a telling case in point.

As we have implied above, there are likely to be different patterns of media use among different generations of migrants. To some degree, these differences might appear to follow the 'logic of assimilation'. Hargreaves and Mahdjoub (1997), for example, found that while parents in Mahgrebi families were tuning in to Arabic-language satellite channels, their children were more interested in French stations. Similar patterns are reflected to some degree in our CHICAM findings. In Germany younger generation Turkish and Italian migrants tend to watch more German programmes than their parents and this is seen by some as an indication of greater participation, even if passive, in German society. However, this 'generation gap' is not always quite so straightforward. Children and young people may turn to the media of the host country for some purposes, and to transnational media for others; and this is likely to depend upon a range of factors, not least those of production quality. The overwhelming impression is that the younger generations are taking a 'pick and mix' approach. Where they have access, they watch transnational satellite or local specialist programming (often for language retention) but not as intensively as their parents, often preferring to watch host national programming.

In Italy, one difference between children in immigrant families and their Italian peers is the company of those with whom they watch TV. While immigrant children tend to watch TV with relatives (67%), evidence indicates that Italian children tend to watch TV alone. Immigrant children also watch TV at home (94%) and favour children's programming (67%), as well as films (41%) and light entertainment (25%). Studies in the Netherlands indicate that historical connections to the host countries are significant here, with the viewing patterns of younger migrants from former colonies being closer to Dutch youth than those from countries with no such connection. The German research notes the important role that music plays in this 'pick and mix' approach and the development of hybrid and new music styles. The UK research points out that for second generation migrants there is a feeling that neither the 'home' transnational broadcasts nor the host

country programming really meet their needs. Younger people tend to be more critical of minority ethnic media on the grounds of their perceived 'lack of professionalism', and for failing to acknowledge the specific experiences of the second-generation audience (Tsagarousianou, 2001). Likewise, in the UK second-generation Chinese migrants complain that their parents' preference for the specialist Chinese channels prevents them from keeping up with the British soaps, and hence being able to discuss them with UK peers – although some elements of Chinese popular culture (such as music videos) remain very popular with them (Siew-Peng, 2001).

Our CHICAM surveys show a marked tension between the use of media for assimilation and for cultural maintenance both on the part of providers and users. In Germany, for example, the minimal state broadcasting aimed at the Turkish community, broadly with a social education aim, has declined as satellite take up has increased. In the Netherlands there is no specialist public service minority programming but general programming has a multicultural gloss and presenters from minority backgrounds are now widely found. Local radio and television cable stations provide specialist programmes and there is widespread use of satellite programmes from home countries. Turkish families in particular use satellite access for a wide range of programmes, especially news (to get a different view) and sport. Perhaps predictably, Turkish, Moroccan and Surinamese children in the Netherlands while apparently watching more television on average than their Dutch peers, have relatively less access to new technologies and the internet except via the 'school computer'. In Sweden there is official recognition of the need for multicultural media output but its provision is minimal, and there is a recognition that minorities will use both local and global television. However, in both Greece (Albanians and Russians) and Sweden (Finnish and Lappish) large and socially significant minorities, which have the potential to put political and social pressure on government, have achieved some specialist public service provision. On the other hand, minorities which do not form either a lucrative global niche market nor a significant group in the host countries, such as the Moroccan Berber speakers in the Netherlands, have little choice.

In the UK the tension between media ghettoisation or specialism and the desire to reflect a culturally diverse society is acute. These issues are only beginning to be discussed in those countries of new immigration, such as Greece and Italy. However, nearly all our research, including that undertaken in Greece and Italy, reflects the difficulties of separating ethnicity from other variables. Both socio-economic status and gender are significant factors in youth access to new technologies, for example. There are also some universals. Soaps, both national and global were among the most popular programmes crossing national and ethnic divides. The debate on these issues implicitly raises broader issues to do with access to the public sphere. The presence of diverse ethnic voices

within the public sphere potentially disrupts the seamless production of the 'imagined community' of the nation. Yet the question of how ethnicity itself is defined and recognised in debates around media policy is very complex. 'Ethnic groups' are clearly heterogeneous in themselves; and ethnicity is only one dimension of identity, that is likely to come into play (and indeed be deliberately invoked) in specific situations for specific purposes (Husband, 1994). As such, it could be argued that there is no such thing as an essential ethnicity – or a singular 'ethnic experience' – that can be unproblematically represented or reflected in the media. At the same time, it is vital that the increased provision for ethnic minorities is not seen to sanction a form of 'media apartheid'.

Aside from these accounts of patterns of media use, there appear to be very few studies of media interpretation among migrant groups. In relation to children, Drotner (2001a) raises the issue of how 'otherness' is perceived by migrant viewers. As she suggests, there are many different types of 'otherness' potentially at stake here; and it would be a mistake to conceive either of the dominant 'host' culture or of the minority 'foreign' culture as somehow homogeneous and utterly distinct from each other. Generally speaking, however, we still have very little evidence about how migrant children make sense of the range of media representations available to them. For many, their media experiences are likely to be a complex mixture of the global and the local. They may share aspects of global media culture (Disney or *Pokémon*) with children from the host culture – even though these texts may be equally alien to both groups. Ironically, such material may provide just as much connection with their memories of their home country as the programming on specialist satellite channels. The particular combination of cultural specificity and universality ('otherness' and 'sameness') of a global production like *The Simpsons* may paradoxically unite Turkish children living in Germany both with their German peers and with their cousins back home in Turkey – and potentially with children in England or in Hong Kong or in Nigeria. Quite how they might interpret such a text – not least (in this instance) in the light of their own very different experiences of family life – and how they might discuss it with their friends and family is the kind of issue that future research urgently needs to address.

5. Project Reports

The project has produced 5 reports and more than 50 videos. Apart from the first report which was a review of research relating to children, media and migration which was completed at the start of the project (Global Kids, Global Media: a review of research relating to children, media and migration in Europe) all the other reports were produced with an accompanying CD containing a selection of videos relating to the research theme. These have all been placed on the project website for public access (www.chicam.net). The reports were co-ordinated by different research partners working in pairs in order to ensure collaboration and representation. Research guidelines and questions for each theme were agreed by the partnership and specific aspects of the data collection and analysis were discussed regularly in project meetings. The process of developing the thematic research guidelines was a crucial aspect of the European collaboration. We needed to clarify terminology, be aware of and sensitive to the different social and political contexts and their implications for the research and to come to some understanding of conceptual and methodological differences and similarities across the partnership.

Since the focus of the project was media production and communication, the reports highlight the role of media in the children's lives and the ways in which the children utilized media to represent and discuss the research themes. In addition, while each report addresses a specific research theme there are crossovers of data and analysis since the themes themselves cannot be seen in isolation from each other. The sections below are drawn from these reports. They are followed by a listing of the main research findings and policy outcomes. We would like to emphasise that the written reports and outlines, which cannot include the visual data, do not do justice to the reports. We therefore urge readers to refer to the videos contained on the project website.

The report titles are:

- Children's Social Relations in Peer Groups: inclusion, exclusion and friendship;
- School as an Arena for Education, Integration and Socialization;
- Home is Where the Heart is: family relations of migrant children in media clubs in six European countries;
- Visions Across Cultures: migrant children using visual images to communicate;
- Picture me In: digital media making with socially excluded children.

5.1. Peer Relations

The aim of this research theme was to study the peer relations of the children in the clubs and their experiences of building and maintaining friendships in their everyday lives outside the clubs. The opportunity and ability to make and maintain friends is one of the most significant factors in the lives of children of this age and an important indicator of social inclusion (Petridou and Davazoglou, 1997; Papageorgiou et al., 2000). What we were particularly interested in, however, was how the experiences of migration affected their experiences of friendship and what consequences this had for social inclusion and exclusion. In addition, we were interested in the role of media in the formation and maintenance of friendships. This is an area that has not previously received much attention in research (though see Gillespie, 1995; de Block, 2002).

The report and accompanying CD 'Children's Social Relations in Peer Groups: inclusion, exclusion and friendship' (Deliverables 7 and 8) discussed the children's peer relations in relation to three main areas:

- friendship here and there;
- inclusion/exclusion;
- leisure and youth culture.

5.1.1. Friendship Here and There

Given that relations based on blood bonds have changed as a consequence of increased migration and transformations in the structure of the nuclear family, it is possible that friendship has become a more important issue today. Children, at least in the West, increasingly grow up with people to whom they are not connected by kinship, but by new long-lasting social networks, such as those established through day care centres or "new parents". Moreover, increased migration during recent decades implies that for immigrant and refugee children, kinship and friendship bonds are disrupted. Yet social relations might also be preserved and kept alive, as modern communication technologies make it possible for local relations to become global and dislocated (Hannerz, 1996). Social scientists and social workers are today faced with contexts where unstable networks of intimacy, frequently unrelated to kinship ties, constitute key arenas of social interaction and identity formation (Giddens, 1991).

The children in our research had very clear categories of friends that appeared to fulfil different functions, both to maintain community, ethnic or family links but also to allow explorations beyond this. The shared experience of being a refugee or of racism was

often the basis of friendship and would cut across both ethnic and religious divides. For example, in a 'brainstorm' discussion in one club the children categorised their friends as follows: home, school, primary school, same language, religious, family, long distance, chat room. Chat room friends and religious friends were the most controversial categories and provoked much discussion. Some children had complained of loneliness privately but publicly claimed many friends. While friendships based on shared language were significant, parents reported that even if they spoke the same language, friends would often prefer to speak in the majority language. This was a concern to parents who feared the children would lose their home language.

The experience of loneliness and nostalgia was expressed and communicated in the production made in the Greek club about friendship (*Ali and Vladimir*). The film begins following the silent steps of a refugee child who misses his friends in his country of origin and suffers from homesickness and isolation in the new country of residence where he feels that he does not 'belong'. The experience is accentuated by the fact that he cannot easily enter the peer networks of children of his age group. In a critical moment, he meets and befriends another child who also happens to be a migrant. The common past experience as well as the similar problems that they both – as well as their families – face in the 'new' country, bind them together. Their friendship is based on learning about each other, respecting their differences (e.g. religion) and supporting each other. Their friendship is marked by the fact that the one boy has to leave again, due to family problems stemming from the uncertainty and vulnerability of their immigration status. His father has lost his job. The climax is the farewell scene between the two children and the exchange of mementoes symbolic of their friendship. The latter is not confirmed by continuity (how long it lasts) but by the intensity of the passing moment. Once shared, a friendship, a real bond, cannot be totally annulled.

The Greek film reflects a situation that could have happened in reality. However, generally the media productions seemed to reflect ideal situations, an idea of how friendship should be, and a kind of romantic myth of friendship. When using the word "friendship", children often thought about positive bonds and affiliations. One ideal, which was cultivated in several of the media productions was that of "helping a friend who is in trouble". All the children referred to their first days in the new school and how having a special person of their own age to help them was of crucial importance.

They also discussed sexual relations:

The negotiations of friendship are closely linked to the children's developing experiences of love and sexual desire. Relationships within

ethnic groups were easier to imagine, although attraction often crossed such boundaries. The Kosovan girls in the Swedish club discussed love relationships and the issues involved in possibly having or wanting to have a Swedish boyfriend.

The discussions also shed light on the issue of love between immigrants and Swedish boys, whether the boy should be "blond" or "dark". To be "blond" is a common connotation to Swedish people. Here a kind of ambivalence was expressed. They seemed to like both "blonds" and "dark" boys, but it ended up with the conclusion that if you are dark yourself you prefer a dark person and that such a person is to be trusted. They did not talk about trust when commenting on Swedish boys.

In general, it appeared that the children were sometimes reluctant to talk about memories from "there". But after some time when children and club members knew each other better, they came up with plenty of narratives about the past and how friends are lost, missed and longed for, as this excerpt from the field diary from the Greek CHICAM club indicates. The context was a brainstorming session when the club was discussing how to make a fictional media production on the theme of friendship:

What stands out here, is the openness of the children in referring to past friendships: friends they lost, friends they missed, friends they parted from, friends they re-encountered, friends they made on the journey, friends they 'dreamed of'. The split routes of migration come up like words in a game: Turkey, Afghanistan, Greece, Germany, Belgium. They referred to their country of origin and also to their insecurities and loneliness in the new country. They referred to the feeling of exclusion and the difficulties of integration, but also to the support they experienced on crucial moments. It seems that the latter is highly valued in their mind. Also there were references to people that they met on critical points in their life and whom they often called friends: e.g. people on the boat on the way here, people in a refugee camp.

Friendships "there" were very important emotional connections that continued to carry great significance. Internet connections allowed some to maintain contact. Others, especially those with more traumatic pasts, had a clear sense of 'no return'. Those children who had been in refugee reception centres had built strong friendships there. They felt the loss of these friendships as another disruption. Comparisons between "here" and "there" often centred on issues of safety. Many of the children, even those from 'trouble' areas, reminisced about past freedoms and were afraid of going out and about

where they were currently living. There was a sense of a loss of community and family. Some reminisced about their time in the asylum seekers centres where they had made close friends.

For example, time spent in the centre for asylum seekers left a big impression on Masja and Rana (The Netherlands). Apart from the many bad times such as forcible deportations and a death in the centre, they also saw it as a happy time in which they were able to make friends with people from the same background. Rana had come to the Netherlands five and a half years previously, and had lived locally for two and a half years. She said she did not like living in the Netherlands. 'There are not many people from Syria here in this town. There were 35 families from Syria in the asylum seekers' centre.' She had not wanted to leave the centre, and she said she would never forget her friends there. Masja, who had been living in the Netherlands for about four years, and had lived in her present location for almost ten months, confirmed that it was nice to have friends in the centre for asylum seekers. Having friends there meant that they could do homework together, and share secrets. Her friends still lived there, including her one friend from Syria. She missed her friends, because they often played outside together, and went to the big field that was behind the centre, to picnic and play volleyball. Ever since coming to live locally, Rana had wanted a friend who was also from Syria, and when Masja came to the school this year she hoped that she would be from there. This was unfortunately not the case, but Rana still wanted to become her friend. 'I saw her, and have always wanted her to come to me.' Sharing the experiences of the reception centre was a strong bond.

Although emotional and intimate bonds were important for the children, they are at the same time chastened and prepared for disruptions of social and emotional bonds. Most of them had experienced loss of friends and movements from one place to another. While some had the possibility of maintaining contacts through new media communications, others did not have access to these possibilities either because they could not afford it or because they came from countries or regions where such things did not exist or were unaffordable.

In the UK, Haamid had very good memories of the friends he had left behind but he was clear that this was in the past and that he would not be returning. He laughed when the researcher asked if he was still in contact with them.

Liesbeth	And do you remember friends from Africa?
Haamid	Yes
Liesbeth	Are you in contact with them? Do you write to them or telephone them?
Haamid	They haven't got telephone (laughs). And they can't spend their timeto get letter to the post, it is far.

Working with media communications within the club was therefore presenting some of the children with new possibilities, although these did not refer to their pasts but rather to their present and future lives. For others, using the internet to contact friends or potential friends was an extension of what they already did. Global communications was therefore regarded very differently in terms of work or leisure depending on past experience and future aspirations, where they came from and their economic position.

5.1.2. Inclusion/Exclusion

How the children experienced exclusion and negotiated inclusion both in personal relationships and through institutions was a fundamental concern of the project. Within this our particular focus was on the role of media in these negotiations and how media could be utilized by the children to promote inclusion. However, we needed to place such specifics within the broader context of the children's everyday lives and their day-to-day experiences of peer relations. It is in peer relations that children meet the most immediate demonstrations of inclusion and exclusion and it is also through such personal relationships that they negotiate identity and self worth. Discussions of these issues in the clubs were often passionate and emotional. It was also clear that there were areas that were painful and hard to broach. The children often put up a front and portrayed themselves having more friends than they did in reality. The number of friends you have equates with how included you are and so children often claim friendships when there are none. Like all children they all experienced difficulties at some time or other. However, it was also clear that all the children experienced shared difficulties that arose directly from their status as refugees and/or migrants (Rousseau, Drapeau and Corin, 1997; Rutter, 2001; Candappa, 2003; de Block, 2002).

All the children spoke about their first months in their new countries as being the hardest. Living in a new country and having to master new codes of behaviour and

socialisation determine the social life of refugee and migrant children. The encounter with the new world does not involve a progression from one stage to the next, slowly discovering new things and changes while at the same time having certain things around them unchanged and standing as constant references, but as a disruption and as a confrontation. When confronted with something unknown, fear will often lead to a tense situation for migrant/refugee children who feel they have to withhold fragments of their past, whilst at the same time thrusting forward and exploring the new world (Almqvist and Broberg, 1999). From early on they have to enter into a conflict and find ways of dealing with it. The experience of being excluded and at the same time the need to conform to social rules in order to be included, are crucial in various areas of their social life (language, understanding of shared codes etc.), as this example from the UK shows:

Haamid was often clearly torn between being the 'nerd', the well-behaved hard worker (conforming to his father's expectations of him and to the modes of behaviour that had been expected in his previous school in Guinea where he had lived temporarily after leaving Sierra Leone) and the naughty boy expected by his peers. In the club he tended to keep to himself but for a period he tried out a different role. Suddenly we found that he was being quite difficult and although quietly, quite defiant. It was behaviour that we found puzzling as his heart didn't seem to be really in it at all. After a while this phase passed. He moved into a more confident phase, biding his time, accepting social contact when it was offered and occasionally initiating it successfully himself.

Exclusionary practices are mainly manifested through bullying and discrimination. Although such practices are common among children in most schools or playgrounds, they become accentuated when specific categories of children appear to be 'weaker' and more vulnerable (MacDonald, Bhavnani, Khan and John, 1989). Being foreign, in itself, makes migrant children more prone to be excluded by their peers, especially in places where peer groups are already formed and in particular during their initial period in a new country. Their lack of familiarity with the new environment together with their lack of knowledge of the shared social codes, are the main reasons that lead to exclusionary practices (Blank, 2000; PRO ASYL, 2001; Kodakos and Govaris, 2001; Kogidou, Tressou and Tsiakalos, 1997).

Language is an example of this. Not speaking the language well, making mistakes and not getting the accent right are often grounds for teasing. This attitude goes beyond the issue of language use itself and indicates a wider tendency to exclude and castigate not

simply what is 'different', but mainly whatever is not the 'same' - the same as 'us', 'our' shared codes, 'our' established networks, hierarchies and power relations. Such discriminations are acted out at very local levels. The frequent relocations that children with refugee and migration background experience thus become seriously disruptive and work against inclusion. The importance of very local 'fitting in' was apparent in the following case from the UK:

When I first met Clara I thought the school must have got their information wrong and that she must have arrived in the UK many years ago. She spoke with an almost perfect East London accent, using local terminology and expressions as well as body language, using all the right intonations and mannerisms. In fact she had only been in the UK for 2 years. Like others in her situation she had put enormous energy into her local language acquisition in order to be accepted more quickly. She must also have had a very good ear for language, which helped her.

It is noted that racism and racist incidents have increased in European countries. Discrimination may be between locals and migrants or between different ethnic communities. Children may themselves act in an excluding way in order to protect themselves and pre-empt such attitudes by others, or they may repeat excluding practices to others in a weaker position.

Mechanisms of exclusion are multi-layered and work towards different outcomes. Victims of exclusion often reiterate those practices that they have suffered from, imposing them on others who may be in an even weaker position. Such cases were also characterised by reversing silence and turning it into aggression. Hakan in the German club, emphasised on a number of different occasions that he needed to fight in order to protect and assert himself;

Hakan: I don't want fight but when that one he do me something, then I want fight....then when I hit then he gets fright and then he don't say that again.

The children in the clubs often preferred to remain silent rather than to talk about the exclusion they experienced. They were nervous of further exposure and by remaining silent they hoped to avoid and to internalise incidents and keep them under their own control. When they did speak to researchers about exclusion it tended to be on a one-to-one basis. There was a feeling that they needed to find their own solutions to the problems of isolation and exclusion. Many children brought a positive image of their lives

into the club, reflecting the importance of a positive attitude as a strategy for survival in the new country.

Beyond the friendships that they formed with children of their own age, another aspect that was often highlighted was their involvement in the social life of their neighbourhood or their community. Knowing the new people around them and being known by them was presented as an asset. In addition, their ability to get to know new people and to become friendly with them was also emphasized as a skill and a talent. Sociability was highly valued in most circumstances. Their involvement in the social life of their community and their ongoing interaction with it came to replace and substitute for their lack of a common past and a set of given, pre-formed relations with their environment.

Emphasis on inclusion often acquired a symbolic dimension. Football deserves a special mention here, as it acted as a bonding force between the boys who had otherwise little in common. Ahmed and Masud in the Greek club, for example, kept wearing the T-shirts of their favourite clubs over their clothes all year long (as symbols of their integration and the new shared codes). Identification with a Greek or an international football club offered a certain 'identity' as well as a sense of belonging. It thus provided a link to a recognisable group within the local community. In addition, being distinguished in the playground was not only an integrating activity in a game between equals, where everyone was starting off from the same place, but also an opportunity to gain recognition and esteem. Football was also commonplace in the internet exchanges and the communication that the children had between the CHICAM clubs.

5.1.3. Leisure and Youth Culture

Sports, music and other global games and popular cultures played a crucial role in bringing children together and creating social spaces in which they could communicate across cultures or within which their different cultures could be adopted and appreciated.

Games and play are crucial in confirming and negotiating friendship in all cultures. Even if the older children in some CHICAM clubs did not accept that they were "playing", they did so nevertheless. Some children declared that they had played more in their home countries and that they did not play any longer, because they were now older. Others, particularly the older children in the clubs, were offended when they were asked about their playing. This may simply reflect the fact that children define 'play' in a different way from adults. Yet regardless of the definition of "play", we could see many signs of playing, at least defined according to adult norms: chatting, sports and games, music and dancing, using the internet.

As we stated above football seemed to have a special status among the children, particularly the boys. Some girls stated they liked to play football, but the boys had the most vivid and detailed discussions about football. In all clubs there were glimpses into the world of football. Boys frequently described how they played football during their leisure time or in school; and football was a topic for several media productions as well (Sweden, Italy, the Netherlands, Germany). The children made fictional media productions about football games as well as animations. Some boys expressed an aspiration to be a football star and talked about famous and admired football players. It was noted that an excluded or bullied child could be included, at least for some time, if he was doing well in the football team. Football was also a commonplace in the internet exchanges and the communication between the CHICAM clubs. The Netherlands club sent a poster of Ajax, where the Swedish football player Zlatan was a member, to the Swedish club, a gift which was very much appreciated and was displayed in the clubroom. Of course, this reflects the way in which football has itself become a highly mediated phenomenon, that is part of the globalised trade in media commodities.

All sports are nonverbal, but require physical, strategic and technical skills. Another game that was played in some clubs (Germany, Greece) was YU-GI-OH, a card game and linked TV cartoon, produced in Japan. In Germany, one boy and his friends played the game and negotiated and adapted the rules in their own preferred way. YU-GI-OH inspired the start of an intercultural exchange between the German, Dutch and Greek clubs on the CHICAM web site.

In most cases the girls appeared to be more restricted in their movements around their neighbourhoods although parents also expressed some anxiety about their boys (as did boys themselves). Sara in the UK club noted that while she was allowed out, most other Somali girls were not. That meant that she felt her friendships with them were restricted and she preferred to mix with children from other backgrounds. Whilst being out of the house or based within the home is a gender difference that goes beyond issues of migration (Yodanis, 2000; Berns, 2002) it is a dimension of safety and security which was a major concern for many of the families in the project.

Music and dancing were important and were enjoyed in different ways both by boys and by girls in the clubs. The Italian club even made a video about a dance school. The children demonstrated a knowledge and enjoyment of a wide variety of styles from modern global to ethnic. Music and dancing were also significant carriers and symbols of cultural identity. For example, Hana (Sweden) who liked to sing, could switch between different music styles and artists. Her repertoire covered a range of music styles, from international pop music to Swedish lyrics and Albanian music. Several of the children had

music from their countries and regions of origin on their mobile phones or carried CDs and tapes with them.

Interestingly, it was international commercial youth culture, such as MTV, that worked as a link and source of inspiration to create connections between the clubs. When Eminem was played on one Italian video, children in most clubs responded positively. When the phrase "*We are the champions...*" was heard as a background chorus in an Italian production, one club member in Sweden responded by singing this song on the CHICAM video "Friends". Similarly, a rap video inspired by the artist Tupac Shakur made in the U.K. inspired a couple of boys in other clubs to make rap videos to demonstrate their skills in rapping. We could also see how inspiration from international television programs, such as *Big Brother*, motivated children to set up their own 'confession rooms' for the video camera.

As our discussion suggests, the negotiation of friendships is an important way in which social inclusion and exclusion are lived out in daily life. For migrant children, who may have experienced considerable disruption in their personal and family relationships, friendship can be a particularly fraught and intense experience. As we have shown, friendships are also mediated, via the discussions that surround global media phenomena such as music, sports and television. Our clubs thus provided one arena in which the tensions and possibilities of these processes could be worked through via the use of symbolic media. The importance of facilities promoting friendships and thus social inclusion within and across cultural groups was clearly demonstrated and forms a major element of CHICAM's policy recommendations.

5.2. School

A further focus of analysis was the relationship between migrant/refugee children and educational institutions. Our discussion centred in particular upon the school as an institution, including its everyday "bricks-and-mortar" appearance, and on the children's experiences of daily life in school. However, it should be noted that an in-depth analysis of the six countries' school systems and curricula lay outside our concern. A full account of this work is presented in the report and accompanying CD, 'School as an Arena for Education, Integration and Socialization' (Deliverables 9 and 10).

School is the link between the family and the wider society, between the microcosm of primary relations and the macrocosm of society. At school, adolescents experience the passage from affective relationships to more abstract and impersonal relationships. Schools, moreover, are an integral part of national societies and transmit through their curricula (as well as through teaching methods, space and time management and the

student-teacher relationship) the values that the national society considers central. As Anderson (1991) makes clear, it is partly in school that 'imagined communities' are created and reproduced. Furthermore, there is no simple model of linear transmission from an adult teacher representing a single national culture to a passive student receiver: school is where many narratives intersect in potentially conflicting ways (Besozzi 1993). We could agree with Harvey (1989) in seeing the school and the media as the two principal sources for constructing the identity of a country's predominant culture. The possibility of linking these two spheres provided by the CHICAM project allowed us to carry out an in-depth analysis of the reception of messages sent out by these agencies of socialisation and to interpret their more problematic aspects.

There are great variations in the ways countries in Europe deal with the integration of migrant children in relation to their educational policies and practices. Even within a particular country there might be variations, depending on local policies. Differences can be related to histories of immigration, the size of the multicultural population or the size of the community itself (such as large cities versus small towns). Each research group found itself operating with widely differing schools that were not always representative of the national educational macrocosm (assuming such a thing exists). Thus, the schools connected to the CHICAM clubs provided examples of different immigration policies. This type of qualitative research study allowed us to carry out in-depth analysis of the settings and interacting subjects, resulting in data that is complex and reflects the vitality of the subjects and environments it describes.

There were several different models of reception into schools contained within the partnership:

- The new child is placed in a mainstream class with his/her own age group and offered initial language support within the mainstream.
- The new child is placed in a mainstream class with his/her own age group and also given initial language teaching.
- The new child is placed briefly in a preparatory class but is integrated as soon as possible into the mainstream. However, if they do not reach the required level they generally have to retake a grade.
- The new child is placed in a preparatory class (often in a different school) until they have reached the required language level and then sent to a school in their area.
- The new child is placed in a special multicultural school and treated similarly to a special needs child.

- The new child is placed in a class with a similar language level. This means that children are often placed with children much younger than themselves.

Initial school placement was a time of great stress for both children and parents (Cicardi, 1994; Refugee Council, 2000; Back Row Desks, 2000). Often they did not understand the issues involved. What all these models had in common was that the initial language support the children received did not continue beyond the first levels. There was a general frustration expressed by both children and parents in our research about this situation. In addition there was no or very little support given to encourage children to maintain and develop their first (or more) language/s. Mother Tongue Language provision was very limited and generally not part of mainstream schooling. This appears to be highly counterproductive, as often the children had achieved high levels in languages that they could have taken to exam level and thus boosted their qualifications.

Another common practice in several of the countries involved was in the form of 'multicultural days' or festivals in schools. These days shine the spotlight on the culture of origin, providing a space in which it can (re)present itself. However, in such contexts students can become merely a representative of a culture, its symbol, and, at worst, a mascot. We should also remember that, as clearly emerged in the German club, some cultures (or rather their symbols) are viewed more positively than others. In this context, we compared the attitude of some German pupils and of the teaching staff with regard to Latin American dances and the use of the hijab by Muslim girls. Both cases involve stereotypes linked to these symbols: the stereotype of the hot-blooded Latin girl with music in her veins compared to that of submissive women repressed by the Islamic community. Thus the South American female student is in great demand as a dance expert and is viewed in a positive manner by the teachers, while Turkish girls wearing headscarves do not enjoy this flattering attention; on the contrary, they are often the victims of rather aggressive behaviour and questions such as "Do you have any hair?". In the Greek schools, a theoretical affirmation of the benefits of multiculturalism appeared to translate in practice to an anti-Turkish approach. During history lessons, it was possible to hear expressions such as "the fall of the glorious Byzantine empire to the unfaithful" or "the Turkish yoke".

The *TV Studios* video made by the Swedish Club is very significant from this point of view, focussing on the twice yearly "cultural days" when Arabic and Albanian culture were in focus. These days were organized by the 'mother tongue' teachers, in cooperation with students and parents. They were filmed by the CHICAM club members and many of them were personally involved. This event was represented in a format very familiar to them: that of the talk show. However, the music in the soundtrack that

accompanies the images of dances and the exhibition of typical foods and objects is different from the traditional music of the culture. The typical dances are intercut with ringing phones and the whistling of modems. The students thus reappropriated and complicated the narration of a 'multicultural day', refusing to be tied to symbols of a traditional Kosovo, preferring a Kosovo that is both full of history and immersed in modern life.

In general, however, this form of multiculturalism in education may be counterproductive to integration, since minority cultures are presented as different and 'special', or perhaps even 'exotic'. For example, showing ethnic dances could be considered as old-fashioned and as evidence that Albanians are backward and "different". The children involved in the project stressed repeatedly that they wished to speak as children rather than representatives of a community or country. This was also confirmed in their refusal to speak of cases of discrimination related to their origins, and their tendency as far as possible to represent themselves as not 'different'.

A good example of how naïve multiculturalism can be overcome is revealed in the comparison between two videos produced by the Italian Club. In the first *'Un oggetto del mio paese'* (an object from my country) the children represent themselves in a stereotypical manner as representatives of typical ethnic characteristics, displaying objects for the camera, in some cases souvenirs from their countries of origin, thus answering what they believe to be the expectations of Italian adults. In the second video, a series of interviews with foreigners and Italians in Rome's Piazza Vittorio area (*Piazza*), the problem of integration and identity appears more complex. Ethnic, national and even "supranational" ties are revealed and each interview shows a different facet of the migratory universe.

In an education system that lacks a multicultural orientation and prefers to deal with difference through ignorance, or, in the best of circumstances, tolerance, the child leaves its 'different' identity behind at home or elsewhere, for the sake of negotiating a new one. This is an impediment to the preservation of the past; but it is often unfortunately also an obstacle to the inventive creation of a new hybrid or multiple identity. (These issues were also evident in the reports on peer group and family relations.) Recognition of religious and cultural differences was extremely important for the children, marking to what extent they and their cultures were accepted. This included the larger curriculum issues of language and religion but also related issues of food and dress. The data we collected indicated how complex and important these issues were for the children, often leaving them caught between conflicting ideas and agendas.

For example, during the time that the clubs were operating, the French government, prompted by the media, took the official decision to ban the wearing of headscarves in schools. In Sweden and in Italy, the debate had also started quite recently. This issue also arose in some of the CHICAM clubs. In Germany, there were negative reactions to wearing headscarves among some of the students. In a club discussion, two Turkish girls seemed to be reluctant to wear scarves. They got support from another Turkish schoolmate, a boy, who used the words *"headscarf is shit"*. However, one of the girls' older brothers insisted on her wearing the scarf in order to conceal her body, thus reinforcing its conservative religious meaning.

It is interesting to contrast this with the feeling in the UK club. In the German context the teachers had made it clear on several occasions in front of the children that they did not approve of the wearing of the headscarf and that they considered it to be a symbol of female oppression. In the UK context, however, wearing the hijab was normal practice in the school: it was entirely accepted and not seen in a negative light. The teachers did not make comments on it and indeed such remarks would not have been tolerated by the school management. The different institutional attitudes appear to have had a great influence on the children. The experience of these children in this school in Germany placed them in potential conflict with home and community or excluded them from the school community. The experience in the UK school offered the children an opportunity of being accepted into an institution that respected their cultural and religious differences.

Food is also part of the school routine. Lunch break is sometimes identified as a key part of the socialization process in school. In reality, however, the lunch break can be very difficult for both teachers and students; and students often generate a discourse about school food as being "disgusting". In some instances, school food was adjusted in view of religious traditions and requirements. In Germany and the UK, for example, meals were adapted for immigrant children, by serving food without pork. They could also choose vegetarian food. In the other countries, children could be served other kinds of food only after a request from parents. The children in the Swedish club did not overtly complain about school food. The impression was that school lunch was appreciated, at least among the children in the club, who did not have enough spare money to buy, for example, a sandwich as a substitute for lunch. In the UK, the experiences were the opposite. Although the menu was adapted to include religious and cultural needs the children complained a lot about the food. They found "English" food "disgusting", compounded by the noise and disruption of the dining hall. Also the dinner-staff were considered rude and unhelpful. How these informal parts of the school day are organised and catered for was of very great importance for the children's feelings of well-being, safety and

inclusion and for their academic success. This would be the case for all children but especially for those vulnerable to exclusion.

There appeared to be a difference between old and new receiving countries in the extent to which schools were able and prepared to recognise and support the needs of refugee and migrant children and their families. In general, the schools in Italy and Greece were less able to offer support, and much of the support appeared to be *ad hoc* or on short term funding. Some schools had a social worker or specialist support teacher available but in other cases there was no organised support. Thus, while the schools acted as a major social centre (and therefore site of socialization) for the children, organising particular additional extra curricular and social provision and support appeared to be quite problematic.

Teachers were a major topic of conversation among the children. The children in our CHICAM clubs generally experienced teachers as distant authority figures, and several children complained that they were not able to find sympathetic adults to talk to when they were having emotional or work related problems. They all had diverse 'models' of teachers and made comparisons between those in their countries of origin, those in their present and past schools in their current country of residence (comparing primary and secondary schools) and those in their mosque classes. Such differences could initially be the source of some confused expectations. In some instances, they were expected to be active participants and were thought not to be doing well if they were silent. In others they were expected to be silent and if they tried to participate they were considered disruptive. These are issues that can be addressed through closer home/school links, induction policies and practices, training of ancillary staff and teacher training.

While the children all had quite varied personal experiences of individual teachers, the videos they made portrayed a discourse about teachers in all societies, which is cultivated in popular culture as well as in everyday conversations. Teachers were portrayed as oppressive, using their power to create feelings of inferiority. For instance, in a U.K. production, *The Register*, school routine was dramatised in the following way. The video starts with the focus on the teacher, the clock and the register – all powerful symbols of order. The room itself looks ordered with maps and charts on the wall. The teacher is in control, whereas the students are oppressed and deliberately insulting each other. A somewhat similar example was a Swedish production about a strict teacher standing at the blackboard, asking questions in a geography lesson. Two girls are obstructive and are behaving obnoxiously as well as insulting a girl who cannot give the correct answer. Productions from the Netherlands confirm this picture as well. School was characterised as a disciplinary routine that does not allow surprises or any other breaking

of the rules. The teacher is portrayed with a stick, and is much stricter than would usually be the case in real life.

In other words, the teacher is often represented as a caricature. But the student is also portrayed as a caricature, that of the disobedient, subversive student. To be sure, there were several concrete reports and observations of bullying in the schools and the children in some countries also talked of corporal punishment taking place. In Germany, the group had a discussion about punishment and made an animation about corporal punishment. The discussion revealed that a number of children had been punished by their former teachers in their home countries, for example by being slapped on the hands or the face. In one case, the child considered it to be acceptable, but another indicated that she was afraid of the teacher after the incident. Another child reported that he had experienced German teachers hitting children. In the animation, the children attack the teacher who is punishing them.

In terms of our investigations of how children experienced schools and their need for support in developing social connections with both adults and children, this is troubling. Again it puts into focus how complex the adjustments to new school life, routine, hierarchies and systems are for newly arriving children and their families and the need for proper induction processes and training.

School attendance was an issue in some clubs, notably in the UK and Greece. Two children in the Greek club did not attend school. Stivan did not because he was working in order to support himself and his family in Iraq. His cousin Balky went for a bit and then dropped out, because she was registered at a class with children much younger than herself. Several of our research findings in this and the other research reports were confirmed by the reasons children gave for non attendance. The main ones were; assessment, language acquisition, relevance, balancing academic work and play, precedence of family needs, and a perception of the school as impersonal and not meeting social needs.

School as a physical space can be regarded as a "text" offering various readings and interpretations. The atmosphere of the school is not only shaped by people, but also by the architecture and design of the school, as pointed out by Foucault (1975) in his studies of institutional buildings such as prisons. We found that the children made clear distinctions between central (public) spaces and marginal (private) spaces in the schools. The physical design and layout of the school building was very significant in terms of whether the children felt safe and able to participate in school life both socially and academically. This kind of approach to the school allows us to analyse the different

narratives related to it; the differences between the official description of the school as an institution and the children's everyday experiences of it. In this context spaces assume different meanings and can become a battleground. In most cases school buildings completely lack appeal, although the children adopt an ambivalent position. On the one hand, they have internalised the official reading and show themselves to be proud of and attached to their school; on the other, they perform a whole series of actions aimed at reappropriating the space and giving it a new meaning.

As far as use and perception of the space are concerned, we must make some important distinctions; firstly, between schools with an authoritarian or anti-authoritarian approach, and between primary and secondary schools. Schools where the pupil – institution relation is more equal leave their pupils greater room to express themselves. Here it is the school itself that gets the pupils to personalise their classrooms (as in the case of German and Dutch schools). Similarly, primary schools allow more room for socialisation and learning is less teacher-focussed. The video made by a primary school pupil from the Greek club begins with the classroom door being opened. The camera takes the viewer into the classroom where fellow pupils pose for a photo, dance and sing. The school space is safe and cosy (the door shuts, protecting it) and incorporates significant friendly relationships. This image of primary schools was almost universally expressed by the children.

Meanwhile, space in school is experienced in a more fluid manner, and marginal spaces take on an important value. The relation between 'central' and 'marginal' becomes inverted. A marginal space is one that the institution does not consider central, viewed as uninteresting and unimportant. However, for many children it is the marginal spaces that are central because this is where social relationships are negotiated, and central spaces that are marginal as they are seen as the domain of adults. The small corridors hidden from the teachers' eyes, the unsupervised spaces, are places where the children's school culture comes to the fore. In a Greek video about one of the girl's schools, the scene shifts from a presentation of the communal spaces, regulated by adults, to the bathroom, considered by the children as private space. As the girl narrates, the tone of her voice changes as she moves from one space to another, from a more formal narration to a more intimate tone, marking the move from public to private.

We have described the marginal space as a space of reappropriation used by migrant pupils in the same way as their local peers. However, the fact that they are unsupervised can also make these marginal spaces unsafe, especially for refugee and migrant children. The problem of safety was given particular emphasis with regard to the UK school and warrants greater investigation. The school was situated in a new housing area. It was a

modular type of building apparently designed without taking into account the particular needs of the school. Located in an area with one of the highest crime rates in London, the school was vulnerable to unauthorised entries. Both pupils and teachers felt lost in this rather impractical structure. The feeling of insecurity that a structure of this type generates in students is intensified in the case of newly arrived students. Pastoral care and social contact between teacher and students suffered as a result of the problems with the building. For the students in the club this affected every aspect of the school – social as well as academic. It also contributed to absenteeism.

Despite these many difficulties, we found that the children’s educational aspirations were generally very high. While they found themselves immersed in the youth culture of the host country they also tended to have a feeling of respect for the school and greater expectations than many of their peers. This often led to a sense of tension. On the one hand, they wished to be part of the youth/school culture of their peers (aspects of which were anti-school), and therefore part of the peer group, on the other, they had high expectations of the school. In fact, the majority of children involved in the project, in the various countries, saw the school as being an extremely important investment for their future, and, at the same time, a dull, boring place not fully answering their expectations. As one girl from the Dutch Club said, the school is *“a gate away (sic) to the future”* but in practice it often translated into a daily experience that was not adequately supportive.

In terms of CHICAM’s policy recommendations arising from this work, we stress the need for consistent language teaching and support, the importance of building and maintaining home/school links and provision for informal socialising and working across cultures. There are important implications for teacher training that we highlight. In addition the consideration of school design is an area we feel has been neglected and needs further attention.

5.3. Family Relations

The third dimension of the project involved an analysis of family relationships and communication across the generations, We sought to understand how children in the CHICAM clubs saw themselves positioned within these relationships, and to explore how their perceptions were articulated through media and in the process of making media. The findings of this aspect of the research are presented in the report: ‘Home is Where the Heart is: family relations of migrant children in media clubs in six European countries’ (Deliverable 11, with accompanying CD, Deliverable 12).

The definition of family came into question during the research. In the course of the research the children (and researchers) used different definitions of family at different times. These included:

- the international extended family that has developed through migration, who are in contact from time to time;
- the immediate group who lived under one roof on a daily basis (which could be nuclear);
- people from the same country but not blood relatives who had formed part of a new community in their everyday lives – a form of 'constructed family'.

In order to accommodate different conceptions of family and to incorporate the current domestic circumstances of the children, we have used the concept 'domestic group' interchangeably with that of 'family' in reference to the current situation of each child, meaning the significant bonds between people living under the same roof. We have noticed that domestic groups were of crucial importance and were often created in order to secure basic necessities and to provide a social framework that was otherwise lacking.

Children in our CHICAM clubs did not talk about the family easily or spontaneously. In most clubs the family theme was addressed on an individual basis. This may have been for several reasons: traumatic experiences, being a teenager, experiences of bad parent-child relationships, identity separation between family space and school space. In addition, at some points we noticed a dialectical relationship between being a child or teenager and being a migrant. One way to deal with the tensions of these two complex identities seemed to be to divide the self clearly and segregate different roles into different spaces (for instance outside and inside the family).

The key aspects that we chose to focus on were: a) **family history**, with regard to the children's roots in the country of origin as well as the ways in which the past is remembered and negotiated in the present; b) **family life**, meaning the current living circumstances and domestic arrangements of the children as well as the ways in which they dealt with adult control and negotiated their roles; c) **social context**, with regard to the surroundings within which the family exists in the new country; and d) **the role of media** in the family, with regard to the particular uses of media in the new country and the effect that they have on family life. Two main themes that ran through the data were: disruption versus continuity and conceptions of 'home'.

5.3.1. Family History

Negotiating memory and conceptualizing family history are complex activities and important aspects of identity formation (Kuhn, 1995). In the CHICAM clubs we found that, on the one hand, the reconstruction of past life served to keep the children in touch with the 'positive' aspects of life in their country of origin. On the other hand, it also prompted 'negative' or difficult experiences, which were not always easy to deal with.

Photographs seemed the most concrete proof of the family past and they played an important role in family life (Spence and Holland, 1991). Some migrant families used photographs to keep memories of the family 'there' alive and to tell stories. As Kambooye from Somalia in the Dutch club exclaimed: *'you should only know how often we look at them!'* These photographs also prompted family stories and although he had never met his grandfather or his great grandfather he knew stories about them. It was through these stories that his ancestors remained present in his memory. Many children had their own photograph albums and several of the children made videos based on these photographs, prompting discussions between the children about their different families. Hakan in the German club kept photographs from Turkey in a metal box, which revived in him positive memories of a harmonious family life. However, some children pretended there were no photographs to be brought to the club (as with the Syrian Kurdish children in the Greek club), and their existence and importance only became clear when the researcher visited the families at home.

The reworking of pictures, absent or present, also helped to (re)define the children's relationship with the past (Hirsch, 1997; Lury, 1997). Not only photographs, but also other 'media' (such as drawings) and less obvious activities, such as travelling, helped to trigger memories about journeys and places where the children had lived, perhaps on their way from their homeland to their host country. When the Swedish researcher was driving Hana home, she started to talk about a journey to Kosovo, when the whole family was assembled. When drawing a childhood memory, Hana composed a picture of a couple seen from behind, sitting on a sofa and watching a blue-green sea or ocean. It was her family on a visit to Kosovo. A year later, in a series of photographs from her summer holiday with her mother in Kosovo, she returned to a similar composition, where her mother is sitting on a rock in the sea or ocean.

In some clubs photography proved to be a useful medium to help to construct a family narrative in cases of disruption. After a couple of months in the Swedish club Ibish brought in a set of pictures, which were well-thumbed. They were taken during a trip to Kosovo when the whole family visited the village they used to live in. Several pictures

focused on the remains of their house, which was burnt down during the civil war. During the club activities, Ibish returned to his memories from the village more than once. He also made a drawing of the village and of the graveyard where his grandfather is buried.

Professional photographs from books or in exhibitions or newspapers also prompted talk about their different countries and experiences of the world. The children looked for similarities with their experiences in order to make comparisons or noted how different certain places and people looked or behaved. Photographs acted as an important reference point through which they could place their lives in a wider context. In the UK the club visited an exhibition of photographs by Sebastian Salgado which raised interesting discussions about their experiences of migration. In Greece the children also used plots to highlight personal emotions and experiences. Some of these are contained in the video '*Different Countries*'.

However, in the German and UK clubs it turned out to be much harder to get to know how children had conceptualised the past. In the UK club it was clear that over the year family stories changed, or rather stories were told differently according to context. Sahra from Somalia (UK) was very willing to speak about her family and their lives but it became clear that what she told was not the present reality but stories now past, stories of happier times. She told these stories to maintain an image and to help herself through the present bad times. In a video made at the very beginning of the club she showed photographs of her family (particularly her father, who had died) and talked about Somalia. As this implies, mediated representations of family life captured in photographs can be either an easy means of accessing aspects of the children's family lives or else disturbing and painful or nostalgic reminders of stability and people that they no longer possess. Here differences between the experiences and reactions of migrant children and refugee children may sometimes be seen quite clearly.

What stood out from the experiences in all clubs was that an important aspect of memory negotiation was the family situation as such: children who had no family at all or who had a problematic one encountered more difficulties when elaborating ideas of past experiences abroad (Alexander, 1998). It should be noted, however that other research has found that refugee children remaining with other traumatised family members were as likely to have difficulties reflecting on past experiences as those children living separately (Hodes, 2000). Not only was the symbolic aspect of the connection complicated but the practical one was also quite intricate. Children who had good relationships with parents enjoyed more occasions to keep in touch with relatives in their countries of origin, while the others did not. For instance, some of the children in the Italian club had poor relationships with their parents. Obviously in these cases they did

not want the researcher to meet their family. The use of video cameras, on the other hand, gave them a new chance to express the anger and frustration they lived with in a free manner. Some of them used the camera (and the CHICAM space in general) to 'confess' and explore negative ideas and ambivalent feelings about parents and relatives. The CHICAM Club became a quasi-therapeutic space, partly by virtue of the fact that it was well separated and protected from the family.

Although some of these issues would be raised for children from any background, how family history is viewed and experienced by migrant children in particular is formed above all through the experiences of family distance and separation and reunification (Kohli and Mather, 2003). For example, one of the activities undertaken in several clubs was the construction of family trees. This activity was more complex and demanding than it might have been for many non-migrant children. At first, the children in the Greek club were reluctant to do this, but their response and the meticulous care they all took in producing their family trees as well as their concern in communicating precise emotions and not excluding anyone showed the broad span, the dynamism and the importance of family in their lives.

5.3.2. Family Life

The use of media production gave us some important insights into the day-to-day family lives of the children. Here we discuss the actual living circumstances of the children and their families; the different and often conflicting notions of cultural identity; issues of adult control; and the new roles and responsibilities that children take on within their family context in the new country. The two major factors that ran through all discussions about family life were economic instability and housing.

The majority of migrant children involved in the CHICAM clubs lived with their nuclear families in the reception countries. Many nuclear families were split, with their members living in different countries. On the other hand, people who were not members of the immediate or nuclear family often lived within the household, thus creating a domestic group extending beyond family ties. For instance, one of the children had arrived in the UK from Angola as an unaccompanied minor and now lived with extended family members. He refused to be drawn into discussions about the past, insisting that he was here to build his future and become independent. However, he was experiencing particular difficulties in school and needed extra support and home/school contact (Rutter, 2001).

Migrant children in particular often have to contribute to the family's financial needs. Dropping out of school or absenteeism is often related to urgent financial needs at home.

A child (especially a girl) may have to quit school in order either to work, or to help at home (looking after younger children or doing household chores). It is often the case that children will have to help in the family business or to work independently. In the Greek club, for example, some of the children helped in the family business (a kiosk or a restaurant). A boy in the German club talked about helping his father with his delivery job during the holidays, while in the Swedish club some children sought temporary work in the summer in order to make some extra money for their families.

Most children in our clubs lived with their families in rented flats or houses or in accommodation provided by the state or the local councils. The exception was Italy, where most of the children lived in circumstances (in a convent), separated from their parents who worked in service, living in the houses of their employers, thus making it impossible for them to live together with their children, whom they met on weekends or during days off. In Greece, some of the children lived, or had lived, in the offices of political organisations without the appropriate domestic arrangements of a household.

Refugee and migrant families often lived in quite difficult physical circumstances. In Greece, a family of nine lived in a one-bedroom flat, with most of the children squeezing into the living room and the corridor. Another family of five lived for a while in an elevator service room without any windows. Even when the situation was not so bad, the children often lacked a private space. Very few children, like Susan, an American girl in the German club, had a room of their own. Yet the need to create small spaces where they could install their own microcosm, as for any other children, remained: cupboards of memorabilia, pictures, posters and gadgets, were placed side by side with toys and small symbols of identity.

In several countries, refugees (once their status is established) are better off than economic immigrants as they are offered accommodation in council housing or receive support with rent payments. In countries (like Greece) where these are not offered, along with any other financial assistance, there is a greater demand to move elsewhere. In the case of Greece however, work permits are given immediately, along with the residence permit, and so there is a greater flexibility in seeking employment, which may in the long run prove a more positive or productive option. Even so, with the constantly rising levels of cheap illegal labour and the exploitation of migrant workers, this measure is double-edged. In other places, where work permits are more difficult to obtain, unemployment is a major source of stress within refugee and migrant families. Even when employment is found, it is not offered on the basis of qualifications and skills. In most cases, the level and/or the status of employment in the new country is much lower than it was in the place of origin (there were several instances in our research of

university graduates being employed in manual work). Issues such as these, which affect the parents of refugee and migrant children, have a consequent effect on the social and psychological well-being of the children, sometimes leading to further social exclusion.

Financial issues are a constant source of stress. All the families in our research had modest or limited means, while some lived in conditions of poverty. For many families, further migration to another country, especially one that appears to be wealthier or more supportive in terms of rights and opportunities towards immigrants and refugees or where there are existing family and community connections, is often a desired option. This mobility makes integration into one place difficult. Attempts to become established somewhere and to form social relations are threatened by the lack of resources and the uncertain outcome of asylum or residence applications, as in the case of Elisabeth in the UK club, who was deported during the course of our project.

Inside the clubs, family life was not often discussed without prompting. Family life was private and access needed to be negotiated. As most clubs were located within schools, all the people involved were initially seen as being associated with school or even the state, and met with some hesitation. This could be explained partly by the precariousness of these families' situations. Often, with immigration status or asylum applications pending, there was some sort of fear of exposing uncertain situations and putting the rest of the family in danger. Yet, once we were admitted by the parents, a great deal of warmth and appreciation was expressed, as well as interest, not in the project directly, but mostly in response to our interest in the children.

Nevertheless, one telling indication of the division between private and public space was the reaction of the majority of the children to an activity that was set in most clubs: we handed out cameras and asked them to take pictures at their home of their families and bring them back to the club. Many children were reluctant to do this: they delayed in bringing back the cameras, and often did not bring any pictures. Some claimed that their parents did not allow them to take the pictures, while others found various excuses. Overall, the children feared the exposure of their private lives and of their families to the public eye. This desire and need for privacy (either on the part of children involved in the project or on the part of their families) raised difficult ethical issues and needed to be treated with the utmost sensitivity.

In some cases, under the pressure of their new peers and the influences of the new society as well as the media images which provided them with new cultural codes, there was sometimes a tendency on the part of migrant children to dismiss what their family and their household symbolised (Anderson, 2001). New role models in their country of

residence as well as exposure to other ways of family life frequently led them to question and severely criticise their family roles and rules. In addition to their passage to adolescence, this usually caused friction within the family. These contrasting attitudes towards the family in terms of the mediated and social family images that were projected by migrant children are significant in capturing the tension that they were experiencing.

In terms of the positive representation of the new beginning in the new country, a 'happy' family life stood as a sign of the family's ability to adapt and the successful attempts it had made in terms of the latter. In a video essay about home by Ahmed in the Swedish club, he focuses on status symbols, such as electrical appliances and technical equipment in the kitchen as well as the computer and the two satellite antennas. Material assets and economic status often act as symbols of integration and of doing well. Ahmed's choice to focus on them, perhaps more than just indicating that the material standard of living was important for him, was an attempt to affirm and confirm to himself and to others that his family had earned its place in the new country.

In another club one of the girls was very eager to emphasize her mother's importance in holding the household together and taking care of the whole family. In the Swedish club, Hana's video essay focused on family relations, her parents, her siblings, for example a visit to her brother's home, where she put emphasis on filming his little baby son. Here she had the chance to focus on emotional moments such as when her mother was hugging the baby. What is emphasised even then, is the role of the mother in creating and maintaining the 'heart' – the familial bonds and the closeness which keep a family together despite disruptions and displacements.

Cultural identity is negotiated and redefined in the new place, even when the ties to the ethnic or religious background are strictly maintained. Cultural identity is a tentative construction, especially when it encounters a new world, new influences and new habits. In the clubs the issue of cultural identity was often raised in the context of discussions of language, religion and day-to-day aspects of living such as food and dress. Eating routines in most families were followed as in the country of origin, and were perceived as an expression of cultural identity. Eating becomes a shared ritual. Masja, an Armenian girl in the Netherlands, declared that family life for her 'means sitting and eating together'. Within the household the diet is more often than not that of the country of origin. Most of the ingredients are purchased from ethnic food stores, which are multiplying in various cities, as well as from open markets. Such stores and markets often operate as enclaves of their country of origin within their host country, and may serve as socialisation spaces. The children are more exposed to local dietary habits and to fast food because of school and friends. However, overall, sustaining dietary routines

goes beyond habit and acquires the force of participating in a common, or communal, practice.

Outside the household border, the annual cycle of events and celebrations – often within the context of the ethnic and/or religious community – is also observed and often meticulously followed. Joint events and celebrations play a further role in sustaining a sense of continuity between the here and there, the past and the present. Through participation in such events and communal celebrations, new bonds and alliances are created within the community. On such occasions, religious events are vested with social significance and fortify the sense of identity. The children referred to such events quite frequently in their discussions both with the researchers and with each other. Participation in these events acted to confirm family and community ties and were extremely important to the children's growing sense of identity.

Religious holidays and events that took place during the year therefore entered the club as a natural part of the children's lives. From their stories about how these holidays and events were being celebrated at home and within the community as well as from our direct observations, we noticed how family routines (for instance, fasting) and traditions are often structured by religion and that many of the children follow the family's way of practicing religious laws and rules. In some cases where the parents declared themselves to be atheist, the children still followed the religious traditions of their country of origin, again confirming community ties and acting to draw families together.

Often religion plays the role of sustaining cultural identity and serves as a reminder and a fortifier of habits and traditions that were forcibly left behind. When religion or religious persecutions and exclusion have been the reason to leave the country of origin, the practice of that religion offers a legitimate basis of existence in the new country and plays an affirmative role (Murad, 2002). Yet even religious values and habits may be challenged. Pressure to give up traditional habits is experienced at a certain level, as they may be perceived as backward and conservative or even threatening to the host culture. This mainly takes place at school, where the migrant children come into close contact with local children, especially when the school has no particular measures or allowances for the special holidays of children from different religious persuasions.

Some children talked about celebrating the major festivals of both their own religion but also those of the majority Christian society of which they were now part. Two Syrian Kurdish brothers in Greece, who kept all the Kurdish celebrations but went from door to door to sing traditional Christmas carols stated, *'We are Muslim but also a bit Christian as well!'* This is indicative of the cultural hybridisation that migrant children are perforce

experiencing. Religion is not merely valued for the sake of religion, but also as a cultural reminder. Often, more than an imposing force, it becomes a tool for sustaining fragments of the past. External symbols of religion also became meaningful in this context: as we have discussed, in several clubs the children discussed when they wore the hijab and there were discussions about its importance in maintaining religious and cultural values. At the same time, as we have suggested, Western teenage fashion and media symbols were also often taken up by the migrant children in our clubs, particularly in their attempts to establish themselves within their age groups.

The children's role was crucial in helping the family to learn the language of the new country, and they often acted as interpreters (Murad, 2002). They were the ones who learnt the language first (mainly at school but also through everyday use in the neighbourhood, playground or their other activities) and who in turn acted as translators and mediators for older family members. The parents often had to rely on their children to make contact with the locals. This was an important factor affecting the distribution and negotiation of roles within the family. Although learning the new language was one of the primary prerequisites in terms of adapting to life in the new country (e.g. in Sweden, immigrants are expected to pass tests in Swedish), it was often the case that adults did not learn it, nor did they ever speak it at home. Not being able to speak it could turn into a source of distress, as it rendered them marginal in social and economic life, and could lead to a heavy reliance on the children for dealing with public services and legal procedures (Vera, 2002). It also restricted them from seeking legal employment. For the adults, learning a widely spoken language (such as English) was often more valued than learning the language of the country in which they lived (e.g. Italian), as it would be useful for their further plans as opposed to what they considered a temporary residence.

5.3.3. Adult Control and the Negotiation of New Roles

Parental intervention ranges from regulated freedom and autonomy to strict control. On the one hand, there is the fear of the unknown, which may lead parents to want to control all their children's activities in order to protect them and to avoid exposure to dangerous situations. On the other hand, having to survive with meagre means in a new country may require the participation of all the family members in subsistence activities. By this, we mean not only the children helping in the workplace, but helping at home, doing more than they would otherwise do in the domestic sphere (e.g. cooking for themselves, looking after younger siblings when the parents are at work or elsewhere), and also doing more outside the domestic sphere (e.g. shopping, taking public transport, running errands etc). Family members have to rely on one another and show trust.

Taking on more responsibilities at a young age inevitably makes the children more autonomous. Most of the boys in our clubs moved freely around the city, even in unsafe areas, taking public transport and hanging around with their friends in places even beyond their neighbourhood. The situation was somewhat different for the girls, as was noted above.

Parental control and regulations are usually related to the expectations of the parents for the future of their children and to their economic circumstances. Most migrant parents invest in the future of their children and seek to offer them the best possible opportunities, mainly through education. This may also offer some security in terms of their long-term plans. As a result, they often put pressure on them, not so much in terms of their school performance but mostly in terms of adapting to the educational system and attending school. However, there are occasions in which the pressure is less on education and more on turning towards the labour market in order to contribute to the family's needs. There is often a high level of expectation in terms of fulfilling duties within the family (e.g. looking after younger children), when parents have to be away for work. Family economics often impose a directive in terms of which of the children will focus more on education and which will have to offer assistance to the parents (Black, 1994). For example, Balkys, an Iraqi girl in Greece, did not attend school and stayed at home in order to assist her mother with her medical problems, to act as a translator in sorting out their documents, to do household chores and to help her younger brother, who did go to school.

In migrant families, certain specific roles are often reversed. The educative role of the parents is often taken up by the children. The children are frequently charged with the responsibility of educating their parents in the ways of the new society (Hamilton and Moore, 2004). As Rengin's father in Greece said during an interview: *'being a refugee is to learn from your children instead of teach them yourself'*. The parents may remain the keepers of the old culture: preserving memory and passing on knowledge, habits and values. They may even strive to re-invent the latter, and make them relevant to the new context within which they are currently situated. Under the pressures of the new environment, family relations are tense, while roles and rules are challenged.

It was sometimes easier for children to break cultural barriers than it was for adults. The fact that they can master the rules of the new society even before the parents (learn the new language faster, make friends and acquire social relations) makes their intervention even more effective. This gives them the ability to learn from a young age how to make choices. These choices may often be forced. They may also imply a dismissal: something new may be found, something old may become revalidated, something else may be

discarded. In this way, the children are able to participate, probably earlier than they would in their country of origin and more actively, in cultural negotiations which are critical for the re-definition of the family.

5.3.4. Social Context

Social networks are of primary importance for refugee children and their families. Creating social networks is what integrates a family into a new place and creates a sense of rootedness. Those families who are in a transitory state usually remain isolated. Most families are situated within extensive social networks, despite being abruptly cut off from their country of origin and their existing support networks. In fact, there are a variety of social networks which operate simultaneously: that which is left behind in the country of origin, that of the ethnic or religious community in exile, as well as the new networks that they slowly form around them in the reception country. Yet the social network in their country of origin is always mentioned with great affection and comes up in family narratives. They maintain close ties with relatives or compatriots in the new country of residence, or even live together with them, either under the same roof or in the same areas. On the other hand, they start opening up to the new society. Extended social networks are highly valued and considered important as they provide support and solidarity.

The level of identification with the ethnic or religious group may depend upon the circumstances of leaving the country of origin and/or arriving in the country of residence, and plays a major part in the formation of social networks. For example, the experience of the major dislocation of Kosovars who arrived in Sweden and immediately formed their own community is quite different from the journey of single families or persons, including minors, who arrive at the coastline of Greece.

Opening up to the local community in the country of residence is a two-way process. For the migrant families, opening up and seeking to create relations and affiliations with the local community means that the local community has to also open up towards them and to be ready to receive them. Despite the difficulties of this, the importance of sharing the same space can be instrumental in bringing them closer.

5.3.5. Role of Media in the Family

As we have noted, media played a very important role in the family lives of the children in the project and often served to bring the family together both locally and internationally. Television was the most important and the most talked about medium. Satellite television was mainly used to watch programmes they used to watch before migration and to watch programmes in their own languages and from their regions/countries of origin. Telephone (increasingly mobile phone) communications were a central means of keeping in contact. These media were essential items on the family budget.

The extent to which the use of media was framed by cultural conventions was clear at very different levels of family life. One of these is parental control, which took different forms, reflecting more general power negotiations between parents and children. Parents' concerns to protect stems from the supposed (bad) influence of media; media are seen as means of both maintaining and breaking cultural links (Gillespie, 1995). Several parents expressed concern that the media might influence their children against or pull their children away from the cultures and beliefs of their parents. However, others were keen for their children to watch national television programmes to assist in language acquisition and to help them integrate into the new society.

The children all valued those family times when they watched national programmes, videos or satellite programmes with their parents. Programmes that they used to watch before migration and that were still available via satellite were special times of nostalgia and togetherness. Watching videos, especially Hindi films, with their mothers were a regular part of their family lives (Banaji, 2004). Soap operas, news and sports were the other most common genres that formed regular family viewing.

For the children these times were sometimes more complicated. They recognised them as important and enjoyed them but were also often growing away from them and wanting to either watch other programmes that they considered more appropriate for their age and that also linked more closely to their new country of residence and their new friends and interests.

However, the families did not appear to watch anything that we might call 'ethnic television': television produced in the new country by migrant groups who have been living here for already quite some time (Frachon and Vergaftig, 1995; Husband, 1994; Riggins, 1992). They either watch programmes that really belong to 'there' or rather try and learn to know the new society through its mediated representations. Media play a

vital role in helping children to feel part of the global world while at the same providing tools for exploring and defining diversity.

In summary the families in the CHICAM project demonstrated very different forms of family structure, reasons for migration and patterns of settling. Yet there were common strands. Media played an important role in maintaining family and personal memories and connections even when family life had been severely disrupted. It was also used to maintain diasporic connections. The children were actively involved in making connections and often acted as the major link between the family and the new communities and places of residence. This was often difficult and put pressure on both the children and the parents. Employment, housing and economic hardship were all major causes of stress and tension. Religious and cultural events were very important to the children and helped to maintain continuity and security. Thus the policy recommendations stress the need for increased support for informal spaces for socializing, initiatives the need to build and maintain home/school links and other educational provision, and support for family maintenance.

5.4. Media Issues

The aims of our research in this area were fourfold: to examine the ways in which the children in the clubs used media in their everyday lives; to study the ways in which they produced their own media in the contexts of the media clubs; to study the role of media in the intercultural communications between the children; and to examine the media educational issues that arose in planning and carrying out the work in the clubs. The full findings of this dimension of the project are presented in two reports: 'Visions Across Cultures: migrant children using visual images to communicate' (Deliverable 14, with accompanying CD, Deliverable 15) and 'Picture Me In: Digital Media Making with Socially Excluded Children' (Deliverable 13). The latter was not a research report as such but set out to offer easily accessible direct advice for those professionals working with new digital media with socially excluded youth in out-of-school settings. While drawing on the data from the project it also developed from discussions with the media educators looking back on their experiences working with the children in the CHICAM clubs. Here we will highlight the main points from each of these areas.

5.4.1. Children's Uses of the Media

Throughout the year in which the clubs were operating the researchers used a variety of approaches to investigate the children's media 'biographies' and current interests. This was done through interviews, home visits, group and individual discussions, making media posters and observations of their media activities during the club sessions.

Media played a central role in the children's lives. All the children participating in the clubs had constant exposure to media, both local and international. A majority of the children who had experienced the journey of migration not long before their participation in the club also had vivid recollections of the media in their country of origin. In all those cases, the children came to the club with a pre-formed media culture. Coming to the new country, they were exposed to different media patterns and to a different symbolic milieu. Experiences of media formed a continuity with their past lives, with their countries and cultures of origin while also introducing them to aspects of the new culture and society. As much previous research in this field has shown, media were central both to children's family life and to their developing friendships (Buckingham, 1993; Livingstone and Bovill, 2001; Fromme et al, 1999; Aslanidou, 2000; Manna, 1997). However, there were some stark differences of access both within and across the clubs that highlighted differences in the children's economic and domestic circumstances. This was particularly true in relation to access to new media.

Television was very much the dominant medium. Television programmes formed an important part of the children's biographies. Most children had very strong memories of programmes they had watched with friends and/or family in their countries of origin. The majority of children watched for several hours a day. Most families had satellite and or cable channels giving them access to global programming including programmes in the family language from their countries/regions of origin. Their choices and viewing patterns reflected the ways in which television viewing was both a social and socially mediated activity.

Here we discuss their viewing patterns under three headings (diasporic, national and global) in order to highlight their different uses of the different television broadcasting available. Clearly these categories are not exclusive. National programming includes many global products, especially programmes originating in the US. The same goes for diasporic broadcasting while global broadcasting is not entirely US based but increasingly includes important Arabic and other regional strands (Barker, 1999; von Feilitzen and Carlsson, 2002). Children themselves, however, did not necessarily differentiate between these different types of broadcasting. For example, using satellite and/or cable television

was the norm and the children rarely differentiated between these and national broadcasting when they spoke about what they watched, except when the programmes were very specific to their language and country of origin. They preferred to talk about what they watched in a more social sense, stressing who they watched with, when and where viewing took place. Watching with members of the family was an important element of everyday family life. As other research has shown, family relationships were often negotiated through television viewing and struggles over control over the television set (Gillespie, 1995; Lull, 1989 and 1990).

One of the main roles that television plays for the parents is to maintain continuity with their past lives and their countries of origin, to keep both themselves and their children connected (d'Haenens, 2000; Gillespie 1995; Halloran et al, 1995; Hargreaves 2001; Siew-Peng, 2001; Weiss and Trebbe, 2001). Here the parents or community are the primary decision makers, illustrating the ways in which the children's viewing is mediated by wider social aims, stressing past attachments and affiliations. Keeping in contact with the country of origin took different forms: watching news programmes, watching familiar programmes that they used to watch before they moved, and maintaining the mother language. In other cases it is not so much connection with the country of origin itself that is important but the continuation of activities that the family used to enjoy before their migration. Aksoy and Robins (2000) also found that older migrants may use television from their country of origin as a means of cutting themselves off from the difficult aspects of situations in which they now live. For many of the children in our research, satellite TV offered news programmes from the home country, melodramas and comedies (mainly watched by mothers and daughters) and family programmes watched by the whole family just as they did in their native country. This often took a 'hybridised' form: for example, one girl from the Swedish club came from an Armenian family who all watched a Brazilian Telenovela dubbed into Russian via a Russian satellite channel.

Another family use of television – particularly satellite – is for keeping in touch with current events and changes back home. This is not simply about nostalgia and in some cases leads to quite difficult intergenerational discussions. There were cases in which programmes showed how life had changed in the country of origin and thus challenged the way that parents continued to live and expected their children to live in their new countries of residence (cf. Drotner, 2001a, Aksoy and Robins, 2000). Thus, one Albanian girl in the Swedish club described a programme featuring an Albanian family as follows:

It is really funny. It is about a family, who tries to be as modern as possible. And actually they have modern stuff in their house too. You know, in Albanian families, girls are not allowed to go to disco and stuff, but the girls in this series they go to disco and they are sleeping with guys. They can do anything they like. They can colour their hair everyday, and the son in the family, he brings Danish, Swedish and English girls every night. Strange! They are like a Swedish family (in an ironic tone).

For most families the issue of language maintenance is important. Diasporic television offers great possibilities for both adults and children to keep in touch with their mother languages and parents generally encouraged this. At the same time, however, several parents reported that they actively encouraged their children to watch national television to assist their acquisition of the new language and that they themselves also used television in this way (Gregory and Williams, 2000).

While television plays an important role in maintaining informational and emotional ties with the place the children had come from, it was also important in helping children (and their families) settle in and find out about the new country. For example, in the UK the most popular programmes for most of the children were either the major soaps such as *East Enders*, situation comedies such as *Friends*, family based animations like *The Simpsons* or 'reality soaps' like *Big Brother*. Declared preferences were also age and gender related but even within this there was a broad consensus. This was the same in other clubs and could be seen to reflect a very typical adolescent mix of adult and more childish programmes that some have seen as characteristic of global 'youth culture'. The social pressure to participate in this culture was very apparent, and several children talked about needing to watch certain programmes in order to 'keep in' with their peers at school (de Block, 2002).

In line with other studies of youth audiences (Buckingham, 1993) it was clear that what the children said about what they watched on television was seen to define their identity in terms of age and gender but also in terms of ethnicity and cultural origin. This meant that there were also some programmes that they did not admit to watching. Television was therefore used by the children both to negotiate their new identities in their new locations and to negotiate a shared space with their peers across culture.

News plays an important role here (Gillespie, 1995). It acts both as a means of maintaining continuity and for keeping in touch. Many families watched several sources of news and often the children were very well informed on world events when compared

with their peers from the host culture. The news station Al Jazeera was mentioned by many, as was CNN. Many children argued that national news often gave a limited view of international events. During the war in Iraq, TV was particularly important to the children and for many was seen to give a more impartial view and to support their argument that the war was unjustified. In the Netherlands, it appeared that in the refugee families, the role of TV was different from that of the migrant families. Satellite television was often the only link between refugees and asylum seekers and their home countries, where many of them had left family and friends. Depending on their specific situations, some of the refugee families had no contact with their family and friends for many years. News and live reports served as evidence of the places they had left behind.

Watching films on video was very popular. Nearly all the families had a video recorder, and some had a DVD player. Going to the cinema was a social activity for the UK children but in most other clubs this was less common. Watching videos took its place. Again the children's choices reflected both their cultural origins and their need to build new peer relations and maintain their family links. The UK report refers to family viewing of Hindi films even where the family were not Hindi speaking:

Some of the girls – those with an Asian or Islamic background - watched a lot of Hindi films on video. They also mentioned the Indian movie channel B4U. I was interested in how they understood them as none of them spoke Hindi. Sahra said that she watched them dubbed into Somali. The others said that they could follow them very easily through the style, music and dancing. But it was the emotional resonance that appeared to be more important. Fatima expressed this by saying that 'it's like a true story', unlike English films.

The majority of children also focussed on Hollywood blockbusters. These were very popular but often it was difficult to know if the children had actually seen the films or merely picked up information about them to use in their talk with friends. Sometimes this was because they had not appeared on video yet; but often they would in fact never see the film. Home-produced videos were also an important part of several of the children's lives. Family events were shared through sending videos between family members, although this was rarely mentioned as an aspect of 'media' and appeared to form a different category, more akin to the exchange of private letters.

Music was very important to all the children. Again they had eclectic tastes that included music from their countries of origin as well as global popular music. Many of the children had personal CD or cassette players and carried CDs and cassettes with them wherever

they went. They liked watching music channels on television, checking out web sites with information about their favourite stars and talked a lot about them with their peers. In terms both of maintaining culture and of exploring new cultures, music played a similar role to television. However, it was regarded as more the children's own zone, separated from adult eyes and controls; it therefore almost took on greater importance especially for the older members of the clubs. This mix of 'global' and 'local' musical tastes was reflected in all the clubs. In several clubs, there was considerable enthusiasm during the Eurovision song contest in 2003 when the Turkish singer, Sertab, won. All the children with connections to the region, including Albanians, were very excited. The singer's mixture of musical styles was widely appreciated, particularly by the children in Greece.

There was a striking difference between the clubs whose members had computers and access to the internet at home and those who did not (cf Livingstone and Bovill, 2001). All the children in Sweden had computers at home and most had access to the internet. By contrast, the children in the Italian club had very little computer experience either at school or at home. This was similar to the picture in Greece. The other clubs showed a very mixed picture. There were also marked differences within clubs. In the Netherlands and the UK, for example, it was the refugee children who did not have computers at home, underlining their economic disadvantage and the need for support in this area. As we will see, this lack of computer and internet experience had serious implications for the project. In addition, even where the children had experience of computers, they had not been encouraged to see them as a tool that they could explore for their own creative purposes but merely as an informational or educational tool. To some extent, this must reflect how the teaching of computer technologies is approached in schools, which are these children's main access point.

Mobile phones were a very important aspect of the children's lives, allowing them to keep in almost constant contact with friends locally. Most of the children in Italy had their own phones, as was the case in the UK and Sweden. Again there were big differences between the clubs: none of the children in Greece had them while in Germany all had them. In Italy they were more important to the children than television, and seemed to be perceived as a symbol of independence and growing up. This was reflected in the fact that the older children in the clubs were more likely to have their own phones. The mobile phone also played an important part in family life. In the UK one father, a refugee from Sierra Leone, explained that the mobile phone had transformed his ability to keep in contact with his family: previously he could only contact family members very rarely, whereas now it was on a weekly basis.

In summary, therefore, the patterns of media use both across and within the clubs revealed a considerable amount of diversity. Children enjoyed different levels of access to particular media, and while these were clearly to some extent a matter of disposable income, they were also related to their tastes and preferences, and to the different purposes or functions to which the media were put. While some of these differences must be seen as characteristic of cultural differences, they also reflected the children's positions in terms of age and gender.

5.4.2. Children as Media Producers

New digital technologies have changed the nature and possibilities of media production and exchange in fundamental ways, making equipment more accessible and easier to use, and facilitating direct exchanges and communications across great distances, thus creating new possibilities for dialogue with audiences. All these aspects make it more possible for children to take greater control over both production and communication. As we shall see, these developments also have significant implications for media education.

CHICAM was an exclusively digital project. Films were shot on digital cameras, edited on non-linear programmes (iMovie on the Apple Mac platform or Microsoft Moviemaker) and then distributed online as small streamed video files. The specifics of these technologies had an important influence on how the films were made and what the final product looked like.

Both the camera design and the digital technology itself radically affect the traditional processes of planning, filming and editing. The capacity to quickly and immediately view work can lead to a greater degree of 'improvisation' in terms of methods and style. For example the LCD screen on digital camcorders offers different ways of working with a small, light camera. The facility for a small group to view the action both during and immediately after filming turns a solitary way of working into a team effort. It can also turn the camera operator into a performer, transforming a personal way of working. On the other hand, LCD screens may have contributed to sloppy framing, and at times, the use of the camera not at eye level created a 'distraction effect' which emphasised the background rather than the central action. Some educators involved in the project speculated that this contributed to an aesthetic that was more in tune with contemporary documentary or 'multi-screen', 'multi visual' worlds.

In terms of editing, all the educators who used laptops for editing were very intrigued by how this changed the 'post-production' stage. Whilst media educators often have to limit the number of students into the editing space, laptops allowed for editing on location. This offered great flexibility and helped students to integrate their learning and not

separate it into specialised dedicated stages. Other advantages to the use of iMovie (or Microsoft Moviemaker) include the quick, almost instantaneous, 'physical' control it gives users over the medium, helping to overcome forgetfulness because it speeds up the editing process. The technology therefore allowed the children to be comparatively autonomous and experimental in their approach.

However, technology does not have effects irrespective of the ways in which it is used. In this context, it is particularly important to consider the nature of the pedagogic relationships. The teaching relationship in the CHICAM clubs was very particular for several reasons. The out of school setting meant that new, more equal relationships needed to be formed. It was often necessary, although difficult, to define clear adult expectations of the children and what they expected in return (expertise, support, openness etc.) The aim was to develop the teaching and learning as a 'fair exchange' However, the continued use of the school as the location of the clubs (in nearly all cases) and the presence of the adult educators and researchers meant that the clubs still remained an essentially 'educational' context for the children even though they took place outside school hours. The extent to which the children continued to observe the rules for behaviour at school (for example, by attempting to please the 'teacher') or were able to establish a new and independent relationship with the CHICAM staff depended very much on the specific media educational approach that was adopted. The research team were very aware of the constraints and ambiguities of this situation.

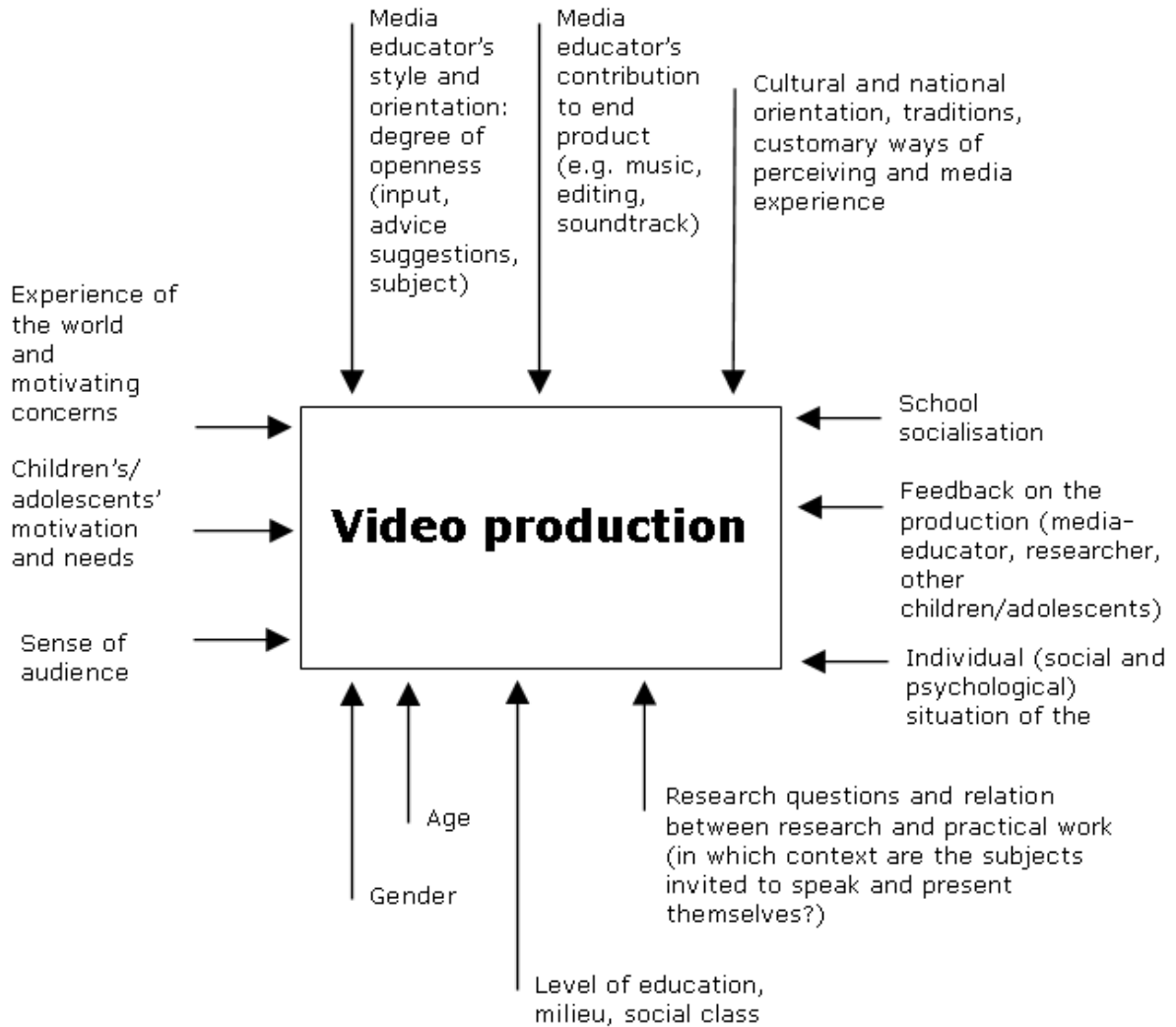
Practical considerations about the organisation of non-school activities were also very important. In some of the CHICAM clubs, we found that we needed to create a physically safe environment with travel to and from the site organised, if necessary, through dangerous areas on late winter afternoons. We offered refreshments during each session to create a feeling of family warmth. The emphasis on physical safety and fermenting a friendly environment was important when it come to developing a 'safe' atmosphere where children could express themselves and get feedback. For example, when the children first showed their work (and themselves on screen) to others they were understandably reluctant. Building up confidence took time and needed to be nurtured as part of the club and group process.

The children in our clubs were not simply 'expressing themselves' – at least if we take that to mean some kind of spontaneous outpouring of personal ideas and feelings. On the contrary, what they produced was determined by the social and institutional context, by the pedagogic approach of the educators, by the interpersonal relationships within the clubs, and by the forms of 'media language' the children had at their disposal. As we will indicate, media production in this kind of setting is a complex, multi-faceted process.

There was a potential conflict here between the pedagogic demands of the situation and the requirements of the research. All the clubs gave the children open-ended opportunities to make productions of their own choice, in line with their own interests and enthusiasms; but it was a requirement of the research programme that all the clubs develop productions on the topics 'school', 'peer group' and 'family' (covered in Deliverables 7 -12). It was much easier to address some of these issues in particular media formats, although these were not necessarily the ones children found most familiar. In the Dutch club, for example, the children preferred to make fictional productions, although the researchers were looking for data that required documentary formats as well. It was not always easy to balance these requirements with the need to respect the internal dynamics of the groups – and, as we shall see below, with the need to generate communication between the clubs.

In addition to these factors, it was clear from the outset that the media educators would adopt different approaches, which derived in turn from their own training, professional experiences and educational philosophies. These differences were partly to do with expressed differences in aims, and partly to do with preferred media genres and their experience with digital media.

To these can be added a range of other factors that potentially influenced children's media production. These different influences and factors can be represented schematically in the following diagram:



As we have suggested, media production cannot be seen simply as a matter of 'self-expression', in which inner thoughts and feelings find an outer form. On the contrary, producers create meanings using the conventional forms and genres of language that are available to them (and here we use the term 'language' to include the visual and audio-visual 'languages' of the modern media). These linguistic, cultural or symbolic resources are diverse and multi-faceted; and children do not simply mimic or seek to copy existing forms, but actively use and recombine them in various ways (Lembesi, 1983; Buckingham and Harvey, 2001; Neuss, 1999; Niesyto, 2001a; Belgrad and Niesyto, 2001).

For the children in our project, these existing resources derived from four main sources, as we have described in the previous section: 1) the symbolic systems they knew from their home countries; 2) the symbolic world of their new country of residence; 3) the symbolic field of global media; and 4) hybrid 'street' cultures. Looking at the videos that

were produced in the different clubs, it is possible to trace the various ways in which these different resources were appropriated and combined in the productions they made.

Thus, some of the videos contained clear references to culturally specific aspects from the children's countries of origin, such as playing the saz (*Tragoudi* - Greece) or merengue dancing (in the German *Hello* video). While some of these were immediately recognisable and appealing to the other children, some were not. For example, *St Nikolaas*, a narrative production from the Netherlands, drew on a particular Christmas story that was not immediately shared or understood by the children in the other clubs. Other productions incorporated forms that drew upon global (primarily US) media culture, such as the use of rap in videos from the UK, Sweden and the Netherlands. While these forms were more readily recognised by the children, they did not necessarily provide equal common ground for dialogue, as we shall see in more detail below.

Other productions used forms that are probably to be found – albeit in different variations – in many cultures: for example, some films contained conventional symbols, such as the heart as a symbol of love in the German film *Dog*. While some films contained verbal language, some also had English subtitles. Others worked without linguistic codes, but with non-verbal forms like body-language, facial expression, music, sound and objects. More broadly, most of the films derived from established media genres: the police/crime series (*Bank*, Germany); the news report (*Report from Iraq*, Greece; *Positive/Negative*, Germany); the MTV-style video clip (the Italian *Hello* video); the celebrity interview (*Layla's Crib*, UK), the short narrative film (*Friendship*, Italy; *Ali and Vladimir*, Greece; *The Teddy that Disappeared*, Sweden).

In order to offer a variety of forms for expression in the clubs, different media formats or media models were introduced by the media educators. Different media forms or genres have different possibilities and limitations, for example in terms of the immediacy of the process, the pedagogic demands, the capacity to deal with particular topics or issues. These were explored in the clubs. However, it is important to remember that the clubs also served a social function, and that for several children, this was much more important than the possibilities of learning and working with media. Media therefore provided a practical focus, but for many children it was the opportunity to socialise with others in a less formal situation that was key to their continuing motivation.

The awareness of audience is a central dimension in any form of communication. One of the aims of the CHICAM project was to encourage the participants to develop a sense of audience for their productions by enabling them to distribute and exchange their work. Nevertheless, building a meaningful sense of the audience was a slow process, which

developed gradually over the course of the year (Buckingham and Harvey, 2001). The children's developing sense of the variety of audiences available to them and of different modes of address was an important element of their developing media expertise. We can usefully differentiate between five potential 'audiences' in this respect:

- the producer him/herself as audience;
- the adults involved in the club;
- other club members (especially in the context of collaborative productions);
- family and friends from outside the club;
- the children in the other CHICAM clubs.

To some extent, the children's position as migrants offered them a wider diversity of cultural experiences and forms on which to draw. The children in our study were, to a greater or lesser extent, 'global' media consumers, who were familiar with a broad range of local media cultures. This may have made them more willing to experiment and to play with media, and to use different forms and symbols. It also opened up new dimensions to ways in which they 'read' other productions – the positions they could potentially occupy as 'audiences'.

For all these reasons the 'texts' that the children produced were multi-layered and 'open' to many readings, and can be interpreted on different levels. In some cases the children set out to express their positions as migrants very forcefully (*Song (Tragoudi)*, Greece), and in others they selected themes that clearly expressed their everyday negotiations of inclusion and exclusion. For example, the children in the Dutch club wanted to make a film about St Nikolaas (*Sinterklaas*) because this was being celebrated in their school and is an important national event. This was a new festival for many and therefore strange; and making the video enabled them to explore its meaning for them. Similarly, the children in Greece made an animation that featured 'begging' as part of the narrative (not included on the website). This was at a time when 'economic' migrants were being accused of street begging in many major Western European cities. A child in the UK made a video about objects that she had at home that were important to her, many of which connected in different ways with her country of origin (*Brigita's Sounds and Colours*, UK). Others depicted, almost poetically, a sense of travel (*Day Trip*, UK), of loss and of wandering (*I Want the Camera to Do Something*, Greece).

In other cases, however, they set out precisely to avoid depicting the migrant experience. Nevertheless, this can tell its own story of exclusion or attempted inclusion.

Many of the children in our study had good reason to want to preserve their own privacy, and that of their families. Some of these were perhaps typical of children of their age; although others were quite specifically to do with their status as asylum seekers, refugees or migrants. Several of the children's families had left their country of origin under threat of violence, and their permission to remain in the host country had only been granted temporarily or was still being granted. This precarious status made them – and their families – justifiably suspicious of public visibility.

However, the children did not necessarily want to be seen primarily as migrants, or to speak from that position – and some attempted quite strongly to disavow it. The Italian club spoke of *“those poor refugees”* in other clubs, clearly dissociating themselves from such a label. A boy in the UK club suddenly decided to leave because he belatedly realised that the club was *“for refugees”* although he himself was a refugee and he had been aware from the start what the aims and membership criteria of the club were. It was clear that some at least had internalised the generally pejorative view of migrants (and more specifically of asylum seekers) that was prevalent within the wider society in all the participating countries. ‘Speaking as a migrant’ was therefore the very last thing many of them would have wanted to do. For these reasons, our aim of enabling the children to represent and express perspectives that were specific to the migrant experience was, to say the least, quite problematic.

5.4.3. Intercultural Communication

One of the main aims of the CHICAM project was to foster and examine intercultural communication between the children, both within the clubs and, indeed primarily, between the clubs. There were several reasons why we wanted to foster such communication. We set out to explore ways in which new media could enable children to participate in a wider public arena and influence policy decisions that affect them. Given that we were working with refugee and migrant children, we also wanted to find ways in which their experiences could be more widely heard among their own age group and by those professionals working with them in different settings. Our aim here was both to promote intercultural understanding and empathy and to enable children to enter new worlds. In a globalising, yet divided world new media are often seen to offer a route to promote personal connections across space and culture, and to create new forms of cultural understanding: this, at least, is the claim of many of their most enthusiastic advocates (Tapscott, 1998). Meanwhile, as media educators and researchers we were also interested in exploring how communication with particular audiences could change and enhance processes of production.

However, as we have noted, local social relations were of primary importance for the children themselves. In some clubs (Greece, Italy, Sweden and Germany) the children already knew each other well and were used to communicating with each other even where they were from very diverse backgrounds. In others, they were usually meeting each other for the first time. Thus there was already a form of intercultural communication happening between the children in the individual clubs, both in the sense that the individuals within the clubs came from diverse backgrounds, but also because the everyday lives of the children were lived in relation to the mainstream culture/s that they were encountering for the first time as a result of migration. For most children, this was an important element of the club and took precedence over communicating with the other clubs.

The process of intercultural communication between the clubs was often hesitant and tentative, and occasionally quite problematic. All the clubs began by learning how to use the equipment and by making some initial productions together, with the assistance of the media educator. These productions were mainly group efforts. Once the children had learned the basic skills we began to think about introducing the clubs to each other. Each club made a 'hello' video introducing themselves to the other clubs. These were to focus on location, club members and countries of origin, were placed on the project intranet. This acted as a trial of the communication process and several interesting issues arose: for the first time the clubs were making productions for a specific, if unknown, audience.

In most clubs the videos were downloaded from the intranet (see below on technical issues) and viewed as a group on a larger screen. Initial reactions to these efforts were mixed. When viewing each other's productions, the children noticed details about the other children in the videos: age differences, who was good looking, who they thought they might like to be friends with. For some clubs the videos did present important challenges to stereotypes. The Swedish club remarked on the dark skin of one of the UK girls. In Italy they thought that the German film came from Morocco because the girls were wearing the *hijab* (head scarf). The Dutch club asked where the mountains and snow were in the Swedish film. Comments about locations were also important. They compared the appearance of their respective school buildings, the Swedish and UK schools comparing favourably against the Greek and Italian. The rural location of the Swedish club surprised the children in the UK. All clubs noted the stereotypical London red bus in the UK video.

There was then some exchange of questions and answers between the clubs, a checking of ages, enquiries about who had done what in making the films, and more. However, these initiatives were largely adult-led. The children were unsure how to respond to these

videos. On the whole they ignored the content and were only interested either in what others in their own local groups were saying or noticing. There was little feeling that the other children were "people like us".

We referred above to the importance of music in the children's lives. This became one of the shared platforms that encouraged the children to communicate with each other. When the Italian club made a video using a track from Eminem all the other clubs responded. It was familiar, non-personal and had high youth cultural status. This was one example out of many where intercultural communication was motivated primarily through the recognition of potent mainstream cultural symbols. For example, rap music was one of the most popular forms used by the children (mainly boys) in their productions, and it became a key element in communications between the clubs. One of the boys in the UK club made a rap about school called *'The Place to Be'*. When this was put up on the web site, it was immediately followed by responses from most countries. The children really appreciated both performance and music style. However, for the UK author their responses missed the point of his message. They had concentrated on the form, which they interpreted as anti-establishment, and ignored the message: in fact, the rap was about the importance of education and the need to grow up to be independent and able to earn a living. This 'misunderstanding' was partly because of language differences, but it illustrates the ways in which form and content can be misinterpreted or ignored, thus altering the meaning of a communication.

However, this video did encourage children in the other clubs to experiment with the rap form and become more independent in their approach. For example, two boys in the Swedish club started to film a response immediately after they had watched the U.K. production. They grabbed a camera and went outside and started their improvisations. The resulting rap is initially based on an existing American track, but ends with a euphoric improvisation that combines influences from both Arabic and Albanian culture. In this single performance we can see how various cultural influences are joined together to form a hybrid embodied culture, in a way that commentators have argued is characteristic of the global dissemination of rap (Bennett, 2000).

A quite different style of music also caught the imaginations of children across the clubs. This was a rendering of a Turkish poem (by Nazim Hikmet) in Greek. One of the boys played the saz, while one of the girls sang. The children in other clubs with Turkish and/or Kurdish connections responded very enthusiastically, freeing them to feel able to communicate on the intranet in Turkish for the first time. There were several factors at stake here. Firstly, the instrument and the style were familiar to most of these children even if the language (Greek) was not. This created a shared platform incorporating both

music and ethnic identity which also allowed them to communicate in their own language and and to take control of the communication.

Besides this cultural proximity, a non-verbal aspect may also have played a part in the young people's enthusiastic reactions. As the lyrics were in Greek they could not have been understood by any of the children/adolescents outside the Greek club, yet the film was understood on an aesthetic level without the children demanding that they should comprehend it on the level of content. Possibly this type of appropriation through non-cognitive understanding is similar to the way in which music and music videos are received in everyday life (cf. Goodwin, 1992).

The use of global music represented an important shift of emphasis in the project as a whole. The productions that were initially released for exchange in the project-portraying students interviewing each other or their teachers in the school environments – did not create very much excitement or curiosity. They followed a dominant narrative paradigm, a closed narrative, and perhaps also a set of 'official' educational expectations. By contrast, the use of music enabled the children to recognise that CHICAM could be about their own lives and cultures, rather than being another 'school project'.

There were several fictional dramatic narratives acted out and filmed in the clubs. However, these were harder for the children in other clubs to follow, both because they involved greater use of verbal language (which was hard to understand) and also, notably, because they were seen by the children to compare unfavourably with more professional productions they were familiar with on television. Although these productions were put on the intranet they did not provoke much exchange. On the other hand several clubs explored the use of animations, particularly claymations, to tell simple stories. This started in the Swedish club and was rapidly picked up by other clubs. Animation was a popular genre in their television viewing (e.g. *The Simpsons*), associated both with humour and social comment, an ideal combination for this age group. It is also a highly visual form, reducing the need for verbal communication. Some of the children's animations referred to relationship problems, a few referred back to experiences they remembered in their home countries, while others concentrated on jokes and football.

Yet in some instances, this form, more generally associated with youth and humour, also allowed a more personal exchange. One of the animations, made by a boy in Germany, was about playing football on the beach in Tunisia (*On the Beach*, Germany). There was a detailed exchange between the children about how it had been made. The recognition of this boy's efforts by children in other clubs and their very concrete questioning enabled

him to publicly identify with his origins. He expressed a degree of pride in his cultural and ethnic origins and was able to acknowledge this publicly because of the questions and positive responses from other another club. Yet by allowing him distance, the form also allowed him to risk exposure. As we have noted, telling stories through a 'third person' such as puppets, cut out animations or, as in this case, claymations, is a method increasingly used in therapeutic work to help children come to terms with and to represent traumatic or highly personal experiences (Eokter, 1998; Kalmoanowitz and Lloyd, 1997).

There were several types of exchanges that cut across genres. These reflected a more general use of the project for forms of identity play that are characteristic of adolescence. As we have mentioned, the initial exchanges between the clubs were mainly aimed at trying to find similarities and differences. Children noticed games that other children were playing in the videos and wanted to share these, like music, utilising global culture to make contacts. They discussed footballers and exchanged information about players and teams. They noticed others they were attracted to and wanted to initiate boyfriend/girlfriend contacts with. As we have noted, wanting to communicate with others who were speakers of the same language was also an important motivator for many children. These kinds of identity play continued throughout the communication between the clubs, although most were not related to any particular video and were scattered among other discussion lines.

Ultimately, however, the children found it difficult to reconcile their desire for more personal contacts with the plan of the project and the research themes. They requested more concrete contacts and so the clubs began to exchange hard copies of photographs of club members and locations, bags of sweets and football posters. In some clubs, these gifts were a success although in others the contact still felt too dislocated. Yet ultimately, and with some of the exceptions discussed above, the internet largely failed to fulfil its promise of creating a meaningful intercultural dialogue. There were several reasons for this, which can be identified as follows:

Technical Factors

- *internet access*: in theory all the clubs had internet access, but in practice this was not always straightforward. Several clubs did not have unrestricted access in their club locations and when they did it was not broadband. For these reasons, the experience of using the site was often problematic. The lack of immediacy and connection affected the communication. In light of the rhetoric about access to the

internet, especially in schools, this illustrates some of the concrete difficulties 'on the ground' and the need to determine what new media 'access' really means.

- *expertise and orientation*: many of the children had very little experience of the internet. This was seen by some clubs as a problem because the children were reticent and needed a lot of help. In others they had heard about the internet and its possibilities and they wanted more immediate chat possibilities than were available in the project. To some extent, the focus on production conflicted with the focus on communication, and there was some reluctance on the part of the adults involved in certain clubs to focus on the internet communication.
- *website design and control*: the website was designed by one of the partners in the project and offered the possibility of viewing the videos and writing comments to initiate discussions about the productions. It was accessed via a project code and the videos were uploaded centrally in order for the site to be monitored properly. Some of these mechanisms caused some frustration. There was a feeling that the design of the site was not flexible or playful enough to engage the children and that the central control caused delays and that the design was not sufficiently 'child-oriented'. It was difficult to balance the need to monitor the site and protect the children with the need for more immediacy.
- *technical limitations of the web*: one disappointing fact about the web is that moving image is still only possible in a very small window. For the children this meant that the videos were less impressive, and often difficult to watch. Depending on bandwidth, they lost detail and the sound quality was often not as good as it should have been, hindering understanding.

Some of these technical difficulties might have been resolved – or at least ameliorated – over time; but they do suggest that there are still significant limitations in the potential of the internet to generate intercultural communication. More to the point, we also encountered some significant difficulties in terms of engaging and motivating the children in this aspect of the project; and in the context of working with potentially excluded young people such as refugee and migrant children, it is these factors that also need serious consideration (de Block and Sefton Green, 2004).

Motivational Factors

The communication through the website required *written* exchanges and this was a major obstacle for many children. Furthermore, these exchanges then had to be translated into English, requiring the adults to mediate the communications. Again, this meant that the children were dependent on the adults and were also inhibited in their expression. To have been able to have a synchronous chat room would have helped here, but with the clubs meeting at different times and the difficulties with internet access this would have been impossible.

More generally, the children's position as migrants – as members of minority groups who were often stigmatised or abused by members of the host society – created a form of insecurity. From what position was it possible for them to speak? The constitution of our clubs – which were generally only open to those who were defined as 'migrants' – in some ways compounded this marginal position; and, of course, part of our interest as researchers was precisely in encouraging the children to offer us perspectives and representations that were specific to their position as migrants. In a sense, we could not avoid constructing the children as representatives of the broader category of 'migrant' – even though this was only one facet of their identities. The danger here was of 'othering' – and in the process of 'exoticising' or merely patronising – some essentialised 'migrant' experience.

Yet as we have noted above, we found a strong feeling in several of the clubs that the children did not want to be speaking primarily as refugees and/or migrants. They did not want to focus on their immigration 'status' and how they might be perceived as 'other'. Rather their interest in communicating with the other clubs was to find similarities in the here and now. Their overriding concern was to make friends in the place in which they were now living. Thus, while making contact with children in other countries was initially interesting and had a high curiosity value, it ultimately seemed remote from their everyday "real" lives and motivations.

The difficulties we encountered with this aspect of the project reflect broader issues, both in relation to the use of media and in relation to the specific position of these children. We would now advise educators and researchers undertaking similar projects to take the following steps:

- focus more on communication from the outset, and less on advanced video production;

- make the website significantly child-oriented - for example, by including a website design phase into the work with the children;
- provide opportunities for more direct communication in the form of audio messaging, chat rooms and video exchanges via web-cams;
- make use of wider local participation in the clubs in order to address potential concerns about children being 'labelled', as well as their need to build local friendships.

Communicating into the Policy Debate

As we have noted, one of the main aims of the CHICAM project was to find ways of using new media to 'put the children's voice' into policymaking decisions, and to secure refugee and migrant children's participation in the wider public sphere. This aspiration has several problematic elements. As we have suggested, the project effectively required them to speak as migrants and refugees and in addition as children - in other words, to address their lives in categories that are largely determined by adults. From their responses it is clear that they often resisted these positionings. They resisted seeing their lives either in terms of the categories that the research questions created or in terms of the forms of difference and inequality implied by those questions. They resisted being 'representatives' but rather spoke from their individual lives in their present circumstances; and even then, they avoided making public experiences that were either emotionally painful or intellectually difficult. In many cases we are required to interpret, to read between the lines, utilising their media productions along with other data to manufacture a 'voice' that will be comprehensible in the wider public debate.

Ultimately, these are questions of power. Children - especially these children - generally have little experience of their opinions being listened to (Buckingham, 2000). It may be very difficult for them to conceive of a project of this nature making a difference to their lives beyond the immediate and the personal. This raises broader questions about how policy makers listen to children and how children can be encouraged to participate intellectually in public debate. Media may provide a vehicle for children to represent themselves and their experiences, but there need to be ongoing opportunities and educational platforms through which they can be heard and which provide concrete results that they can identify.

Media Education Issues

As we have noted CHICAM was to some extent an 'action research' project: it involved setting up and undertaking a challenging series of media education activities that would in turn become the focus and the vehicle for research. One of the outcomes of this approach was that the project was able to examine the processes involved in media education over a sustained period and to draw conclusions in relation to educational practice in this area. These were contained both in a report (Deliverable 14) and in Deliverable 13, which is written for practitioners in the field, and addresses the wider issues at stake in working with digital media with socially excluded youth in out-of-school settings.

The media educators' role in CHICAM was to introduce new media production experiences and to develop the children's expertise. They felt it was important that the children should move, albeit slowly, beyond media stereotypes and established forms, and become more confident and independent in their approach. This required a concept of media education that was based on recursive, sustained experiences of production, rather than a succession of short-term finite activities and projects.

In almost all clubs it became clear that several children had seen the project as an opportunity to try out something new, to discover a free space and to use it for themselves. The overall impression was that children attended the clubs with an expectation of expressing their feelings and thoughts more spontaneously than is normally permitted. Especially in those clubs where the whole experience of making media production was less structured, the children often had immediate ideas about what they wanted to express and were keen to move ahead with them. While most of the children loved acting in front of the camera and working behind the scenes and were motivated to create short, straightforward productions, they had greater difficulties with the planning (for example, storyboarding) and the post-production of the films. In this area the children required quite specific advice and support.

While children might well possess a spontaneous desire to tell a story, or to communicate a particular message, it is generally down to adults to point out that the story has to be planned. The media educators had to experiment with different approaches here. For example, it was generally found that an emphasis on detailed storyboards placed a considerable – and perhaps unnecessary – pressure on children. The familiar sequence of activities – abstract, script, storyboard, shooting schedule, shooting, editing – calls for a high degree of planning, discussion and reflection on the part of the video-makers. For many of the children, feedback on their product and recognition from their potential

audiences came too late: their motivation and interest had already dwindled or disappeared completely. This type of systematic procedure, centred mainly on narrative principles, seems to be more suitable for target groups that already possess considerable experience in dealing with media and who are confident using the same language.

Striking a balance between structured and planned procedures and associative-intuitive methods was only possible when the media educators had a wide range of aesthetic, technical, social, intercultural and methodological knowledge at their command, and when they could bring their knowledge to bear on the learning process in a flexible way. In addition, an ability to balance process and product orientation seemed to be necessary to handle experiences with media in groups and to create presentable productions. If the process orientation of the media educators became too one-sided, the risk was of generating nothing at all – which proved demoralising for the children.

In all clubs it became clear that the children needed support from the media educator in order to learn about editing – not merely in order to help them master the technology, but also to help them conceptualise the production from the point of view of an audience. While some of this learning took place through trial-and-error, in several cases it was necessary for the media educator to give instruction on the spot (when needed), and to start loading, editing and mixing as soon as the children had finished the shooting and wanted to see and process the results. Again the lack of experience on the children's part points to a need for more varied ICT work in schools.

The research suggests that the experience of production had significant consequences in terms of the children's subsequent experiences as media consumers. Making and then viewing and discussing short productions clearly enhanced the children's awareness of aesthetic and formal aspects of media. They discovered that the media, especially television, have a creative potential; and their experience of working with a range of different formats clearly deepened their understanding. For example, Gabriela, a girl from the CHICAM club in Rome talked about the media knowledge she gained by learning editing as follows:

You know, after all that editing, when I watch the TV or an advertisement, I go "Ooh! Here's how they did that bit... and that bit..."
Now I know all about it! I can't just "sit back and watch" any more.'

Learning from and with each other was also a key aspect of the CHICAM experience. As we have seen, social and intercultural learning were important aims in themselves for most of the media educators, and for the project as a whole. Although digital technology can make it possible for individuals to create media texts alone, media work generally

requires co-operation to get a production finished. To some extent, it necessitates a division of labour in which children can develop specialised skills. Several of the children became club experts in different areas: editing, sound, camera operation etc., and sometimes preferred to focus on just that one area of production.

Collaborative work led to various friendships being formed between club members, as the children learned to co-operate, to show consideration for each other, to listen, and to pay attention to each other. Each child had his or her own personal motivation to join the club and to stay. In addition to this interpersonal dimension, making movies about authentic and personal experiences was of great importance for the children in terms of personal empowerment. The children were processing two fundamental things: firstly, their own past experiences (including the experience of migration) and secondly, the new cultures they were now meeting and learning to live with.

Experiences in several clubs showed that production could also help with the development of linguistic competencies in a second or third language, even though this was not the explicit intention. All the club members were able to make considerable progress with regard to their language skills, and this was noted by their class teachers.

As in several of the other areas addressed in these reports, much of what the children learnt from their experience of the CHICAM clubs was indirect, rather than as a result of deliberate instruction. The learning potential of media production and of learning to communicate through the use of new media is multi-dimensional: in making short audio-visual texts, children are certainly acquiring technical skills, but they are also beginning to gain confidence in important forms of communication and cultural expression, coming to terms with complex and sometimes difficult elements of their own experience, and learning to respect each other and to work together across their many differences. If handled well, each of these forms of learning can and should support each other.

IV. CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

CHICAM was an ambitious project. It was interdisciplinary, innovative and examined the overlaps between several sensitive issues: children, migration and communications media. In this sense the thematic reports, research findings and policy recommendations relate to, or have implications for, several policy areas. In the previous section we outlined the contents of the main thematic project reports. In this section we will set out the main research findings for each thematic report. We will then set out the policy implications across themes for specific policy areas: Youth and Citizenship, Broadcast Media, Education, Media Literacy, In/Exclusion and Migration. Again some of the issues here will cross over headings but each policy area demands important differences of emphasis. Finally in terms of future research, there are both specialist areas and cross cutting themes that need to be addressed.

1. Research Findings

The research findings listed below are a selection of the main findings contained in the project reports. It is important to note that while many of them raise new issues, or confirm that certain issues are significant in more than one country, others act to confirm what previous research has reported and, in addition, to confirm what is known about good or bad practice. They act as an essential platform for the discussion on the policy recommendations arising from the project.

1.1. Deliverables 7 and 8. Children's Social Relations in Peer Groups: inclusion, exclusion and friendship

The clubs were made up of a variety of children who had a migration background, as did their families. We found many similarities in the problems and difficulties that the children faced in terms of integrating into the new society, no matter whether they were the children of economic migrants, or were themselves asylum-seekers or refugees, and no matter whether they had been in the new country for a short or a long period. Being 'foreigners' and being 'different' were the labels that they all had to experience and/or fight against.

In all the clubs the children's primary concern was with understanding and fitting into their local contexts, both within the club and, more significantly, their new national context. The social dimension of the clubs was very important for the children who experienced them as opportunities to meet and socialize with other children in a safe environment.

There was often a lack of social spaces where migrant children could socialize with local children. Problems with neighbourhood safety reduce the opportunities children have to build new local friendships.

While technology allows for 'local' relations with family to continue despite global distance, non-kinship ties were very prevalent and played a more important role for children in the clubs and for the processes of inclusion than might be supposed.

Leisure and youth culture was the main arena for building friendships. There were definite gender differences in styles of chat (both verbal and physical) and choices of sport. Sports and games offer the possibility of developing a 'link' culture that develops alongside local cultures and becomes the arena for greater communality. Football was particularly important for boys (both playing it and talking about it), not least because it offered the opportunity of inclusion despite language and other differences.

1.2. Deliverables 9 and 10. School as an Arena for Education, Integration and Socialization

There is a tendency to consider cultural integration as being on a par with linguistic integration. This means that multiculturalism as a holistic approach to comprehension and exchange between different cultures is often reduced to the integration of migrant pupils in the predominant social context through the acquisition of the host country language.

While refugee and migrant children have high educational aspirations these are often not supported by the pastoral and educational practices in schools. Particular areas of concern in the formal sector are the lack of policies and practice in relation to initial induction and long-term language acquisition. This involves support for the development of the new language and the retention and utilisation (e.g. for examination success) of their other languages.

Assessment and school placement was an issue experienced as stressful by children in many clubs. Children and their parents testified to difficulties, as the system could be rigid. For example, in Greece, once put in a grade children had to remain in that grade indefinitely. In other cases, children had to stay one or two extra years in the same class in order to catch up with their schoolmates.

Recognition of religious symbols (for example, wearing of the headscarf and catering for different dietary needs and recognising different religious and cultural festivals) was very important to the children, marking to what extent they and their cultures were accepted.

While the schools act as a major social centre (and therefore site of socialization) for the children, the organisation of particular extra curricular social provision and support is an area that is problematic and needs to be addressed.

There were several cases of non-attendance at school. The reasons given confirmed several of our research findings in this and the other research reports. The main ones were: assessment (and the fear of failure), language acquisition, relevance, balancing academic work and play, precedence of family needs, school as impersonal and not meeting social needs. These point to the need for better home/school links.

A better balance between formal learning and more informal, playful activities is one of the highest priorities on the children's agenda. School was perceived by some to have a restraining effect on creativity. This is important since arts and sports were a way of creating a collective identity and cross cultural relationships. Media activities also played an important role in this area.

The children make clear distinctions between central (public) spaces and marginal (private) spaces in the schools. Marginal spaces allow the children the possibility of experimenting more freely. The physical design and layout of the school buildings were very significant, leading to both academic and social repercussions.

1.3. Deliverables 11 and 12. Home is Where the Heart is: family relations of migrant children in media clubs in six European countries

The children showed "elasticity" in their definitions of home and family. Definitions of family are altered by the displacement process and may differ substantially from the host society's definitions as well as prior experience of the migrants themselves. Domestic groups of several kinds were of crucial importance for these children, and were often deliberately created in order to secure basic necessities and to provide a social framework that would otherwise have been lacking.

Various forms of media play a special role in how children and families conceptualise the past and in remembering the family history. Photographs are especially used to keep memories of their family in their former location alive and to enable them to tell stories of people and the place that were important to them. However, for many refugees such concrete memories are lacking because they have not been able to collect and retain such media texts during their various journeys.

The children's primary concern was in understanding and fitting into their new local contexts, both within the clubs and, more significantly, in their new national context.

Generally, their families were very keen to support their children in doing well in their new contexts.

The representation of family life in the club had two major aspects. On the one hand it was geared towards a constant attempt to sustain the family links that had been disrupted by the journey. On the other hand it was directly related to the investment made in making a new start in the new country.

For all families balancing language maintenance and acquisition was of crucial importance. On the one hand language was an important tool in building the notion of continuity in family life as it is here and now, but also for some children being multi-lingual represented possible ways of being mobile, of finding their place in a global world.

Social networks were of primary importance for the refugee children and their families. Creating social networks is what integrates a family in a new place and creates a sense of rootedness. In constructing and sustaining the social network in the new country, children played a major role and took on a great responsibility.

1.4. Deliverables 14 and 15 Visions Across Cultures: migrant children using visual images to communicate

1.4.1. Media use

The children's media uses were directly related to the children's social contexts and purposes and can be placed in three different categories: a. diasporic, (where media products from the home country or region are used to maintain cultural, emotional and linguistic links with both the past and current changes occurring in countries of origin); b. national, (where the emphasis is on using media products to facilitate integration, make friends, negotiate new identities and acquire a new language); c. global, which is particularly important for accessing global youth culture as well as news.

Most of the children listened regularly to both traditional and modern music from their countries of origin. However, global popular music played an important role in building peer connections and was thus their main interest. Television channels such as MTV and music related web sites were very popular and played a major role in children's media and social lives. Music was the most important point of initial contact between the clubs and was able to cut across language and cultural differences. In many cases the form taken by popular songs appeared to be more important than the words and, in many cases, the children appreciated the performances that accompanied the music.

There was a marked difference in home computer and Internet access across the clubs. This reflected a north/south European divide, but also an economic divide within countries. It was particularly marked that the refugee children had less access to new media technology than any other group.

Mobile phones were most used by the older children in the clubs and were seen as a symbol of independence and marked as an adult free zone. Children in all the countries either owned their own phones or had access to mobiles within the family.

1.4.2. The value of media production

Media production provides an important opportunity to integrate verbal and non-verbal forms of communication and expression, to promote social and intercultural communication between children and to address emotional and symbolic aspects of experience. The process of making media productions in the clubs, which were a quasi-leisure space, allowed the children to explore a more varied approach to representing their experiences of migration than is normally possible in more formal educational settings.

Nevertheless, the manner in which the children chose to portray their experiences of migration was subtle, often requiring reading between the lines and interpreting their productions as they drew on experiences they were still processing. They also had individual, local, national and global symbol-systems that were not always immediately apparent. Interpreting such material requires considerable skill and sensitivity.

Media production can also trigger reflection and discussion during different phases of the production process. Seeing videos from other European countries both brought to the fore and challenged stereotypes and, through their observations of the details, raised discussions about the different national contexts of the clubs. This became quite competitive at times.

Working with media can grant migrant children another "language" to express their thoughts and experiences. The promotion of creative new technology use, media literacy and practical media production by 'socially excluded' young people can potentially create intercultural dialogue and offer opportunities for marginalized groups to represent themselves, thus empowering them.

However, none of these outcomes are guaranteed: policies that seek to combat social exclusion in this way must also pay attention to issues of pedagogy, social context and especially to the children's motivations to communicate. There is a need to devise pedagogic strategies that genuinely enable young people to express their perspectives

and concerns. Care must be taken that the desire of the educators and researchers to 'include' young people and to give them access to new skills does not disempower the children further by colonising their leisure time or pushing them to make productions about issues for which they have little interest.

1.4.3. Pedagogy

A balance of emphasis on 'process' and 'product' was necessary to handle the experience of media production in groups and to create presentable productions. While many of the children loved acting in front of the camera, they had greater difficulties specifically with the planning and the postproduction stages. Most significantly, the children needed to develop a sense of audience. This could not be taken for granted.

An emphasis on overly detailed, rational, plans for media productions seems to be problematic because the children can easily be overstretched and thus disempowered. In this context, a looser focus on technicalities can be helpful in giving control of the media production process back to the children. Animation, specifically claymation was a popular format for telling simple stories. As well as allowing humour more easily this form also allowed children to address painful and/or personal aspects of their lives in a more distant manner. This can be used therapeutically with some children.

Communication problems using the Internet were experienced because of technical factors such as poor levels of access to the Internet; the need for central control; the website design being seen as not playful enough; as well as the fact that the orientation and expertise of some of the media educators was geared more towards production of videos than communication across the clubs. Also hindering communication were motivational factors such as having to use written language, especially when the children were not confident with literacy skills and above all the fact that the children's primary interest was in developing local contacts rather than new international ones and this meant that they were not necessarily motivated to use the internet in the way we had expected.

1.5. Deliverable 13. Picture Me In: Digital Media making with socially excluded children

(Advice to teachers and other media educators)

This booklet is aimed at media educators working with socially excluded young people in out-of-school settings. It outlines some of the strategies that might lead to more effective kinds of film or video making with young people who are learning how to use these media for communication and expression. Below are some of the key conclusions.

Media educators need to recognise that film –making is a demanding educational process. They need to make special demands on individuals to teach them how to collaborate, negotiate and work in groups. Understanding technical or aesthetic terminology can be intellectually demanding and needs to be introduced as appropriate.

A key means of overcoming the problem of imposing discipline in an informal context is to create consensus. Media educators need to involve parents and the immediate community in what might be achieved by film making activities.

While the internet offers great possibilities for sharing work across national and cultures boundaries, putting images of children on the internet means that there are certain legal requirements about obtaining permissions from children and their parents and guardians.

Digital technology offers a wide range of new and exciting ways to explore self expression, exchange, and flexible ways of working. Media educators need to familiarise themselves with these possibilities and create contexts for play and experimentation.

The media educator needs to enable children to learn the basic skills of camera and editing and to develop individual abilities and interests in self expression. This might take the form of planned teaching activities as well as extended projects.

Workshops should offer a range of genres including fiction (drama and role play), documentary, animation, music video – all of these varying in narrative form and realist or non realist styles.

Media educators need to work beyond the film making process to facilitate audience feedback in order for future productions and film makers to learn how to communicate with ‘real’ audiences.

2. Policy Recommendations

This section highlights the different policy areas that the CHICAM project can inform. Building on the research findings from each thematic report listed above we have drawn up concrete policy recommendations. These are presented here not by theme but under relevant policy strands. However since policy areas cannot operate exclusively and, if acted upon, affect several areas, several of our recommendations apply to more than one policy area and are thus cross-referenced.

2.1. Youth and Citizenship

The EU has always been concerned with providing programmes that enhance the participation of youth in wider society. Issues of inclusion and citizenship are central to the promotion of a European identity (Amsterdam Treaty article 149; The Lisbon Declaration on Youth Policy and Programmes 1998). More recently The European White Paper on Youth and the current proposal for the 'Youth in Action' programme (2007 – 2013) underline this concern. Central to all these policy papers and initiatives is a concern with the inclusion of young people – including children – in the public sphere and the need to increase participation in all walks of European life. There are several ways in which the CHICAM project could directly inform these initiatives, which are identified below.

Alongside this, there is a strong desire by European institutions to strengthen "European identity"; the Commission has funded research and communication initiatives with this purpose in mind. The CHICAM project offered insights into the ways in which children, whose cultural roots in Europe are historically recent and who form part of ongoing transnational and diasporic communities that go beyond European borders, perceive inclusion and identity. It highlighted the aspects of their lives which operate to enhance a sense of their own active citizenship. We make concrete proposals about what needs to be strengthened or put in place at local as well as national and European levels to promote a sense of belonging and inclusion under the following headings: media uses, language, social provision.

2.1.1. Media Uses

Efforts need to be made to fund concrete local and national initiatives using the possibilities of new media to give migrant/refugee children a stronger voice in the public sphere in relation to issues that directly affect them, rather than policy being determined by others on their behalf. These areas would include education (formal and informal), local amenities and neighbourhood safety.

Building European identities: media, and above all television, play a central role in the formation of identity by young migrants and refugees. While consumption includes diasporic and global media, national media plays an important role as a currency for integration and as a means of learning about the new country. Children are capable of informed use of national media for different purposes including language acquisition. This is particularly relevant in the process of relating to a national identity within an evolving

“European” identity and has implications for broadcast media in terms of ensuring that European diversity is portrayed regionally and nationally.

2.1.2. Language

Language support aimed at public participation. Language support was available in most schools only for the initial period following arrival. Insufficient mechanisms were in place for testing the children’s real command of the new language. This led to comprehension problems and lower performance. Schools should guarantee language support – as is often the case – but this should be extended beyond the initial period, and should aim to assist children in achieving the ability to express themselves articulately not only for educational purposes but also to facilitate and encourage participation in the wider public sphere beyond school. Tuition should be aimed at full fluency not just working fluency.

2.1.3. Social provision

Migrant children are often particularly penalised in terms of access to organised extracurricular activity. The after-school time period is the moment at which children of the CHICAM age range are at greatest risk of injury and delinquency or being restricted to the home. Some schools offer extracurricular activities for students, often arranged as an after-school youth club but these are often under-funded and provision is very variable. Migrant children particularly need such extracurricular spaces for socialisation with other children. These should be spaces which accept children both from the majority culture and from minority groups. Extracurricular activities could form an important basis for wider participation and for intercultural communications to build inclusion. Such activities need consistent programming, staffing and funding. There are particular issues of gender and what girls and boys might be allowed to participate in and what their particular requirements are in terms of activities, supervision interests and cultural practices as regards dress, diet etc.

2.2. Social In/Exclusion

Addressing social in/exclusion has always been a major concern for the EU both at policy level and in its funding programmes. There are two aspects of this that directly concern the CHICAM project: anti-discrimination programmes and youth social programmes. A third related area of concern for CHICAM has been media and inclusion. This section begins with an outline of existing initiatives and then goes on to set out the ways in which CHICAM can inform these moves.

At the Lisbon European Council in March 2000, Member States took a major step forward by considering the fight against social exclusion and poverty as one of the central

elements of the modernisation of the European social model. This initiative follows the introduction under Article 136 and 137 EC by the Amsterdam Treaty of the fight against social exclusion among the social policy provisions. The anti-discrimination programme was launched on 1 January 2001 and will run until the end of 2006. The activities are quite similar to the social exclusion programme but the emphasis is on discrimination that certain target groups referred to in Article 13 of the Treaty may experience. The programme is designed to promote measures to prevent and combat discrimination based on racial or ethnic origin, religion or belief, disability, age or sexual orientation.

Initiatives addressing the needs of non-EU migrants have generally been considered as part of the fight against their measured (or presumed) "social exclusion". It has been easier to provide social policy programmes for refugees, since at least they have a clear definition. The problem of definition – frequently raised in Deliverable 1 (the state of the art report on children, media and migration) – has been a problem for the definition of social policy as well. The problem of definition has made it difficult for European policy to explicitly address immigrant, ethnic-minority and immigrant-origin youth. Even European research projects have encountered their principal difficulty over methodological questions due to different definitions – and conceptions – of this or these groups. The easier use of a less contested terminology has been seen in the need to guarantee "social inclusion", "human dignity" and "well-being", none of which require any definition of a child's relationship to ethnicity, immigration or minority status.

Despite these problems of definition, important work has been supported.

Underlying contemporary discussion of migrants and ethnic groups and the media are the two parameters of *receiving information* and *expression through communication*. As far as receiving information is concerned, there is an additional dimension of "harmful" or negative representation. Such negative representation is taken to be a negation of the dignity of the person affected, and is the subject – as in the case of violence and minors – of many self-regulatory codes.

Parallel to discrimination in access to resources, another stream of European activity has been the "fight against racism". This reached a high point in 1997, the Year against Racism. The fight against racism is considered to include a fight against "negative portrayal" of specific ethnic or racial groups. Instruments in this initiative have been mostly positive campaigns and documentation; much of the latter is concentrated at the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC) in Vienna. The fight against racism has necessarily involved attempts to change the perception of persons of minority ethnic groups. This has influenced some media production policies, but it has

not been the main focus. While some recent initiatives have favoured the involvement of socially excluded groups in the production of media, children have not been included.

The recommendations below are aimed at strengthening and focussing existing programmes and highlighting the need for more specialised work in the non formal sector that promotes intercultural communication and education. There are several recommendations included in other sections that would also apply here: particularly youth and citizenship, broadcast media and education.

Greater provision of more 'playful' and well organised extra curricular activities and social centres where children can meet and socialise across cultures as well as opportunities for sustaining their own cultural activities. These should include:

- a diverse programme of sports, arts and media activities;
- programmes that encourage access to the arts and sports facilities of the places of residence;
- programmes of events and outings within and outside schools that allow children to experience other peoples and places.

Children who are labelled foreigners and different found much over which to form bonds, regardless of the nature of their migration history. The opportunity to make friends with other children in similar situations was very important to them and seemed to help them feel more settled and stronger. What appeared very important was a socialization space, somewhere with activities and structured and unstructured time available to newly arrived children. Unfamiliarity or fear of the neighbourhood among newly arrived families means that such spaces should be protected and local. Such social space may help children during the difficult early period of adjustment.

Media, and above all television, play a central role in the formation of identity by young migrants and refugees. While consumption includes diasporic and global media, national media plays an important role as a currency for integration and as a means of learning about the new country. Children are capable of informed use of national media for different purposes including language acquisition. This is particularly relevant in the process of relating to a national identity within an evolving "European" identity and has particular implications for broadcast media in terms of ensuring that European diversity is portrayed regionally and nationally.

Many of the children face discrimination, which can provoke depression or alienation. People working with these children should be aware both of these experiences of

exclusion and of symptoms of suffering discrimination and should be careful not to tolerate any expressions of discrimination. At the same time, problem-solving skills – as well as the civic skills that are required when dealing with schools and other public institutions – can provide important means for combating discrimination and helping the discriminated to react constructively and creatively.

2.3. Education

Education was one of the areas in which the differences between countries participating in the CHICAM project across Europe in their fundamental policies, funding provision and understanding of the needs of refugee and migrant children was most apparent and therefore in which the EU could potentially have an influence. The EU guarantees the rights of minors who are EU-citizens to education in their own language and much effort has been spent examining how to address the needs of this group. A series of European directives govern EU citizens' access to education in other EU countries. In fact, although the "free movement of persons" was originally conceived as free movement of workers, the legitimacy of preservation of the national language is enshrined in the conception of these EU workers' rights. Article 12 of the Amsterdam Treaty aims to eliminate discrimination based on nationality. However, no such rights exist for non-EU workers' children. Non-EU children's rights generally receive a degree of protection from the Universal Declaration of the Rights of the Child signed by EU member states and adopted in national legislation, yet in some cases the basic right to education is not respected for foreign children.

It is perhaps in educational practice and policy that the daily expectations and practices of citizenship and in/exclusion are most obviously demonstrated. However, as we point out below, there has been a tendency in the past to focus perhaps too much on formal schooling in these areas and not enough on provision within informal sectors. There is still much that needs to be done in both sectors. CHICAM concentrated on how the children in the project perceived and experienced education and our recommendations are based on this 'bottom up' approach. Important issues arose concerning educational and social support including language acquisition and maintenance, school design, ICT curricula and teacher training.

2.3.1. Educational and social support including language acquisition and maintenance

In order to meet the needs of an increasingly culturally diverse Europe the onus should be not only on incomers to integrate but also on the host cultures to learn and adapt to them. Children want religious and educational provision in schools to support their own as well as their parent's high expectations from school. Therefore, schools and other institutions that cater for refugee and migrant children should:

- create and encourage social and educational programmes for all children that foster intercultural exchange and dialogue;
- provide language teaching for immigrants that continues beyond the early stages. Consistent and effective support should continue to a high level thus ensuring that migrant and refugee children's full educational potential can be met;
- offer consistent opportunities for migrant and refugee children to continue learning the language/s they spoke before arrival. This should include preparation for nationally and/or internationally recognised examinations.

In the schools attended by the children participating in CHICAM, migrant children were at greater risk of exclusion. Their position in school has to be strengthened. Teachers require support when teaching first generation migrant and/or refugee children/students in their classrooms (appropriate teaching material for different language levels and different cultures and also support to relieve some of the pressure of the new challenges).

There is a need to support migrant/refugee parents in directing the development of their child. This means that wider access to education for parents, particularly for mothers, needs to be emphasized and supported.

Migrant students often require special assistance because their parents are unable to help them with assignments and homework, either because of language or cultural distance or because of long work hours. Teachers and curricula should take account of this difficulty, perhaps through after school sessions available to all students that are consistently funded.

2.3.2. Teacher training

Teachers need special training in intercultural education: migrant children's experiences should be considered in school and be seen as a resource, rather than an obstacle. School should be characterised by an atmosphere of mutual understanding and exchange. Teachers need support in recognising and addressing socio-emotional matters, as refugee children sometimes have traumatic experiences or come from families with forms of disruption with which many teachers may be unfamiliar.

2.3.3. School design

School as a physical space: one striking finding was that the schools involved in the project were often designed for a teaching model that no longer gains consensus. Current school design reinforces highly asymmetrical relations between teacher and pupils. Restructuring of the school's physical spaces to fit a more democratic teaching model could substantially change the experience of incoming students.

Social spaces in school: In some schools there are social spaces aimed specifically at children, but in general school buildings are not built to meet children's social needs. Teenagers do not play in a "playground"; they need other spaces for communication and social relations. Such spaces also facilitate integration.

2.4. Broadcast Media

European policy, as expressed in decisions of the European Parliament, directives of the European Commission and working papers by other EU bodies, tends to consider children as subjects to protect from harmful content, which is primarily defined as violent and sexual in nature. However, as CHICAM confirms, media, and in particular television, play a central role in children's identity formation and social relations within families and both within cultural groups but also crucially across language and culture. This has implications for programming, funding and regulation in three key areas: family programming, representations of difference and media production

Family programming

Media access was an important factor in understanding and integrating in the new society. Television played a central role in family life and building friendships as well as in language acquisition. More attention should be given to the role of television in integration, and to wider choice in content that would meet these needs.

Representations of difference

Media regulators and media providers need to ensure that they meet the needs of their multicultural audiences and users. This means that national and European media regulators need to ensure that mainstream media programming reflects the needs of Europe's increasingly diverse population, both in image and content.

Media production

With increasing media production taking place outside formal institutions there is an urgent need for local, national and European media dissemination platforms on which young people (including refugees and migrant youth) can present their media productions and receive feedback from peers. These need to cater both for their national, ethnic and/or religious differences; to serve as a forum for cross-cultural expression; and to provide a means of expressing and demonstrating their desire for inclusion in their new communities as well as of questioning some of their experiences of exclusion. This is an area in which the European Commission could take a lead.

2.5. Media Literacy

The EU has recognised the importance of media education but this has often been framed within a discourse of the importance of education and awareness raising as a means of protection against the effects of harmful content. However, there are broader needs that should be addressed or different ways of addressing these needs. In 1989, European education ministers signed up to the principle of media education as a basic entitlement of every citizen, from the earliest years of schooling. Since then, most governments have included some kind of requirement for media education in their school curricula. Regulatory bodies have developed an interest in media education as a counterbalance to the increasingly complex problem of media regulation in a digital age. In relation to the concerns of the CHICAM project there are several issues that arise here. Firstly, a protectionist focus on harmful content limits the potential of media literacy programmes to address wider issues of media consumption, social expression, culture and quality. It also fails to address the role of media production as creative expression and participation. Since the primary focus has been on digital technologies, media education has also been placed under the remit of e-learning thus placing it closer to issues of ICT education than those of culture, intercultural communication and aesthetics. Finally media literacy has primarily been seen as belonging within the formal education sector and has been cut off from developments in the informal education sector. However as the

CHICAM project underlines, media education addresses and incorporates much broader needs and suggests different ways of addressing these needs.

With recent initiatives (such as the e-twinning of schools and the European Centre on Media Literacy) a slightly more differentiated approach appears to be emerging that is incorporating issues of culture, empowerment, communications and aesthetics. The recommendations below fall within this wider approach to media literacy that is based within the everyday needs and interests of children living in a diverse Europe.

Exposure to media products from other contexts challenges stereotypes and increases awareness of European diversity. This underlines the importance of increased distribution of European media products, on the one hand, and of direct exchanges between children in different national school and extra curricular systems, on the other hand. With increasing media production taking place outside formal institutions there is an urgent need for local, national and European media dissemination platforms on which refugee and migrant children can present their media productions and receive feedback from peers.

The digital divide separates countries and individuals within single countries. Yet mere access is not enough to ensure productive use of ICT resources. Interactive websites for children must be appropriate and straightforward. The current EU tendency to promote and reward internet resources (for example, through the Stockholm Challenge) developed by children themselves is supported by this observation. In funding such initiatives, it is important that they meet basic criteria: sufficient infrastructure for feedback and chat; personalisation across media formats; the possibility for meetings. This kind of social involvement is particularly important for underprivileged children. Funding priority should be given to initiatives that explicitly involve children who are excluded from access to such social uses of advanced ICT.

Media education experts and others concerned with media literacy should be enabled to form a European network to support the creative promotion of media literacy. This should consider:

- ways of developing teachers' awareness of different cultural forms and genres;
- teacher training in the structuring and organisation of the uses of technology;
- access to technology as part of structured media literacy programmes;

- specialist media work to promote social inclusion that has as its starting point the motivations of children and their diverse media experiences and uses rather than the demands of technology;
- the promotion of creative uses of technology within schools and educational institutions;
- the possibility for schools and other educational institutions to promote the creative use of the internet for visual exchanges that can offer new dimensions to intercultural and cross European as well as international dialogues.

Media production and education activities seemed to help some children elaborate on their experience as migrants and to better understand their new home. While those from very traumatic backgrounds seemed less able to take advantage of this, access to media expression appears to be an important means for negotiating memory and finding their place in the new society. Such activities could be made available as part of school or community activities.

There is an urgent need for more extensive evaluation of media literacy initiatives across Europe in both the informal and formal sectors. The various initiatives currently funded under the e-learning programme represent a start in this direction but such initiatives need to be expanded and to inform each other.

2.6. Migration

Migration policy in Europe is currently a complex mosaic. Every country has different histories of immigration, different expectations of incoming migrants and different policies regarding their education, employment and social inclusion. In this context the education and the processes of social inclusion or exclusion of non-EU children – such as the refugee and migrant children in the CHICAM clubs – varies in the member states.

Immigration policy and control is an issue that has preoccupied European discussions for many years and remains an ongoing problem. We have focussed our recommendations on the needs of children specifically:

Increasing levels of intolerance and xenophobia amongst sections of the public in several EU member states as well as differences in access to resources depending on the migrant family, community and reason for coming to Europe mean that migrant children and young people may slip through existing social networks risking separation from their peers and exclusion from mainstream society. The main challenge is to create a common age-sensitive migration and asylum policy in order to improve both the protection and

reception of these children in Europe. This should be a key aim for the harmonisation of the asylum and migration policy in the European Union.

While immigration policy is considered subsidiary, European nation states are coping with the situation through two different policies – multiculturalism, the aim of which is to incorporate ethnic minorities, and immigration control which in practice means to close as many gates of immigration as possible. The goals are not reconcilable and can lead to new forms of social conflict and exclusion inside EU that affect children's lives. The primary objective here should be to raise the rights of non-EU children higher on the European Union agenda and to make sure that all countries will take their responsibilities given the contested issues of unemployment, economic difficulties, and highly increased security measures.

Adult centred immigration policy is overlooking the child integration measures required. Although the basic rights of the child have priority over those of adults, children of immigrants in EU have been most penalised by different approaches taken to immigration policy. In some cases, even the basic right to education is not respected for foreign children. The European Union has to ensure that the chances of migrant children – and their own future mobility – are not impeded by their parents' legal or social situation.

Important work has been supported in EU by funding different kinds of education policy studies and proposals (for example, in language training). This has primarily been confined to formal educational settings. The time period after-school is considered as a period for socializing but also as period of great risk for injury and delinquency for many vulnerable populations of children. There is a real and pressing need to fund a range of activities in informal educational settings.

There is emphasis and pressure on immigrants to integrate and negligence of urging intercultural understanding on the part of the host society.

In order to meet the needs of an increasingly culturally diverse Europe the focus should not only be on incomers to integrate but also on the host cultures (children, adults, neighbours, teachers) to learn and adapt to the lives and experiences of children of migrants and refugees.

With this key requirement in mind, there is a need to create and encourage programmes that foster intercultural exchange and dialogue.

3. Future Research

There are several areas in which there is a direct need for future research arising from CHICAM:

- The 4 themes examined by CHICAM need further more extensive consideration with a wider cohort of young people, particularly with specific emphasis on the role of media in peer relations, school life, family relations and in the role of media production in civic participation.
- A European wide examination of the media uses of specific minorities. This should be aimed at an understanding of how different generations, social classes and genders receive and read the national and European media available to them in relation to their participation and inclusion in the society and in relation to broadcast media policies and practice.
- A study of youth media production practices in informal educational and social contexts is needed: what exists, the rationale for the use of media, the expectations of users and organisers and where the gaps are.
- A Europe wide evaluation of formal and informal media education practices.
- An examination of internet exchanges organised for young people in the context of educational (formal and informal) settings with a view to studying the social outcomes and understanding the expectations of adults and children/youth.

In the context of an expanding Europe, globalization and increasing concerns about xenophobia it is necessary to examine what is understood by the term 'intercultural communication' and what the practices in this area of educational institutions in Europe are.

V. DISSEMINATION AND EXPLOITATION OF RESULTS

CHICAM's dissemination strategy had several strands. At the start of the project each partner established a national advisory committee comprising individuals and institutions with specialist interests in the outcomes of the project: education, broadcast media, refugee and community organizations, social welfare, media education. In addition each partner organized internal seminars to inform colleagues about the project. This established networks both internally and externally that later facilitated dissemination. Dissemination during the project comprised: local and national meetings and seminars, European dissemination, project website, conference presentations, publications. A selection of completed and ongoing dissemination is listed below. A full list of publications and presentations to date is contained in Annex 2.

Local/national dissemination aimed at public and practitioners

- all partners held meetings (presenting and discussing the work of the project and the videos made in the CHICAM clubs) with students, teachers, parents and community workers connected to the media clubs and hosting schools;
- there were several local media related exposures: in Sweden CHICAM was presented in a commentary on Swedish University Television West; in Germany CHICAM was presented as a poster at the Child Culture Biennale at Halmstad, Sweden; in the Netherlands, Mira Media has presented the CHICAM club work regularly in its news magazine;
- all partners have conducted seminars for educationalists in their countries working with refugee children and students in Higher Education studying migration and education.

European

- project briefing papers were completed in consultation with our Scientific Officer;
- the final CHICAM conference was held in Brussels in October 2004.

Website and DVD

- the project website contains an introductory video, all the project reports, briefing papers, lists of publications and videos made in the CHICAM clubs;
- a DVD has been produced containing an introductory video, listed research findings and policy recommendations alongside a selection of videos made in the clubs. This was distributed as part of the publicity for the final conference and continues to be available.

Cultural Events

CHICAM videos have been shown and the research discussed at three Children's Film festivals:

- BUFF, International Children and Young People's Film Festival, Malmö, Sweden 2004;
- Olympia Film Festival, Greece 2003;
- Cinekid, the International Children's Media Festival, Amsterdam.

Conference presentations

All partners, individually or jointly have been actively involved in presenting the project at conferences and seminars at local, national, European and international levels. See VII Annex 2.

Publications

All partners, individually or jointly have been actively involved in producing publications. These are ongoing with several titles in progress. See VII Annex 3.

Other Outcomes

In Sweden CHICAM led directly to a further research project which is now underway: *Media Practices in the New Country: Children, Young People, Family and Ethnicity*, a three year research project funded by the Swedish Scientific Council and led by Ingegerd Rydin, the researcher on CHICAM in Sweden.

In the Netherlands CHICAM participants are in discussions with Government Ministries aimed at implementing some of the CHICAM recommendations such as:

- the grounding of media education more basically in education in the Netherlands and to support the development of media educational didactics;
- the implementation of media education in curricula to support social inclusion of refugee and migrant children;
- supporting E-learning;
- encouraging the formation of media clubs in a wider infrastructure, so as to stimulate active democratic citizenship.

In Italy several related research projects have received funding as a result of the findings of CHICAM.

In the UK the Centre for the Study of Children Youth and Media are building on the experience of CHICAM and its exploration of issues of citizenship and participation and are applying to the EU for further funding under the Framework 6 programme.

In Germany one of the Researchers has based his Doctorate Thesis on CHICAM.

Ongoing Dissemination

Dissemination is ongoing. Partners are still actively presenting at conferences and writing based on the findings of CHICAM.

The website will be maintained within the work of the co-ordinating partner and the DVD will continue to be distributed where appropriate.

VI. REFERENCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

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Björn Maurer: Medienarbeit mit Kindern aus Migrationskontexten. Grundlagen und Praxisbausteine. München 2004.

Forthcoming Publications

Horst Niesyto, Peter Holzwarth, Björn Maurer (Hrsg.), (forthcoming) Interkulturelle Kommunikation mit Foto und Video. Konzeption und Ergebnisse eines EU-Praxisforschungsprojekts mit jungen Migranten (CHICAM). München 2005.

Chaloff, J (forthcoming) "L'identité des enfants issus d'immigration dans les écoles italiennes: indications d'une recherche pilote". *Migrations Société*, Vol 17, no. 17, Jan-Fev 2005.

de Block, L and Rydin I. (Forthcoming) Digital rapping in media productions: Intercultural communication through youth culture in Buckingham, D and Willett, R/. (eds) *Digital Generations: Children, Young people and New Media*, Lawrence Erlbaum.

de Block, L (forthcoming) Using new media communications in research with refugee adolescents across Europe: aims, aspirations, pitfalls and assumptions in Hart, J. *Researching Refugee Children in Different Contexts*. Berghahn Books. Oxford and N.Y.

de Block, L. and Buckingham, D. (forthcoming) *Global Children, Global Media: Childhood, Media and Migration*. Routledge.

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Buckingham, D. and de Block, L. (forthcoming) 'The Place to Be: children representing the experience of schooling and migration through media,' in Kirova, A. and Adams, L. *Children and Families in Transition: A Global Phenomenon*, Lawrence Erlbaum.

de Block, L. (forthcoming) 'Talking Television across cultures: negotiating inclusion and exclusion' in Kirova, A. and Adams, L. *Children and Families in Transition: A Global Phenomenon*, Lawrence Erlbaum.

VII. ANNEXES

1. List of Project Deliverables

DEL 1: Research Report: Global Kids, Global Media: a review of research relating to children, media and migration in Europe. Issued as planned by month 6.

DEL 2: Report: Migrant Kids on Screen: a review of media productions/training initiatives involving migrant/refugee children in Europe. Issued as planned by month 6. This was submitted as an appendix to the D1 report and is forming a changing and expanding set of links to related projects on the CHICAM website.

DELS 3-6: Website and intranets: www.chicam.net

DEL7: Research Report: Children's Social relations in Peer Groups: inclusion, exclusion and friendship.

DEL 8: CD containing videos made by the children relating to DEL 7.

DEL 9: Research report: School as an Arena for Education, Integration and Socialization.

DEL 10: CD containing videos made by the children relating to DEL 9.

DEL 11: Research report: Home is Where the Heart is: family relations of migrant children in media clubs in six European countries.

DEL 12: CD containing videos made by the children relating to DEL 11.

DEL 13: Picture Me In: digital media making with socially excluded children. Advice to Teachers and other Media Educators.

DEL 14: Research report: Visions Across Cultures: Migrant Children Using Visual Images to Communicate.

DEL 15: CD containing videos made by the children relating to DEL 14.

2. Presentations

2002

Conference "CrossCulture – intercultural Media-work for Europe. Concepts and quality criteria in the field of intercultural youth media-work 17.4.2002 (Björn Maurer and Peter Holzwarth, Germany).

Workshop „Networking young Europe – youth -work for cultural plurality and media-competence.“ Cologne, 21.6.2002 (Horst Niesyto, Germany).

Workshop „International co-operation in media education: projects research and training“, 19. Forum Kommunikationskultur der Gesellschaft für Medienpädagogik und Kommunikationskultur Hamburg, 2.10.2002 (Horst Niesyto and Peter Holzwarth, Germany).

ECRE task Force presentation at meetings in June 2002 (Hari Brissimi, Greece).

International conference at the University of Thessaloniki The Image and the Child in September 2002 (E Kourti, Greece).

British Council conference in Brussels, Journeys in Between: a forum on the Role of the Arts in the Integration of Asylum Seekers. (Liesbeth de Block, UK).

European Commission Workshop on Educational and Social Exclusion. September 2002 (Elisa Manna, Italy).

'Identity Construction in Children's Media Forms. An ethnographic study.' Paper at Visible Evidence Conference, Marseille (Fra) 16 December, 2002, -Sonja de Leeuw (Netherlands).

2003

CHICAM (content, objectives, methods) and examples of children's productions, in the context of the Seminars on "Intercultural Education", University of Athens. Maria Leonidas, (Greece).

Presentation as part of a public seminar programme run by the Centre for the Study of Children Youth and Media at the Institute of Education London Liesbeth de Block (UK).

Presentation of CHICAM to members of the London-based arts project PRAXIS. The presentation took place at the Greek Council for Refugees in Athens, July 15, 2003. Nadina Christopoulou, researcher – Greece.

AGORA-RAI-congress in Bologna (Horst Niesyto (Germany) in cooperation with Jonathan Chaloff, Elisa Manna and Antonella Passani (Italy).

Seminar (A Good Childhood) at the Department of Ethnology, University of Gothenburg, at the Centre for Child Culture Research, Stockholm University. Ingegerd Rydin (Sweden).

Seminar at Department for Child Studies at the University of Linköping.. Ingegerd Rydin (Sweden).

16th Nordic Conference on Media Research, Kristiansand, Norway,. Ingegerd Rydin (Sweden).

„Interkulturelle Medienarbeit mit Migrantenkindern. Praxiserfahrungen aus dem EU Forschungsprojekt CHICAM“ Björn Maurer (Germany) at „- netzkom://- Qualifizierungsreihe zur medienpädagogischen Arbeit“.

Mira Media (media educators – Netherlands) presented the CHICAM club at a media-educational conference in Norway.

Seoul Alternative Learning Network, HAJA Centre, Seoul, South Korea, June 2003 by David Buckingham(UK).

The British Council conference A Sense of Place: Displacement and Integration: the role of the arts and media in reshaping societies and identities in Europe in November 2003. Panel presentation by the UK and Greek researchers and media educators.

Seminar at Sussex University Education department. Liesbeth de Block in December 2003.

2004

Multilingual Europe conference organised by Goldsmiths University, February 2004. Liesbeth de Block (UK).

Student seminar at Stockholm University, Centre for Children’s Culture (March 1, 2004). Ingegerd Rydin (Sweden).

Olympia Film Festival, December 2004 – Greece by the media educator Maria Leonida.

Seminars on 'Intercultural Education" organized by A. Androussou (member of the Greek Advisory Committee) in Maraslio Didaskaleio (2 years Postgraduate Program for Preprimary School Teachers) – University of Athens, March 2004, E Kourti and Maria Leonida (Greece).

"Asylum and Migration in Europe and Greece: political and social perspectives" with the European Center of Excellence Jean Monnet and Institute of Mediterranean Studies in the University of Crete – Rethymnon. E Kourti (Greece).

'Between Diversity and Inequality: Children's experiences of life and school in multicultural Europe', held in Barcelona 22-24 January 2004, for researchers from different European countries. The seminar was organised by the Institute of Childhood and Urban World and the Free University of Barcelona, Jonathon Chaloff (Italy).

'School meets the world: Experience, models, perspectives', held in Florence 25-27 February 2004, for Italian pedagogues, researchers and teachers.

„Medienpädagogische Praxisforschung mit Kindern und Jugendlichen aus Migrationskontexten“. Beitrag im Rahmen der internationalen Konferenz Bildung über die Lebenszeit der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Erziehungswissenschaft (DGfE) an der Universität Zürich, March 2004. Horst Niesyto and Peter Holzwarth (Germany).

„Qualitative Forschung auf der Basis von Eigenproduktionen mit Medien. Erfahrungswerte aus dem aktuellen EU-Forschungsprojekt CHICAM" Beitrag im Rahmen der Herbsttagung 2003 der Kommission Medienpädagogik der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Erziehungswissenschaft (DGfE) an der Universität Magdeburg. Horst Niesyto und Peter Holzwarth, 28.11.2003.

Symbolischer Selbstausdruck mit Medien und globale Jugendkulturen" Beitrag im Rahmen des 20. GMK-Forums Kommunikationskultur „Media art meets media education. Künstlerische Impulse für die Medienpädagogik" an der Hochschule für Film und Fernsehen Potsdam Babelsberg. Horst Niesyto und Peter Holzwarth 22.11.2003.

„ Kommunikationskultur „Media art meets Media Education. Künstlerische Impulse für die Medienpädagogik" an der Hochschule für Film und Fernsehen Potsdam in Potsdam-Babelsberg. Björn Mauer, 22.11.2003.

Presentation of CHICAM project at BUFF, March 12, 2004 – The International Children and Young People's Film Festival in Malmö, March 12 2004: Ingegerd Rydin and Fredrik Olsson.

National multidisciplinary research seminar at Stockholm University, arranged by the Centre of Child Culture Research. (Faculty and doctoral students), April 23 2004: Ingegerd Rydin.

National research seminar arranged by Lund University, Media and Communication Studies. (Faculty and doctoral students), May 17 2004: Ingegerd Rydin.

National conference on Migration and Globalisation at Tylösand, Halmstad. (Municipal officers, policy makers and migration authorities). May 26 2004: Ingegerd Rydin.

'Media Production and Cultural Identity' (presenting CHICAM). Presentation CHICAM project at Utrecht University, Utrecht (NL) 27 March 2004 Sonja de Leeuw.

'Children constructing notions of citizenship'. Presentation CHICAM project Conference Commission Cultural Treaty Flanders Netherlands, Brussels, 17 June 2004. Sonja de Leeuw (Netherlands).

'Children and cultural identity in CHICAM.' Presentation at conference Tuning into Diversity (research workshop), Noordwijkerhout (NL), 23 September 2004. Sonja de Leeuw (Netherlands)

'Cultural identity in the context of migration: CHICAM.' National presentation at international seminar Cinekid. Amsterdam, 22 October 2004. Sonja de Leeuw (Netherlands).

'Migrant children constructing family narratives.' CHICAM Projekttagung Pädagogischen Hochschule Ludwigsburg, 29 October 2004. Sonja de Leeuw (Netherlands).

"Medien und Migration - Das internationale EU-Forschungsprojekt CHICAM -Children in Communication about Migration". Beitrag im Rahmen der Veranstaltung "5. Tag des wissenschaftlichen Nachwuchses " an der Pädagogischen Hochschule Weingarten (Björn Maurer und Peter Holzwarth, Germany).

Workshop Europäisches Städtenetzwerk "Integration und Partizipation von Migrantinnen und Migranten". CHICAM-Projektpräsentation in Stuttgart (Peter Holzwarth, Germany).

Interkulturelle Medienarbeit und Migrationsforschung. CHICAM-Projektpräsentation im Institut für Migrations- und Rassismusforschung in Hamburg (Peter Holzwarth, Germany).

Interkulturelle Medienarbeit und qualitative Migrationsforschung – Das internationale EU-Forschungsprojekt CHICAM. Beitrag auf der Fachtagung "Kulturelle Vielfalt als

Erfolgsrezept? Herausforderungen für die Medienpädagogik" am 15. und 16.10.2004 in München (JFF - Institut für Medienpädagogik in Forschung und Praxis) (Björn Maurer und Peter Holzwarth, Germany).

CHICAM-Projektpräsentation am Institut für Ethnologie/Universität Tübingen, im Rahmen des "Ethnografischen Labors zur Migrationsforschung"; Prof. Dr. Thomas Hauschild, 23.7.2004 (Peter Holzwarth).

CHICAM-Projektpräsentation am Institut für Informationsmanagement Bremen GmbH, Forschungs- und Beratungsinstitut an der Universität Bremen, 30.6.2004 (Peter Holzwarth, Germany).

"Der sozial-ästhetische Ansatz der Bildinterpretation - Visuelle Einblicke in Lebenswelten von Kindern und Jugendlichen mit Migrationshintergrund". Beitrag auf der Fachtagung Bildinterpretation an der Pädagogischen Hochschule Ludwigsburg, 25. und 26. Juni 2004 (Peter Holzwarth und Horst Niesyto, Germany).

"The international research project CHICAM - Children in Communication about Migration" Beitrag im Rahmen der internationalen Tagung "Multicultural Classrooms and Intercultural Communication" an der Universität Modena, Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia, 6.5.2004 (Peter Holzwarth, Germany).

Joint presentation at Digital Generations Conference, Institute of Education, London, July 2004. Liesbeth de Block (UK), Ingegerd Rydin (Sweden), Maria Leonida (Greece), Antonella Passani (Italy).

World Congress: Human Movements and Immigration, Forum Barcelona 2004. 'Learning to Live Together: using educational skills'. September 2004, Liesbeth de Block (UK).

European Commission

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