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# Identification and comparison of school well-being patterns of migrant and native lower secondary-school students in Greece and Switzerland: A multigroup latent profile analysis approach

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ABSTRACT

Questionnaire data from a cross-sectional study of two samples on adolescents of 814 lower secondary school students ($M$_age = 12.47) from Greece ($n$ = 439) and Switzerland ($n$ = 375) were used to identify and compare school well-being patterns of migrant and native students by multigroup latent profile analyses (LPA). The aim of this paper, by applying LPA as a typological approach, is to delve empirically into the question whether migrant and native lower secondary school students in Greece and Switzerland have different school well-being patterns. We detected three very similar school well-being patterns among migrant and native students for both countries. To compare the identified well-being patterns, we tested, using variance analysis with the Games-Howell post hoc test, the respective levels of the seven introduced well-being indicators: The highest school well-being pattern for migrant and native students is derived from a combination of low levels of fear/depression and high levels of self-determination, self-efficacy, and self-esteem in conjunction with high levels of life satisfaction, general well-being, and satisfaction with grades at school. In order to understand the socialization conditions under which the respective school well-being patterns emerged, we ran a multinomial regression analysis on the identified well-being patterns related to teacher support and resilience. Overall, we found that higher levels of social support, as introduced via teacher support and resilience, play a great role in determining the school well-being level that a young person achieves.

## 1. Introduction

Well-being during adolescence has an essential impact on an adolescent's successful development, mental health, and quality of life (Hascher, 2010). Although the reports of the Word Health Organisation, 2020 indicated generally high levels of well-being among adolescents, a consistent increase in depressive symptoms can be observed during the adolescence period (e.g., Kessler, Avenevoli & Ries 2001). In the last decade in particular, a trend towards higher caseloads was observed in young people's consultations in counseling centers (e.g., Kingkade 2016, Twenge, Martin & Campbell 2018).

Differentiating between migrant and native students in relation to well-being in an educational setting is rare (Nauck & Genoni,

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2019) and scientists studying child development often ignore the implications of migration background for adolescents' social and emotional well-being (Adserà & Tienda, 2012). Because of that, there is a need for more systematic empirical research on adolescents with a migration background and whether their psychosocial well-being pattern differs from that of native students (Adserà & Tienda, 2012).

Analyzing and reporting well-being patterns of migrant lower secondary school students internationally is important due to two points: First, we call it the *psychological care argument* (e.g., Khawaja, Ibrahim & Schweitzer 2017, Ye et al. 2016), it helps in identifying special or specific needs of migrant students, in comparison to native students, for developing more supportive school environments. Second, there is a *side-effect of* neo*liberalism* (Chiang, 2020) insofar that localization of the educational market for specific clients, the migrant students, occurs in parallel with globalization (Baker & LeTendre, 2005; Cha & Ham, 2014). Both points, overlap sometimes on *the notion of othering* (Betts & Krayem, 2019; Ortega-Alcazar & Dyck, 2012; Tanyas, 2016) or at least reificating *migrants* as a problem at school to be solved. Migrants are considered to be different from native students, different in terms of psychological needs and on social requirements to do well at school. Considering migrant students different from native students may lead to marginalization and thus also to unintended othering (Tanyas, 2016).

Following neoliberalism and the implied political values (Chiang, 2020), goverments' duty would be to specify, to "glocalize", the specific educational state markets to these new clients. By doing that, neoliberalism and the educational open market mentality (Harvey, 2005) fail to identify power relations while adolescent immigrants are identified as problematic and are expected to acculturate efficiently and quickly in order to perform better at school. It is crucial to understand and analyze the different ways in which cultural identities are (re)positioned by the main neoliberal theories, leading in the construction of marginalized identities (Lawless & Chen, 2017), spesificaly in education (Darder, 2012). In the regime of neoliberal governmentality (Chiang, 2020), migrant students are therefore often seen as one of the sources of a well-being problem at school that undermines international educational competitiveness (Rizvi & Lingard, 2006).

One of the core difficulties in analyzing school well-being patterns of migrant and native students is identifying and clarifying students as migrants or natives because ethnicity, nationality, and migration background are constructed terms that implicitly constitute the groups they seem to describe (Brubaker, 2009). This means that in differentiating between native and migrant students in a so-called free market world, we first have to construct these two groups before subsequently describing them. Refusing to constitute these groups in a multicultural world would mean not being able to describe them afterwards and thus missing an opportunity to obtain new insight in relation to these constructed groups. On the other hand, we might negatively impinge on our research subjects as the *Black Lives Matter*[1] movement currently impeaches it (The Movement for Black Lives, 2016). In refusing to recognize race and in stating that *we are all the same* when applying a neoliberal multicultural model we fail to acknowledge how life realities and opportunities are vastly different relative to, for example, skin color (Elias & Feagin, 2020). However, using these classifications and thus constructing migrant/ethnic groups might also lead to a variety of outcomes: On the one hand, our way of categorizing might impinge negatively on our research subjects, e.g., by stigmatizing or stereotyping, thus causing discrimination (Horvath, 2019). Conversely, we might also affect our research subjects positively, by showing inequities and systemic discrimination of specific groups, e.g., systemic racism[2] (Elias & Feagin, 2020). To address these shortcomings, we construct and use the category migration background with the intention of describing and explaining differences in the school well-being of native and migrant students in Greece and Switzerland.

Interestingly, international research so far has not conclusively identified if migrant lower secondary school students have special or even specific well-being patterns, diverging from well-being styles of native lower secondary school students. Particularly, it is widely considered that immigrant youth is more likely to be exposed to social instability and acculturative stress (Berry, Phinney & Sam, 2006; Motti-Stefanidi, Asendorpf & Masten, 2012; Stuart, Ward & Robinson, 2016; Ying & Han, 2008), even if acculturation stress of native students has so far not been assessed. Nevertheless, existing literature on this subject contains some mixed results. While some studies reported an increased risk for immigrant youth (Alivernini, Cavicchiolo, Manganelli, Chirico & Lucidi, 2020; Oppedal & Røysamb, 2004), others revealed no differences or even higher levels of well-being for immigrant youth (Berry, Phinney & Sam, 2006; Harker, 2001; Motti-Stefanidi, Pavlopoulos, Obradovi, Dalla, Takis & Papathanassiou, 2008; Sam, Vedder, Liebkind, Neto & Virta, 2008) or inconsistent patterns (Oppedal & Røysamb, 2004; Xu, Bekteshi & Tran, 2010). The experience of migration and acculturation can, but does not have to be a risk factor to adolescents' well-being due to its potential to cause more complicated life circumstances.

The aim of this paper is to delve into the question whether migrant and native lower secondary school students in Greece and Switzerland have different school well-being patterns.The experience of migration and acculturation can be a risk factor for adolescents' well-being due to its potential to cause more complicated life circumstances. Our study follows the desideratum to identify cross-nationally how similar well-being patterns of migrant and native lower secondary school students are. We claim that this insight has first to be empirically validated, because if not, we would perform an abbreviated addressing, an empirical shortcut on school well-being patterns not only for migrant but also for native students.

Permanent high rates of anxiety and depression pose especially, but certainly not only, for adolescents an increased risk of future psychiatric disorders (Fergusson, 1998; Loeber, Burke, Lahey, Winters & Zera, 2000). Additionally, studies showed that long-lasting negative affects in adolescence among migrant adolescents were associated with a variety of other adverse outcomes such as problem behaviors and unhealthy behavior (Brieant, Holmes, Maciejewski, Lee, Deater-Deckard & King-Casas, 2018; Loeber et al., 2000),

[1] https://www.ohchr.org/en/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=25927&LangID=E (visited 12.06.2020).
[2] Ibid.

learning difficulties (Fergusson, Horwood, Ridder & Beautrais, 2005), and general detrimental effects on educational success (Kriesi, Buchmann & Jaberg, 2012). Self-esteem and self-efficacy states are reported to be among the most decisive determinants of inter-individual well-being differences, especially in adolescence and holds for migrant and native students (Currie, Zanotti, Morgan, Currie, de Looze & Roberts, 2012; Žukauskienė, 2014).

Well-being in adolescence, both for native and migrant students, is vital for human thriving, and from antiquity to the present, many have tried to understand and conceptualize the idea of the "good life," which was interestingly often connected to well-being (Allin & Hand, 2017). Despite the bulk of literature on, and the general academic interest in, adolescents' well-being in recent decades, a thorny debate is still ongoing about the definition, components, and measurements of well-being (Fave, 2013). Even though the term is commonly used by policymakers, educators, and academics, it is still inconsistently defined (Rees, Goswami & Bradshaw, 2010). Most of the definitions are based on a description of the concept rather than on its components (Dodge, Daly, Huyton & Sanders, 2012), which makes it difficult to draw conclusions and create broad interventions (Slee & Skrzypiec, 2016).

As there is no common definition, we consider well-being to be a multidimensional, latent construct that includes both feeling good and functioning well at the individual level, and additionally being treated positively (Huppert, 2014; Kern, Waters, Adler & White, 2015). The hedonic theories of well-being emphasize emotions and life satisfaction. It consists of affective and cognitive components and is usually operationalized as subjective well-being (SWB), containing the three dimensions of life satisfaction, positive affect, and low negative affect (Butler & Kern, 2016). However, well-being goes beyond the experience of an individual's satisfaction. It also includes a eudemonic side, which embodies positive social skills that promote a person's optimal functioning in her/his respective environment (Joshanloo, 2019; Ryan & Deci, 2001). This is known as psychological well-being (PWB) and includes the dimensions of self-esteem, positive relations with others, autonomy, environmental mastery, purpose in life, and personal growth (Ryff, 1989; Ryff & Singer, 2008). These two concepts are the backbone of understanding well-being in adolescence (Motti-Stefanidi, Pavlopoulos, Mastrotheodoros, & Asendorpf, 2020) and have been empirically proved as distinct but still closely related theories (Joshanloo, 2016), with long- and short-term benefits (Hill & Turiano, 2014; Maccagnan, Wren-Lewis, Brown & Taylor, 2019). An explanatory measure of well-being should embrace all the main components of both hedonic and eudaimonic dimensions (Ruggeri, Garcia-Garzon, Maguire, Matz & Huppert, 2020), since evaluating adolescents' well-being using a single item, or just one of the two approaches mentioned, does not offer any detailed insight into how adolescents experience their well-being, especially when it comes to the well-being of adolescent students at school.

As in adults, adolescents' well-being refers to their life experiences, since it is related to social, emotional, cognitive, and academic performance (Durlak, Weissberg, Dymnicki, Taylor & Schellinger, 2011). The interrelation of external and internal factors regarding students' well-being plays a crucial role (Fraillon, 2004; Noble, McGrath, Wyatt, Carbines & Robb, 2008; Stanwick & Liu, 2012) and is perceived not only as an extract of pleasant life conditions, but also as life satisfaction (Diener, Emmons, Larsen & Griffin, 1985) as an essential component of these outcomes (Boon, Kimhi, Sapountzaki & Parmak, 2018). Due to this interrelation between internal and external factors, theoretical and empirical constructs in particular, such as self-determination (Deci & Ryan, 2002), including students' basic needs for *autonomy, competence*, and *relatedness*, are considered to be crucial pillars of adolescent students' well-being (Green & Norrish, 2013).

Since the beginning of the 2008 recession, the decline in the well-being level, in all age groups, has been the most abrupt in Europe, including in Greece and Switzerland (Bell & Blanchflower, 2015). This is particularly the case in Greece. The dialog on the well-being of children and adolescents in Greece was not closely and exclusively examined until rise of the almost all-life-spheres-embracing socioeconomic crisis in 2009 (Hatzichristou, Issari & Yfanti, 2016). However, before the onset of the economic crisis, scholars had tentatively started focusing on subjective and psychological approaches, and particularly on the role of school in students' well-being (e.g. Hatzichristou et al. 2016, Karademas, Kafetsios & Sideridis 2007). Similarly, Hascher and Hadjar (2018) also identified for Switzerland the supportive strength of positive social relations for other adolescents and teachers at school as a core factor of higher levels of well-being in adolescence.

Internationally, resilience and support by teachers are considered predictors of adolescent students' well-being (Kelly, Fitzgerald & Dooley, 2017; Kidger, Araya, Donovan & Gunnell, 2012). By addressing them as predictors, we are distinguishing these two factors from well-being patterns that mirror the multifaceted complex that comprises well-being.

Resilient individuals can not only buffer negative consequences from facing adversity and maintain their psychological and physical health (Connor & Davidson, 2003) but also improve their mental well-being (Ryff & Singer, 2000). However, there are numerous instruments used to measure adolescents' and children's resilience and its various characteristics (e.g., Youth Resiliency: Assessing Developmental Strengths (YR: ADS), Donnon & Hammond 2007, Donnon, Hammond & Charles 2003, Adolescent Resilience Scale, Oshio, Kaneko, Nagamine & Nakaya 2003, The Resilience Scale (RS), Wagnild & Young 1993). According to a methodological review of resilience measurement scales by Windle, Bennett and Noyes (2011), the Resilience Scale for Adolescents (READ, Hjemdal, Friborg, Stiles, Martinussen & Rosenvinge, 2006) was the only scale for adolescents including all three higher-order categories – individual dispositional attributes, family support and cohesion, and external support systems (Garmezy, 1983; Werner, 1989, 1993; Werner & Smith, 1992)-in one scale (Kelly et al., 2017). Furthermore, the scale showed adequate psychometric properties, validity (Hjemdal et al., 2006), and applicability across multiple contexts and cultures (Liebenberg, Joubert & Foucault, 2017). These remarks confirm that the READ scale is suitable for a holistic assessment of resilience among young people.

Adolescent students' perceptions of teachers' support are strongly related to their well-being (Suldo et al., 2009). According to a systematic review by Kidger et al. (2012), teacher support has, on the one hand, an effect on emotional health and, on the other, an impact on suicidal behavior. For example, Way, Reddy & Rhodes (2007), as well as Wang (2009), found that teacher support predicted lower levels of depression. The same effects have been shown only for girls in Undheim and Sund's study (2005). McNeely and Falci (2004) showed that teacher support reduced the risk of changing from suicidal thoughts to a suicide attempt. However, students with a

migration background in particular need support from their teachers to succeed at school (Klem & Connell, 2004). Literature has shown that at-risk students have a higher level of academic motivation, as well as a more positive attitude towards school, if their teachers support and care about them (Pitzer & Skinner, 2016; Ricard & Pelletier, 2016). On average, across OECD countries, immigrant students who reported that their teachers frequently supported them during the previous 12 months were 10% more likely to be satisfied with their lives than students who have not had this experience (OECD, 2018).

In 2005, as naturalizations have blurred the boundary between "migrant other" (i.e., "nonnative") and "native," the label "migration background" was introduced in Germany as an official statistical category (Horvath, 2019). Migration "is an event in which a person changes his or her *place of usual residence*. The latter is defined as the place where the person spends most daily periods of rest" (Poulain, 2008, p. 46). Thus, having a background in migration implies that someone has changed their place of usual residence at least once. In order to affect the category nationality, i.e., in order to become a "migrant other" and perhaps a naturalized "nonnative" (who can no longer be easily separated from a "native" by means of local nationality), one must cross borders. We therefore understand the notion of migration background as referring to someone having changed his or her place of usual residence at least once from one country to another. Generally, "migration background" is defined by using three variables in combination: country of birth, nationality at birth, and country of birth of both parents (BfS, 2020).

## 2. Methods

### 2.1. Participants

The data were collected in autumn 2019 from a random sample of 814 seventh-grade adolescent students from Greece ($n = 439$) and Switzerland ($n = 375$) who anonymously completed an online questionnaire. Consent forms were obtained from students and their respective parents. No incentives were given. Ethics research committees in Greece and Switzerland authorized the project. On the day of the study, students who were present in the participating 80 classes ($n$ classes Greece = 48; $n$ classes Switzerland = 32) received a short oral introduction to the survey by the research team members and completed the questionnaire in about 35–60 min. The overall sample average age was $M = 12.47$ ($M$_age Greece = 12.28; $M$_age Switzerland = 12.67) with ($SD$_age overall sample = .81; $SD$_age Greece = .87; $SD$_age Switzerland = .68). Overall, 49.9% of the participants ($n = 406$) were female, 46.6% were male ($n = 379$), and 0.1% ($n = 1$) identified themselves as neither female nor male. The gender proportion was similar for both countries (%_female Greece = 55.7;%_female Switzerland = 46.8,%_male Greece = 44.1;%_male Switzerland = 53.2).

### 2.2. Measures

*Migration background:* Not having a migration background means that the student and both of his or her parents were born in the relevant country (here: Switzerland or Greece) and all three possess only the corresponding passport (here: Swiss or Greek passport). Having a migration background is operationalized such that one or more of the aforementioned conditions do not apply.

*Symptoms of anxiety and depression:* Symptoms of anxiety and depression were assessed through 24 items from the Hopkins Symptom Checklist (Derogatis, Lipman, Rickels, Uhlenhuth & Covi, 1974). From the original 25-item scale version, one item ("*Loss of sexual interest or pleasure*") was left out because of the participants' young age of approx. 12.5 years. The items were rated on a four-point Likert scale ranging from (1) *not at all* to (4) e*xtremely*; higher mean scores indicate a higher severity of anxiety and depression symptoms. (Ca-Greece = 0.93; Ca-Switzerland = 0.94). Examples: I feel fear. / I blame myself.

*The Satisfaction with Life Scale:* The scale (Diener et al., 1985) measures the subjective criteria for satisfaction with life on five items using a seven-point Likert scale (range = "totally disagree" to "completely agree") and displayed a high reliability for both countries (Ca-Greece = 0.85; Ca-Switzerland = 0.80). Example: For most things, my life is close to my ideal.

*Self-efficacy:* The General Self-Efficacy Scale is a psychometric scale developed by Schwarzer and Jerusalem (2010) and is designed to assess optimistic self-belief regarding coping with various challenging demands in life. The 10-item scale (Ca-Greece = 0.87; Ca-Switzerland = 0.88) was measured on a four-point Likert scale (range = "not true at all" to "completely true"). Example: I am confident that I could deal efficiently with unexpected events.

*Self-esteem:* The Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (Rosenberg, 2015) on assessing an individual's global worthiness evaluation is a 10-item scale with higher scores indicating higher self-esteem. The items were rated on a four-point Likert scale ranging from "1 = not at all" to 4 = extremely" (Ca-Greece = 0.87; Ca-Switzerland = 0.88). Example: I wish I could respect myself more.

*Self-determination:* Following Deci and Ryan's (2002) Self-Determination Theory (SDT) on human basic psychological needs, we measured the three subscales "autonomy," "competence," and "relatedness" on short scales with three items each. The 18-item scale (Ca-Greece = 0.70; Ca-Switzerland = 0.78) was measured on a four-point Likert scale (range "1 = not true at all" to "4 = completely true"). Example: I was free to do things in my own way.

*Well-being:* The five-item scale is based on Makarova's (2008) well-being scale (Ca-Greece = 0.69; Ca-Switzerland = 0.68) and was measured on a four-point Likert scale (range "1 = strongly disagree" to "4 = strongly agree"). Example: How do you feel in Switzerland?

*Satisfaction with grades at school:* Satisfaction with grades at school is a single-item indicator addressing the individual student's assessment of his/her grades and was measured on a four-point Likert scale (range "1 = not at all satisfied" to "4 = completely satisfied").

*Support by teacher:* The scale (OECD, 2010) measures the teacher-student relationship and focuses in particular on the support teachers provide to the respective students. The five-item scale (Ca-Greece = 0.86; Ca-Switzerland = 0.87) was measured on a

four-point Likert scale (range "1 = strongly disagree" to "4 = strongly agree"). Example: Most teachers are interested in what I have to say.

*Resilience scale:* The scale (Hjemdal et al., 2006) consists of 28 items (Ca-Greece = 0.88; Ca-Switzerland = 0.89) and contains five topics: personal competence, social competence, structured style, family cohesion, and social resources. Items were applied in a five-point Likert response format ("1 = totally disagree" to "5 = totally agree") with exclusively positively phrased items. Example: I achieve my goals when I work hard.

### 2.3. Analytic strategy

The statistical analysis for this study was conducted in four steps: In step one, country differences in the nine applied measures were examined using *t*-tests. In step two, students' well-being patterns were identified by computing multigroup latent profile analyses (LPA) using seven classification variables, based on both the merged overall sample with $N = 795$ and on the two country samples (Greece $n = 431$; Switzerland $n = 364$). In step three, to indicate significant differences in the classification variables on the identified LPA well-being patterns, variance analyses with the Games-Howell post-hoc test were applied. In step four, we ran a multinomial regression analysis on the identified well-being patterns related to teacher support and resilience in order to understand the socialization conditions under which the respective well-being emerged. For all conducted analyses we used M*plus* version 8.1 (Muthén & Muthén, 2018).

Analytic Step One: Country **Differences of all Measures**

In order to analyze for country mean differences of the nine applied measures for the two country samples (Greece $n = 431$; Switzerland $n = 364$), we ran *t*-tests (see Table 1). No significant country effects were identified for self-esteem and resilience. Low significant effects were identified for the five measures of life satisfaction, self-efficacy, satisfaction with grades at school (all three being significantly higher in Greece), self-determination, and the symptoms of anxiety and depression (both being significantly higher in Switzerland). Moderate effects were found for well-being and support by teachers (both being significantly higher in Switzerland). Overall, only low country effects on the measures have been displayed.

Analysis Step Two: **Identifying Well-being** Patterns by Multigroup Latent Profile Analysis (LPA)

LPA is a typological rather than a dimensional approach. Within one latent class, participants are assumed to have identical patterns of solution probabilities, which means that the solution probability of a given item is the same for all individuals belonging to the same class. Between patterns, however, there are differences with respect to the response probabilities.

LPA is a statistical method used to empirically classify continuous latent variables (constructs that are not observed directly) from a series of two or more continuous observed variables and form subgroups based on observations that appear to be similar (Hagenaars & McCutcheon, 2002). It is assumed that the observed manifest variables are independent from one another once conditioned on the latent variable. This assumption is known as the "local independence" (Hagenaars & McCutcheon, 2002). The individuals were assigned to the different patterns based on their posterior probabilities for class membership for a particular school well-being profile. This methodology allows the grouping of subjects into distinct patterns (classes or groups) according to the school well-being indicators reported and included in the analysis, and then estimates the probability that a particular subject is a member of that class.

The analysis was conducted for Greek and Swiss school students separately for a range of two to five latent patterns of migrant and native students. The multigroup LPA models were defined in order to determine whether there was the same number of patterns in each subsample. Statistical tests of model fit can be found in Table 3. The estimated models were nonnested models, and therefore the procedures chosen for model selection were the sample-adjusted Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC) indicating goodness of fit, with a lower value indicating a more appropriate fit, and Entropy (Celeux & Soromenho, 1996), indicating the certainty in the estimation, with values above 0.7 considered sufficient (Geiser, 2009; Nylund, Asparouhov & Muthén, 2007). The commonly used Lo-Mendell-Rubin test and bootstrap likelihood ratio test, both tests to identify the number of classes, cannot be used when applying multigroup LPA. However, the final model for an LPA (i.e., how many classes there are) is chosen based on a mix of statistical indicators and extant theoretical considerations (Nylund et al., 2007).

A latent profile class model (see Table 2) consisting of three patterns was selected for both countries as it had a low BIC score (Greece class 3 = 5488; Switzerland class 3 = 4409) in comparison to a class 2 solution (Greece = 5579; Switzerland = 4643), a class 4 solution (Greece = 5449; Switzerland = 4342), or a class 5 solution (Greece = 5428; Switzerland = 4309). The differences between the

**Table 1**
Country Sample Mean Levels (and Standard Deviations) of all Observed Variables.

| Variables | Range | Greece ($n = 431$)M (SD) | Switzerland ($n = 364$)M (SD) | Cohen's d |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Hopkins | 1–4 | 1.74 (0.54)* | 1.85 (0.61)* | .19 |
| Life Satisfaction | 1–7 | 5.22 (1.51)** | 4.95 (1.28)** | −0.19 |
| Self-Efficacy | 1–4 | 3.02 (0.57)** | 2.88 (0.53)** | −0.25 |
| Self-Esteem | 1–4 | 3.01 (0.49) | 2.94 (0.54) | – |
| Self-Determination | 1–4 | 2.81 (0.41)* | 2.89 (0.44)* | .19 |
| Well-being | 1–5 | 4.13 (0.74)*** | 4.43 (0.56)*** | .45 |
| Satisfaction with grades at school | 1–4 | 2.96 (0.80)** | 2.76 (0.77)** | −0.25 |
| Support by Teacher | 1–4 | 3.05 (0.72)*** | 3.29 (0.60)*** | .37 |
| Resilience (READ-Scale) | 1–5 | 4.12 (0.50) | 4.08 (0.49) | – |

Note. * = $p < .05$, ** = $p < .01$, *** = $p < .001$. between Greece and Switzerland.

**Table 2**
Modell Fit-Indixes for a different amount of patterns/classes for Latent Profile Analysis.

| Greece | | | | Switzerland | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Patterns/Classes | Log-likelihood (dF) | BIC adjusted | Entropy | Petterns/Classes | Log-likelihood (dF) | BIC adjusted | Entropy |
| 2 | −2736 (37) | 5579 | .88 | 2 | −2271 (37) | 4643 | .93 |
| 3 | −2668 (52) | 5488 | .83 | 3 | −2134 (52) | 4409 | .90 |
| 4 | −2627 (67) | 5449 | .82 | 4 | −2079 (67) | 4342 | .88 |
| 5 | −2595 (82) | 5428 | .81 | 5 | −2043 (82) | 4309 | .87 |

BIC scores for the class 3, 4, and 5 solutions were very small for both countries, which suggested weak evidence (Raferty, 1995) favoring the class 3 solution. That holds very similar for the identified Entropy as a certainty measure class criterion of estimation. The high Entropy for both countries on the class 3 solution combined with the respective BIC scores indicate a clear delineation of patterns: The high drop in the BIC scores in both countries from class 2 to class 3 (ΔBIC Greece = 91; ΔBIC Switzerland = 254), combined with the low drop in Entropy from class 2 to class 3 (ΔEntropy Greece = 0.05; ΔEntropy Switzerland = 0.03) and theoretical considerations on resilience lead to the preference for a class 3 solution.

Given the above reported criteria, and the rule of deference to more constrained and parsimonious models, the class 3 solution was selected. In addition to empirical measures for class determination, the class 3 solution was chosen as the final model for reasons of ease of class interpretability and theoretical considerations. From the solution chosen, we were able to detect not just a high (classes 5 and 6) and low (classes 1 and 2) profile for native and migrant students, but also a middle-level profile (classes 3 and 4) again for native and migrant students and established these results for both countries (see Table 3). For both countries we identified no migration background-specific distribution in the respective three school well-being levels ($Chi^2$ Greece = 0.455, df = 2, $n = 431$, $p > .05$.; $Chi^2$ Switzerland = 0.639, df = 2, $n = 364$, $p > .05$.). Content-wise, this means that migrant students display the same levels of school well-being as native students and that holds equally for both tested countries.

Fig. 1 (for Greece) and Fig. 2 (for Switzerland) give a diagrammatic representation of the subjects in class 3 and their involvement for the school well-being indicators examined. Using latent profile analysis we found distinct patterns of school well-being among migrant and native adolescent students in Greece and Switzerland. These data may be useful as the empirical basis for the planning of specific prevention and interventions.

Analysis Step Three: Variance Analysis for Comparing the LPA Classification Variable Levels on the Identified Well-being Patterns

In analytic Step Three, a one-way variance analysis employing the Games-Howell post hoc test was performed to compare the scale of the LPA classification variables regarding the identified well-being patterns. Variance analysis was used to determine whether the identified patterns differed from each other in other associated variables. Following the LPA results on six classes per country, divided into three patterns for migrants and three patterns for natives (see Figs. 1 and 2), we worked with the six patterns to be compared with a total of 795 participants, 431 from Greece and 364 from Switzerland: class 1, migrants (Greece $n = 33$; Switzerland $n = 38$); class 2, natives (Greece $n = 44$; Switzerland $n = 13$); class 3, migrants (Greece $n = 102$; Switzerland $n = 147$); class 4, migrants (Greece $n = 128$; Switzerland $n = 66$); class 5, migrants (Greece $n = 51$; Switzerland $n = 68$); class 4, migrants (Greece $n = 62$; Switzerland $n = 30$). By first testing the intercorrelations of all seven classification variables we ensured that no multicollinearity problems existed in our analysis for both country samples (all $r < = 0.70$).

Next, we conducted a Levene test for all scales. For four (symptoms of anxiety and depression, life satisfaction, self-efficacy, and well-being) out of seven variables of the Greek sample and all seven variables of the Swiss sample the Levene test showed an unequal variance between the six groups. Therefore, we performed a Welch *F*-test for unequal variances and additionally used the Games-Howell post hoc test, because it does not assume equal variances and sample sizes.

The analysis of variance tests that we conducted allowed us to see whether the six patterns detected by LPA within the respective countries are affected by the different mean levels of the seven classification indicators and, additionally, whether the patterns consisting in migrant students showed lower or higher levels of seven classification indicators than patterns consisting in native students of the respective country. Then we computed a Games-Howell post hoc test in order to identify specific differences between the six comparison groups, so that we could see how these related to the seven classification indicators (Hopkins scale, life satisfaction, self-efficacy, self-esteem, self-determination, well-being, and satisfaction with grades at school). When we examined the prediction strength of the classification variables in the six patterns, we found remarkable differences (see Table 4).

Overall, and for both countries, the exploration of the means differences (see Table 4) of the seven classification variables on the six

**Table 3**
LPA classification by country.

| LPA classification | | | Greece | | Switzerland | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Class | Migration - Background | School - Well-being level | n | % | n | % |
| 1 | Migrant | low | 36 | 8.3 | 38 | 10.4 |
| 2 | Native | low | 44 | 10.2 | 13 | 3.5 |
| 3 | Migrant | middle | 106 | 24.5 | 148 | 40.6 |
| 4 | Native | middle | 130 | 30.2 | 67 | 18.4 |
| 5 | Migrant | high | 53 | 12.2 | 68 | 18.6 |
| 6 | Native | high | 62 | 14.3 | 30 | 8.2 |

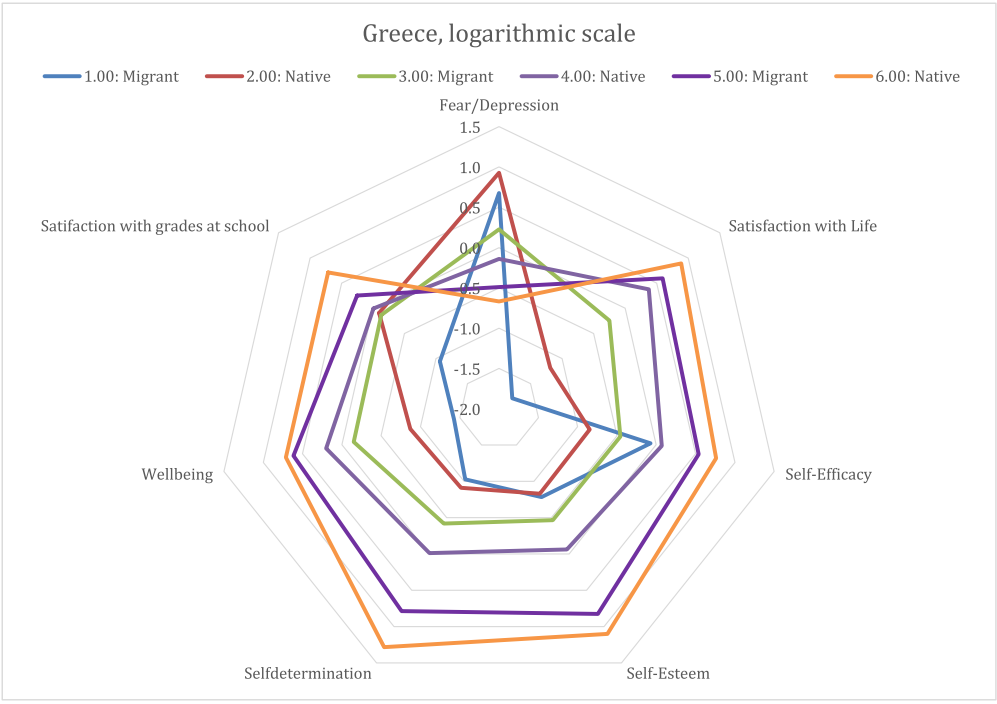


**Fig. 1.** Diagrammatic representation of class 3 on school-well-being indicators in Greek schools examined by Latent Profile Analysis.

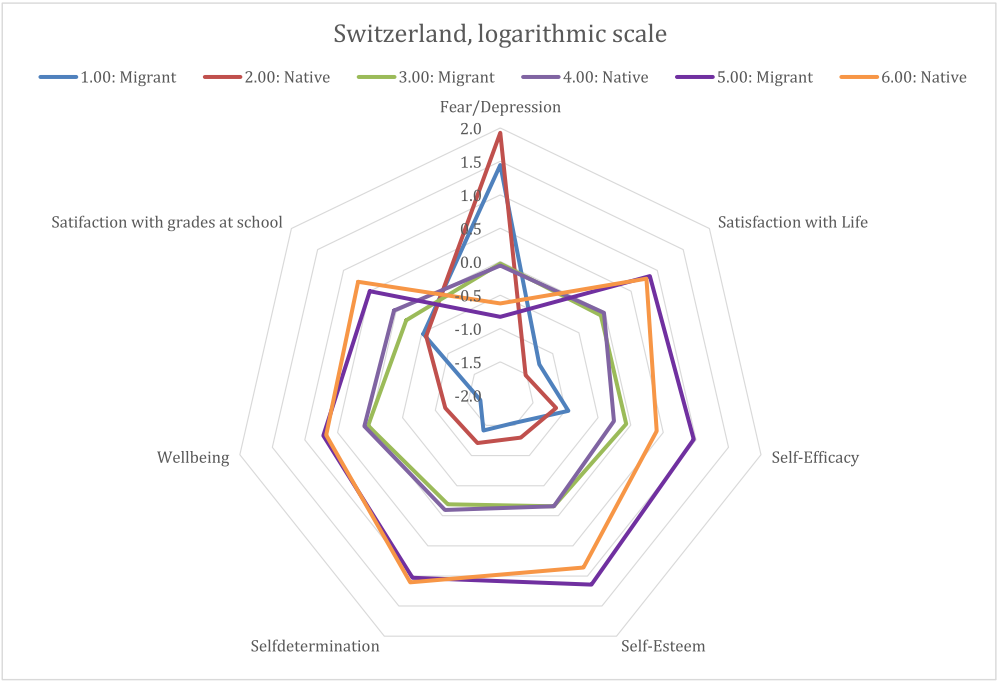


**Fig. 2.** Diagrammatic representation of class 3 on school-well-being indicators in Swiss schools examined by Latent Profile Analysis.

patterns revealed very detailed results when comparing the mean levels of migrant to native students. The empirically validated bigger picture for both countries confirms for patterns five (migrant students) and six (native students), when compared to the other four patterns, lower levels of the Hopkins scale and higher levels of life satisfaction, self-efficacy, self-esteem, self-determination, well-being, and satisfaction with grades at school. At the other end, patterns one (migrant students) and two (native students) have the

**Table 4**
Variance analysis with Games-Howell post-hoc-test of the seven analyzed LPA variables in the six patterns/classes by country.

| Variables | Country | Welch F asymptotic | Df | | 1 = MigrantGR $n$ = 19–33;CH $n$ = 32–38 | 2 = NativeGR $n$ = 33–44; CH $n$ = 13 | 3 = MigrantGR $n$ = 75–102; CH $n$ = 133–147 | 4 = NativeGR $n$ = 104–128; CH $n$ = 60–66 | 5 = MigrantGR $n$ = 31–51; CH $n$ = 61–68 | 6 = NativeGR $n$ = 58–62; CH $n$ = 28–30 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | M (SD) | M (SD) | M (SD) | M (SD) | M (SD) | M (SD) |
| Hopkins | GR | 29.87*** | 5, 385 | .24 | $2.11^{4,5,6}$ (0.68) | $2.25^{3,4,5,6}$ (0.49) | $1.86^{2,5,6}$ (0.54) | $1.66^{1,2,6}$ (0.45) | $1.47^{1,2,3}$ (0.44) | $1.37^{1,2,3,4}$ (0.28) |
| | CH | 58.99*** | 5, 336 | .53 | $2.73^{3,4,5,6}$ (0.58) | $3.02^{3,4,5,6}$ (0.58) | $1.83^{1,2,5,6}$ (0.45) | $1.81^{1,2,5,6}$ (0.31) | $1.34^{1,2,3,4}$ (0.30) | $1.47^{1,2,3,4}$ (0.32) |
| Life Satisfaction | GR | 148.11*** | 5, 407 | .61 | $2.50^{2,3,4,5,6}$ (0.99) | $3.41^{1,3,4,5,6}$ (1.08) | $4.84^{1,2,4,5,6}$ (1.16) | $5.79^{1,2,3,6}$ (0.88) | $6.12^{1,2,3,6}$ (0.91) | $6.57^{1,2,3,4,5}$ (0.51) |
| | CH | 69.00*** | 5, 345 | .45 | $3.33^{3,4,5,6}$ (1.13) | $3.00^{3,4,5,6}$ (0.92) | $4.84^{1,2,5,6}$ (1.10) | $4.92^{1,2,5,6}$ (0.91) | $6.05^{1,2,3,4}$ (0.62) | $5.97^{1,2,3,4}$ (0.65) |
| Self-Efficacy | GR | 30.52*** | 5, 329 | .26 | 2.98 (0.64) | $2.54^{4,5,6}$ (0.43) | $2.76^{,4,5,6}$ (0.52) | $3.06^{,2,3,5,6}$ (0.53) | $3.33^{2,3,4}$ (0.38) | $3.46^{2,3,4}$ (0.38) |
| | CH | 38.55*** | 5, 322 | .34 | $2.37^{3,4,5,6}$ (0.42) | $2.27^{5,6}$ (0.66) | $2.85^{1,5,6}$ (0.49) | $2.74^{1,5,6}$ (0.32) | $3.40^{1,2,3,4,6}$ (0.36) | $3.09^{1,2,3,4,5}$ (0.34) |
| Self-Esteem | GR | 56.54*** | 5, 332 | .44 | $2.62^{4,5,6}$ (0.36) | $2.59^{4,5,6}$ (0.39) | $2.77^{4,5,6}$ (0.38) | $2.97^{1,2,3,5,6}$ (0.36) | $3.41^{1,2,3,4}$ (0.40) | $3.55^{1,2,3,4}$ (0.32) |
| | CH | 100.62*** | 5, 327 | .62 | $2.11^{3,4,5,6}$ (0.44) | $2.24^{3,4,5,6}$ (0.37) | $2.86^{1,2,5,6}$ (0.35) | $2.86^{1,2,5,6}$ (0.28) | $3.56^{1,2,3,4}$ (0.30) | $3.41^{1,2,3,4}$ (0.23) |
| Self-Determination | GR | 88.72*** | 5, 365 | .54 | $2.38^{3,4,5,6}$ (0.34) | $2.43^{3,4,5,6}$ (0.29) | $2.63^{1,2,4,5,6}$ (0.26) | $2.80^{1,2,3,5,6}$ (0.28) | $3.14^{1,2,3,4,6}$ (0.27) | $3.34^{1,2,3,4,5}$ (0.26) |
| | CH | 105.92*** | 5, 331 | .59 | $2.25^{3,4,5,6}$ (0.26) | $2.35^{3,4,5,6}$ (0.45) | $2.80^{1,2,5,6}$ (0.29) | $2.84^{1,2,5,6}$ (0.28) | $3.35^{1,2,3,4}$ (0.26) | $3.38^{1,2,3,4}$ (0.23) |
| Well-being | GR | 44.96*** | 5, 412 | .38 | $3.07^{3,4,5,6}$ (0.82) | $3.48^{3,4,5,6}$ (0.62) | $4.02^{1,2,4,5,6}$ (0.67) | $4.28^{1,2,3,5,6}$ (0.53) | $4.59^{1,2,3,4}$ (0.45) | $4.66^{1,2,3,4}$ (0.43) |
| | CH | 52.33*** | 5, 356 | .48 | $3.47^{3,4,5,6}$ (0.61) | $3.78^{3,4,5,6}$ (0.66) | $4.45^{1,2,5,6}$ (0.41) | $4.48^{1,2,5,6}$ (0.40) | $4.84^{1,2,3,4}$ (0.23) | $4.82^{1,2,3,4}$ (0.21) |
| Satisfaction with grades at school | GR | 17.87*** | 5, 335 | .18 | $2.10^{2,3,4,5,6}$ (0.85) | $2.87^{1,6}$ (0.64) | $2.84^{1,6}$ (0.80) | $2.95^{1,6}$ (0.74) | $3.15^{1}$ (0.75) | $3.52^{1,2,3,4}$ (0.50) |
| | CH | 15.51*** | 5, 352 | .15 | $2.35^{4,5,6}$ (0.67) | $2.30^{5,6}$ (0.75) | $2.60^{5,6}$ (0.84) | $2.78^{1,5,6}$ (0.54) | $3.14^{1,2,3,4}$ (0.68) | $3.32^{1,2,3,4}$ (0.47) |

Note. GR = Greece, CH = Switzerland; * = $p < .05$, ** = $p < .01$, *** = $p < .001$.; $^{1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6}$ indicate the significant Games-Howell post-hoc differences between the six classes within the respective country.

**Table 5**
Multinomial logistic regression of support by teacher and resilience on well-being patterns/classes of the two country samples.

| Well-being class[a] | | Greece $n = 431$ | | | | Switzerland $n = 364$ | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | B | SE | Wald | OR | B | SE | Wald | OR |
| Class 2 | Intercept | 3.095 | 2.09 | 2.193 | | −2.27 | 2.44 | .865 | |
| | Support by Teacher | −0.01 | .35 | .001 | .98 | −0.35 | .42 | .675 | .70 |
| | Resilience | −0.65 | .54 | 1.444 | .51 | .67 | .64 | 1.073 | 1.95 |
| Class 3 | Intercept | .46 | 1.95 | .057 | | −11.54*** | 1.94 | 35.218 | |
| | Support by Teacher | .16 | .31 | .261 | 1.17 | .40 | .32 | 1.552 | 1.49 |
| | Resilience | .10 | .50 | .042 | 1.10 | 3.10*** | .46 | 44.126 | 22.33 |
| Class 4 | Intercept | −6.69** | 2.15 | 9.677 | | −11.14*** | 2.09 | 28.218 | |
| | Support by Teacher | .87** | .32 | 7.045 | 2.39 | .61 | .35 | 2.963 | 1.84 |
| | Resilience | 1.41** | .52 | 7.175 | 4.10 | 2.64*** | .49 | 28.423 | 14.00 |
| Class 5 | Intercept | −13.25*** | 2.65 | 24.963 | | −21.51*** | 2.45 | 76.694 | |
| | Support by Teacher | 1.53*** | .43 | 12.652 | 4.64 | 1.36** | .40 | 11.280 | 3.90 |
| | Resilience | 2.14*** | .61 | 12.169 | 8.55 | 4.48*** | .54 | 67.802 | 88.84 |
| Class 6 | Intercept | −15.40*** | 2.53 | 36.789 | | −21.25*** | 2.89 | 54.086 | |
| | Support by Teacher | 1.38*** | .38 | 12.655 | 3.99 | 1.49** | .50 | 8.883 | 4.44 |
| | Resilience | 2.84*** | .58 | 23.511 | 17.11 | 4.12*** | .61 | 44.778 | 61.56 |

Cox & Snell: Greece = 36.4%, Switzerland = 34.9%.
Nagelkerke: Greece = 37.8%, Switzerland = 36.6%.
Note: * $p < .05$. ** ; $p < .01$. *** ; $p < .001$.
[a]Reference well-being class category is "class 1″.

highest levels on the Hopkins scale and the lowest levels of life satisfaction, self-efficacy, self-esteem, self-determination, well-being, and satisfaction with grades at school. Patterns three (migrant students) and four (native students) displayed a middle-level pattern. This overall picture, which still has to be differentiated, confirmed the three patterns LPA solution (times two for migrant and native students), displaying bigger differences between the three patterns than within the comparison of the respective patterns of migrant or native students. When referring to these results in the following section, we will not address the mean scores for each single outcome (see Table 4) but rather present a comprehensive overview.

When comparing the levels of the "symptoms of anxiety and depression," "self-esteem," "self-efficacy," "well-being," and "satisfaction with grades at school" in the six patterns (see Table 4), we found almost identical results for both countries with the lowest levels for patterns five (migrant students) and six (native students), the highest levels for patterns one (migrant students) and two (native students), and no significant differences between patterns five and six.

For "life satisfaction" and "self-determination" we identified (see Table 4) very similar results when comparing the six patterns: For both countries patterns five (migrant students) and six (native students) displayed the lowest levels, and patterns one (migrant students) and two (native students) the highest levels, but in Greece migrant students of class 5 had lower levels than native students of class 6.

Even considering the variations in this overall picture (see Table 4), we have been able to detect for both countries the very similar pattern of patterns five (migrant students) and six (native students) as the most positive outcome, patterns three (migrant students) and four (native students) on a more average level, and again for both countries patterns one (migrant students) and two (native students) as a quite "burdened" pattern (see Figs. 1 and 2 for a graphic summary). That means that generally speaking for migrants and natives, and this holds for both countries, we identified a class with a very positive school well-being pattern, a class with an average level, and a class marked with low levels of school well-being. We point out that we identified a group of migrant students doing just very fine and having a high level of school well-being (class 5).

Analysis Step Four: Multinomial Regression Analysis on the Identified Well-being Patterns Related to Teacher Support and Resilience

In order to understand the socialization conditions under which the respective well-being emerged, we ran a multinomial regression analysis on the identified well-being patterns related to teacher support and resilience. The multinomial logistic regressions for the two school well-being predictors "support by teacher" and the "READ scale" were calculated with the category "class 1″ (migrant students, low well-being level) as the reference for the probability of reporting on the two predictors for all other student groups (prediction strength is reported in% Nagelkerke).

The READ scale is an important predictor in assessing the impact of several resilience factors when investigating the relation shown by the six detected LPA patterns between risks, resources, and psychological outcomes.

The overall prediction of the entire database (see Table 4) is about 38% for Greek and 37% for Swiss students overall; we therefore believe that we have established the reliability of our results for both countries equally. We also found that in both country samples (see Table 4), when classes 1 (migrant students, low well-being level) and 2 (native students, low well-being level) were compared (low school well-being), neither predictor had a significant effect. Comparing class three (migrant students, middle school well-being level) and one (migrant students, low well-being level), only the READ scale for the Swiss sample had a significant effect; higher levels of resilience lead with more than 22 times higher probability for class 3 (migrant students, middle well-being level) than class 1 (migrant students, low school well-being level) for the Swiss sample.

Additionally, a higher amount of "support by teachers" for the Greek sample predicted a 2.39 times higher probability that this will be found in class 4 (native students, middle well-being level) rather than class 1 (migrant students, low well-being level). The

prediction strength of resilience in the specific classes is conclusive (see Table 4): In comparison to class 1 (migrant students, low well-being level), the probability (see Table 5) of being in class 4 (native students, middle well-being level) (Greece OR = 4.10; Switzerland OR = 14.00), in class 5 (migrant students, high well-being level) (Greece OR = 8.55; Switzerland OR = 88.84), or in class 6 (native students, high well-being level) (Greece OR = 17.11; Switzerland OR = 61.56) is significantly predicted by the amount of "resilience" experienced.

Support by the teacher also had a strong effect when it comes to the prediction of the membership of the respective patterns: In comparison to class 1 (migrant students, low school well-being level), the probability (see Table 6) of being in class 5 (migrant students, high well-being level) (Greece OR = 4.64; Switzerland OR = 3.90) or in class 6 (native students, high well-being level) (Greece OR = 3.99; Switzerland OR = 4.44) was significantly predicted by the amount of "support by the teacher" experienced.

Taken together, the prediction strength of support by a teacher and resilience on being in a class with a higher school well-being pattern in comparison to a class with a lower school well-being pattern is indicative.

## 3. Discussion

The first aim of the current study was to examine whether migrant students need special treatment on well-being or whether they need the same admittance to social resources at school as native students. Moreover, the second aim was to explore whether migrant lower secondary school students in Greece have different well-being patterns than migrant lower secondary school students in Switzerland. Deliberation about how to address the country specific differences in adolescents' lives often starts the conversation about well-being, but is still rare (McLaughlin, 2015). Related to this, the OECD (2018) also pointed out that adolescent students' well-being should become one of the central pillars of educational policies internationally. As Hamilton & Redmond, 2010 explained, well-being in adolescence can also be manifested in different ways based on culture, migration background, and individual differences. Because of this complex conceptual framework, it is important to take international comparisons into account while including adolescents' responses about life satisfaction, relationships, aspirations, mental and physical health, and education (Nastasi, 2014; Slee & Skrzypiec, 2016).

In order to identify and compare school well-being patterns of migrant and native lower secondary school students in Greece and Switzerland we run a four steps statistical analysis. Results on differences of the two country samples regarding nine applied measures, analysis step one, displayed only low country effects. Even if single measures differences between the countries were significant, the direction of interpretation was not at all unilateral: Life satisfaction, self-efficacy, and satisfaction with grades at school was significantly higher in Greece, while self-determination, well-being, and support by teacher were significantly higher in Switzerland. But note that also the levels on anxiety and depression were both significantly higher in Switzerland.

Following Ruggeri et al. (2020) we considered well-being as a multidimensional, latent construct that includes both, feeling good, functioning well, and additionally being treated positively. In order to identify students' well-being patterns by applying seven classification variables, analysis step two, we ran a multigroup latent profile analysis. Within the identified three latent classes, participants had identical patterns of solution probabilities. We were able to detect not just a high and a low well-being profile for native and migrant students, but also a middle level profile and were able to validate these results for both countries and for both student groups (migrant and native students). In contrary to studies finding differences in reported subjective well-being between natives and migrant groups (Arpino & de Valk, 2018; Safi, 2010) our results for Greece and Switzerland, focused on younger lower secondary school students, indicated no such differences. Interestingly, for both countries we were not able to detect a migration-background specific distribution on the respective three school-well-being levels. The importance of fostering students' well-being is internationally acknowledged (Layard & Hagell, 2015) also because students' well-being affects learning processes and by that also academic achievement. Our data and the identification of well-being patterns may be useful as the empirical basis for the planning of specific prevention and interventions.

Concering the common line on addressing migrants at school (see the critic by Tanyas, 2016), our results indicate clearly that migrant students' well-being is neither in quality nor in structure different from native lower secondary school students' well-being, and that holds for both countries. Even if one could have expect structural discrimination based on racial neoliberalism resulting in such differences, this study does not support such previous findings. However, these results should be treated with caution. In terms of content, these results mean, that lower secondary school students in Greece and Switzerland have very similar well-being patterns and this holds specifically for migrant and native students in both countries. Additionally, our results confirmed a very good model-fit when using a multidimensional, latent well-being construct for both countries and both student groups (migrant and native students). Outside the context of school, studies focusing on migrants' and natives' subjective well-being report that immigrants and/or ethnic minorities declare lower levels of subjective well-being than the rest of the population (e.g. Baltatescu 2005; Hadjar & Backes 2013 for immigrants; and Kirmanoglu & Baslevent 2014 for ethnic minorities).

The bigger picture shows, that we have been able to detect very similar patterns for both countries regarding migrant and native students' school well-being. These results are supporting the studies of Motti-Stefanidi et al. (2008) regarding migrant adolescents and their well-being. They observed that immigrant students depict significantly lower school adjustment than the Greek ones, but they are not different from them in their psychological well-being. In sum, our results indicate clearly that well-being can be fostered in schools (OECD, 2018). It is well depicted that, despite the initial goal of neoliberalism to bring communities together, quality of education and social justice at schools are significaly undermined (Arar, Örücü & Wilkinson, 2020). At the same way, the multiculturalist framework is supplanted by diversity management approach, redirecting the focus into the "equality of opportunity" (Lundberg, 2020).

The prediction strength of support by teacher and resilience on being in a more positive school-well-being pattern in comparison to a lower school-well-being pattern was indicative. This highly supported our results of analysis step 2 and 3, the main differences on

prediction strength by teacher support and resilience were not between the two countries or between migrant and native students, but between the respective well-being patterns (high, middle, and low level). The applied READ scale (Hjemdal et al., 2006) is a measure of assessing the impact of resilience in adolescence when investigating psychological adjustment and well-being at school (Kelly et al., 2017). Regarding the detected high impact of teacher support Hatzichristou, Lianos & Lampropoulou (2017, 2018) also identified that students' well-being was related to teacher support and their resilience.

Adolescent students' well-being is for both countries and for migrant and native students a result of the very similar interplay between individual and school related factors. It is up to the respective educational systems to open their doors for a positive development for all students.

## 4. Limitations

Having a migration background was operationalized such that one or more of the aforementioned conditions are not true (having a migration background meant that the student and both of his or her parents have not been born in the relevant country). This way of operationalization involves various losses of information, as migrant students can be heterogeneous regarding migration generation and countries of origin Nauck & Genoni, 2019. The focus on state borders and on nationality is criticized by the notion of methodological nationalism and the criticized "assumption that the nation/state/society is the natural social and political form of the modern world" (Wimmer & Glick Schiller, 2002, p. 302). Nevertheless, given the power and impact one's country of birth and nationality can have on one's life opportunities, i.e. educational, employment, or personal trajectory (compare the Quality of Nationality Index[3]), shows how important this perspective still is. Thus, in order to find ways of explaining and fostering school well-being, the two categories migrant and native students have the above conservative dichotomous categorization. Because of our study-sample we were not able to differentiate between refugee and migrant students. The migration and refugee crisis brought Greece in particular to the center of migration flows. Research interest has moved, and it has been tried to reach a deeper understanding on migrant and refugee adolescents' well-being. For instance, Motti-Stefanidi, Pavlopoulos, Mastrotheodoros, & Asendorpf, 2020, tried to explain the complex correlation between peer acknowledgement, and students' psychological well-being and adaptation. But also internationally, we still have no empirical evidence if and how refugee and migrant students' well-being patterns are different. Connected to that, for future research we had also to take into account possible traumatic immigration transitions, as the long way from the home to the final host-country can be full of life-threatening risks. Especially for children and adolescents this would have to be assessed with caution for not reactivating possible traumas. Additionally, specific familial and social acculturation processes supporting or hindering a positive development of the respective adolescents in the host-country have to be included as mediating or moderating socialization conditions to the school well-being levels (Arpino & de Valk, 2018).

Our data were limited on students' questionnaires and here especially on their relations and experiences at school. As Lampropoulou (2018a) was able to identify for Greece, using both adolescents, and parents view on adolescents' well-being, allows us to identify the important family factors that influence students' well-being . It was found that one important role in adolescent well-being is their experiences at school but also their own perceptions of their relationships with their family, and especially with their mother. In future analyses we would have to connect student and parent data. Familial socioeconomic status (SES), as we already mentioned in the theoretical introduction (e.g., (Alivernini et al., 2020), is a critical factor influencing the child's course of life, especially when it comes to school experiences. For future research we would have to work with larger samples (with at least 1500 participants) and applying SES as a moderator factor for a more accurate understanding on how adolescents deal with social and interpersonal experiences and challenges related to school well-being.

Given the cross-sectional design of our data, we cannot state causal relations or even argue about the overall phase of adolescence. School well-being patterns could change in relation to developmental goals and school alienation over time (Hascher & Hadjar, 2018). The stability of the identified well-being patterns during lower secondary school (age 13–16) has still to be analyzed and can still be called a desideratum. As well, a deeper qualitative understanding of the specific well-being patterns and their meanings for the students would be extremely relevant. Finally, we believe that we need to replicate our model across more countries in order to test its validity, and hope that in the meantime, we have made a good beginning with our revision of existing approaches to understanding well-being of migrant and native students at school.

## Declaration of Competing Interest

None.

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[3] E.g. Quality of Nationality Index https://www.nationalityindex.com/# (visited 15.06.2020)

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