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A Qualitative Analysis of resilience related strengths and struggles of Unaccompanied Refugee Minors in Norway

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Abstract

Title: A Qualitative Analysis of resilience related: Strengths and Struggles of Unaccompanied Refugee Minors in Norway

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This research was carried out with the purpose of identifying how unaccompanied refugee minors (URMs) become stronger and can adapt in the current multiple domains of their life in Western Norway (e.g. school, community and social life), considering the added challenges of acculturation. The study explored risk and protective factors that influence URMs emotional well-being and coping, as well as the development of recovery of function or resilient adaptation patterns in the face of previous significant adversity. The qualitative micro-ethnographic study took place with a group of four URMs and a group of two professionals from a public organization in a West Norwegian municipality. Data collection techniques included interviews with URMs and the professionals who are working with them, as well as participant observation and field notes. The data collection was focus on identifying URMs' perceptions on their challenges, strengths and environmental resources that develop or hinder their resilience.

The findings indicated challenges that limit resilience among refugee minors at the stage of resettlement in the western Norway, including lack of support and guidance, language barrier, cultural contrasts, cultural shock and acculturation stress. It was also found that participant's personal attributes including spirituality and faith, self-efficacy, natural abilities, hard work, persistence and determination, gratitude, aspirations, motivations and focus on goals foster their resilience. Finally, it was possible to identify and address how factors related to environmental resources, culture and context aspects enhance or hinder resilience adaptation patterns. Perceived factors that promote participants' resilience, including social support from professionals, peers and community resources and provision of opportunities for participation in social activities, positive affiliation with peers and professionals, support and knowledge received from the teachers, valuing education and healthy Norwegian refugee policy. The most important determinants perceived by the participants as those that hinder their resilience were the prevalence of risk factors such as stereotypes and stigma, cultural divides, and loss of their family.

The findings from this inquiry provide new insights on the development of preventative interventions and programs or improving existing ones and determining policy design in social care to promote resilience and mental health recovery for unaccompanied refugee minors during the post-migratory stage.

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Abbreviations

URMs	Unaccompanied Refugee Minors
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
UDI	The Norwegian Directorate of Immigration (Utlendingsdirektoratet)
NSD	Norwegian Centre for Research Data
PTG	Post traumatic growth

1.Introduction

“There are no pills, band-aids or magic wands that can fix childhood trauma. What is very effective is building hope for the future, kindness, compassion, love, patience and support!”

-- Dr. Bryan Pearlman

Unaccompanied refugee minors (URMs) are considered to be among the most vulnerable and the most at-risk groups. During their displacement, most minors have experiences of war, violence, killing or torture, as well as subsequent losses (Rousseau, 1995). After their resettlement in a new country they also encounter several barriers and further difficulties of adjusting to home life in a completely different cultural environment ” (Carlson, Cacciatore, & Klimek, 2012). Although extensive research on URMs shows that their traumatic experiences increase the risk to develop mental health difficulties (Rousseau, 1995), there are only a few studies that have explored how some URMs’ resilience and capabilities to draw on internal and external resources to not only survive, but also to cope well with the process of adaptation in spite of adversities (Rutter, 2003). Therefore, it is critical to explore challenges, as well as identify resilience adaptation patterns and processes that promote resilience at the stage of resettlement for refugee youth in the host country.

This introduction begins with an overview of the context and background that frames the study. The following sections of the chapter indicate the problem statement, the statement of purpose and the emergence of the related research questions. Discussion around the research approach is also included. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the proposed rationale and significance of this research study and definitions of some of the important terminology used.

1.1. Background and Context

Unaccompanied child migration is a challenge that has been gaining wider international attention. In recent years there has been a significant growth in the number of unaccompanied children and adolescents in migration. This is due to “war, political strife and instability, natural disasters, mass population displacement, and extreme poverty (Carlson et al., 2012). In 2015, approximately 96 500 unaccompanied minors, who sought protection for different reasons according to the UN declaration of refugees, registered in the Member States of the European Union (Bitoulas & Juchno, 2017). The European Migration Network (2015) in a synthesis report called “*Policies, practices and data on unaccompanied minors in the EU Member States and Norway*” indicates that the majority of UAMs applying for asylum in the EU are boys (86%) and the rest are girls (14%). These minors enter European countries without their parents or others with parental responsibility and “most of them are between 16 and 17 years old (65%), with only a small proportion being less than 14 years old. The main countries of origin of these minors are Afghanistan, Eritrea, Syria, Somalia, Gambia and Morocco” (European Migration Network, 2015).

In Norway, 5297 unaccompanied minor asylum seekers arrived in 2015 (Norwegian Directorate of Immigration, 2016). This is the highest ever number that the country had to handle. The main countries of origin for URMs are Afghanistan that represent the largest group of minors with a number of minors reached to 3424, followed by 717 from Eritrea and 537 from Syria. According to Staver & Hilde (2014) in the Norwegian National Report to the European Migration Network, unaccompanied children who apply for asylum in Norway are placed in

Child Welfare Service centres if they are below 15 or they have special needs, or are victims of trafficking. On the other hand, those who are above 15 are placed by the Norwegian Directorate of Immigration in reception centres that are specialized for accommodating children or with special units for the children in ordinary centres (Staver & Hilde, 2014). It is worth mentioning that at that time, 92% of the applications received by the UDI was granted (Norwegian Directorate of Immigration, 2016). After unaccompanied minors are granted their residence permit, governmental agencies are accountable for their settlement in the arranged municipality (Seglem, Oppedal, & Raeder, 2011). Every municipality is responsible to cover their specific needs of care and support, though there are pronounced differences in the ways each municipality carries out these tasks (Seglem et al., 2011).

As one of the major destination countries for refugees in Europe, Norway has paid considerable attention to living conditions of unaccompanied asylum-seeking children, as well as to improved and updated assessment procedures (Staver & Hilde, 2014). Research on URM in Norway aligns with other international findings that URM are at high risk for developing mental health problems. In the Norwegian study with 160 male asylum-seeking URM aged 14–20 years, Jakobsen, Meyer DeMott, Wentzel-Larsen, & Heir (2017) showed that 41.9% had a mental disorder. This study established that the most prevalent disorders amongst URM were post-traumatic stress disorder (30.6%), depression (MDD) (9.4%), agoraphobia (4.4%), anxiety (3.8%), and it also revealed that URM experienced a high level of past physical abuse (78%) (Jakobsen et al., 2017). However, there is a lack of knowledge about how URM, who were resettled in different municipalities throughout Norway, experience the confusing, stressful and demanding process of adapting to a new culture, as well as the burdens they face and how they tackle challenges to find their place in a new community.

1.2. Problem Statement

A recent review of the literature on Current theories relating to resilience and young people concludes that the current research in resilience has several limitations (Shean, 2015). This review emphasizes the need for the inclusion of URM's perspective in the examination of mechanisms and processes that contribute to their resilience in the years after residence is granted within suitable sociocultural settings (Shean, 2015). This thesis attempts to answer how the perceptions of URM in Western Norway help us understand the difficulties they face after resettlement, their strengths and the social support they received in their path towards resilience.

1.3. Statement of Purpose and Research Questions

The aim of this study is to explore URM's recent burdens that they face, as well as, their strengths and resources that help them to tackle challenges and find their place in a new community. The researcher seeks to explore mechanisms and processes that allow URM to adapt more effectively and promote the development of their strengths to recover from mental health issues. It is anticipated that, through a better understanding of the challenges, strengths and resilience adaptation patterns and processes of URM at a particular social and cultural context, more informed and effective decisions can be made by both professionals and policy makers in regard to this vulnerable group (Shean, 2015). To shed light on the problem, the following research questions are addressed:

1. What are URM's challenges following their resettlement in Norway?
2. What are URM's specific strengths?
3. How are factors in the new social environment (e.g. caregivers, school, culture, community organizations) perceived by URM in relation to their resilience?

1.4. Research Approach

With the approval of Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD), the researcher studied the experiences and perceptions of four URMs on their experiences, challenges, accomplishments and processes related to resilience. The youth participants were resettled in a west Norwegian municipality through the support of an organization approximately two years ago, and they are doing relatively well in different domains of their life based on the professionals' assessment. This investigation represents a micro-ethnographic study using qualitative research methods. Micro-ethnography seemed most suited as a research methodology, with its features and characteristics fitting well with the present study. This field research explores resilience among URMs through in-depth data collection methods, involving interviews, participant observation and field notes. This micro-ethnography study describes in detail the context and its participants, highlighting the significance of the incorporation of context and the voices of the youth in the development of professional practice and social policy. Following that, the approach to analysis includes a thematic analysis. Finally, the purpose of this micro-ethnography study methodology based analysis is not the generalization of the results but an analysis based on rich descriptions of the participants' views as well as the researcher's views that captures a holistic portrait of the URMs' lives under study.

In-depth interviews were the primary method of data collection. The interview process began with the researcher conducting two pilot interviews, one with a minor and the other with a professional. The overall findings of this study were based on the information obtained through six individual interviews, four with minors and two with professionals. The identity of each interviewee has been anonymized by using pseudonyms. All interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim. To support and validate the findings emanating from the in-depth interviews, the researcher collected additional data through observation and interactions among URMs and professionals. These observations and interactions resulted in the field notes.

In addition to interactions and observations, the researcher held informal unstructured interviews with professionals and meetings with key informants, who helped her get a better understanding of how the organization operates. Therefore, the nature of this study allowed the researcher to achieve triangulation of data, meanwhile a comprehensive review of the relevant literature and pilot study shaped and refined the two main data collection methods used. Thereafter, the study's socioecological framework of resilience guided the ongoing process to develop the analysis' coding themes.

1.5. Rationale and Significance

The rationale for this study emanates from the researchers' desire to uncover ways to enhance the capacities of URMs and challenge the professionals' and politicians' thinking about this group of youth and the label they carry. The researcher believes that being a refugee minor does not mean that they cannot move forward. It is hard or almost impossible to get over both grief and trauma, although we all learn to have it as part of our lives. As Pieloch, McCullough, & Marks (2016) pointed out, we should view refugee minors firstly as children and secondly as refugee.

This research it is of great significance as it allows a deeper understanding of URMs' socio-psychological challenges, experiences, coping and resilience capacities by taking their voices into account. It provides an opportunity to shift the attention from the vulnerability to the inherent strengths and resilience of the youth themselves and their community. The outcomes will provide important new knowledge for professionals and policy makers to facilitate good

conditions and determine best-practice models for this vulnerable group. The information is also useful for identifying available resources among URM and their social and cultural context where resilience occurs and further protects them from poor outcomes. Therefore, that advantage is a significant reason to persevere with the field, identify solutions and implement these solutions in public health interventions.

This study will provide community, schools, governments, and service providers a very detailed understanding of the context in which resources nurture resilience, URM ways of coping with adversity, and the assets and resources that enhance successful development and good coping strategies. Specifically, it will provide valuable insight into how URM acquire specific coping strategies and ways of engagement with the community that help them develop positive outcomes despite environmental challenges they faced growing up. Furthermore, URM's own perspectives and experiences will help service providers and policy makers develop interventions and create new services that facilitate resilience processes. Lastly, knowledge regarding critical factors for successful adaptation of URM is also important for the authorities, while it will inform settlement policy based on empirical experience and not assumptions about them (Long & Olsen, 2008).

1.6. Definitions of Key Terminology Used in This Study

According to the Convention on the Rights of the Child (2005), unaccompanied minors are defined as the children and the young people who are under 18 years old and "are separated from both parents and are not being cared for by an adult who, by law or custom, has responsibility to do so". In this study the terms URM or youths are used to indicate the study participants of young people aged 16 to 20 years old who granted residence permits, and they are settled in a west Norwegian municipality. The participants who are 18 years old or older are referred to as URM because this study focusses on the participants' experiences from the time when they arrived in Norway and they were younger than 18.

All the study participants receive housing and care services through a community organization that collaborates with the children welfare service, that is responsible for the URM's resettlement. The organization employs people in a 24hours base to support the URM in the apartments where they live. In this study the term "professional" is used when referring to such people.

1.7. Chapter summary

The purpose of the introduction chapter is to provide background and context information relating to the topic of this thesis. It introduces the problem, the purpose, the research questions, the research approach and the rationale and significance of this research study. Key terminology used in this study is also defined.

Further, this thesis consists of six parts including three chapters and the conclusion. Chapter Two is devoted to the literature review on the topic of research. The third chapter outlines the methodology and methods this research is based on. The research findings and the discussion of those results are presented in the fourth chapter. The last part of this thesis is the conclusion that includes recommendations for community, schools, policy makers, as well as, implications for future research. Finally, this thesis has six appendices.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Overview

The purpose of this micro-ethnographic study is to explore URM's perceptions of how they have managed to function successfully in multiple aspects of their new lives in Norway despite exposure to adversity. Specifically, the researcher sought to explore how their challenges, strengths, as well as, mechanisms and processes may have contributed to their progress in recovering from possible trauma and further develop enormous strength and resilience that facilitated their re-settlement process. To carry out this micro-ethnographic study, it was necessary to complete a selective review of current literature. The review of literature was an ongoing process that was conducted before and during the data collection and served as a background for the research questions and further informed the researcher as to what should be studied.

In this study, the researcher reviews the growing body of research on resilience in refugee minors and the internal and external factors that either build or impede resilience in them. The researcher begins by considering how resilience as an ecological concept is defined and used in this study. Further, she describes how resilience differs from the related concepts of positive adjustment, coping, and competence since a clear definition of these terms will be very helpful for the further stages of the analysis. The researcher, also, pays special attention on developing an understanding of resilience terms, for example, protective factors and risk factors, to ensure that conceptualizations of resilience are initiated in the local community.

Consequently, this review aims to investigate protective factors that enhance resilience in refugee minors at the individual level, micro- and meso-level (peers, school, community factors), as well as, macro level (cultural and context factors). The review also explores post-migration stressors that may hinder resilience including migration and loss, acculturation, stereotypes and racism. The researcher emphasizes these outcomes for three reasons. Firstly, most research on resilience focuses on psychopathology and personal traits, rather than recognizing the interplay between individual and environment that contribute to satisfactory development (Cicchetti, 2013). Secondly, psychosocial resources play a significant role in sustaining post-resettlement psychological adjustment among URM's (Cicchetti, 2013). Thirdly, the ways that refugee minors and systems in their environment interact to shape development can inform a deeper understanding of how protective factors operate across different levels and therefore can be implemented more effectively in a variety of settings, increasing the possibility of positive overall mental health outcomes among URM's (Shean, 2015).

Furthermore, a social-ecological perspective on resilience is considered, including Bronfenbrenner's bio-psycho-social model of human development, as an organizing representation for the analysis of the data in this research. This model embraces the complexity of human resilience by focusing both on individual factors and on social factors, underlying the importance of the role that social environment and specifically social structures are playing in facilitating or hindering the positive adaptation and the well-being of the refugee minors.

To conduct this selected literature review, the researcher utilized a variety of information sources, including books, internet resources, academic journals and articles. These sources were accessed through oria.no that allowed the researcher to use all the scientific databases the Norwegian government that subscribed to. The researcher limited the database search between the years 2013 and 2018 because she sought to provide an overview of the present-day research on resilience.

2.2. Operational Definition of Resilience

The study of resilience has received more attention in the stress and trauma fields, although over the past two decades it has moved from the disease-focused to the health-focus understanding of the human condition (Jain, Sprengel, Berry, Ives, & Jonas, 2014). Also, as experts from multidisciplinary fields engage in resilience research, a variety of definitions and understandings of the resilience construct have emerged. An interdisciplinary group of experts in the paper “*Resilience definitions, theory, and challenges: interdisciplinary perspectives*” agreed and recognized that “resilience is a complex construct that may have specific meaning for a particular individual, family, organization, society and culture” (Southwick, Bonanno, Masten, Panter-Brick, & Yehuda, 2014, p.11).

In this study, resilience is defined as the capacity of a dynamic system (individual, family, school, community, society) to adapt successfully to disturbances that threaten system function, viability, or development (Masten, 2014). As the researcher explores resilience as an ecological concept, she uses a multilevel approach to show that URM’s development of resilience arises from the dynamic interactions within themselves and between their social and physical environment (Jain et al., 2014; Masten, 2011). At the same time, resilience in this research describes not the absence of mental health symptoms but the process of recovering from the trauma and moving forward. Taking this into account, resilience can be strongly related with post traumatic growth (PTG), although is noted by many researchers that PTG differs from resilience (Kilmer & Gil-Rivas, 2010). Thus, Kim-Cohen & Turkewitz (2012) note that PTG involves a process of coping with a traumatic experience that results in significant positive transformation in domains such as the quality of relationships, feelings of personal strength, appreciation for life and new life possibilities and spirituality. Finally, the researcher acknowledges that individuals may be more resilient in some domains of their life than others, and during some phases of their life compared with other phases and that there are likely numerous types of resilience that depend on context (Southwick et al., 2014, p.11).

At this point, it is of great significance to describe how resilience differs from the related concepts of positive adjustment, coping, and competence. Positive adjustment refers to an outcome of resilience, although the process of overcoming the risk is resilience (Fergus & Zimmerman, 2005). Coping refers on adaptation processes and competence is the capacity of the person to use successfully its personal resources and those in its environment that lead to effective adaptation (Windle, 2011; Compas, Connor-Smith, Saltzman, Thomsen, & Wadsworth, 2001). Moreover, in order to understand and measure resilience, several constructs that influencing resilience need clarification. For example, URM’s resilience is influenced by a combination of protective and risk factors. Risk factors, including personal, social, and environmental factors can increase the likelihood of potential negative outcomes of URM’s psychological and emotional development (Masten, 2001; Wright & Masten, 2005). On the contrary, protective factors serve as a buffer to the effects of risk factors and include the interactions among the refugee minors and their social environment (Masten & Gewirtz, 2006; Wright & Masten, 2005).

2.3. Mental health outcomes in refugee minors

Few studies have focuses on the changes in mental health outcomes after resettlement of URM’s available. The existing studies show that refugee minors are in a great risk to develop mental health problems, including posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and depression (Keles, Friborg, Idsøe, Sirin, & Oppedal, 2018; Bronstein & Montgomery, 2011). Although, Southwick et al. (2014) states that the experience of trauma does not only yield pathology. For example,

findings from a study by Ramberg, Oppedal, & Røysamb (as cited in Keles et al., 2018) reveals that depression level among unaccompanied refugees with various lengths decreased substantially when they are in groups and have been in the resettlement country for four or more years. Likewise, in a 9-year follow-up study on trauma and resilience in young refugees in Denmark, Montgomery (2010) found that the high levels of psychological problems at arrival were significantly decreased by the time of follow-up.

2.4. Factors that develop resilience

2.4.1. Individual-level factors

A central theoretical contribution in resilience research is made by developmental psychopathology that focused on resilience as an individual-level phenomenon (Shaw, McLean, Taylor, Swartout, & Querna, 2016). According to a review by Prince-Embury (2014), the majority of resilience research in psychology focused on children's personal traits. Among a variety of personal attributes in children, intellectual ability, easy temperament, autonomy, self-reliance, sociability, effective coping strategies and communication skills, have been identified as the attributes that allow children to cope with adversity and facilitate their resilience (Prince-Embury, 2014).

Empirical support of the above mentioned personal attributes can be illustrated in a case study research by Carlson et al. (2012) who found that positive outlook, use of healthy coping mechanisms, religiosity, and connectedness to prosocial organizations are resources of resilience among URM. Also, the exploratory study by Earnest, Mansi, Bayati, Earnest, & Thompson (2015) examines resettlement experiences for refugee youth in Western Australia using the psychosocial conceptual framework and qualitative methods. Results reported by Earnest et al. (2015) revealed that youth's aspirations for the future have a positive impact on their resilience.

2.4.2. Peers, school and community factors (micro and meso-level)

There is considerable evidence that environmental resources, including social support from peers, neighborhoods and community institutions can protect children from the negative impact of stressful situations and further enhance their resilience (Boyden & Mann, 2005). Few qualitative studies have examined the importance of interpersonal relationships between URM and external factors of support, such as peers, schools and community in facilitating their resilience in the resettlement process. In one of the earliest investigations on this topic, a study by Sleijpen, Mooren, Kleber and Boeije (2017), it shows that acting autonomously, performing at school, perceiving support from peers and parents, and participating in the new society were positive facilitators for the resilience of 16 treatment-seeking refugees (aged 13–21 years) during their resettlement process in the Netherlands. Findings of this study are significant because they indicate the ecological interplay between protective and risk processes in the mental health of young refugees who had resettled in Western countries (Sleijpen et al., 2017). Further, they emphasized the variability, as well as, the universality of resilience-promoting processes (Sleijpen et al., 2017).

Moreover, a study by Pieloch, McCullough, & Marks (2016) states that the presence of supportive professionals and caregivers in schools and institutions in the community can provide a context where refugee minors' adaptation and resilience is facilitated. Thommessen, Corcoran and Todd's (2015) conducted a study exploring the perceptions of six male unaccompanied refugees from Afghanistan on their experiences in regard to their arrival and

adjustment to Sweden, their host-country, and the experienced challenges, difficulties, and support systems. This study shows the importance of “clarifying the complex asylum-seeking process, the protective influence of social support, the importance of educational guidance and participants’ strong desire to fit in and move forward with their lives” (Thommessen et al., 2015). Particularly, one finding that emerged from the data in this study shows that the majority of participants emphasized the significance of social support and positive encouragement from staff and friendships with peers as positive factors in relation to their resilience. This study’s research findings point out the importance of listening to the refugee children’s voice as part of the effort to facilitate adaption and improve conditions, experiences, and well-being for one of the most vulnerable groups in Western societies today (Thommessen et al., 2015).

2.4.3. Cultural and context factors (macro-level)

Ungar (2008) was the first one who attempted to consider and integrate cultural and context processes into his study of resilience. His fourteen site mixed methods study of over 1500 youth globally resulted in findings that support the following four propositions: “(1) there are global, as well as culturally and contextually specific aspects to young people’s lives that contribute to their resilience; (2) aspects of resilience exert differing amounts of influence on a child’s life depending on the specific culture and context in which resilience is realized; (3) aspects of children’s lives that contribute to resilience are related to one another in patterns that reflect a child’s culture and context; (4) tensions between individuals and their cultures and contexts are resolved in ways that reflect highly specific relationships between aspects of resilience” (Ungar, 2008). In brief, Ungar writes that “children’s ways of coping and hoping, surviving and thriving aspects of resilience varying in the amount of their influence on culturally determined positive developmental and behavioral outcomes” (Ungar, 2008).

Focus on structural resilience, Reed, Fazel, Jones, Panter-Brick, & Stein (2012) argue that interventions should be designed and implemented in societal levels. Such interventions should aim to diminish the obstacles that arise from the social, political and economic contexts in which children exist (Boyden & Mann, 2005). If such interventions are successful, the refugee minors will have greater opportunities to develop resilience and achieve a better future.

2.5. Post-migration stressors that hinder resilience

“In addition to their traumatic experiences, immigrant and refugee youths face a unique set of stressors and challenges related to the resettlement process in the new country” (Keles et al., 2018). Lustig et al., (2004) hold that during resettlement the refugee minors’ mental health is affected by stressors of diverse severity due to (a) migration and loss of the familiar, (b) acculturation, and (c) stigma and discrimination. In the following section, these stressors are explored further.

2.5.1. Migration and loss

Fazel, Reed, Panter-Brick and Stein (2012) state that refugee minors experience stressful events after arrival and resettlement in high-income host countries, and that these events have a higher impact on intensifying the psychological problems in young refugees. These mental health problems caused by the loss of homeland, family, and friends, and the challenges of a new language and culture, may be contradictive with “the hopes for a safer and perhaps more prosperous life in the destination country” (Lustig et al., 2004). Evidence holds that the loss of attachment figures for guidance, protection and care, as well as, worry about family member’s wellbeing at home intensify the pre-existence challenges (Jensen, Skårdalsmo, & Fjermestad,

2014). Coping with a new environment, a different culture, and a foreign language are factors that considered stressful and may influence mental health development post-resettlement for unaccompanied minors (Jensen et al., 2014). In conclusion, “all these conditions may maintain or lead to elevated anxiety and depression and also contribute to the maintenance of posttraumatic stress symptoms” (Jensen et al., 2014).

2.5.2. Acculturation and Acculturative Stress

Acculturation is defined as the process of adapting to aspects of a new culture and has been widely studied from a range of academic perspectives (Keles et al., 2018). It is of great significance to understand that results of the acculturation process are of great importance in URM’s pathway towards resilience and that the process itself depends on the macro-cultural contexts of the host countries (Keles et al., 2018).

After resettlement refugee minors face a variety of changes in different aspects of their daily life, for instance, they attempt to communicate in a new language and learn the ways in which people interact in the host country (Lustig et al., 2004). These ongoing daily hassles are part of the acculturation process, and they affect the mental health of URM’s. Oppedal & Toppelberg (cited in Keles et al., 2018) define acculturation as the process of cultural transition from their culture of origin to another multicultural context. Lustig et al. (2004) argue that this transition encompasses psychological adjustment both within the culture of their homeland and that of the new country. Exposure to the new culture leads to acculturation hassles and results in refugee minors’ acculturative stress (Lustig et al., 2004).

A Norwegian study titled “Resilience and acculturation among unaccompanied refugee minors” by Keles et al. (2018) explored the role of pre-migration traumatic exposure and acculturation-related factors in long-term trajectories of psychological adjustment among URM’s. The aim was to understand the differences between ‘resilient’ and ‘vulnerable’ unaccompanied refugees. In this study, Keles et al. (2018) found that frequent harmful outcomes of trauma affected about one in four of the URM’s, although some of them emerged as more resilient as acculturation every day hassles were decreased. Another, finding indicates that “the maintenance and further development of one’s heritage culture competence provides a certain amount of continuity in URM’s self-perception and identity” (Keles et al., 2018, p.59). The key implication drawn from this finding is that policies and practices should facilitate opportunities for refugees to maintain their heritage culture values and traditions, in addition to the essential education on the language, behaviours and values of the host county (Keles et al., 2018).

2.5.3. Stereotypes and Stigma

The lives of URM’s are guided by a dominant culture deeply infused with the perspective of a Western psychological discourse (Ungar & Teram, 2005). Specifically, we tend to categorize some unaccompanied minors as healthy and others as deviant, dangerous, delinquent and disordered based on the perceived social acceptability of youth’s behavior (Ungar & Teram, 2005). Taking into account the URM’s voices and including them in the research process, which is particularly important to do in light of unique information of what is significant in creating change within their context, will potentially create a community that wants to make a difference for those who have experienced adversity and had few positive outcomes (Ungar & Teram, 2005).

In a study of Afghan female youth in Melbourne, Iqbal, Joyce, Russo, & Earnest (2012) found that the participants faced stigma and discrimination due to the language barrier, meanwhile culture differences (e.g. participation in sports, going on school camps and school excursions)

in the school setting made them feel uncomfortable. Although, this study testifies that many of the cultural impacts on the participants are related to their gender, the researchers concluded that these findings can “compound the more common experiences of young people from refugee backgrounds in negotiating between two cultures, causing intergenerational disputes and creating a feeling that they do not completely belong to either community” (Iqbal et al., 2012).

2.6. Conclusion of the review

This review indicates that individual resilience is interlinked with family, school, community, and societal factors. Therefore, any intervention regarding URMs’ integration and development of psychological resilience should be appropriately modified to take into account these aspects.

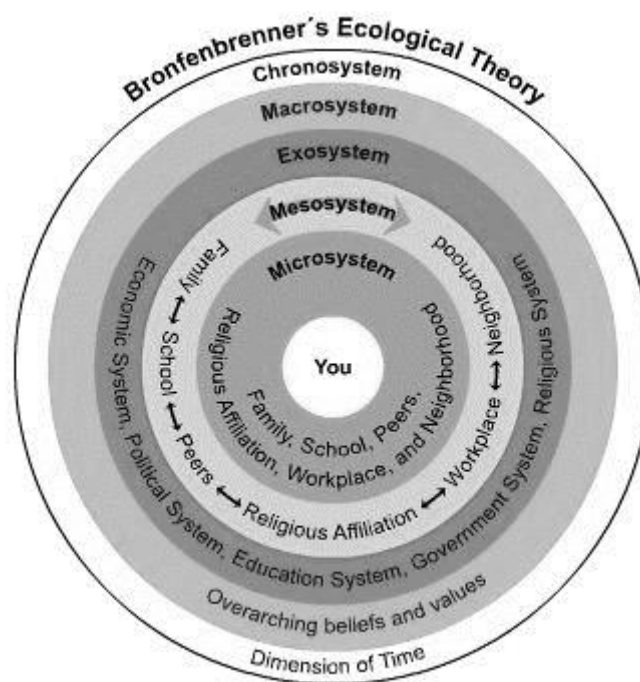
2.7. Theoretical and conceptual framework

2.7.1. Social-ecological framework

The researcher uses the social ecology of human development by Uri Bronfenbrenner (1979) to discuss biological, psychological, social and cultural aspects of resilience that are interlinked and affect how URMs respond on existed trauma and further stressful experiences. These aspects are visible in the process of analysis through participant’s perceptions of internal and external factors of resilience that are associated to the socio-ecological theory.

Bronfenbrenner’s theory is relevant to this study because his ecological model can shed light on the new context where URMs grow up, emphasizing the importance of “environmental influences at different nested levels (e.g. the individual, the meso-system, exo-system, and macro-system) depending, for instance, on the amount of direct interaction that a child has with these social systems” (Betancourt, Meyers-Ohki, Charrow, & Tol, 2013).

Figure 1: Bronfenbrenner’s ecological model



Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological model places the individual at the center of five concentric structures of developmental contexts. These structures are referred to as the micro-, meso-, exo- and macrosystems and their connectedness influence every aspect of the individual's life (Figure 1) (Bronfenbrenner, 1979).

The individual exists in various microsystems that involve interpersonal relations, pattern of activities and roles with people in the immediate setting of the developing person, such as the school, home, peer group, community environment and so on (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Bronfenbrenner includes in the microsystem "the aspects of the environment that are most powerful in shaping the course of psychological growth" and that "have meaning to the person in a given situation" (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, p.22).

The mesosystem encompasses the interaction of two or multiple settings that are related to the individual (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). For instance, the interconnections between the youth's daycare centre and the activity centre where the youth are involved. The exo-system includes societal structures in which the developing person is not actively involved, but that have an indirect impact on its development (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). These settings might be both informal and formal (e.g. neighborhood, governmental and cultural institutions) (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Examples of an exo-system in the case of the refugee minors include the activities in the activity centre or the school. The macro-system consists of any belief systems or ideologies that exist at the level of the culture as a whole (Bronfenbrenner, 1979).

Using a social ecological interpretation of resilience Ungar (2008, p. 225) writes:

"In the context of exposure to significant adversity, resilience is both the capacity of individuals to navigate their way to the psychological, social, cultural, and physical resources that sustain their well-being, and their capacity individually and collectively to negotiate for these resources to be provided and experienced in culturally meaningful ways".

In this study the process of resilience may be explained by a social ecological model of resilience, designed by Ungar (2015). His model explains the complex aspects of individuals' interactions with their social ecologies, expressed in the following equation:

$$R_{1,2,3...} = \frac{f(P_{SC}, E)}{(O_{Av}, O_{Ac})(M)}$$

"In the equation, resilience processes over time (R1, 2, 3...) will vary by the interaction between a person (P) and his or her environment (E), while keeping in mind the person's strengths (S) and challenges (C). Processes are mediated by the opportunities (O) that are available (AV) and accessible (AC) for adaptive coping. They also are mediated by the socially constructed meaning systems (M) that shape appraisals of the risks and resources that individuals experience (e.g., whether they experience these resources as useful)" (Ungar, 2015, p.52).

The interaction between individuals and their social ecologies will determine the degree of experienced positive outcomes (Ungar, 2008). With caution of the environmental factors that are of great significance for overcoming refugee minor's adversities, this research focuses on URM's surrounding relationships, involving the community in which they find themselves as well as all the available resources to them.

2.7.2. Conceptual framework of coping strategies

There are multiple coping strategies that mediate risk and resilience, and Connor-Smith, Compas, Wadsworth, Thomsen, & Saltzman (2000) claim that the use of those strategies are increased depending on the levels of stress. Individuals use coping behaviors in negotiation with themselves and their environment in order to solve their problems or to find ways to feel better (Ungar, 2015). Data collected regarding participants' coping strategies were analyzed based on the four-factor model of coping proposed by Ayers, Sandler, West and Roosa (1996) (see Table 1). A deductive analytical framework was used in this study to conceptualize participants' coping strategies. As a result, there were identified several groups of coping strategies that are illustrated in the table below.

Table 1: Four-factor model of coping

Problem-focused strategies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cognitive decision making • Direct problem solving
Direct emotion-focused strategies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Seeking understanding • Positive cognitive restructuring • Expressing feelings
Distraction strategies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Physical release of emotions • Distracting actions
Avoidant strategies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Avoidant actions • Cognitive avoidance
Support-seeking strategies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Problem-focused support • Emotion-focused support

3. Methodology

3.1. Introduction and overview of the chapter

The purpose of this qualitative study is to understand and explore URM's perceptions of which personal strengths and psychosocial resources and processes in the new social milieu were integral to their well-being and how they adapt to settlement in Norway. The researcher believes that a better understanding of an ecological perspective of resilience would allow service providers and politicians develop interventions and create new services that facilitate resilience processes. In seeking to understand and explore the shared patterns of how young people adapt and grow in their new environment, the study addressed three research questions: a) What are URM's recent challenges following their resettlement in Norway? b) What are their specific strengths? c) How are factors in the new social environment (e.g. professionals, school, culture, community organizations) perceived by URM's in relation to their resilience?

This methodology chapter includes an outline of the research design and the procedures used in conducting the study. Strategies and methods that have been employed for both data collection and data analysis are described in relation with the qualitative approach that have been adopted for the study. Information of the sample, selection and piloting of instruments is included. Issues of trustworthiness, ethical considerations and limitations are also discussed. The chapter ends with a brief concluding summary.

3.2. Rationale for Qualitative Research Design

Recent systematic reviews have shown that the young people's voices, culture and context are absent in the current resilience research whereas there is a tendency of predominance of western views (Shean, 2015). Thus, the researcher with the contribution of her study based on resilience processes among URM's in a particular context is intending to address this gap. The researcher employed a qualitative research design because she believes that the use of qualitative methods will provide a new understanding concerning the shared patterns of adaptation of the examined group of URM's, their operation and their importance to them (Shean, 2015). In other words, qualitative methods are also suitable in this study for understanding social interactions among URM's and the norms and values shared by them (Hennink, Hutter, & Bailey, 2011).

Particularly, the objective of the researcher is to offer the opportunity of the participants under study to describe experiences and mechanisms that make it easier or more difficult to settle in Norway in their own words. This objective is opposed to those of quantitative research, where the use of quantitative measures intent to test theory and relationships between known variables, meanwhile quantitative methods do not disclose any new factors that may be related in the process of resilience (Shean, 2015). Consequently, in the researchers' view the qualitative stance fit well with her study because it provides the participants the opportunity to share their point of view and experience to provide elicited meaningful information necessary to address the research questions under study.

Furthermore, Ungar (2003) believes that the key features of qualitative methodology used in a study of resilience include a) discovery of unidentified processes, b) developing an understanding of context, environment and milieu, c) strengthening the trustworthiness by the depth of the description of that context and environment, d) capturing and adding power to the URM's "voices" which provide insight into the young people functioning, and e) enabling

interactivity between researcher and participants. These features make qualitative methodology an appropriate one for this study of resilience due to the research questions that are being addressed.

In qualitative research, there are many different paradigms that underlying its conduction. In this study, the researcher will focus on the interpretative paradigm, which motivates the researcher's approach in her qualitative research. The researcher also extracted aspects of the social constructivism paradigm that influenced her approach. As Hennink et al. (2011) argues, the interpretative approach "seeks to understand people's lived experiences from the perspective of people themselves" (p.14). The researcher therefore emphasized on studying the subjective meaning of URM's experiences and perceptions and the social actions with the professionals within the context in which these people interact. Besides, following the constructivism perspective of existence of multiple perspectives on reality (Hennink et al., 2011), the researcher examined views from a complex and holistic understanding without reducing the subjective meanings of the participant's experiences into limited categories (Creswell & Creswell, 2007). In addition, the researcher recognizes that the creation of research data is influenced by her own background and values, a fact that have been highlighted within interpretivism (Hennink et al., 2011). To sum up, the researcher considers that these approaches are relevant to this qualitative research, while both exploring participant's views on complex issues, such as individual and environmental factors related to resilience, which afterwards are interpreted and understood in a certain context (Creswell & Creswell, 2007).

Within the qualitative methodological frameworks, the researcher employed a micro-ethnography method to address the research questions in the present research. Reeves et al. (2008) states that "the central aim of ethnography is to provide rich, holistic insights into people's views and actions, as well as the nature (that is, sights, sounds) of the location they inhabit, through the collection of detailed observations and interviews" (Reeves et al., 2008). Thus, the research chose this methodological approach because she sought to provide rich and holistic insights into the perceptions and actions of URM's related to well-being and adaptation in a new milieu.

As a form of research methodology, micro-ethnography is both a method and a product (Bryman, 2012). According to Creswell & Creswell (2007) the interest behind the use of micro-ethnography is in looking for patterns in population in the context rather than confirming a hypothesis. From this perspective, micro-ethnography study is an ideal design because the researcher was looking for patterns of adaptation of the URM's in a particular context.

3.3. Context and Procedures

This micro-ethnographic study was conducted in an organization located in Western Norway, and aimed to focus on a close examination and understanding of the culture, social interactions and perceptions of the URM's and their behavior within a particular context in relation with the topic under study. As a governmental organization working with settlement and support of minor refugees with a residence permit, the activity centre of the organization was an appropriate choice since the topic under study manifest itself more strongly due to accessibility to the study groups. In conclusion, the activity center offered the best opportunities to the researcher to learn about the research participants and also it was most likely accessible since the regulations to contact and conduct a research about this vulnerable group of youth are really strict.

The activity center is open two days per week and URM's throughout the west Norwegian municipality can go there after school to participate in activities (e.g. table tennis, billiard, playing cards, board games, football table etc.), do their homework, meet their friends and other safe caring adults. Since this was a micro-ethnographic study, it was important for the researcher to facilitate an entry and establish good contact with the URM's and the professionals. A letter was sent out to the head manager of the organization to inform her about the project and requested for a permission to conduct the study within the organization by joining the activity center during the "open days" (see Appendix E). When the researcher granted the permission, she started volunteering at the activity center over a period of two months (20th of February – 17th of April 2018). Being actively involved in the principal activities of the center, the researcher established a relationship of trust and sympathy with the URM's and asked them whether they would like to participate in the project. The researcher explained the reason of her presence in the activity center by familiarizing them with her project and by ensuring that they understood the purpose and significance of her project, as this was thought to increase the probabilities of them wanting to participate.

Four of the interviews took place in the apartments where the refugee minors and the professionals are living or working respectively. The other two interviews with the Afghan minors took place in a meeting room in the activity centre because they had recently moved out from the apartments of the organization and they were living alone. Both settings considered as safe and familiar place for the participants.

All the participants were reminded about the purpose of the study. The researcher explained verbally the context of the consent form and after they agreed and understood all their rights, they were then asked to sign it. Also, the researcher asked for their approval to voice record the interviews using her personal mobile phone. Before the interview begun, the participants were informed that there are not correct or wrong answers and further they were asked if they had any questions following the process before proceeding with the interviews. All interviews were recorded and lasted between 1 hour up to 1 hour and 50 minutes. Following this, the researcher started with asking background information and opening easy questions to allow the participants to feel confident and relax with the process of interview. Furthermore, the researcher was conscious about the non-verbal communication of the participants and when she felt that the minors were stressed or tired, she offered them the option to have a short break. At the end of each interview, the participants were encouraged to add any further information that the former might have not think to ask about and also to give feedback about their experience of the interview. In this occasion, the researcher could determine if the young people were feeling good about the personal information that they shared and if they were likely to require emotional support from a professional. The interviews were transcribed verbatim by the researcher and afterwards were analyzed using thematic analysis.

3.4. Participants and sampling

This qualitative study involved recruitment of two types of research participants. The first one is consisted of four URM's who granted residence permission and they are resettled in a west Norwegian municipality. The second is consisted of two professionals who are working with the youth.

The researcher intentionally chose a small number of URM's within the organization and focused on exploring and understanding their resilience processes and use of adaptation patterns to gain information diversity. This choice is justified by Patton's (1990) claims that "the logic

and power of purposeful sampling lies in selecting information-rich cases for study in depth". The researcher's belief aligns with his arguments that recruitment of information-rich cases provides a lot of data concerning the issues that are of great significance to the purpose of the research.

Also, since the organization works with refugee minors from different cultural backgrounds, the researcher finds that maximum variation strategy fits better in the present research. The researcher chose two participants from Afghanistan and two from Eritrea because in this way is assured that nationality and person-related characteristics variation among URMs are represented in her study. Besides, the researcher was interested to portray and value the main experiences and common or diverse adaptation patterns that emerge from these two ethnic groups.

Before the researcher continued further with the recruitment of the first sample of URMs, it was significant to define who were eligible to participate in her study. The eligibility criteria with which the researcher recruited URMs are the following;

- All URMs must be male and between the ages of 16 to 20.
- All URMs must have been settled in the organization approximately for two years.
- All URMs must performing relatively well in different domains of their lives.

The researcher believes that participants who had stayed in the municipality for two years have already shaped their perspective on their own situation and adaptation process. Therefore, the belief of the researcher align with Kimhi & Eshel (2015) who recommend assessment of resilience at least one year after potentially traumatic events. The authors argue that resilience should be measured after the first year following the adversity because they hold that it reflects an ongoing process which was possibly crystalized at least one year after the adverse circumstances (Kimhi & Eshel, 2015).

The second sample, a convenience sample of two professionals, who are working in the apartments where the youth live and who acquired a great deal of knowledge of the life of the youth, was selected to participate in semi-structured interviews. The researcher believes that the perspective of the professionals is a good entry point in this research because it will add validity and supplement the information gained from the youths' interviews.

In conclusion, the number of participants in this qualitative study is small because "the purpose of recruitment is to seek variation and context of participant experiences rather than a large number of participants with those experiences" (Hennink et al., 2011, p. 88) As a result, both samples of youth and professionals might not be representative, although it allowed the researcher to learn a great deal of information about the topic in search and illuminate the questions under study.

3.5. Data Collection Methods

Data collection took place by means of semi-structured measuring instruments that are tailored to the research subject and refined as the research progresses. The research question 1 will be answered with the help of results of interviews. The research questions 2 and 3 will be answered with the help of results of interviews and the field notes of observation. In this case in depth interviews are the primal method of data collection, while observation is a secondary method of data collection which results will be used to support and validate the results of the interviews.

3.5.1. Phase I: Observation and field notes

Participant observation and field notes is one of the tools that have been used for collecting data in this qualitative research. The researcher views participant observation as an essential part of her study because it offered her the potential to immerse herself at the activity center where the young people have leisure activities and therefore generate a rich understanding of the complex patterns of their interactions with other peers and the professionals. At this point it is critical to note that the researcher adopting the role of partially participating observer, spent two days per week in the center with the primary intention to establish a relationship of trust and sympathy with youth and professionals. Besides, being fully involved in the principal activities of the center allowed her to gain acceptance and make the interviewing process more comfortable for them to open up and discuss about aspects of their daily life (Bryman, 2012). In brief, the researcher clarify herself as partially participating observer because observation is not the main data source. As Bryman (2012) states, “interviews and documents can be as significant as observation and sometimes more significant as sources of data” (p.443).

An advantage of participant observation stated by Reeves et al. (2008) is that it gives ethnographers “opportunities to gather empirical insights into social practices that are normally “hidden” from the public gaze”. From this point of view, the researcher got a broader picture of the social practices of the youth by observing the URM’s relationships with peers and professionals and by attending different activities at the activity center, having conversations with professionals and URMs and talking with them informally. Although, due to short period of time in the activity center, the researcher’s observations were focused on structured events, youth’s behaviors, interactions and relationships.

Additionally, Bryman (2012) suggests that the field notes should serve as a useful adjunct to the participant observation method of data collection because of the weaknesses of human memory. The researcher followed Bryman advice and recorded observations in the form of field notes. Field notes were written up as soon as the researcher was arriving home from the fieldwork because she was mindful of Bryman’s (2012) caution of the risk to make people self-conscious if she was writing notes down on a continuous basis during observation.

Particularly, the researcher based on her observations she was writing down field notes, including “fairly detailed summaries of events, behaviors and her initial reflections on them” (Bryman, 2012). Meanwhile, the researcher followed Bryman’s (2012) arguments of the importance of writing some personal reflections about her own feelings regarding occasions and feelings. According to Bryman (2012) “such notes may be helpful for formulating a reflexive account of fieldwork”. In conclusion, the researcher gathered participant observation and documented field notes, by engaging and involving herself directly with the context she was studying.

3.5.2. Phase II: In-depth interviews

The interview was employed as a primary method of data collection in this research. As Hennink et al. (2011) note, “in-depth interviews are used when seeking information on individual, personal experiences from people about a specific issue or topic” (p.109). This interview method was felt to be the most use in this study since the researcher aims to capture URMs’ perceptions, attitudes and emotions in relation to the topic under study. Certainly, the in-depth aspect of the method is important as it strengthened the purpose of this study to gain details into the strengths, challenges and patterns of adaptation, that are relevant in the process of resilience, from the perspective of URMs themselves. To this end, the researcher used semi-structured interview guide to explore these series of topics with each participant and prompt the

data collection. Semi-structured interviews were employed because they allowed the participants to talk freely and openly, as well as, gave the flexibility to the researcher to ask additional questions to clarify information and follow up interesting themes (Bryman, 2012).

The researcher developed two interview guides; one for the youth and the other for the professionals. Both interview guides had the following structure: introduction, background information, opening questions, key questions and closing questions. In the introduction part the researcher introduced herself, explained the purpose of her study and asked permission for audio-recording the interview. Also, participants were informed about ethical issues, such as confidentiality and anonymity of the data collected from the interview. After providing all the information the researcher asked if the participants were willing to be interviewed and asked them to sign the informed consent.

The interview guide of youth consists of four parts. The first part includes general questions about the background of the URM. For instance, information about their age, gender, ethnicity, religion and education in Norway. These questions were easy to answer, so the youth became comfortable in the interview setting and with the researcher. The second part followed with a series of opening questions that are generally related to the main topics on the interview guide. For example, the researcher asked a series of questions about URM's living arrangement before and after their resettlement, as well as, their situation since they resettled in the west Norwegian municipality and their daily routines. In addition, questions were asked about the bidirectional connections between the URM and their context. These URM – context' relationships and interactions became a key focus of this study. The central part of the interview guide includes key questions that are divided in the following five themes:

- a) aspirations, accomplishments and changes of oneself after arriving in Norway
- b) challenges and coping strategies
- c) internal factors and external factors related to Adaptation/Resilience
- d) URM's experiences of being a person from another culture in Norway
- e) social support and refugee policy.

These questions were designed to collect the essential information to answer the research questions. The researcher also used many probes during this phase of the interview that according to Hennink et al. (2011) help the former to “gain detailed information, examples, explore nuances in what is shared and to understand the issues from the perspective of the interviewee” (p.113). In the last part of the interview guide, the researcher included closing questions. As Hennink et al. (2011) points out that closing questions are important to cover interviewees needs “to slowly reduce the rapport that has been established and create a distance again before leaving the interviewee” (p.114). The researcher acknowledges Hennink's views about the ethical significance of using closing questions to not leave the URM in an emotionally vulnerable state. For this purpose, she asked about the youth's wishes for the future and how they can fulfill them. The interview guide of youth can be found as an Appendix B.

The interview guide of professionals consists of four parts. In a similar vein as the youth's interview guide, the researcher after the introduction asked the professional information about their name, gender, professional background, previous professional experience and their current position at the organization. The second part includes opening questions, whereas the researcher asked the professionals about URM's living arrangement where they are working, nationality and health. The third main part of this interview guide includes key questions regarding professional's perception concerning the following four themes: a) youth's accomplishments, b) challenges and internal factors related to adaptation and resilience, c) external factors related to adaptation and resilience, and d) suggestions on social support and refugee policy. The last

part includes two broader questions, whereas the researcher asked what are the professional's challenges and rewards of working with URM's and then concluded by asking if they had anything further to add that the researcher did not ask. The interview guide of professionals is included as an Appendix B

The researcher adopted the question guides that was developed by Rana, Qin, Bates, Luster, & Saltarelli (2011) as an instrument for the exploration "of factors that contributed to individual differences in the educational attainment of unaccompanied Sudanese refugee youth who experienced extreme trauma and chronic adversity prior to being placed with American foster families in 2000–2001". "Their study was part of a larger research project on Sudanese refugee youth known as the Lost Boys that began in 2001 and focused on their risks, resilience, and adaptation to a new culture" (Rana et al., 2011). The researcher believes that the interview questions of the mentioned above project are relevant with her topic under study. In this case, the questions were changed in a way which could lead to the exploration of resources of resilience within the individual, community and culture that extend beyond the educational resilience. As a result, the researcher amended all the questions in both interview guides of youth and professionals to capture the selected participants' perceptions and experiences in a broader level of resilience, in accordance with the study objectives and the research questions. Particularly, she added the background information part and the opening questions to take account the localized context under study.

Rana, Qin, Bates, Luster, & Saltarelli (2011) have used an educational resilience framework as suggested by Wang, M. C., Haertel, G. D., & Walberg, H. J. (1994) to explore how unaccompanied minors do in school, and linked it to a framework of risk and resilience provided by Masten and Powell (2003). In this study, the researcher has chosen Bronfenbrenner's model and Ungar's socio-ecological interpretation of resilience to organize and analyze the research results. Particularly, she believes that this model reflects the expected relationships between internal and external factors related to resilience that guide her research and data collection.

3.6. Data Analysis and Synthesis

In this study, a thematic analysis was adapted as the data analysis method. Thematic analysis is a widely used within qualitative research as an appropriate and important method for analyzing data (Bailey, 2007). The researcher selected to pursue a thematic analysis because it is theoretically flexible and provides a useful research tool that can potentially offer a rich, detailed and at the same time a complex account of data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Also, through its theoretical freedom, thematic analysis suited the goal of the researcher to seek themes that address the research questions related to the URMs' perceptions and experiences for the topic under study, as well as, frame themes conceptually, and explore links among them.

According to Bloomberg & Volpe (2016), the process of analysis involves both inductive and deductive reasoning. Draw on that the researcher used a mix of deductive and inductive strategies to develop the codes and analyze the data for her study. First, the topics from the interview guides were deductively devised from the current literature on research about resilience within the socio-ecological framework. Second, after reading the data the researcher added inductive codes that identified issues raised by participants themselves (Hennink et al., 2011). The inductive research approach was adapted because the researcher sought for patterns and irregularities across the data that provide answers to the addressed research questions. Also, as Hennink et al. (2011) states "inductive codes are extremely valuable as they reflect the issues of importance to participants themselves, which may be different from those anticipated by the researcher" (p.218). At the same time, a deductive research approach to thematic analysis was

suitable because it allowed the researcher to form coherent interpretation of the complex psychological and behavioral coping strategies of URM's (Patton, 1990).

The researcher used two types of qualitative data, such as interviews and field observations, to explore and evaluate the social phenomenon under study. All interviews and field notes were transcribed verbatim. Although, in the interest of confidentiality, the researcher accounted for anonymity by replacing names with pseudonyms. Also, field observations were written down as field notes. These transcripts of the interviews and the field notes of the field observations were imported in the qualitative data analysis software program called NVivo 11 Pro, to enhance reliability of the coding process and facilitate thematic analysis.

The researcher used this certain software program because it helped her organize and analyze her qualitative data more effectively. Moreover, the coding process has been conducted using NVivo because it was easier to locate common topics and deserved themes as they emerged from the participant's responses. Therefore, in the analysis process it helped the researcher to develop themes and record relationships between different sources of data, such as field notes and recordings. Another advantage of NVivo is that allowed the researcher to conduct in depth analysis that it could be more difficult to achieve manually. Finally, NVivo is a tool that can provide objectiveness to the data analysis as the researcher could report on how the analysis was conducted.

The researcher based her data analysis on a six-phases process derived from Braun and Clarke (2006) that is explained below. These stages were occurred after transcribing and importing the data in NVivo for analysis. At that point, the researcher explored and analyzed her data by using codes and functions that allowed her to learn about her data and communicate her findings to the readers.

Phase 1: Familiarization with the data. First, the researcher gained familiarity with the data by repeatedly reading all the transcriptions and field notes separately.

Phase 2: Generating Initial Codes within the data. In this phase, the researcher was engaged in open coding systematically throughout the entire data set. Initially, the first case was coded, whereby the researcher was searching for repetitive codes. After she proceeded with each subsequent case, following the same procedures as the first one. Codes were recorded using containers that in NVivo are known as nodes. Also, a case considered to be a transcription of an interview or the field notes from one day's observation.

Phase 3: Searching for Themes. In the coding process, the researcher identified patterns, irregularities and repeated viewpoints of the participants across cases. Nodes in NVivo were created to store themes. Later comparing the data, the codes were revised and added additionally. In this phase, relevant codes were sorted into potential themes.

Phase 4: Reviewing Themes. In the fourth phase, the researcher first checked if the themes were related with the coded extracts and further the entire data set.

Phase 5: Defining and Naming Themes. The process of creating themes was cyclical, while the researcher was checking and re-checking the framed themes until she felt like they were linked and fitted in a larger context. Following this procedure, a thematic map of the analysis was produced.

Phase 6: Producing the Report. During the final phase, the researcher weaved together the analytic narrative and the data extracts, relating the analysis with her research questions and literature. In this case, the final product of the analysis is a holistic cultural portrait of the URM's that combines participant's views as well as the researcher's views (Hennink et al., 2011). "As

a result, the reader learns the culture-sharing group from the participants themselves as well as from the perspective of the researcher” (Hennink et al., 2011, p.47). Finally, the report of the analysis advocates for the needs of the URMs and suggests changes in the society.

3.7. Issues of trustworthiness

In this qualitative research, the field researcher uses the concept of trustworthiness to address the traditional quantitative issues of validity and reliability. “Validity refers to studying or measuring that which one intended to study or measure. Reliability refers to the consistency of findings over time” (Bailey, 2007, p. 175-176). However, trustworthiness considered “the overarching evaluative standard for field research” (Guba and Lincoln, as cited in Bailey, 2007, p.180). For establishing trustworthiness in qualitative research, Lincoln & Guba (1985) argue that the research required to be conducted and presented in such a way as a result the findings will be trusted by the reader and also be satisfied that the research will be worthy of attention. The researcher sought to establish the trustworthiness of her qualitative study by using the terms of credibility, reliability and transferability. These issues are addressed below.

3.7.1. Credibility

The criterion of credibility suggests whether the research findings are believable, authentic and plausible from the perspective of the researcher, the participants and the reader (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Bailey, 2007). To enhance the credibility of this study, the researcher adopted two strategies, such as prolonged engagement in the field site and triangulation of data collection methods.

First, for the purpose of the data collection the researcher immersed herself in the activity centre where the participants were involved in leisure activities. The time spent in the field helped the researcher to develop trust with study participants and establish a friendly relationship with them. This is of great significance because according to Krefting (1991) “as rapport increases, informants may volunteer different and often more sensitive information than they did at the beginning of the research project” (pp. 217-218).

The second strategy used by the researcher for improving the quality of qualitative data was the triangulation of data collection methods. The use of multiple methods and methodological triangulation is critical in attempting to collect different sources of data and “provide more comprehensive insights into the phenomenon under study” (Reeves et al., 2008). Reeves et al. (2008) points out the significance of this technique as people’s behavior might contrast with their actual actions. Therefore, the researcher triangulates interview and observation methods with URMs and professionals to enhance the quality of her study. A further advantage regarding the use of methodological triangulation has to do with the rich descriptions that can be obtained both in interviews and observations (Reeves et al., 2008).

Finally, the researcher control potential biases that might be present throughout the design, implementation and analysis of the study by describing the procedural steps and methodological decisions in detail. As a result, the findings can be judged as credible since the methods used to collect and analyze the data in this research was proved to be appropriate and rigorous (Bailey, 2007).

3.7.2. Reliability

Reliability consists another criterion for evaluating research, that implies consistency (Bailey, 2007). The researcher conducted a pilot study with a professional and a young person from

another organization in the west Norwegian municipality to provide a reasonable degree of reliability of the interview guides. During the pilot- testing of both interview guides the researcher took into account Hennink's et al. (2011) suggestions to focus on the assessment of the following issues:

- “Did the interviews understand the questions immediately?
- Were concepts, sentences and words adapted to the context of the interviewee?
- Do some questions need to be rephrased?
- Was the order of the questions logical for the interviewee?
- Was the interview guide too long/too short?” (Hennink et al., 2011, p.120).

Based on the questions from Hennink (2011) the following was done. First, the pilot study allowed the researcher to be sure that the interviewees understand the questions. Second, it was proved that concepts, sentences and words were adapted to the context of the interviewee. Third, the researcher during the interviews rephrased some words in more simple terms in order to be understandable or translate them in Norwegian. For example, the word challenges and wishes was explained as difficulties and dreams/goals respectively. Third, the researcher understood that the order of the questions was logical for the interviewee. Fourth, when some questions were too long, the researcher asked one part of it at a time. In addition, question 5 and 11 in minors’ interview guides should be followed by examples to illustrate concepts of strengths, resources and refugee policy. For example, strengths were explained as good things about URMs (e.g. qualities/talents/skills). Resources were described as a person, or a thing or an action where URMs turned for help when they needed it.

3.7.3. Transferability

The indented goal of this study was not to generalize the results, on the contrast the intention was to address the issue of transferability. Transferability refers to the ways in which the reader determines whether and to what degree the results of a qualitative research can be transferred to another context (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016). Bitsch (2005) argues that the “researcher facilitates the transferability judgment by a potential user through ‘thick description’ and purposeful sampling” (p. 85). Toward this end, the researcher attempted to ensure the transferability of her study by providing thick descriptions of the participants and the context. Therefore, “rich descriptive data allows comparison of this context to other possible contexts to which transfer might be contemplated” (Guba, 1981,p. 86).

3.8. Ethical considerations

Doing research with vulnerable minors, like URMs, requires to demonstrate some ethical difficulties (Hopkins, 2008). The permission from NSD had been applied for and it was granted in March 2018 (see appendix A). The general guidelines for research ethics from the Norwegian National Committees were followed by the researcher to ensure the protection and rights of participants as well as to prevent any scientific misconduct. Particularly, in this qualitative field research, the researcher held ethical positions regarding informed consent, deception and confidentiality. These three major ethical concerns are discussed in the following section.

First, researcher’s vital priority in her study was the informed consent. Following the Norwegian legislation, the researcher gained informed consent from the professionals and the youth participants. To obtain informed consent, the researcher made sure that all the participants were aware prior to the interview about the purpose of the research, the procedures used during the interview (e.g. audio-recording), the voluntary nature of their participation, their right to not answer any question if they do not feel comfortable and to stop the interview at any time without

any consequences. Also, the researcher assured the research participants that all procedures were used to protect confidentiality.

Second, the issue of deception is strongly related to informed consent (Bryman, 2012). Deception is considered unethical and for the purpose of illustration, the researcher during her fieldwork research explained the purpose of her presence in the activity center and also, she openly discussed her research role to most of those with whom she came into contact. She also informed them about the length of her stay in Norway. Besides, the researcher acknowledges that any kind of deception would have damaged the reciprocal relationships that she developed with some young people with whom she was meeting regularly in the activity center. For example, young people sometimes were sharing emotional pains, insecurities, strengths and accomplishments. In return, the researcher, offered support, compassion and encouragement. To sum up, as Sieber (1982) pointed out, “these reciprocal relationships form the moral basis of ethical decisions” (as cited in Bailey, 2007, p. 23).

The third important ethical issue in this fieldwork research is confidentiality. As mentioned above, one of the informed consent requirements is to inform the participants about confidentiality issues. Maintaining confidentiality, the researcher assured participants that their names would be replaced by pseudonyms and that other important identity characteristics would be kept confidential. However, the researcher reminded them that in case they will reveal information that entail harm on themselves or others then the specific information could be disclosed to an adult that worked with them (Hopkins, 2008). It is also important to mention that some participants did not speak well English. Therefore, the researcher during the interview with a minor from Eritrea, was assisted by an interpreter for moderating the discussion, which was held in youth’s mother language; Tigrinya. The researcher had a signed confidentiality agreement with the interpreter to ensure that the research information would remain confidential (see Appendix D). Also, the researcher arranged a meeting with the interpreter before the interview took place to ensure that the latter was familiar with the questions in the interview guide.

In conclusion, as Hopkins (2008) claims, “ethical researchers will not want to harm the children they do research with, nor will they want them to cause distress and nor would they seek to represent the children in a negative manner”. As an illustration, the researcher acknowledges the fact that URM’s had suffered a lot before their arrival and during their journey to Norway, so while interviewing them she was sensitive not to cause any harm to them in any way. Taking this into account, a starting point of the interview guide of the youth was to consider the current experiences of the URM’s because the researcher wished to avoid open up unpleasant memories. Besides, since the study focuses on the resilient processes and particularly on the ways that youth handle challenging situations they have experienced or experience in Norway, the interviewer sought to make the participants feel comfortable and let them realize their strengths and coping abilities.

3.9. Limitations of the study

Recruitment with URM’s participants presented limitations. In this study, the researcher granted access to the activity centre of the organization, however, only a great number of Eritrean youth was involved in the leisure activities during the open days of the centre. Therefore, the access to potential Afghanistan youth participants was difficult. The researcher relied on a few professionals, who maintain contact with Afghanistan youth, to help with the recruitment of this cultural group sample. Another limitation related to recruitment was the fact that there were not female refugee minors living in the apartments of the organization throughout the research period. This is because women and girls travelling alone are among those who are exposed to

special risks and are “often facing high levels of violence, extortion and exploitation along the way” (Eapen, Falcione, Hersh, Obser, & Shaar, n.d.). In this case, it was impossible to recruit female participants, as a result this study lack to show any differences in resilience based on gender.

The researcher faced another limitation regarding the sample size, as a result of difficulty to access an equal number of participants of Afghanistan and Eritrea, the two main countries of origin of the URM. Consequently, the researcher conducted a minimum equal number of interviews with this certain groups of youth with the different cultural background. Therefore, a critique of this research might be that the results have limited possibilities to be generalized to other groups because the researcher stopped the data collection at the first signs of saturation. Although more interviews might have confirmed more significant saturation of categories and subcategories (Hennink et al., 2011). However, the researcher’s intended goal of this study was the issue of transferability and not the generalizability.

In addition, the language and cultural barrier between the researcher and the participants is also a limitation of this study. During interviews, it was obvious that the participants sometimes faced difficulties to express themselves in English and that fact might have affected the results obtained from the participants. The language barrier with a youth participant was mediated through the use of interpreter, who had the same cultural background as the interviewed URM. The conducted interviews could also be considered a strength of this study because the participants had the opportunity to verbalize their situations, consider their own behavior in dealing with their insecurities and challenges from a meta perspective, and thus enhance their self-confidence.

The challenge of going native during the research field work can be consider as another limitation of this study (Bryman, 2012). During the field-work research at the activity centre, the researcher was enjoying being involved in the activities with the youth. This could have resulted in the researcher’s loss of her position as a researcher. However, this did not happen as the researcher constantly reminded herself that her main goal was to conduct the research. A related limitation is the issue of subjectivity and the researcher’s bias during the deductive code development and analysis of data. Therefore, a concern is the researcher’s thinking and choices “to impose deductively derive codes on the data where they are not validated with the text itself” (Hennink et al., 2011). Recognizing this limitation, the researcher maintained a careful examination of the data by active reading the data several times and focus to gain a detailed understanding to address the issue of subjectivity. In conclusion, these limitations were inevitable, but it is of great significance to have these limitations acknowledged so that the results of this study are not overstated.

4. Findings and Analysis

4.1. Overview of the chapter

This chapter presents the findings of the qualitative data from the URMs' and professionals' interviews as well as the field notes of the observations where the thematic analysis approach was used. A thick description of the participants will first be presented, as providing information of their profile and their background may give a closer understanding of their stories before and during the resettlement in the west Norwegian municipality. This thick description will help to understand URMs' current setting and some of their statements presented in the next section better. This is followed by presentation of categories of findings by themes that were emerged from the data, as well as they were determined by theory. The socio-ecological perspective on resilience was used as the framework of analysis because it was adequate for the objectives of this study and for communicating the data. Also, thematic maps were used to present themes and subthemes. Moreover, in presenting the finding verbatim quotations taken from the interview transcripts sections of the field notes are provided. These represent multiple perspectives of participants and illustrate the richness and the complexity of the themes.

4.2. Profile of the participants and their background

The participants were purposively sampled, and were selected because they all had been doing relatively well in the different domains of their life in Norway despite previous adverse experiences. All identities of the URMs and professionals were anonymized and their names were changed so that they won't be identified.

George, 19 years old from Eritrea

George arrived in Norway in 2015, when he was 16 years old. Before he got the permission to live in Norway, he stayed in two different refugee camps in Oslo, three months in each camp. After this six-month period, his application for asylum in Norway was accepted and the residence permit was granted. By the time of the interview, he has been settled down in the municipality of Western Norway for two years and two months. When he arrived in the municipality, it was only him and another young person from Eritrea who were living alone in a house. He said that it was very difficult in the beginning when they arrived because there were no professionals in a 24-hour bases to live with them and help them daily. Professionals were only coming once or twice per week for a few hours. After eight months they had personnel working in shifts every day, meanwhile, three more refugee minors moved in the house. George studied two years at Learning Centre. He described that they are going from 8th to 10th grade, educational levels before the Norwegian high school.

Nikos, 18 years old from Eritrea

Nikos came to Norway when he was 15 years old. When he arrived in Norway he said that it was very cold, so he was a bit worried if he was going to survive here because of the weather. Afterwards, he mentioned that they were treating them well, so he thought that they might going to adapt this time. He stayed 5 days in Oslo and then he was transferred in a refugee camp where he lived almost a year. He said that in that camp were also living four girls and five boys from Eritrea, and there were over 50 adults from Eritrea living there. However, there were many more people from Afghanistan and Syria at the same location. Overall, he estimated that there were almost 40 young people under 18 years and almost a hundred adults living there. It took eight months before he got to do the interview with UDI, and during that time he was worried what could be the reason of the delay and he wondered why it took 8 months. After the interview

took place, he waited two more months to get a permission to stay in Norway. During the waiting period, he said that he became anxious and started to think negatively. He was thinking why it was taking so long and he worried that they were going to send him back or they were considering to send him to the European county where some of his siblings were living.

After he was granted the residence permit, he was settled down in a west Norwegian municipality. The interview took place in the house where he was living and the researcher had assistance from an interpreter, a woman from Eritrea. In the process of the interview, he asked if the researcher was going to ask him how he came to Norway. At the time of the interview, he was living in a house provided by the organization for almost one year and three months with two Afghan boys and one Eritrean boy. He mentioned that they were going to be separated soon and live in another apartment. He added that he might move in the apartment where George lived, so Nikos would not be going to be totally on his own. In regard to his own education, he said that he had already studied 2 years in the Learning Center and he had one more year left to study.

Andreas, 18 years old from Afghanistan

Andreas came to Norway when he was 16 years old. The first three months he lived in Oslo and afterwards he stayed in a different refugee camp for four months. He said that in the beginning they were only 40 people, but after some time they were over hundred people in total. The refugee camp was big and they had only ten professionals to provide help. Despite the difficult situation in the refugee camp, he mentioned that it was good because there were many people from Afghanistan and he could talk with them in his own Pashto language. After nearly seven months he got a permission to stay in Norway, and as a result he got resettled in a West Norwegian municipality. He stayed one year and seven months in one of the Bofelleskap departments of the Organization, with two boys from Afghanistan and two from Eritrea. With a lot of excitement, he told that he had a fantastic life there. Two weeks prior to the interview he was moved out of that house. Now, he lives alone in the first floor of a house of a Norwegian family. He said that when he needs help he can call and talk with them or even visit them. In terms of education, he is also attending Learning Center. He is in the 9th class now and the next year after the graduating exams, he will join a Norwegian high school. Among the four participants, he is the only one who is working after the Learning Centre. He also mentioned that he was taking driving lessons at an Arabic driving school and he would take the driver's exam after one month from the date of the interview.

Mario, 18 years old from Afghanistan

Mario came in Norway in 2015, when he was 15 years old. He said that after the interview with UDI in Oslo, they sent him in a refugee camp in Northern Norway. He waited three months until his application for the residence permit was processed, and it took five months to get him resettled down in a west Norwegian municipality. He mentioned that sometimes they could choose in which municipality they wanted to live, but in some other cases this was not possible because they resettled them in municipalities where they had conditions to receive more refugee minors. In the refugee camp in Northern Norway he lived with other 10 youths. He said it was difficult because he had to share a room with another young person and they had also only one toilet to be shared with all the youths. He added that in the Oslo camp it was very bad and dirty because there were living approximately 600 people, including young people and families.

Moreover, he feels that UDI helped him because he said that they gave him a three years passport. By the time of the interview he had sent his papers again to UDI requesting a prolongation of the permission to live in Norway. He hopes that this time they will give him a Norwegian passport. When he arrived in the west Norwegian municipality, in the beginning he

was feeling nervous because he did not know the people and how things were, but now he thinks that it is good because he has been living here nearly two years. He lived with two young people from Syria and two from Afghanistan in a Bofelleskap house. He moved in his own apartment a week before the interview took place. He says that he lives alone in the first floor of a house of a family from Turkey. He also mentions that he has attended Learning Centre for two years and there is one more year left.

Table 2: URM’s Participant Background Information

Participant	Gender	Age	Country of origin	Religion	Time spent in Norway
George	Male	19	Eritrea	Orthodox Christian	3 years
Nikos	Male	18	Eritrea	Orthodox Christian	3 years and 4 months
Andreas	Male	18	Afghanistan	Muslim	2 years and 2 months
Mario	Male	18	Afghanistan	Muslim	Almost 3 years

The table 2 briefly gives an overlook of participants demographic information at the time of the interviews.

Helen, who worked with George and Andreas

Helen is a Social Worker who graduated from the University in 2015. In the past, she worked in apartments with young people with cognitive disabilities and mental health issues. She has been working in the Bofelleskap departments of the organization for 2 years, since its opening and she says that she absolutely loves it. She mentions that in the apartment where she works sometimes they have 5 boys and sometimes 4 or 3 because some of these are moving out to live on their own, meanwhile others are moving in. She says that they mainly have boys from Afghanistan and Eritrea. When the interview took place, they had three youths from Afghanistan and two from Eritrea.

Alexia, who worked with Nikos

Alexia says that she does not have any finished higher education yet, but she has worked in the children’s welfare protection service for four years. She mentioned that it was a similar job like the one she has now. She worked three years with young people aged between 13 and 18 years, who live in apartments because they were resettled from their families by the children’s welfare protection services. She has been working for two and a half years in the organization: the first year she worked in an institution department and after that in a Bofelleskap department. When the interview took place, in the unit where Alexia worked there were living two youths from Eritrea and two youths from Afghanistan.

Table 3: Professional's Participant Background Information

Professional	Gender	Nationality	Highest finished education	Years of experience in the Organization	Type of department of the Organization
Helen	Female	Norwegian	Bachelor in Social Work	2	Bofelleskap
Alexia	Female	Norwegian	-	1	Institution
				1,5	Bofelleskap

In the table 3, the professionals background, such as gender, nationality, highest finished education, years of working experience in the organization, as well as, the type of department they are working are presented. In Bofelleskap departments are placed URM's who are self-reliant. That means, they are able to do more things, like cooking, cleaning and make decisions by themselves. In Institution departments, there are living youth who are more in need of professionals' emotional care and support in everyday tasks. All the participants under study lived in Bofelleskap departments of the organization.

Themes from data analysis organized by thematic analysis approach. In total, five themes emerged. These themes are presented in the following thematic map with subthemes underlined.

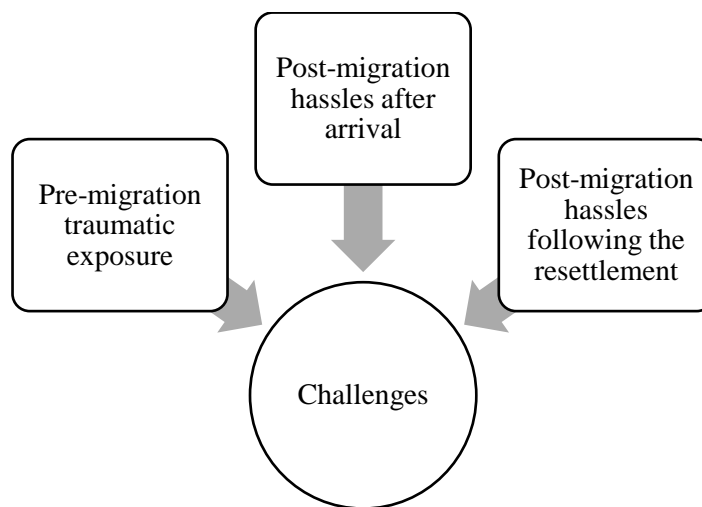
Table 4: Thematic map with subthemes underlined

Theme 1: Challenges	Theme 2: Personal attributes	Theme 3: Coping Strategies	Theme 4: Perceived factors that develop resilience	Theme 5: Perceived factors that hinder resilience
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pre-migration traumatic exposure • Post-migration hassles after arrival to Norway • Post-migration hassles following the resettlement in the west Norwegian municipality 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Spirituality and faith • Self-efficacy • Natural abilities • Hard work, persistence and determination • Gratitude • Common positive attributes of resilient URM's • Aspirations, motivations and focus on goals 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Problem-focused strategies • Direct emotion-focused strategies • Distraction strategies • Avoidant strategies • Support seeking strategies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support from the organization and caring relations with professionals • Support and positive affiliation with peers from similar or other ethnic groups • Community support • Support from teachers at Learning Centre • Cultural and context aspects related to resilience • Healthy refugee policy as a facilitator of resilience 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The process of acculturation as a risk factor • Stereotypes and stigma • Loss of family

Theme 1: Challenges

This theme presents the challenges the URMs encountered and is connected to the first research question: What are URMs challenges following their resettlement in Norway? This theme is comprised of the challenges, the hardships, as well as the trauma endured by the participants. The challenges and context were divided into three sub-themes as they emerged during data analysis: (a) pre-migration traumatic exposure; (b) post-migration hassles after arrival to Norway; and (c) following the resettlement in the west Norwegian municipality. Each of these subthemes consists of multiple dimensions that describe barriers to achieving the overall integration, the psychological post-adversity recovery and resilience they facilitated. The following theme discuss personal attributes and strengths that helped them deal and overcome these challenges.

Figure 2: Theme 1 and its 3 subthemes



Pre-migration traumatic exposure

During pre-migration, URMs endured several struggles in their countries of origin, such as exposure to conflict and harsh living conditions that may motivated them to flee and may also have a lasting influence on their lives. Both youth participants from Afghanistan referred to war and conflict in their home country:

“But if I remember what I had in Afghanistan, it was so difficult life, I can’t go to school, I can’t learn something... yes... school was... always it was war war war and people shoot together and yes”. (Andreas)

“It is difficult because... some people they shoot you because you don’t know who are they. It is difficult, some people kidnap you and call your father; ‘give me money and if you don’t send to me, I will shoot your son’. It is so difficult in my country”. (Mario)

George talked about the harsh living conditions in Eritrea and that he had to work very hard:

We did not have technology in our country, when you use... it very very different when you live in Eritrea. When I live in Eritrea it was difficult to live there and you have to do hard job, you do not have some help like, you have to do... you do not have help or president or someone... someone boss to help people. If you live in a village you have to work hard yourself, you do not want help from another.

The topic of mental health issues as a result of the above-mentioned adversities of the participants, came up in the interviews with the professionals. To the question about what issues

related to mental and/or physical health did professionals observe in the group of youth whom they are working with, they answered:

But most of the time you can see of course they have trauma with them. Some are very effected by the trauma and some are medium affected, but they all carrying in trauma because they have been in flights and moving from their homes so it is natural to see many of that. (Helen)

Many of them, they have been exposed from trauma. They have been on their own for a long time when they were travelling to Norway and they experienced war and other stuff in their home countries. Usually they have some package them with trauma. (Alexia)

The phycological symptoms following the trauma the URM's have been through since their arrival in Norway are best illustrated by the comment of Alexia who said:

They can have sleeping troubles, they can trouble with concentration in school, trouble with learning the language because they have enough with themselves and they come and learn other things. Sometimes many of them are isolating themselves in the room, they do not come out. They are not so social maybe.

Post-migration hassles after arrival in Norway

When URM's immigrate to Norway, they experience a secondary system trauma. The asylum-seeking process, including the age assessment, the multiple placements in the refugee camps after the first stage of reception and registration with sometimes non-supportive facilities and the further anticipation of URM's for the final decision on their asylum applications (Jakobsen et al., 2017), are sources of a secondary trauma . This is supported by a longitudinal study of URM's in Norway by Jakobsen et al. (2017), who concluded that “mental health trajectory of young asylum seekers appears to be negatively affected by low support and refusal of asylum”.

All youth participants followed the normal procedures in the asylum process and as it was mentioned in the presentation of their context, they all have moved to different refugee camps after their registration as an asylum seeker with the police. George described his experience when he was interviewed by the UDI and his transitions to specialized youth centres in the following way:

It was very big, very large place, so after that they take you to interview; ‘How you coming, why you coming here, what is your goals? What do you want to do here? So, what was the problem with you before you leave from your country and many things’. After that they take you to another place, more better (...) So when we were there, all of us we were just less 18 years old. So, they take interview, they interview you and they take you another place, the same but it is more better. With little people, not the same before with many like...

When Andreas arrived in Norway, one of his major challenges was to find UDI and apply for asylum. He mentioned that it was difficult for him because he had to wait for almost 7 months until his legal status was defined. Although, he considers himself lucky that he was granted a residence permit:

...UDI...and then we search can we live in Norway? yes... and then was so difficult for us to answer... some people get answer no, you do not... but I was lucky to get answer and then I can live in Norway. That was so challenge and so difficult for me... and then I wait for answer from UDI for 5, 6, 7 months to... I wait to, yes you can or no... but I was lucky to get answer ‘yes I can’. But more people get no you cannot live in Norway, you have to go back.

After the interview with UDI, Andreas was placed in a big refugee camp where there were professionals who helped them. In contrast with his experience in the west Norwegian municipality, he said that in the refugee camp there were only 10 professionals and hundred

refugees. In addition, he mentioned that they did not have gym or other facilities in comparison with the provisions they received from the organization in the west Norwegian municipality.

Also, Mario reflected on his experience when he lived in the refugee camp. He mentioned that the process to receive a residence permit may take years and that it is very difficult because the living conditions in a refugee camp are not good:

It is difficult to... if you [inaudible] case to UDI and after UDI said to you that you have to wait the answer. It is difficult because you can wait for answer 2, 3 years. It is more difficult because the camp it is not good room, not good place to you... just normal room and so maybe dirty thing you cannot live.

Nikos endured uncertainty while he was waiting for his case to be processed by UDI and for this reason he reported high levels of psychological distress symptoms:

In that situation sometimes you totally lose hope, you get very anxious that maybe they are going to return you back to your family or your siblings wherever they are... and you start to get worried because of that. That is how it was, that what is the problem I had (...) Sometimes you get stressed and you get really helpless and you just want to close your door and cry and cry and cry. That is how you feel. That is how it was.

Post-migration hassles following the resettlement

Following their resettlement in the west Norwegian municipality, the refugee minors had to readjust to a new environment, a new language and a different culture that puts more barriers to achieve adaptation patterns (Keles et al., 2018). Participants mainly talked about the challenges of acculturation, as a further result they experience feelings related to acculturative stress.

Andreas from Afghanistan talked about his feelings when he arrived in the west Norwegian municipality and the changes over time:

It was so difficult when I came to (municipality). I had nothing, no friends, no people to... so it was difficult, but after some time I like it. From start it was so difficult, I hated my life but after some time so I start a good life... things were good.

Mario also added that he was nervous for the unknown environment when he came to the new municipality:

Because I mean when I came in (municipality), it was not good because I do not know what look like (municipality), but now it is good. Because it will be soon 2 years.

Language barrier

A major challenge for Andreas, George and Mario was the language barrier. Some of the ways participants summed up this challenge were as follows:

“The first was language, so difficult... after this... weather was (laughing) also a little bit”. (Andreas)

“After that it was with the language also, we didn’t know same language, we can’t speak English and Norwegian. So we can’t ask another, we find just who is from Eritrea or find someone who understand our language. So it was very difficult, so after some long time we will be like start to understand Norwegian, it will be just better”. (George)

“The first thing challenged me came to Norway, learn Norwegian. It is so difficult learn another language. It was my challenge”. (Mario)

Lack of support and guidance

George cited lack of timely and consistent support of professionals as a major challenge during the first months of his settlement in the west Norwegian municipality:

When I came to (municipality), I lived here with another young like me from the same country and he is not here he is leaving. So we didn't have someone to help, we were alone here... here was not someone (showing the second floor of the house where we had the interview) it was just we down (pointing down to the first floor). So we live in like around 8 months and 7 months, so there 3 another coming here and another young 2, no 3 coming after we living here... like around 6 months. So after that we lived together, they started to help us.

Alexia also commented on that matter:

...I think they should have more of these apartments with professional with 24 hours. But before, not so many years ago, it wasn't any people in the weekend... it was just day time with some... I don't know how many hours were working, but there weren't professionals all day.

Cultural contrasts

George talked about having a large family of ten people who were living all together in a big house in Eritrea. Therefore, he highlighted the need of seeking social collectivism in a new culture:

Of course, you want someone when you come here. In our country we don't live alone, so we live with a big family. That's why we want, when we come here it is a new culture for us to live alone. So, you must have someone to live with. So, it was not problem for me to live with another in one room. So, in my country we live in around ti (Norwegian number for ten) people.

Nikos discussed how they are trying to accommodate their cultural needs in relation to food and religion in Norway:

For example, fasting. In Easter there is fasting for about 40 days and in this period of time there are specific kind of foods you eat. Because you are not in your culture or in your home land you might not be able to find those kind of things you used to eat and it makes your experience a bit difficult (...) I can still explain that here is Easter holidays now, like we have it here... it is not the Easter holiday but we have free from school but after one week it is going to be our Easter, the different Easter that we celebrate and that week we supposed to celebrate the 'hemamam' period... and when we are celebrate that we are at school instead of being free, for example. It is a bit clash because we do not get free when we are supposed to and we celebrate the free time with the rest of the people.

Culture shock

Mario, George and Nikos talked about the cultural shock they experienced when they first faced the unfamiliar way of life in a new environment. Mario mentioned a different lifestyle of people. That it was difficult for him when he arrived because he did not know the people and the Norwegian social norms:

When I came first time in (municipality) because I don't know the people, I don't know some things about (municipality). But now I know how it is in (municipality) and it is good. You know... Saturday and Sunday (municipality) people like celebration to the city (...) it is difficult because I don't like Saturday and Sunday night go outside. You know (municipality) people celebration these days go to outside and drinking. I don't like this.

George discussed about the differences in food and the dress code of women in his country. He explained women's restrictions on what they can wear and that he never saw women wearing short trousers in Eritrea:

Ok. I can say clothes, food and... clothes style and hair style. It can be difficult when you come... it is new for you... never you have seen it so you will be 'oh what is that?' (surprising expression) for example (...) When I lived in Eritrea almost I didn't see trousers very short. If you see the first time it can be very difficult. You know what I mean? For example, in our country the girls must have big dress, cover the body. They don't use like...

Nikos raised the matter of non-verbal codes as expressed in his country and the different levels of physical closeness that consider appropriate in Norway for being in friendly relation and having a romantic relationship:

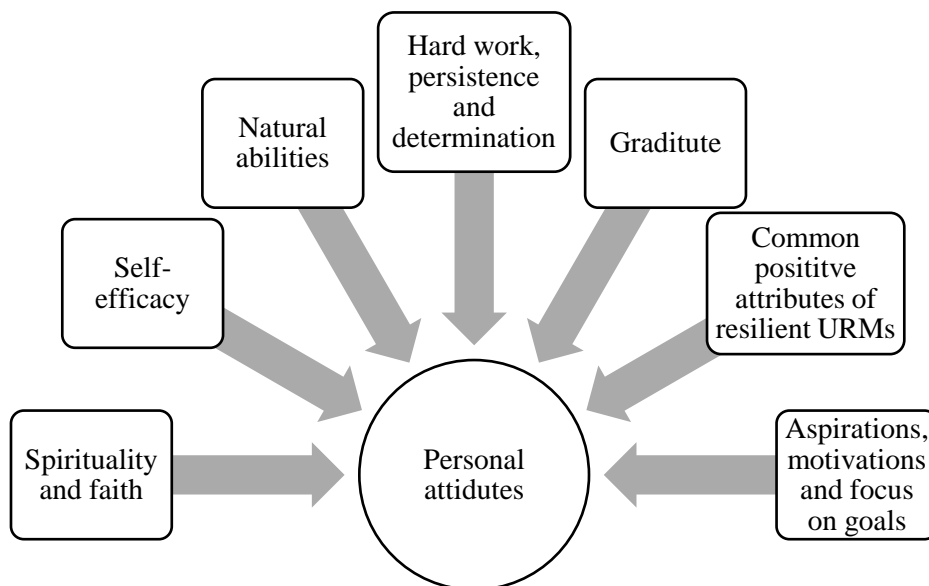
One of the things that I don't like it is about homosexuality. That is one of the things that I don't really like here in Norway. Because we don't interpret it that way. One day we were hugging with my friend, we were going hugging on the street and we didn't really understand... but when people were going on the way and they were making fun of us, laughing at us and we couldn't really understand what was wrong, what it was going on... So, we came back here and we talked about it and the people here told us that here it is interpreted that you only hug or hold someone who you are romantically interested and that people would assume if you get closer or hug somebody of the same sex outside. It will not interpret it as a friendship but more as a romantic approach. So, it really bothered us and we think it is difficult or weird that people will think that (...) It is very common in our culture... you can hug and touch some other guy without really being interested in that person in that romantic sense... but we find out here that it is not very common and you don't do that when you are friends or it is platonic relationship and it really bothers us ... we think it is very strange.

In summary, one of the insights this research yields is that the participants in this study encountered many challenges due to pre-migration traumatic exposure, as well as, post-migration hassles after arrival and following their resettlement. Particularly, this research focuses on the challenges that URMs encountered after their resettlement in the West Norwegian municipality in relation to their overall integration. A set of stressors that put barriers to achieve adaptation patterns includes challenges related to the process of re-adjustment to a new country, such as learning a new language and a new culture (Keles et al., 2018). In line with this, the participants under study pointed out lack of support and guidance, language barrier, cultural contrasts, cultural shock and acculturation stress as the major challenges following their resettlement. A conclusion to be drawn from this finding is that barriers in the environment and throughout the acculturation process in addition to high level of previous traumatic experiences may lead to negative outcomes in relation to their well-being and adaption in the host country.

Theme 2: Personal attributes

This theme is places considerable attention on competences and strengths resided within URMs and highlights their importance in relation to their resilience. Youth participants possessed internal qualities that helped them to develop their resilience and are central components in answering the second research question; What are URMs' specific strengths?

Figure 3: Theme 2 and its 7 subthemes



Spirituality and faith

Mario expressed commitment to his faith by going every day to pray at mosque after school. Also, he mentioned that he does not like to go out during the weekends and drink because it is part of his religion. In this regard, Alexia states that in Islam consuming any intoxicants, such as alcoholic beverages, or smoking is generally forbidden and that can be considered as a protective factor to avoid of getting them involved in disruptive situations that usually young people are tempted to try:

In their religion, they are not supposed to drink and they are not supposed to smoke and they have these rules. Sometimes it can help them when they are young and they want to experience new things ... it is kind of nice when they say: 'no I don't drink alcohol because my religion says that'. It can be good to help them be nice when they are young and be... I don't know, young, wild and free or whatever they called it (laughing).

In addition, Nikos talked about his participation in the church's choir and how he believes that God helped him to overcome the emotional distress and problems he had experienced in relation to waiting to get the interview with UDI and afterwards the response to his application to grant residence permit when he was staying in the refugee camp:

It could be because I had problems... because I was feeling... I had a lot of problems, I think I used to go to church often... very much... I was almost like a part of the choir and the church I was going there (...) I think God helped me in a way because I was going there.

Self-efficacy

Self-efficacy is defined as a personal judgement of "how well one can execute courses of action required to deal with prospective situations" (Bandura, 1982). Many of the youths seemed to develop coping behavior and executed sufficient efforts that helped them overcome challenging circumstances.

George described that after one year of his settlement in the west Norwegian municipality he learned a lot and he can do what he wants without any problem. Also, when people do not understand what he wants to say, he explained himself in different words. As he said:

Before one year ago... after that I will be like, I can do what I want and what I mean, I started to explain with another way and many words like... if people don't understand when I say something, I try to explain with other words... you learn so more, so it is not difficult for me now. I can do what wish, I don't have some problem now.

Helen and Alexia also spoke positively about the youth's abilities to overcome the trauma and the language challenge by building relations of trust with the formers and by being eager to learn information about Norway. By this they meant George, Nikos, Andreas and the other youth that they have been working with. Helen said the following:

... they have so much abilities, so much resilience that you can see they are using again to trust people and getting to trust those around them, the professionals who are helping them (...) They are willing to learn and they are learning really fast. And that is also a challenge that they are overcoming very quick because they are eager to learn and eager to adapt to the new society.

In the same vein, Alexia commented that they are very interested in Norway, the country where they live in. She added that they are discussing politics, social codes, the differences between their countries and Norway because they really want to learn how it is.

Natural abilities

Some refugee minors have certain natural abilities and skills that make them unique. Through the field research, the researcher noticed that George did a nice haircut to Nikos and she praised him for his talent during the interview when she provided this as an example of one of his strengths. Also, George acknowledged his skill as carpenter and his very high ability to take care of animals when he was asked what his skills were. He added:

I am a carpenter and I can work with animals. I am very good on that, take care cow and sheep. Goat also and many animals I can take care.

Nikos recognized his talent in football and Mario told about his talent in comedy and his performance experiences back home in Afghanistan:

... I am good with comedy. When I lived in my country, I was in school also... like programs and a lot of people watch me in school... and I show some funny thing.

Hard work, persistence and determination

All four youth participants are demonstrating hard work, persistence and determination in achieving their goals. Alexia described this in the following ways:

Everybody goes to school. Many of them have big dreams and they are really working for their dreams. They want to be something, they really want to go to school and become something and work.

They are usually very easy to help because they really want to do this and have this motivation to be something... it is very important to them to get successful in the end and it is really nice to see them again.

An illustration of the above statements is Andrea's persistence and determination toward his school and work responsibilities:

I like school, I go to school and that is my... I go to school every day and when I want to do something and then I will do (...) I don't leave them and I do and this is my... and I go to school, work... I like work, yes.

Alexia commented on the positive personal attributes resided in Nikos and other youth she has been working with. She also described her perception of their contribution to Norway:

I think we have many good resources from these youths because they had usually worked hard. They like to work physically, usually they say they want to be mechanics and they have helped their parents in hotels. I think many of them have good resources to give us in Norway. They are used to work hard and work to get things.

Gratitude

All participants showed gratitude for the support and the things they learned from people in their environment. They also showed appreciation for positive things regarding life in Norway when they compare it with negative situations they experienced in their home countries.

Andreas showed gratitude for the things he received since he arrived in the west Norwegian municipality in comparison with what they had in the refugee camp:

...but here, when I came to (municipality), I get TV, I get more money and I get to go to school... a better school, it was a better school and I get more help, it is more activities and was yeah... it was a big (...) help.

When Andreas was asked if he was happy with the help he received from the organization, he answered:

Yes of course, I am very happy with life in [name of municipality] and I get a very good help from the organization also. They help me always. I am very happy! So, I will say always thanks for everything that you do for me yes... it was a good help.

In addition, Mario commented that it is good for him that the education and the provision of healthcare services is free in Norway in comparison with other countries. Nikos admitted that he also learned a lot from the researcher who was spending time with them in the activity center because they were practicing English:

I also learn a lot from you because of the English we practice here. It helps me to be good in my English too.

In this regard, Helen mentioned that the youth after a few months of their resettlement in the municipality felt safer and their mentality changed. She said that they became more thankful for what they had and they stopped testing them because they acknowledged that the professionals were doing the best they could and they had the best they could get from them.

Common positive attributes within the participants

There are some common positive attributes within all youth participants that helped them to enhance their interactions with people and move forward and adapt well in the new environment. Helen and Alexia described these common characteristics and particularly they talked about the relationship and communication qualities of the participants and the youth whom they cared for. Alexia said that those who are open minded had it easier when adapting to the new life in Norway. She also mentioned the significance of their motivation to build a good life:

It is often easier for those who are more open mind. Sometimes they live in very conservative cultures, but if they be a more open mind it is easier to accept that people live in different ways and it is ok (...) Also, they are more interested in how this country works... probably because they are open mind. They are interested in how we do things here, and they want to build a life. They have had a hard life from their country and they really want to build a good life for themselves. I think the motivation is the key.

Helen commented that the youth are outgoing and are able to build good relationships with peers from other ethnic groups and professionals:

They all are kind of... outgoing and they are good friends and doing well with each other because of the nationality. We can see that many... maybe one of the boys... one boy from Eritrea and one boy from Afghanistan can go out and do activities together... and we see that they are outgoing and they are open to be like... eem one family in this house and they are developing a safe place here... and they all have the ability to build relations with other boys and with adults who are working here.

Nikos, when asked what good characteristics he has, he replied that he can interact very well with people and that he likes to laugh and talk and interact with people. In particular, he said:

I am not a mean person, I cannot really be mean to people and I don't intent to do any harm to other people. I would say that is one of my characteristics.

In addition to reaching out to others, George said that if somebody needs help, he should ask in a polite way. Similarly, Andreas pointed out the importance to be respectful to other people and build relationships of trust. Particularly, when he was asked if there were cases where he have to change his strategies for him to adapt to life in Norway, he replied:

It was the same when I had in Afghanistan and I continue with my rules. It is the same. I respect people and they respect me, I respect another religion, they respect my religion, and I respect women and they respect me.

Also, the advice that Mario would have given to a friend who is coming to Norway in order to adapt well to life, shows his respectful attitude:

Don't make problem in Norway. Don't fight. It is another advice, don't fight because I live in Norway soon 3 years. I don't fight with other people.

Finally, Alexia described how helpful and compassionate Nikos and other refugee minors who live in the same apartment are towards their friends who are in need:

They are very good at taking care of each other and... if one friend is in pain, they are seeing him a lot more, and they are visiting him, and they invite him to eat with them, and ... they care for each other.

In the answer to another question about the rewarding part of her work with them, she commented how cheerful and enthusiastic they are:

Every day when I come to work they are always say; 'hello (name), nice to see you... They are very polite, and it is very nice to come to work and you feel like... you care for them and, you feel like they care for you.

Aspirations, motivations and focus on goals

The primary goal that motivated all participants to come in Norway was to have good education. All youth participants focused on these goals in the following ways:

"I come here to learn and to have good education. If I cannot have good education, I cannot work. Then I wish... if I have education, I can work... how can I say... I want to work in another place, I can go there because I have education. Because my goal to come here to learn and to have good education" (George)

"If you mean the main reason... it is because of education. It is because you hear a lot of good things, like you can have your own laptop, they will take care of you, give you education, you have a lot of opportunities to continue education so that is one of the things that motivates you to come here". (Nikos)

“My goal was to go to school. It was my first goal to finish school and to get a better life in Norway... and to live in Norway because it was a normal life... I don't like it live in war, you understand”. (Andreas)

“When I came, I am thinking... if I come to Norway, I am thinking ‘I go to school, learn Norwegian and I want to become politician, go to the high class’. This is my goal and now I continue”. (Mario)

All participants pointed out the importance of education and hard work when describing how they would achieve their future goals and career aspirations. George described that he would finish his education, he would work for some years and after that he wishes that he would become better and skilled enough to start a big company as a carpenter. When he was asked how he can achieved this goal, he said:

It is easy if you... in the beginning you start with your education, you know how to cut... if you are a carpenter you know how can you make it. you know? it is easy to use... you can find many ways to do it. I think it is not difficult if you learn... if you take education about that. I hope I will do it.

Nikos also commented that the only way to fulfill his wishes was through education, but he expressed his uncertainty regarding what career path he should be choosing. He said that he wanted to become a bus driver, although when he was informed that this did not require higher education he said that he would rethink his options and change his approach on the matter so he would find the right subjects that would lead him to fulfill his wish for higher education.

I am still thinking maybe I need to choose a different field, other than what I mentioned. I know I can do it! If being a bus driver wouldn't do it... if that will not take me to where I want to go, like higher education... I am thinking maybe I need to have a different approach, a different way other than that... and then maybe I need to take different subjects in order to make that happen.

Mario stressed the importance of education to seek for a job and education's significance for developing his competences so he can help other people:

If I finish my education, it is better to help me. Because if you finish your education, you can find a job in an office... if you don't have education it is difficult to find job and you can't ready to help other people. If you have education of course you understand what help they need and you can help the people.

Andreas shared his dream to continue his education at the university level, to have a job and a family. When the researcher asked him to describe how he thinks he can make these dreams come true, he replied:

It is one way to do your dreams, to work hard! In school and yeah always.

Mario commented that if one is not going to school and read, then one cannot achieve one's own goal:

Then you must go to the school, you must read. Reading every day, not just kidding go to the school and after you can... you must learn, you must reading and you must go to the school.

In summary, the second finding is that all participants possessed common internal qualities that contributed positively to their adaptation in different domains of their lives in Norway and thus further demonstrate their resilience. Coping skills development, willingness to ask for help, spirituality and faith, self-efficacy, natural abilities, hard work, persistence, determination, gratitude, aspirations, motivations and focus on goals, such as, strong desire to move forward

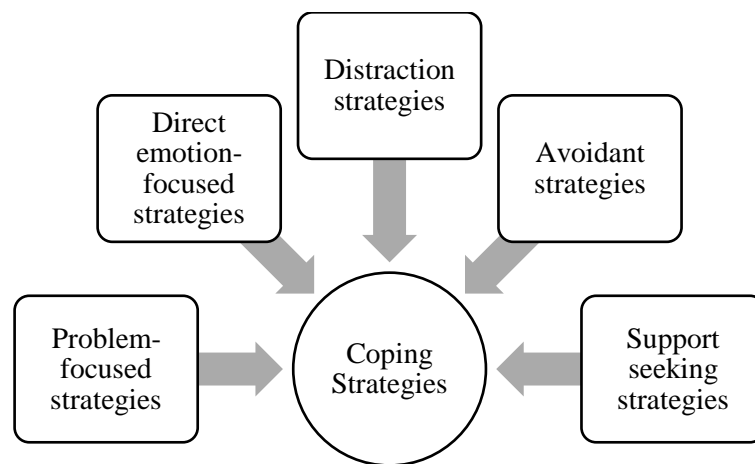
and build a good life as well as strong commitment to education, are URMs' personal strengths that have enabled them to adjust and thrive in a new environment and culture.

A conclusion that can be drawn from this finding is that previous studies that used a deficit model (Jensen et al., 2014) (Ungar & Teram, 2005) have overstated the strengths and experiences that URMs carry with them and how they contributed to pursue adaptation patterns in a new environment and culture. A related conclusion is that, the URMs' endurance through war, flight and displacement should be viewed as strengths and not as an obstacle that keep them from moving forward in their lives. Overall, the researcher believes that it is important to take into consideration URMs' mental health issues due to exposure to adversities, although the most important thing to consider is the inherent strengths of URMs and the positive aspects in their own culture. It should be professional's ultimate duty to recognize and utilize URMs' strengths and competences, as well as, to increase culturally relevant resources in their environment. As a result, URMs' resilience will be promoted through provision of resources in meaningful ways (Ungar, 2008).

Theme 3: Coping strategies

This theme highlights the varying coping strategies that all participants used in the aftermath of trauma as well as under stressful conditions after their arrival in Norway. Participant's coping strategies are part of their personal attributes. Both findings of theme 2 and 3 are linked and address the second research question regarding URMs' strengths. All the participants interviewed generally adapted well over time to life-changing situations and managed to respond effectively to difficult situations. Participants' statements are assigned into the predetermined categories and dimensions based on the conceptual grounds of Ayers et al. (1996) model of coping as presented in the literature review.

Figure 4: Theme 3 and its 5 subthemes



Problem-focused strategies

Mario seems to use direct problem-solving strategies as a dimension of the problem-focused strategies by acting on adverse situation by trying to change himself. While acknowledging that it is difficult for him to sit near girls because he gets nervous, described that he can try to stop being shy:

For me it is a little bit... if I sit near the girls, I am nervous. It is difficult for me. A lot of friends said to me... like shy... you know shy?" (...) "yes, I am a shy guy. You know? A friend said to me if you go to high school, you can sit with a girl or a boy. It is not your choice, it is teacher's choice. You must just finish the shy. I say I can try

Direct emotion-focused strategies

Adopting a positive cognitive restructuring and expressing feelings were two dimensions of the direct emotion-focused strategies that Andreas used. He seemed to cope with a problem by maintaining a positive outlook:

I try to be happy when I have hard time. I will... you know when people have hard time maybe they cry, maybe they will be sad. But I will try to be happy yeah.

Both professionals also spoke about direct-emotion focused strategies of the participants that they use to deal with traumatized experiences of their journey and when they were living in their country of origin. They conveyed how the youth used positive cognitive restructuring since they dealt with their trauma and the challenges of loss of family and migration experiences by accepting that they could live with the situation of lack of contact with their family. George, Nikos, Andreas and Mario keep an optimistic thinking in the following way as illustrated by the comments of both professionals:

“The way that they dealt with them, some of them they are kind of... not talking so much about it because they know that there is not much to do about it and some of them are like... ending on ok this is my home now and you are my family and they talk a lot about friends, the other friends from Afghanistan... they often reply to them as family... this is him and him and him... these are my brothers, this is my family... so they kind of... like one of them saying they are building their own family now... not the terms that we use for family here in Norway but the kind of they use... and you can see them ... they kind of eem... they don't struggle with things that they cannot do nothing about.. so, they kind of come to peace with not getting contact with their family in Afghanistan” (Helen)

“...some of them can do well anyway, but some of them maybe they have diagnosis like PTSD and I think you can learn to live with it because... even then you have to live with it your whole life” (Alexia)

Distracting strategies

Other categories of coping strategies that strengthened resilience and served as a protective factor for participants was the ability to suppress emotions by getting involved in physical activities and use of distracting actions (Ayers et al., 1996). George, Nikos and Mario talked about going to the gym in order to physically work off their feelings, as well as, going for walks as physical way to relax:

“I go to gym or go out walk. It is better to do it” (George)

“For example, if I have one problem, if I am stressed with something... if I get stressed instead of just staying at home, being stress it about more I tend to take walks outside... so I am being outside is one of them” (Nikos)

“If I am thinking sad and go to the school every day... Like bad mood? You know mood? Like sad. Maybe I think, what should I do? And after if I feel sad, I go to the training and after training... you know mind? Mind want sometime... you can think sad and after 5 minutes everything is ok. I am going to the training maybe and going to the outside” (Marios).

Only Nikos mentioned a distracting action by avoiding thinking about a stressful event (Ayers et al., 1996). He said the following:

...Or I sleep, in a sense when I get worried I just sleep and then when I get back maybe I have a good state of mind to think about it again.

This means that all the participants have used distracting strategies of coping. Three used physical release of emotions and one used both physical release of emotions and distracting action.

Avoidant strategies

Both professionals mentioned cognitive avoidance as another strategy used by the youths that includes efforts to avoid thinking about the problem (Ayers et al., 1996). Alexia, when was asked how much the young people share about their experiences in their home countries, replied:

Usually they are very restrictive with what they are sharing. So they don't share so much from their home countries or their travel to Norway. But when you have a trust relationship, they start to share something, but some don't share anything. I know very little of their past, very little.

On the same question, Helen answered in the following way:

It is very different from boys to boys, but none of the boys have like sit down and share all of their story. That I think would be too much for them.

She also added that when they manage to build trust relationship with them, then they share some experiences of their journey:

But when you have grown a relation to one of the boys you can see their story comes in... bits and bits in... mainly em... in many situations you do not expect them. It is just like when we watch a TV show together, they can like... ooh, there is a dessert that remind me of the dessert I walked through in five days. And then they like em... then we can talk a little bit around that in a natural way and we can that is like good for the boys.

On this point, Alexia said the following:

When they come from Afghanistan, Eritrea or Syria, they maybe have learned to... ok this is happened to me, now I have to move on. They have this different type of thinking, I think. And sometimes I think they just have to be ok to leave the past and move on because they all learnt to do this.

In addition to cognitive avoidance mentioned by professionals, avoidance actions are the second dimension of avoidance strategies that were not indicated by the researcher. This means that the participants used only cognitive avoidance strategies as part of their coping.

Support seeking strategies

All the participants talked about seeking support from the people who work with them or family or friends when they are having a hard time (e.g. school, work) or when they are dealing with negative emotions. This behavior is in accordance to Ayers et al. (1996) coping dimensions of the *problem-focused support and emotion-focused support dimensions*, that fall under the category of support seeking strategies.

George's behavior represented a problem-focused support dimension of coping, when he described the use of people as resources to assist in seeking advice, information or direct task assistance in the following way:

I call to my friend or someone I know. Can tell them, they can give me... what can I do better or... (...) if you come here and if you need something from someone you have to ask them. You know how can you ask and what it is important for you to ask or what it is not important... I think that's enough.

Similarly, Andreas talked highly of the support he was receiving from the organization and the professionals who were working with him:

When I need help I tell always the people who work with me. It was my resources yes. And yeah, that was my resource, Institution like...

This means that Andreas used problem focused support for seeking help from professionals in the organization.

Nikos used emotion-focus support, while he mentioned that when he was having a hard time he said that he was talking with his friends. If it was a big problem then he turned to his family and siblings for support.

Mario used support-focus support by involving the use of other people as resources when he had a hard time:

It is so difficult sometimes to solve the problem and I can ask other people 'can you help me?'

When I need help, maybe some people I know... maybe I call to him and maybe I just send a message: 'you can help me this day, like today, tomorrow'. If they say yes, it is ok and if they say no, maybe I can call to another guy.

He also mentioned that he seeks support and shares his personal problems with people he knows. Further on in the interview, he stressed the importance to talk with people if they feel sad. He means that the most important thing if someone feels sad is to talk with other people and it will make one to feel better. In this case, it is illustrated that Mario also used emotion-focus support.

Drawing on emotions-focused support, Helen differentiates the needs of the participants to deal with their emotions. She mentioned the need of some youth with whom she works with to be heard and to be around them. This conveys their need to know that their feelings and thoughts matter. She gave an example of one youth who she cared of and she said that he sought understanding by sharing his traumatic experiences to make him be less upset:

One of the boys have had the need to tell very horrifying things from his journey. He told about friends that were getting killed and people he lost and family he left behind in very detail (...) And that was his need (...) Then other boys have the need to be around us and be close to us many hours of the day. And there is like a different need for boys.

In connection to Bronfenbrenner's ecological model it is obvious that participants used multiple coping strategies that can be related to both micro and meso- systems in the environment where the participants exist in. This finding suggests that professionals should consider measures that contribute to URM's coping skills development on both levels in order to influence the latter's resilience positively.

Perceived factors in the environment that develop or hinder resilience

This section is divided into two themes that include factors that either contribute or limit URM's resilience in the aftermath of trauma during their resettlement in Norway. Factors that influence resilience adaptive patterns are related with environmental sources in micro and meso- level available to the participants at the West Norwegian municipality. The participants' perspectives on the factors that foster resilience or vulnerability are reported and address the third research question.

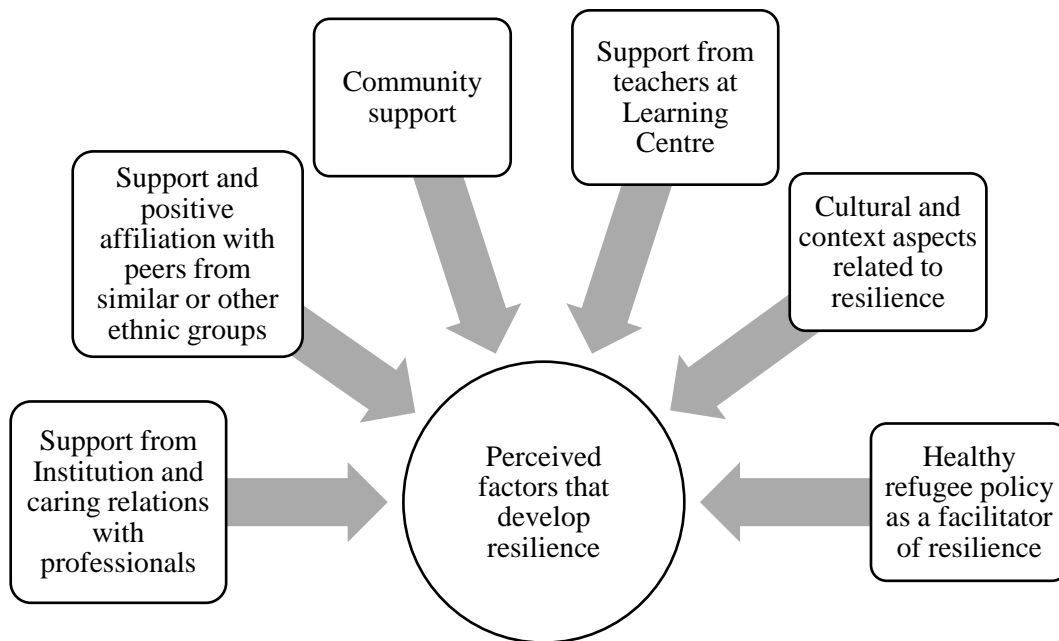
The primary and overriding finding of this section is that URM's resilience can be developed but also can be learned throughout their life by changes in risk and protective factors and

experiences in a particular context. This is in line with Ungar's (2015) argument that the context and available sources can develop or hinder the resilience-promoting factors.

Theme 4: Perceived factors in the environment that develop resilience

A supportive environment and caring alliances helped to create and support the conditions needed for resilience to develop and enhance participant's ability to move forward in their lives. This finding is highly significant because of the positive experiences that youth participants encountered at the organization and other support services they received in the community and school. These elements served as protective factors to feel accommodated in the new environment and further developed their psychological well-being and resilience.

Figure 5: Theme 4 and its 6 subthemes



Support from the organization and caring relations with professionals

All youth participants talked highly about the support they received from the organization and the professionals who influenced positively their daily life and enhanced their resilience. Nikos considered the organization as a factor that help him do well in his life because, as he says, it is where they are getting all the information about the country, such as local rules and regulations. Mario, also commented:

(Organization) help me because... when I came to the (organization), they helped me...they helped me to go to the school and learn Norwegian. If they don't help how can I live in (municipality)? (...) They helped me to go to the school, they give me money to live in Norway and (the municipality). You eat good and your health is good.

In addition, professionals in the organization help URMs to learn to interact with people in their immediate circle and acquire new skills, competences and practices which help them actively participate and adapt well in life in Norway. Nikos described his experiences with the organization as helpful because he learned to have a more positive attitude towards people and be precise at appointments. He said:

One of the things they help us was to be humble with people, how to help or get help from other people. That one of the things they taught us. How to interact with people. To be precise on your appointments, to be on time and never be late or to take unserious your appointments.

George says that the organization enhanced his competences and teach him new life skills:

You can say for example (the organization), they do good for me. When I came here, I didn't have some talent, so they show me so many things so I can be more better than before I come here.

Nikos recalls:

They take us to local gatherings with local people ... young people ... to integrate, to interact, and I think that's a good thing. I see it as a good thing. Once a month there is a meeting like check-up things... in the meetings you talk about things how to drive... driving course and stuff like that. For example, we talk about things like... taking a course about driving and things like that.

In summary, the organization and the professionals can provide to URM's a general understanding of the social norms and the new culture in Norway. In this regard, it can be concluded that the primary purpose of the organization is to create a safe environment for healing and respond to the needs of refugee minors using a multi-level approach (Southwick et al., 2014), involving both URM's, school and group interventions as well as integration measures. Although, it may be challenging for some refugee minors to relate and accustomed to the new culture (Keles et al., 2018). A further and related conclusion that can be drawn is that, though the organization and community adopted integration measures by providing language, civic knowledge and a further assistance to access the labor market, in some cases such interventions may be inadequate in providing social integration support. This may occur because they do not blend successfully the values, behaviors and languages of the URM's' countries of origin with those of Norway. although it may be challenging for some refugee minors to relate and accustomed to the new culture.

Other mechanism that comes forth in the findings as the mechanism that contributes positively to the resilience was the constant support of professionals towards the youth to have goals and make plans that help them to move forward and overcome potential challenges. Nikos has provided an example that supports this finding:

For example, sometimes, in those meetings we make plans... For example, now it is Easter holidays, so you get informed to plan ahead, how to plan things... we get questions. For example, if you want to be here, or if we have plans to be somewhere... to celebrate somewhere, or to travel some other countries... it depends but we talk and plan things ahead together with the staff.

George described how things got better after the professionals started working 24 hours in the apartment where he was living and he referred to the help he received with homework, as well as to other practices they teach them:

So, when they are coming here and we ask with Norwegian language, it will be better... It became better, and we ask when we have some homework, they help us with some difficult words, they explain how can we do.

He also mentioned how the professionals help them to search for a job by providing them with workshops that teach them to write their CVs. Although, he highlighted that they do not find them a job, but they teach them the skills to do it:

If you live like me, they help you every day, and if you want search work... actually they cannot help you to... give. Just search, how can you search. They can help you what can you write in your CV (...) But they cannot give you job. Just help you to search or something.

Based on the observations, the researcher believes that the youth workers at the organization with whom she interacted, have the competence to give the refugee minors the necessary psychological care by being good role models, setting clear boundaries, giving the necessary psychological care and showing compassion. This can also be seen in the finding that each youth participant had positive experiences related to their interactions with the professionals. On this point, Nikos described how the relation with the professionals helped him realize how he can adapt and improve his responses in conflicts:

I like it very much ... They help you a lot, especially sometimes you get frustrated or angry, but they stay calm, when you get angry... And afterwards you feel bad and you start to think; maybe they will keep an eye on me because of my reaction... But when [you] go back to them, you can see that they are ok, that they don't feel anything, or they don't feel offended or react. So you feel good, you aspire to be like them... how they treat you. They teach you a lot. I learned a lot from them because these kind of experiences (...) If you stay calm, and then let the person be angry for whatever reason they want to be angry, it calms the situation. This is one of the things that I learned from them, and I think it is one of the things that I want to be ... how to approach any kind of disagreement or conflict.

Andreas described more poignantly about his life in the municipality and his positive feeling regarding the received support:

Yes of course, I am very happy with life in (name of municipality), and I get a very good help from (the organization) also. They help me always. I am very happy...

Specifically, he affectionately referred to the professionals as being his father and family:

They help everything like fathers, like my fathers and my family. How family help children? I was like children always, so they help in everything. When I was sick, they drive me to hospital. When I will go to visit my friend, they drive me. When I need something, when I need to buy clothes, they did it ... Yeah, they do everything for me.

Also, the importance of building relationships of trust with people in their social environment, for example, teachers, professionals and other young people who contributes positively to promoting URM's adaptation patterns and resilience, is illustrated by the following professional's comments:

"I think, of course, the ability and resilience they have with them is a big factor, but also the way that they are met from professionals and from care takers in the school, in the home, in their community. I think it is a big factor because how they are met, I think, that reflect how we expect them to behave... And I think, it is very important, and we see they are ability to grow relations and be safe on professionals to help them and do their best for them... And it is very good for them". (Helen)

"I think the key for them is us because we are the nearest Norwegian person that know the system and know how it works. So, when they have trust you can accomplish many more things... If you have the trust and good relationships, and they are really interested in how I live in my life. I had my children at work another day, I took them with me and they love the kids and I think it is good to have these small things that give them an idea how it is". (Alexia)

In summary, building trustworthy relationships with significant adults in their new life contributed to participant's well-being and development of more adapting behaviors. This is in line with previous researches that demonstrated the significance of social support and establishment of good relationships with professionals and peers (Pieloch et al., 2016;

Thommessen et al., 2015). A conclusion that can be drawn from this finding is that good relations provide URM's lives with structure, routines and meaning. In such context of relationships, it is possible for the URM's to recover from trauma as such contexts allow discussions of the URM's fears and vulnerabilities.

In other words, a supportive environment and caring alliances create the contextual conditions and capitalize psychological strength that develops resilience that allows URM's not only to recover from trauma but also enhance their competences to thrive. Therefore, the key is to employ competent professionals at schools, in social welfare services and in community organizations. These professionals should be able to provide the necessary psychological care and can also address URM's psychological and behavioral concerns. At the same time, it is important that the employed professionals have an open mind in order to be able to expand their own cultural values. This will help them to have a greater understanding of URM's cultural values that influence and explain the rise of URM's certain types of behaviors.

Another key protective factor that promoted psychological resilience in URM's is the fact that the organization provides them a stable place to live where their basic needs are met. In this regard, Andreas described the basic human services and the help he received from the organization:

...if we get a nice house, and we get to go to school, we do not pay for them. I don't pay for my clothes. I do not think about it to buy for something... Yeah, they help me always what I want. They do for me everything... it is so many things they help me.

In addition, George said:

If you take enough money, and you have clothes and you have enough money to live, it is enough..., you will be better. It is your first time in Norway, and it is difficult. After that, it is more easy. Like me, it was very difficult in the beginning... Now I know what can I do, what is better or what is bad. I think it is good.

In relation to that, both professionals identified a more adopting behavior that improved the participants' health and benefit them build trustworthy relationships with the UMRs after one year of their resettlement:

"...And we also see they are so much... We can see that they are more calm and more... relying to adult contact compared to when they came, and we also see... they learn more about the importance of school and they trying to... they get goals on school, goals on life and we can see that they are like... feeling like home and be safe and then develop themselves in many areas". (Helen)

"Usually it takes some time (to overcome the trauma), but after around one year they usually get more trust ... and when they have more trust to us, they usually are willing to get more help ... so build trust is very important to get them the right help they need...". (Alexia)

In this case, it can be argued that when physiological and safety needs are met then the refugee minors are able of seeking personal growth and have promising outcomes. As Southwick et al., (2014) stated, "maybe the most effective way to enhance resilience is to provide a safe, stable and loving environment that allows the child's natural protective systems to emerge, and to foster healthy brain, cognitive, emotional and physical development". This belief was illustrated by Andreas who talked about how he can rebuild a better life in a new way in Norway:

In Afghanistan for example I think it I come to be one of them to... to do something bad... but in Norway I think I will get a better life, I will help another yes.

George reflected on his past experiences in Eritrea in trying to cook food with fire by using woods from the forest and he compared it with life in Norway. He said that the life in Norway is much easier because they have electricity and a lot of electric machines:

We use fire from tree. In some city, we have like the big city like here. So it's very difficult to make food with fire, yeah. And many different. When you come here only use electric. It's very easy to do what do you want, for example when you make food or another thing is very easy to use machine. When you create a house we don't use some machine (...) we take ourselves just... it's very difficult. When you come here, just almost do machine. Just you do you feel how can machine do... like... here it's very good I think. Different so many different.

To sum up, a successful transition to the Norwegian society is characterized by the provision of a safe and stable place to live where URMs' basic needs are met.

Also, supervision and guidance by professionals were identified as major environmental protective resources for developing adaptation patterns during the integration process in the municipality. The importance of more supervision and guidance from professionals is illustrated by the comments of George. Specifically, he emphasized the need for someone to help them when he first arrived in the west Norwegian municipality:

We should have help this time because we were need... we don't know some things, what we can do.

In addition, he said:

They were not coming to help you every day, they were busy from another (organization)... they had many places to help. If they have to help other people, they cannot come to you every day. The same for me also, they were coming one time per week and it was like this... very difficult. After that they came here. I like it... to ask them what happen with you, what do you want to do, what do you like, many things happen.

Therefore, when he was asked about what advice he would have given to a cousin or a friend who is coming to Norway in order to adapt well to life here, he stressed the importance to go to school and the necessity to help him to orientate into social and cultural aspects of Norway, such as rules, customs, and culture:

You can say... about school maybe. You have to go to school, it is very important. I can ask about school and about life. It is difficult to say about life here actually, but I can say him to go to school. You have to go to school, this is a new country, you will learn the system. I will show him how the system is going and which school he should go and like (...) And the rules. I will explain the rules. The rules, how people are and the culture! I can explain which culture they have in Norway and the rules... he must not do wrong (...) if you come from another country, you have another rule. Maybe you think is the same rule with my country, so you do like... many things wrong. It can be difficult.

George also expressed the need to build relations with Norwegian people and that this would have made his integration easier:

I want help from them because they know the culture, all things happen in the country... it is their country, they can help you many things. After that when you know about their country, you can help them also. There is not just they help you and you not.

In this regard, Andreas explained:

I think it's a good advice for Norwegians to be (Norwegian word), to be friends and to talk with the refugee people and to know how they are, think... to talk to some yeah... to understand how the refugee people are.

Nikos expressed his wish to continue interacting and receiving support from the Norwegian professionals:

I hope they continue as they are doing now... helping us. I think both parts want that... we want for example to be all together, to interact and talk. They show interest in us, we show interest in them, so I think it is good. They are doing it.

In summary, the constant support, supervision and guidance of professionals in the organization towards the URM, including teaching social skills and everyday practices were identified as major environmental resource that facilitated the URM's resilience and adaptation patterns in the new community. As Keles et al. (2018) stated, "both heritage and host culture competence is considered important for URM's adaptation and well-being". In this regard, it can be concluded that a key protective mechanism is the provision of information regarding social norms, regulations and services that prepare them for barriers they might encounter when the support of the Institution come to an end.

Support and positive affiliation with peers from similar or other ethnic groups

Another external factor that promoted resilience among the participants was the support from peers who served as a supportive network. All participants expressed the need to reach out to peers to facilitate their well-being during difficult times. Specifically, George talked about seeking help from a friend when he first arrived in the municipality and he did not trust the professionals:

We were the first boys here so we have one of the personnel to work here. If something happens with you, this person can help you many things. It is private. I had before they are coming but there was from another place, another Institution. So maybe they are just cheating with me, I don't understand what have they write and I show it with a friend. He understands a bit more than me. So, he answers and...

Andreas visits and talks with a friend when he has a hard time. He added that this makes him feel better. Similarly, Nikos said that he is talking with his friends. On this point, Mario commented:

Sometimes is good weather in (municipality), you can go outside and meet other people... talking.

Additionally, when George was asked what was the most helpful support for him, he answered:

This time I had for example (-) I started gym with a young boy who lived in the (organization), so he knows more than me. He shows me to train and what kind of pose can I take, how can I go to city, to downtown or like many things. I can say he was (-) that was more help for me. I get help of him I can say.

In summary, support from peers served as supportive network during difficult times and promoted participants resilience. A conclusion to be drawn from this finding is that the peers from the same or different cultural background become a source of support for the URM when they need it.

Community support

Community resources and provision of opportunities for participation in social activities were also important for the participants' psychological well-being and development of an accommodative feeling in the new community. As illustrated in the following example, social activities were a source of support for George:

When you are feeling sad you can say, they can help you. They come to you and they ask you what do you want, what can we help you and... something they can do. They take you to some activities.

In this regard, Alexia considered social activities as an important external resiliency factor that help the participants to build community network. In this case, they can develop new friendships and a sense of belonging:

Maybe helped them to achieve... the network... motivate them to go to football and meet, so we call it network in Norway when you have friends. They don't have family so we have to get them friends and usually they want to know Norwegian people and to get to know Norwegian people you usually have to go somewhere to meet them... so motivate them to go to football or volleyball or activities (...) to get to know Norwegians and meet their friends.

Regarding experiences in the community, George expressed a positive view and he mentioned his involvement in several activities:

... Maybe gym, training or swimming or something I did most time... (...) I like it, it is good!

Mario also referred community support services as helpful resources in his adaptation process. Specifically, he mentioned that having a supportive relationship with a professional in social welfare and a competent guardian helped him to adapt to life in the west Norwegian municipality. He described the received support from the social worker in social welfare in the following way:

(The organization) help me and school also help me learn and commune also like... different office. You know one woman who work in social... social work. One woman, she helps me also and commune help me what I want and how can I buy something in my house... they also help me.

With reference to the guardian he reported that when he was under 18 years old, the community provided him a guardian who could support him by giving money, advices and other things. Despite he turned 18 years, he said that the guardian wishes to continue assisting him.

In addition, to the question about giving advices to the community to help URMs to adapt to life in Norway better, the following advices were stated:

I can say when the young people come here, they must have more help... more than us who live longer here. For example, I am living here more than two years so if a new person... new young people come here, they must help him more than me. Because they don't understand the language and the rules... culture and many things, so they have to stay and start with him a good contact, show him down town and which way cars going... I can say they need more help from another living here long time. (George)

I can also advice to the community... please help these guys to live in the (organization)... to support this. And they want to help until these guys become 20 to live in the institution. After 20 you can go outside. I think if I give advice to the community; please two years more chance to this guy to live in the institution, to receive support (...) I mean to 22 because some people... a boy is 20 and he doesn't understand Norwegian. If they have support two years more, maybe they understand better. (Mario)

In summary, participation in social activities in the community is another environmental resource for the URMs' psychological well-being to which participants can rely on. Thus, community resources proved to be central for developing an accommodative feeling and building potential social networks for the participants. A conclusion to be drawn from this finding is that the provision of community support services is vital to the URMs' psychological adjustment in the new environment. Therefore, integration does not fall only on URMs'

attributes but also in the community where they are resettled. If communities provide support through intervention programmes then URM's will and build on their abilities and be adeptly acculturate. As a result, URM's will have the opportunity to flourish and then they can give back in the community in different ways.

Support from teachers at Learning Centre

All participants attending Learning Centre which considered as another key environmental resource for overcoming barriers towards resilience. The overriding finding that teachers in Learning Centre enhanced participants' resilience adaptation patterns is reflected on the positive educational outcomes experienced by the youth. All participants talked highly about the support and knowledge they received from the teachers, especially when they were contrasting it with past educational experiences from their countries of origin. Following are some of the ways participants discussed the support of receiving the information they needed to know about Norway:

Of course, it helps... many things. If you learn you know... I don't know in English... like society. If you want to learn about society, you have to go to school. For example, and the culture. You learn at school all the things about the country. Also, you get good education, you know the system (...) If you go to school, you started to speak the language. Also, if you speak the language I think it is not difficult for you to have what you wish (George)

For example in Eritrea... let's say at school, if you do not good at your homework the teacher will hit you, they will use physical approach, like a stick... to hit you with a stick to show that you have done something wrong ... instead of learning, understanding what you have done wrong, you will just try to assume ok... there is no explanation, so your options are either you just copy from other people... just instead of understanding what you are doing, you just concentrate how to make it right because there is no other explanation about that. Then you come here and you see that the teacher don't hit you, they inform you if you do something wrong or if you don't do your homework nicely or good... they will still explain why are you doing wrong, so you see that benefit me, that make sense so you can differentiate what benefit you or doesn't... and you can be able to use your previous experiences in that sense and what helps you as a person (Nikos)

The first year I came to Norway I don't understand Norwegian and I don't know the culture and I don't know how can I speak Norwegian. Now I know because I go to the school and... I have Norwegian friends some... and I know Norwegian and I also know about Norwegian culture (Mario)

Having the opportunity to attend school and valuing education is also associated with promoting adaptation and resilience in participants. This finding is best illustrated by the comments of Andreas and Mario:

Yeah school for example I can't go to school in Afghanistan but in Norway I got good help to adopt and go to school (Andreas)

If you don't go to the school, you cannot go to your goal... you just finish (Mario)

In addition, Mario when he was asked if he is working, he said that school is his job and he identified the learning assistance as the most helpful support:

The most support... help me in the reading so I learn more. Because if I go to the special high school in Norway, maybe it is difficult for me... if they don't help me it is so difficult.

Thus, Andreas advice towards newcomers in Norway is to go to school and learn the language:

...that two things I think there are so important to do, language and school in Norway... and get... yeah when you cannot speak the language is so difficult to live in another country. It is

like a key, language is like a key (...) My advices to all the people when they want to adopt to Norway and when they want to be well in Norway is good to learn, speak the language and go to school. Then they can find a job, they can find everything.

Similarly, Mario said:

But I also advise him 'if you come to Norway, don't think about job because the most important thing is education. If you finish education, after you can find a lot of jobs and money... and you can marry in Norway... a lot of things. But must... must advice, you must go to school... learn Norwegian. It is important'.

In regard to a better educational model towards the refugee minors was stressed out from Alexia:

I think first of all they have to go to regular schools. I think the Learning Center is a good school, but they are... all of them are at the same school. I think they will learn much faster and they will learn much more things if they go to regular schools and have this... how they call it... social pedagogy... and other people with special education for these kids in different schools (...) I think they will learn all much quicker. I think it is best for them. I think kids who have been in Norwegian schools and they developed much faster than the other ones.

In the same vein, Helen pointed out that participants would have experienced greater inclusiveness and faster adaptation in a Norwegian school:

They have a school name Learning Center and they are all the refugees from the whole county go to that school... and of course they are divided in different classes regarding the level and age...but then again, I think is... if the boys have the availability to go to a Norwegian school, in classes with other boys that are the same age and live in the same area, I think it will be better for them to get integrated and get to know the community in a whole different level. So, I actually do not think the school model they use in the community is the best with the thoughts about integration and adaption for the boys.

Helen elaborated more in the above idea:

It is for all the refugees (referring to Learning Center), so the strengths about that it's that they have good teachers that know how to teach and how to approach the refugees. But then again, they don't get... socialize with the... they don't get a natural area to socialize with the boys and girls that are the same age or in the same stage in life as they are. And we know from our own childhood that school is the best place to get friends and get relations. And they don't have that many areas that they spend that much time out at school... so I think it would be a better model if they had good and specialized teachers around in different places in town and the boys could go to a local school. I think that would be better for adapting to community and better for language and better for many things.

In summary, participant's constant attendance of the classes at the Learning Centre and the fact that they value education are mechanisms that directly influence their resilience adaptation patterns. As Nelson Mandela said, "Education is the most powerful weapon we can use to change the world". Ungar (2008) is also stating that school should provide children with appropriate educational experiences personalized to their level of study. Although, he argues that those experiences will nurture resilience and mitigate risk behaviors only if they are responsive to the new context that are meaningful for the students. In case they experience racial discrimination then the children's resilience will depend on their previous context and cultural realities (Ungar, 2008).

Draw on these statements, one can conclude that education is the weapon that helps URM's to transform their life from struggle and pain, to a life of great achievements. URM's should acquire knowledge if they really want to make a change in their lives, while educating

themselves on a daily basis can lead them to self-development. Although, the best way to do this would be through accountable schools that have a vision to plant those seeds on URM. Thus, URM will aim to get better, to learn more and understand things more broadly as future citizens in Norway.

Cultural and context aspects related to resilience

One of the insights this study yields is that creating a cultural environment of mutual respect promotes resilience. Mutual respect of cultural diversity is best illustrated by the answer of Andreas to the question what has it been like living in this area as a person from another culture:

Yeah, they have culture and the culture and the rules they have... all people can have culture... I can go with my culture's clothes and I can speak with my friends my mother language is no problem. People don't see something about you (...) For example, I mean people don't see about Muslims, about another culture they see you are good and me also... yes... so that's good.

To sum up, the organization provides participants an environment that promotes mutual respect towards cultural diversity as a result the development of their adaptation patterns. The primary conclusion that can be drawn from this finding is that an environment where cultural diversities exist and are being respected allows participants to express their cultural and religion identity by keeping some of their cultural values and continuity of traditions.

In addition to that, Alexia pointed out the importance of the participants to keep some of their cultures and continue to celebrate their customs that they brought with them:

When you grow up, you have your culture and you feel like home and you have it. I guess when you go home to your mum now and you eat her food, you feel like home and its yours. I think it is important to have some of them with them here, even if they are not home. To take care some of their culture and religion, that reminds them of home and safe... whatever they feel. I don't know, when I grow up I had these things that I always do because my mum she did it... and now I am doing the same things... I don't know how its suppose to express it but... sometimes it can be very good because you are ...I have learnt when I came here... I am more open mind and I am more respectful for other religions and I think they are too.

Alexia considers culture as both a risk and protective factor. She said that is a protective factor because when the participants keep some of their culture aspects that creates a feeling of safety in their new life in Norway. She further elaborated on that with the following comment:

I think it is a safety that they can still have some friends, some people they can talk Pashto with and Tigrinya and they have stores that sell food from their home country that they can make. And I think that is also a protection factor that they have like some things left from their old life. If it is food, if it is language, if it is music I think it is to take that with them, I think it is a good way to make them safe and makes them like they can keep some of their culture and some of the background they have... and I think that it is a good protection factor that they are available to do that.

In summary, development of resilient adaptation patterns is a context and culturally bonded journey taken by the participants and as such, this development is a part and parcel of a process of re-forming their personal cultural identity. Keeping a part of their culture is related to a healthy functioning that nurture resiliency for URM. This is in line with Ungar 's (2008) finding that "being culturally grounded, knowing where you came from and being a part of a cultural tradition which is expressed through daily activities" is a promotive factor that promote resilience.

Healthy refugee policy as a facilitator of resilience

George referring to the refugee policy as a facilitator of his well-being and adaptation in Norway. Particularly, when he was asked if the refugee policy helped him, he answered:

Yes, they helped me. If they didn't help me... I cannot become anyone I can say. They helped me to have enough food, enough money... I think that is enough. They give you without... you don't work... I am not working but I have some money... I get every month, so it is good... I think they help me.

In the same vein, Nikos expressed a positive view toward the refugee policy. He said:

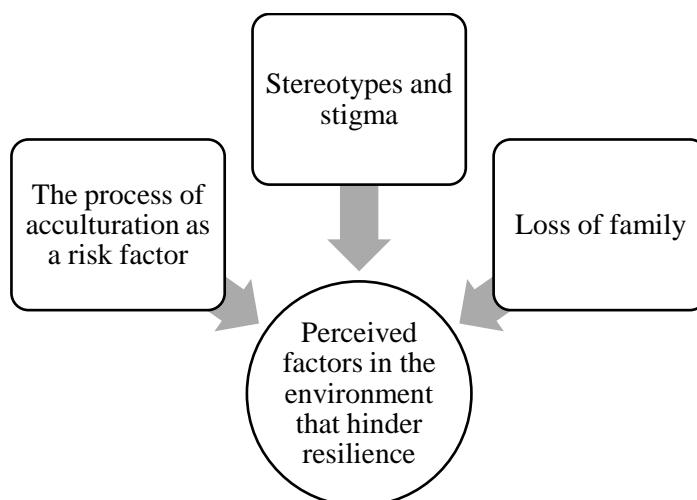
Yes, I can say that because last year we were only using computers at school... that's the only way we were able to use the computers but now they changed it and now we are getting our own laptops at home. We have our own private laptops which can use both at home and school... so we take it with us. It's our personal laptop, so they have done that.

In summary, two participants, George and Nikos, mentioned that the Norwegian refugee policy was instrumental in facilitating their well-being and resilience. A conclusion that can be drawn from this finding is that integration being rested only on the refugee minors themselves is insufficient. Based on these findings, the researcher suggests that Norway should build a social policy that promotes cohesion between the refugee minors and the locals for a more harmonious life for both parties. In this respect, the effective integration of URM's should be considered to be a mutual collaborative responsibility shared by refugee minors, community and refugee policy makers.

Theme 5: Perceived factors in the environment that hinder resilience

Mechanisms that hinder resilience for participants are related to the evident challenges that are presented as the first theme in the analysis. These challenges include language barrier, lack of support and guidance, and cultural contrasts. Cultural contrasts encompass examples of cultural shock experienced by the participants and the necessity to accommodate cultural needs in relation to food and their religion. In this theme, other risk factors, such as stereotypes and stigma, cultural divides, and loss of family, that were emerged from the data analysis will be presented. The prevalence of those risk factors increases the likelihood of segregation of URM's from the new environment based on ethnic, religious or cultural divides (Ungar, 2008). As a result, impacting URM's adaptation in Norway.

Figure 6: Theme 5 and its 3 subthemes



The process of acculturation as a risk factor

The process of acculturation can produce considerable stress on refugee minors and if the negotiation with themselves and the environment is unsuccessful (Keles et al., 2018; Ungar, 2015), this may result in poor outcomes in terms of integration in the new society and segregation based on cultural divides .

Cultural divides

Cultural divides between the refugee minors and Norwegians in the host community is an important factor that may hinder resilience (Eapen et al., n.d.). Patterns of cultural divides, such as gaps in ways of thinking, norms and habits due to different cultural values and norms can result communication failure and misunderstanding between the two parties. This idea is best illustrated by the experience of George. Particularly, he talked about how his act of respect of offering his bus seat to an older person or greeting strangers before sitting is perceived differently by Norwegians:

Of course, it is difficult when you come from your own culture to a new culture. For example, when I came here, when I sit in the bus... In my country if you sit with a person, of course, we talk and you say hi, where are you from, what are you doing. It is not here in Norway. We need it, we want to say, but it is difficult. They don't understand because it is very different. It is difficult for me. The first time, of course, you say 'ok, you cannot speak, it is ok... you don't know the same language'. In my culture, you are feeling that you should do... you feel I must do it. You can say hi, so you can sit. They cannot answer you because they don't understand you also. It is difficult. If it is in my country, if you sit with a person you don't understand, he is from another place. He is coming and he say 'hi'! What is your name miss? Where are you working? Where are you from?' Many things. Also, when an old woman or old man coming in your side or behind... when you sit here, you think it is respect for the old man or the woman... you think ok... you stand and you say 'can you sit here, please?' The man will say 'why?' Because they don't know it. Someone know it, but not all. In my country if someone come older than you, you have to stand to show respect. It is not here in Norway. Ok, here they respect but it is not... they don't care if someone stands (...) Still now it is very difficult for me (smiling). Not for say 'hi', it is ok now... I know it. It is to stand... If I see someone stand... I will also... then I remember what it will happen. It is very difficult for me, still now. I did it before, in the week. It was in the morning, I saw the woman from Arabic... maybe they had almost the same culture. I stand, I say 'can you sit here, please?' She said thank you... she said it was very good... I am happy (smiling) it was good for me. If it was from Norway or another... I cannot do it (...) They think negative for you and they say... they think 'do you think I am old? Or do you think I cannot stand here?' They ask you difficult questions... you cannot answer, you know?

The communication failure of the refugee minors with the local people is illustrated also in George's comment:

I can say all Norwegian people, it can be... you know communication? It is difficult of communication... I can say they don't have communication with people from another country. They don't want. It is not all... many, many, they don't want to ask something with you. They are feeling very bad, you know what I mean? They will not ask or talk with you... many things. Someone wish to help you, it is not many people but just bit... just little. You can say many people from Norway help refugees. Many people don't wish to help. It is difficult to say about it. I cannot say all people from Norway must help refugees, I cannot decide over them... I cannot decide for them, they should to do.

In addition, both professionals commented on the fact that refugee minors who hold on to their culture can make it hard to accept the Norwegian culture and to integrate. The professionals believe that, as a result, they may develop risk behaviors, such as involvement in ghettos:

If they are eem too many people from the same country... that you are like kind of hanging on to your culture and hanging on to your language... and we can see if the boys are only being around, example Afghanistan people, we can see the lack of development in their language. And we can see that, maybe, they hold on to some thoughts of culture like (short pause) it does not have to be a negative or positive, but they hold on to cultures like about women and marriage... because they talk about it, in between the Afghanistan people that 'aah you must marry early and you must marry a young girl, young girls are best and kind of like that... and it do not...' Maybe it is not their opinion, but they are like being a cultural thing in Afghanistan culture... (Helen)

Some of the group if they get with... what it is called (-) these youth groups and some of the are not good... maybe they are criminals and these stuffs, and if they go with the wrong friends... they get them the wrong way (...) Some of the culture affects that as well because the youth from Afghanistan are very respectful to those who are older than them. So what the older tell, they have to do it... Almost whatever they say they have to do it because they are younger... if I was from Afghanistan and I need money, I can ask the youth ones... those who are younger than me and I have to say yes because the culture says that and I cannot ask to get the money back... you understand? They have a lot of respect for those who are older ones. (Alexia)

In summary, one of the findings was that George described cultural differences and adjustment in a new culture as major barrier towards his integration in the west Norwegian municipality after his resettlement. In conclusion, the communities should tackle these barriers by providing an adequate place where the communication with locals is encouraged. If this intervention measure is taken both URM's and Norwegians will have the opportunity to share information about their culture, exchange perspectives regarding cultural differences and challenge their cultural values. Thus, efforts towards integration in the new society cannot and should not be URM's' solidary attempt. In this case, there is a potential of development of new understanding and learning that might result in the diminishment of the likelihood of segregation of URM's. Otherwise, the prevalence of ethnic, religious and cultural divides will lead to development of poor outcomes concerning URM's integration in the host country.

Stereotypes and stigma

URM's' strengths are overlooked because they are stigmatized of carrying a lot of trauma that occurred in the face of adversity. The risk of stereotypes and stigma cause cultural divide that diminishes refugee minors' full potential to move forward (Ungar & Teram, 2005). Alexia talked about how people in the political scene distinguish and perceive refugee minors as the 'others' and how they spread prejudices about the refugee minors:

...and I think right now they are making these prejudices. The politics that are now they are treating US and THEM. It is not so including... and some maybe they are scared and they don't know how these kids are... and they are scared and they are following up with that we don't need more of them, they have to go home again.

Therefore, Mario stressed the necessity of designing refugee policies that promote social cohesion that prevent negative perceptions of immigrants:

I can give advice to Norway policy: please, support the immigration, and don't stop immigration and borders... They said we don't want more immigration in Norway, and I say, please, let them come because immigration want help. This is my advice... and don't talk about immigration, I mean I can advise don't talk more immigration. Because they said we don't need immigration,

and I think Norway have a lot of place... and if they want Norway is a very big country and they help immigration... and more support.

In summary, stereotypes and stigma diminishes participant's strengths and their ability to move forward, while Western deficit models focus on the trauma they carry with them (Ungar & Teram, 2005). Mario's comment on what can be better obviously touched upon to exo-system and macro system of the society. The future of these participants and other underage URMs coming to Norway is obviously depended on the beliefs and values of the Norwegian society and the social mobility opportunities of such migrants that economic, political, education, government and religious system will allow for. This is in line with Southwick et al. (2014) argument that "resilience in the individual is highly dependent on multiple layers of society".

Loss of family

The participants cited grief over the loss of the family as a major barrier in the way of refugee minor's adaptation. The URMs described the grief and separation from their families in the following way:

One of the problems can be, for example, home sickness, you miss your family. I did experience it too before my brother came... I used to miss him a lot, now that he is here... now I am ok. I don't miss him at all because he is here and I can see him every day. Some people do miss a lot, and some of us we don't really miss our family that much... So maybe that's help. For example, one of the things that will make others to adapt here hard could be if they have for example some sort of relatives, people they care about in countries like Libya or on the way who haven't really made it so far here. It makes them worried, think a lot about those people who haven't really made it... So that would make their experience a bit difficult or hard to adapt. Yes, things like that. (Nikos)

Yeah, maybe they do not have... Maybe they miss family also, yeah... but I do not know what it can be so difficult. (Andreas)

if I said to you I have one friend. He was living with me... and now I live alone...and adapt to life in Norway and learn Norwegian ... He is very lazy boy, he is not going every day to school. It is difficult, he is just thinking about his family. (Mario)

In summary, some participants indicated that in the process of adaptation, feelings of grief in relation to loss of their families influences other refugee minor's well-being and integration in Norway. This is in line with Lustig et al. (2004) who identified loss of homeland and family as factors that diminish the well-being of refugee minors.

4.3. Chapter Summary

This chapter presented the findings revealed by this study. The structure of organizing the findings was based on Bronfenbrenner's ecological model.

The first research question sought to explore URMs' challenges following their resettlement in Norway. George main challenges after resettlement were the lack of support and guidance for professionals, the language barrier, the cultural contrasts and cultural shock. Nikos' main challenges were the cultural contrasts and cultural shock. Andreas' main challenges were the language barrier and the acculturative stress. Mario's main challenges were the cultural shock, the language barrier and the acculturative stress.

The second question sought to identify URMs' strengths. All participants appeared to aquair inherent strengths that are summarized below:

George's strengths are self-efficacy, natural abilities (carpenter and haircut skills), gratitude, aspirations, motivations and focus on goals (strong commitment to education). Nikos' strengths are spirituality and faith, self-efficacy, natural abilities (football skills), hard work, persistence and determination, gratitude, aspirations, motivations and focus on goals (strong commitment to education). Andreas' strengths are self-efficacy, hard work, persistence and determination, gratitude, aspirations, motivations and focus on goals (e.g. strong commitment to education, strong desire to move forward and build a good life). Mario's strengths are spirituality and faith, natural abilities (comedy skills), gratitude, aspirations, motivations and focus on goals (strong commitment to education).

The third research question intended to uncover how are factors in the new social environment (e.g. caregivers, school, culture, community organizations) perceived by URM in relation to their resilience. Participants identified a variety of factors that they perceived as those that either advanced or hindered their resilience. All the participants indicated that, in the process of adaptation in the community, they relied on environmental sources, for example, the community organizations, Learning Centre, community resources and peers. First, all youth participants talked highly about the support they received from the organization and the professionals who influenced positively their daily life and enhanced their resilience. Second, all participants talked highly about the support and knowledge they received from the teachers, especially when they were contrasting it with past educational experiences from their countries of origin. Specifically, they appreciate and value the opportunity given to them to attend the Learning Centre as a preparation of their afterward integration in regular Norwegian schools. Third, all participants perceived community resources and provision of opportunities for participation in social activities essential for their psychological well-being and development of an accommodative feeling in the new community. Fourth, all participants expressed the need to reach out to peers to facilitate their well-being during difficult times. Fifth, two participants consider Norwegian refugee policy as an instrumental facilitator towards their well-being and resilience.

The most important determinants that perceived by the participants that hinder their resilience was the prevalence risk factors such as stereotypes and stigma, cultural divides, and loss of family. George referred to cultural divides, both Nikos and Mario mentioned loss of family and Mario referred to loss of family and stereotypes and stigma.

5. Conclusion and Recommendations

5.1. Conclusion

URMs challenges following the resettlement in Norway

The first research question sought to explore URMs' challenges following their resettlement in Norway. The sample of URMs in this study expressly stated that the lack of support and guidance, language barrier, cultural contrasts, cultural shock and acculturation stress were the major challenges following their resettlement.

URMs specific strengths

The second question sought to identify URMs' specific strengths. All participants appeared to acquire the following inherent strengths: coping skills development, spirituality (and faith), self-efficacy, natural abilities, hard work, persistence, determination, gratitude, aspirations, motivations and focus on goals.

Perceived factors in the new social environment that develop or hinder resilience.

The third research question intends to uncover how are factors in the new social environment (e.g. caregivers, school, culture, community organizations) perceived by unaccompanied refugee minors in relation to their resilience. Participants have identified a variety of factors that they perceive as those that either advance or hinder their resilience. All the participants indicate that in the process of adaptation in the community they relied on environmental sources, including professionals, community and peers. Firstly, all the youth participants talked highly about the support they received from the organization and the professionals who influenced positively their daily life and enhanced their resilience. Secondly, all participants talked highly about the support and knowledge they received from the teachers, especially when they were contrasting it with past educational experiences from their countries of origin. Thirdly, all the youth participants perceived community resources and provision of opportunities for participation in social activities essential for their psychological well-being and development of an accommodative feeling in the new community. Fourthly, all the youth participants expressed the need to reach out to peers to facilitate their well-being during the difficult times. Fifthly, two participants consider Norwegian refugee policy as an instrumental facilitator towards their well-being and resilience. The most important determinants perceived by the participants as those that hinder their resilience were the prevalence risk factors such as stereotypes and stigma, cultural divides, and loss of their family.

5.2. Recommendations

Based on the analysis, findings and conclusion in this study, it is possible to offer the following recommendations for the community, schools, refugee policy, and further research. Participants' suggestions and perceptions on social support services and refugee policy should be voiced and taken into account to better support refugee minors for the purpose of gaining better mental health, subjective wellbeing and resilience.

Recommendations for community (changes on the meso-level)

Communities should meet their obligations in supporting URMs' rights and their well-being with dignity and respect by providing them with local resources. Particularly, community organizations should meaningfully involve URMs in the design and implementation of

transition support programs and other community development strategies regarding their integration. Also, it is recommended to apply a developmental approach to promote resilience among refugee minors. This approach is more effective than the problem-based approach that dominates youth policy and programmes (Rajani, 2001). Therefore, a developmental perspective is critical for the growth and well-being of URMs, while the focus is shifted towards youths' assets and protective factors to overcome their challenges (Rajani, 2001).

Recommendations for schools (changes on the meso-level)

Educational intervention programs within the regular Norwegian schools could contribute to a better and faster URMs' adaptation as they will have the opportunity to mingle with their Norwegian peers.

Recommendations for refugee policy (changes on the exo-level)

Social cohesion policies should be designed and implemented. Policy making process should be more inclusive and considerable towards URMs' needs to prevent URMs' social exclusion. The process should aim at fostering positive bonding with local people and promote social mobility by encouraging education and enhancing skills needed by the labour market.

Recommendations for further research

Based on the limitations of the current study the researcher recommends a further similar study using the same criteria but with a larger sample of participants from different cultural backgrounds. Firstly, this research should aim at uncovering similarities and differences in perspectives from a variety of cultural groups. Secondly, a larger database of information should be gathered to allow a more comprehensive understanding of why some URMs are not adapting successfully in Norway. Thirdly, the researcher recommends the use of longitudinal study designs that can explore the importance of cultural and context aspects relate to resilience in determining URMs' resilience and adaptation.

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Appendices

Appendix A: NSD Approval



Mikhail Gradovski
Kjell Arholms hus
4036 STAVANGER

Vår dato: 22.03.2018

Vår ref: 59239 / 3 / LH

Deres dato:

Deres ref:

Tilråkning fra NSD Personvernombudet for forskning § 7-27

Personvernombudet for forskning viser til meldeskjema mottatt 15.02.2018 for prosjektet:

59239	<i>A qualitative analysis of resilience related: Strengths and Struggles of Unaccompanied Refugee Minors in Western Norway</i>
Behandlingsansvarlig	Universitetet i Stavanger, ved institusjonens øverste leder
Daglig ansvarlig	Mikhail Gradovski
Student	Maria Alkiviadou

Vurdering

Etter gjennomgang av opplysningene i meldeskjemaet og øvrig dokumentasjon finner vi at prosjektet er unntatt konsesjonsplikt og at personopplysningene som blir samlet inn i dette prosjektet er regulert av § 7-27 i personopplysningsforskriften. På den neste siden er vår vurdering av prosjektopplegget slik det er meldt til oss. Du kan nå gå i gang med å behandle personopplysninger.

Vilkår for vår anbefaling

Vår anbefaling forutsetter at du gjennomfører prosjektet i tråd med:

- opplysningene gitt i meldeskjemaet og øvrig dokumentasjon
- vår prosjektvurdering, se side 2
- eventuell korrespondanse med oss

Meld fra hvis du gjør vesentlige endringer i prosjektet

Dersom prosjektet endrer seg, kan det være nødvendig å sende inn endringsmelding. På våre nettsider finner du svar på hvilke [endringer](#) du må melde, samt endringskjema.

Opplysninger om prosjektet blir lagt ut på våre nettsider og i Meldingsarkivet

Vi har lagt ut opplysninger om prosjektet på nettsidene våre. Alle våre institusjoner har også tilgang til egne prosjekter i [Meldingsarkivet](#).

Vi tar kontakt om status for behandling av personopplysninger ved prosjektslutt

Ved prosjektslutt 15.06.2018 vil vi ta kontakt for å avklare status for behandlingen av personopplysninger.

Dokumentet er elektronisk produsert og godkjent ved NSDs rutiner for elektronisk godkjenning.

Se våre nettsider eller ta kontakt dersom du har spørsmål. Vi ønsker lykke til med prosjektet!

Vennlig hilsen

Marianne Høgetveit Myhren

Lise Aasen Haveraaen

Kontaktperson: Lise Aasen Haveraaen tlf: 55 58 21 19 / Lise.Haveraaen@nsd.no

Vedlegg: Prosjektvurdering

Kopi: Maria Alkiviadou, alkimaria@hotmail.com

Appendix B: Interview guides

Interview Guide –Youth

Introduction

I will ask you questions about you, your community, and your relationships with people. These questions are designed to help me better understand how you cope with daily life, your strengths, struggles and what role the people around you play in how you deal with daily challenges.

Everything you tell me will only be used for this research project and will not be shared with anyone outside the research team. Also, your name will be anonymized, to make sure that no one can understand who you are with any answers.

There are no right or wrong answers. Do you have any questions before we begin?

Background information

No. of interview:

1. Age:
2. Gender:
3. Ethnicity:
Probe: To which ethnic or cultural group(s) do you see yourself belonging?
4. Religion:
5. Education in Norway:
Probe: What school do you go to? Is it the Learning Centre with other refugees? Or you are in a Norwegian school? Or you participate in the introduction programme? How many days per week do you go to school?

Opening Questions

1. Would you like me to address you by your name or you can decide a nickname?
2. Who do you live with?
Probe: Are you living alone or an apartment with other young people? How many young people you live together? Where are the other young people from? How long have you lived with these people?
3. Where have you lived before (organization)? For how long?
4. Can you tell me about your situation since you came in this municipality?
5. What do you do during a normal day?
Probe: school, meeting other friends, training

Questions about aspirations, accomplishments and changes of oneself after arriving in Norway

1. What has changed in your life since you arrived in Norway?
Probe: Can you describe yourself today? Is it different from one year ago? Or when you came to Norway? What is the difference?
2. What goals (e.g. further your education, help relatives and friends who left behind, find a job) did you have when you came to Norway, and how are you doing in terms of achieving those goals?

Questions about challenges and coping strategies

3. Can you tell me about what was challenging for you after you came to Norway and how you dealt with these challenges?

If not covered in question 1 or 2 — Probe: Can you tell me about your experiences after arriving in Norway?

Probe: Did your experiences with the organization affect how you did in your daily life?

Probe: Can you tell me about your experiences you have had with the family or community, school, and organization. Are you happy with them?

Questions about internal factors and external factors related to Adaptation/Resilience

4. I am trying to understand what it takes for a young person like you to adopt well to a new country and a new culture. What has helped you personally to adapt to life in Norway? What did not help you personally to adapt in Norway? Were there cases where you had to change your strategies for adapting to life in Norway?

Probes: Tell me about who has helped you to adapt to life in Norway; where have you received support since you moved in Norway? For example, Social Services, caregivers, peers? What was the most helpful support?

5. What do you think are your Strengths? (good things about yourself and character, e.g. qualities/talents/skills) and Resources (maybe is a person, a thing or an action where you turn for help when you need it)? Can you think things that help you be strong and make you unique?
6. Do you think your personal strengths and previous experiences helped you in adapting to life here? If so, in what ways?
7. When you are having a hard time, e.g. in school or job, or you feel sad. What are you thinking or telling yourself so you will feel better?
8. Some of the youth seem to be adapting well to life in Norway and some of them seem to have more challenges. How would you explain these differences?
Probe: Think about two or three youth you know who have struggled adapting to life in Norway. What do you think made adapting to life in Norway difficult for them?
9. If you have a cousin or friend who is coming to Norway, what advice would you give him or her to adapt well to life in Norway?

Questions about their experiences of being a person from another culture in Norway

10. You have been living in Norway for 2 or more years. What has it been like living in this area as a person from another culture? What's the best part? What's the most difficult part? Why?

Questions about social support and refugee policy

11. Do you think there are things that schools and communities could have done to help you adapt to life in Norway better?
And do you think the refugee policy helped you? What can be improved?

12. Would you please give some advices to Norwegians about how to support children and youth in similar situations as yours?

Closing Questions

13. What wishes do you have for the future?

Probe: education, profession

14. Can you describe for me how you think you can fulfil your wishes?

15. Is there anything else you feel you would like to tell me that I have not asked about?

Interview Guide—Professionals

Introduction

This interview is being conducted to get to know the views of professionals on unaccompanied refugee minor's challenges, accomplishments and factors related to adaptation and resilience. I am conducting this research for my master's thesis at the University of Stavanger in Norway. I am especially interested on URM's and professional's perceptions on the former's experiences in a new environment and adaptation patterns. I am interviewing URM's and professionals who are working with them in the organization. The questions I would like to ask you are related to the topics mentioned above.

Everything you tell me will only be used for this research project and will not be shared with anyone outside the research team. Also, your name will be anonymized, to make sure that no one can identify you with any answers. You have already consented to the interview with the consent form.

Do you have any questions before we begin?

Background information

No. of interview:

1. What is your full name and surname?
2. How would you like me to address you?
3. Gender:
4. Professional background
Probe: Can you tell me what is your previous education/ highest finished education?
5. Professional experience
Probe: Can you tell me about your years of working experience and position?
6. Current position at Institution
Probe: How many years have you been working in the organization?
Probe: In which type of department (institution or bofelleskap) of the organization are you working?

Opening Questions

1. In the apartment where are you working, how many youths are living and which is their nationality?
2. What issues related to mental and/or physical health did you observe in this group of youth?

Professional's perceptions on youth's accomplishments

3. What are the major accomplishments of the young people since they resettled in the municipality?
Probes: Look for practical [education, employment] as well as social or psychological accomplishments [developing identity, dealing effectively with effects of trauma]
4. When you think about their successes and accomplishments, what do you think helped them to achieve these successes?
Probe: for personal characteristics, supports, relationships, etc.

Professional's perceptions on youth's challenges and internal factors related to adaptation and resilience

5. Among the youth you worked or working with, what have been the biggest challenges they have dealt with since coming to Norway and how successfully have they dealt with those challenges?

Probe: What were the experiences of the youth like in the municipality?

6. When you think about these challenges, what factors do you think have contributed to their challenges?

7. Some of the unaccompanied minors seem to be adjusting well to life in Norway and some of them seem to have more challenges. Among the youth in your apartment and their friends, did you see these differences?

If yes, how would you explain the differences?

Probe: Did those who were relatively successful tend to have certain characteristics in common?

Professional's perceptions on external factors related to adaptation and resilience

8. Do you think their culture relates to a risk or protective factor? How?

9. Did the relationship the youth had with the people in their social environment-teachers, professionals, peers- affect how well they adjusted to life in Norway?

10. How much did youth disclose to you about their experiences in their home countries? In what ways, if any, do you think their experiences in their home countries affect how well they adjusted to life in Norway?

Professional's suggestions on social support and refugee policy

11. Do you think there are things that schools and communities could have done to help youth adjust to life in Norway better?

And do you think the refugee policy helped the youth? What can be improved?

Closing question

12. Working with unaccompanied refugee minors is likely to be both challenging and rewarding. What did you find challenging and what did you find rewarding?

Probe: Can you think of times when you felt particularly good about working with them? Can you describe that experience?

13. Is there anything else you feel you would like to tell me that I have not asked about?

Appendix C: Informed consents

Informed Consent Form for Youth

My name is Maria Alkiviadou and I come from Cyprus. I am currently enrolled at the University of Stavanger and I am in the process of writing my Master's Thesis. The main purpose of the study is to understand how young people become stronger and are able to adapt well in the current multiple domains of their life in a new country (e.g. school, community and social life). I would like to ask you a few questions on your own experiences, thoughts and feelings on this topic. The interview will focus on the recent difficulties you face, how you tackle challenges to find your place in the community, things that make you more positive about yourselves, how you are able to get the help you need from the caregivers, community and environment for well-being and what role the people around you play in how you deal with daily challenges.

I agree to participate in this study, whose conditions are as follows:

- Semi-structured interviews will be conducted to collect the research data. Each interview will last for about 60 to 90 minutes.
- The interview I give and the information it contains will be used solely for the purposes defined by the study.
- At any time, I understand that I do not have to answer any questions if I do not want to or I can stop talking about something if I want to.
- I understand that I can change my mind about taking part in this research at any time. It will not affect the way I am supported. If I decide to withdraw, all my personal data will be deleted.
- The interview will be recorded to make the interviewer's job easier. However, the recording will be destroyed when the project has been evaluated, until the 15th of June 2018.
- All interview data will be treated confidentially. My identity will be anonymized.
- I understand that my words may be quoted in publications, reports, web pages and other research outputs but my name will not be used.
- I understand that what I say will be kept private unless what I say puts someone else or myself in danger.
- For information on the study, I can contact the student Maria Alkiviadou (alkimaria@hotmail.com) or the supervisor Dr. Mikhail Gradovski (mikhail.gradovski@uis.no).

I have received information about the project and I am willing to participate.

(Day/Month/Year, Place, Signature)

Informed Consent Form for Professionals

"A qualitative analysis of resilience related: Strengths and Struggles of Unaccompanied Refugee Minors in Western Norway"

Background and Purpose

My name is Maria Alkiviadou and I am a master student of the European Master in Social Work with Families and Children. I am currently enrolled at the University of Stavanger and I am in the process of writing my Master's Thesis. The main purpose of the study is to understand and explore how young people become resilient and are able to adapt well in the current multiple domains of their life after their resettlement in Norway (e.g. school, community or family life). The aim is to explore the URM's and professional's perceptions on the former's experiences, challenges and accomplishments in a new environment, as well as, adaptation patterns. Particularly, I am interested to explore and understand the difficulties the youth face after resettlement, how they tackle challenges to find their place in the community, how they are able to get the help they need from the caregivers, community, family and environment for well-being and how the social environment facilitates positive adaptation.

I would like to meet unaccompanied minors and ask them questions about their own experiences, thoughts and feelings on this topic. They are the ones who know about their own experiences and feelings in regard to adapting in a new society and culture, and how they overcome the emotional and environmental challenges they face that affect their everyday life and also what role the people around them play in how they deal with daily challenges. Therefore, I would like to make their voices heard by interviewing some of them about their personal experiences. Professionals who have a close working relationship with them will be also interviewed.

What does participation in the project imply?

The researcher will conduct semi-structured qualitative interviews that will let the young people tell in their own words, about the current challenges they face, resources available to them, their coping strategies, things that make them more positive about themselves and what's helpful and unhelpful in their context. The interviews will last approximately 60 to 90 minutes. The interview will be audio recorded to make the interviewer's job easier. However, the recordings will be destroyed as soon as the project is evaluated and that it will be in the middle of June. Caregivers who are going to give consent on behalf of the youth, they can request to see the questionnaire and the interview guide.

I will focus on 4-6 unaccompanied minors and their subjective experiences. All youth will be selected based on the service provider's determination that the youth belong to the group of young people who experienced adversity but either doing well. Service providers can help in the selection of the participants that fulfill the requirements because of their close working relationships with the youth. Afterwards, the service providers will be also interviewed. The professionals' perspectives will be added to supplement the information gained from the youths' interviews. The professional's interviews will last 60 to 90 minutes and will be audio recorded as well.

What will happen to the information about you?

All personal data is to be used for the purposes defined by the study and will be treated confidentially. Therefore, my observations will be recorded in a dedicated notebook and the

research data will be stored by the student in a secured electronic file accessible only to the supervisor, Dr. Mikhail Gradovski. In addition, to ensure further confidentiality, all the participant's names will be anonymized and as soon as the thesis is assessed all the information about you will be deleted. The project is scheduled for completion by the 15th of June 2018.

Results from this study may be used for scholarly publications, and presentations to professionals, parents and educators. Data will be presented in aggregate form to minimize the risk of loss of confidentiality. At no point will individuals be identified in the presentation or publication of the results of this study.

Voluntary participation

It is voluntary to participate in the project, and you can at any time choose to withdraw your consent without stating any reason. If you decide to withdraw, all your personal data will be deleted. If you have any questions concerning the project, you are welcome to contact the student Maria Alkiviadou (alkimaria@hotmail.com) or the supervisor Dr. Mikhail Gradovski (mikhail.gradovski@uis.no).

The study has been notified to the Data Protection Official for Research, NSD - Norwegian Centre for Research Data.

Consent for participation in the study

I have received information about the project and I am willing to participate.

(Day/Month/Year, Place, Signature)

Appendix D: Confidentiality Agreement

Confidentiality Agreement

This form may be used for individuals hired/asked or volunteered to conduct specific research tasks, e.g., recording or editing image or sound data, transcribing, interpreting, translating, entering data, destroying data.

Project title - A qualitative analysis of resilience related: Strengths and Struggles of Unaccompanied Refugee Minors in Western Norway

I, _____, the _____ (specific job description, e.g., interpreter/translator) have been hired/asked/volunteered to interpret, translate or transcribe interviews in this role. In carrying out these activities:

I agree to -

1. undertake to communicate information fully and faithfully, to the best of my abilities.
2. keep all the research information shared with me confidential by not discussing or sharing the research information in any form or format (e.g., disks, tapes, transcripts) with anyone other than the *Researcher(s)*.
3. keep all research information in any form or format (e.g., disks, tapes, transcripts) secure while it is in my possession.
4. return all research information in any form or format (e.g., disks, tapes, transcripts) to the *Researcher(s)* when I have completed the research tasks.
5. after consulting with the *Researcher(s)*, erase or destroy all research information in any form or format regarding this research project that is not returnable to the *Researcher(s)* (e.g., information stored on computer hard drive).
6. That any personal use of confidential data is strictly prohibited.
7. I certify that I have read and understand the Agreement

(Day/Month/Year, Place, Signature)

Appendix E: Permission to conduct research study

1/02/2018

xxx

Head manager of Institution

Address

RE: Permission to Conduct Research Study

Dear xxx,

I am writing to request permission to conduct a research study at your organization, Institution r. I am currently enrolled at the University of Stavanger and I am in the process of writing my Master's Thesis. The study is entitled "A qualitative analysis of resilience related: Strengths and Struggles of Unaccompanied Refugee Minors in Norway".

The main purpose of the study is to understand how young people become resilient and are able to adapt well in the current multiple domains of their life in a new country (e.g. school, community and family life). The aim is to explore the recent difficulties they face, how they tackle challenges to find their place in the community, what are their specific strengths and how they are able to get the help they need from the family, caregivers, community and environment for well-being. Therefore, it seeks to explore the factors that help to explain why some seem to adapt more effectively than others.

I would like to meet unaccompanied minors and ask them a few questions on this topic. They are the ones who know about their own experiences and feelings regarding adaptation in a new society and culture, and how they overcome the emotional and environmental challenges they face that affect their everyday life. Therefore, I would like to make their voices heard by interviewing five unaccompanied refugee minors about their personal experiences. Also, I would like to interview youth care workers who play a significant role in the youth's life and are familiar with the youth's challenges, opportunities and resources. The interview with the professionals will last about 30 minutes.

Interested youth, who volunteer to participate, will be given a consent form to be signed by them and their caregivers (copy enclosed) and returned to the primary researcher before the survey/interview process. Youth care workers who volunteer to participate will also be given consent forms to be signed and returned to the primary researcher.

What does participation in the project imply?

The young people who volunteer to participate, will complete a brief questionnaire in a quiet setting that is familiar to them. The questionnaire will collect demographic information about their background, such as age, ethnicity, education and their living arrangements. Secondly, the researcher will conduct semi-structured qualitative interviews that will let the young people tell in their own words, about the current challenges they face, resources available to them, their coping strategies, things that make them more positive about themselves and what's helpful and unhelpful in their context. The interviews will last approximately 60 to 90 minutes. The interview will be audio recorded to make the interviewer's job easier. However, the recordings will be destroyed as soon as the project is evaluated and that it will be in the middle of June. Caregivers who are going to give consent on behalf of the youth, they can request to see the questionnaire and the interview guide.

What will happen to the information about you?

All personal data is to be used for the purposes defined by the study and will be treated confidentially. Therefore, researchers’ observations will be recorded in a dedicated notebook and the research data will be stored by the student in a secured electronic file accessible only to the supervisor, Dr. Mikhail Gradovski. In addition, to ensure further confidentiality, all data will be identified by pseudonyms only. The master list for the pseudonyms will be kept in a separate, secured location accessible only to Dr. Mikhail Gradovski at the University of Stavanger. The research part of the project is scheduled for completion by the end of March.

Results from this study may be used for scholarly publications, and presentations to professionals, parents and educators. Data will be presented in aggregate form to minimize the risk of loss of confidentiality. At no point will individuals be identified in the presentation or publication of the results of this study.

Voluntary participation

It is voluntary to participate in the project, and the participants can at any time choose to withdraw their consent without stating any reason. If they decide to withdraw, all their personal data will be made anonymous. If you have any questions concerning the project, you are welcome to contact me or my supervisor (e-mail addresses below).

Maria Alkiviadou (alkimaria@hotmail.com)	Dr. Mikhail Gradovski (mikhail.gradovski@uis.no)
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The study will be notified to the Data Protection Official for Research, NSD - Norwegian Centre for Research Data. No costs will be incurred by either your organization or the individual participants.

Your approval to conduct this study will be greatly appreciated. If you agree, kindly sign below and send the signed form by email. Alternatively, kindly submit a signed letter of permission on your organization’s letterhead acknowledging your consent and permission for me to conduct this study at your organization.

Sincerely,

Maria Alkiviadou
 Student of the Erasmus Mundus Master Program in Social Work with Families and Children

Approved by:

Name and title	Signature	Date and place

Appendix F: Non-plagiarism declaration

I, Maria Alkiviadou, hereby declare that the Dissertation titled “A Qualitative Analysis of resilience related: Strengths and Struggles of Unaccompanied Refugee Minors in Norway” submitted to the Erasmus Mundus Master’s Programme in Social Work with Families and Children:

- Has not been submitted to any other Institute/University/College
- Contains proper references and citation for other scholarly work
- Contains proper citation and references from my own prior scholarly work
- Has listed all citations in a list of references.

I am aware that violation of this code of conduct is regarded as an attempt to plagiarize, and will result in a failing grade (F) in the programme.

Date: 1/07/2018

Signature:

A handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of several overlapping loops and a long horizontal stroke extending to the right.

Name: MARIA ALKIVIADOU