

IUL School of Social Sciences

Department of Social and Organizational Psychology

Education, Acculturation, and Adaptation: Unaccompanied Migrant and Refugee Youths in Italy

Francesca Osima

Dissertation submitted as partial requirement for the conferral of

Erasmus Mundus European Master in the Psychology of Global Mobility, Inclusion and

Diversity in Society

Supervisor:

Carla Moleiro, Associate Professor

Department of Social and Organisational Psychology, ISCTE-IUL, Lisbon

Co-supervisor:

Gizem Erdem, Associate Professor,
Department of Psychology, KOC University, Istanbul

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Acknowledgments

First and foremost, I would like to thank Carla Moleiro, my primary supervisor, for her guidance and support throughout the project, and Gizem Erdem, my secondary supervisor, who offered her precious help with obtaining ethical approval for the present study and reviewing the first thesis draft. Enormous thanks to Sandra Roberto for providing some of the sources for the literature review.

In addition, thanks go to all the adolescents interviewed, who impressed me with their braveness and strength as well as to all the stakeholders involved, who were so kind to give me the possibility of collecting data.

To my Lisbon flat mates and neighbors for the intense study sessions, the dances, and the delicious cuisine. To the Language School Team and my colleagues at Kiron for their enthusiasm, drive, and innovative ideas. To all the amazing people I met in Lisbon, Oslo and Berlin, if I fell in love with these cities is also because of you. To Brighton and Milan, which continue to be my beloved homes.

To my encouraging parents, my annoying brother, and my whole family, especially to my grandfathers, the best role models I could ask for.

I would also like to thank the Global-MINDS' coordinators, Elizabeth Collins, Kinga Bierwiaczonek, Christin-Melanie Vauclair, and Ricardo Borges Rodrigues, for having supported me during my Master's degree. Lastly, special thanks go to all Global-MINDS' students with whom I had the privilege and pleasure to share this incredible journey, from whom I have learned so much and who have inspired me to become a better person.

Abstract

Migration worldwide is characterized by the presence of unaccompanied minors, separated from their parents or any primary caregivers. The present study aimed to fill literature gaps on the acculturation and adaptation of unaccompanied migrant and refugee adolescents. The Ward and Geeraert model (2016), which explores how acculturation unfolds within different ecological contexts, namely societal, institutional and familial, was employed to understand which aspects of the youths' reality in the host country can facilitate or challenge their psychological and sociocultural adaptation. Since education is vital for the psychosocial and economic adjustment of migrant adolescents, this research focused on the various learning settings of unaccompanied youths, including schools, residential communities, and initiatives offered by NGOs. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with nine adolescents and eleven stakeholders in Italy, one of the European countries hosting the highest number of unaccompanied minors. Language barriers and perceived discrimination were described as potentially challenging the youths' psychological adaptation, further complicated by their transition to adulthood. Normative developmental changes seemed to add weight to acculturative stressors and the termination of the protection system at eighteen meant that these adolescents had to abandon academic and career ambitions to become self-sufficient. Educational settings provided youths with competence in both majority and ethnic cultures, thus potentially favouring their sociocultural adaptation. However, the difficult access to mainstream Italian schools deprived them of a significant channel to integration, which was promoted by alternative measures that could be internationally employed, such as the "Apartments for Autonomy" and voluntary guardianship.

Keywords: Unaccompanied Migrant and Refugee Youths, Adolescence, Acculturation, Adaptation, Education, Ecological Contexts, Italy

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Glossary of Acronyms

CPIA - Provincial Centers for Adult Learning.

SIPROIMI - Central Protection System for Refugees and Asylum Seekers.

SPRAR - Protection System for Refugees and Asylum Seekers.

Introduction

What do I teach? The love for life and the world, like trying to understand that we are not the only ones on earth and that the world is made of cultures and, as Dario Fo used to say: "Who knows a word more than his oppressors will be able to fight a bit more for an equal world." (Teacher 10)

The above statement was made by a teacher from a CPIA (Provincial Centers for Adult Learning), an Italian school attended mostly by unaccompanied foreign minors and adult asylum seekers. When interviewed as part of the current study, this teacher referred to Dario Fo, an Italian intellectual known for his social activism, to illustrate the principles guiding his teaching: the promotion of cultural diversity and the right to equality.

Today, an increasing number of non-adults, unaccompanied migrants, make up part of the migration flows from the Global South (Menjívar & Perreira, 2019). An unaccompanied minor is "[A] person who is under the age of eighteen ... and who is separated from both parents and is not being cared for by an adult who by law or custom has responsibility to do so." (UNHCR, 1994, p. 121). Due to the traumatic events endured before fleeing as well as separation from parents or other caregivers, unaccompanied minors are likely to experience problems with their mental health (Keles, Friborg, Idsøe, Sirin, & Oppedal, 2016). However, researchers have emphasized the importance of exploring resettlement experiences along with the socio-political conditions in the host country instead of focusing on the repercussions of traumas and pre-flight factors (Porter & Haslam, 2005). Specifically, scholars have called for research investigating how adolescents' perceive their well-being as well as their opportunities and challenges in the receiving country, for example in regard to the reception and educational systems (Wernesjö, 2012).

The present study aimed to give unaccompanied minors a platform to voice their needs and to acknowledge their agency in shaping their own acculturation process. It sought to bridge the gap in literature on the acculturation and adaptation of unaccompanied migrant and refugee adolescents by investigating which aspects of the minors' ecological context can promote their psychological and sociocultural adaptation.

A focus was placed on the minors' educational experiences since education seems to play a central role in acculturation (Sheikh & Anderson, 2018). Education was conceptualized also as including informal settings since education in school alone is unlikely to meet all the different and multifaceted needs of unaccompanied minors (Pastoor, 2017). Informal education consisted of the socio-educational programs implemented in residential centers for

unaccompanied youths along with the initiatives proposed by the Italian third sector, such as sports or trips.

The theoretical background of this study drew on the Ward and Geeraert model (2016), which looks at the impact that ecological aspects, such as society's attitudes, school institutions or family dynamics, may have on acculturation. Although this model was originally developed to explore the acculturation and adaptation of migrants and sojourners, the present study investigated whether it can be employed to examine these processes in adolescence. Since unaccompanied minors are also adolescents, acculturation and adaption have to be considered as a developmental process involving the acquisition of cultural competence, which consists of gaining proficiency in both heritage and dominant languages as well as knowledge of both cultures (Keles et al., 2016).

A qualitative methodological approach was chosen because most of the literature in the field of cross-cultural adaptation and refugee education has been conducted in the quantitative tradition (Pastoor, 2017), therefore an analysis of these topics from a qualitative paradigm is required (Catarci & Rocchi, 2017). Semi-structured interviews were carried out in Italy as this is one of the European countries with the highest influx of asylum seekers (Rania, Migliorini, & Fagnini, 2018). Thematic analysis (Braun & Clark, 2006) was used to find common patterns across the youths' interviews as well as in stakeholders' interviews, and to highlight the perceptions of single individuals on certain issues. Findings from the present study could be relevant for local authorities, researchers, and policymakers, who will be empowered to implement reception services and educational interventions that are more tailored to the needs of unaccompanied minors.

Chapter I. Literature Review

1.1 Who are the Unaccompanied Migrant and Refugee Minors?

The phenomenon of child migration is not new (Accorinti, 2016). Prior to the Second World War, 10.000 Jewish children fleeing the Nazi regime were given protection by the British Government (Harris, 2000; Lowensohn, 1990). However, a novel aspect pertaining to the migration of unaccompanied minors is that they now leave their country not only to escape wars and persecutions but also to look for better economic opportunities (Accorinti, 2016). In 2017, of the total number of asylum seekers asking for international protection in the European Union (EU) states, 31.400 were unaccompanied minors (Eurostat newsrelease, 2018). The term "unaccompanied minors" was employed in the present study to refer to participants who have received or are in the process of receiving a residence permit or asylum as well as those who are eighteen or older but arrived in the host country as minors.

Literature has generally described unaccompanied minors as vulnerable, some have been subjected to forced labor, human trafficking, and sexual exploitation (Oppedal & Idsøe, 2012). However, constructing an image of these children as defenseless may certainly evoke compassion from the receiving communities but prevents the minors to be seen as playing an active role in their integration (Fassin & Gomme, 2012). Unaccompanied youths are also characterized by resilience and a strong motivation to build a new life in a new country (Pastoor, 2015; Watters, 2008). Furthermore, it is worth noting that unaccompanied children are a heterogeneous group of people in terms of gender, ethnicity, and previous life experiences (Pastoor, 2017).

Most unaccompanied migrants and refugees have an age comprised between 15 and 18 years and, therefore, find themselves in an unfamiliar setting while they go through a series of physical, emotional and cognitive changes that are critical for their development (Titzmann, & Lee, 2018). Hence, the transition from adolescence to adulthood is more complicated for unaccompanied minors, who are also separated from their parents and, therefore, lack a role model (Vervliet, Lammertyn, Broekaert, & Derluyn, 2014). Once they reach the host country, unaccompanied youths face multiple challenges such as becoming proficient in a new language and relating to an unfamiliar culture (Pastoor, 2017). Acquiring new skills and developing a sense of belonging to a new society are part of acculturation processes (Ward, 2001).

1.2 Acculturation and Adaptation

Berry (1997, 2005, 2008) introduced one of the most influential theoretical models in the field of acculturation, a term defined as "those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups". (Redfield, Linton, & Herskovits, 1936, p. 149). This model is based on two orthogonal dimensions related to cross-cultural contact, the first measures the extent to which migrants are willing to establish contact with the mainstream society. The second concerns culture maintenance and refers to the extent to which migrants prefer to maintain their heritage culture in the host country (Berry, 1997, 2005, 2008).

From the combination of these two measures, four acculturation strategies are possible; integration involves the desire to relate with the host culture as well as to maintain habits and customs from one's home culture, whereas marginalization can be described by the low desire for culture maintenance and little contact with the host society. Assimilation is defined by a willingness to relate to the new society and to disregard aspects of ones' own culture, while the reverse refers to the strategy of separation (Berry, 1997, 2005, 2008). A common criticism to the Berry's (1997, 2005, 2008) model is that it explores individuals' acculturation attitudes without taking into consideration macro-level factors related to the societal and institutional forces in place in the host country and interacting with the heritage culture of acculturating individuals.

1.2.1 Interactive Acculturation Model. Berry's model (1997, 2005, 2008) seems to focus on how migrants are willing to relate with the dominant society. However, according to Bourhis and colleagues (1997), the acculturation intentions of migrants are influenced by the extent to which the dominant society is ready to allow them to retain aspects of their heritage culture or prefers them to assimilate. Following this observation, Bourhis et al. (1997) theorized the interactive acculturation model (IAM), which includes acculturation attitudes of migrants in the host country; acculturation orientations endorsed by members of the dominant society towards specific migrant groups, and the interpersonal dynamics emerging from the interaction of the two groups' acculturation orientations (Figure 1.1). Moreover, the model inserts the relational outcomes of dominant and migrants' acculturation orientations in a context of public policy comprising of the measures that the host country has implemented to deal with immigration.

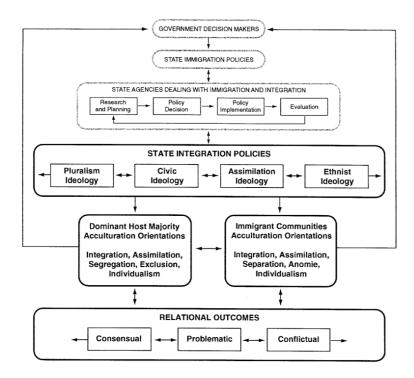


Figure 2.1. The IAM Model. Reprinted from from "Towards an Interactive Acculturation Model: A Social Psychological Approach," by R. Y. Bourhis, L. C. Moise, S. Perreault, & S. Senecal, 1997, *International journal of psychology, 32*(6), 369-386, p. 371.

The IAM model (Bourhis et al., 1997) defines as consensual the relational outcomes that emerge when acculturation attitudes of the dominant culture members are consistent with those of the migrant group; for instance, both groups endorse assimilation. In contrast, problematic relational outcomes arise when acculturation attitudes of the two groups are discordant. In this circumstance, one group might support integration whilst the other favors assimilation, thus the two groups would hold consistent acculturation orientations on the dimension of culture adaptation, but not on culture maintenance. Lastly, conflictual dynamics emerge when the dominant community and the immigrant group wholly disagree in their acculturation orientations (full discordance), resulting in the mismatch of attitudes in both dimensions (Bourhis et al., 1997).

1.2.2 Ward and Geeraert Model. Unaccompanied minors might be uncertain about which acculturation strategy to follow since they may not only find hard to identify with the receiving society, but also with their heritage culture (Sam & Oppedal, 2003). They abandon their countries at a young age and most of them have a short history of education in their home country and have not received schooling during their migration journey (Oppedal & Idsoe, 2012), therefore lacking the skills and the knowledge to be able to recognize themselves in

their heritage culture (Sam & Oppedal, 2003). Furthermore, these youngsters often migrate without being aware of their journey route or their country of destination (Hopkins & Hill, 2008). Once they reach the receiving country, they may still live in a state of uncertainty in regard to their asylum or residence applications (Laban, Gernaat, Komproe, Schreuders, & De Jong, 2004). These factors that are often beyond their control can further influence the acculturation intentions of unaccompanied youths; this is why the various ecological contexts where the adolescents are inserted should be explored.

Ward and Geeraert (2016) proposed an ecological model (Figure 1.2) where micro-level factors concerning acculturating individuals, such as their personality (Wilson, Ward, & Fischer, 2013) or their experiences in the host country, for instance the encounter of acculturative hassles (Sam & Oppedal, 2003), unfold within the familial, institutional and societal contexts. Intercultural contact between acculturating individuals and members of the host society is also mediated by aspects of both home and host cultures, and the extent to which these cultures differ might influence the migrants' acculturation (Kashima & Abu-Rayya, 2014).

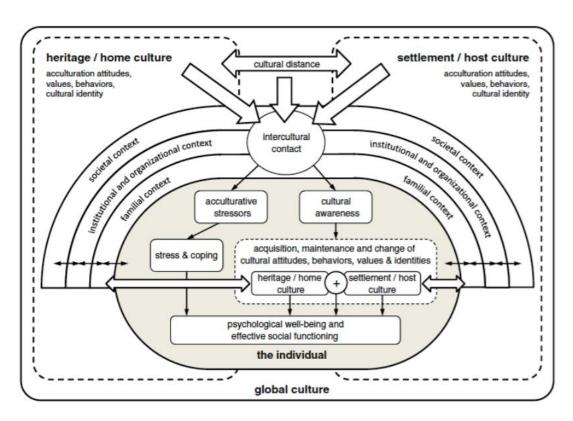


Figure 1.2. The Ward and Geeraert Model. Reprinted from "Advancing Acculturation Theory and Research: The Acculturation Process in Its Ecological Context," by C. Ward, & N. Geeraert, 2016, Current Opinion in Psychology, 8, 98-104, p. 99.

Family dynamics were shown to affect the experience of acculturating adolescents with conflict having a negative effect on youths (Lorenzo-Blanco, Unger, Baezconde-Garbanati, Ritt-Olson, & Soto, 2012). Although unaccompanied minors migrate without their family, they may be in contact with their parents who may still have an impact on the decisions and pathways that adolescents take in the host country. At the institutional level, the educational system represents an important influence on the acculturation journey of young people (Ward & Geeraert, 2016). For instance, it was shown that when young migrants feel a strong pressure to assimilate at school, they may instead choose the opposite strategy of separation (Niens, Mawhinney, Richardson, & Chiba, 2013), whereas perceived social support from classmates and school personnel can lead to integration (Tartakovsky, 2012). Likewise, within the societal sphere, acculturation orientations and the degree to which acculturation relates to adaptive outcomes were shown to be contingent on how the dominant society views diversity and expect others to acculturate (Schwartz et al., 2014).

According to Ward (2001), acculturation orientations have been found to be relevant predictors of two forms of adaptation. The first, named psychological adaptation, refers to a set of psychological outcomes including mental health and life satisfaction. The second, referred to as sociocultural adaptation, regards the capacity of acculturating individuals to deal with social interactions in a new country, particularly in the areas of family, work, and school (Ward, 2001). Although these two forms of adaptation are usually related empirically, they are differentially conceptualized because the variables predicting them are often different (Ward & Geeraert, 2016). Psychological adaptation is predicted by personality features, life changes, and social support while cultural distance, cultural identity, language ability, and cultural knowledge are predictors of sociocultural adaptation (Ward & Kennedy, 1993a, b).

1.3 Acculturation or Development?

Several scholars have expressed their concerns in regard to the applicability of the acculturation definition for migrant children and adolescents (Oppedal, 2006; Oppedal, Roysamb & Heyerdahl, 2005; Oppedal, Roysamb, & Sam, 2004; Sam & Oppedal, 2003). They advocated that this definition is static, and one cannot differentiate between the changes that belong to children's youths' physical and psychosocial development and changes that are due to acculturation (Sam & Oppedal, 2003). Literature has revealed that even behaviors that are specific to acculturation may be entangled with developmental factors (Sam & Oppedal, 2003). For instance, language brokering was perceived as a normal expectation of the relationship between parents and children (Dorner, Orellana, & Jiménez, 2008).

The bio-ecological model of human development (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, 1986) can be

used to further support the idea of an interaction between acculturation and development factors (Figure 1.3). According to this model (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, 1986), individual development occurs through the exchange between individuals and the immediate settings in which they are embedded (e.g. family, school). These settings are part of a larger societal context, the macrosystem, which influence children's development indirectly through the micro-systems. Microsystems interact and influence each other in a so-called meso-system. Children and adolescents are also affected by external systems, named exo-systems, which are not directly experienced by them (e.g. parents' work).

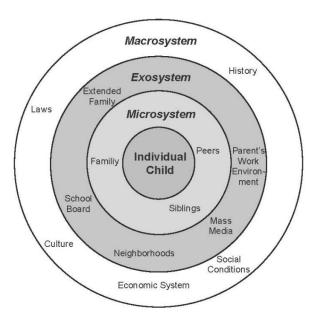


Figure 1.3. The Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Model (1979, 1986). Reprinted from "Influence of a Lifestyle Intervention in Preschool Children on Physiological and Psychological Parameters: Study Design of a Cluster Randomized Controlled Trial," by I. Niederer et al., 2009. BMC Public Health, 9(94), p. 3.

As a result of these observations, Oppedal, Roysamb, and Sam (2004) defined acculturation as a developmental process, where children and adolescents become knowledgeable and skilled in the settlement and heritage cultures and develop coping resources to deal with acculturative stressors. However, unaccompanied minors may not only find it hard to relate with peers from the host society due to a lack of language competencies and knowledge of host country habits (Keles et al., 2016), but may also experience frustration due to harassment by their ethnic peers for not maintaining social customs of their home culture (Abouguendia & Noels, 2001). Furthermore, refugee and migrant youths are frequently confronted with racism and discrimination (Davies & Webb, 2000). Acculturative stressors can

culminate in negative mental health, a sense of alienation, and identity confusion (Hovey & King, 1996).

In this domain, cultural competence consists of a coping mechanism that minors can use to deal with acculturation stressors (Keles et al., 2016). It involves acquiring the ability to communicate in both ethnic and dominant languages, to form relationships, and to have a sense of belongingness to both home and host societies (Dalhaug, Oppedal, & Røysamb, 2011). Education in the receiving country constitutes a key way to gain cultural competence and complementing the schooling that minors did not receive in their home country as well as the learning that would normally occur in the family context (Oppedal & Idsoe, 2012).

1.4 Acculturation, Adaptation, and Education

Extant literature indicates that schools play a crucial role in refugee children's adaptation and acculturation in the host country (Block, Cross, Riggs, & Gibbs, 2014; Pinson & Arnot, 2010) as well as facilitating their progress to citizenship and belonging (Christie & Sidhu, 2002). The relationship between education and acculturation appears to be bidirectional: as such, being acculturated may facilitate academic adjustment, but education may also ease the process of acculturation (Sheikh & Anderson, 2018).

When scholars started to pay attention to refugee education, refugee students were considered as a homogeneous group (McBrien, 2005). Rutter (2006) argued that this has prevented an analysis of factors related to their pre- and post-flight experiences, which are relevant to the understanding of students' specific needs and the implementation of appropriate educational pathways. For instance, Arnot and Pinson (2005) found that schools in the UK usually focused only on language issues and emotional problems while paying less attention to the refugee youths' learning needs, such as enabling them to access the mainstream curriculum. Importantly, literature on refugee education has often emphasized the single students without paying attention to their ecological context (Makarova & Birman 2016), which includes relationships with teachers and classmates, school rules and ideology, communication between stakeholders and families or collaboration between schools and NGOs (Taylor & Sidhu, 2012).

Rania and her colleagues (Rania Migliorini, Sclavo, Cardinali, & Lotti, 2014) asked unaccompanied migrant children to voice their perceptions on the education they received in Italy. Findings showed that the educational interventions implemented in reception structures for unaccompanied migrant adolescents did not always correspond with their needs and inclinations since they were originally developed for out-of-home Italian children (Cipolletta, 2011). Another issue that minors were found to face was the economic strain experienced when they became eighteen and had to leave reception facilities, which prevented them from studying

beyond the secondary level (Rania et al., 2014). The research conducted by Rania et al. (2014) only explored educational interventions provided in reception communities, but refugee education should be conceptualized as including different learning contexts, such as the initiatives offered by NGOs, as they may supplement refugee youths' development and learning (Pastoor, 2017). Moreover, teachers as well as coordinators and educators of community centers for unaccompanied minors should also be interviewed to gain a full understanding of the adolescents' learning settings.

1.5 Unaccompanied Migrant and Refugee Youths in Italy

Italy is one of the most affected countries in regards to the movement of refugee and migrants because of its territorial position (Rania et al., 2018); the central Mediterranean route, from North Africa to Italy, accounts for the largest number of migrants reaching Europe by sea (UNHCR, 2018).

1.5.1 Numbers and Profiles. The Italian Ministry of Labour and Social Policy (Direzione generale dell'immigrazione e delle politiche dell'Integrazione, 2018) reported that 10.787 unaccompanied minors were present in Italy as of the 31th of December 2018. Of these, 92.7 percent were males (Appendix A).

However, the proportion of female unaccompanied minors has grown steadily since 2015, from 4.6 percent of the total unaccompanied minors to 7.3 percent (Appendix B). The 85 percent of these unaccompanied children are aged 16-18 and the vast majority are hosted in dedicated accommodation centers (Appendix C). The nationalities most represented to date are Albanian, Egyptian, and Gambian (Direzione generale dell'immigrazione e delle politiche dell'Integrazione, 2018). Nonetheless, evidence indicates that an unknown number of unaccompanied migrant children do not claim asylum, are not detected by local and national institutions, and are largely absent from any policy agenda (CMS - Center for Migration Studies of New York, 2018).

1.5.2 Societal and Institutional Context in Italy. Since the government led by the Five Star Movement and League parties came into power in June 2018, the lives of asylum seekers and migrants have become harder. In particular, the League has based its political campaign on exploiting the anti-immigration sentiment radicated in Italian people, and asylum seekers currently face discrimination and coldness on Italian streets (Fenton-Harvey & Forcella, 2018).

The Italian legal framework on the assistance and protection of minors is also applicable to unaccompanied migrant and refugee minors (Testo unico sull'immigrazione, 1998). In quality of minors, they cannot be expelled or held in identification and expulsion centers (CIEs),

and they have the right to a residence permit (Testo unico sull'immigrazione, 1998). In Italy, specialized reception structures have been created to host unaccompanied migrant and refugee youths. Social workers, such as educators and coordinators of reception facilities, ensure that young migrants and refugees pursue a "life project", which usually consists of taking part in Italian classes, obtaining the eighth-grade diploma and entering the job market (Rania et al., 2018). Two levels of reception have been implemented since 2014:

- 1. First-level reception is provided by government facilities, controlled by the Ministry of the Interior, which host minors when they are first traced, involving age identification and status ascertainment (Rania et al., 2018).
- 2. Second-level reception is implemented by SPRAR (Protection System for Asylum and Refugee Seekers) organizations, now called SIPROIMI (Central Protection System for Refugees and Asylum Seekers), controlled by local authorities and providing high-quality standards for hospitality and integration. Accredited second-level structures, managed by the third sector and including residential care communities are also present.

The Italian law No. 47 (2017), namely 'Zampa's Law', has improved and standardized integration procedures for unaccompanied refugee and migrant minors at the national level. This law had the aim of reiterating the rights of young refugees present in the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) regarding health care, education, and the full implementation of procedural safeguards. It also encouraged the designation of foster families and volunteer legal guardians for the minors, the volunteers being private citizens, selected and suitably trained (Italian law No. 47, 2017).

More recently, the Italian Council of Ministers approved a Decree-Law (2018) containing a series of measures on immigration, public security, prevention of terrorism and organized crime. The 'Salvini's Decree' (Decreto - Legge n. 113, 2018) came into force on the 4th of October 2018, and although it was not specifically addressing unaccompanied minors, it had several consequences for them, particularly regarding their passage to the age of majority (Carta, 2018). After the abrogation of the two-year humanitarian protection (Fenton-Harvey & Forcella, 2018), it is likely that a high number of unaccompanied minors seeking asylum will receive a negative answer from the Territorial Commission; the risk that these young migrants will become irregulars is, therefore, increased (Associazione per gli Studi Giuridici sull'Immigrazione, 2018).

1.5.3 Educational Opportunities in Italy. The Italian legal framework ensures the right to education for asylum seekers, a regulation that is independent on whether they apply for international protection or not (Grigt, 2017). According to the Italian immigration law,

unaccompanied minors have the right to receive education and no further documents are required for the school application other than those requested to Italian citizens. If children do not possess identity documents, health documentation, and/or school certificates, they can be enrolled on a reserve list, which does not prevent them from joining classes (Rozzi & Console, 2014).

From age sixteen to eighteen, all children have the "right-duty to education and professional training" ('diritto-dovere all'istruzione e alla formazione'), in order to obtain a diploma or a professional qualification (Grigt, 2017). Sixteen-year-olds who have not completed lower secondary school (eighth grade) can be enrolled in CPIAs to prepare for this a diploma, which is known as "esame di terza media" (Grigt, 2017). According to the law (MIUR, 2007), minors can be enrolled in CPIAs as of sixteen years old, but some local agreements allow access to fifteen-year-olds under certain circumstances ¹.

According to a report by the European Migration Network (EMN, 2017), the majority of unaccompanied minors attend CPIAs and those who already hold the eighth-grade diploma enroll in short-term training courses from the Regional System of Vocational Education and Training. The fact that minors have to leave reception facilities at the age of eighteen prevents them from being enrolled in mainstream Italian high school, which lasts three or five years (EMN, 2017).

1.6 Research Questions

In the recent years, faced with a heightened number of unaccompanied minors reaching its coasts, Italy has made considerable steps in the improvement of its reception services (Accorinti, Demurtas, & Vitiello, 2019). Although unaccompanied youths are guaranteed all forms of protection, field research indicated that reception facilities do not always meet the needs of unaccompanied youths, as it is demonstrated by the number of young people leaving these structures (Accorinti et al., 2019). Hence, in order to gain a further understanding of the minors' needs, the present study attempted to qualitatively explore the acculturation and adaptation process of unaccompanied refugee and migrant youths in Italy with a focus on their educational experiences. This study aims to answer the following research questions:

1. What are the perceptions of unaccompanied migrant and refugee youths on their acculturation and adaptation processes in Italy? Specifically, which aspects of their ecological

¹ This can concern Italian children who are at risk of becoming early school leavers or foreign unaccompanied minors with special needs (Grigt, 2017).

context do unaccompanied youths identify as facilitating or challenging their psychological and sociocultural adaptation?

- a. Which aspects of the Italian educational system do unaccompanied youths identify as facilitating or challenging their psychological and sociocultural adaptation?
- 2. What are the perceptions of adult stakeholders on the acculturation and adaptation processes of unaccompanied migrant and refugee youths in Italy? Specifically, which aspects of the youths' ecological context do stakeholders identify as facilitating or challenging their psychological and sociocultural adaptation?
- a. Which aspects of the Italian educational system do unaccompanied youths identify as facilitating or challenging their psychological and sociocultural adaptation?

Chapter II. Methods

2.1 Study Setting

A qualitative approach was employed to investigate the acculturation and adaptation experiences of unaccompanied minors as well as their perceptions on the educational opportunities provided in Italy, specifically in the Lombardy region. As of December 31, 2018 (Direzione generale dell'immigrazione e delle politiche dell'Integrazione, 2018), Lombardy was the second Italian region hosting the highest number of unaccompanied minors (8.1 percent of the total number), preceded by Sicily (38 percent).

Twenty interviews (11 adult stakeholders, 9 unaccompanied youths) were conducted in Italian in March 2019. The researcher conducted 18 face-to-face interviews in a school environment, in minors' residential centers or at the Milan municipality, following Thomas's and Magilvy's (2011) argument suggesting that a natural environment helps participants feel at ease. Due to the hard to reach sample and respondents' limited time availability, two interviews were conducted via telephone.

2.2 Participants

2.2.1 Unaccompanied Migrant and Refugee Youths. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with nine unaccompanied adolescents (Table 2.1).

Table 2.1

Demographic Characteristics of Unaccompanied Migrant and Refugee Youths

	Nationality	Age	Gender	Course and School attended/attending
1	Albania	17	M	Italian course, CPIA + Biennio ^a , Mainstream high
1.	Titouinu	17	141	school
2.	Albania	17	M	Italian course + 8 th grade license, CPIA
3.	Albania	17	M	Italian course + 8 th grade license, CPIA
4.	Albania	17	M	Italian course + 8 th grade license, Accredited school
т.	Albama	17	171	for Unaccompanied Migrant and Refugee Minors
5.	Albania	18	M	8 th grade license, CPIA
6.	Albania	17	M	Italian course + 8 th grade license, CPIA
7.	Ivory Coast	18	M	8 th grade license + Biennio, CPIA
8.	Tunisia	17	M	Italian course, CPIA
9.	Gambia	19	M	Italian course, CivicoZero ^b , 8 th grade license, CPIA

Notes.

Participants, who were all males and ranging in age between 17 and 19 years old (M = 17.44, SD = 0.72), had completed or were currently pursuing their educational pathways in community centers for foreign adolescents, CPIAs or mainstream Italian schools. At the time of data collection, three young migrants were 18 or older, but they arrived in Italy as unaccompanied minors, and all participants reached Italy between 2016 and 2018. All participants were hosted in accredited residential care communities managed by the Italian third sector. In addition to the participants presented in Figure 2.1, two focus groups with three minors each were conducted but were excluded from the analysis because difficult dynamics emerged during data collection, where a domineering group member influenced the other two, who gave overly acquiescent answers.

2.2.2 Adult Stakeholders. Eleven professionals involved in the provision of educational services for unaccompanied minors were interviewed (Table 2.2).

Table 2.2

Demographic Characteristics of Adult Stakeholders

	Job Title	Gender	Where they work
1.	Coordinator	M	Residential community
2.	Coordinator	F	Residential community
3.	Educator	M	Residential community
4.	Coordinator	M	Residential community
5.	Educator	F	Residential community
6.	Coordinator	F	Accredited School for Unaccompanied Migrant and
			Refugee Minors (AS)
7.	Teacher	F	AS, CPIA
8.	Teacher	F	CPIA
9.	Teacher	F	CPIA
10.	Teacher	M	CPIA
11.	Coordinator	F	Milan Municipality

¹Biennio: First two years of high school.

² CivicoZero: Social cooperative supporting Unaccompanied Migrant and Refugee Youths.

The stakeholders (4 males, 7 females) interviewed were working in residential communities for unaccompanied minors managed by the Italian third sector, in CPIAs located in Milan and its surroundings, and at the Milan Municipality.

2.3 Recruitment

Recruiting children in vulnerable positions for the purpose of research may be challenging (Huemer et al., 2009; Wernesjö, 2014). Since gatekeepers, such as coordinators of reception centers, may ease access to unaccompanied minors (Pastoor, 2015), the researcher did not contact the youths directly. Firstly, a web-based search of governmental and non-governmental organizations supporting unaccompanied minors was conducted to obtain publicly available contact information of residential communities. The researcher contacted coordinators via email and sent them a research proposal (Appendix D) enabling them to gain a greater understanding of the study purpose. Secondly, the coordinators identified those minors who met the criteria for participation and asked them whether they would be willing to participate. Unaccompanied minors with a diagnosed mental health condition were prevented from taking part in the study since asking them to think about their past experiences might trigger memories of abuse or exploitation (Unterhitzenberger & Rosner, 2016), resulting in worsening their mental health status. Thirdly, coordinators introduced the researcher to potential participants to whom she presented the study.

Procedural recruitment was used to build trust between the researcher and the youths especially because they could share sensitive and personal information during the interviews (Pastoor, 2015). Furthermore, becoming familiar with the setting where participants conduct their daily life gave the researcher a chance to refer to specific contextual issues during the interview, which resulted in the participants' descriptions being more thorough and meaningful (Geertz, 2008). Once contacts with coordinators and educators were established, the researcher asked them whether they would available to be interviewed themselves. Later, a web-based search of publicly available contact of CPIAs was also conducted to reach teachers and school coordinators. Other teachers were subsequently recruited through snowball sampling. The coordinator of immigration services for unaccompanied minors at the Milan municipality was contacted by email. There was no compensation provided for participants in this study.

2.4 Methodological Approach and Data Collection

A qualitative methodology was chosen for a number of reasons. Given that the aim of this project is to explore participants' perceptions of their acculturation experiences and educational opportunities in Italy, a qualitative approach was deemed appropriate as it allows an in-depth investigation of the subject matter (Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2005). The present

research also aimed to recognize the agency possessed by unaccompanied youths and to provide them with a space to voice their thoughts and concerns (Wernesjö, 2014). Another practical reason for using a qualitative methodology was that the mother tongue of most of the young participants was not Italian. Thus, potential literacy issues may be overcome by participants, who were asked to provide verbal responses that could be analyzed through a qualitative method (Turrell & Najman, 2010).

Interviews were used as a method of data collection because they allowed for the development of a rapport between the researcher and participants, thus stimulating individuals to be involved throughout the whole study (Willig, 2013). Moreover, participants from a study conducted by Rania and colleagues (Rania et al., 2014), considered interviews as a chance to recognize the progress they had made since they have migrated. The benefits of being interviewed expressed by these young migrants were in line with Kohli's (2007) beliefs about the role of therapeutic "witnesses": bearing witness, through the interview process, seems important to offer children relational spaces and the opportunity to reflect upon their own experiences, without damaging their well-being.

Semi-structured interviews were employed for the following reasons. Firstly, the interview guide, which contained the main and sub-questions, constituted both a structured and flexible method of data collection as it can be modified during the interview process (Bauer & Gaskell, 2000). Another benefit of the interview guide is that it allowed for a more focused approach during the interview and thus for optimal use of interview time. Open-ended questions also provided respondents with more flexibility than structured interviews, allowing the researcher to develop new perspectives and understanding of the topic (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006).

2.4.1 Interview Guide. The development of relevant interview questions relied on previous literature as well as on a period of field observation and informal interviewing with two minors and one coordinator of a residential community. Prior to data collection, the questions were also revised by an expert in the field of research with vulnerable children and refugees. Another factor which is important to consider when building the interview guide is that the questions have to be adapted to the participants' level of cognitive and linguistic development (Bauer & Gaskell, 2000). Hence, the researcher was careful to present the questions in a simple language, so that those who were not proficient in Italian would be able to answer them.

The unaccompanied minors' interview guide (Appendix E) began with broad questions in order to first build a rapport between the interviewer and the interviewees. Subsequent

questions concerned different ecological aspects of the Ward and Geeraert (2016) model. Firstly, questions regarded the societal context and whether unaccompanied youths feel part of Italian society. Secondly, young participants were asked about the institutional context focusing on their educational experiences at school, in residential communities and offered by NGOs. The following subset of questions tackled the familial context, which in the case of unaccompanied minors can refer to their residential community and whether they feel supported by the people living with them. Additionally, questions dealt with potential acculturative stressors and coping mechanisms; minors were questioned, for instance, about their challenges at school and how they overcame them. The last question had the aim of ending the interview on a positive note. That is, the young participants were asked to share a nice memory from their educational experiences.

The interview guide for coordinators, educators (Appendix F) and teachers (Appendix G) was structured in the same way as for the unaccompanied minors. The first questions had the aim of introducing the thesis topic: the adult interviewees were asked to talk about their job and the difficulties that they encounter daily. Then, questions focused on the Italian sociopolitical situation and how this may be related to the acculturation and adaptation experiences of unaccompanied youths. Subsequently, questions concerned the institutional and organizational context, in particular regarding educational projects in CPIAs and residential communities, the resources in place to finance them, and the involvement of the Italian third sector. The following questions in the coordinators' interviews regarded the familial context, also seen in relation to the migrants' residential community. In the teachers' interviews, questions about the familial context were substituted by additional questions on the institutional context, such as the promotion of integration at school. Lastly, questions on the identity of acculturating individuals, namely unaccompanied minors and their culture of origin or previous school experiences, were presented. To conclude the interview, participants were asked for advice on how to improve the reception system, particularly focusing on education.

Interviews with unaccompanied minors lasted on average 11.92 mins (Range: 09:49 to 29:10 mins, SD = 11.30), while interviews with adult stakeholders lasted on average 44.31 mins (Range: 21.25 to 70.29 mins, SD = 15.26). One interview was not recorded because the minor did not agree, therefore the researcher took detailed notes while the participant was speaking. The other 19 interviews were digitally recorded, transcribed verbatim and reviewed for accuracy by the study researcher.

2.5 Ethical Considerations

Ethical approval for this study was granted by KOC University. Informed consent is fundamental in research involving human participants (Byrne, 2001). In the case of unaccompanied minors, parental consent is very difficult, if not impossible, to obtain, thus consent from those "in loco parentis", such as social workers or voluntary guardians (Hopkins, 2008), was pursued (Appendix H). Hopkins (2008) argued that many of the children in his study were suspicious and felt concerned about having to sign a consent form, especially about the potential influence that such documentation may have on their asylum claim. Therefore, in the present project, the investigator explained unaccompanied minors the study procedure and asked them to give their informed assent (Appendix I) instead of signing an informed consent form. Prior to the interview, adult stakeholders signed an informed consent form (Appendix L) or gave their informal assent in case of phone interviews. All participants were also told that their anonymity would be ensured as all the interviews would be analyzed collectively and nothing would be attributed to their names.

Brinkmann and Kvale (2008) warned researchers against the practice of ethics as rule-following: ethical issues cannot be addressed and solved once and for all during the planning stages of the research but they appear throughout the whole research process. Although prior to the interview, children were reminded that they could decline to answer questions and could withdraw at any time, they might still have felt obliged to finish the interview due to expectations relating to adult control, gender, race, and other determinants of privilege and power (Hopkins, 2008). When young participants in the present study were feeling uncomfortable, they were reminded once again that they did not have to answer the question.

2.6 Coding and Data Analysis

Firstly, the researcher listened to the interviews' audio recordings to transcribe them and familiarise with the interview content (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Subsequently, the material was analyzed through thematic analysis, which allowed to identify, interpret and report patterns across interviews and to highlight views that participants held towards particular issues (Braun & Clarke, 2006). A combination of inductive and deductive thematic analysis (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006) was used so that data were organized according to the Ward and Geeraert Model (2016), but novel themes were also allowed to emerge from the analysis. This iterative method of analysis led to the development of two codebooks (Appendix M & N), which addressed the research questions.

The identification of themes within the data followed a semantic approach (Boyatzis, 1998), where the explicit meanings of participants' words were taken into consideration. The

researcher intended to describe participants' perceptions regarding the acculturation and educational experiences of unaccompanied youths without attempting to analyze underlying ideas, assumptions, and ideologies behind their words.

2.7 Procedures to Ensure Trustworthiness and Study Quality

The author was careful to endorse the caution of Brantlinger et al. (2005) against "using credibility measures as a checklist in a rigid or unreflective way" (pp. 200-201); rather, the measures below (Table 2.3) were applied simultaneously while conducting the study and analyzing data.

Table 2.3

Strategies to Ensure Trustworthiness and Study Quality

Strategy	Description		
Consistent Fieldwork	One month of fieldwork, observing, and taking notes about		
	participants' reality		
Mechanically Recorded	Digitally recording interviews ensured complete and verbatim		
Data	capturing of data		
Persistent Observation	A search for evidence to verify interview data		
Member Checking	Informal checks for accuracy were made with the participants		
	during data collection		
Peer Debriefing	Other members of the research team were consulted about the		
	interpretation of data		
Disconfirming Evidence	Revised assertions about the phenomena under investigation		
	when a deviant case arose		

Note. Adapted from "Ecological Aspects influencing the Implementation of Inclusive Education in Mainstream Primary Schools in the Eastern Cape, South Africa," by J. L. Geldenhuys, & N. E Wevers, 2013. *South African Journal of Education*, 33(3), p.6.

To increase the credibility of the data, another Italian student with experience in conducting qualitative research with vulnerable populations was asked to provide feedback on the organization of themes and units of analysis. She independently coded two stakeholders' interviews (20 percent of the data), which were chosen because they contained more units of analysis compared to the minors' interviews. The second coder had to agree or disagree about whether the units matched with the themes established by the researcher. When she disagreed, she had to indicate another existing theme where the unit would fit better. The number of units per theme was inserted in a table and their sums were calculated. Cohen's κ was run through

the online tool 'Quantify Agreement with Kappa' (n.d.), κ = .793, 95% [CI, .701 to .885], revealing a substantial agreement between the coders (McHugh, 2012).

Chapter III. Results

Analysis of the data through an iterative approach has led to the development of two codebooks, one including the themes identified in the interviews with unaccompanied youths (Appendix M) and one with the themes found in stakeholders' interviews (Appendix N).

3.1 Interviews with Unaccompanied Migrant and Refugee Youths.

Several themes (Table 3.1) categorized in three domains emerged from the analysis: (1) The Institutional Context, (2) Intercultural Contact, and (3) The Acculturating Individuals: Unaccompanied Youths.

Table 3.1

Frequencies of Units of Analysis Per Theme and of Youths Who Cited That Unit

Demains Theorem 6 Coll Theorem	Interviews	Units	D
Domains, Themes & Sub-Themes	Cited ¹	Omis	Percentages ²
Institutional & Organizationa	al Context		
1. Education	9	22	15.5
a. Mean for Social Inclusion	7	12	8.5
b. Valuing Cultural Diversity	6	10	7.0
2. Termination of the Protection System	8	10	7.0
Total	9	32	22.5
Intercultural Contac	t		
Cohesion with Mainstream Peers	4	7	4.9
Total	4	7	4.9
The Acculturating Individuals (Unacc	ompanied Yo	ouths)	
1. Agency	4	6	4.2
2. Psychological Adaptation	9	72	50.7
a. Acculturative Stressors	8	18	12.7
i. Language Barriers	8	15	10.6
ii. Perceived Discrimination	3	3	2.1
iii. Perceived Social Support	9	54	38.0
(1). At School	8	22	15.5
(2). From Mainstream Peers	4	4	2.8
(3). From Ethnic Peers	4	5	3.5

(4). Importance of Friendship Relations	3	5	3.5
(5). In the Residential Community	8	18	12.7
(a). Positive Relationships with Stakeholders	8	16	11.3
(b). Lack of Belonging	2	2	1.4
3. Sociocultural Adaptation	8	24	16.9
a. Willingness to Acquire Cultural Competence	6	11	7.7
b. Preferred Contact with UM and Ethnic Peers	8	13	9.2
Total	9	102	71.8

Notes.

3.1.1 Domain 1: Institutional and Organizational Context. Recurrent themes referred to the youths' educational opportunities and the termination of the protection system.

Education. The most prevalent theme of the institutional domain, amounting to the 15.5 percent of the total units of analysis, and consisting of the following sub-themes:

Mean for Social Inclusion. More than half of the youths (seven out of nine) viewed education as a gateway to social inclusion as stakeholders helped them learn more about the receiving country and improve their language skills: "learning the things, like, of Italy, of everything, it also helps me learn the language more, the words that I did not know" (minor 3).

Some have added that they had to attend school in order to earn the diplomas that are necessary to obtain the residence permit and to start working, thus being fundamental to build a new life in Italy.

Valuing Cultural Diversity. According to most of the minors (six out of nine), this was an important aspect of the adolescents' educational experiences: classes were composed of students from different nationalities and teachers promoted their integration by asking students to share habits and traditions of their heritage cultures: "they ask me to talk, for example in history about the Albanian history, and in geography, about (Albania's) geographic history, things like these, and yes, it is a good thing to talk about your country, I think so" (minor 5).

Termination of the Protection System. Nearly all unaccompanied minors (eight out of nine) perceived the exit from the residential community as coinciding with the end of their studies since they had to be self-sufficient and could not focus on school:

¹ The number of interviews cited is the amount of citations out of nine interviewees, thus not adding up for a total value.

² The percentages are calculated dividing the units corresponding to the theme by the total number of units of analysis.

I am in the second year (of high school) and I would say I would also like to do the third year, then we'll see because of my situation with the community. I have to stop, I need to find a job, I cannot follow the school (minor 1).

Another difficulty lied in the fact that the three-year program of middle school had to be condensed in one year in order for them to obtain the necessary diplomas to be able to start working as soon as they turn eighteen and leave reception facilities:

P(participant): I would like to have more chances to study more, like to do more school I(interviewer): Yes, I understood. And did you talk to your teachers about this or not? P: Yes, because it is a difficulty and it is not easy to do something that people do in three years, you do it in one year, it is not easy, it is more homework, more studying, you need more work to succeed. (minor 9)

3.1.2 Domain 2: Intercultural Contact.

Cohesion with Mainstream Peers. Within this domain (4.9 percent), respondents positively spoke about activities, such as sports, workshops, and parties, offered by reception communities, schools and NGOs, which provided them with a chance to interact with Italian peers. In the excerpt below, one adolescent talked about how he met Italian friends:

Some at school, some around, some who play, some who are my team-mates, who play basket, yes, some among these activities that we, also in the community we have some parties, like, we go with Italians, so that we integrate with them, we talk, we understand each other. (minor 9)

3.1.3 Domain 3: The Acculturating Individuals (Unaccompanied Youths). Young participants perceived themselves as individuals holding agency, who had to cope with acculturative stressors. At the same time, they found support in stakeholders, mainstream and ethnic friends, through whom they acquired competence in the majority culture and ethnic cultures (71.8 percent).

Agency. Four out of nine youths claimed to hold a sense of agency: they felt able to make their own choices, perceived difficulties as a challenge to overcome, and had projects for their future: "I have a lot of projects in my head, but I do not know how to solve it, well, how to do everything. One, before it was to be an actor, accountant and then footballer and then the accounting [sic]" (minor 7).

Psychological Adaptation. The unaccompanied adolescents defined 'Language Barriers' and 'Perceived Discrimination' as reasons for frustration; the first sub-theme seemingly had more impact on the psychological adaptation of the minors as its units amounted to 10.9 percent compared to the 2.2 percent of the 'Perceived Discrimination' theme. Social

support from both members of home and host cultures appeared to alleviate the stress provoked by the aforementioned aspects.

Language Barriers. Eight out of nine participants reported that due to a lack of language skills, they could not understand school materials nor communicate with others:

Well, let me say, at the beginning, to be able to communicate when I did not know anything, anything, anything of the language, apart from the fact that I had a teacher with whom I could speak English, that helped me, but except for the teacher, the other students like me, we both speak Italian badly, so we don't understand each other in Italian. (minor 9)

Perceived Discrimination. Three young migrants believed that Italian citizens perceived them as dangerous:

before we used to go in schools to tell, well, how are foreigners more or less because everybody thinks "ok, foreigner is a bit dangerous, like this and that" but, like it was already said, in every country there are good and bad people. (minor 5)

While two participants expressed their willingness to tell their migration experiences to raise awareness: "I like to explain others how we are, like, to make them understand that, like, we are also part of the world" (minor 9), another one preferred not to share his story with his Italian peers due to the fear of being discriminated.

Perceived Social Support. This sub-theme was found in interviews with all young participants (38.0 percent), who generally felt supported by teachers, classmates, social workers, ethnic and Italian peers, and acknowledged the crucial role of friendship relations.

At school. Eight out of nine unaccompanied migrants recognized that they became friends with their classmates, who helped them complete their homework, and that, thanks to kind and understanding teachers, they could learn Italian: "if I know Italian so well, it is from that teacher that I know it because he was good (minor 2).

From Mainstream Peers. Five young migrants argued that also their Italian friends, met around the city or through activities organized by NGOs and reception communities, facilitated their language learning: "I learnt by talking with Italians, it was simpler to learn the language, a bit of help" (minor 3).

From Ethnic Peers. Likewise, migrants noted that peers from the same nationality aided their communication with others by translating words in their native language: I: "How did you do when you did not know Italian? How did you communicate? P: With the Albanians" (minor 4).

In the Residential Community. Interviewees discussed about their relationships in reception facilities.

Positive Relationships with Stakeholders. The minors expressed gratitude to their educators and coordinators for having listened to their concerns and having helped them with homework and language learning: "we had good times and the educators always tried to keep us close, not to leave us alone" (minor 5).

Lack of Belonging. Notably, two unaccompanied youths disclosed that they either not felt included or they had a difficult relationship with stakeholders. One of the minors felt uncomfortable when he was asked about his issues in the residential community: "P: There are problems (in the community), but it happens. I: Like what? Is there anything that would make you feel more part of the community? P: Let me leave this question" (minor 7).

Importance of Friendship Relations. Three unaccompanied adolescents described how their friends helped them discover Milan or kept them company. In the quote below, a migrant emphasized the importance of making friendships when living in a new, unfamiliar setting: "then, make the friendship, friendship is more important, a person without friends, it is a very difficult life, so we must have friends who give you advice on how to follow things, how to do things simply" (minor 7).

Sociocultural Adaptation. Units related to how the interviewees wanted to relate with their host country and its citizens were grouped into two sub-themes: 'Willingness to Acquire Cultural Competence' (8 percent) and 'Preferred Contact with UM and Ethnic Peers' (9.4 percent). Both sub-themes were found in almost all interviews, therefore suggesting that minors could endorse both orientations at different times.

Willingness to Acquire Cultural Competence. Six out of nine minors expressed a desire to integrate in Italy by learning about laws and rules, relating with their peers, studying the language and observing how Italian citizens behave:

I: What would you like to learn?

P: First thing, the most important, how to live with Italians, to know the positive and negative aspects of Italians so that I know how to collaborate with them, the most important thing. (minor 1)

Preferred Contact with UM and Ethnic Peers. Nearly all young migrants noted that they sometimes preferred to spend time with their ethnic peers and usually talked in their mother tongue, thus excluding speakers of other languages: I: "How is your relationship with your classmates? P: Very good. It's not that I talk much, but good, I'm always with the Albanians" (minor 4). Some argued that they would rather spend time with their friends instead

of taking part in the activities promoted by the school or the residential community. Spending time with other foreigners was seen as a source of comfort by one of the minors: "Yes, after school we used to hang around. Like, we sit somewhere and we talk because we are all foreigners, so are able to explain ourselves" (minor 9). Other participants observed that CPIA classes were only made of foreigners and therefore they had little chances to meet Italian peers.

3.2 Interviews with Adult Stakeholders.

The analysis led to the emergence of several themes (Table 3.2) categorized in six domains: (1) The societal Context; (2) The Institutional context; (3) The familial context; (4) The acculturating individuals (Unaccompanied Youths); (5) Intercultural Contact, and (6) Improvements.

Table 3.2

Frequencies of Units of Analysis Per Theme and of Adult Stakeholders Who Cited That Unit

Damaing Thomas & Sub Thomas	Interviews	T T:4.	Danasata asa 2		
Domains, Themes & Sub-Themes	Cited ¹	Units	Percentages ²		
The Societal Context					
1. Prejudice Towards Unaccompanied Foreign Minors	9	14	2.9		
and Asylum Seekers	9	14	2.9		
2. Welcoming Society	1	1	0.2		
3. Milan as an Inclusive City	6	14	2.9		
Total	9	29	6		
The Institutional and Organisational Context					
1. Bureaucratic Difficulties	4	11	2.2		
2. Termination of the Protection System	9	31	6.3		
3. Long Institutionalization	3	6	1.2		
4. Availability of Resources	9	35	7.1		
a. Limited Resources	6	30	6.1		
b. Sufficient Resources	5	5	1.0		
5. Implications of Salvini's Decree and Government	9	33	6.7		
a. Automatic Inclusion into the SIPROIMI System	3	6	1.2		
b. Abolition of Humanitarian Protection	3	7	1.4		
c. Unawareness of Decree's Implications	4	6	1.2		
d. Xenophobic Message	6	12	2.4		

e. Relocation	2	2	0.4	
6. Special Protection	2	5	1.0	
7. Education	11	138	28.1	
a. Promoting Independence	6	14	2.9	
b. Promoting Dialogue, Empathy & Respect	7	15	3.1	
c. Valuing Cultural Diversity	5	10	2.0	
d. CPIA: A Reality Made Only for Foreigners &	5	8	1.6	
Adults				
e. Desire to Build a Holistic Educational Model	11	53	10.8	
f. Desire to Build an Individualized Educational	5	12	2.4	
Model				
g. School as a Mean of Social Inclusion	11	26	5.3	
Total	11	259	52.6	
The Familial Context				_
1. Pressure from Family of Origin	6	10	2.0	
2. Voluntary Guardianship	5	11	2.2	
Total	8	21	4.2	
Intercultural Contact				_
1. Cohesion with Mainstream Peers	5	17	3.5	
Total	5	17	3.5	
The Acculturating Individuals int(Unacco	mpanied	Youths)		_
1. Heterogeneity	4	9	1.8	
2. Psychological Adaptation	11	77	15.7	
a. Transition from Adolescence to Adulthood	5	10	2.0	
b. Autonomy	8	23	4.7	
c. Vulnerability	5	17	3.5	
d. Personal History and Resilience	5	11	2.2	
e. Acculturative Stressors	6	16	3.3	
i. Language Barriers	2	3	0.6	
ii. Perceived Discrimination	5	13	2.6	
3. Sociocultural Adaptation	11	46	9.4	
a. Proficiency in Mainstream Language	8	16	3.3	
b. Preferred Contact with UM and Ethnic Peers	6	15	3.1	

c. Previous Scholastic Experience	4	10	2.0		
d. Heritage Culture	4	5	1.0		
Total	11	132	26.9		
Improvements					
1. To the Educational System	9	19	3.9		
2. To Society	3	4	0.8		
3. To the Reception System	2	3	0.6		
Total	9	26	5.3		

Notes.

3.2.1 Domain 1: The societal Context. Attitudes of Italian citizens (52.6 percent) varied from being prejudiced to supportive, and Milan distinguished itself for being an inclusive city.

Prejudice Towards Unaccompanied Foreign Minors and Asylum Seekers. Nearly all stakeholders (nine out of eleven) reported that Italian citizens held prejudices against unaccompanied minors and asylum seekers in general, and often engaged in discriminatory acts towards them. Stakeholders had contrasting views on whether this diffidence was fueled by governments and media, as some maintained that they spread an image of asylum seekers as dangerous and criminals: "people are seen as if they were invaders, as if they were a danger, as I was telling you, not like a richness, but like a danger" (coordinator 11), while others believed that racism was present even before the current government, which was elected because it represented people's mindsets.

Divergent opinions were also expressed in regard to the influence that Italians' acculturation attitudes can have on the adaptation of unaccompanied minors: a participant advocated that minors might have more difficulties in finding jobs compared to their Italian counterparts, but other interviewees were convinced that the minors' pathways remained difficult independently of the xenophobic climate.

Welcoming Society. The quote below seemed to be in contradiction with the one above, as one coordinator mentioned that there were people in Italy showing unaccompanied youths kindness and support: "there is a whole part of people, who, instead are absolutely welcoming, absolutely friendly and kind, hence, I believe that even these gestures, which perhaps are not many, but over the course of a day, a week, a month, are important, no?" (coordinator 4).

¹ The number of interviews cited is the amount of citations out of 11 interviewees, thus not adding up for a total value.

² The percentages are calculated dividing the units corresponding to the theme by the total number of units of analysis.

Milan as an Inclusive City. In particular, Milan appeared like a city where citizens and local authorities were welcoming and social workers did their best for the interests of the young migrants:

There is such a lively third sector, composed of such experts and passionate people and surely a municipal administration because, you know, I am part of it, but surely I recognize the merits, beside the critical issues of my administration, an administration who has the best interests of the minors, the migratory phenomenon at heart, from the alderman to the major. (coordinator 11)

3.2.2 Domain 2: The institutional and Organizational Context. Respondents discussed issues with bureaucracy (see Appendix N, p. 93), availability of resources, immigration laws and children's rights as well as minors' educational opportunities.

Termination of the Protection System. In line with the minors' results and according to almost all adult participants (nine out of 11), one of the greatest challenges for the minors' adaptation was to meet all resettlement demands including learning Italian, obtaining the eighth-grade diploma and finding a job before leaving the residential community: "at 18 years old, everything finishes, a sudden change that does not favor, let us say, the right pathway towards autonomy" (educator 3). According to stakeholders, there was a risk that the newly adults would find themselves without support and in need of money, and would get exploited by criminal networks.

Interviewees also observed that if minors arrive at an advanced age, it is more difficult to fulfill all resettlement demands before they become eighteen. In particular, unaccompanied migrant and refugee adolescents were prevented from the chance to study beyond the secondary level due to a lack of time:

When they arrive even if they are 16 years old, regarding the school aspect, maybe they just try to reach the eighth grade license just to then have the chance to work, to be all in line with the eighth grade, but it is almost impossible that, even if someone wanted to keep on studying, because the priority that we give is to help them in the job search when they are minors to facilitate them when they reach 18 years old and they will have to do theirs, on their own, like walking on their legs right away because the system wants this. (educator 3)

Long Institutionalization. Nonetheless, three stakeholders believed that also arriving in the host country at a very young age could have an adverse effect on the minors' adaptation process as they risked losing sight of what their objectives:

Sometimes, the one-year pathways are more successful than those of two years, like, to give you an idea, because you need to do things faster and you are more focused on the aim, otherwise it (the residential community) becomes a place where to stay and wait for things, sometimes it is risky, sometimes time is not an ally. (coordinator 2)

Consequences of Salvini's Decree and Government. The Salvini's Decree (2018) was mentioned by several stakeholders as having a number of implications (see Appendix N, pp. 99-102). On one hand, the abolition of the humanitarian protection seemed to have had a negative impact on the adaptation of unaccompanied minors, who are now at risk of becoming irregulars once they reach the age of majority. On the other hand, the automatic inclusion of unaccompanied minors into the SIPROIMI could result in more attention being paid to them and to the realization of their life projects. Although some of the effects of the Decree have been mentioned, stakeholders also expressed their ignorance regarding all its potential consequences because the Decree is complicated to interpret and it is still too early to observe all its effects.

Nonetheless, independently of what the Decree implies, adult participants argued that the message that Salvini sent with this measure and his propaganda seemed to legitimize people's hostility towards immigration and asylum seekers:

If you go around Italy and ask to explain the Salvini's Decree I don't know how many will be able to repeat it, how many will know the difference, but I am convinced that it is more in the words, in the politicians' attitude, it looks as if people felt a bit indulged in this thing against immigration. (coordinator 4)

Special Protection. Two stakeholders highlighted the fact that unaccompanied youths, as minors, had their rights recognized by international conventions, which cannot be taken away by any state laws:

Until they are minors, until they are underaged, we have some advantages and so we can still help and support the guys until the majority age. Well, you know, there are some, some garrisons of legality and, how to say, of support, which go way beyond any government. (coordinator 2)

Moreover, it was also mentioned that for those minors who are considered too fragile to leave the reception facility, social workers can ask the Ministry of Labor and Social Policies for a 'Prosieguo Amministrativo', a legal measure allowing the minors to remain under state supervision until they are 21 years old, and therefore potentially facilitating their adaptation process.

Limited Resources. Many stakeholders (six out of 11) declared that not all municipalities had the financial resources to be able to support young migrants after the age of majority. According to stakeholders, the issue of limited resources also concerned mainstream Italian schools, which could not welcome unaccompanied youths: "even if in theory and in the legislation, they (unaccompanied minors) should be inserted in mainstream schools, this does not happen because there are no resources to follow them" (teacher 9).

Sufficient Resources. Such comments about the paucity of resources contradicted other stakeholders' statements regarding the satisfactory amount of resources in several municipalities. However, participants acknowledged that there was a disparity of means in the Italian territory: "not everywhere it's like this, like if you talk to me about the national territory, there is a big difference" (coordinator 11).

Education. This was the most prevalent theme (28.1 percent) in the 'Institutional and Organizational' domain.

Promoting Independence. One of the major educational principles cited by six adult participants was to give young migrants the means to deal with life challenges after leaving reception facilities. The approach that some reception communities adopted was to allow unaccompanied minors to live by themselves in flats, named Apartments for Autonomy, where migrants were encouraged to develop personal and social autonomy by receiving lower assistance and accomplishing house duties. An educator referred to the benefits of this educational intervention:

The apartments that I told you about which instead are made for more autonomous kids and therefore with an educational focus which is a bit different and thus the educator is less present but when is there, he/she perhaps supports the single guy in his activity, in his pathway and helps him learn things, such as how to do food shopping, how to do the washing machine, how to cook, how to do things, in short, like more oriented to prepare the guy to have an independent life. (coordinator 4)

The quote below showed that also teachers, where possible, adapted the curriculum to give the young migrants the appropriate tools to become autonomous:

even our program falls outside the classic program of the eight-grade right because we need to give these guys the tools to then live by themselves after 18 years old and therefore it is better to privilege how a rent contract is made compared to the Pitagora theorem. (teacher 8)

Promoting Empathy, Dialogue and Respect. Another goal of the educational method was to foster a classroom climate of empathy and respect by encouraging students to engage in

dialogue: "the most important thing is that they (classmates) respect each other and they learn to dialogue even on small things, so perhaps they do small works in couples or small groups" (teacher 7).

Valuing Cultural Diversity. Consistently with the data from youths', this sub-theme emerged from the analysis and was discussed by five out of eleven interviewees. Of interest was an observation by a coordinator who described how surprised minors were when they noticed the freedom that women experience in Italy in comparison with their home countries. This constituted a point of conflict between minors and female stakeholders, like a school coordinator who, in the example below, insisted on the importance of sharing values from the host culture without *imposing* them on the minors: "I cannot impose my culture, but I can make sure that they see other ways of living. They also ask these questions with their teachers, "you are a woman, and you work?" (coordinator 6).

Notably, a teacher advocated that cultural diversity was also promoted by encouraging the young migrants to learn more about the majority culture while maintaining the language and customs of their heritage culture: "I would never tell a guy "forget your language".... I invite you to speak Italian because this can help you improve your integration process, but, as soon as you leave, use your language, maintain your culture" (teacher 7).

CPIA: A Reality Made Only for Foreigners and Adults. As noted by nearly half of stakeholders (five out of eleven), CPIAs, except for those also attended by Italian early school leavers, tended to be exclusively composed of foreigners. This can be an obstacle for those young migrants who would like to relate with Italian peers:

The major difficulty that I have found is that the guys, right in regard to their needs, ask a lot to have a relationship with peers or with Italian people and this is, unfortunately, a real problem in Italy because the unaccompanied foreign minors, for almost 90% and I would dare to say even something more, in the majority of cases, gets inserted in CPIAs. (teacher 9)

Another critical issue highlighted by a teacher was the difficulty of tailoring the minors' scholastic experiences to their expectations since originally CPIAs were targeted for adult learning:

At the CPIA they (the youths) keep doing a series of experiences that are more towards adulthood than towards peers, therefore this is a big gap, in short, this is the issue that, in my opinion, you will find more or less in all the interviews because it is almost the pivotal issue of the Italian situation. (teacher 9)

Desire to Build a Holistic Educational Model. The highest number of references to the 'Education' theme was made in relation to the networking among all actors involved in the educational and reception systems (10.8 percent), thus suggesting that stakeholders strived to build a holistic educational model. For instance, a coordinator described how schools give migrants the chance to engage in sports or field trips through their collaboration with NGOs: "We have a lot of networks on the territory, we work with many organizations because this allows us to better insert the guys in the social context so these can be voluntary associations, they can be sportive associations" (coordinator 6).

Moreover, the benefits of a constant contact between schools and reception communities were listed: "we (stakeholders) are always in contact with everyone at 360 degrees also because by talking with the school we always understand more how the boy is, how to help him, the various difficulties" (educator 3).

Desire to Build an Individualized Educational Model. Many adult participants (five out of 11) also noted that, where possible, they adapted minors' life projects to their inclinations and school materials to their needs: "when you have to offer a reception model, an integration model, that model needs to be dynamic, elastic, to understand who is in front of you, it cannot be anything rigid and so structured that it cannot be moved" (coordinator 11).

School as a Mean for Social Inclusion. Consistently with the young participants' results, all stakeholders mentioned how being enrolled in school seemed to favor social inclusion, by helping young migrants learn Italian, find a job, obtain the necessary qualifications to ask for a residence permit and understand how to relate with mainstream society. A coordinator also explained the important role that particular types of secondary school, focusing on stimulating youths' practical competencies, had for unaccompanied minors:

They conjugate the need to learn Italian and the necessity to do something practical and to spend oneself in something practical that would then eventually materialize in an internship and in access to the professional sphere, therefore it is evident that they have a particular function in regard to unaccompanied minors. (coordinator 11)

3.2.3 Domain 3: The Familial Context. This domain (4.2 percent) was characterized by the mediation between stakeholders and the minors' families or legal guardians.

Pressure from Family of Origin. Six stakeholders reported that, although the young participants fled without their families, they were constantly in contact with their parents, who strongly influenced their decisions. When minors were overly pressured to send money home, stakeholders would call their families to say that the young migrants had to obtain the

secondary school diploma before being able to find a job and support them financially. Usually, this mediation had a positive effect on the migrants' acculturation and adaptation process:

This works very well usually, so usually talking with the family, which is true that is in another country but regarding the influence that has on the guy it is like as if it was here because the guys always hear from their families and the families have an enormous weight on the decisions that the guys take so the fact that, talking with the parents, of making an alliance with them, makes the difference in regard to the pathways. (coordinator 11)

Voluntary Guardianship. Another finding emerging within the 'Familial Context' domain was that, according to many stakeholders, Italian citizens tended to associate the role of the minors' parent with the recently introduced figure of the 'Voluntary Guardian'. As reported, this guardianship was only meant to legally represent the minors, but since its contours had not been well-delineated and this role was assumed voluntarily, without any continuous supervision or financial support, guardians went beyond what was required of them, thus entering in conflict with reception communities: "conflicts emerge because the structures have always been used to follow the boys in an autonomous way" (coordinator 11).

Nonetheless, an educator recognized that when voluntary guardians were aware of these boundaries, they represented an important source of support for the communities and for the minors with whom they established significant relationships: "the good thing is that they (voluntary guardians) even took the minors to heart, so they often invite them out for dinner and they are also a support for us" (educator 3).

3.2.4 Domain 4: Intercultural Contact.

Cohesion with Mainstream Peers. Interaction between Italian adolescents and unaccompanied youths (3.5 percent) was reported to be highly promoted through an exchange of experiences in school, participation in extra-curricular activities or during life in the residential community. In the quote below, a teacher emphasized its benefits:

the Italian guy who realizes that his classmate does not understand the text well and thus goes there and explains the words and, let us say, these explanations are always more effective compared to those of the teacher and get understood well, you see, in a different way, and this is very positive. (teacher 8)

3.2.5 Domain 5: Acculturating Individuals (Unaccompanied Youths). Unaccompanied migrant and refugee minors were described as a heterogeneous group of people with different needs (see Appendix N, p. 104). Additionally, interviewees explained how

aspects of the minors' identity and their experiences in the host country were related to their psychological and sociocultural adaptation.

Psychological Adaptation. Factors including the transition from adolescence to adulthood, autonomy, vulnerability, personal history and resilience (see Appendix N, p. 107) as well as acculturative stressors, were found to be related to the minors' psychological adaptation, with the 'Autonomy' sub-theme being the most referred to (4.7 percent).

Transition from Adolescence to Adulthood. Stakeholders stressed the fact that the minors were not just migrants, but also adolescents, who had to go through a process of self-discovery, which could bring further challenges to their adaptation process: "all the problems that can come from a fight with a friend, from a heartbreak, all that concerns their life, they put everything in the community, their life, so it's not simple" (coordinator 2).

Autonomy. This was considered an important characteristic of the minors, who, due to their life experiences, seemed to have more professional capacities and to be more mature than their Italian counterparts:

They already do a series of mature steps, like the trip and the experience that they do in solitude is what, in my opinion, makes them become more mature and it is what makes them face a series of things. (teacher 9)

It was also added that minors seem to be focused on achieving their independence by finding a job rather than going to school. Stakeholders often had to encourage them to study in order to find a better profession:

In their mind our task is to make them work and find a job; it is absolutely difficult to think that before there must be a step related to study so that before there must be a part of this pathway dedicated to learning the Italian language, dedicated to attend a school because they thought that they had left this part behind their shoulders. (coordinator 11)

Vulnerability. Although minors perceived themselves as mature, stakeholders maintained that many of them were extremely fragile. In fact, they had experienced psychological traumas in their home country and during their flight, had exhibited instances of behavioral and substance abuse disorders, or had engaged in crimes: "there is a whole previous situation, in several cases there are traumas, there are extremely complicated experiences, tragic, that we cannot probably even contemplate, imagine, fully comprehend" (coordinator 4).

Acculturative Stressors. Consistently with the analysis that emerged from the minors' data, 'Language barriers' (0.6 percent) and 'Perceived discrimination' (2.6 percent) were mentioned as aspects causing distress in the unaccompanied youths.

Language barriers. At times, unaccompanied migrants seemed to refuse to learn Italian or showed their frustration when they were unable to communicate: "I think that the major frustration is right the one of not being able to make yourself understood in any way at the beginning." (teacher 8)

Perceived Discrimination. It was reported that minors felt discriminated by Italian citizens and expressed their concerns with stakeholders:

because you have also heard the guy who just said that he did not want to tell anyone that he came here with the boat because he knows that the media always talk about 'those who came here with boat' so he already knows that when one will hear that he came here, he's the 'dangerous' one, do you understand? (educator 5)

Findings also revealed that some minors seemed to suffer from this xenophobic attitude more than others, who instead appeared to be indifferent towards the hostility of Italian citizens.

Sociocultural Adaptation. Resettlement aspects, such as proficiency in the mainstream language, as well as pre-displacement factors, including previous scholastic experience (see Appendix N, p. 109), seemed to be related with this form of adaptation.

Proficiency in Mainstream Language. Stakeholders emphasized that speaking Italian was crucial for the minors to communicate and succeed in the scholastic, relational and professional spheres, and especially in the latter because it allows them to aspire to more ambitious jobs:

it should not be assumed that they (unaccompanied youths) have to limit themselves to become a gardener, a busboy or a kitchen boy because these are the are the things, but maybe the guys can also aspire to do something different and to use what they already knew in their home country to take advantage of it here, but to do this, it is necessary a decent, sufficient knowledge of the Italian language. (coordinator 11)

Preferred Contact with UM and Ethnic Peers. However, stakeholders observed that sometimes the young migrants only interacted with other unaccompanied minors or with their ethnic peers, as this seemed to be reassuring for them. On the other hand, this propensity could also lead to more difficulties in learning Italian and integrating with society after leaving reception structures:

This is a problem, it is a problem for many reasons, first of all, linguistic because they don't, because they are from different ethnicities and use a common language and, in general, being in Italy they use Italian and this helps them a lot, but if they are from the same ethnicity, Albanese, they exclusively talk Albanese. (teacher 7)

3.2.6 Domain 6: Improvements. This domain includes the changes that stakeholders would like to see in society's mindset, reception and educational systems (see Appendix N, pp. 109-110), which could facilitate both psychological and sociocultural adaptation of unaccompanied minors.

School System. Stakeholders would like to have larger spaces and higher resources for a more intercultural didactic, more social recognition for CPIAs and more extracurricular activities. They suggested providing foreign minors with scholarships for studying and they insisted on the importance of inserting unaccompanied youths in mainstream Italian schools:

on paper it's not like this but let us say that in reality it becomes like this, that mainstream schools, the school institutions are mainly targeted at Italian guys or at those residents who, even if they are foreigners, they have a family and everything here, instead, CPIAs are mainly dedicated to migrants and become a sort of cultural and educational "ghetto" for migrants. (coordinator 11)

Chapter IV. Discussion

4.1 Study Findings and Implications

Two research questions were developed to explore the acculturation and adaptation processes of an understudied population, namely unaccompanied migrant and refugee minors. The perspectives of unaccompanied youths and stakeholders on the ecological aspects related to the youths' psychological well-being and social functioning in the host country were examined. The study also aimed to understand which elements of the youths' educational experiences in Italy facilitated or challenged their psychological and socio-cultural adaptation.

Findings showed that the young participants saw themselves as autonomous individuals holding a sense of agency, thus confirming that they are "actors in their own right" (Wernesjö, 2012, p. 8), especially when building coping mechanisms to adapt in a new country (see Chase et al., 2008; Goodman, 2004; Luster et al., 2010). Likewise, stakeholders perceived the youngsters not only as vulnerable, due to their previous experiences of loss and separation, but also as resilient; findings that are in line with Keles and colleagues (2016). Moreover, as Sam & Oppedal (2003) previously observed, unaccompanied minors in this study were seen as a heterogeneous group of adolescents, who face maturational changes related to puberty along with new types of social interactions, such as falling in love.

The first ecological aspect identified by both young and adult participants referred to the majority society: although Italian citizens were perceived as generally prejudiced towards unaccompanied minors and asylum seekers, stakeholders considered Milan as a welcoming environment where unaccompanied minors can thrive thanks to the support of local authorities and the third sector. Previous literature (Jasinskaja-Lahti & Liebkind, 2001; Liebkind & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000; Phinney & Chavira, 1995; Vega, Khoury, Zimmerman, Gil, & Warheit, 1995) reported that perceived discrimination was correlated with lower self-esteem and increased stress. Importantly, minors in this study seemed to respond differently to perceived discrimination: some said that they wanted to raise awareness about their migration journeys while others were ashamed of talking about their flight experiences with Italian peers. Stakeholders also observed different coping strategies in the young respondents: some adolescents would express their discomfort with coordinators and educators, whereas others would appear indifferent.

There have been contrasting findings on the relationship between perceived discrimination and ethnic identity with Ruggiero, Taylor, and Lambert (1996) indicating that it decreased ethnic identification while Verkuyten and Nekuee (1999) showing opposite results.

It is impossible to establish a causal relationship from the present study, but it is noteworthy that both adult and young participants claimed that the youths had a tendency to interact exclusively with other unaccompanied minors or with their ethnic peers, and this could be seen as a way to maintain their ethnic identity (Berry et al., 2006). Maintaining and further developing competence of one's ethnic culture may represent a bridge between past and present experiences and thus bring a sense of stability in adolescents' identity struggles (Keles et al., 2016).

Stakeholders and the youths also mentioned language barriers as another reason for stress, resulting in negative outcomes for their psychological well-being. Accordingly, Liebkind and Jasinskaja-Lahti (2000) found that proficiency in the mainstream language positively affects psychological adaptation by providing an increased sense of being accepted by national peers, mastery, and self-esteem. Young interviewees declared that, when learning Italian, they not only benefitted from the help of mainstream peers, but also named teachers, educators, and coordinators as a source of social support, which has previously been found to mitigate the adverse impact of perceived discrimination on psychological health (Ellis, MacDonald, Lincoln, & Cabral, 2008).

Although minors in our study sometimes preferred to establish relationships with their ethnic peers and other unaccompanied minors, they appeared to be willing to learn about Italian laws and traditions, study the language and observe how Italian citizens behave. In line with the findings of Michel, Titzmann, and Silbereisen (2012), competence in majority culture and mainstream language can also benefit the minors' sociocultural adaptation by helping them succeed in professional and relational spheres. Intercultural contact can, therefore, have positive outcomes for both forms of adaptation: it could be crucial for minors to practice the host country's language while learning about Italian social customs (Horenczyk & Tatar, 2012) and it can result in friendships with mainstream peers, which were shown to buffer the negative consequences of perceived discrimination (Baysu, Phalet, & Brown, 2014). In fact, both adult and young respondents in the present investigation emphasized that cohesion with Italian peers was promoted in schools, communities and through the youths' participation in several activities organized by NGOs.

As predicted by Bourhis and colleagues (1997) as well as by Ward and Geeraert (2016), a country's policies towards immigration constitute another ecological condition affecting acculturation attitudes of migrants and host society members, and the adaptation of young persons (Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001). Although the stakeholders interviewed noted that unaccompanied minors are guaranteed special protection until they

reach the age of majority, Italian bureaucracy, some aspects of the Salvini's Decree-Law, as well as the termination of the protection system could represent further challenges for unaccompanied youths, potentially negatively biasing both kinds of adaptation.

Stakeholders have expressed their concerns around the fact that at the exit from residential facilities, unaccompanied youths may find themselves alone and without support, therefore risking to be exploited by criminal organizations; this likelihood also emerged from the interviews conducted by Catarci and Rocchi (2017). It appeared from the current study that the termination of the protection system as well as the family's request to send money home constituted an obstacle for the aspiration to study beyond the secondary level, as most of the minors voiced their desire to start working as soon as possible to be able to support their family. Although minors migrated alone, family dynamics were also recognized as having a strong influence on the acculturation attitudes of their children, as it was also shown in the Ward and Geeraert (2016) model and in the investigation led by Lorenzo-Blanco and colleagues (2012).

As maintained by Ward and Geeraert (2016), educational settings formed an important context for the acculturation and adaptation of the unaccompanied youths interviewed. In line with Pastoor (2017), our data indicated that the education received in different settings including schools, residential communities, and throughout activities promoted by NGOs, seemed to facilitate the adolescents' sociocultural adaptation: minors observed that they could learn the mainstream language and understand how to relate with host country citizens. Notably, stakeholders emphasized the importance of valuing the students' cultural diversity by encouraging them to maintain their native language and to share experiences from their home countries instead of asking them to assimilate. Adopting cultural pluralism was shown by Schachner, Noack, Van de Vijver, and Eckstein (2016) to benefit migrants' ethnic identity, thus indicating that this educational principle could have positive outcomes on the sociocultural adaptation of young persons in the current study.

The present analysis showed that stakeholders strived to build an individualized and holistic educational model: they mentioned adapting curriculum, teaching materials, and ways of teaching to the needs of diverse students and they highlighted the importance of liaising with each other to develop best practices; these elements being the pillars of multicultural education (Camacho, Aguiar, Guerra, Rodrigues, 2017). Moreover, stakeholders added that, in the case of unaccompanied minors, education had the important function of promoting the adolescents' independence: stakeholders assisted the youths in the job search, adapted lesson plans, for instance by teaching them how to read an Italian rent contract, and gave some of the youths the

chance to live autonomously in flats where they would be in close contact with Italian people ("Apartments for Autonomy").

Although Horenczyk and Tatar (2012) argued that school constituted a meaningful mainstream context where migrant adolescents can interact with teachers and peers from the majority culture, our findings showed that CPIA classes were mainly attended by foreigners. Although CPIAs were recognized in the present study as having a crucial role for the social inclusion of unaccompanied migrant and refugee students, stakeholders highlighted the lack of chances that minors may have in interacting with mainstream peers when they cannot attend mainstream Italian schools. An investigation conducted by Rumberger & Palardy (2005) found that a classroom setting with a higher number of immigrant students was related to a lower rate of dominant language acquisition; this is another aspect that could potentially hinder the minors' sociocultural adaptation. However, a classroom setting with a higher level of heterogeneity was found to be correlated with a stronger acculturation orientation towards the dominant culture among migrant students (Schachner et al., 2016). This may occur because the host country culture can constitute a common ground for students from different nationalities; this was in fact noted by unaccompanied youths in the current research, who emphasized how crucial it was to learn Italian to be able to communicate with their diverse classmates; one minor in particular expressed his amazement and gratitude for how teachers managed to teach Italian to all classmates, enabling them to tighten friendships and thus facilitating both forms of adaptation.

Applying the Ward and Geeraert model (2016) to explore the acculturation and adaptation processes of unaccompanied migrant and refugee adolescents provided valuable implications. Not only has it been observed that the youths' acculturation and adaptation unfold across societal, institutional and familial contexts, but also that particular attention has to be paid to adolescence. This is an age where stressful events related to physical and emotional changes (Garber, Keiley, & Martin, 2002) add weight to the acculturative stressors already affecting psychological adaptation.

Another important theoretical implication deriving from the present research was that psychological and sociocultural adaptation seem to be intertwined. For instance, language barriers were described as an aspect that could potentially challenge the adolescents' psychological adaptation as they were mentioned as a reason for frustration. At the same time, mainstream language proficiency was seen as facilitating sociocultural adaptation processes by allowing minors to communicate with stakeholders and peers. Literature found the two forms of adaptation to be interconnected especially within the school context (Liebkind, Jasinskaja-

Lahti, & Solheim, 2004), where academic self-concept is seen as a psychological outcome stemming from self-esteem (Marsh & Ayotte, 2003) and academic achievement is considered as an indicator of sociocultural adaptation (Denissen, Zarrett, & Eccles, 2007). Likewise, connections among the different ecological contexts illustrated in the Ward and Geeraert model (2016) emerged from the current analysis. For instance, the introduction of the voluntary guardian figure by the Zampa's Law (2018) could have been considered as part of the institutional context, however, it was conceptualized as part of the familial context since some of the guardians have developed significant relational bonds with the adolescents for whom they can act as role models.

The present research has shown that Italian intervention models do not treat the reception of unaccompanied migrant and refugee adolescents as an emergency but promote the minors' social inclusion and the development of cultural competencies (Crea, Anayeli, Taylor, & Underwood, 2017). This research can provide an insight into some of the practices that could be implemented in international contexts faced with the arrival of unaccompanied minors. For instance, voluntary guardians can support the minors in their adaptation process by helping them enhance their self-esteem and realize their full potential (Rania et al., 2018). Likewise, the "Apartments for Autonomy" can foster the minors' social inclusion by putting them in contact with Italian citizens and giving them a sense of belonging to society (Rania et al., 2018).

Identifying acculturative stressors for unaccompanied youths is of fundamental importance for policymakers, school personnel, and local authorities to develop educational programs and reception services that can address them. For instance, stakeholders emphasized the importance of sensitizing Italian youngsters as well as the whole mainstream society to issues of migration, with the aim of stimulating their interest for cultural diversity, thus potentially reducing objective and subjective experiences of discrimination.

Since a more complete integration cannot be achieved until mainstream Italian schools have the financial resources to welcome unaccompanied youths, both minors and stakeholders suggested increasing the youths' participation in sports teams and extra-curricular activities (e.g. theatre, art laboratories) together with mainstream peers. These would allow minors to further develop their cultural competence in the mainstream culture, therefore promoting their psychological and sociocultural adaptation. Nonetheless, ethnic cultural competence should not be disregarded: the adolescents need to be given the space to practice their own language, and curriculum and teaching materials should continue to be aligned with the needs of diverse students.

Lastly, it was found that unaccompanied youths tend to be inserted in professions that are generally interested by recession and cycles in the job market, such as the parcel delivery industry. Hence, strategies that would promote a longer and more stable inclusion of unaccompanied youths in the labor market should be taken into consideration by policymakers, otherwise these kinds of jobs may constitute an element of further vulnerability in the lives of the unaccompanied minors, whose social mobility also becomes limited (Oppedal, Guribye, & Kroger, 2017).

4.2 Limitations and Future Research

It is necessary to highlight the limitations of the present study in order to successfully develop research in this field. First, the sample of unaccompanied youths was small and consisted of only males. According to Accorinti (2016), females are usually more vulnerable throughout their integration process compared to their male counterparts, thus making it harder to recruit them. This might be due to the likelihood that girls have been subjected to sex work and trafficking during their migration journey (Huemer et al., 2009). However, statistics have shown that the majority of unaccompanied minors in the Italian territory are males (Direzione generale dell'immigrazione e delle politiche dell'Integrazione, 2018). Hence, the sample was representative of the population of unaccompanied minors located in Italy.

The cultural homogeneity of the research sample, which was mostly composed of Albanians, constituted another limitation of the present research. However, according to the same report (Direzione generale dell'immigrazione e delle politiche dell'Integrazione, 2018), the highest number of unaccompanied minors in Italy is from Albania. The representativeness of the study sample is therefore increased. Moreover, if this study were to be replicated, data should be collected in different Italian regions since reception conditions of unaccompanied foreign minors seem to vary across the Italian territory, as it was conveyed by the stakeholders interviewed. Future studies should be conducted for instance in Sicily, the Italian region hosting the largest number of unaccompanied minors (Direzione generale dell'immigrazione e delle politiche di integrazione Divisione, 2018) to understand how educational models can be individualized also in municipalities that may struggle with resources.

Another factor that may have influenced findings from this study were the power dynamics emerging between the researcher and the young participants during the interviews (Wernesjö, 2014). The researcher occupied a more privileged position than the young participants, for instance in regard to age, level of education and living situation (Christensen & James, 2000). Although the researcher tried to avoid closed questions during the interview, the youths may still have felt pressured to answer in an acquiescing way, which can be proved

by the short average duration of their interviews. Although ethical procedures were implemented to elicit and value the participation of minors, for instance, they were encouraged to comment on the research methodologies during the interview (Bravo-Moreno, 2003), language barriers may have also prevented them from giving extensive answers. Perhaps, the presence of an interpreter speaking the native languages of the young participants would have been beneficial. Lastly, an additional limitation of the current research was that, although substantial inter-rater reliability was reached, only the 20 percent of the data was coded by the second rater.

Since unaccompanied minors are a heterogeneous group (Wernesjö, 2014), a standardized educational program for all unaccompanied minors may not be ideal; therefore, future research should look at how best practices can be adapted to different cultures (Rania et al., 2014). In addition, it is important to conduct longitudinal research as this would allow to observe the changes that may occur throughout the acculturation and adaptation processes of the minors. Since these phenomena evolve through time (Ward & Geeraert, 2016), the minors' perspectives on their adaptation could vary depending on the time spent in Italy. Moreover, longitudinal studies comparing migrant adolescents with non-immigrant youths would allow to separate developmental from acculturative processes (Fuligni, 2001). It would be then possible to understand the mechanisms by which acculturation and development combine in the lives of migrant adolescents, who would be given the chance to realize their full potential as part of a multicultural society and as beneficiaries of a multicultural education.

Conclusion

The present study contributed in filling the gap in research regarding the acculturation and adaptation of unaccompanied migrant and refugee youths and their educational opportunities in Italy. Importantly, these unaccompanied adolescents were empowered to be the actors in shaping their own psychological and sociocultural adaptation.

In this regard, the youths perceived themselves as autonomous beings, who need to comply with a strong family mandate. Acculturative stressors, such as language barriers and perceived discrimination, were further complicated by the fact that the young participants were also adolescents in search for their adult identity. These factors, seen as potentially challenging the minors' psychological well-being, were found to be alleviated by perceived social support from stakeholders, and ethnic as well as mainstream peers. Unaccompanied youths seemed to find this kind of support also in different learning contexts, such as CPIAs, residential communities, and in the activities offered by the Italian third sector, which also provided students with the means to acquire competence in both heritage and majority cultures, thus being positively related to their sociocultural adaptation.

The main challenges of the Italian context were the termination of the protection system when the migrant adolescents come of age: this can result in a lack of a supportive network for the newly adults, who need to quickly become self-sufficient and abandon their academic and career ambitions in order to earn a living. In addition, the impossibility to attend mainstream Italian schools deprived the minors of an important integration channel. However, measures including the "Apartments for Autonomy", voluntary guardianship, and the opportunity of meeting Italian peers offered by the Italian third sector constituted some of the best practices that could be adopted in other countries. Finally, investigating this research topic has allowed the researcher to examine and conceive the phenomenon of migration in unaccompanied youths not as an issue to solve but as an opportunity for the social and economic development of the countries that welcome them.

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Appendix A

Distribution of Unaccompanied Refugee and Migrant Youths in Italy

Table A *Unaccompanied Migrant and Refugee Minors Registered in Italy*

Gender	Present and Registered	Percentage
Male	10.000	92.7
Female	787	7.3
Total	10.787	100

Note. Adapted from "Report Mensile Minori Stranieri Non Accompagnati (MSNA) In Italia," by Direzione generale dell'immigrazione e delle politiche di integrazione Divisione II (2018). Retrieved from http://www.lavoro.gov.it/temi-e-priorita/immigrazione/focus-on/minori-stranieri/Documents/Report-MSNA-mese-dicembre-2018-15012019.pdf

Appendix B Distribution of Unaccompanied Refugee and Migrant Youths in Italy by Gender

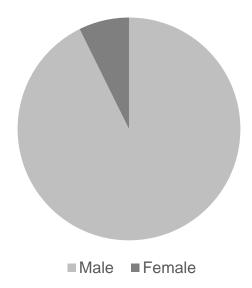


Figure B. Distribution of Unaccompanied Refugee and Migrant Youth in Italy by Age Group. Adapted from "Report Mensile Minori Stranieri Non Accompagnati (MSNA) In Italia," by Direzione generale dell'immigrazione e delle politiche di integrazione Divisione II (2018). Retrieved from http://www.lavoro.gov.it/temi-e-priorita/immigrazione/focus-on/minori-stranieri/Documents/Report-MSNA-mese-dicembre-2018-15012019.pdf

Appendix C Distribution of Unaccompanied Refugee and Migrant Youths in Italy by Age Group

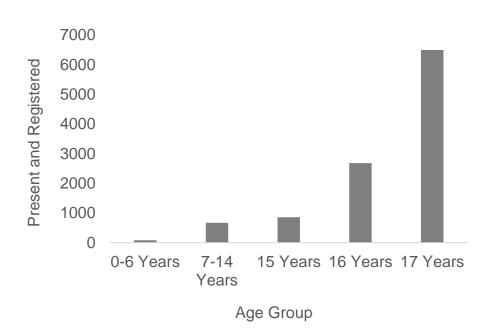


Figure C. Distribution of Unaccompanied Refugee and Migrant Youth in Italy by Age Group. Adapted from "Report Mensile Minori Stranieri Non Accompagnati (MSNA) In Italia," by Direzione generale dell'immigrazione e delle politiche di integrazione Divisione II (2018). Retrieved from http://www.lavoro.gov.it/temi-e-priorita/immigrazione/focus-on/minori-stranieri/Documents/Report-MSNA-mese-dicembre-2018-15012019.pdf

Appendix D

Thesis Proposal





Proposta di Tesi - Francesca Osima

Revisione della letteratura esistente

Tra tutti i migranti che hanno attraversato il Mar Mediterraneo negli ultimi anni, un gran numero comprende Minori Stranieri non Accompagnati. Con Minore Straniero non Accompagnato (MSNA), si intende un soggetto minorenne presente sul territorio di uno Stato, in assenza di soggetti terzi quali genitori o adulti che detengano per conto suo responsabilità legale, assistenza e rappresentanza (Demurtas et al., 2018). Secondo un rapporto di Eurostat (2018), l'Istituto di Statistica dell'Unione Europea, di tutti i richiedenti asilo che hanno fatto domanda per la protezione internazionale nel 2017, 31.400 erano Minori non Accompagnati. Il più gran numero di Minori Stranieri non Accompagnati nel 2017 è stato registrato in Italia (con oltre 10.000 o il 32% di tutti i ragazzi registrati negli stati europei), seguita dalla Germania (9.100 o il 29%).

Anche se ci sono numerosi studi che esplorano le strategie di difesa e resilienza di MSNA (Chase, Knight, & Statham, 2008; Goodman, 2004; Luster & Bates, 2010), la maggioranza delle ricerche è incentrata sulla loro salute mentale. Questo va attribuito al fatto che un gran numero di ragazzi ha rischiato la vita, ha subito abusi fisici e psicologici durante l'esperienza migratoria, e ha sofferto la perdita di genitori, parenti o amici (Jakobsen, Demott, & Heir 2014). Tuttavia, quest'univoca preoccupazione per i traumi psicologici e la salute mentale degli MSNA provoca il rischio di costruire un'immagine di questi ragazzi come passivi e vulnerabili, e non come attori in grado di avere un ruolo attivo nella loro integrazione (Wernesjö, 2012). Nuovi studi sono necessari per esaminare l'esperienza dei rifugiati nel paese ospitante, in particolare sulla loro percezione del sistema di accoglienza, del mercato del lavoro e dell'educazione che ricevono (Wernesjö, 2012). La ricerca esistente suggerisce che la scuola gioca un ruolo fondamentale nell'integrazione dei ragazzi nel paese ospitante (Zhou, 2001; Pinson & Arnot, 2010; Block, Cross, Riggs, & Gibbs, 2014).

Quadro teorico

Questa tesi si focalizza sull'esperienza educativa degli MSNA. Secondo Bonfenbrenner (1976), lo sviluppo di ciascuno è influenzato da cinque sistemi ambientali con i quali gli individui si trovano in contatto, e, a loro volta, gli individui stessi influenzano il loro ambiente socio-culturale (Stewart,





2011). L'ambiente non è considerato come una singola entità, ma consiste invece nella combinazione di cinque sistemi che sono interconnessi tra loro, inclusi un microsistema, un mesosistema, un esosistema, un macrosistema e un cronosistema (Stewart, 2011).

Pertanto, nell'analisi dello sviluppo di un giovane migrante, i ricercatori non dovrebbero considerare soltanto l'ambiente più vicino al bambino, il microsistema, ossia le circostanze in cui vive e le persone che lo circondano, ma anche il suo ambiente socioculturale, il macrosistema, ossia la comunità e le istituzioni del paese che lo ospita. Stewart (2011) ha proposto che un programma educativo multifunzionale, che consideri tutti gli aspetti del sistema di Bonfenbrenner e la relazione fra essi, ha il potenziale di aiutare i bambini rifugiati a superare alcune delle sfide che sono tenuti ad affrontare. I futuri interventi non dovrebbero considerare i ragazzi solo come individui isolati ma inserirli in un ambiente culturalmente appropriato e in un contesto inclusivo dove possano rappresentare un ruolo attivo. Queste osservazioni hanno condotto allo sviluppo dello 'whole-school approach' dove tutti i membri della comunità scolastica (compagni di classe, insegnanti e consiglio scolastico) hanno un ruolo cruciale nel creare un ambiente scolastico positivo e costruttivo per tutti gli studenti.

Domanda di ricerca e metodo d'analisi

La mia tesi risponderà alle seguenti domande di ricerca: Quali sono le percezioni degli MSNA sulle pratiche che sono state implementate per favorire la loro integrazione nelle scuole Italiane?; Quali sono le percezioni di insegnanti, educatori e coordinatori di comunità di accoglienza sulle offerte educative per gli MSNA? Uno studio qualitativo con interviste semi-strutturate sarà condotto per dare ai ragazzi l'opportunità di esprimere le loro preoccupazioni, aspettative e considerazioni sull'educazione che hanno diritto a ricevere in Italia. Inoltre, gli insegnanti, educatori e i coordinatori dei centri d'accoglienza per MSNA saranno intervistati e verrà loro chiesto di esprimere la loro opinione riguardo al loro ruolo nel promuovere un'educazione più inclusiva. I dati ricavati dalle interviste verranno analizzati con il software NVivo 12. Un'analisi tematica (Braun & Clarke, 2006) permetterà di identificare, interpretare e riportare le risposte più e meno ricorrenti contenute nelle interviste e i risultati verranno illustrati in questa tesi.





Implicazioni

Le conclusioni di questa tesi avranno delle implicazioni pratiche: saranno rilevanti per le autorità locali, le scuole e i policy makers, i quali potranno sviluppare dei piani educativi più significativi per i bisogni e desideri degli MSNA. Inoltre, considerando quali aspetti del modello di Bronfenbrenner (1976) siano i più cruciali nell'educazione dei bambini rifugiati e quali nuovi aspetti possano emergere dalle interviste con gli MSNA e i loro insegnanti, i risultati di questa tesi potrebbero anche avere delle implicazioni teoriche.

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Appendix E

Interview Guide for Unaccompanied Migrant and Refugee Youths

Icebreaker

- 1. Tell me something about you/your hobbies
- 2. Which schools did you do/are you doing in Italy?

Societal context

- 3. Do you feel part of Italian society?
 - If yes, how? If not, why not?
- 4. Would you like to learn more things about Italy?
- Like what?

Institutional and Organizational Context

- 5. What do you think about school classes?
- 6. What do you think about school materials?
- 7. How do you share your culture with your friends, classmates and teachers?
- 8. How is your relationship with your classmates?
- 9. How is your relationship with your teachers?
- 10. Do you take part in any integration projects outside school?
- If yes, tell me about them
- If not, would you like to?
- 11. Do you have any Italian friends?
- How did you meet them?
- Did they help you integrate in Italy? How?

Familial context

- 12. What do you think about your residential community?
- 13. Do you speak with your educators/coordinators/voluntary guardians about school?
- If yes, what do you talk about?
- 14. Do you speak with your friends in/outside the community about school?
- If yes, what do you talk about?

Acculturative stressors

- 15. How did you communicate with friends, teachers and classmates when you did not know Italian?
 - 16. What was the most difficult thing at school?
 - Why?

Conclusion

- 17. What do you think would help other migrant children arriving in your Italian school?
- What helped you the most at the beginning of your educational experience in Italy?
- Who helped you the most at the beginning of your educational experience in Italy?
- 18. What was your most beautiful memory at school/in the residential community?

Appendix F

Interview Guide for Educators/Coordinators

Icebreaker

- 1. What is your role?
- 2. For how long have you been working here?
- 3. How many unaccompanied migrant and refugee minors does this reception center host?
- How many educators work in this reception structure?
- 4. Which difficulties do you find in your daily work?

Societal context

5. How do you think the current Italian political climate relates to the acculturation and adaptation of unaccompanied foreign youths?

Institutional and Organisational Context

- 6. What are the implications of the 'Salvini's Decree' on the acculturation and adaptation of unaccompanied foreign youths?
- 7. What do you think about the financial needs/resources in place for the integration of unaccompanied foreign youths?

Education

- 8. How do educational pathways in CPIAs meet the needs of unaccompanied foreign youths?
- 9. Does the reception center collaborate with any association that promote integration activities for unaccompanied foreign youths?
- If not, do you think you should start doing it?
- 10. How are the unaccompanied foreign youths integrated in the reception center where you work?
- 11. Are there any conflicts between them?
- How do you behave when they occur?
- 12. How do you keep in touch with the unaccompanied youths' voluntary guardians?
- With the teachers?

Acculturating individuals: Unaccompanied Migrant and Refugee Youths

13. How do you think the heritage culture of unaccompanied foreign youths is related to their acculturation and adaptation?

14. How do you think previous education in the country of origin is related to the acculturation and adaptation of unaccompanied foreign youths?

Conclusion

15. How would you improve the system for the integration of unaccompanied foreign youths, especially for what concerns the educational offer?

Appendix G

Interview Guide for Teachers

Icebreaker

- 1. What do you teach?
- 2. How long have you been teaching in classes with unaccompanied foreign youths?
- 3. Have you ever had any difficulties in teaching unaccompanied foreign youths?
- 4. Have you ever done a course in intercultural competence?
- If yes, how did you benefit from it?
- If not, do you think you could benefit from it?

Societal context

5. How do you think the current Italian political climate is related to the acculturation and adaptation of unaccompanied foreign youths?

Institutional and Organisational Context

- 6. What are the implications of the 'Salvini's Decree' on the acculturation and adaptation of unaccompanied foreign youths?
- 7. What do you think about the financial needs/resources in place for the integration of unaccompanied foreign youths?

Education

- 8. How is integration promoted in your class?
- 9. What are the procedures to welcome unaccompanied foreign youths in this school?
- 10. What initiatives has the school taken to welcome unaccompanied foreign youths (e.g. extracurricular activities)?
- If no initiatives have been taken, do you think there's a need to do this?
- 11. Does the school collaborate with any associations promoting integration activities for unaccompanied minors?
- If not, do you think there's a need to start a collaboration?
- 12. How do you keep in touch with coordinators and educators of reception centers?
- 13. How do educational pathways in CPIAs meet the needs of unaccompanied foreign youths?

Acculturating individuals: Unaccompanied Migrant and Refugee Youths

14. How do you think the heritage culture of the unaccompanied foreign youths is related their acculturation and adaptation?

15. How do you think previous education in the country of origin is related to the acculturation and adaptation of unaccompanied foreign youths?

Conclusion

16. How would you do to improve the system for the integration of unaccompanied foreign youths, especially for what concerns the educational offer?

Appendix H

Informed Consent for voluntary Guardians/Coordinators





CONSENSO INFORMATO PER I TUTORI/COORDINATORI

Mi chiamo Francesca Osima e sto conducendo una ricerca su come promuovere un'educazione inclusiva per Minori Stranieri non Accompagnati (MSNA). Ogni volta che i ricercatori fanno degli studi con dei minori, parliamo con i tutori o i coordinatori per chiedergli il permesso. Dopo che le è stato spiegato di cosa tratta il progetto, e se è d'accordo, la prossima cosa che faremo sarà chiedere al ragazzo/a di cui lei è il tutore/coordinatore se vuole partecipare allo studio.

Sia lei che il ragazzo/la ragazza dovete accettare di partecipare prima che io inizi.

Questo progetto darà voce agli MSNA che avranno l'occasione di esprimere le loro preoccupazioni e aspettative sull'educazione che hanno il diritto di ricevere in Italia. Anche ai loro insegnanti sarà data l'opportunità di discutere delle loro impressioni sui servizi offerti agli studenti rifugiati e più nello specifico agli MSNA. Questa tesi è parte dell'European Master in the Psychology of Global Mobility, Inclusion and Diversity in Society. La tesi è co-supervisionata dalla Professoressa Gizem Erdem alla KOC University di Istanbul e dalla Professoressa Carla Moleiro a ISCTE - University Institute of Lisbon. La sua partecipazione alla ricerca è assolutamente volontaria. La preghiamo di leggere le informazioni qua sotto e di sentirsi libero/a di contattarci se ha alcuna domanda.

TITOLO DEL PROGETTO

Cosa costituisce un'educazione inclusiva per i Minori Stranieri non Accompagnati in Italia?

SCOPO DELLA RICERCA

Lo scopo di questo studio è di aiutare scuole e autorità locali a sviluppare dei programmi educativi che siano più indicativi dei bisogni e desideri degli MSNA.

PROCEDURE

Questa ricerca comporterà la partecipazione del ragazzo/a un'intervista individuale che durerà approssimativamente un'ora. L'intervista conterrà domande sulla scuola che il ragazzo/a frequenta, sul suo bisogno di supporto sociale ed emozionale, sul suo rapporto con insegnanti, compagni di classe, tutori e il resto della comunità.

POTENZIALI RISCHI

C'è il rischio che il ragazzo/a possa rivelare alcune informazioni personali per errore o che si possa sentire a disagio nel parlare di certi argomenti. Tuttavia, non vogliamo che questo succeda. Il ragazzo/a non dovrà rispondere a nessuna domanda o partecipare all'intervista se sentirà che le domande siano troppo personali o lo/la facciano sentire a disagio. Il ragazzo/a potrebbe decidere di parlarle dell'intervista però non è tenuto a farlo. Noi non condivideremo con lei né le domande che faremo al ragazzo/a né le risposte che il ragazzo/a ci darà.





POTENZIALI BENEFICI

Non ci sarà nessun beneficio diretto a lei, però la partecipazione del ragazzo/a potrebbe aiutarci ad assicurarci che l'educazione offerta agli MSNA sia il più inclusiva possibile.

RISERVATEZZA DEI DATI

L'intervista sarà registrata ma nessuno sarà identificato per nome sull'audio. L'audio sarà contenuto in un telefono protetto da una password. Le informazioni registrate sono riservate e a nessun altro, eccetto me, Gizem Erdem o Carla Moleiro sarà permesso di ascoltare gli audio. Gli audio saranno distrutti alla fine di Settembre 2019.

DIRITTO DI RIFIUTARE O DI RITIRARSI DALL'INTERVISTA

I dati saranno analizzati tutti insieme, attraverso un'analisi del contenuto delle interviste. Le interviste non verranno esaminate individualmente e degli pseudonimi verranno utilizzati nella tesi in modo che nessuna informazione possa essere attribuita al nome del ragazzo/a. In materia di riservatezza, un sistema di codici sarà utilizzato per creare un unico numero per il ragazzo/a e le sue risposte saranno accessibili solo ai ricercatori autorizzati. Tutti i dati saranno protetti e contenuti in un database accessibile solo attraverso una password.

Al ragazzo/a verrà comunicato che potrà ritirarsi dallo studio ad ogni momento e che il suo rifiuto non avrà nessun effetto sui servizi che la scuola e la comunità gli/le offrono. Gli sarà anche detto che, anche se accetta di partecipare all'inizio, potrà sempre cambiare idea nel corso dell'intervista.

DATI DELLA RICERCATRICE

Se ha alcuna domanda o preoccupazione, la prego di non esitare a contattare la principale ricercatrice Francesca Osima.

Francesca Osima

Global-MINDS European Master in the Psychology of Global Mobility, Inclusion and Diversity in Society francescaosima@gmail.com +39 391 1834490

Mi è stato chiesto di dare il consenso perché il ragazzo/a di cui sono il tutore/coordinatore possa prendere parte in questo progetto di ricerca che comporterà la sua partecipazione a un'intervista. Ho letto le informazioni qui sopra o mi sono state lette. Ho avuto l'opportunità di fare domande ed è stata data una risposta soddisfacente a tutte le domande che ho fatto.

Appendix I

Informed Assent for Unaccompanied Migrant and Refugee Youths





ASSENSO INFORMATO

Mi chiamo Francesca and il mio lavoro è di investigare come promuovere un'educazione più inclusiva per i Minori Stranieri non Accompagnati, ragazzi come voi, che sono arrivati in Italia senza la loro famiglia. Questa tesi è parte dell'European Master in the Psychology of Global Mobility, Inclusion and Diversity in Society ed è co-supervisionata dalla Professoressa Gizem Erdem alla KOC University di Istanbul e dalla Professoressa Carla Moleiro a ISCTE, l'Istituto universitario di Lisbona. Ti darò le informazioni necessarie e ti inviterò a partecipare a questo studio. Puoi decidere se partecipare o no. Abbiamo discusso di questa ricerca con il tuo tutore e lui/lei sa che ti stiamo chiedendo il tuo permesso. Se deciderai di partecipare in questa ricerca, il tuo tutore deve accettare. Se invece non desideri partecipare, non devi farlo, anche se il tuo tutore ha accettato.

Puoi discutere di qualunque cosa riguardo a questo progetto con il tuo tutore, i tuoi amici o con chiunque tu ti senta a tuo agio nel parlarne. Puoi decidere se partecipare o no dopo che ne avete parlato. Non devi decidere adesso.

Ci potrebbero essere delle parole che non capisci o che vorresti che io ti spieghi meglio perchè sei interessato/a o preoccupato/a. Per favore, chiedimi di fermami in qualunque momento e io ti spiegherò quello che non ti è chiaro.

Questo progetto darà voce ai ragazzi che avranno l'occasione di esprimere le loro preoccupazioni e aspettative sull'educazione che hanno il diritto di ricevere in Italia. Anche i loro insegnanti potranno discutere delle loro impressioni sui servizi offerti agli studenti rifugiati e più nello specifico ai Minori Stranieri non Accompagnati.

TITOLO DEL PROGETTO

Cosa costituisce un'educazione inclusiva per i Minori Stranieri non Accompagnati in Italia?

SCOPO DELLA RICERCA

Lo scopo di questo studio è di aiutare scuole e autorità locali a sviluppare dei programmi educativi che rispettino bisogni e desideri dei Minori Stranieri non Accompagnati.





PROCEDURE

Se decidi di partecipare allo studio, ti verrà chiesto di fare un'intervista che durerà più o meno un'ora. L'intervista conterrà domande riguardo alla scuola che frequenti, al tuo bisogno di supporto sociale ed emozionale, al tuo rapporto con insegnanti, compagni di classe, coordinatori, educatori, tutori e il resto della comunità.

POTENZIALI RISCHI

Non ti chiederemo informazioni o niente che riguardi le tue esperienze prima che tu iniziassi il tuo viaggio per arrivare in Italia. Però, c'è il rischio che tu possa condividere alcune informazioni personali per errore o che tu ti senta a disagio nel parlare di certi argomenti.

Se pensi che una domanda possa rievocare dei brutti ricordi, sei libero di non rispondere. Se ti senti male o triste in qualunque momento dell'intervista, puoi parlarmene e ci fermiamo.

POTENZIALI BENEFICI

Non ci sarà nessun beneficio diretto per te, però la tua partecipazione potrebbe aiutarci ad assicurarci che l'educazione offerta ai Minori non Accompagnati, come te, sia il più inclusiva possibile.

RISERVATEZZA DEI DATI

L'intervista sarà registrata ma nessuno sarà identificato per nome sull'audio. L'audio sarà contenuto in un telefono protetto da una password. Le informazioni registrate sono riservate, e a nessun altro, eccetto me Gizem Erdem o Carla Moleiro sarà permesso di ascoltare gli audio. Gli audio saranno distrutti alla fine di Settembre 2019.

I dati saranno analizzati tutti insieme, attraverso un'analisi del contenuto delle interviste. Le interviste non verranno esaminate individualmente e degli pseudonimi verranno utilizzati nella tesi in modo che nessuna informazione venga associata con il tuo nome. Riguardo alla segretezza dei tuoi dati, un sistema di codici sarà utilizzato per creare un unico numero per te e la tua intervista così che solo i ricercatori che hanno il permesso potranno vedere le tue risposte. Tutti i dati saranno protetti e contenuti in un computer accessibile solo attraverso una password.





DIRITTO DI RIFIUTARE O DI RITIRARSI DALL'INTERVISTA

Non devi prendere parte a questa ricerca se non vuoi. Se decidi di non partecipare, è tutto ok e non cambia nulla. Questa è comunque la tua organizzazione e la tua scuola, tutto rimane come prima. Anche se dici si ora, puoi cambiare idea dopo e va comunque bene.

DATI DELLA RICERCATRICE

Se hai altre domande, per favore, contatta la principale ricercatrice Francesca Osima.

Francesca Osima

Global-MINDS European Master in the Psychology of Global Mobility, Inclusion and Diversity in Society francescaosima@gmail.com

+39 391 1834490

Se hai qualche domanda sui tuoi diritti di partecipante alla ricerca, riguardo a questo progetto di tesi, o ti senti a disagio nel rispondere ad alcune domande o rispetto all'argomento di questo progetto, per favore contatta Gizem Erdem, al numero +90 533 369 8899 o all'email gizemerdem@ku.edu.tr o Carla Moleiro, al numero +351 217650223 (Ext. 291720) o all'email Carla.Moleiro@iscte-iul.pt.





DICHIARAZIONE DELLA PERSONA CHE OTTIENE IL CONSENSO

Ho letto accuratamente questo documento al partecipante e ho fatto di meglio per assicurarmi che abbia capito che il seguente verrà fatto:

- 1. il ragazzo/a verrà intervistato per un'ora
- 2. 1'intervista sarà registrata
- 3. le informazioni sono riservate

Confermo che al ragazzo/a è stata data la possibilità di fare domande sullo studio e che ho fatto del mio meglio per rispondere a tutte le sue domande in modo soddisfacente. Confermo che il ragazzo/a non è stato forzato a dare il suo consenso, e che invece, ha accettato di partecipare allo studio volontariamente. Una copia di questo consenso è stata data al partecipante.

Nome della ricercatrice/persona c	he sta richiedendo il consenso
Firma della ricercatrice/persona c	he sta richiedendo il consenso
Data:	(Giorno/mese/anno)
Copia data al partecipante	(iniziali della ricercatrice/ persona che sta richiedendo il consenso)
1/la tutore/tutrice O coordinatore	coordinatrice ha firmato il consenso Si No

Appendix L

Informed Assent for Adult Stakeholders





CONSENSO INFORMATO

La invitiamo a partecipare in questo progetto di ricerca che si focalizza sull'esperienza educativa di Minori Stranieri non Accompagnati (MSNA). Questo progetto darà voce ai ragazzi che avranno l'occasione di esprimere le loro preoccupazioni e aspettative sull'educazione che hanno il diritto di ricevere in Italia. Anche agli attori coinvolti nei servizi educativi proposti agli MSNA sarà data l'opportunità di discutere delle loro impressioni sull'offerta scolastica. Questa tesi è parte dell'European Master in the Psychology of Global Mobility, Inclusion and Diversity in Society. La tesi è co-supervisionata dalla Professoressa Gizem Erdem alla KOC University di Istanbul e dalla Professoressa Carla Moleiro a ISCTE - University Institute of Lisbon. La sua partecipazione alla ricerca è assolutamente volontaria. La preghiamo di leggere le informazioni qua sotto e di sentirsi libero/a di contattarci se ha alcuna domanda.

TITOLO DEL PROGETTO

Cosa costituisce un'educazione inclusiva per i Minori Stranieri non Accompagnati in Italia?

SCOPO DELLA RICERCA

Lo scopo di questo studio è di aiutare scuole e autorità locali a sviluppare dei programmi educativi che siano più indicativi dei bisogni e desideri dei Minori Stranieri non Accompagnati.

PROCEDURE

Se accetta di partecipare a questo studio, le sarà chiesto di prendere parte a un'intervista che durerà approssimativamente un'ora. L'intervista conterrà domande sulla vita nelle case di accoglienza, sull'offerta educativa e scolastica che gli viene proposta, sulle risorse e i finanziamenti destinati agli MSNA, sul rapporto coi loro tutori e assistenti sociali, e con associazioni che si occupano di sviluppare progetti di integrazione.

POTENZIALI RISCHI

C'è il rischio che lei possa rivelare alcune informazioni personali per errore o che si possa sentire a disagio nel parlare di certi argomenti. Tuttavia, non vogliamo che questo succeda. Non deve





rispondere a nessuna domanda o partecipare all'intervista se pensa che le domande siano troppo personali o la facciano sentire a disagio.

POTENZIALI BENEFICI

Non ci sarà nessun beneficio diretto per lei, però la sua partecipazione potrebbe aiutarci ad assicurarci che l'educazione e i servizi offerti agli MSNA sia il più inclusiva possibile.

RISERVATEZZA DEI DATI

L'intervista sarà registrata ma nessuno sarà identificato per nome sull'audio. L'audio sarà contenuto in un telefono protetto da una password. Le informazioni registrate sono riservate, e a nessun altro, eccetto me, Gizem Erdem o Carla Moleiro sarà permesso di ascoltare gli audio. Gli audio saranno eliminati alla fine di Settembre 2019.

I dati saranno analizzati tutti insieme attraverso un'analisi del contenuto delle interviste. Le interviste non verranno esaminate individualmente e pseudonimi verranno utilizzati nella tesi in modo che nessuna informazione possa essere attribuita al suo nome. In materia di riservatezza, un sistema di codici sarà utilizzato per creare un unico numero per lei e la sa intervista così che le sue risposte siano accessibili solo ai ricercatori autorizzati. Tutti i dati saranno protetti e contenuti in un database accessibile solo attraverso una password.

DIRITTO DI RIFIUTARE O DI RITIRARSI DALL'INTERVISTA

La sua partecipazione è completamente volontaria. Se rifiuta di partecipare o decide di ritirarsi dallo studio, non ci sarà nessuna ripercussione e lei non perderà alcun diritto o beneficio.

Se ha alcuna domanda o preoccupazione, la preghiamo di contattare la principale ricercatrice Francesca Osima.





DATI DELLA RICERCATRICE

Francesca Osima

Global-MINDS European Master in the Psychology of Global Mobility, Inclusion and Diversity in Society

francescaosima@gmail.com

+39 391 1834490

Se ha alcuna preoccupazione riguardo ai suoi diritti di partecipante, alcuna domanda su questo progetto di ricerca, o si sente a disagio rispetto alle domande o all'argomento dello studio, la preghiamo di contattare **Dr. Gizem Erdem**, al numero +90 533 369 8899 o alla email gizemerdem@ku.edu.tr. or **Dr. Carla Moleiro**, al numero +351 217650223 (Ext. 291720) o alla email Carla Moleiro@iscte-iul.pt.

Comprendo le procedure dello studio descritte sopra. Alle mie domande è stata data una risposta soddisfacente e desidero partecipare a questo studio con la condizione che possa ritirarmi ad ogni momento.

Accetto di parteci	pare a questo studio:	
□ Si		
□ No		
Nome:		
Data:	Firma:	

Appendix M

Codebook from Iterative Method of Analysis - Unaccompanied Migrant and Refugee Youths

Domain	Themes	Sub-themes	Sub-themes	Sub-themes	Example	Translation
Incl	Education Includes the socioeducational	Valuing Cultural Diversity Stakeholders promoting integration among classmates from different cultures			Si, mi chiedono e spesso, si mi chiedono di parlare, in storia per esempio la storia dell'Albania e in geografia, c'è in geografia, la storia geografica, cose del genere e si, è una cosa bella raccontare del tuo paese, la penso cosi.	Yes, they often ask me, yes, they ask me to talk, for example in history about the Albanian history, and in geography, about (Albania's) geographical history, things like these, and yes, it is a good thing to talk about your country, I think so.
Institutional Context Refers to the institutional aspects of the host country concerning the unaccompanied youths	programs offered by reception centers, CPIAs and the Italian third sector the ditutional aspects he host country accompanied	School as a Mean of Social Inclusion School representing a gateway to inclusion in the professional and relational spheres of Italian society			Eh, imparare le cose, c'è, dell'Italia, di tutti, più (il CPIA) mi aiuta anche a imparare di più la lingua, le parole che non conoscevo.	Eh, learning the things, like, of Italy, of everything, it (CPIA) also helps me understand more the language, the words that I did not know.
	Termination of the Protection System Refers to the challenges that unaccompanied youths may experience once they reach the age of majority and				io sono in seconda e direi che vorrei fare pure la terza, poi vedremo per, perché la mia situazione con la comunità. Devo staccare, devo trovare un lavoro, non posso seguire la scuola.	I'm in the second year (of high school) and I would say I would also like to do the third year, then we'll see because of my situation with the community. I have to stop, I need to find a job, I cannot follow the school.

	leave the residential community			
Intercultural Contact Contact between unaccompanied youths and Italian citizens	Cohesion with Mainstream Peers Residential communities, CPIAs and NGOs offering young migrants several occasions to interact with Italian peers		con la comunità abbiamo organizzato tanti laborato c'è tipo basket, che giocavamo con un educat che organizza il laborator basket, giocavamo basket volte con italiani, a volte noi perché eravamo in tar abbiamo fatto, facevamo prima il laboratorio di bor poi c'era un altro laborato che non so come si chiam 'conoscere Milano' più o meno, che andavamo in g vedere posti e cose del genere, e cosi, c'erano tar laboratori.	organised a lot of laboratories, like basket, where we used to play with an educator who organises the basket laboratory, we used to play basket sometimes with Italians, sometimes just by ourselves because we were a lot and we did, we used to do the box laboratory, then there was another laboratory that I don't remember how it was
		Language Barriers Youths expressing frustration for being unable to speak Italian	C'è, diciamo, all'inizio, p potere comunicare che no sapevo nulla, nulla, della lingua, a parte che avevo l'insegnante che potevam parlare inglese, quello mi aiutava, ma a parte l'insegnante, gli altri stud come me, cioè, gli altri studenti, entrambi parlian	beginning, to be able to communicate when I did not know anything, anything of the language, apart from the fact that I had a teacher with whom I could speak English, that helped me,

The Acculturating Individuals: Unaccompanied Youths Outlines the identity of unaccompanied youths and their adaptation experiences		Acculturative Stressors Aspects having a negative impact on the youths' psychological functioning	Perceived Discrimination	italiano male, quindi, non ci capiamo in italiano. Prima andavamo nelle scuole a raccontare, c'è, come sono	we both speak Italian badly, so we don't understand each other in Italian. Before we used to go in schools to tell, well, how
		Thinking that Italian society perceives foreigners as a 'danger'	più o meno gli stranieri, c'è, perché tutti pensano "vabè straniero è un po' pericoloso cosi cosi" ma come si dice gia in ogni paese c'è le persone buone e le persone cattive.	are foreigners more or less because everybody thinks "ok foreigner is a bit dangerous, like this and that", but like it is already said, in every country there are good and bad people.	
	psychological well-		At School Feeling supported from both teachers and classmates	Si tutti amici di là, tutta la mia classe amici, come una famiglia, anche c'è una cosa piccola per mangiare, mangiamo insieme tutti di là.	Yes, all friends there, all my class friends [sic], like a family, even if there is a small thing to eat, we eat all together there.
			From Ethnic Peers	I: E c'erano altri ragazzi albanesi?	I: And there were other Albanian guys?
			Supporting and feeling supported	P: Ho avuto uno che è venuto dopo di me	P: I had one who came after me
			by ethnic peers	I: E quando lui non capiva, cioè, tu sapevi già un po' d'italiano, lo aiutavi?	I: And when he did not understand, I mean, you already knew a bit of
				P: Si pure lui mi aiutava.	Italian, did you help him? P: Yes, he also used to help me.

Supp Refer who unacc youth	From Mainstream Peers Feeling supported by Italian friends eived Social port rs to how and companied hs felt orted by		I: E i ragazzi italiani li hai conosciuti al lavoro o a scuola? O attraverso questi progetti? P: A scuola, c'è, li ho conosciuti in tantissimi istanti. Alcuni a scuola, alcuni in giro, alcuni che gioca, che sono miei compagni di squadra, che giocano a basket, si, alcuni, tra quest'attività che facciamo, anche in comunità facciamo alcune feste, c'è, ci andiamo con italiani, cosi, ci integriamo con loro, c'è ci parliamo, ci capiamo tra noi.	I: And the other Italian guys, did you meet them at work or at school? Or through these projects? P: At school, well, I met them in many moments. Some at school, some around, some who play, who are my teammates, who play basket, yes, some through these activities that we do, also in the community we do some parties, well, we go with Italians, so that we integrate with them, we talk and we understand each other.
	In the Residential Community Refers to how unaccompanied youths related with stakeholders and other minors hosted in the community	Relationships Having positive relationships with educators, coordinators and the other unaccompanied minors	al primo istante, sono i primi insegnanti di lingua perché quando sono arrivato qua, sono il prime persone che devo parlare, che devo spiegare me stesso, no? Cosi quando sono andato a scuola, tornando a casa, coi compiti, coi dubbi, chiedevo a loro.	since the first moment, they (educators) are the first language teachers, because when I got here, they are the first people that [sic] I have to talk [sic], to which I have to explain myself, no? so, when I went to school, coming back home with homework, with doubts, I used to ask them.
		Lack of Belonging Having difficult relationships with	P: Ci sono dei problemi però capita	P: There are problems (in the community), but it happens

			educators and coordinators or not feeling included in the community	I: Tipo? E c'è qualcosa che ti farebbe sentire più parte della comunità? P: Lasciamo questa domanda.	I: Like what? Is there anything that would make you feel more part of the community? P: Let me leave this question.
		Importance of Friendship Relations Recognizing the importance of making friends in unfamiliar settings		poi fare l'amicizia, l'amicizia è più importante, una persona senza amici è una vita molto difficile, quindi bisogna avere degli amici che ti danno consiglio come seguire le cose, come fare le cose semplicemente.	then, make the friendship, friendship is more important, a person without friends, it is a very difficult life, so we must have friends who give you advice on how to follow things, how to do things simply.
Sociocultural Adaptation Refers to how unaccompanied youths dealt with the social aspects of	Willingness to Acquire Cultural Competence Expressing a desire to learn more about Italy to be able to work and relate with its citizens			I: Cosa vorresti imparare? P: Prima cosa più importantissima, come vivere con italiani, conoscere gli aspetti positivi e gli aspetti negativi di italiani cosi si sa come collaborare con loro, la cosa più importante.	I: What would you like to learn? P: First thing, the most important, how to leave with Italians, to know the positive and negative aspects of Italians so that I know how to collaborate with them, the most important thing.
life in the host country	Preferred Contact with UM and Ethnic Peers Spending time only with ethnic peers or			I: Com'è il tuo rapporto con i compagni? P: Molto bene. Non è che parlo tanto, ma bene, sto con gli albanesi sempre.	I: how is your relationship with your classmates? P: Very good. It is not that I talk much, but good, I'm always with the Albanians.

	unaccompanied youth		
Agency Feeling able to make their own choices and perceiving difficulties as challenges to overcome		Io ho tanti progetti nella testa, ma non so come risolvere, c'è, come fare tutto. Uno prima era di diventare attore, attore e poi calciatore e poi la contabilità.	I have a lot of projects in my head, but I don't know how to solve it, well, how to do everything. One, before it was to be an actor, actor and then footballer and then the accounting.

 ${\bf Appendix\ N}$ Codebook from Iterative Method of Analysis – Adult Stakeholders

Domains	Themes	Sub-themes	Sub-themes	Example	Translation
	Prejudice Towards Unaccompanied Foreign Minors and Asylum Seekers Italian citizens holding a negative perception of unaccompanied foreign minors and asylum seekers in general			c'è il fatto che vengano viste le persone che arrivano sempre come se fossero degli invasori, come se fossero un pericolo, come ti dicevo, non come una ricchezza, ma come un pericolo.	like the fact that people are seen as if they were invaders, as if they were a danger, as I was telling you, not like a richness, but like a danger.
Refers to Italian citizens' attitudes towards unaccompanied foreign minors and asylum seekers	Welcoming Society Some Italian people being welcoming towards the unaccompanied youths			accadono anche tanti piccoli fatti, piccoli gesti delle persone che poi fanno capire ai ragazzi che comunque non solo soli, che c'è tutta una parte di persone che invece sono assolutamente accoglienti assolutamente amicali e disponibili, quindi credo anche questi gesti che magari non sono tantissimi ma ci sono, nell'arco di una giornata, di una settimana, di un mese, siano importanti no?	also a lot of small facts occur, small gestures of people who then make the guys think that, however, they are not alone, that there is a whole part of people, who, instead are absolutely welcoming, absolutely friendly and kind, hence, I believe that even these gestures, which perhaps are not many, but over the course of day, a week, a month, are important, no?

Milan as an Inclusive City Milan's local authorities, stakeholders and citizens promoting the inclusion of the unaccompanied youths		c'è un terzo settore talmente vivace, talmente esperto, talmente appassionato e sicuramente un'amministrazione comunale perché come dire ne faccio parte ma sicuramente riconosco i meriti oltre alla criticità dalla mia amministrazione, un'amministrazione che ha molto a cuore il discorso della presa in carico, del fenomeno migratorio, dall'assessore insomma al nostro sindaco.	there is such a lively third sector, composed of such experts and passionate people and surely a municipal administration because, you know, I'm part of it, but surely I recognize the merits, beside the critical issues of my administration, an administration who has the best interests of the minors, the migratory phenomenon at heart, from the alderman to the major.
Availability of Resources Includes financial and human resources in schools, reception centers and municipalities	Limited Resources Resources being scarce in mainstream schools, reception centers and in coastal regions receiving high numbers of asylum seekers	non ci sono i supporti economici, chiamiamo mezzi economici, non so come dire, perché spesso se anche hai dei progetti o ci sono tante potenzialità nel ragazzo, alla fine è brutto da dire, ma bisogna fare i conti con le rette che ti danno per questo ragazzo e spesso essendo anche veramente basse, hai poche possibilità.	there are no economic mediums, let us call them economic means, I don't know how to say, because usually even if you have some projects or there is a lot of potential in the guy, you have to deal with the tuition they give you for this guy and, being them usually very low, you have little chances.

	Sufficient Resources Resources being adequate in reception centers and CPIAs	da noi (Milano) e in tanti comuni, noi conosciamo bene Cremona, conosciamo Bari, ma anche Torino perché sono stati dei comuni con cui ci sono stati degli scambi, degli scambi anche di prassi, procedure eccetera, c'è una presenza di mezzi e enti anzi a volte più che sufficienti per accogliere i ragazzi.	here (Milan) and in a lot of municipalities, we know well Cremona, we know Bari, but also Turin because they are municipalities with which there have been exchanges of practices, procedures, etcetera, there is a presence of means and structures at times even more than sufficient to welcome the adolescents.
Bureaucratic Difficulties Difficulties dictated by the complex Italian bureaucracy as well as by the conflictual relationships with the migrants' countries of origin		il consolato del Pakistan, tanto per fare un esempio pratico, rilascia il passaporto a volte dopo un anno che sono diventati maggiorenni quindi a 19 anni allora è evidente che comunque questa cosa metta veramente in grande difficoltà i ragazzi che senza quel titolo, quel documento d'identità del proprio paese, non possono neanche convertire o rinnovare il permesso qui.	the Pakistan consulate, to make a practical example, releases the passport sometimes a year after they have reached the age of majority so at 19 years old, then it is evident that this thing puts the adolescents in serious difficulty, without this title, this identity document from their country, they cannot even convert or renew the permit here.

Institutional Context			
Refers to what concerns the young migrants from an institutional point of view	Special Protection The special protection granted to unaccompanied minors by international conventions, ratified by the Italian state	finché sono minori, finché sono minorenni, abbiamo dei vantaggi e quindi possiamo aiutare e sostenere ancora i ragazzi fino alla maggiore età. C'è, come dire, ci sono delle, dei presidi di legalità e, come dire, di supporto che sono molto oltre qualsiasi governo.	until they are minors, until they are underaged, we have some advantages and so we can still help and support the adolescents until the majority age. Well, you know, there are some, some garrisons of legality and, how to say, of support which go way beyond any government.
	Termination of the Protection System The youths facing difficulties when leaving reception facilities	secondo me il vero nodo è questo cioè che una serie di ragazzi riesce ad avere una serie di coperture e di accompagnamento capillare nella realtà al di fuori dopo le comunità, altri invece no per una serie di dinamiche.	in my opinion, the real point is this so that a number of guys managed to have a series of covers and capillary support in reality after the communities, others instead don't, due to a series of dynamics.
	Long Institutionalization Spending a long time in the community representing a challenge for those	i percorsi migliori che io ho visto realizzati da quando faccio questa cosa, sono i percorsi più brevi, c'è più brevi, quelli utili a fare tutto, però come dire, forse a volte	the best pathways that I've seen completed since I have started doing this thing are the shortest ones, well, the shortest, the ones which are useful to do everything, but,

	youths who are eager to		hanno più successo i	how do I say,
	become autonomous		percorsi di un anno	sometimes, the one-
			che quelli di due, per	year pathways are
			dire, per farti un'idea,	more successful than
			perché c'è più fretta,	those of two years,
			hai più bisogno di fare	like, to give you an
			le cose più	idea, because you
			velocemente e sei più	need to do things
			concentrato	faster and you are
			sull'obiettivo, se no	more focused on the
			diventa (la	aim, otherwise it (the
			community) un luogo	community) becomes
			dello stare e	a place where to stay
			dell'attesa delle cose,	and wait for things,
			a volte è rischioso, a	sometimes it is risky,
			volte il tempo non è	sometimes it is risky, sometimes time is not
			un alleato, il tanto	an ally, long time is
			tempo non è un	not an ally, surely in
			alleato, sicuramente in	logical and objective terms it is because
			termini logici e	
			oggettivi si, perchè hai	you have more time
			più tempo per fare	to do this, this and
			questo, questo e	that, but sometimes
			questo, ma a volte non	this cannot be taken
			è così scontato.	for granted.
		Promoting Dialogue,	la cosa più importante	the most important
		Empathy and Respect	è che appunto si	thing is that they
			rispettino e imparino a	(classmates) respect
		Promoting empathy and	dialogare tra di loro	each other and they
		respect through the use	anche su piccole cose	learn to dialogue even
		of dialogue among	quindi magari si fanno	on small things, so
		classmates	piccoli lavori a coppie	perhaps they do small
			o piccoli gruppi.	works in couples or
			o piecon gruppi.	small groups.
				sman groups.

Education Refers to the educational programs in reception centers, CPIAs, and to the activities offered by the Italian third sector	Promoting Independence Providing the youths with the tools to become as much independent as possible before the exit from the community	anche la nostra programmazione esula un po' dalla programmazione classica della scuola media del mattino proprio perché a questi ragazzi dobbiamo dare gli strumenti per poter poi vivere da soli dopo i 18 anni e quindi è meglio privilegiare com'è un contratto d'affitto rispetto al teorema di Pitagora.	Even our program falls outside the classic program of the eighth-grade right because we need to give these guys the tools to then live by themselves after 18 years old and, therefore, it is better to privilege how a rent contract is made compared to the 'Pitagora theorem'.
	Valuing Cultural Diversity Encouraging the youths to maintain their native language and heritage culture while learning about the social customs of the host country	non direi mai a un ragazzo "dimentica la tua lingua", sarebbe assolutamente eh, certo ti invito a parlare in italiano perché questo ti può servire a migliorare il tuo processo d'integrazione, ma appena esci di qua, usa la tua lingua, mantieni la tua cultura.	I would never tell a guy "forget your language" it would be absolutely eh, obviously, I invite you to speak Italian because this can help you improve your integration process, but, as soon as you leave, use your language, maintain your culture.
	CPIAs: A Reality Made Only for Foreigners and Adults	La fatica più grande che ho trovato è proprio che i ragazzi a proposito poi dei	The major difficulty that I have found is that the adolescents, right in regard to their

CPIAs classes being originally targeted for adults and only composed of foreigners	bisogni chiedono molto di avere rapporti con i coetanei o con persone italiane e questo purtroppo questo è un problema di fondo per l'italia perché i minori stranieri non accompagnati, per il quasi il 90%, oserei dire anche qualcosa in più, nella stragrande maggioranza dei casi viene inserita nei	needs, ask a lot to have relationship with peers or with Italian people, and this is, unfortunately, a real problem in Italy because the unaccompanied foreign minors, for almost the 90% and I would dare to say even something more, in the majority of the cases gets inserted in CPIAs, but the CPIA
School as a Mean for	CPIA, ma il CPIA è una scuola in realtà per adulti.	is a school in reality made for adults.
School representing a way to integrate into the professional and relational spheres of Italian society	'Scuola Bottega' sono pazzesche, magari ci fosse lo spazio per tutti per poter entrare li, perché effettivamente come ti dicevo coniugano l'esigenza di imparare la lingua italiana e la necessità anche di fare qualcosa di pratico e di spendersi in qualcosa di pratico che possa poi concretizzarsi eventualmente in un	Scuola Bottega are amazing (schools), I wish there was space for everyone to access them because, actually, as I was saying, they conjugate the need to learn Italian and the necessity to do something practical and to spend oneself in something practical that would then eventually materialize in an internship and in
	tirocinio e in un accesso al mondo del lavoro quindi è	an access to the professional sphere, therefore it is evident

Decimals Political	evidente che hanno una funzionalità particolare rispetto ai minori stranieri non accompagnati.	that they have a particular function in regard to unaccompanied minors.
Desire to Build an Individualized Educational Model Stakeholders striving towards building an educational project which takes into consideration the inclinations and needs of unaccompanied youths	è importante ascoltare le attitudini, capirle e sulla base di quello stendere un progetto che sia valido, questo secondo me è un po' la chiave di volta per avere una progettualità efficiente.	it is important to listen to the (youths') inclinations, understand them and, based on that, to formulate a project that is valid and this, in my opinion, this is a bit the keystone to have an efficient life project.
Desire to Build a Holistic Educational Model Networking among reception communities, Milan's administration, CPIAs teachers and NGOs with the aim of building a holistic educational project	Noi abbiamo tante reti sul territorio, lavoriamo con tante associazioni perché questo ci permette di inserire meglio i ragazzi nel contesto sociale quindi possono essere associazioni di volontariato, possono essere associazioni sportive, magari altre associazioni che fanno scuola però è importante perché ci consente di organizzare tante cose quindi dalle uscite didattiche allo sport	We (coordinators) have a lot of networks on the territory, we work with many organizations because this allows us to better insert the guys in the social context so these can be voluntary associations, they can be sportive associations, maybe other associations which are doing school, but it is important because it allows us to organize many things, so, from

		dei ragazzi a magari tornei che vengono fatti sul territorio, a feste.	field trips, to sport, to perhaps tournaments, which are organized on the territory, to parties.
Implications of Salvini's Decree and Government Implications of the 'Salvini Decree' and his government for the acculturation and adaptation of unaccompanied minors	Abolition of the Humanitarian Protection The abolition of the 'Humanitarian Protection', which used to be the most requested form of protection by unaccompanied minors in Italy	la 'protezione umanitaria' era una protezione estremamente, come dire, congruente con la situazione di vulnerabilità dei minori stranieri non accompagnati che chiedevano protezione che dava loro una sicurezza, sicuramente una possibilità in più che invece adesso non c'è più, e anche tutti i ragazzi nostri che sono con la 'protezione umanitaria' adesso come dire, gli abbiamo consigliato di convertire per lavoro il prima possibile per non trovarsi nella situazione di avere un permesso rinnovato per 'protezione speciale' o qualcosa di questo tipo quindi trovarsi poi nella, nei guai fino al collo.	the 'humanitarian protection' was a protection extremely, how to say, congruent with the situation of vulnerability of the unaccompanied minors who were asking for a protection which gave them safety, surely it was another chance which now is not there anymore, and even all our guys who now have the 'humanitarian protection', you know, we have recommended them to convert it into a 'work permit' as soon as possible in order not to find themselves in the situation of having a renovated permit for 'special protection' or something like this and then find themselves in real troubles.

stato incrementato in maniera molto forte per i minori non accompagnati.
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Relocation Unaccompanied minors being relocated to other parts of Italy and reception structures being transferred to the suburbs of Milan	L'unica cosa che ti, che posso dire, è che mi è arrivato per esempio un ragazzo dalla Sicilia, era in un CAS, che, il cas è stato chiuso e questo ragazzo è rimasto fuori, si è allontanato volontariamente ed è arrivato, ed è arrivato qua nella provincia di Lodi, è stato cosi visto da un volontario del centro di ascolto e preso in comunità quindi anche per questi minori probabilmente c'è qualche effetto di	The only thing that I can tell you is that a guy from Sicily has arrived, he was in a CAS, which, the CAS was closed and this guy was left out, he voluntarily walked away and has arrived, has arrived here in the Lodi province, he was then seen from a volunteer of the Listening Centre and taken to the (residential) community, so there are probably some effects of this Decree even for these minors.
Unawareness of the Decree's Consequences Stakeholders being unaware of the exact implications of the 'Salvini's Decree'	questo decreto. Oddio anche questo è un po' difficile da valutare nel qui e ora nel senso che mi sembra anche un po' ravvicinata la valutazione perchè non è che abbiamo dati a disposizione o delle statistiche, qualcosa che ci riesca a dire che cosa sta succedendo da un anno a questa parte poi è ancora secondo	Oh my god, even this (implications of the Salvini Decree) is a little bit difficult to evaluate in the here and now because, in my opinion, it seems that the evaluation is a bit too close in the sense that we don't have statistics at our disposal, something that can tell us what has been happening for a year now because, in my

		me un po' poco il tempo.	opinion, it is still little time.
	Xenophobic Message The xenophobic message being spread by Salvini, his Decree, and his political propaganda	non credo che se lei fa il giro in Italia e chiede di spiegare il decreto Salvini non sono quanti glielo sappiano ripetere, quanti sappiano la differenza, però sono convinto che sia più nelle parole, nell'atteggiamento dei politici, è come se le persone si sentano un po' assecondate in questa cosa qua contro l'immigrazione e quant'altro.	I do not think that if you go around Italy and ask to explain the Salvini Decree, I do not know how many will be able to repeat it, how many will know the difference, but I'm convinced that it is more in the words, in the politicians' attitude, it looks as if people felt a bit indulged in this thing against immigration and whatsoever.
Guar The f 'volue and it minor	rdianship Figure of the intary guardian' ts relationship with irs and reception munities	noi ci siamo trovati spesso ad affrontare nel nostro lavoro problematiche legate anche al rapporto con i tutori volontari, alla relazione dei tutori volontari soprattutto con le strutture di accoglienza dove si crea attrito, si creano dei conflitti perché appunto le strutture sono state sempre abituate a seguire i	in our work, we often found ourselves having to deal with problems related to the relationship with voluntary guardians, especially regarding their relationship with reception centers, where frictions create, conflicts emerge because the centers have always been used to follow the adolescents in an

Familial Context Refers to the migrants' relationship with			ragazzi in modo molto autonomo e poi si ritrovano invece ad avere dei paletti che sono creati dalla presenza di un tutore perché è normale che sia cosi.	autonomous way and then they instead find themselves having 'barriers', which are created by the presence of a guardian because it is normal that this occurs.
their family of origin and to the figure of the voluntary guardian	Pressure from Family of Origin Young migrants being sent to Italy by their families who ask them for financial support		la maggior parte, hanno un mandato dalla famiglia, di poter aiutare economicamente, quindi arrivano qua da soli, sia dall'Egitto, ma anche dall'Albania, perché vivono in una situazione di miseria e banalmente le famiglie gli chiedono però ogni mese devi portarmi di là qualcosa, quindi hanno questa <i>mission</i> , chiamiamola così.	the majority has a mandate from their family to help them financially, so they arrive here alone, both from Egypt but also from Albania because they live in poverty and the families simply ask them "you need to bring me something every month", so they have this 'mission', let us call it this way.
Intercultural Contact	Cohesion with Mainstream Peers Refers to the cohesion between minors and Italian peers being promoted through an exchange of		il ragazzo italiano che capisce che il compagno non comprende bene il testo e quindi si mette lì e spiega le parole e diciamo che queste spiegazioni sono	the Italian guy who understands that his classmate does not understand the text well and thus goes there and explains the words and, let us say that these

	experiences at school, participation in extra- curricular activities or during life in the residential community			sempre più efficaci rispetto a quelle dell'insegnante e vengono recepite in modo, c'è si vede, in modo completamente diverso ed è molto positivo.	explanations are always more effective compared to those of the teacher and get understood well, you see, in a different way, and this is very positive.
The Acculturating Individuals: Unaccompanied Youths Refers to how the identity of the Unaccompanied Youths and their experiences is related	Heterogeneity Unaccompanied youths defined as different individuals with different needs			la loro diversità sicuramente una diversità individuale più di cultura, mi spiego meglio, ogni ragazzo interpreta anche la propria diversità culturale, perché, faccio l'esempio dei musulmani, ci sono i musulmani più osservanti, ci sono quelli meno osservanti, ci sono quelli niente affatto osservanti.	their diversity is surely an individual diversity more than cultural, I explain myself better, every guy interprets also his cultural diversity because, I make the example of Muslims, there are Muslims who are more observant, there are those who are less observant, there are those who are not observant at all.
to their adaptation in the host country		Acculturative Stressors Factors that can cause	Language Barriers Not being able to speak Italian constituting a reason for frustration for the young migrants Perceived Discrimination	Io credo che la frustrazione maggiore sia proprio quella di non riuscire a farsi capire in alcun modo all'inizio.	I think that the major frustration is right the one of not being able to make yourself understood in any way at the beginning.
		frustration in the unaccompanied youths during their process of		ragazzo appena che diceva che non voleva	the guy who just said that he did not want

Psychological Adaptation Includes factors that can be related to the	acculturation and adaptation	Young migrants feeling discriminated by Italian citizens	raccontare a nessuno che è venuto con la barca anche perché sa che i media ci dice sempre "quello che è venuto con la barca cosi" quindi lui sa gia a priori che quando uno sentirà che lui è venuto "è quello pericoloso" capito?	to tell anyone that he came here with the boat because he knows that the media always talk about "those who came here with the boat" so he already knows that when one will hear that he came here, he is the 'dangerous' one, do you understand?
psychological well- being of acculturating individuals in the host country	Transition from Adolescence to Adulthood Youngs migrants going through normative developmental transitions		una difficoltà sono, come dire, il quotidiano, la quotidiana gestione delle loro richieste appunto di relazione legate anche al, alla loro crescita, no? Per cui tutti i problemi che possono venire da una litigata con l'amico, alla delusione d'amore, tutto quello che concerne la loro vita, loro la mettono tutta dentro la comunità, la loro vita, quindi non è semplice.	a difficulty are [sic], like, the daily, the daily handling of their requests in the relationship related also to, to their growth, no? Hence, all the problems that can come from a fight with a friend, from a heartbreak, all that concerns their life, they put everything in the community, their life, so it is not simple.
	Autonomy Unaccompanied youths being more		hanno delle competenze che i nostri adolescenti non	they have competences that our adolescents don't

autonomous compared to their Italian peers	hanno, soprattutto in termini lavorativi, c'è i nostri ragazzini hanno sperimentato almeno una volta nella vita che cosa significa fare l'artigiano quindi fare il falegname, l'elettricista, il fabbro, il carpentiere, l'agricoltore, c'è sanno fare delle cose che i nostri ragazzi (minori italiani) non sanno fare, allora nell'ottica di questa considerazione cioè che sanno fare delle cose e che probabilmente già da quando hanno 10 anni sono molto più autonomi rispetto ai ragazzi che abbiamo noi a 10-11 anni.	have, especially in professional terms, like, our guys have experimented at least once in their life what it means to be an artisan, so to be an artisan, an electrician, a blacksmith, a carpenter, a farmer, like, they (unaccompanied minors) know how to do things that our guys (Italian minors) don't know how to do, so in regard to this consideration, that they can do things and that probably since they are 10 years old they are much more autonomous compared to the (Italian) guys that we have at 10-11 years old.
Vulnerability The unaccompanied youths' conditions of vulnerability due to their past history and the traumas experienced during the migration journey	c'è tutta una situazione pregressa, in tanti casi ci sono traumi, ci sono vissuti estremamente complicati, tragici, che noi non possiamo probabilmente neanche contemplare,	there is a whole previous situation, in several cases there are traumas, there are extremely complicated experiences, tragic, that we cannot probably even

	immaginare, comprendere fino in fondo	contemplate, imagine, fully comprehend
Personal History and Resilience Refers to youths' previous experiences and resilience in relation to how well they adapt	se la cava chi ha appunto successo, anche chi appunto riesce a fare tesoro di queste risorse e riesce a mettere a punto determinate dimensioni, ripeto un po' per caratteristiche caratteriali, di approccio ad alcune cose.	someone who gets away with it, who has success is someone who can treasure these resources and manages to develop determinate dimensions, I repeat, a bit because of their personality features, of their way to approach certain things.
Preferred Contact with UM and Ethnic Peers The tendency of the youths to spend time only among ethnic peers or other unaccompanied minors	magari un modo per loro per essere rassicurati, a volte tendono a frequentare i connazionali quindi sta roba, ripeto, e soprattutto nelle grandi città, a Milano, può avvenire più facilmente perché le comunità sono più ampie e hanno un po' tutti i loro punti nelle varie zone.	maybe it is a way for them to be reassured, sometimes they tend to hang out with their co-nationals so this thing, I repeat, and especially in big cities like in Milan can happen more easily because the communities are bigger and have a bit of their reference points in the various areas.
Proficiency in Mainstream Language	chiaramente, parlare meglio l'italiano ti permette di muoverti meglio e poi studiare	clearly, speaking Italian well allows you to move better and then studying

Sociocultural Adaptation Includes facto to the social functioning of acculturating individuals in country	being crucial for the minors to succeed in the professional, scholastic and relational spheres the host	ti permette seco me di poter pen con la tua testa, quello che ti dio sempre ai ragaz "non vi arrabbia cerchiamo di fa studiare bene l' e se siamo mag sembra che siar fissati con ques facciamo l'esen che se un doma davanti a un co di lavoro e dovi leggerlo e saret soli davanti al v titolare per legg dovete avere gl strumenti per le capirlo e sapere state firmando, è importante".	opinion, to be able to think with your brain, I, what I always tell the guys "do not get angry if we try to make you study Italiano lari e are maybe and we look like we are obsessed with this, but let us make the example that if tomorrow you are in front of a job contract and you have to read and you will be alone in front of your boss to read it, you need the tools to read it, understand it and know what you are signing because it is important".
	Heritage Culture The youths' heritage culture related to their acculturation and adaptation process	la cultura di appartenenza li comunque delle ripercussioni su modo di integra soprattutto all'i la figura della di soprattutto da rispettare.	repercussions on their way of integrating, especially at the start, nizio, the figure of the

	Previous Scholastic Experience The migrants' scholastic experience in the host country related to their sociocultural adaptation	influisce s tanto, eh i influisce t soprattutto perché per ragazzi ch lingua ing sicuramen una marci perché har che ne so, egiziani e Italia però	scholastic experiences) influisce, influisce, influence surely a lot, eh, it influences, it influences especially at the beginning because the boys who know the English language surely have a in più an advantage because they have, perhaps, I do not know, they are arrivano in because the boys who know the English language surely have an advantage because they have, perhaps, I do not know, they are Egyptians and they arrive to Italy and have a good levels of English and therefore
Improvements Refers to what stakeholders would improve in society, and in the reception and school systems for unaccompanied minors	To Society What should change in Italians' attitudes towards unaccompanied youths and migrants in general	più aperto ogni cultu cultura c'è quello di b quindi qua una cultur quello che lascio que che non è quindi que po' un mix vede anch multicultu	there is good, so I see a culture, I take what is good and leave what is not good so this will be a mix, as you see also in France, multicultural, a multicultural society.

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To the Reception System What should change in the reception system for unaccompanied youths	se gli SPRAR fossero sufficienti per rispondere al fabbisogno nazionale questo problema anche del dissesto di bilancio di molti enti locali non ci sarebbe perché sarebbe tutto a carico del servizio centrale.	If the SPRAR (places) were sufficient to fulfill the national demand, this budgetary problem of local authorities wouldn't be there because the central service would be in charge of everything.
To the Educational System What should change in the school system for unaccompanied youths	io credo che il cpia dovrebbe avere degli spazi dedicati, cioè delle scuole che sono interamente dedicate solo e soltanto al cpia dove si potesse, noi abbiamo di là un'aula multimediale, ma dove si potesse come dire incentivare una serie di didattiche prettamente interculturali.	I believe that the CPIA should have more dedicated spaces, like schools that are only dedicated to the CPIA where we could, we already have a multimedia room, but where we could, how to say, increase a series of didactics which are purely intercultural.

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