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Ph.D. Dissertation

From Newcomers to New Citizens: the Brokering Role of
Social Enterprises with Migratory Background
for the Development of Local Communities

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Introduction

The thesis is framed within a historical, political and social context characterized by a growing interest towards migration and social integration policies. Whilst it's true that the world is currently facing the greatest forced migratory flow ever recorded, the so called "Refugee crisis", numbers related to the presence of non-EU born in Europe are relatively low. According to Eurostat in 2018, 2.4 million people from non-EU countries entered in Europe and 22.3 million people from non-EU countries lived in the Region representing just 4.4% of the 514.3 million European residents. In Italy the percentage is slightly higher but again this is fairly low.

Nevertheless, the way immigration is narrated by media and political debate provokes challenges for social cohesion as these narratives may solicit conflicts between the arriving migrants and the receptive communities.

According to the 2017 World Migration Report, the use of negative narratives on immigration spread by media is much more pervasive than the use of positive ones (Allen, Blinder & McNeil, 2017). In Europe, negative narratives address migrants as illegals, criminals, source of economic expenses and victims.
Negative narratives also lead an overestimation of the immigratory phenomenon. In 2017 Eurobarometer carried out a research about Europeans' perception of the immigrant population size in 18 European countries (Eurobarometer report, 2017). In all but three countries the respondents at least doubled the effective size of the number of non-EU-born residents in their own countries.

These representations affect public opinion and negatively influence attitudes toward immigration in such a way that they endanger the establishment of social connections between newcomers and the receptive community (Boomgaarden & Vliegenthart, 2009; Allen, Blinder, & McNeil, 2017) and consequently social cohesion.

Within such a cultural context, the management of immigration represents a challenge for the community life of local communities that can either trigger social conflicts or can facilitate the social development of the receptive societies.

The present thesis aims to provide a research contribution about the contextual, relational and inner factors that lead to successful social integration experiences, whereby social integration is here intended as a two-way process that involves not just citizens with migratory background but also the native populations of the receptive communities. Through the lenses of social psychology theories, the elements that foster social integration will be systematized in the attempt to provide suggestions and matters of reflections for policy makers in order to effectively sustain the development of this process.

A note, since the afore-mentioned studies but also a broader literature underlines the role that words and more generally communication plays in fostering public opinion toward immigration, the authors has made a linguistic choice when addressing immigrants and the receptive communities. From this point forward, first generation migrants, newly arrived in the resettlement country, will be called *newcomers* while those with a long-term project of resettlement in Italy will be called *new citizens* in order to underline their stable staying and belonginess to the receptive countries. The receptive countries will be addressed as *resettlement countries* in order to highlight the continuity between new citizens' migratory background and their stable staying within their new homeland. Lastly, the receptive communities will be addressed as *resettlement communities*, or alternatively, as *natives* or *autochthonous* in order to specify that the main difference between them and the new citizens is the birth-country.

These linguistic choices are the product of the research itself and have been selected through several discussions the author had with the research participants.

The thesis is divided into two parts: the first one represents the contextual and theoretical framework of the dissertation, whilst the second presents the research contribution that is divided into two studies.

Part I is divided in two chapters.

Chapter one describes the migratory phenomenon in Europe and Italy since world war II, in the attempt to grasp the complexity of the issue and to understand its current characteristics. The chapter also provides some information about the Italian resettlement system and laws that regulate it.

Chapter two presents instead the theoretical framework that drives the exploration of the social integration phenomenon. Social integration will be explored according to a sociological and a psychological perspective in the attempt to provide an integration of the two disciplines.

Part II is divided in three chapters.

Chapter three is devoted to the research positioning within current trends of the psychological studies in the migration field and also within the methodological approach. It will also introduce the context of Social Enterprises with Migratory Background (SEMB) whereby the research has been carried out. SEMB are social enterprises founded by new citizens who used their experiential knowledge as former newcomers in order to deliver programs of social integration.

Chapter four presents the first study that applied a qualitative approach in order to explore the inner and relational resources that eased new citizens' social integration within the local communities.

Chapter five presents the second study that is a multiple case-study that explores the characteristics and outcomes of two SEMB.

Finally, the Conclusion presents a synthesis of the overall thesis whereby the author proposes a definition of social integration that is the result of the overall research

project from the literature review to the interpretation of results. This final part will also describe the applicative implication of the thesis.

Part I

This first part is aimed at providing the contextual and theoretical framework of the thesis.

The migratory phenomenon is complex and constantly changing. As chapter one will describe, it is made of push and pull factors that change according to political, economic, social and also environmental factors. From the perspective of resettlement countries, migration solicits issues related to newcomers' economic and social inclusion within the local communities but also issues related to the coexistence of cultural diversities.

Chapter two will therefore address theories that help to understand the social and psychological implications of social integration in the attempt to demonstrate that in order to deeply understand the phenomenon an integration between these two dimensions is needed. Such a proposal will show some fields remained uncovered by the current literature that pave the way for the conduction of further research.

1. Contextual Framework

This chapter deals with the description of the migratory flows in Europe and in Italy in an attempt to frame the thesis within the historical and social features that drive the migratory dynamics in the region.

As described hereunder, beside what is commonly drawn by media and political debates on the issue, migration in Europe is not the merely result of the pull factors that characterize newcomers and new citizens' countries of origin. On the contrary, push factors such as the labor demand in the receptive countries have a specific weight in shaping the phenomenon (De Haas, 2018).

While the first two paragraphs will account for the historical evolution of the migratory dynamics in the whole European region and in Italy, the third paragraph presents a report of the current situation in Italy from a statistical and a policy point of view.

1.1. Migratory flows in Europe from the II world war to the present

The record titled "European Migrations: Dynamics, Drivers, and the role of Policies" written by Heis de Haans and published by the European Union in 2018 is the source that drove the draft of the present paragraph.

Since World War II the phenomenon of migration has strongly interested Europe. Overall, the number of people on the move in Europe since the end of the second global world has always been low, around the 3%. Nevertheless, the direction of the migratory flows that involved this region has changed over the years according to historical, political, economic and social factors.

Until the early years of the 20th century, Europe was a departure region. By that period, Europeans left their homeland for two main reasons: colonization in Africa, South America and Middle East, and to improve their life conditions in North America.

After the second world war, a series of contextual changes made of Europe the major global migratory destination, among them: a process of decolonization, a rapid economic growth and the consequent demographic change, and the constitution of the free trade zone within European nations.

Overall, the migratory flows in Europe can be distinguished in four phases according to contextual features that drove them.

I phase from 1945 to 1970

By the end of the II world war, countries that signed the Marshall Plan benefited of a series of economic investments that brought to a quick economic and social development characterized by a high demand of the labor market, a demographic change and an increased educational level. For this reason, countries that constituted the industrial core of Europe, such as England, (West) Germany, France and the north of Italy, started recruiting workers from the peripherical European countries. In the same period, Europe was facing the need to settle those who had been forcibly displaced as a consequence of the second world war. With this regard, in 1951 the Geneva convention formalized the definition of "Refugee" and systematized the measures that the signatory States had to adopt in order to receive people flying their homeland, whereby they could not be protected from persecution related to race, religion, nationality, belonginess to a specific social group, and political opinions (Geneva Convention, 1951).

The convention was drafted in order to foster the reception of the second world war refugees although the spread of civil wars, as consequence of the former colony movements, gave soon a global salience to the convention.

In the '60s an economic growth that involved the whole region extended the European economic core and pushed the recruiting borders to the south: workers were now recruited from North and West Africa, Turkey and the Caribbean. However, the 1973 oil crisis in the Middle east brought an economic regression and the displacement of investments in developing countries. Such a situation restrained the recruitment of foreign workers.

II phase from 1970 to 1990

In the early '70s the European economic system shifted from a Welfare to a Neoliberal strategy characterized by privatization, economic deregulation, flexibilization of the labor market. Following the adoption of this neo-liberal system, the recruitment of non-EU workers decreased and most of them were being offered temporary jobs.

In spite of the uncertain life conditions, those who had previously immigrated because of job opportunities decided to permanently settle in Europe. According to de Haas, this condition might have been caused by the fear of borders closure and the hope to stay in a safer part of the world. Nevertheless, unemployment fostered new citizens' marginalization within the resettlement communities.

In the 80's the shift toward a service-based market brought to an increase of demand of lower-skilled workers to be employed in the agricultural and in home-care services, alongside the need for high skilled workers. On one side, such a situation fostered an immigration from extra-EU countries, whereby workers were recruited for the lower-skilled occupations; on the other side, a migratory flow within the European countries started to cover high skilled job demands. Those were indeed the

years of the Maastricht Treaty and the constitution of the European Union that enabled free circulation within the region.

III phase from 1990 to 2008

The first years of the third phase had been characterized by the fall of the Soviet Union and the establishment of democracies in the eastern countries of Europe. The improving number of refugees brought to the signing of the Dublin regulation in the attempt to adopt a European strategy with regards to refugees' reception. Even though the regulation has been modified twice, its basic principle is the *one chance rule* that gives asylum seekers just one chance to ask for the refugee status in Europe. According to the regulation, asylum can be asked in the first European country whereby asylum seekers enter. For this very reason, such a regulation has been hardly criticized not only by refugees and the organizations that promote their rights, as it obstacles the freedom of movement, but also by those European countries placed at the borders of the Region which represent the main gateways to Europe. Lately in this same phase, some of those eastern and central European countries that previously represented basis for the emigration toward western countries because of job opportunities and asylum applications, were eventually included in the Union. Such a shift made of these same countries transit territories for newcomers. In this period Europe witnessed indeed an abolition of its internal borders. Nonetheless, to such an internal openness corresponded the fortification of the European external borders.

IV phase from 2008 ongoing

As in the crisis of 70s, during the economic regression of 2008 the migratory flows toward Europe from non-EU countries were more consistent than expected even though they witnessed a contraction. In particular, the immigration related to the labor market and to asylum request was not affected by the crisis.

In fact, the strain on European countries to respond to a considerable intensification in newcomers' arrivals has increased each year over the last decade, culminating in the period from 2017 to 2019 referred to as the "Refugee crisis".

In addition, once the economic crisis was overcome, the non-EU migration rebounded to pre-crisis levels.

On the other hand, as a consequence of this newly found economic stability, migration from south to the north of Europe decreased during 2012 and 2015. According to the author, this is the testimony that free circulation leads returns in the homelands and not just departures.

1.2. The immigratory phenomenon in Italy

Italy together with Spain, Portugal and Greece constitutes what has been addressed as the Mediterranean Model of migration dynamics, characterized by a history of emigration until the late '70s, a heterogeneity of new citizens' countries of origin, and an employment of newcomers in the field of agriculture, home care, small business and in the street markets (Baldwin-Edwards 1997; Pugliese 2011).

Italy, in particular, represents a specific and unique case, as in the south of the Country the migratory dynamics are characterized by a Mediterranean Model, while in Central-North Italy migration follows the same dynamics of other Western European Countries (Perna, 2015).

1975 was the year whereby, for the first time, the number of foreign citizens was higher than the one of emigrants. In the '70s, migratory flows were mainly made of students and workers coming from the former Italian colonies in Africa: Somalia, Eritrea and Ethiopia (Colucci, 2018). These flows were interestingly constituted of women who were employed in the field of domestic work.

Other two consistent movements were the ones that entered through the east border thorough the former Yugoslavia and through the south border in Sicily whereby fishermen were recruited from Tunisia.

Specifically about the asylum applications, by the end of the same decade, Italy started receipting exiles and political dissidents coming from South America even though until 1990 the asylum right was recognized only to citizens of the Soviet Union.

The first census about the presence of foreign citizens in Italy was made in 1978 and it revealed the presence of a half of million people. From this point forward a series of laws were ratified in order to manage the migratory phenomenon.

The first attempt is represented by the endorsement of the Foschi Law. The law recognized the newcomers' right to family reunification, access to health care, social, educational and housing services and the right to maintain their cultural identity.

The fall of the Berlin wall in 1989 provoked a change in the immigration flows with a new boat immigration movement from Albania that raised the interest of public opinion and gave visibility to a phenomenon that until that moment was invisible. Within this context, the Martelli law was ratified in 1990. In particular, this law regulated the Geneva convention in the Italian territory and introduced the constitution of reception and expulsion centers. The law was also aimed at planning the migratory flows in Italy and introduced some other residence permits for labor purposes. Lastly, of particular interest for the purposes of the present thesis, the Martelli law formally recognized also the associations of immigrants and in general the associations that dealt with immigration. Colucci (2018) reasoned that this law is the result of a strong and endorsed antiracist movement that had the power to influence Italian politics.

Two years later, in 1992 also the citizenship law was approved. Such a regulation represents a milestone for the immigration management in Italy as it has, till these very days, a negative impact on new citizens and their children's life. According to this law, newcomers can apply for citizenship after ten years, while before its ratification the time was of five years. In addition, immigrants' children can apply for the Italian citizenship after their adulthood and under the condition of a legal and continuative stay of ten years.

The Turco-Napolitano law was approved in 1998 and had the power to split up the antiracist movement that until that moment combined civil, catholic and labor unions. The law under consideration, known as the *Immigration Unique Text* focused on the contrast of illegal immigration and the creation of channels for legal entrances. Nevertheless, the Turco-Napolitano law is of particular interest because it represents the first and only attempt to rule the Government duties with regard to newcomers' social integration in Italy. While for some antiracist movements the law, even if incomplete, dealt with central issues, for some others, it appeared weak in the social integration concerns and with some essential deficiencies, such as the failed citizenship reform.

The same law was modified in 2002 with the Bossi-Fini regulation that ratified stricter entrance and residence conditions, the immediate expulsion of irregular newcomers and newcomers' fingerprinting.

Interestingly, in the same year though the same right-wing government gave legal status to hundreds of irregular newcomers for labor purposes.

In 2001 another census highlighted the presence of more than one million immigrants in Italy. From that moment, the immigration issue became central in the Italian public and political debates and throughout the years, its management has become increasingly restrictive.

In 2008 the Italian government signed an agreement with the Libyan President Gheddafi in order to retain migrants in Libyan jails in the attempt to make the Italian border even more impermeable.

Nevertheless, since 2011 Italy, as the rest of Europe, has witnessed an increase of the arrivals from the Mediterranean Sea and the Balkans due to the spread of the Arab spring and the start of civil conflicts in the North of Africa and Middle East. Such a consistent increase of asylum seekers has shed light over the need to improve the European reception system and to overcome the Dublin regulation.

While the arrivals increased, between 2011 and 2017, the number of immigrants asking for residence in Italy slowly decreased.

In 2018 the Salvini ordinance restricted the conditions for the request of international protection. The ordinance indeed abolished the status of humanitarian protection, a residence permit that was previously granted to those who were recognized at risk of life because of humanitarian reasons such as natural disasters, political instability, disrespect of human rights. In addition, according to the ordinance, those who in the past entered the Country for humanitarian reasons cannot convert their permit into a labor one. The ordinance also restricted access to the reception system to solely refugees and unaccompanied minors. Eventually, while the author of thesis was drafting this manuscript, the Salvini ordinance was abolished.

Table 1.1 presents a summary of the Italian legislation on immigration issues.

Table 1.1

Italian legislation for newcomers' reception and social integration

Year	Law	Content
1986	Foschi Law	• Right to family re-unification. • Access to health care, education, housing. • Maintenance of cultural identity.
1990	Martelli Law	• Adoption and regulation of the Geneva convention in Italy. • Regulation of newcomers' reception. • Widening of residence permit for job reasons. • Recognition of the associations that deal with immigration. • Regulation of the expulsion of irregular newcomers.
1992	Law 91/1992	• Italian descendants can apply for citizenship after three years of continuative residence. • Newcomers can apply for citizenship after 10 years of continuative residence. • Newcomers' children can apply for citizenship after their majority and ten years of continuative residence.
1998	Turco – Napolitano Law (Immigration Unique Text)	• Realization of a policy for planned, limited and legal receptions through the management of fluxes for job reasons. • Contrast of irregular entrances and of the immigration exploitation. • Realization of social integration paths.
2002	Bossi – Fini Law	• Stricter entrance and residence conditions. • Immediate expulsion of irregular newcomers. • Newcomers' fingerprinting.
2008	Memorandum Italy – Libya Agreement	• Detention in the Libyan jails for irregular migrants attempting to reach Italy.
2018	Salvini Ordinance	• Abolition of the humanitarian protection status. • Reception restricted to refugees and asylum seekers.
2020	Immigration Decree	• Reintroduction of the humanitarian protection status. • Abolition of expulsion or repatriation to a State in which human rights are violated. • Abolition of repatriation of those who have a consolidated life in Italy. • Sea rescuing for humanitarian ships. • Abolition of the asylum seekers' registry. • The time spent in detention and repatriation centers is reduced from 180 to 90 days.

1.2.1. Current immigratory situation and policies for social integration in Italy

In 2018 Eurostat counted the presence 6 million 175 thousand foreign born people residing in Italy, who represented the 10,2% of the overall population. The 3% of them comes from another EU country while the 7,2% of them comes from a non-EU country. The majority of them are from Romania (23,1%), Albania (8,6%), Morocco (8,1%).

In 2019 Italy witnessed the entrance of 11.500 people through the Mediterranean Sea. As an effect of the restrictive access practices, the number of sea arrivals dropped significantly with regard to the 23.400 people who entered in 2018 and the 119,400 who entered in 2017.

In 2018 also the number of the released residence permits decreased of about 20.000 units reaching the number of 242 thousand.

According to Colucci (2018), the effect of the overall measures adopted till now to manage newcomers' entrance was to reduce the chance to legally enter in the Country. Asylum applications and family reunification emerge indeed as the only channels for immigrants to regularize their presence in Italy. Nevertheless, also the number of asylum applications accepted dropped of the 41.9% during the biennium 2018-2019 (ISTAT, 2019).

Differently, the release of family reunification permits increased of the 8.2% in 2018 and 2019, and in the same biennium such a permit covered up the 50% of the overall residence applications.

With regard to the application for the Italian citizenship, in 2017 Italy represented the European Country with the highest number of citizenship acquisitions (Eurostat). Nevertheless, in 2018 the citizenship acquisitions decreased of the 23,8%. In the same year though the new Italian citizens were 1.345.261.

Lastly, with reference to the new generations, according to ISTAT their presence in Italy is increasing and in 2018 there were 1 million 316 thousand-second generation minors.

To sum up while it is identifiable a decrease in the numbers of new arrivals, a process of stabilization of those who arrived in the previous years can be track as well. Such a stabilization can be identified mostly in the application for family reunification and in the increasing number of second-generation minors. This trend

highlights the presence of a long-term project behind newcomers' resettlement in Italy.

For this very reason, the need to work on social integration emerges as priority in order to foster new citizens' active and direct participation to local communities. Strategies aimed at easing the connections among newcomers and autochthonous are needed as a precondition for new citizens' involvement in the community life. Social integration is indeed considered as a process that does not involve just newcomers but the resettlement communities as a whole. In this vein, the Italian law defines social integration as a "Process that in respect of the values enshrined in the Italian Constitution, is aimed at promoting the coexistence of Italian and foreign citizens, with the reciprocal commitment to participate in the economic, social and cultural life of the Society" (art.4-bis Immigration Unique Text).
Such a definition clarifies that, according to the Italian regulation, connections between the resettlement community and new citizens are at the very basis of an integrated society.

In Italy, social integration strategies are addressed by the central government and actualized by the local ones. With regard to new citizens' resettlement, local administrations and third sector organizations deal with information-sharing about duty and rights within the Italian society, acquisition of the Italian language and approach to the Italian culture. These institutions are also supposed to facilitate job and housing placement and the use of the health care system (Immigration Unique Text). In addition, holders of international protection and unaccompanied minors benefit of the SIPROIMI network (Protection System for Holders of International Protection and Unaccompanied Minors) whose aim is to create a customized path of social and economic integration (https://www.sprar.it/la-storia visited on March, 2020).

In order to bridge connections between newcomers and natives, Italian local institutions are also supposed to promote initiatives aimed at easing the intercultural and interreligious dialogue among the territorial communities.

# 2.	Theoretical context

Aim of this chapter is to frame the thesis objective within the literature of reference. The very first paragraphs will deal with social integration from a normative and psychological point of view. As further described, both the frameworks underline that social integration is a matter inter and intra-group dynamics. Even before their arrival, newcomers are indeed inserted into communities: the resettlement and the origin ones but also in religious communities and so on. The relationships that newcomers tie with these communities and the connections among them will shape their social integration path within the resettlement country.

Indeed, groups membership provides material and non-material resources that enhance or, on the contrary hinder, their active participation to the social, economic and cultural life of the new homeland. Literature addresses these specific kinds of resources that come out of social relationships as Social Capital.

Nevertheless, in order to access and exploit the resources produced by group dynamics individuals need to recognize themselves and to be recognized as effective members of specific groups, this issue calls into question the topic of Identity. Therefore, to explore how group dynamics lead to social integration, the concept of Identity needs to be addressed and explicated.

## 2.1.	Conceptual frameworks for social integration

As argued in the following paragraphs, social integration is the result of a process that combines context possibilities and demands and an inner willingness to actively take part in the society people live in.

While the normative framework accounts for the contextual requisites that fosters successful paths of social integration, the psychological framework instead analyses the relationship between the reception conception of the resettlement community and newcomers' navigation among the participation to the origin and the resettlement culture.

2.1.1. A normative framework

In 2008 Ager and Strang proposed a "middle-range" theory in an attempt to identify components of social integration and to conceptualize this phenomenon in a normative perspective. As a result of an evaluative research that analyzed an eclectic and wide data corpus that involved documentaries, semi-structured interviews with refugees, natives, and employees in the resettlement field, and cross-sectional survey data, the authors identified ten domains of social integration. These ten domains are then organized in four interrelated categories: *means and markers*, *social connections*, *facilitators*, and *foundations* (see fig.1).

Fig. 2.1

A normative framework for social integration (Ager & Strang, 2008, p. 179)
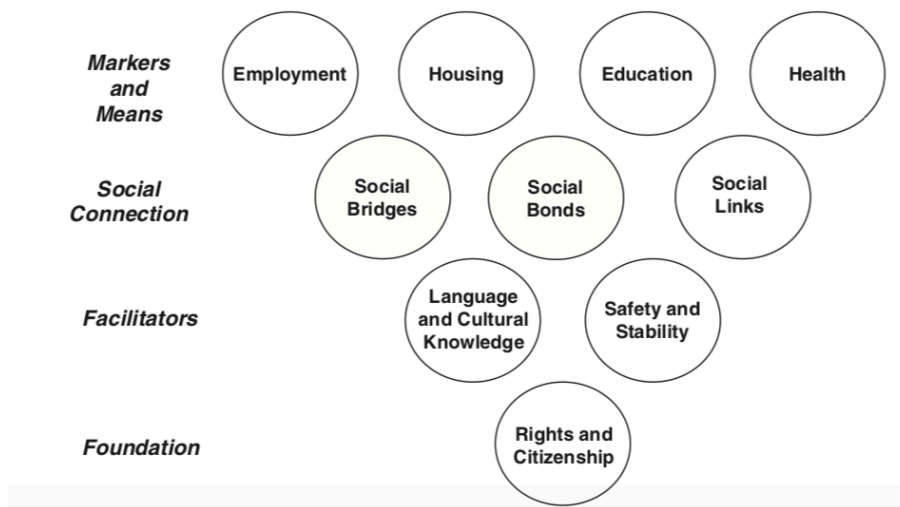
Starting from the bottom of the pyramid, the category of *foundation* contains *rights* and *citizenship* as the essential factors for social integration. This category contains indeed the basis upon which newcomers can start building their new life in the resettlement community. As the authors point out, the definition of newcomers' rights and acquisition of citizenship is framed within the cultural context of the resettlement country that shapes the social integration policies.

At the top of the pyramid there are instead the *means* or *markers* of social integration or rather the elements that constitute the public façade of social integration. These being: *employment*, *housing*, *education*, *health*.

Employment in particular is a component that influences other attributes of social integration such as the economic self-sufficiency, the contact with autochthonous and consequently a deep approach with the local culture, a sense of self-reliance and lastly the chance to plan the future.

Housing is instead an element that refugees interviewed by the authors associated to the feeling of "being at home". Interestingly, the continuity of residence in a neighborhood was positively valued both by refugees and autochthonous as they related this to a sense of community.

Education is a factor that is strongly related to employment as it fosters the development of professional skills that new citizens can spend in the labor market. *Education* also represents a context whereby building relationships with the resettlement community, both for children and for their parents, even though parents are more hampered by linguistic barriers.

Health is an element that denotes a reliable relationship among new citizens and health-care services. Similarly to education, *health* is hindered by linguistic barriers but also by information access and cultural definitions of illness.

The link between the domains *foundations* and *means* and *markers* is tied by the two domains of *facilitators* and *social connections.*

As mentioned above and further investigated hereunder, the domain of *social connections* starts from the assumption that social integration is a "process of mutual accommodation" (p.177) both for newcomers and natives. According to the authors, the relationship between new and old members of the resettlement community is

characterized by mutual expectations about the reciprocal investment in this very relationship. These expectations move along a continuum that ranges from tolerance and absence of conflict to a shared sense of belonging in an integrated community. Nevertheless, *social bridges* or rather the relationship between natives and autochthonous is just one of the resourceful social connections for social integration. As further explored in paragraph 2.3, literature in the field has highlighted that relationships with communities of origin residing in the resettlement community, the so-called *social bonds*, foster social integration as much as the *social links* that refer instead to connections between newcomers and public institutions devoted to their resettlement.

Taken together all these types of social connections ease the achievement of the social integration markers.

Lastly the domain of *facilitator* refers to the key facilitating factors for social integration.

Such a domain contains *language and cultural knowledge* which, as the authors suggest, should be fostered by the resettlement government itself. In fact, these competences not just ease the establishment of social bridges and links, but they also remove the barriers for the fulfillment of the four social integration markers.

Safety and stability are also two facilitators as they refer to the stay conditions in the resettlement community. Both these two elements are closely associated to the presence of reliable social bridges. *Safety* is indeed the result of the absence of experiences of physical and verbal violence within the resettlement community. *Stability* instead refers to the chance of permanently settling not just in a specific community but also in a specific neighborhood whereby newcomers can start establishing mutual, reciprocal and continuative relationships with natives that in turn ease language acquisition and cultural knowledge and foster a sense of community.

All the interrelated domains above constitute the prerequisites that foster the creation of an integrated society whereby new and old members share values and commitment towards the social, economic and cultural development of the community they feel they belong to.

Sense of belongingness is therefore a psychological connotation of social integration that is the result of a process of identification with the resettlement community.

2.1.2. A psychological framework

Within the psychological field Berry proposed a theoretical framework for a Psychology of Immigration (Berry, 2001). Following Grave's (1967) definition of *psychological acculturation*, as the psychological changes that occur after an intercultural contact, the author provided a frame in order to study the effects of this process both within the native group and the ethnic minorities in resettlement communities. According to Berry, acculturation constitutes two processes: "cultural maintenance (to what extent are cultural identity and characteristics considered to be important, and their maintenance strived for); and contact and participation (to what extent should they become involved in other cultural groups, or remain primarily among themselves)" (Berry, 1997, p.9). This definition clarifies that acculturation concerns individual as much as communities and also that it encompasses not just minority immigrant populations but also the native majority ones.

The author (Berry, 1997) has defined four acculturation strategies that can be adopted by minority groups in dealing with the contact between their culture of origin and the one of the resettlement countries: *assimilation*, *separation*, *integration*, *marginalisation*.

Assimilation describes the behaviour of people who do not wish to retain their heritage culture and seek daily contact with members of the dominant group.

Separation defines instead the opposite process whereby people engage in interaction with people belonging to the same culture of origin and do not wish to keep in contact with other cultures.

Marginalisation describes a strategy whereby people do not engage with their culture of origin none with any others.

Lastly, *Integration* is described as the desire to engage both with members belonging to the same culture of origin and those belonging to other cultures.

As Berry (2001) points out, people can choose their own acculturation strategy within the limitation of the context constraints. As reasoned in chapter 1, the reception culture of the resettlement community, which in turn is influenced by the social and political context, has indeed an impact over newcomers' acculturation strategies. For this very reason, the author has defined four acculturation strategies that can be adopted by receptive countries and that are complementary to the newcomers' ones (Berry, 2001).

Melting pot is the approach that sustains newcomers' assimilation, on the contrary, *segregation* enhances their separations strategies. Newcomers' marginalisation is instead supported by the dominant *exclusion* strategy whereas integration is possible in societies that value and support *multiculturalism*. A multicultural society sustains mutual accommodation between dominant and minority cultural groups of a community. This implies an agreement on basic coexistence values and, for the receptive country, the adoption of culture-sensitive measures in national institutions (Berry, 2001).

Fig. 2.2

Acculturation strategies in newcomers and in the receiving society (Berry, 2001, p. 618)
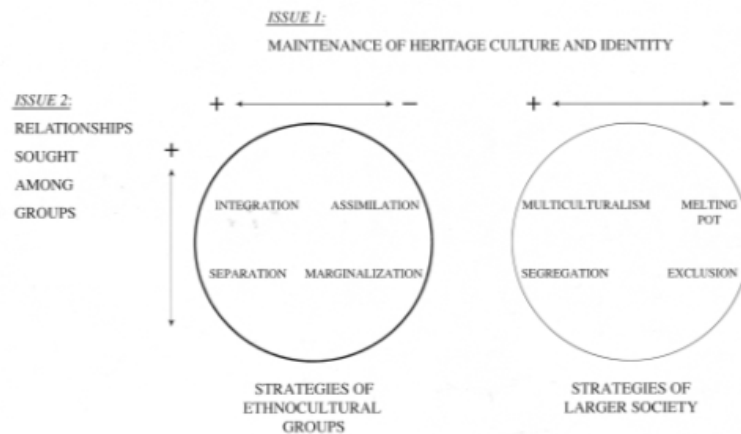
Multiculturalism is therefore a strategy that values cultural diversity, discourages discrimination and prejudices, promotes place attachment and the identification with the wider resettlement community, both in natives and in new citizens (Berry, 2001).

Considerations

These two frameworks address social integration but from two different points of view: sociological the first and psychological the second. It is opinion of the author that in order to deeply understand the phenomenon of newcomers' social integration these two foci of analysis need to be addressed in their dialectic and not as exhaustive on their own. Newcomers' navigation within the resettlement community with its possibilities and demands is indeed strongly inter-related to community belonginess. Even from a normative point of view, there is no social integration without the possibility to experience a sense of belonging to the resettlement community. At the same time, the belonginess to the resettlement community fosters a grounded relationship with the resettlement context.

The identification of a mutual relationship between normative and psychological social integration highlights that this phenomenon is a matter of group dynamics. The normative framework outlines that social relationships provide with resources

that ease newcomers' social integration path. At the same time, the psychological framework clarifies that it is the very community belonginess that allow individuals to access the group resources but also those resources that come from mutual relationships among groups. The following paragraphs address the dynamic between community belonginess and the establishment of social relationships that are resourceful for newcomers' social integration.

2.2. Identity

Before representing a formal recognition of membership in a social group, belongingness is a psychological state characterized by cognitive and affective connotations that drives the establishment of relationships both with in-group and out-group members.

Identity, and in particular social identity, emerges therefore as an explanatory construct of the way social connections lead to social integration, both from a normative and a psychological point of view.

2.2.1. Social Identity, intergroup dynamics and Ethnic Identity

According to Tajfel (1968) social identity is "the part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership" (p.63).

As the author (1982) sustained, in order to define a "group", external and internal criteria are required. While the former is mostly related to the way the "outside" labels the group, the latter refers to the processes of identification. According to the author, this last process is made of two essential constituents: the awareness of being

part of a group and the evaluation that a person makes of the same group. A third constituent is the emotional connotation related to the awareness and evaluation of social belonging (Tajfel, 1982). Social Identity is therefore part of a self-definition process that encompass the person's group belonging.

According to Tajfel (1982), being motivated by the need to maintain a positive representation of Self, the person aims to reach a "positive group distinctiveness" (p. 24) that eventually brings to an in-group favoritism with respect of the outgroup. Positive group distinctiveness represents the motivation that drives social interactions along a continuum with two extremes: the *interpersonal extreme* determined by the "individual characteristics and the nature of the personal relationship between them" (Tajfel, 1979, p. 401) and the *intergroup extreme* whereby the interaction is determined mostly if not completely by the group membership.

Social Identity theory was developed in order to investigate the relationship between societal dynamics and individual behavior. Societies comprehends indeed wide social categories such as class, gender and, consistent with the purpose of the present thesis, ethnicity. Different social categories have different status within a society, whereby status is conceived within the Social Identity Theory as the "subjectively perceived outcomes of intergroup comparison" (Hogg & Abram, 1988, p. 48). When members of two social groups agree about the respective status of their own groups, the positive group distinctiveness is maintained with no need for them to change the status quo.

Whether groups members' subjective evaluation of the group relationship does not sustain the positive distinctiveness, the *subjective beliefs structures* (p. 24), concerning the society organization and the nature of relationships among its groups, can lead to either *social mobility* or *social change* (Hogg & Abram, 1988). According to the *social mobility* belief structure, groups boundaries within a society are permeable and a

person can easily move from a perceived disadvantaged group to a perceived advantaged one. Such a belief structure does not change the status quo. On the contrary, *social change* is a belief structure whereby groups boundaries are impermeable, and the only way people have to achieve a positive distinctiveness is to improve the group status.

To this point, the Social Identity Theory explains the social dynamics that characterize the relationship between autochthonous and the different ethnic minorities that live within the resettlement society. Natives and ethnic minorities are therefore considered as two mutually exclusive groups.
Nevertheless, as Hogg and Turner (1987) underlined, Social Identity is made of different social identifications or rather "identity-contingent self-descriptions deriving from membership in social categories" (p.22) each of which acquires salience according to the context. With this regard, Berry's acculturation model (1997) highlights the chance for newcomers to engage both in the community of origin and in the one of resettlement. This engagement can bring to an identification with both the groups that eventually allow new citizens to take advantage of the resources that the community of origin and the one of resettlement produce in order to foster their social integration.

With this regard, Ethnic Identity is a specificity of Social identity and refers to "an individual's sense of self in terms of membership in a particular ethnic group" (Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind & Vedder, 2001, pp.496).
According to Fearon and Laitin (2000), ethnic identity is a social category defined by rules of membership and content aspects, such as "beliefs, desires, moral commitment and physical attributes" (p. 848). Consistent with this, Phinney et al. (2001) argue that Ethnic Identity encompasses aspects such "as self-identification, feelings of belongingness and commitment to a group, a sense of shared values, and

attitudes toward one's own ethnic group" (Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind & Vedder, 2001, p.496).

According to Phinney (1990), Ethnic Identity is also dynamic and changes according to the developmental stages but also, and maybe more interestingly, according to the context. Some studies have indeed found out that representations concerning values, beliefs, norms and conduct vary across contextual factors together with the awareness of how these dimensions are related to the Self (Jasinskaja-Lahti & Liebkind, 1999; Ferdman & Horenczyk, 2000).

In the attempt to explore how Ethnic Identities are constructed, Fearon and Latin (2000) identify in literature three different lines of thoughts.

The first one sees Ethnic Identity as the result of *macro historical forces* (p.851). The second approach considers Ethnic Identity the result of "discursive formation or symbolic or cultural systems that have their own logic or agency" (p.851) that produce individuals' action but are independent from them. The third branch conceptualizes instead Ethnic Identity as constructed by individuals' actions of both group members and elites interested in achieving power position, with the aim to define clear distinctions between an ingroup and an outgroup in condition whereas Ethnic Identities have permeable boundaries.

Studies addressing Ethnic Identity in multicultural contexts that involve immigrant populations have found out that people identify with more than one ethnic group, generally the heritage ethnic group and the one related to the resettlement country (Noels & Clement, 2015). Interestingly even the salience of an ethnic identity at the expense of others depends on the context (Noels & Clement, 2015).

As further explored in the following paragraph, Identity is therefore the result of a process of integration of the coexistent memberships to different social groups or communities.

2.2.2. Toward a dynamic conceptualization of Identity

Wenger's conceptualization of Identity derives from the theory he developed on the Communities of Practice. The author defines a Community of Practice a "Social Learning System" (Wenger, 2010, p. 179 in Blackmore, 2010) characterized by: *mutual engagement, a joint enterprise*, defined by the purpose of the community, and *a shared repertoire* made of the community resources that members use in order to give meaning to what happens within the community (Wenger, 1998).

According to Wenger's theorization, Identity is "something we constantly renegotiate during the course of our lives" (1998, p. 154).
The author defines Identity as an "interplay of participation and reification" (p. 153) whereby participation refers to the experience of life in terms of belonging to different communities of practice, while reification refers to a projection of the Self into the world.
Wenger (1998) outlines five depictions of Identity.

Identity as a negotiated experience
According to Wenger's theory, Identity is an overlay of experiences of participation to different communities within which we negotiate our belonging experience through processes of auto and hetero recognition. In other words, our Identity is the result of the interplay between our participation to communities and the negotiation of our experience of membership with members of those same communities.

Identity as community membership

The membership of a community implies a competence to withstand with the other members of that same community. More specifically, membership involves a shared commitment towards the development of the community, a sense of responsibility for the contribution anyone can give as member of the community, and the sharing and use of a repertoire of meanings as a frame of reference to give sense to the events and practices that happen within the community.

Identity as a learning trajectory

According to the author, the progressive and continuative engagement in communities outlines trajectories that embody learnings from the participation to communities in the past, the position occupied within communities in the present, and the development of new forms of participation in the future. The learnings acquired in the past and in the present shape possible trajectories of membership in the future.

Wenger (1998) specifies also that the trajectories of community memberships can take different shapes. *Peripheral trajectories* describe a way to join a community which is not fully participative but enough to mark one's own identity. *Inbound trajectories* describe instead an interest to move from a peripheral to a central position within a community. *Insider trajectories* are those that occur within a community to fully engaged members through the course of time and that keep on shaping their identities. *Boundary trajectories* define the creation of connections between communities; those who are enrolled in such a kind of trajectories are called *brokers*. Lastly, *Outbound Trajectories* outline the exit from a community.

Identities as nexus of multimembership

This Identity characterization specifies that individual's different memberships do not outline a single trajectory that condenses all the different memberships together

nor they fragment the Self, rather they undergo a process of reconciliation that integrates one to each other's. Through this reconciliation process, all the different memberships coexist, and such a coexistence can be both harmonious and/or conflictual. Interestingly, the creation of a multimembership nexus, beside a personal implication, also has a social impact as the engagement in a community is steeped with individual's membership to different communities each of which provide for different systems of meaning to interpret events and give sense to what happen within a specific community.

Identity as belonging defined globally but experienced locally

Because the communities people participate in are inscribed within larger frameworks, Identity is shaped by an interaction among local and global contexts.

The author specifies three different processes of identification: *engagement*, *imagination* and *alignment* (Wenger,1998).

By *engagement*, the author means that the identification with a community is the result of an involvement in its practices.

Through *imagination*, members of a community create connections between the history of the community they participate to and its future trajectories. Using the imagination mode people build connections between communities not only in time but also in space. This process provides community members with different points of view that give significance to their involvement in the practice.

Lastly the *alignment* mode refers to "a two-way process of coordinating perspectives, interpretations, actions, and contexts so that action has the effects we expect" (Wenger, 2010, p.185 in Blackmore, 2010). By alignment members actions are included in a bigger picture with an impact over their identity.

Wenger (1998) also describes four different ways to participate or not in a community. *Insiders* are members who fully participate in a community; on the contrary, *outsiders* are those who fully do not participate in a community. *Peripheric* and *marginal* members partially participate in a community: while peripheric members can develop a trajectory that will turn them into insiders, marginal members are those who keep a limited participation in the community.

Even though Wenger developed this theory to account for learning processes within organizational contexts, the five Identity characteristics outlined describe well the dynamics of newcomers' participation in both the community of origin and the one of resettlement and their consequent Identity trajectories.
Consistent with the Social Identity Theory, Wenger's conceptualization arises from the assumption that Identity is shaped by the participation in communities. Nevertheless, this theory fosters a dynamic representation of Identity whereby the involvements in different communities are strongly linked together and the nexus that tie all those kinds of participations impact over the person's engagement in those same communities.
This theory offers a lens to start reasoning about new citizens participation in the resettlement communities as effective members with specific roles. Firstly, the recognition of newcomers' engagement in different communities allows to identify the resources such an involvement produces for their very social integration. Secondly the quality, specificity and evolution of such a participation allows to highlight the contribution new citizens offers not just to the economic development of the resettlement community but also to its social and cultural advance. Indeed, new citizens experience in first person the need to create a nexus between their participation to the community of origin and to the one of resettlement. As previously mentioned, this personal process is not without social implications. Since new citizens' involvement in the resettlement community is marked with such an

internal integration, their engagement represents a resource in order to foster the community social cohesion.

As it will be discussed in the following paragraphs, community participation produces resources that are relational as they emerge by virtue of membership. Whether driven by the achievement of specific goals, these relational resources can be beneficial for individuals, for their communities, and more broadly for the society.

2.3. Social Capital

Social Capital is a construct widely used in social sciences to describe the resources produced by social networks that can be exploited both by individuals or by a community.

This concept is strongly related to the one of Social Cohesion that:

> Refers to two broader, intertwined features of society, which may be described as: (1) the absence of latent social conflict – whether in the form of income/wealth inequality; racial/ethnic tensions; disparities in political participation; or other forms of polarization; and (2) the presence of strong social bonds – measured by levels of trust and norms of reciprocity (i.e., social capital); the abundance of associations that bridge social divisions ("civil society"); the presence of institutions of conflict management (e.g., a responsive democracy, an independent judiciary, and so forth). (Kawachi & Berkman, 2000, p.175).

It is important to distinguish between social cohesion, which indicates the presences of social connections, and social capital, which refers to the resources provided by these connections. In other words, social cohesion is the starting point to produce and exploit a collectivistic form of social capital that may end in an economic, social and cultural development of society.

Nevertheless, theories on social capital move along a continuum that sees such a form of capital as beneficial for individuals on one extreme, or for the community on the other.

2.3.1. Authors of reference

Social Capital, as other forms of capital such as Human or Cultural Capital, derives from the theory of Capital elaborated by Marx in 1867. According to this theory, the capital is an economic investment on the labour force that those who control the production means make in order to obtain a profit.

The same conceptualization of capital has been adopted by the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu to define Social Capital. The author, who is considered the father of the construct, considered Social Capital as a specific form of capital together with the economic, cultural and symbolic capital and defined it as:

> The aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition-or in other words, to membership in a group-which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectivity-owned capital, a 'credential' which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word (Bourdieu, 1985, p.51).

According to Bourdieu, the aim of social capital is to give stability to the group existence. The author identified two components of this specific form of capital: the social relationships that foster the resource accessibility and the volume and value of the resources themselves. The exchange of material and immaterial goods is considered as an investment that produces reciprocal obligations that in turn foster mutual recognition between group members. This exchange and its obligations give

stability to the group and therefore reproduce it in a repetitive way. In so doing, the group borders are defined.

While Bourdieu proposed a structural definition of Social Capital, Coleman (1988), an American sociologist, stated that the definition of Social Capital relies on its function, which is to facilitate the actions of individuals within a social structure. In other words, Social Capital allows people to achieve results that could not be reached otherwise, but also to give individual actions collectivistic implications. According to the author, this form of capital is the product of the social structure itself and it does not reside neither in social actors nor in material and non-material goods (Coleman, 1988).

Coleman highlights the forms of Social Capital. With this regard, the author mentions the network *trustworthiness* and *obligations*. Whilst the first refers to the confidence whereby obligations will be returned, the second instead refers to the amount of obligations exchanged. The author adds that groups are distinguished on the basis of both the level of trustworthiness and the volume of obligations, while members of a group differ solely on the volume of obligations they are involved in. Secondly, the author mentions *information channels* as means that foster the action within the social structure. Lastly, Coleman indicates *norms and effective sanctions* as a form of Social Capital that ease the achievement of collectivistic purposes through facilitation and constrain of actions.

According to Coleman specific structures of the network produce Social Capital. In particular, network *closure* eases both the respect of norms and the creation of trustworthiness within the group. The author also mentions the presence of *appropriable social organizations* created for specific purposes. These are resources that individuals and the collectivity can refer to in order to achieve objectives that are different from the ones that initially drove the foundation of these organizations.

Another author who is a point of reference for literature on social capital is the American political scientist Robert Putnam. While Bourdieu and Coleman focused on the relation between individuals and their groups, Putnam has widened the conceptualization of Social Capital at a societal level. According to the author, Social Capital consists on "features of social organization, such as networks, norms, and trust, that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit" (1993, pp.2). The author carried out an exploration of the effectiveness of the institution of 20 regional governments in Italy in in 1970s. The same stock of legislation was applied in all the Italian regions, nevertheless their success hugely varied from region to region. According to Putnam, the reason for these very differentiated outcomes lies in the *network of civic engagement* that the authors defines as the Social Capital prerequisite (Putnam, 1993). The author emphasizes that networks of civic engagement promote mutuality, *cooperation* and *coordination* (p. 4) as well as a shared awareness about reciprocal trustworthiness. Lastly, networks of civic engagement bring the sign of past successful experiences of collaborations that in turn ease the establishment of future collaborations. Therefore, the creation of Social Capital activates a process of storage and self-reinforcement that can be translated from one context to another.

Shifting the perspective from the in-group to the community, here intended as the local society, Putnam sustains the need to create resourceful networks not just within the social groups but also between them with the aim to foster the economic growth of the community. With this regard, the political scientist has introduced the distinction between Bonding and Bridging Social Capital. Whilst the first refers to resourceful connections, in terms of trust and cooperation, among people who share a social identity, the second addresses instead respectful and reciprocal relationships between people who do not share a social identity (Szreter & Woolcock, 2004).

Differently from the above cited authors, the sociologist Nan Lin explored Social Capital from the individual's point of view. According to the author, at the core of social capital are social resources defined as goods with a value that is socially determined in terms of wealth, status and power, whose function is to guarantee individual survival or acquisition maintenance (Lin, 1999).

Lin specifies that social resources can be acquired (e.g. education) or inherited (e.g. ethnic belonging) although in any case they belong to the network itself. Individuals can therefore only access these resources under the condition of reciprocity or compensation.

Lin structured his theory from three assumptions one from macro sociology and two from micro sociology.

The first three assumptions are:

- The social structure is made of a network of individuals with different hierarchical positions that depend on their resources;

- Any given resource produces a hierarchical structure and individual positions within these different structures are comparable among each other;

- The hierarchical structure is pyramidal, although this configuration may vary in changing situations.

The assumptions of micro sociology that give birth to Lin's theory are:

- Consistent with an homophily principle, individuals tend to interact with people with similar hierarchical positions;

- Social actions are aimed at maintaining resources or at acquiring new ones.

According to Lin social actions are *expressive* or *instrumental*. Expressive actions, such as confiding, follow the homophily principle and are based on closeness and similarity among the actors. On the contrary, instrumental actions are heterophilic, meaning that they connect people with dissimilar social positions and are aimed at achieving perceived better resources or higher social positions. Usually, instrumental activities are undergone by individuals with low social positions.

Lin further specifies that the access and use of social resources are two inter-related and yet separated dynamics (1999). Accessible resources are those that belong to the network, while the ones that individuals use refer instead to a process of contact selection driven by instrumental purposes.

Lin's merit has been the outline of the dynamics that facilitate individual maintenance and acquisition of social resources.

Taken together, all these authors outlined different nuances of Social Capital: from the dynamics that ease its creation and appropriation, to its usefulness for the individual and/or for the collectivity.

2.3.2. Social Capital: Individualistic vs. Collectivistic Perspectives

As Lin (2000) and Villalonga-Olives and Kawachi (2015) have pointed out, literature on Social Capital is divided among those who consider it as a collective or those who consider it as an individual feature.

As Lin specifies (2000), the differentiation in these two conceptualizations of Social Capital depends on the focal point of the theories. When theories are centred on the community, Social Capital is explored according to the effort the group makes in order to create and exploit Social Capital as a collective resource and how such an effort influences the group or more broadly the society existence. When theories are centred on individuals, Social Capital is explored in terms of the individuals' exploitation of the resources produced by social networks.

In an attempt to integrate the individualistic and collectivistic perspectives, Woolcock (1998) conceptualized four dimensions of Social Capital, distinguished by

the level of *embeddedness* and *autonomy* from networks of participation both at a micro (individual) and macro (community) level:

- *Integration* refers to embeddedness at a micro level, this dimension concerns the tight ties that link individuals to their communities of belonging;

- *Synergy* refers instead to embeddedness at a macro level, concerning the link between an organization or a community and the society;

- *Linkages* is differently referred to autonomy at a micro level, for this reason it captures individuals' autonomy from their community of belonging and the link that they have with people that are not part of their groups;

- *Organizational Integrity* refers to the autonomy of an organization from others and it reflects the organizational effectiveness.

The major implications that derive from the differentiation between the collectivistic and the individual level of analysis, concern whether the resources produced by the networks must be considered accessible just for the group or the society or even for individuals.

According to the collectivistic perspective, the governance class exploits social capital in order to ease the achievement of the community goals. When strategies are designed in order to create collaborations within different social groups, the Social Capital developed fosters the community cultural, social and economic development. Several studies attest that the presence of reliable connections between and within social groups ease the flow of information that in turn make effective preventive programs in the sanitary field (Szreter & Woolcock, 2004; Kawachi, Kennedy & Glass, 1999) or in the disaster preparedness (Aldrich & Meyer, 2014). Nevertheless, from a collectivistic perspective, Social Capital can be exploited even to reinforce the power of a social group to the detriment of others. This is the result of a social fabric characterized by strong and trustworthy social relationships within groups followed

by weak and distrustful connections between groups (Colletta & Cullen, 2000). As Colletta and Cullen (2000) highlighted, when a group that manages the political life of a community, uses its political status to reinforce its power position it provokes social inequalities in terms of access to the community resources.

At an individual level, the same dynamics involve individuals who can benefit from the participation to social relationships through the attainment of social support and resources access or can suffer the isolation and exclusion from the financial, social and cultural resources.

The two different levels of analysis require different indicators. As Lochner, Kawachi and Kennedy (1999) have pointed out, following Putnam's seminal work (1993), when a collectivistic perspective is applied, features of Social Capital as civic participation, the presence of norms of reciprocity and mutual trust as a facilitator for cooperation must be identified. Differently, the individual perspective requires a specific attention to the networks the person is part of and the resources these networks produce in term of social support, information and services availability.

2.3.3. Social Capital: a Psychological Perspective

Up to this point, Social Capital has been investigated through a sociologic point of view. When looking at this construct specifically focusing on the dynamics that produce resourceful relationships among people or groups distinguished on the bases of the social identity category, it is possible to explore such a concept even through a social psychology point of view.

Within this field, studies have been carried out to investigate the identification and differentiation of the resources produced by horizontal relationships, where there's

no power imbalance between actors, and the ones produced by vertical relationships where such an imbalance exists.

Recalling Putnam distinction between the resourceful connections among people who belong to the same group and the ones that tie people that belong to different groups, two different kinds of Social Capital have been outlined: the *bonding* and the *bridging* Social Capital. The first refers to resourceful connections, in terms of trust and cooperation, among people who share a social identity, while the second addresses respectful and reciprocal relationships between people who do not share a social identity (Szreter & Woolcock, 2004). Both the types of Social Capital refer to horizontal relationships. Nevertheless, they capture different degrees of strength of social ties and different compositions of the networks.

Another type of Social Capital has been lately delineated with the function to highlight resourceful relationships among people or groups that occupy different positions in terms of power or status. This kind of Social Capital, called *linking* Social Capital, is therefore referred to vertical respectful social relationships (Szreter & Woolcock, 2004).

As the definitions of bonding, bridging and linking Social Capital highlight, the inter-play between the belonginess to a specific group and the differentiation from other groups gives life to social relationships characterized by different gradients of trustworthiness, mutuality and respect. These qualitatively different social connections produce in turn different kinds of values such as emotional and social support, access to information and services such as health care and education, and finally to resources such as job and housing.

As aforementioned, these material and non-material goods can be accessed and exploited both by individuals and by groups.

As the following paragraph highlights, and consistent with both the normative and psychological frameworks for social integration, within the migration field Social Capital has been investigated in order to identify and explore the social connections that are resourceful for newcomers' social integration.

In particular, productive relationships that tie newcomers with their communities of origin, the one of resettlement and with public institutions have been the object of these studies. Nevertheless, as highlighted hereunder, these studies start from the assumption of a fixed representation of identity. In other words, they take into account newcomers' solely belongingness to the community of origin or possibly to a social group of *immigrants* within the resettlement community.

2.3.4. Social Capital in migration studies

Recalling the aforementioned differentiation between bonding, bridging and linking Social Capital as Beirens, Hughes, Hek and Spicer (2007) sustained, in this research area, bonding relationships are generally referred to connections within people who share ethnic or religious identities, while bridging networks are instead related to relationships among people belonging to different ethnic or religious groups, and eventually, linking networks reflects instead newcomers' linkages with institutions and services.

Studies that outline the resourcefulness of bonding, bridging and linking networks for newcomers' social integration in resettlement communities will now be presented.

Bonding Social Capital

Through a research aimed at assessing refugees' Social Capital in Jordan, Calhoun (2010) found out that bonding relationships were the strongest connections participants were engaged in. As several researches have highlighted, bonding

relationships provide newcomers with emotional and material support that ease their resettlement path (Putnam 2000; Briggs, 2003; Calhoun 2010; Eriksson, Wimelius & Ghazinour, 2018; Cheung & Phillimore, 2013).

Dekker and Engbersen (2014) reasoned that, even before easing the social integration path, the contact with co-nationals already settled in the destination country provide those intending to leave their homeland with useful information in order to undertake the migratory journey and resettle in the same country.

Connections with co-nationals also allow newcomers to keep in touch and engage with their culture of origin; chances that fosters the feeling of being settled in the resettlement country (Ager & Strang, 2008).

These relationships also provide for a supportive network that is beneficial against isolation and promotes well-being (Beiser, 1993).

In addition, bonding networks also provide job opportunities (Cheung & Phillimore, 2013) and ease the start-up of entrepreneurial activities (Luthans, Norman & Jensen, 2007).

Whilst representing a source of social support and wellbeing, exclusionary bonding relationships may also threaten newcomers' establishment as they may encourage a separation strategy of psychological social integration (Cantle, 2005; Putnam, 2000). Nevertheless, recent researches show that bonding and bridging connections are not mutually exclusive (Eriksson, Wimelius & Ghazinour, 2018; Cheung & Phillimore, 2013).

Bridging Social Capital

Conversely, because bridging networks address the contact between newcomers and the majority of population, they are generally considered as fundamental in order to ease newcomers' establishment (Eriksson et al. 2018).

Ager and Strang (2008) found out that these networks can be characterized by a mere sense of friendliness or by a deeper engagement from both sides: new citizens and

the resettlement community. The first kind of bridging relationships has been linked to the feeling of being at home and consequently of being safe and secure. These feelings in turn improve newcomers' quality of life (Ager & Strang, 2008). Differently, consistent with Putnam's theorization, these authors suggest that deep bridging networks bring to social and economic improvements that are useful not just for newcomers but also for the whole resettlement community (Ager & Strang, 2008).

According to Calhoun (2010) bridging networks ease service and information access and protection (Calhoun, 2010).

Nevertheless, these networks are the hardest to be established (Calhoun, 2010; Eriksson et al. 2018). Literature reports stereotypes, prejudice, mutual distrust but also a perceived assimilation pressure as obstacles for the creation of bridging connections (Calhoun, 2010; Eriksson et al., 2018; Ní Raghallaigh, 2013).

Catalysts for the construction of these networks are instead language fluency and job. These are indeed mentioned as a tool to appear more reliable in the eyes of the majority people (Ager & Strang, 2008; Eriksson et al., 2018). Once achieved, bridging networks boost newcomers' resettlement by enlarging their social network, increasing the chance of employability, easing the services and information access and supporting the linking connections (Cheung & Phillimore, 2013; Eriksson et al., 2018). In this case, it seems that indicators, usually attributed to social integration such as employability, and language skills are not provided by but on the contrary provide bridging networks.

Lastly, according to Luthans and colleagues (2007) bridging networks ease newcomers' entrepreneurship by suppling information and service access.

Linking Social Capital

Eventually, linking social networks reflects newcomers' linkages with services and institutions. In western societies, linking networks represent the very first form of

Social Capital specifically refugees have access to in the resettlement country since, as soon as they receive the refugee status, they are inserted into a reception system aimed at fostering their establishment. When resourceful, these connections not only provide material support (housing and job opportunities) but also emotional support. In Eriksson and colleagues' research (2018) minor asylum seekers suggested that when motivated by a genuine interest towards them, professionals adopted parental functions. On the contrary, when respondents felt that professionals' job motivation was exclusively related to earning money, they felt rejected and unable to establish a trustful and reciprocal relationship with them. The authors suggested that these negative relationships could impact newcomers' establishment not only in terms of resources access but also because those linkages are the first relationships they establish when resettling: if negative they could increase distrust toward the resettlement population hindering the creation of bridging networks (Eriksson, et al. 2018).

As Ager and Strang (2008) highlighted, linking networks can be hampered by a lack of language mastery and by culturally specific value systems. This is particularly evident in the case of the health care system, whereby the different meanings attributed to physical and mental disorders increase the drop-out rate after the very first access, with a detrimental effect on newcomers' health (Morris, Popper, Rodwell, Brodine & Brouwer, 2009; McKeary & Newbold, 2010; Langlois, Haines, Tomson & Ghaffar, 2016).

2.3.5. Some critical considerations

The aforementioned studies testify that is not possible to study Social Capital without calling into question the dimensions of belonginess. Social belonging allows to access the resources developed within a group but also those developed through functional relationships with other groups.

Following the huge literature on Social Capital, this construct is here defined as the resourceful relationships that allow individuals, groups or communities, to achieve some goals. Social relationships become resourceful whether characterized by trust, respect and mutuality. The kind of resources that social relationships produce can be both material, such as economic income, housing placement, but also non-material, such as information access and an improved quality of life.

In accordance with Lin (2000), the author of the thesis believes that Social Capital can be explored according to different but not mutually exclusive perspectives. For instance, it is possible to study individuals' Social Capital while contemporaneously focusing also on the social resources that they produce for their group and community. In fact, it is this very wide perspective that allows to capture the dialectic between a person and his/her context and also the different experiences of belonginess a person can have within his/her community. To do so, it is fundamental to integrate the Social Identity Theory, that studies on Social Capital already apply, with the one of the Communities of Practice. Wenger's theory provides indeed with a comprehensive rationale to explore the resourceful dialectic between individuals and their contexts and also to identify and differentiate among the resources produced out of multiple belongings.

By so doing, it is also possible to avoid the bias that has been identified in the researches mentioned in the previous paragraphs. Indeed, besides the undeniable merit these studies have in outlining how newcomers' straining between their participation to the communities of origin and the one of resettlement ease their social integration path, they all arise from a critical assumption: newcomers' solely belonginess to the community of origin. The afore mentioned studies applied the Social Identity Theory without considering the dynamic nature of Social Identity that develops together the participation to different contexts and their communities.

This assumption is not without implications.

First of all, it gives for granted that a common origin corresponds to a shared belonginess. Nevertheless, studies on post-conflict areas disconfirm the universality of such a premise. In particular, Colletta and Cullen (2000) investigated the Social Capital deployment in Rwanda and Cambodia in the aftermath of the civil war. The authors found out that in both cases the occurrence of the conflict was related to the presence of weak horizontal networks and vertical relationships organized only by the attempt to retain elite's power, condition that provoked social inequalities and exclusion among civilians. In both situations, Social Capital, in its linking form, had been then exploited by the government class in order to exacerbate the already unstable bridging networks and to maintain a firm control over the population. Nevertheless, not only bridging networks had been affected by the civil conflict but also the bonding ones, producing mistrust and undermining values related to cooperation and reciprocity.

This study outlines that a common country of origin is not sufficient for the development of a shared Social Identity. Studies on newcomers' Social Capital have not taken into consideration this condition even though the majority of them have been carried out within refugee populations.

By definition, refugees and asylum seekers, leave their countries because of "well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion" (UNHCR, 1951 available at http://www.unhcr.org/1951-refugee-convention.html visited on July 2018). It might be wondered whether, within these populations, the same group distinctions and dynamics occurred in the country of origin are reproduced also in the resettlement country thus impairing the chance to take advantage of social connections with co-nationals.

Nevertheless, in Europe refugees benefit from institutionalized pathways which aim at providing them with basic needs in order to ease their resettlement process. As

aforementioned, Eriksson and colleagues' study (2018) have highlighted that the relational quality of linking networks also mediates the establishment of the following bridging one. Therefore, the attribution of the social category of "refugee" provides these populations with a specific form of Social Capital to exploit in the resettlement country.

Differently, newcomers, who resettle for reasons that differ from humanitarian protection, may instead undergo through a complementary process that bring them to take advantage of bonding connections. This is because, differently from refugees, they cannot benefit from a customized path for social integration, condition that may push them to refer to some other kind of social connections in order to start their establishment in the resettlement country. Although even in this case the definition of bonding connections needs to be more accurate than being simply referred to the national belonging.

Overall, these first two considerations suggest that within the migration field the national belonging does not always accurately reflect newcomers' belonging experience. Furthermore, some other Social Identity categories needs to be accurately explored in order to identify the specific resources they produce for newcomers. A social identity that is defined by the motivation of resettlement does not necessarily reflect newcomers' experience either. Nevertheless, these kind of identification categories reflect the way the resettlement community identify newcomers. Indeed, as the Community of Practice theory outlines, Identity is the result of a negotiation among the individual and the context. For this very reason, also these kind of Identity categories should be taken into consideration in order to have a whole comprehension of newcomers' identity experiences and the way they drive their participation to the resettlement community.

Beside the lack of studies in the Social Capital arena, also the resettlement community offers an Identity category for newcomers' to identify with. Studies on newcomers' Social Capital did not take into account what theories on ethnic identity postulated already in the 1990s, or rather that new citizens can identify with both the community of origin and the one of resettlement. Even though some of them underline that bridging networks produce a sense of belonging to the resettlement community (Ager & Strang, 2008) they do not treat such a sense of belonging as an identification process.

Though this may seem to be subtle, it hinders the chance to recognize an important function that new citizens may have with regards to the cultural and social development of the resettlement country.

To recall Wenger's theory (1998), new citizens who recognize themselves and are recognized as effective members of the resettlement community have passed from a peripherical to a central position within the same community (see Fig. 2.3). For this very reason they act as *brokers* (Wenger, 1998) between at least two communities: the origin community (whatever it may be for them) and the resettlement community. Due to their peculiar position, new citizens may therefore take advantage of the trustworthy relationships they have built with both their community of origin and the one of resettlement in order ease the bridging social connections between natives and newcomers. As already mentioned, these are indeed the hardest connections to be established because of mutual distrust, prejudice and discrimination (Eriksson et al., 2018; Ragahallaigh, 2013).

Fig. 2.3

Newcomers' transition from a periphericul to a central position within the resettlement community.
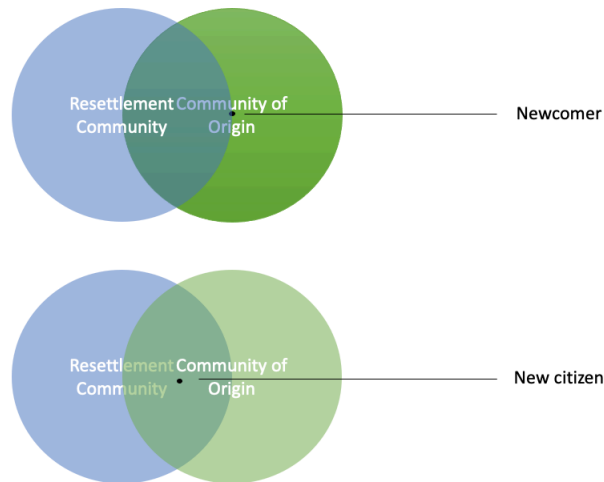
As Ager and Strang (2008) underline, bridging social connections benefits indeed not just newcomers, as they report an improvement of the quality of life associated to this kind of social relationships, but also the resettlement community as a whole. A cohesive society sees in fact all its components engaged in its social, economic and cultural development.

To conclude, the integration of the Community of Practice theory to the study of Social Capital opens to new investigation possibilities that improve the level of comprehension of the social integration phenomenon. By considering the multiple experiences of newcomers' social belonging it is possible to explore also the kind of resources they produce for their resettlement. In addition, by recognizing the chance for newcomers to become effective and recognized members of the resettlement community it is possible to identify also their specific role within the community and the resources they provide for its development.

Part II

The second part of the thesis presents a research contribution aimed at exploring the social capital developed by Social Enterprises with Migratory Background (SEMBs) to promote the creation of integrated local communities in Italy, or rather communities whereby old and new members cooperate in order to foster the community development.

Social Enterprises with Migratory Background are here defined as non-profit organizations founded by people with migratory background that have the mission to foster social integration in local communities. As Defourny and Nyssens (2008) pointed out, the term Social Enterprise describes a wide range of organizations that move along a continuum that goes from the profit to the non-profit sector. What all these different kinds of organizations have in common though, is the pursue of social impact (Galera & Borzaga, 2009).

The concept of Social Enterprise born in Italy in 1991 to address the so-called *social cooperatives*, private organizations with a variable capital that address community interests. It is interesting to note that the inception of this concept started here in Italy. Lately, several European countries delivered programs in order to ease the spread of this kind of organizations, and, as a result the term hybridized (Defourny & Nyssens, 2008). In particular, what changes among the different definitions of Social Enterprise adopted in Europe is the source of funds that can originate from "sales or fees from users with public subsidies linked to their social mission and private donations and/or volunteering" (Defourny & Nyssens, 2008, p. 5). Differently from a North American tradition of social enterprises whereby the social scope is coupled with a clear market orientation and income strategies, European social enterprises take the form of cooperatives or associations (Defourny & Nyssens, 2008).

Consistent with this notion, the research has involved eight associations of social and cultural promotion.

The research is divided into two studies.

The first one is a qualitative study aimed at exploring the Social Capital that sustained the social integration path of founders and active members of eight SEMBs placed all over Italy.

The second study, that is characterized by a mixed method approach, goes into the details of two SEMBs and has explored the processes behind the creation and management of the enterprises' activities and their impact in newcomers' social integration. In particular, aim of this case-study is to compare two different strategies for newcomers' social integration and the of effect of them.

The two studies are introduced by a brief report of the contextual background that describe a brand-new interest toward the role that SEMBs play in fostering newcomers' social integration. In addition, a theoretical positioning within a branch of psychological studies that explore human resources that foster contextual adjustment is outlined together with the description of the methodological approach adopted to carry out the research.

3.   Research Positioning

As parts of this same research, the two studies arise from the same contextual and theoretical frameworks and have been carried out thorough the same methodological approach. Chapter 3 is therefore aimed at positioning the research within the contextual and theoretical backgrounds of reference as well as introducing the methodological approach that has driven the data collection. Chapters 4 and 5 delve into the details of the two studies carried out and they specify how the general approach described in this first chapter has been adapted according to the studies' specific aims.

3.1.   Context of research

In Italy as much as in other western countries, social integration policies are part of public services that are specifically aimed at fostering newcomers' social integration within the local communities. As discussed in Part I, social integration is a two way-process that involves both newcomers and the resettlement country. While working on the preconditions for the creation of integrated communities, whereby cultural diversities are conceived as a resource for the community social and cultural development, actions are also required in order to provide newcomers with the basics to conduce their life in their new community. For this very reason, the Italian Immigration Unique Text (see paragraph 1.2) foresees the implementation of public services aimed at easing language acquisition, job and housing placement, access to the education and the health care systems. All these services therefore view newcomers as beneficiaries.

Within the Service Design discipline, it is well acknowledged that the customer involvement within the process of design, creation, implementation and evaluation

of a service is valuable in order to carry out effective services (Storey & Larbig, 2018). Customer' awareness of the needs the service aims to answer, and of the effectiveness of the strategies adopted by the service providers, allows indeed to better focus the problem and its resolutions.

In the last years examples of a process of recognition of new citizens as reliable interlocutors for the improvement of the reception system can be tracked.
The constitution of the Global Refugee Forum within the Global Compact on Refugees lead by UNHCR (https://www.unhcr.org/global-refugee-forum.html) and the involvement of immigrant and refugee-led associations and diasporas in programs aimed at fostering newcomers' social integration, fall within such an approach. These initiatives arise from the assumption that new citizens' direct experience about the effectiveness of the social integration strategies constitute a wealth of knowledge that is valuable in order to strengthen the efficacy of social integration programs within the resettlement countries.

Nevertheless, these initiatives are worth exploring also because they sustain new citizens to turn first-hand experiences of social integration into professional competences. As Mair and Noboa (2003) underlined, the exposition to social issue is the trigger condition that brings people to start up social enterprises. In the case of SEMB that deal with newcomers' social integration, founders make a capital out of the internal and relational resources that fosters their own social integration, in order to ease the same path that people arriving after them will inevitably cross. The experiential knowledge developed through newcomers' own inclusion process in the resettlement community is therefore transformed into a personal resource, as it drives a professional development, as well as into a collective resource, as it supports the constitution of integrated communities.

Against a branch of studies that sees migration merely as a pathologizing condition without recognizing the resources that it can also activate not just for newcomers but also for the resettlement community, the following chapters present a research contribution that give an account of the factors that led newcomers to become central members with brokering functions within resettlement community (Wenger, 1998).

Without neglecting the difficulties that the process of displacement brings along, that frequently come in addition to the experience of adversities also in the countries of origin, this research is therefore framed within a psychological perspective aimed at exploring the human resources that foster contextual adjustment.

3.2. Theoretical perspective

Founded by Seligman and Csikszentmihalyi in 2000, Positive Psychology is a theoretical approach interested at exploring the development of human inner strengths. As the authors outlined, in order to meet the mental health needs after the second World War, the psychological discipline had developed strictly around pathology. As a consequence, though, such a focus fostered also a victimization of the human being that became represented as a powerless observer of external events.

The aim of Positive Psychology is therefore to combine the investigation and intervention on psychological disorders with an exploration and consolidation of psychological strengths (Seligman, 2002). For this reason, Seligman introduced a new perspective that investigates human resources and virtues at a subjective, individual and community level.

Similarly, also studies in the migratory field have developed around a pathological model that accounts for the negative impact that events related to the migratory journey and resettlement have on new citizens' mental health (Cobb et al., 2019). Nevertheless, several renowned clinical studies demonstrate that people, who witnessed adverse events and life conditions, rely on inner and relational resources in order to face, adjust and overcome adversities. The constructs of Resilience (Southwick et al., 2014), Posttraumatic Growth (Tedeschi & Calhoun, 2004) and Adversity Activated Development (Papadopoulos, 2007) capture adjustment trajectories following the experience of negative events.

Consistent with this, Cobb and colleagues (2019) propose the development of a Positive Psychology of Immigrants approach that integrate the analysis of the traumatic impact of adversities with an exploration of the relational and inner resources that people, fleeing their homelands to resettle in different places, develop in order to adapt to the new context.

The authors reason that several factors such as "national conditions of pre- and postmigration societies, acculturation processes, community contexts, family contexts, cultural values, and character strengths" (Cobb et al. 2019, p. 621) impact newcomers' strategies of adjustment to the migratory and social integration process. The authors highlight that the resources that foster successful social integration paths are therefore in the interaction among contextual, relational and newcomers' personal characteristics.

As previously argued, the construct of Social Capital describes resourceful social relationships. Although it developed more than a century before Positive Psychology, Social Capital is kindred to Seligman's approach as it investigates resources that human beings produce when engaged in valuable relationships.

As described in Part I, throughout the years several definitions of Social Capital have been conceptualized. For the purpose of this research, the distinction between an individual and a collective definition of the construct is recalled as well as the distinction between the three different form of Bonding, Bridging and Linking Social Capital (see paragraphs 2.3.2. and 2.3.3.).

Several studies in the migration field have attested the different roles played by Bonding, Bridging and Linking Social Capital in the purpose of promoting newcomers' social integration (see paragraph 2.3.4.).

As already stressed, though, the chance to take advantage of relational resources is linked with social dynamics that have involved newcomers in their countries of origin and the ones that involve them in the resettlement country, conditions that are poorly investigated in literature.

In addition, these studies are strictly focused on the achievement of the markers of social integration, and do not investigate whether the involvement in social relationships produces resources even in terms of acculturation strategies (see paragraph 2.1.1. and 2.1.2.) and civic engagement.

Inscribed within the framework of Positive Psychology, the present research is therefore aimed at contributing to the Social Capital literature in the migration field by fulfilling the gaps highlighted.

The research accounts indeed for the role that Social Capital plays in fostering a transition from newcomers' social integration to their active involvement in the construction of integrated communities.

3.3. Research methodology

In order to effectively address the research, an ethnographic approach has been adopted. Aim of ethnography is to "represent otherness in such a way that "we" who are outside a relevant situation, can imagine what it is like to be in it" (Shweder, 1996, pp. 18). Ethnography is a qualitative methodological approach developed within the anthropological studies. This methodology was indeed developed in order to study customs and traditions of non-western societies; lately other social sciences adopted and adapted ethnography in order to investigate daily activities and phenomena within specific organizations (Zucchermaglio, Alby, Fatigante & Saglietti, 2013).

Hallmark of ethnography is the relevance that this methodology gives to the context whereby the phenomenon object of the investigation takes place. Such a specificity allows to capture not just the phenomenon development but also the interpretation systems that people involved in its deployment use to significate it (Grudin & Grinter, 1995; Kuniavsky, 2003). Products of the ethnographic investigations are indeed *thick descriptions* (Geertz, 1973) of phenomena that occur within a specific context.

Differently from methodological perspectives that tend to objectivity, ethnography values the researcher's position within the investigation process. Ethnography strongly relies on the situated nature of knowledge: through the field research, the researcher and participants co-construct knowledge within a dialectic process. The researcher is therefore actively engaged in the construction of knowledge through the participant observation and reflexivity (Dourish, 2006; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). The first one refers to the researchers' direct involvement in the context and practices under investigation; the second refers instead to a practice of reflection

"over the knowledge that the researcher has produced and the way it has been generated" (Zucchermaglio et al., 2013, p. 36).

Instead of providing generalized descriptions, ethnography aims to reach situated descriptions of specific phenomena, for this very reason, the subjects of ethnographic investigations are chosen accordingly to their uniqueness.

Finally, the ethnographic approach is made of a multiplicity of investigation tools such as field notes, interviews, pictures, through which it is possible to explore and describe social actors' point of view and the meaning systems used to interpret specific events (Zucchermaglio et al., 2013).

3.3.1. Research design and SEMB involvement

To design the present research, a preliminary and extensive literature review has been carried out in order to frame it within the contextual, theoretical and methodological framework introduced in chapter 1, 2 and 3.

The literature review has been submitted and approved by the PhD council at the end of the first year of the PhD course.

The literature review brought to the design of the essential structure of the research design. Being a situated research, it was further enriched with details throughout the data collection in the fieldwork (Zucchermaglio et al., 2003). Furthermore, the research was designed and carried out under the supervision of two professors at the Department of Social and Developmental Psychology and the Department of Dynamic and Clinical Psychology of Sapienza University of Rome.

Once defined the research aim, methodology and instruments for data collection, the research design has been presented and approved by the PhD council and the ethical committee at the beginning of the second year.

Afterward the research has been negotiated with founders of the SEMB[1].

The researcher met the very first SEMB included in the research, Creating Connections, in a National Summit that took place in Milan in December 2018 aimed at grouping all the ethnic communities and SEMB working in Italy in order to define coordinated actions to carry out effective international cooperation projects as well as social integration programs in Italy. In that occasion, the researcher met one of the founders of the SEMB under consideration and negotiated the research implementation and field access.

The second SEMB, JOIN, was encountered in a Regional meeting of the above-mentioned National Summit that took place in Rome in February 2019. Interestingly, one of the founders of Creating Connections introduced the researcher to the founder of JOIN.

Other three SEMB, Bridges, Juntos and WithRome, were instead identified through a review of an Italian national database of registered community associations working with newcomers, filtered to only include organizations with a majority migrant (non-Italian) membership base. The list of organizations was further limited to include only those with available contact information, either an email address included on the national database or an active website or social media presence with contact information. An email was sent to the remaining organizations wherein a short description of the research project and an invitation to discuss further by phone was extended.

Once an initial group of participants was identified and interviewed, other four associations, Association for Pakistan, Teranga, Africa in Lazio, For Africa, meeting the sample criteria, were identified by word-of-mouth and social networks.

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[1] The associations names have been modified to protect participants' anonymity

The SEMB included come from across Italy. Creating Connections operates predominantly in the city of Turin and aims to provide material and legal support to newcomers while also conducting educational programs focused on local and national history and culture. JOIN is a multiethnic network of refugees throughout Italy focused on political advocacy and human rights. Other four associations operate only within a defined region of Italy – two in Sicily, Teranga and For Africa, one in south Lazio, Africa in Lazio, and one in Piemonte, Association for Pakistan – and provide informational and material support to a selected group of newcomers: from African countries, the firsts three, and from Pakistan the fourth one. Juntos operates in Rome and provides with informational and material support to newcomers without a specific country of origin. Lastly, WithRome operates in Rome and provide with educational programs addressed to newcomers, new citizens and autochthons aimed at fostering social cohesion through the intercultural contact.

While all the SEMB participated to Study 1, just two of them, Creating Connections and Juntos, were selected to participate to Study 2.

4. Study 1 – From newcomers to new citizens: the relational and inner resources that foster social integration

Given the literature review explored in Part I, with regards to newcomers, social integration is here defined as a complex process that combines the contextual possibilities and demands of the resettlement country with a newcomers' willing stance to get involved in the culture of the resettlement country while maintaining a commitment also toward the culture of the country of origin.

When approaching the theme of social integration, the first consideration that needs to be done is that undertaking and achieving such a central position within the resettlement community is possible whether the resettlement country is characterized by a *multiculturalist* society that is sensitive to and values cultural diversity and intercultural contacts (Berry, 2001).

According to Ager and Strang (2008) another precondition for newcomers' social integration is the obtainment of *rights* and *citizenship* that allow them to start a new life in their new community.

Consistent with a normative perspective, social integration is therefore the result of the achievement of four objectives: *housing*, *employment*, *access to the educational and health care systems* (Ager & Strang, 2008). Within such a frame, some factors such as the *language* and *cultural knowledge* and a *sense of safety* and *stability* intervene as facilitators. Nevertheless, the achievement of the four markers is enhanced also by the by the presence of a supportive network that comprehends the communities of origin and the resettlement ones and also the government institutions (see paragraph 2.1.1).

Literature addresses these virtuous connections as Social Capital (for an extensive and detailed review of the construct see paragraph 2.3).

The most common forms of Social Capital that newcomers make use of are the bonding and the linking one. The first address resourceful connections that tie newcomers with their communities of origin. Whether not exclusionary, these relationships provide newcomers with an emotional and material support that ease the resettlement processes (Eriksson et al. 2018; Beirens et al. 2007; Calhoun 2010; Cheung & Phillimore, 2013; Dekker & Engbersen, 2014). Linking networks refer instead to the supportive network that tie newcomers with local and national institutions. This network is particularly resourceful for holders of international protection as, especially in Western Countries, they are frequently included in customized paths for social integration that provide them with an eased achievement of the four markers for social integration (Eriksson et al., 2018). In addition, Eriksson and colleagues' study demonstrates that the quality of linking network impacts over the constitution of relationships with the autochthons. These constitute bridging networks and the capital they provide for is mostly related to newcomers' quality of life. Bridging relationships provide a sense of security and stability and a feeling of being at home (Ager & Strang, 2008). Bridging connections are eased by language and cultural acquisition and job placement (Ager & Strang, 2008; Eriksson et al., 2018); nevertheless, they are frequently hindered by mutual distrust and prejudice (Eriksson et al. 2018; Ní Raghallaigh, 2013).

Another reason why bridging relationships are fundamental for social integration, is that they keep newcomers in contact with the culture of the resettlement country. To say it as Berry (1997) does, these social relationships ease an acculturation process both for autochthonous and for newcomers that, whether respectful for cultural diversity, foster social integration even from a psychological point of view. With regards to newcomers, bridging relationships foster the development of a sense of

belonging to the resettlement community and also their central position within the resettlement community (Wenger, 1998).

4.1. Methodology

4.1.1. Research Questions

As previously mentioned, the aim of this first exploratory study is to investigate the Social Capital that the SEM founders exploited and developed in order to get integrated within the resettlement community.

Consistent with this and with the literature review, the following Research Question (RQ) drove the data collection:

RQ1: What kind of social dynamics characterized participants' countries of origin?

RQ2: What kind of resources fostered participants' integration within the resettlement community?

RQ3: Is there any relationship between participants' stay permit and the Social Capital they exploited and developed in order to get integrated?

RQ4: Is there a relationship between participants' involvement in bridging social relationships and the development of a sense of belonginess to the resettlement country? If so, how does this relationship impact on newcomers' social integration?

4.1.2. Participants

A total of 33 participants were involved in Study 1. The group included: 22 first generation participants with protected migration status (refugee, subsidiary protection or unaccompanied minors) and with stay permits related to work activities, as well as 11 second generation participants who received their parents' stay permit. Among the second-generation participants, nine were born in their countries of origin and arrived in Italy in their infancy, while just two were born in Italy. The term *second generation* refers indeed not just to people born in the resettlement country with foreign-born parents, but also to people who arrived in the resettlement country in their early infancy as a result of their parents' choice. What distinguishes first and second-generation people with migratory background is indeed the willingness to displace even under condition of forcibly displacement.

Participants ranged in age from twenty to sixty-six and those who were not born in Italy had been living in the Country between twenty months and twenty-nine years.

Participants countries of origin are spread all over the world: Eastern Europe, North Africa, Sub-Saharan Africa, Middle East, South America, South Asia. Complete participant demographic data is included in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1

Participants

Tot	33	
Gender	F=14 M=19	
Age	M=36.6 SD=10.71	
Regions of origin	Eastern Europe (Romania, Serbia) North Africa (Algeria) Sub-saharian Africa (Somalia, Sudan, Camerun, Eritrea, Mali, Guinea, Senegal, Ghana) Middle East (Turkey) South America (Ecuador, Perù, Brasil) South Asia (Afghanistan, Pakistan, Bangladesh, India)	
Stay permit	Refugees	12
	Unaccompanied Minors	2
	Asylum seekers	3
	Subsidiary	2
	Work permit	4
	Parents' stay permit	5
Italian citizenship	From the arrival/birth	5
	Acquired	8
Generation	I generation	22
	II generation	11
Years in Italy	M=17.1 SD=10.76	

Participants held roles as founders or active members of eight different SEMB. As such, participants were considered new citizens because they all achieved the four markers of social integration described by Ager and Strang (2008) and founded or participated in social enterprises that foster local communities' development.

Participation to the study was voluntary and no compensation was received. An informed consent form was reviewed with and signed by each participant prior to participating to the study. The informed consent form described research objectives and methods as well as procedures for the collection, storage, and use of data. It also detailed compliance with university ethical standards and national law governing privacy and the collection of personal data. Participants were informed that they had the possibility to withdraw from the study at any time, during the interview or after, as well as to request and review their interview transcript.

4.1.3. Data collection

Data have been collected by a research team made of the PhD researcher and two masters' students in Dynamic and Clinical Psychology.

The research procedure involved interviews and survey.

Consistent with the exploratory nature of this first study and with the ethnographic approach, narrative interviews were identified as the most appropriate research tool to capture the complexity of participants' experience. Narrative interviews are particularly effective in "revealing how people see their own experiences, their own lives, and their interactions with others" as well as their "deepest feelings and values, and the direction of human development" (Atkinson, 1998, pp. 74-6). Particularly relevant for the methodology adopted is the utility of narrative interviews to capture a participant's point of view and the meaning systems to which they refer in order to make sense of specific life events (Atkinson, 1998, p. 1). This methodological choice aligns with studies undertaken with similar populations and research objectives, in which in-depth narrative interviews are identified as the best way for participants to communicate freely in their own style and at their own pace (Abraham et al., 2018).

The semi-structured interviews were divided into three parts. In the first part, participants were asked to talk to the interviewer about themselves, an open-ended question with responses ranging from a simple introduction of their name and demographic details to detailed life story narratives. This first part was aimed at identifying the identity categories that participants used to described themselves within the study.

The second part focused on country of origin, investigating social and historical context at the time of migration. Goal of this second part was instead to identify participants' belonging experiences in the country of origin. In addition, this part

was also aimed at collecting data that allowed to track a continuity among the social dynamics with co-nationals in the country of origin and those in the resettlement country.

The third part addressed arrival and establishment in Italy, including language acquisition, work, shelter, social networks, and a series of questions about the participant's self-perception of cultural integration. This final part of the interview was aimed at collecting data about participants' integration trajectories within the resettlement community, the achievement of a self-sufficient position, the development of a sense of belonginess, and the resourceful connections that fostered these two processes.

The complete interview framework is included in [Appendix 2](#).

In line with similar qualitative studies with newcomer populations in Europe (Eriksson et al., 2019; Lee & Brotman 2011), the interview intentionally did not raise specific questions about sensitive themes such as the challenges during transit or establishment in Italy. Newcomers are frequently called upon to recount difficult details of their past during official proceedings for immigration status, which can result stressful. Additionally, from a methodological standpoint, the decision was also aligned with the researcher' goal of creating a comfortable setting for the narrative interview to encourage participants to recount their current activities in Italy in rich detail. Interviewers emphasized that participants could interrupt the process at any time.

The survey is instead aimed at identifying the bonding, bridging and linking social relationships that have been particularly useful for participants' social integration. The survey therefore aims at building the structural organization of the Social Capital participants relied on during their social integration path. Consistent with this, the survey was created in order to perform a Social Network Analysis, a method

of enquiry that explore the net of relationships that involves social actors and provides them with both opportunities or constraints (Borgatti & Ofem, 2010). Differently from traditional social science perspectives, that study human behavior according to individual attributes, the network perspective "is strongly focused on an entity's environment, which is conceptualized as consisting of other entities and the relationships between them" (Borgatti & Ofem, 2010, p.18). The entity's environment, or network is composed of nodes, that represent the social actors, and ties, the relationship that connects two or more nodes.

The Social Network Analysis foresees two methodologies to investigate the entities' environment: the *whole network* and the *ego network* strategies (Borgatti & Ofem, 2010; Borgatti, Jones & Everett, 1998). The first approach explores the network structure within a given context. The second strategy is focused on the environment of some focal nodes. For the purpose of this study the *ego network* strategy has been selected as the most appropriate to address the research questions.

In line with the indications provided by the theorists of such a methodological approach (Borgatti & Ofem, 2010; Borgatti, Jones & Everett, 1998) and studies carried out within the same field (Leung, Chin & Petrescu-Prahova, 2016; Lee, Lee, Kim & Jang, 2013) the survey has been organized as follows. Consistent with Ager and Strang' s markers for social integration, participants were asked to list the name of people that have helped them to: find a job, find a house, get oriented within the health care and educational system in Italy. Afterwards, participants were asked to provide some information about people they mentioned such as: gender, age, birthplace, occupation, religion. In particular the birthplace is the information that allows to identify participants' bonding and bridging networks. Lastly respondents specified whether these people were: acquaintances, family members, friends, colleagues and people working in institution, information that accounts for participants' linking networks. The survey, similarly to the interviews, was

administrated by members of the research team. The survey text is included in [Appendix 4](#).

According to the procedure and in line with literature (Lee, 2014), first in-dept interview was conducted and subsequently the survey was administered. This procedure was adhered to in order to identify from the interviews suitable connections that could be included in the survey.

Before collecting the research data, the procedure was tested with three foreign-born students. Two of them were master's student in psychology and economics coming from Cameroon and the other was a PhD applicant in social psychology coming from Malta. Once refined, the research procedure was administered to participants. The interviews and the survey were administered in Italian, lasted an average of 75 minutes, and were audio recorded. Each interview was assigned an alphanumeric code (i.e. DAC001) to guarantee the participant's anonymity. Interviews were transcribed by the three-person research team and were an average of 16 pages, ranging from 6 to 25 pages in length.

Twenty interviews and survey were performed face-to-face, with thirteen requiring the use of an Internet video call platform due to the distance.

4.1.4. Data analysis

4.1.4.1. Interviews analysis

Qualitative interview data was coded using thematic analysis to identify patterns found in the interviews shared across participants. Thematic analysis is a useful tool to recognize, encode, and interpret themes in large amounts of qualitative data; it is both a way of seeing and a way of analyzing (Boyatzis, 1998). It is flexible research tool that yields rich, detailed, and complex accounts of data (Braun & Clarke, 2006)

and has been applied in qualitative studies of newcomers in similar contexts (Eriksson et al., 2018).

Before beginning to officially analyze and code the data, the team read three transcribed interviews and met to confirm an initial set of analytical themes and corresponding definitions. These themes were then compared to initial notes on interview themes presented by the PhD researcher as a result of observations made conducting and transcribing early interviews.

Data analysis was initially performed through a *theoretical* thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). A first analysis of the interview was conducted wherein the definitions of Social Capital and Social Identity were applied to extrapolate from the interviews the excerpts that better address these two constructs. Social Capital and Social Identity constitute therefore the first two analytical categories emerged from this very analysis.

Then, a second analysis was performed to differentiate between the three forms of Social Capital - Bonding, Bridging and Linking - and six different categories of Social Identity that participants mentioned during the interview. The three types of Social Capital and the six categories of Social Identity constitute the first level of subthemes in the thematical map.

The thematic map that emerged from this first theoretical approach is shown in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2

Study 1 – Map from the Theoretical Thematic Analysis

Analytical category	Sub-Themes
Social Capital	Bonding
	Bridging
	Linking
Social Identity	Country of origin
	Resettlement country
	Mix
	Religious
	Migratory background
	Activist

An *inductive* or bottom-up thematic analysis was also applied in order to identify some other relevant analytical categories that, without being expected from the research team, could nonetheless better address the research questions. Applying a *semantic* approach another analytical category emerged from this analysis: Self-Efficacy. This category comprehends excerpts that refer to Bandura's definition of Self-Efficacy as "people's beliefs about their capabilities to provide designated levels of performance that exercise influence over events that affect their lives" (Bandura, 1977, p.1).

Also in this case, a second analysis was performed in order to better refine the analytical category. As Table 4.3 shows, three sub-themes were identified.

Table 4.3

Study 1 – Map from the Inductive Thematic Analysis

Analytical category	Sub-Themes
Self-Efficacy	Awareness internal resources
	Agentivity
	Relational Agentivity

Table 4.4 shows the final thematic map that includes the categories from both the theoretical and the bottom-up approach.

Table 4.4

Study 1 – Final Thematic Map

Analytical category	Sub-Themes
Social Capital	Bonding
	Bridging
	Linking
Social Identity	Country of origin
	Resettlement country
	Mix
	Religious
	Migratory background
	Activist
Self-Efficacy	Awareness internal resources
	Agentivity
	Relational Agentivity

The team met to compile findings periodically, discussing 2 to 3 interviews each meeting, resulting in a master file of interview extracts organized by analytical themes. The extracts were color coded to indicate which researcher identified each extract and track instances when two or more researchers agreed on the classification in an effort to understand interrater reliability and reduce individual bias. Cases of disagreement were discussed between the research team.

During each group encounter, the team refined analytical categories to more accurately reflect their expression in the sample. Data analysis was completed between November 2019 and May 2020.

4.1.4.2. Survey analysis

As above mentioned, the survey has been analyzed through the ego-network approach of the Social Network Analysis. The ego-network approach allows indeed

to analyze the structural Social Capital of focal nodes that in this study are represented by participants. Within each ego-network the focal node is called *ego* and the nodes to whom the ego is directly connected are called *alters*.

Each participants' ego-network contains people who have helped the specific ego to get integrated. In particular each ego-network includes people that have helped egos to find a house and a job and to get oriented among the education and health care systems.

In order to perform the ego-network analysis, the survey raw data has been coded and entered in two file excels. The first excel file contains the *ego* and *alters* attributes or rather information related to their gender, age, birthplace, occupation and religion. The second excel file contains the adjacency matrix whereby the presence or absence of a tie among the *ego* and its *alters* was reported. For each participant, five adjancency matrices have been created. The first one includes the whole ego-network. The others four are instead related to each marker of social integration: housing, job, education, health.

The Software UCINET has been adopted to perform the Social Network Analysis.

Borgatti, Jones and Everett (1998) identify some ego-network measures that are related to Social Capital. For the purpose of the study four measures have been taken into consideration:

– *Size degree* that refers to the number of *alters* an ego is directly connected to. The highest the number the greater the chance an ego has to gain the resources needed. The size degree index has been retrieved from participants' whole ego-network.

– *Homophily* that represents an ego's tendency to tie with alters with similar characteristics, eg. country of origin. The index *Yule's Q* is a measure of homophily that ranges from -1 for perfect heterophily to 1 for perfect

homophily. Such an index allows therefore to highlight participants' tendency to tie bonding or bridging connections. A Yule's Q index has been measured for each of the four social integration markers: housing, job, education health. In other words, the Yule's Q has been computed in order to capture participants' tendency to rely on people of their same country of origin or on people from the resettlement country to find a house and a job and to get oriented within the education and health care system.

- *Compositional quality* that reflects the number of alters in an ego's network with needed characteristic such as a power position. This measure therefore allows to retrieve the linking connections participants relied on during their social integration path. To calculate the compositional quality, the alters that worked in the Italian institutions have been selected from the survey. To measure such an index a proportion has been done. Within every ego-network the number of alters that worked in the institutions has been divided per the total number of alters of that same ego-network. The compositional quality index has been retrieved from participants' whole ego-network. The index goes from 0 to 1 with 1 indicating that a whole ego-network is made of alters working in the institutions.

4.2. Results

Even if inter-connected, the results of the thematic and social network analysis will be presented separately. The correspondences between the two different analysis will be discussed in the Discussion paragraph.

4.2.1. Thematic Analysis Results

The results of the thematic analysis will now be presented through an in-depth description of the analytical categories and their themes. As the analytical theme

description will show, there is an intersection among sub-themes, meaning that some of them connect the analytical categories, as in the case of the subtheme *Bridging Social Capital in the Resettlement Country* that links together *Social Capital*, *Social Identity* and *Self-Efficacy*.

Each theme described will be exemplified by the most representative excerpts. The excerpts will be followed by three codes, e.g.: Interview33 – InterviewerC - APP003. The first one, *Interview33*, refers to the number of the interview so that the respondent into account is the thirty-third to be interviewed. The second code, *InterviewerC*, indicates instead the interviewer, in this case, the initial C refers to the PhD candidate Camilla Modesti. The third code, *APP003*, is the alphanumeric code that identifies the respondent. In addition, all the excerpts will be introduced by a number that indicated the row of the interview whereby the excerpt is placed.

The connection among the analytical categories and the research questions will be highlighted and discussed in the Discussion paragraph.

4.2.1.1. Social Capital

As already mentioned, the analytical category of Social Capital is the result of a theory-driven analytical approach of the thematic analysis. This category describes the social dynamics participants were involved in and the resources that they produced for social integration. During the analytical process the bonding, bridging and linking Social Capital were differentiated in order to highlight the different role played by the different social relationships.
Since some of the social dynamics that involved participants in the resettlement country were explained by the configuration of social connections in the country of origin, the results related to both contexts will be presented.

Social Capital in the countries of origin

The results showed in this paragraph refer to the analysis of the second part of the interview, the one devoted to the narration of participants' countries of origin. To recall Putnam (1993), what distinguishes between bonding and bridging Social Capital is whether or not a social identity is shared. With this regard, the social identity categories that shaped the social relationships in participants' countries of origin were several. Bonding and bridging social connections in the context of participants' countries of origin were indeed differentiated by the belonginess to different ethnic groups, political parties, religious faiths, social classes and last but not least territorial origins.

Bonding Social Capital

In general bonding networks were described as trustworthy, reliable and source of social and emotional support.

The following excerpt is from the interview of a twenty-five-year-old male from Guinea who arrived in Italy in 2017 and is applying for asylum.

> EXCERPT 1
>
> 23. *Out there everyone lives in harmony within the family and we do everything together, no one does anything by his or her own. We have, let's say, social relationships, for example we help each other because when you are in trouble you get help and when there's the chance you can help people in trouble.*
> [Interview29 – InterviewerC - DAC003]

In extract 1 the participant describes bonding networks based on ethnicity. In particular, the social support function of bonding networks is identifiable. The man

describes mutual relationships coherent with Bourdieu's (1985) conceptualization of Social Capital as result of mutual obligations.

Nevertheless, the quality and resourcefulness of bonding social relationships varies across time.

For instance, two participants both coming from Somalia describe two different patterns of bonding networks. The two respondents, a thirty-six-year-old male and a thirty-one-year-old female, left their common homeland in two different historical moments. While the man is holder of the subsidiary protection status, the woman holds a refugee status. As in excerpt 1, the man who flew in 2003 describes trustful and reciprocal bonding networks within ethnic groups. On the contrary, the woman who left Somalia in 2012, describes distrustful relationships even within members of the same family, as the following excerpt shows.

> EXCERPT 2
>
> 37. *It has been difficult to trust people who are even close to you because you don't know where they are from. Someone who can hit you. Even within the family it has been hard to trust even your brother or your cousin for example because you don't know the party they belong to. There are people who belongs to Al Shabab and no one knows.*
>
> [Interview4 – InterviewerC – GP004]

The difference among these two different descriptions of bonding relationships stands in the socio-political characteristic of Somalia that the two participants acknowledged.

EXCERPT 3

192. *When I was in Somalia in two thousand and three, we didn't have a valid government. We had, let's say, two clan leaders who controlled in their own area and held their own people hostage, so it was a pretty difficult situation. Today we have overcome that phase because the Islamic courts arrived in Somalia in two thousand and six and there also have been a bad war against the Ethiopian army. In two thousand eight two-thousand nine the situation has completely changed. I mean we overcame the clan but there's something else that's a little bit uglier, that's like those Al Shabab terrorist groups that today are much more scaring than the clan*

[Interview2 – InterviewerC – GP002]

In excerpt 3 GP002 describes the socio-political changes that occurred in his Country of origin since he left. Taken together, these two participants' interviews highlight the degeneration of social relations caused by civil conflicts.

The evolution and complication of civil conflicts affect the social fabric, impairing not just bridging networks but also the bonding ones.

Bridging Social Capital

The majority of participants described impaired bridging networks that move along a continuum that goes from conflict to separation.

The same dynamic of conflict is very eclectic as it goes from disputes to genocides. The following excerpt is taken from the interview of a thirty-two-year-old Algerian male who arrived in Italy in two 2008 and holds the refugee status.

EXCERPT 4

50. *As far as I remember (the Algerine) context has never been cohesive because there's always been a dispute among those who speak Arab (…) and those who speak Berber.*
[Interview10 – InterviewerC – JOIN001]

The conflict described in excerpt 4 is different from the one described in the following one, that is from the interview of a thirty-years-old Afghani male who arrived in Italy in 2007 and holds the refugee status.

EXCERPT 5

282. *There had been the war and then the division among different ethnic groups. There was a division within the general Afghan society. In my area, almost ninety-five percent (of the population) is Pashtun and a small percentage is Hazara and the Hazara are discriminated.*
[Interview12 - InterviewerC – JOIN003]

Excerpt 4 and 5 exemplify two qualitatively different kind of conflicts. While in the first one the conflict is narrated as a quarrel among two populations that speak different languages and therefore come from two different cultures, the second one explicitly refers to acts of discrimination against an ethnic group. Differently from the first situation, in excerpt 5 a power imbalance among two ethnic groups emerges. With this regard another participant, from Afghanistan and belonging to the Hazara ethnic group, describes into details the violence he and his group faced within such a violent context.

The separation dynamic is described by the following excerpt from the interview of a forty-two-year-old Ecuadorian woman who arrived in Italy in 2008 with residence permit for job purpose.

EXCERPT 6

69. *There is no relationship (among the different social classes) (…). For example, I come from a medium economic and social class and it was almost impossible to have relationships with people from a higher economic situation.*

[Interview26 – InterviewerJ – JX004]

In excerpt 6 the distance among two different social classes is well described. The participant not only describes the social fabric of her Country of origin, but she also appeals to her own personal experience. In this way it is possible to observe the correspondence among the macro level, related to the organization of the social system in a country, and the micro level, that is instead related to the citizens' life.

Up to this point bridging networks have been depicted as resourceless. Nevertheless, some exceptions emerge.

The following excerpt is from the interview of a twenty-year-old Senegalese male who arrived in Italy in 2017 and holds the refugee status.

EXCERPT 7

52. *We call Senegal the country of Teranga. Teranga means solidarity. Sincerely in Segal there are different ethnicities that live in solidarity. Where I come from there are more than seven ethnicities that live in solidarity, that live together without problems. Solidarity is therefore one of the aspects that we always use to define Senegal.*

[Interview25 – InterviewerC – NF001]

In excerpt 7 the interviewee stresses the cohesive characteristic of the Senegalese social fabric despite the several ethnic groups that live within the Country. Differently from the situation of other Sub-Saharan countries, the coexistence of

different ethnicities is peaceful and source of *Teranga*, solidarity. The value of solidarity is so much widespread that it becomes the hallmark of the Country.

Linking Social Capital

Across the interview dataset, the relationships that tie the population with the governments of participants' countries of origin is described as distrustful. In particular the institutions, and more specifically the political vertexes, are defined as manipulative and cause of civil conflicts.

According to the group of participants, the conflict caused by the political class fragments the social fabric at different layers that include ethnicity, religious faith and social class.

The following excerpt is from the interview of an Eritrean forty- four-year-old male who arrived in Italy in 2010 and holds a refugee status.

> EXCERPT 8
>
> 25. *The government takes advantage of the social and cultural differences but also the ones related to the ethnic groups and it creates a war among the ethnic groups even though nowadays is considered a war among religious groups. So, it stirs up the benefit of one against the others.*
>
> [Interview14 – InterviewerC – AFUN001]

Excerpt 8 highlights not just the government manipulative strategy that fosters and feeds a civil conflict, but it also underlines the evolution of this same civil conflict that shifts from a base of ethnic diversity to the one of religious diversity. Such a development is consistent with the already discussed degradation of bonding relationships as caused by an evolution of the reasons at the base of the civil conflicts. At the same time, the excerpt suggests that the ethnic diversity similar to the

religious one, are not issues rooted in the population culture but rather pretexts used by the government class in order to maintain its power.

Similar dynamics involve also societies divided on the base of social class. The following excerpt is from the interview of a twenty-six Pakistani male who arrived in Italy in two 2015. The participant into question asked for a subsidiary protection status that he converted into a job residence permit as soon as he gained a stable working condition.

> EXCERPT 9
>
> 350. *The government divided (the population) into two categories so that a (geographical) area is for rich people and this other is for poor people.*
> [Interview6 – InterviewerC – GP006]

Differently from excerpt 8, this one tells about a government tactic that encourages the social distancing among two different social classes. In this case, the conflict is not explicitly encouraged nevertheless the social fabric is still attacked with a different tactic.

The results show therefore that the quality of linking networks is detrimental to social cohesion as the governmental strategies reported by participants seem to foster the benefit of one social group against the others, whether they encourage conflict or simply social distancing.

Social Capital in the resettlement country

The results presented in this paragraph refer to the thematic analysis applied to the third part of the interview administered to the group of participants. In particular,

this paragraph accounts for the resourceful social connections for participants' social integration.

The results about bonding and liking Social Capital will be showed consecutively as they account for similar functions.

Bonding Social Capital

From the data analysis it emerged that bonding networks were the ones that tied participants with co-nationals. Nevertheless, in the case of the three Afghani participants and one Guinean participant, bonding networks where specifically based on ethnicity.

The following excerpt is from the interview of a thirty-four-year-old Afghani man who arrived in Italy in 2001 as an unaccompanied minor.

> EXCERPT 10
>
> 203. *Even here (in Turin) they (Pashtun Afghani) live within their own community and we (Hazara Afghani) live within ours.*
>
> [Interview3 – InterviewerC – GP003]

Excerpts like the above testify that the conflict in the homeland shape newcomers' network even in the resettlement country. Nevertheless, the repetition of the homeland conflict in the resettlement one is a phenomenon that, in the group of participants, has been observed just in the case of those coming from violent conflicts based on ethnicity.

In addition, it is interesting to note that the bonding Social Capital function varies with regard to participants' stay permit.

While just nine out of nineteen Holders of the International Protection (HIP) (refugees, unaccompanied minors), so less than fifty per cent, mentioned valuable

bonding connections, twelve out of fourteen Holders of Other Stay Permit (HOSP) relied on this same kind of networks to ease their social integration.

In particular, both HIP and HOSP valued bonding networks as source of support. co-national or co-ethnic people represented for participants a point of reference to start their new life in an unknown community.
The following excerpt is from the interview of GP002, already introduced in the previous paragraph.

EXCERPT 11

258. *So I had to build a new life in Italy, and I started from Forlì in Emilia Romagna whereby some friends of some relatives of mine, who live in Sweden, lived. My relatives indeed asked them if they could help me.*
[Interview2 – InterviewerC – GP002]

In excerpt 11 it is noteworthy that the presence of reliable co-nationals has driven participant's choice of the place whereby resettle in Italy. In the absence of acquaintances in a still unknown community, co-nationals represent indeed trustful contacts to refer.

Bonding networks emerged as particularly useful for housing founding, both for HIP and HOSP. Nevertheless, while HIP took advantage of this kind of network only in a second moment, once they had to leave the resettlement system, HOSP referred to co-nationals as soon as they arrived in order to find a shelter.
The following excerpt is from the interview of a sixty-six-year-old male from Cameron who has been living in Italy since 1995. The man holds a work permit.

EXCERPT 12

109. *When I arrived a co-national who works in the embassy welcomed me. I've lived with him for three months.*

[Interview19 – InterviewerC – PM002]

As excerpt 12 highlights though, bonding networks provide newcomer's just with temporary housing solutions. Nevertheless, these solutions proved to be valuable as they represented a secure base whereby planning a new life is possible.

With this regard bonding networks proved to be a source also of job especially for HOSP. While HIP, once left the resettlement system, kept on working on the same job position gained through linking networks, HOSP relied on close-knit relationships to find a job from their very arrival.
The following excerpt is from the same PM002's interview.

EXCERPT 13

167. *By mid-July I met some co-nationals who were living in Ancona and I told them "Guys I need to work". They were living in Ancona, but they worked in the tomato's fields. So, they told me "You can work but we'll move to the countryside" and I told them "When it's the harvest time call me" (…). So, we started the harvest on July. When we finished with tomatoes then we started with grapes (…). Then we talked to a colleague and went to Reggio Calabria where we picked mandarins and oranges and we finished in Bolzano where we picked apples.*

[Interview19 – InterviewerC – PM002]

As in the case of housing, for the majority of participants the job found through bonding connections was temporarily. Nevertheless, these jobs had the function to broaden participants' networks and to start building some other reliable connections

which are fruitful for the construction of a more stable condition within the resettlement community.

Linking Social Capital

Linking networks are those that connect participants with the Italian institutions. As with bonding Social Capital, differences emerged between HIP and HOSP in the use they made of this kind networks. It is noteworthy though that while bonding Social Capital is exploited to a greater extent by HOSP, linking Social Capital is instead mentioned solely by HIP.

Such a difference stands in the possibilities that the stay permit gained gives to newcomers. Being included in the resettlement system as soon as their arrival, HIP can indeed rely on a customized path for social integration that provide them with temporary housing, job placement and an orientation among the health care and educational system. On the contrary, HOSP are expected to receive the stay permit because they are already engaged in a job position or in a study path. Therefore, they are supposed to be already employed in a self-sufficiency process.

For this very reason, nineteen out of nineteen HIP participants while no HOSP mentioned resourceful linking connections.

Once applied for asylum, the institutions, and in particular the resettlement system, manages newcomers' placement not just in terms of housing but also in terms of geographical dislocation.

The following excerpts are from the interview of a twenty-five-year-old male from Mali, holder of a refugee status and arrived in Italy in 2017.

EXCERPT 14

65. *I entered in Italy in October and then I came to Anagni (Lazio) because I arrived in Sicily whereby I stayed just for one night and then they transferred me here in Anagni. I remained there for one year and a month.*

EXCERPT 15

120. *Then they transferred me in Cassino (Lazio) because when I obtained the stay permit, they told me that I had to follow the SPRAR project*
[Interview27 – InterviewerC - DAC001]

In excerpts 14 and 15 DAC001 recounts the process that refugees common go through during their resettlement path in Italy. Once arrived in Italy asylum applicants are indeed firstly placed in First Reception Centers whereby they are supposed to stay just for the time of their identification. Once identified, they are distributed among the Reception Centers placed allover Italy whereby the government provides for health care services and the acquisition of the Italian language. It is noteworthy though that they cannot chose where to go in Italy, it is indeed the governmental system that chose their destination according to the Centers availabilities. Once the right for the international protection is recognized refugees are included in the SIPROIMI (ex SPRAR) project (see paragraph 1.2.1.) that provide them with a temporary shelter, health care services, education and introduce them to the Italian job world with the goal to make them self-sufficient.

The following excerpt is from the interview of GP006, the participant has been introduced in the previous paragraph.

EXCERPT 16

143. *The guys from the (SPRAR) project were really good. I don't know what they saw in me, but they gave me the chance to attend a bakery course (…) They told me "Look we chose you to attend the course but you have to be good at learning the language and the job" and I answered "Ok I'll do my best" (…) I attended the course and then a stage in a bakery whereby they asked me to keep on working with them even after the stage.*

[Interview6 – InterviewerC – GP006]

In excerpt 16 the result of a successful job training and placement path is described. Success, that according to the participant, has been possible because of the presence of a trustful relationship with the project workers. According to Coleman (1988) and Putnam (1993), trust is indeed a fundamental component of social capital. The following excerpt from GP004 - introduced in the previous paragraph - explicitly refers to the resourcefulness of such a relational quality.

EXCERPT 17

120. *I created such a relationship with the educators that worked there (in the reception center). So, we created such a reciprocal trust and then when I learnt the language, they tried to help me with job. My current job though developed through some other acquaintances because (…) when I started I had a few clients but now I've grown up so much that they call me without me looking for them.*

[Interview4 – InterviewerC – GP004]

Trust is what allowed this participant to start progressing on her job to the point of becoming economically self-sufficient. Excerpt 17 highlights also that, as in the case of bonding Social Capital, linking Social Capital provides with a base of resources that participants were able to wide.

Bridging Social Capital

Bridging networks connect participants with the resettlement community. Interestingly, differently from results about bonding and linking Social Capital, no relevant differences have been highlighted with regards to bridging Social Capital in HIP and HOSP. In both groups more than eighty-five per cent of participants mentioned resourceful connections with Italian natives.

The most prominent resource bridging networks provides for is the approach and the progressive development of a sense of belonging to the resettlement community and culture. With this regard, this theme links together the analytical categories of *Social Capital* and *Social Identity*, that will be described further down.
The following excerpt is from the interview of a thirty-one-year-old man from Somalia, who arrived in Italy in 2008. This man was granted refugee status and after eight years he was bestowed with the recognition of honorary citizen of the small village he lived in. Eventually in 2018 he obtained Italian citizenship.

> EXCERPT 18
>
> 165. *Instead of giving me a financial support, a friend of mine brought me to watch a football match at the stadium. The Turin football club played; it was in 2009 (…). When you go to the stadium sometimes you hear racist choirs, it is not a secret thing, but I can tell you that in 2009 when the Turin football club played, I was the only black person (…) in seven thousand people. At the stadium, when the Turin scored, all the supporters that were around me hug me. That hug has meant a lot to me because I was just arrived in Italy. (…) These citizens made me feel welcome.*
> [Interview1 – InterviewerC – GP001]

In excerpt 18, GP001 narrates about one of his first contacts with the Turin community. As the respondent specifies lately in the interview, the friend who

brought him to the stadium was a worker of the resettlement center where he lived. In this case therefore, a linking connection not only shifted into a more intimate relationship, but it also eased the contact with the resettlement community. It is noteworthy that the respondent contrasted racist episodes, commonly reported by the national newscasts, with his personal experience, as if his intention was to counterbalance the negative narratives about the intercultural contacts among natives and newcomers that are commonly spread by national and international media. As GP001 points out, this positive episode made him feel welcomed in the resettlement community. A first step toward integration, then.

A second step is described in the following excerpt from the interview of JOIN003

EXCERPT 19

415. *Lately I engaged with an Italian girl and going to her house, meeting her parents, her family, her relatives has been a really strong experience to me because concretely I entered into the Italian culture. Indeed, I saw how it is supposed to cook what time it is supposed to have dinner. One thing is to eat in the reception centre, another is when you really do it, I mean, when you talk with people and they tell you about things that happen in the society that you just superficially come across. That (experience) has been a nest of growth and access to the culture. Really an entrance in the Italian culture (..). Also, her parents were super nice, I mean, they made me feel part of the family, they trusted me, and I trusted them as well*

[Interview12 - InterviewerC – JOIN003]

Excerpt 19 narrates another step toward what Wenger (1998) calls the central participation to a community. Through the relationship with the woman's parents, JOIN003 progressively approached the Italian culture, specifically the part relating to cuisine. Interestingly, such a deep experience has been eased by the already tied

connection with an autochthonous person. As in the case of GP001, also JOIN003 met the woman mentioned in the excerpt in the resettlement center where he lived. The woman worked at that same center. A similar dynamic to the one described in excerpt 18 can therefore be identified. In addition, it is also worth noting the explicit reference to trust, a relationship quality that fostered a sense of belonging.

From the data it has been possible to identify a third step to social integration that is described in the following excerpt from the interview of GP006.

EXCERPT 20

404. *To be sincere, I feel more Italian than Pakistani because Turin has been the first city that opened me all the doors, that gave me all the possibilities. There are things that I do here in Italy that I cannot do in Pakistan. (Things) for the Italian society to integrate and to get Pakistani family integrated so that these families that arrived in Italy, children that born here they represent the future of Italy. We have to work from the first day on this thing, within this society that has welcomed us.*

[Interview6 – InterviewerC – GP006]

Beside the self-identification as Italian, excerpt 20 describes the strong commitment towards the social development of the Italian communities. The participant managed to transform the feeling of being welcomed, experienced through the relationship with the resettlement community, into a personal mission. With this regard, the man has started some activities aimed at easing the contact between Pakistani newcomers and the resettlement local community. In other words, GP006 is working on the development of social cohesion within the community that has welcomed him, producing in a such a way a collectivistic resource.

Excerpt 20 introduces another issue that is central in the theme of bridging Social capital. From a normative point of view, bridging relationship proved to be valuable also in terms of job placement. What is interesting is that the kind of job that bridging connections provide for is a development of the job participants started with bonding and linking social capital. In other words, bonding and linking Social Capital provided for a basis of professional skills and/or resourceful bridging connections that allowed participants to engage in a more self-compliant job. By doing so, bridging connections ease a process of Self-Actualization, defined by Maslow as the fulfillment of ones' own potentialities (1943). It is clear therefore the intersection among the analytical categories of *Social Capital* and the one of *Self-Efficacy*.

Bridging networks therefore represent the soil for the creation and realization of common professional projects. The start-up of social associations is indeed a common thread among participants and represent the result of a process of Self-Actualization. In this specific case, though, this kind of ties link people from different countries together through a common goal: the development of Italian community.

The following excerpt is from the interview of a thirty-five-year-old woman who arrived in Italy in 1990. This woman belongs to a second-generation: whilst her father is Italian, her mother is from Perù.

> EXCERPT 21
>
> 382. *(The association) comes from a common path. GP001 entered a school for the first time with me during some trainings on global citizenship education (…) Then we started a path together, we are colleagues (…) The association was born from such a great collaboration just from a professional point of view of activism.*
> [Interview8 – InterviewerC – GP008]

In Excerpt 21 the interviewee describes the common path that she and GP001 did together before starting-up the association. From this common background and from the sharing of ideas and goals, the creation of their association came to life. As the following chapter will show in greater details, the association into question is aimed at fostering the creation of a plural society. Again, as in the case of GP006, the outcome of a successful social integration path is beneficial not just for newcomers but for the whole resettlement community.

In these last passages it is possible to trace the participants' identity development favored by the presence of reliable, trustworthy, and stimulating bridging relationships. The following paragraph, that is about the results of the Social Identity analytical category, will go deeper into the issue.

4.2.1.2. Social Identity

Even the analytical category of Social Identity is the result of a theory-driven analytical approach of the thematic analysis. This category describes the dynamics of participation and belonginess to different social groups. In particular the themes of Country of Origin and Resettlement Country, that describe participants' belonginess to these two contexts, are the result of theoretical top-down strategy. The other four categories are instead the result of an inductive bottom-up approach as they emerged from the interviews and were not in the researchers' mind before starting the analysis. The results showed in this paragraph refer to the analysis of the second part and third part of the interview, the ones devoted to the narration of participants' countries of origin and social integration path.

As clearly emerged from the previous paragraph, data on Social Identity are strongly interrelated to the ones of Social Capital.

<u>Country of origin</u>

This theme accounts for participants' sense of belonging to the Country of origin. As already stressed in the previous paragraph (See paragraph 4.2.1.1. Bonding social capital in the country of origin and in the resettlement country) though in some cases, the belonginess to the country is accompanied by the belonginess to the ethnic group. Nevertheless, in these cases, what distinguishes the group of participants is a commitment toward the spread of a national sense of belonging that overcomes the ethnic distinctions.

The following excerpt is from GP002's interview.

EXCERPT 22

225. *I have always sustained that we are Somalis and that we belong to Somalia (…) We have to overcome the clan barrier. I have always had this perspective since I was a child (…) but I understand that it is a very difficult thing. I am sincere I don't feel a belonginess to my clan, I feel the belonginess to Somalia*

[Interview2 – InterviewerC – GP002]

In excerpt 22 and throughout the interview, GP002, as other participants, sustains that the differentiation into ethnicities impairs the social cohesion of his Country and feeds civil conflicts. All the participants that come from countries affected by civil wars based on ethnicities are therefore committed to foster a cultural change that sees all their co-nationals united under the wider category of national belonginess. This commitment is endorsed both in the country of origin and in the resettlement one.

Pride is a feeling that participants frequently associate to the belonginess to their culture of origin.

The following excerpt is from the interview of JX004

EXCERPT 23

244. *I don't want to neglect my roots because if you look at me it is evident that I have indigenous roots. I am proudly South American proudly Ecuadorian even if lots of people don't even know where Ecuador is, but you know I don't hide myself; I know where I am from and I like being different*

[Interview26 – InterviewerJ – JX004]

In excerpt 23 this woman associates her sense of belongingness to her original homeland to her physical aspect. The reason for such an association stands in the fact that her physical appearance highlights a different origin from the Italian natives' one. It is this very difference that makes her proudly manifest her origins.

Such an issue sheds light on a theme that participants frequently mentioned, that is related to the negotiation of the meanings attributed to their culture of origin.

The following excerpt is from the interview of QeR004 a thirty-five-year-old woman from Romania who arrived in Italy by the age of one since her parents applied for asylum after the fall of the Soviet dictatorship.

EXCERPT 24

474. *I always try to change people's mind and I say "Guys my parents are both Romanian and I was born there (…) but the education that I have is the one that they gave me and my parents taught me not to steal but to work and pay the taxes"*

[Interview24 - InterviewerC – QeR004]

In excerpt 24 the Romanian interviewee vividly describes her reactions to the Italian natives' stereotypes about her nationality. In the quotation, the participant obliterates her interlocutors' stereotypes by discussing with them the real values she has grown up with. In such a way she tries to propose an alternative representation of what being Romanian means.

As the last two extracts highlight, participants show a strong sense of belonginess to their country of origin. This sense of belonging is also fed with the participation to cultural events.

The following extract is from the interview of a twenty-eight-year-old girl from Bangladesh who reunited with her parents in Italy at the age of two.

EXCERPT 25

82. *We have been strongly connected with the Bangla community here in Rome till I was twenty, twenty-one. My sister and me used to do dance shows, so we got pretty involved in the community. Then we became less involved due to job and other stuff.*
[Interview25 - InterviewerCN – QeR005]

The quotation testifies the presence of communities whereby newcomers can keep on maintaining the contact with their culture of origin. Nevertheless, it is important to underline that the participation to cultural activities related to the community of origin is an issue particularly mentioned by second-generation participants. It seems indeed that the need to retain an active engagement in the cultural life of the community of origin is particularly felt by those participants who were not born in their parents' country of origin or were displaced because of their parents' choice. The majority of first-generation participants are also committed to the community of origin resettled in Italy, but they rarely mentioned an engagement in activities of cultural celebration. Differently, they are more committed toward helping their co-nationals in getting integrated within the resettlement community.

These results underline therefore that first and second generations play different functions and participate with different motivations to their communities of origin.

Resettlement country

This theme accounts for the participants' development of a sense of belonging to the resettlement country that fosters the transition from being a newcomer to becoming a new citizen.

As demonstrated in the paragraph about *Bridging Social Capital in the resettlement country*, this transition is the result of trustful and supportive bridging networks. Data allows us to define the process that has brought participants to feel a sense of belonging to the Italian community to the point of defining themselves Italian.

This process is consistent with the one described in the paragraph about bridging Social Capital and it goes from the experience of a feeling of being welcomed within the resettlement community, encompasses the development of cultural competences, the auto and hetero recognition of being part of the resettlement community, and finally arrives to the chance to Self-Actualize within the local community.

Because the first two stages and the last one have been already treated in the paragraph on social capital, the third one that deal more with the identity process will be now addressed.

The following excerpt is from GP003's interview.

> EXCERPT 26
>
> 286. *Some of the elders, we met on the bus and they think "oh this person!" maybe they see the backpack and start talking in dialect (about terrorism), at a certain point I talk to them (in dialect as well) (and they say) "come here you're one of us, how long have you been here?" and I reply "nineteen years" "you're from Turin" and then when I start talking in Piemontese dialect, they say "look, my grandson and my son don't talk as you do, how did you manage?"*
>
> [Interview3 – InterviewerC - GP003]

In excerpt 26, as much as in excerpt 25, the participant faces stereotypes associated to his origin, the man is from Afghanistan. Nevertheless, GP003 established a contact with the interlocutors by replying in their same dialect. From the point of view of identity process the man is therefore positioning himself within the same interlocutors' community. This positioning is then confirmed by the elders who explicitly recognize him as a Turin citizen. The extract exemplifies the process of identity negotiation theorized by Wenger (1998). In addition, it also testifies how the use of the same repertoire fosters the interlocutors' mutual recognition as members of the same community.

For participants, the self-definition as members of the resettlement community is frequently associated to Place Attachment, or rather the result of cognitive representations and affective ties that people have with places (Stokols and Shumaker, 1981).
The following quotation is from GP004's interview.

EXCERPT 27

89. *I feel I am a Turin citizen because after so much time when I travel in Europe, I miss Turin, you know?*

[Interview4 – InterviewerC – GP004]

Data shows that the self-identification as a member of the resettlement community passes also through the recognition of an emotional tie with the resettlement place. As in this case, a few other participants stated that they experience this feeling anytime they leave the resettlement city, as if the distance, and maybe, the contact with different cultures, allows them to focus better on what links them to place.

Consistent with the Place Attachment construct, participants associate their identification with the resettlement country also to their familiarity with their surroundings. The following excerpt is from GP002's interview.

> EXCERPT 28
>
> 655. *I define myself a Somali citizen but also an Italian citizen (…) I've lived more here (in Italy) than in my Country. I mean I've been living in Italy for fifteen years but as an adult (…) On the contrary in Somalia I have just acknowledged poverty and war during my youth so let's say I am more familiar with Italy than Somalia. Except for Mogadiscio I am not familiar with the rest of Somalia. I mean, I am familiar with the geography, but I am not familiar as much as I am with Italy whereby I had the chance to travel, I've seen Sicily, Rome, the Aosta Valley, Bolzano and Turin.*
>
> [Interview2 – InterviewerC – GP002]

In the quotation, GP002 justifies his being an Italian citizen with the familiarity he has with the Country and effectively compares such a familiarity with the one he has of his Country of origin. As the man arguments, while in Italy he had the chance to travel around the Country, getting in a deep contact with the place and its culture, he could not do the same in Somalia because of war and poverty. The man introduces also an interesting argument related to the life phase and proposes that getting in touch with a place in the youth or in the adulthood is somehow different. As the reflection goes on, he associates this difference to the freedom of movement that the two different stages allow.

Nevertheless, Italian self-identification rarely matches the State recognition ratified by the acquisition of the Italian citizenship.
The following excerpt is from QeR005's interview.

EXCERPT 29

152. *I am sorry for not having received the citizenship yet because I think I gave my contribution I think I have proved to Italy that eventually I am part of this place*

[Interview25 - InterviewerCN – QeR005]

In excerpt 29 QeR005 refers to the tortuous path that she has to walk in order to obtain the Italian citizenship. As many first- and second-generation participants confirmed, the obtainment of the Italian citizenship is indeed hindered by the changing legislation (see paragraph) and some burocratic odds.

Nevertheless, not all the participants have applied for the Italian citizenship even though they reached the requisites for its obtainment.
The following extract is from the interview of JOIN002, a twenty-eight-year-old male from Afghanistan, who arrived in Italy in two thousand five as an unaccompanied minor. By the age of eighteen JOIN002 applied for and received the refugee status.

EXCERPT 30

337. *I have not applied for the citizenship even though I could because three or four years ago I went to Geneva for an apprenticeship in the UNHCR department for human rights. There (someone) told me "as soon as you graduate, you'll have a guaranteed job here but, since you still have not applied for the citizenship, maybe it's more convenient for you not to apply". Because you know better than me that there (at the UNHCR offices) the percentage of nationalities in employees varies. Since there are lots of Italians, I have lower possibilities as an Italian while there's no Afghan employees.*

[Interviw11 – InterviewerC – JOIN002]

Differently from the previous situation, here the interviewee willingly did not apply for Italian citizenship and the reason stands in his plans for job placement. In this case, it is therefore interesting to highlight the instrumental use that newcomers can do of the legal status. Whether it is possible to choose which citizenship certificate to possess, citizenship proves to be also a useful tool for Self-Actualization. The previous case, however, has shown that this is a rather rare situation and a luxury that few people can access, since the limits in citizenship acquisition are often more than opportunities.

Social identity which is the result of a combination between the belonginess to the country of origin and the resettlement one

With regard to sense of belonging to the country of origin and to the resettlement one, a third theme emerged as the result of an interplay between the firsts two. Within these theme participants reckon their belonginess to both their homelands not as mutually exclusive but as two categories that can interact among each other and gain different salience according to the context.

In particular, two patterns of interplay have been identified. The first one is related to the coexistence among the two kind of belonginess. The second one is related instead to a combination of the two categories.

The following excerpt refers to the first pattern.

> EXCERPT 31
>
> 657. *I am a Somali citizen, but I am also an Italian citizen*
>
> [Interview2 – Interviewer – GP002]

In excerpt 31 GP002 emphasizes that being a Somali does not impede him to be an Italian citizen as well. Going through the interview the man defines Somalia and Italy as his two homelands. Such a pattern emerged exclusively on first-generation participants.

Differently, second-generation participants reported the second pattern, as GP008's words testify.

> EXCERPT 32
>
> *221. The identity from Perù and the one from Italy have created a new identity (…) I feel an Italian-Peruvian because I'm not too much Italian, even if I' m Italian and I feel very Italian, but I'm also Peruvian because when I go there (in Perù) I can speak the language, I know the local tradition, I feel at home, so I feel good in that country and I feel that my identity here is a real mix of the two.*
>
> [Interview8 – InterviewerC – GP008]

From a theoretical point of view, the excerpt 32 testifies that identity categories not only interact, but they also combine creating new and different worlds of belonging. As the interviewees stresses, being Italian-Peruvian woman does not mean to be Italian and Peruvian as if these are two different categories; on the contrary, such an identity category brings with it the history of whole social integration path GP008 went through and the effort to create a coexistence among two different cultures.

<u>Religious faith</u>

Religious belonginess is also a central social identity category that emerges from the data analysis.

As already seen in the paragraph about results on bonding Social Capital in the countries of origin, in some of the participants' origin places, religion is used as a pretext to fragment the community and create conflicts.

Some interviewees reported that they experienced the effect of such a conflict even during the journey toward the resettlement country.

Such a situation is exemplified by JOIN003's words.

> EXCERPT 33
>
> 303. *My mum was Shiite, so I am Shiite as well. (During the journey me and another person) were in a dormitory where the majority was Pashtun and Sunnis (…) I remember very well, there were Tajiks that are Sunnis as well (…) and we (my friend and me) were both Shiites and they discriminated precisely on the base of our religious belonginess. They made us sleep in the dirtier part of the room.*
>
> [Interview12 – InterviewerC – JOIN003]

Extract 33 accounts for a conflict that involves two different branches of the same religious faith. A conflict that seems to follow some participants' even outside their country of origin.

The religious belonginess shapes participants' social relationships also in their resettlement country.

The following excerpt is from GP002's interview

> EXCERPT 34
>
> 514. *The fact that I am a Somali Muslim guy. When I say they don't recognize me I mean from a religious layer. I pray five times a day, but I have lots of Italian friends and sometimes we hug and greet but lots of people thinks these things damage religion*
>
> [Interview2 – InterviewerC – GP002]

In excerpt 34, GP002 exemplifies a situation that has been described by several other participants. The adoption of habits that refer to a specific culture set problems in

terms of social categorization. In the excerpt the man describes a situation arose from the adoption of western habits that is detrimental in terms of recognition from the community of origin. Nevertheless, complementary situations whereby the adoption of habits from the culture of origin hinders the recognition of belonginess to the resettlement community are reported as well.

The following excerpt is from the interview of APP003, a thirty-year-old-man from Pakistan who arrived in Italy in 2001 to reunite with his father.

EXCERPT 35

357. *It was the Ramadan month; we had just finished praying and we went to the post office to pay some bills. I couldn't find a form, I waited for a person to finish her practices at the box and then simply asked for the form. A man behind me started saying "These immigrants, come here, jump the queue and do whatever they want"*
[Interview33 – InterviewerC – APP003]

In this case, APP003 went to the Post office wearing clothes from the Islamic tradition and because of this, an Italian native that was in the place categorized him as an *immigrant* or rather as someone that did not belong to the local community. Data shows that religion is frequently used as a category to remark the cultural differences among two social groups.

Nevertheless, religion is also a powerful connecting element. The relationship with people who share the same religious faith allowed participants to feel at home in the resettlement country.

Even the following excerpt is taken from APP003's interview.

EXCERPT 36

23. *Then I moved to Turin to study engineer. Here I kept in contact with different realities but mostly since I am (…) Muslim I've kept in contact with different Muslim associations and realities that worked for the community (…) I started being involved because it was very weird to me since in Mantova where I came from, I grew up in an Italian society. Going to Turin and meeting so many Muslims, so many realities, mosques and places of worship made me feel at home and I bet that rarely in our lifetime it happens that a person can feel at home in a place that is not his birthplace.*

[Interview33 – InterviewerC – APP003]

APP003 here compares two different situations, both experienced in Italy. According to the man, in Mantova, where he resettled from Pakistan, he grew up in an Italian context differently from Turin, where he kept in contact with the Muslim community. It is interesting to note that the man opposes the categories of Muslim and Italian as if they cannot match. Throughout the interview, APP003 explains that since in Mantova there were no mosques, he could profess his religion only in nearby cities. This did not impede him to keep on maintaining a contact with his faith, but the absence of members of his same religious community in the city where he lived hindered for him the chance to feel at home. Differently, in Turin, characterized by the presence of a nourished and active Muslim community, he could experience a sense of belonging to the place.

Migratory background

This theme accounts for social relationships that involve participants whereby salience is given to their migratory background. Such a category is the result of both a process of self- and hetero recognition. According to data, participants self-identify

as newcomers or second-generation, but also the native population categorizes them in the same way.

As shown in the previous sub-paragraph with the case of APP02, when natives use this social category is to remark a difference between them and newcomers. In particular, autochthons use such a category as a pejorative to address people with different cultural values.

On the contrary, participants' self-recognition of the migratory background is a source of solidarity. The following extract is from the interview of GP005 a twenty-nine-year-old woman from Romania, who arrived in Italy in 2000 to reunite with her parents. The woman holds Italian citizenship.

> EXCERPT 37
>
> 253. *I collaborated in a project that deals with teenagers arrived in Italy during their adolescence and aimed at easing their integration. I started collaborating as a peer educator bringing my own experience to some other Romanian teens. The idea was "I arrived here, and I got it. You can get it as well". I think it was a nice and important thing. So, I just had some conversations with some of them or help translating, explaining how the school system works, or mediate among student and parents.*
> [Interview5 – InterviewerC - GP005]

As excerpt 37 shows, such a theme ties together the analytical categories of Social Identity, Self-Efficacy, and Social Capital. Participants indeed used the wealth of experience gained during their own social integration path in order to ease the social integration path of those they identify with. Conscious of the success of their own social integration path, participants value their experience to help those who are in

their same situation. This process is at the base of the foundation of the social enterprises, issue that will be explored in depth the following chapter.

<u>Activist commitment</u>

This social identity category refers to participants' active commitment toward the promotion of newcomers' social integration. This theme accounts for a cross boundaries identity category that ties together people from different countries of origin.

The following excerpt is from GP003's interview.

> EXCERPT 38
>
> 588. *I thought that all the Somalis are like this, you know? Girls don't say hi. But then I met GP004 and other Somalis and they are free, they are like us. And then I met GP001 (who is Somali as well) he is an active guy; I am an active guy too but previously I was active just for my own community but now I changed my mind. You know? We are poor but we help others.*
>
> [Interview3 – IntervewerC – GP003]

In excerpt 38 GP003 reports a process whereby the encounter with people with whom he shares some values allows him to face his stereotypes and widen his social commitment. Once recognized common values, the category related to the origin and the meaning that he attributes to it lose their salience.

In addition, data shows that this social identity category deals with Self-Actualization. Participants indeed approached such a social group after crossing their own social integration path and the consequent development of a motivation to ease the same path for those who came after them.

For this very reason, this theme is really close to the previous one related to the *Migratory Background* and in particular to the part of it that is about participants' self-identification.

The following quotation is from GP008's interview.

> EXCERPT 39
>
> 238. *It has been the civil society, the activism and the voluntary work. That parallel world opened amazing worlds to me and framed me. It made me understand who I was and what I wanted.*
>
> [Interview8 – InterviewerC – GP008]

In excerpt 39 GP008 vividly describes her approach to activism and the fundamental function this context had in her life. A common trade sees all participants involved in activism as a professional activity. To be more precise, first-generation participants got involved in activism after a professional path in the third sector whereby they worked as cultural mediators and workers in reception centers. Differently, second-generation participants got involved in activism during their adolescence through encounters with peers who shared the same migratory background. More than other jobs described by participants throughout the interviews, activism is addressed not merely as a professional activity but also as a personal mission. For this very reason such a theme is strongly connected to the category of Self-Efficacy.

4.2.1.3. Self-Efficacy

As already mentioned, the analytical category of Self-Efficacy is the result of an inductive bottom-up approach of thematic analysis.

Self-Efficacy accounts for participants' active engagement in their social integration path. As the definition of Self-Efficacy attests (Bandura, 1977), such an analytical

category contains the internal resources participants explicitly called on to become central members of the resettlement community.

Results showed in this paragraph arise from the analysis of the second part and third part of the interview dedicated to the narration of participants' countries of origin and social integration path.

As already noted, this analytical category is strongly inter-related to the two previous ones.

<u>Awareness of internal resources</u>

This theme describes the inner resources respondents relied on in order to overcome adverse situations during the flight and in the resettlement country and to reach the goals they set up. The theme therefore contains all the inner resources participants were aware of and willingly activated under challenging conditions.

As the following excerpt highlights, faith is a common resource that sustained participants' resilience.

> EXCERPT 40
>
> *152. It is not easy to accept the (contextual constraints), but you know I am believer (…) If I need help, I ask to the Creator and pray. It has been fundamental to me, both to cross the desert and the sea (…) I personally have always relied on praying to ask God for help. There is an adage that says "If you lacked anything it was because it was not destined to you, you cannot lack what you should have had, know that victory comes with patience" this is a prophet's saying that I've always used (…) that explains that life comes with patience so even difficulties come with solutions, I mean, if you have any difficulty it is not meant to be forever, so it is in that moment that you don't have to lose faith. You have to have the patience to overcome that*

moment it is not easy but to me it has been a great teaching that has been useful

during the journey but also here (in Italy)

[Interview1 – InterviewerC – GP001]

Religious faith is strongly connected to Self-Efficacy and participants relied on spirituality in order to not surrender to adversities. What is interesting about the excerpt above is that the adage mentioned not only gives GP001 a perspective of a better future, but it also sustains a direct confront with adversities. It is indeed this confront that allows believers to find the solution to overcome the effecting condition.

Standing within the difficulties and facing them, is a behavior that has emerged throughout the dataset.

The following quotation is from GP004's interview.

EXCERPT 41

72. *At the beginning it was not easy because, you know, when you don't know the language you can't communicate, and you can't say what you want to say, and it is really hard and then no one helps you and you are alone. And then in that moment I fought, and I told myself "You will do it, you will do it" and eventually I found a job.*

[Interview4 – InterviewerC – GP004]

Excerpt 41 is an example of participants' awareness about their Self-Efficacy, meaning that under challenging situations they are conscious about the capabilities they have to face and overcome them. This awareness sustains a proactive approach toward life-events and, in the cases cited, leads to an improved life condition. GP004 indeed not only managed to communicate in the resettlement community but to also find a job and start becoming self-sufficient.

Nevertheless, as DAC003 testifies, in order to improve one's own life condition also an awareness about rights and duties is required.

> EXCERPT 42
>
> 270. *We met a lawyer and he explained us how it works in Italy. So, we started striking because some things didn't work (in the resettlement center), but we acknowledged our rights and duties and we started strinking.*
>
> [Interview29 – InterviewerC - DAC003]

To be aware of the capabilities needed to improve one's own life condition implies not to just rely on internal resources but also to be aware of the duties and rights people have within the context they are part of. This awareness allows to plan and carry out effective actions to actively resolve difficulties.

Agentivity

This theme accounts for participants proactive approach towards their social integration path. Differently from the previous theme, participants do not explicitly mention the internal resources they relied on, rather they specified their effort to get integrated within the resettlement community.

Throughout the dataset, participants informally address agentivity as willpower. The following excerpt is from DAC002's interview. DAC002 is a twenty-year-old man from Mali who arrived in Italy in 2018.

EXCERPT 43

351. *I'd say that willpower is what helped me (…) if you don't have the strengths it isn't easy, if you are not ready, if you don't have the will to do (something) you will never do anything. You need to have the will to do whatever you like, and the rest follows.*

[Interview28 – InterviewerCN – DAC002]

Willpower is what make participants protagonists and not mere spectators of what happens within their contexts. For this very reason, willpower also sustained first-generation participants' motivation to fly the country of origin.

The following quotation is from NF001's interview.

EXCERPT 44

45. *(I realized that) if I remain in the Country (of origin), I will never have a better future, so I decided to leave.*

[Interview25 – InterviewerC – NF001]

In excerpt 44 NF001 reports the motivation that drove his resettlement. According to the interviewee, in Senegal he could not have the future he desired, for this very reason he decided to leave. In particular what the quotation highlights is NF001's awareness that he himself was in charge of improving his future.

Nonetheless, the same resource marked participants' social integration path. The following excerpt is from GP001's interview.

EXCERPT 45

134. *I had one-year time (before leaving the resettlement center). I said "Now I have to better organize. The first six months I don't even try to look for a job, I'll learn Italian and then in the second part I'll try to get some job experiences"*

[Interview1 – InterviewerC – GP001]

In excerpt 45 GP001 reports the plan he made in order to maximize the time that the center granted him before leaving. During the course of a single year GP001 had to become self-sufficient in order to live autonomously in Italy. It is interesting to highlight that in terms of priorities, the participant placed learning the language before gaining a job. Across the whole dataset, language acquisition is indeed considered as a fundamental element in order to get well integrated in Italy, not just because it eases the bonding and linking network creation, but also in terms of self-actualization.

Self-actualization is indeed what drive participants' social integration path. The following two excerpts are from JOIN003's interview.

EXCERPT 46

171. *They (some co-nationals) also told me "let's go working in the fields because it is difficult and when your time in the center will be up you will be in the street again" but I replied "No I will not come, I'll keep on learning Italian and then I will attend a training course"*

EXCERPT 47

477. *I said" Look I'll finish the high school and I will graduate. I would like to keep on studying because this is my path, I want study something related to my (actual job), something that I like"*

[Interview12 - InterviewerC – JOIN003]

As excerpt 46 and 47 highlight, within this group of participants to self-actualize stands for gaining a job position that does not only provide for economic self-sufficiency, but it also matches participants' interests. In order to achieve this goal, they attended several training courses that reduced the time devoted to work and therefore of economic gain. In some ways, participants have given up an immediate economic gain in order to capitalize a time span that they have dedicated to build a path to self-actualize. It is interesting to note also that the job participants would like to develop is related to newcomers' reception. In the second excerpt, UNIR003 sustains indeed that he wanted to study something that was related the cultural mediation, the job he had in that moment. According to the interviewee academic studies were necessaries in order to develop that profession.

Relational Agentivity

Differently from the previous theme, the current one accounts for respondents' activation of relational resources. In other words, this theme describes participants' activation of Social Capital in order to get integrated within the resettlement community. In particular, this theme emerges within what it has been previously addressed as third phase of social integration that indicates a strong commitment toward the development of the resettlement community. As it will be further explored in the following chapter, participants actualized such a commitment through the foundation of social associations aimed at easing newcomers' social integration.

The following quotation is from GP006's interview.

EXCERPT 48

498. *Then I spoke to the vice-president and I told him "Look, I want to create an association if you could help it would be great" because you know, he was not born here but he grew up in Italy, he is an Italian citizen and masters the Italian language.*

[Interview6 – InterviewerC – GP006]

In excerpt 48, GP006 is reporting the start-up phase of the association he founded that is aimed at easing the social integration of co-nationals. In the excerpt GP006, values the vice-president central position within the Italian community. He implicitly suggests that the person he is talking about is more experienced than he is in Italian culture, for this very reason he represents a good connection to start-up the social association.

Connections with skilled and experienced people is the basis for the creation of associations that directly participate to the development of the local community. The following excerpt is from the interview of PM004, a fifty-seven-year-old man from Brazil. PM004 arrived in Italy in 1990 to study law.

EXCERPT 49

499. *Before finishing the course in cultural mediation where I was teaching, I spoke to participants. They were twenty-five participants with different nationalities. I told them "Guys (…) I have an idea, why don't we organize a group and create an association for cultural mediation? (…) you are such a wealth for the territory don't let it go"*

[Interview21 – InterviewerCN – PM004]

In excerpt 49, PM004 valued the connections among people with different backgrounds but similar professional competencies. In particular he underlines the

collectivistic benefit that comes out of the creation of such a network. By suggesting the creation of the association, he proposes himself as the central node of such a network with a specific vision of the association mission and strategy.

This theme has been therefore included within the wider category of Self-Efficacy as it testifies an active creation and exploitation of Social Capital that is addressed to the social development if the Italian local communities.

4.2.2. Social Network Analysis Results

Results from the Social Network Analysis applied to the survey will now be presented. The ego-network approach of the social network analysis is here aimed at measuring participants' amount of Social Capital and the tendency to exploit bonding, bridging and linking Social Capital to ease their social integration.
Tab. 4.5 shows the results concerning the indexes of *size degree*, *homophily* and *compositional quality* together with some demographics that frame the data into participants' background.

Table 4.5

Ego-network analysis

	Country of origin	Years in Italy	Residence permit	Generation	SEMB role	Size	Job Yule's Q	Housing Yule's Q	Education Yule's Q	Health Yule's Q	Comp quality
GP001	Somali	11	Refugee	First	Founder	7	-1	1	-	-	0.57
GP002	Somali	16	Subsidiary	First	Founder	13	-0.750	0.333	-	-1	0.15
GP003	Afghanistan	18	Uam	First	Active member	9	0	0	0	0	0.22
GP004	Somali	7	Refugee	First	Active member	4	-	0	-	-	0.75
GP006	Pakistan	4	Subsidiary	First	Active member	7	-1	-1	-1	-1	0
GP009	Kashmir	6	Refugee	First	Active member	7	-	-	0	-	0.85
GP005	Romania	20	Parents' sp	Second	Active member	6	-1	1	1	1	0.33
GP008	Perù	29	Italian citizenship	Second	Founder	6	-1	-1	-	1	0.5
JOIN001	Algerie	11	Refugee	First	Founder	7	0	0	0	0	0.28
JOIN002	Afghanistan	14	Uam	First	Founder	10	0	0	0	-	0.4
JOIN003	Afghanistan	12	Refugee	First	Founder	12	0.143	0.905	-1	-	0.25
JOIN004	Turkey	18	Refugee	Second	Founder	5	-	-	-1	1	0.4
JOIN005	Sudan	14	Refugee	First	Founder	4	0	0	0	0	0
PM001	Serbia	29	Italian citizenship -ius sanguinis	First	Active member	2	0	0	-	-	0
PM002	Camerun	24	Work	First	Active member	4	1	0.429	-1	-	0
PM004	Brazil	29	Italian citizenship -ius sanguinis	First	Founder	6	0	0	0	-	0
PM003	India	22	Work	First	Active member	7	-1	0	1	-	0.28
JX001	Perù	27	Parents' sp	Second	Active member	4	-1	1	-	1	0.25
JX002	Equador	22	Work	First	Founder	9	-0.500	1	-	-1	0
JX003	Equador	20	Parents' sp	Second	Active member	6	0	1	1	1	0
JX004	Equador	11	Work	First	Active member	3	-	0	-	0	0.66
AFUN001	Eritrea	9	Refugee	First	Active member	2	-	0	-	-	0.5
DAC001	Mali	3	Refugee	First	Active member	4	-	-	-	-	1
DAC002	Mali	20 months	Asylum seeker	First	Founder	5	-	-	-	-1	0.6
DAC003	Guinea	3	Asylum seeker	First	Active member	4	1	-	-	-	1
NF001	Senegal	3	Asylum seeker	First	Active member	8	-	-	-	-	1
APP001	Pakistan	4	Refugee	First	Active member	1	-	1	-	-	0.5
APP003	Pakistan	19	Parents' sp	Second	Founder	8	0.091	-	1	-1	0
QeR001	Brazil	25	Italian citizenship	Second	Founder	9	1	-1	-1	-1	0.55
QeR002	Ghana	25	Parents' sp	Second	Active member	4	-1	1	1	-	0.25
QeR003	Portugal	20	Italian citizenship	Second	Active member	9	-1	-	1	-1	0.11
QeR004	Romania	29	Refugee	Second	Active member	5	-1	-	1	1	0
QeR005	Bangladesh	26	Parents' sp	Second	Active member	5	1	-1	1	1	0

<u>Size degree</u>

As afore-mentioned the size-degree index indicates the number of alters an ego is directly connected to. According to a structural dimension of Social Capital, the higher the index the higher the chances to access relational resources.

On average, the group of participants reports a *size-degree* of 6.4 with a minimum of 2 and a maximum of 13 resourceful contacts.

According to data, 33% of participants reported less than four significative ties for social integration; 45% reported between five and eight significative ties; 21% of participants reported nine or more significative ties.

It is interesting to note that the majority of those with the highest size degree are founders of the SEMB. As the following study will testify, SEMB founders transformed their own resourceful network in a collective Social Capital for SEMB beneficiaries and the local community.

<u>Homophily – Yule's Q</u>

This index accounts for an ego tendency to connect with nodes with similar characteristics. For the purpose of this study the index *Yule's Q* has been computed in relation to participants' countries of origin. Therefore, an index of 1 accounts for participants' perfect homophily or rather a tendency to connect with people from their same countries of origin. On the contrary, an index of -1 accounts for participants' perfect heterophily or rather a tendency to connect with people from a different country of origin. When the index is 0, it indicates no homophily or heterophily tendency. This index has been adopted in order to account for participants' bonding and bridging social capital.

The index *Yule's Q* was computed for each of the four markers of social integration: employment, housing, education and health.

Missing values indicate that participants did not mention significant ties.

Employment is a dimension that requires an openness toward the community. Job provides workers with economic self-sufficiency but also fosters the development of the local community especially from an economic and social point of view.

Consistent with this, Job is the context whereby the highest number of participants

with a tendency to heterophily was reported. Indeed 9 participants reported a value of -1, a participant reported a value of -.750 and another one reported a slight heterophily tendency with a value of -.5. Among them, six belong to the second generation while four to the first. Therefore, in this case, participants from the second generation are those that more frequently establish resourceful contact with autochthonous. Within this area, just four participants reported a perfect homophily tendency, two from the first and two from the second generation. Finally, nine participants reported no relevant tendency.

House is the place for home. This dimension recalls therefore intimacy and closeness. Literature also addresses home as a source of belonginess (Mallet, 2004). In western countries house is also a private context that is far away from the public dominion and therefore from performative aspects. Interestingly, this context is the one that contains the highest number of participants with an index of perfect homophily. Indeed, 8 participants, four from the first generation and four from the second generation, reported a value of 1, showing a tendency to refer to co-nationals in order to find a house in the resettlement country. On the contrary, just four participants, all from the second generation, reported a value that indicates perfect heterophily. Differently from the first generation, new citizens from the second generation grew up in the resettlement country developing higher chances to tie relationship with natives. Twelve participants obtained a value close or equal to zero attesting no preferences in terms of the country of belonginess of the resourceful contacts.

As much as in the case of housing, within the education area 8 participants reported an index of perfect homophily. This result shows that in order to get oriented within the educational system and to choose the educational path, these 8 participants referred to co-national. Among them, 7 belongs to the second generation and in particular they mentioned their parents as resourceful contacts.

Within the same area 5 participants, four of whom belongs to the first generation and one to the second, reported a value of -1. Therefore, differently from the second generation, those who belong to the first one, refer to autochthonous in order to get oriented within the educational system.

Lastly, 6 participants reported a no relevant tendency.

Overall, these results attest that parents have the function to drive their children within the educational system and, whether absent, newcomers refer to natives in order to get oriented within this dimension. This result seems to be in opposition with literature in the field that sees newcomers' parents having poor or null relationships with their children' school because of cultural and language barriers. The present study has not explored the quality of the relationship between participants' parents and schools, nevertheless, these findings suggest that parents still have the function to drive participants in the educational field.

Lastly, within the health dimension area 7 participants, all from the second generation, reported a value of perfect homophily.

In addition 7 participants, four from the first generation and three from the second, reported a value of perfect heterophily. Lastly, Four participants attested no relevant tendencies.

Results in this dimension show a pattern that is similar to the educational one. Parents seem to be influential in their children's orientation within the health care system despite literature reports an opposite trend whereby second-generation children are frequently called to mediate between their parents and the health care system (Katz, 2014). On the contrary, in the present study, seven out of eleven participants from the second generation mentioned their parents as resourceful to get oriented within the health care system. Differently, the majority of those who referred to natives are instead people from the first generation that could not refer to their origin family in the resettlement country.

<u>Compositional quality</u>

This index accounts for participants connections with alters with a high-power position as they work in Italian institutions. The index indicates therefore participants' linking connections.

Data shows that 5 participants reported an index higher than .75, all of them hold the refugee status and belong to the first generation. 6 participants reported an index that goes from .5 to .6, among them, 4 are refugees and two belong to the second generation with one parent being Italian. It is noteworthy that among these eleven participants with a high compositional quality value, nine reported at least three out of four no significative or missing *Yule's Q* values in the four markers of social integration, as if these linking connections covered a great part of the needs related to social integration.

In addition, those with the highest index of *compositional quality* have been in Italy for less than seven years.

On the contrary, 10 participants out of 33 reported a *compositional quality* index of 0, meaning that they did not rely on people working in the Italian institutions in order to get settled in Italy. Among them, just two hold the refugee status and one the subsidiary protection.

Overall, these findings confirm what is already known in literature or rather that refugees more than other newcomers with different reasons for resettling, take advantage of the government institutions to get settled in the resettlement community. In addition, they also testify that linking connections are particularly useful at the beginning of the resettlement path while they lose salience once newcomers are stably resettled

4.3. Discussion

The main purpose of the current study was to explore the Social Capital that fostered social integration of new citizens actively engaged in the development of Italian local communities.

These people's path is of particular interest as it allows to identify the social and inner resources that need to be activated in order to ease newcomers' inclusion within the resettlement community.

Data shows that in order to address this aim several factors need to be taken in consideration.

Starting from the first research question (RQ1) related to the social dynamics that characterized participants' countries of origin, our data is consistent with those reported by Colletta and Cullen (2000). Interestingly, with some exceptions, the majority of participants reported a fragmented social fabric within their countries of origin, whereby social divisions are based on different identity categories: ethnicity, religion, political parties, social class. According to the results, this fragmentation is fed by the governance class that takes advantage of the population social and cultural differences in order to gain political consent by fostering the benefit of one group over the others. The social fabric fragmentation is also extremely eclectic as it moves along a continuum that goes from separation to conflict. Even the conflictual situations assume different dynamics. Participants reported conditions of disputes but also genocides, to the point that some of participants' background can be classified as Complex Humanitarian Emergencies, defined as situations characterized by:

Complex political antecedents, often relating to competition for power and resources; 2) a protracted emergency situation with massive population displacement and destruction of social networks and ecosystems; 3) insecurity, often based on armed conflict, affecting civilians and others not engaged in

fighting; and 4) the emergence of predatory social formations' with high levels of social insecurity threatening the ability of the population to sustain livelihood and life (Ventevogel, 2017 pp. 21).

Consistent with this, in some situations, the social fabric fragmentation has affected not just the bridging connections but also the bonding ones. This is for example the case reported by participants from Somalia and Eritrea whereby it has been possible to observe how the situation in participants' backgrounds evolved across time. Interestingly, these same situations refer to two countries that were Italian colonies until seventy years ago. Nonetheless, no participant made reference to the colonial past of their country of origin. It is hypothesized that the reason for this participants' choice stands in the researcher-participant relationship.

The current study sheds light over a phenomenon rarely mentioned in literature but widely known by workers in the field of migration. Data attests that the dynamics that involved participants in their countries of origin also have an impact on their resettlement country, especially in the creation and exploitation of bonding Social Capital for their own social integration path.

The following considerations aim to answer to the second and third research questions (RQ2; RQ3).

Participants with refugee status and in particular those coming from contexts of violent conflicts reported episodes of dispute with co-nationals even in Italy. These frictions, mainly based on ethnicities and religion, led to discriminatory episodes both during the journey and in the resettlement communities. Eventually, these disputes impaired the creation of bonding Social Capital. Data, both from the thematic and the social network analysis, shows that bonding Social Capital was rarely mentioned by participants belonging to the first-generation holding refugee status.

These same participants though reported a higher reference to the linking connections in order settle within the Italian local communities. This is consistent with literature in the field (Eriksson, 2018; Nì Raghallaigh, 2013). Since refugees are included in a customized path for social integration led by the resettlement system in Italy, institutions are the very first ties they come in contact with. Within refugee participants, linking connections emerged as the most resourceful for the achievement of the four markers of social integration both from the interviews and the social network analysis.

On the contrary, first generation participants who hold different stay permits and could not rely on an institutional path for social integration, did not mention any form of linking Social Capital within their interviews and reported a low or a zero value of *compositional quality* index from the social network analysis.

However, in a complementary way they made a greater reference to bonding Social Capital. According to data, bonding connections were based not just on ethnicity but also on religion. The thematic analysis shows that these kinds of social connections were resourceful in order to start from scratch. They not only provide the necessary social and emotional support but also housing and job solutions. Consistent with Cheung and Phillimore's studies (2013), from the social network analysis results it emerges that bonding networks provided this group of participants particularly with housing and access to the educational services.

Nevertheless, from the interviews it is possible to further acknowledge that bonding networks, but also the linking ones for refugees and holders of the international protection, provide for temporary solutions. In other words, these specific ties were fundamental in order to lay the groundwork to set up a new life in the resettlement community (Modesti, Talamo, Nicolais & Recupero, 2020). Participants exploited these connections not just to ease the achievement of the four markers of social integration (Ager & Strang, 2008) but also to widen their own social network by progressively including also bridging connections.

As Eriksson and colleagues (2018) and Nì Raghallaigh (2013) outlined, data attests that bridging networks are eased by reliable linking but also bonding ties.

To answer to the fourth research question (RQ4), data attests that participants' approach to bridging connections occurred in a progressive way. Data from the thematic analysis allows to better specify those from the Social Network.

The prominent resource bridging relationships provide for is social integration from a psychological point of view (Berry, 1997). Data allows to identify a path for psychological integration made of four stages: acceptance, cultural acknowledgement, auto and hetero-recognition of belonginess, commitment towards local community development. The very first stage occurred in participants' first years of resettlement and deals with the feeling of being welcomed within the local community. Referencing Wenger (1998), within this stage participants occupied a peripheral position within the resettlement community, however due to the experience of feeling welcomed, they started endorsing an inbound trajectory. Cultural acknowledgement refers to a progressive acquisition of the community cultural repertoire (Wenger, 1998). Participants progressively approached the local and Italian culture through the establishment of trustful relationships with natives. This process is strongly related to identity development. Participants' identity acquired flexibility as they developed a sense of belonginess to the resettlement community that is not mutually exclusive to the one related to the country of origin. This process is the product of a dynamic of self- but also hetero recognition (Talamo & Ligorio, 2001): participants identified with the resettlement community and were recognized as effective members by natives. Consistent with literature, (Vidal, Valera & Però, 2010), results show also that the sense of belonging to the resettlement community is associated also to Place Attachment. The final stage of this psychological social integration process is related to the endorsement of an active commitment toward the development of the resettlement community, in particular

from a social point of view. To do so, participants stake the social identity related to their migratory background and make a wealth out of the experiences of social integration that they have done in first person (Modesti, Talamo, Recupero & Nicolais, 2020). Calling on the unfilled needs that they met during their social integration path, participants have started-up entrepreneurial activities aimed at easing the path of those who have arrived after them. In order to do so, participants selected valuable connections with people they met during their own social integration path, in particular with those with whom they share a common interest related to the activism for civil rights. Activism therefore represents a crossing boundary identity category that unifies people from different countries of origin and so creates a new form of bonding Social Capital. According to the definition, bonding Social Capital is the result of resources produced out of connections among people who share a common social identity (Szreter, & Woolcock, 2004). This explains the results about the Yule's Q index applied to the job marker that attests a high number of participants reporting a value of perfect heterophily.

It is also interesting to highlight that participants address this new form of bonding Social Capital towards the production of collective Social Capital. As the following chapter will highlight, the aim of SEMBs is to ease newcomers' social integration by fostering a plural culture within the local communities. The creation of SEMBs and the achievement of their mission deal with participants' process of Self-Actualization (Maslow, 1943). Once again it is interesting to outline that this process arises from the resourcefulness of bridging relationships.

This data sheds light over an important dynamic already introduced by the fathers of Social Capital construct but not deeply explored within the psychological field. Social relationships are not all necessarily productive (Portes, 1998). Instead, social relationships can be considered a resource when the individuals are able to identify and articulate shared goals or needs that can be satisfied by their relationship. In

other words, besides some charitable social connections, Social Capital can be produced whether actors embedded in a network share a common purpose. Data from the current study shows an extensive intersectionality among Self-Efficacy and Social Capital. Indeed, founders and active members of the SEMB transformed their own social integration network into the one of the SEMB by creating connections among the different nodes. Therefore, social connections become part of those resources participants are aware they own. This issue will be explored in-depth in the following chapter that reports two case studies of two different SEMBs.

5. Study 2 – New citizens' brokering function: SEMB Community Building strategies for newcomers' social integration

The following study addresses the commitment of two Social Enterprises with Migratory Background toward Community Building processes.

Community Building is a concept developed within Community Psychology, and it refers to "activities, practices, and policies that support and foster positive connections among individuals, groups, organizations, neighborhoods, and geographic and functional communities" (Weil, 1996, p. 482).

Community Building programs address social issues (McNeely, 1999) by fostering the creation of pluralistic communities, the spreading and sharing of common values, the development of trustful and reliable social relationships, and finally the social participation (Gardner, 1994).

As Austin (2005) pointed out, the very first Community Building interventions had been carried out in US between 1800 and 1900 with the aim to reduce the social and economic inequalities that divided newcomers' communities from natives' one. According to Chavis (2000), from 2000 onward the concept of Community Building included not just programs for the social and economic, but also for the cultural and political development of local communities.

The hallmark of Community Building programs is therefore the creation of resourceful social relationships among members of the same community. To do so, community members need to share a Sense of Community. McMillan and Chavis (1986) defined four dimensions of the Sense of Community that are close to the ones of the Community of Practice described by Wenger (1998) (see paragraph 2.2.2.) *membership, influence, integration and fulfillment of needs and shared emotional connection* (p.9). *Membership* refers to a sense of belonging; *influence* refers instead to a sense of efficacy; *integration and fulfillment of needs* relates to the belief that the resources

produced by virtue of membership will address the community needs; lastly, *shared emotional connection* addresses the members' awareness of sharing common history, values, and experiences.

The link between Sense of Community and Social Capital, and in particular the collective form of Social Capital is evident. Community Building strategies are indeed aimed at providing a collectivistic form of Social Capital through the development of a Sense of Community. For a more thorough definition and description of Social Capital and its collective form see paragraph 2.3.

Social enterprises are organizations started-up with the very aim to lead community development programs (Ngatse-Ipangui & Dassah, 2019; Dees, 2001). Mair and Noboa (2003) define a social enterprise as a "… set of interlocking opportunity-based activities by competent and purposeful individuals who –through their actions– can make a difference in society and are bound by context" (p.3). According to Lettice and Parekh (2010) social innovation defines the essential nature of social entrepreneurship. The authors describe social innovation as "… new products, services and models that have been developed to meet social needs" (Lettice, Parek, 2010, p.140).

Social entrepreneurship is therefore addressed as a change agent that reduces social inequalities (McElnea, 2005).

Cuervo, Ribeiro and Roig (2007) sustain that, as much as forms of classical entrepreneurship aimed at producing an economic revenue, social entrepreneurship is characterized by four dimensions: *entrepreneurial function, entrepreneurial initiative, entrepreneurial behaviour and entrepreneurial spirit*. The first one refers to a process of opportunity-seeking; the second refers instead to the creativity needed in order to start-up an innovative venture; the third dimension addresses instead aspects related

to agentivity, self-efficacy, and risk-taking attitude; lastly the fourth dimension is related to the pursuit of innovation.

Social entrepreneurs are therefore people with high levels of self-efficacy (Konakll, 2015; Aydogmus, 2019) and particularly with a risk-taking attitude and perseverance (Chipeta & Surujlal, 2017). As above-mentioned, is the social entrepreneurs' first-person exposition to some social issues that drives the foundation of a social enterprise. Nevertheless, creativity is also needed in order to identify effective solutions to fulfil the community needs that remained uncovered by government public institutions.

Beside the entrepreneurs' personal strengths, in order to start-up and effectively manage a social enterprise, a robust and trustworthy network of productive relationships is also needed (Modesti et al. 2020). Indeed, it is the very aim to solve social issues that makes necessary for social enterprises to be deeply rooted into the social fabric whereby they work (Evers, 2001).

Within this frame, SEMB are conceptualized as organizations that carry out Community Building programs aimed at fostering the creation of integrated communities.

Within the migration field, Community Building projects have addressed newcomers' social integration through the implementation of sport (Gibbs & Block, 2017) and educational activities (Butler, 2005), the exploitation of public meeting places (Thomas, Chiarelli-Helminiak, Ferraj & Barrette, 2016), gardening activities (Eggert, Blood-Siegfried, Champagne, Al-Jumaily & Biederman, 2015), and the use of ICT (Xu, Holzer, Maitland & Gillet, 2017). All these projects were aimed at easing the establishment of bridging connections among newcomers and native members of the resettlement community.

These projects are therefore consistent with Ager and Strang's (2008) model of social integration that sees social cohesion, defined by the presence of robust social

connections within and between social groups (Kawachi & Berkman, 2000), at the base of newcomers' social integration.

In other words, Community Building programs, aimed at fostering social integration, address social integration as a two-way process that concerns both newcomers and natives. For a more detailed description of the social integration construct see paragraph 2.1.

From the previous study, SEMB founders emerged to be people who successfully went through a social integration process both from a normative and psychological point of view. As results from Study 1 attest, the final stage of this process is the development of a commitment toward the development of the resettlement community. In this regard, SEMB founders assume a *broker function* (Wenger, 1998) aimed at either connecting newcomers with natives of the resettlement community and at easing the development of newcomers' *inbound trajectories* (Wenger, 1998). In order to achieve such a mission, founders of these social enterprises transform their first-hand experiences related to social integration into the human capital of their organization (Modesti et al. 2020).

The current chapter presents therefore a multiple case study of two Social Enterprises with Migratory Background that deals with the afore-mentioned goals. In line with the multiple case study aim (Baxter & Jack, 2008), the purpose of the current study is indeed to explore the differences on how two different SEMBs address the same purposes.

Cases Study

Two SEMB have been selected from the previous study in order to participate in Study 2.

To explore the phenomenon of the SEMB more in depth and to capture their eclectic nature, the two SEMB included in Study 2 have been chosen for their diversity. As the description hereunder shows, the composition, activities, and the place of intervention of the two SEMB are indeed extremely different.

Creating Connections is a SEMB founded in Turin, North of Italy, in 2018. Its aim is to promote and spread a culture of coexistence whereby young migrants and new Italian citizens play a fundamental role. Its beneficiaries are people with migratory background. The association was founded by four people with different migratory backgrounds and coming from different countries: a former refugee and a holder of subsidiary protection from Somalia, a second-generation woman from Perù, and an Italian citizen. Creating Connections addresses its mission through the implementation of two main branches of activities. The first one, which is aimed at creating meeting spaces between new and old members of the Turin community, includes activities such as sports tournaments and religious events. The second type specifically addresses newcomers' resettlement, and includes meetings aimed at explaining the Italian reception system. Nevertheless, the association hallmark is a project designed to foster newcomers' sense of belonging to the Italian and Turin culture. It consists in bringing together leaders of ethnic communities to participate in a tour of museums and symbolic places of the city. The leaders are then supposed to give back what they acknowledged to the rest of their community of origin residing in Turin.

Juntos is a SEMB founded in Rome in 2000 with the aim to foster the local social development. Juntos is a social, cultural, and politic non-profit association that deal with immigration issues in Italy. The association members are committed toward newcomers' full integration within the Italian society by fostering their rights and addressing their needs in respect of their cultural identity. Juntos was founded by an

Ecuadorian woman, that holds the role of president, but it employs four other people: two of them are the founder's sons that manage the economic and travel consultancies; the founder's daughter- in- law from Perù who holds the role of secretary; and the last member is an Ecuadorian woman lawyer who provides legal counselling.

Within this frame, the association carries out different activities that range from the economical and legal consultancy, to job placement and the organization of cultural events to celebrate its members' culture of origin. Recently the association has also started-up a travel agency that organizes travels to their beneficiaries' countries of origin.

5.1. Study Methodology

The aim of the current study is therefore to explore how the two SEMB address newcomers' social integration.

Consistent with the literature review and the previous study, the following research questions drove the data collection:

> RQ1: Which internal and relational resources did founders activated to start-up and manage the SEMB?
>
> RQ2: Is there a correspondence among the process of the SEMB foundation and management and the Social Capital they produce to foster their members' social integration?
>
> RQ3: Is the kind of Social Capital developed by the SEMB related to beneficiaries' social integration and psychological acculturation?

This study is characterized by a mixed method approach. Indeed, each of the three research questions has been investigated with a specific research methodology. With regard to RQ1 a qualitative approach has been adopted in order to deeply explore the internal and relational dynamics that brought to the SEMB foundation and management. RQ2 has been addressed through the Social Network Analysis to highlight the Social Capital of the two SEMB. Lastly, RQ3 has been investigated through a statistical method in order to identify beneficiaries' achievement of the four markers of social integration and acculturation strategies.

Given the complexity of methods, the study has been divided into three substudies: each of them addresses a research question.

The overall study saw the participation of the two SEMB founders, active members and beneficiaries. In particular, founders and active members participated to the first and second of substudy, while beneficiaries participated to the second and third substudy.

A note on beneficiaries' participation. Before the spread of the COVID-19 pandemic, collective administrations for beneficiaries' data collection had been organized with the two SEMB founders. Unfortunately, the secure measures for COVID-19 containment did not allow to pursue this data collection strategy. At the same time, for the same reason, both the SEMB had to stop their activities, losing in this way the continuative contact with most of their beneficiaries who withdrew the participation to the study. For these very reasons, beneficiaries' group of participants is of a small size.

Participation in this second study was voluntary and no compensation was received. An informed consent form was signed by each participant prior to participating in the narrative interview or the survey. The informed consent form described research objectives and methods as well as procedures for the collection, storage, and use of

data. It also detailed compliance with university ethical standards and national law governing privacy and the collection of personal data. Participants were informed that they had the possibility to withdraw from the study at any time. Participants were assigned an alphanumeric code (i.e. GP001) to guarantee the participant's anonymity. Participants whose code starts with GP (i.e. GP001) belong to Creating Connections whilst participants whose code starts with JX (i.e. JX001) belong to Juntos.

Study 2 was conducted by the same three-person-research team that carried out study 1.

5.2. Substudy 1

5.2.1. Research Question

Aim of this first substudy is to answer to the first research question:

> RQ1 - Which internal and relational resources did founders activate to start-up and manage the SEMB?

This first substudy is explorative, and it is meant to identify commonalities and differences among the two SEMB. In particular, it will explore whether the inner and relational dynamics that brought to the foundation of the two SEMB and to their management differ.

5.2.2. Participants

Founders and active members of the two SEMB participated in the first substudy. Table 5.1 shows participants' demographics. As the table shows, Creating Connections emerges as an eclectic context in terms of its members' country of origin and residence permit, Juntos seems to be more homogeneous.

Table 5.1

SEMB founders and active members' demographics

	Creating Connections	Juntos
Tot	9	4
Gender	F=3 M=6	F=3 M=1
Age	M=33.3 DS=5.6	M=41.75 DS=9.74
Nationality	3 Somalia 1 Perù 1 Italy 1 Pakistan 1 Afghanistan 1 Romania 1 Kashmir	3 Ecuador 1 Perù
Stay permit	3 Refugee 2 Subsidiary 1 UAM 1 Parents' SP	2 Work 2 Parents' SP
Italian Citizenship	2 acquired 2 from the birth	0
Years in Italy	M=13.87 DS=8.47	M=20 DS=6.68

5.2.3. Data collection

To address the first RQ a qualitative method was adopted. Founders and active members of the two SEMB participated in the first part of the study that was devoted to the exploration of the process of the SEMB foundation and management and the resources activated for its start-up. For these very reasons, founders and active members of the two SEMB sat for a narrative interview that was aimed at exploring the characteristics of the organizations. For a description of the narrative interview tool see paragraph 4.1.3.

This narrative interview is a continuation of the one described in study 1 and is divided into three areas. The complete text of the interview is reported in Appendix 3.

The first part addresses the process of the SEMB foundation and is aimed at exploring the motivations beneath the SEMB start-up and how do they relate with founders' social integration path. This first area goal is also to identify the inner and relational resources that founders activated in order to start-up the SEMB.

The second area explores the SEMB management. Aim of this part is to identify the resources that the SEMB activate in order to ease their beneficiaries' social integration and also their wider impact on the local community.

The third and final part of the interview explores participants' role within the SEMB in order to differentiate among their functions and specific skills.

A total of thirteen members between founders and active members of the two SEMB agreed to participate in the study and were interviewed. Nine of them belonged to Creating Connections with four founders and five active members, while four participants belonged to Juntos with the founder and three out of four active members. One of Juntos active members denied the interview participation.

A total of fifteen interviews were collected as the presidents of both SEMB were interviewed twice. The second interview was aimed at clarifying and at further enriching some aspects that emerged throughout the rest of the interviews. Interviews were administered in Italian, face to face and lasted an average of fifteen minutes. All interviews were audio recorded and then transcribed by the three-person research team.

5.2.4. Data Analysis

In line with study 1 a thematic analysis was carried out to analyze the interview. For a detailed description of the thematic analysis method please refer to paragraph 4.1.4.1.

The same procedure used in study 1 was also adopted in study 2, so the analysis was performed by the three-person research team who met before individually coding the dataset, in order to explore the analytical categories that better address the study objectives.

The interviews of the two different SEMB were coded separately and, in order to maintain a chain of continuity with study 1, the research team decided to analyze data in light of the analytical categories identified in the previous study. From this *theoretical* approach, it turned out that the analytical categories of Social Capital and Self Efficacy appropriately fit both the interviews dataset.

Therefore, in this second study, the Social Capital and Self-Efficacy categories account for the relational and inner resources that founders developed both to create the SEMB and to address their mission.

As for study 1, a second *theoretical* analysis was conducted in order to differentiate among the different forms of Social Capital and the different constituents of Self-Efficacy.

As the following table highlights, between the two datasets no differences emerged in terms of Social Capital subthemes. A slight difference emerged instead in the subthemes of Self-Efficacy.

Table 5.2

Study 2 Thematic map

	Creating Connections	**Juntos**
Analytical category	Sub-Theme	Sub-Theme
Social Capital	Bonding	Bonding
	Bridging	Bridging
	Linking	Linking
	Collective	Collective
Self-Efficacy	Awareness internal resources	Awareness internal resources
	Awareness relational resources	-
	Relational Agentivity	Relational Agentivity
	Empowerment	Empowerment

The research team met to discuss findings weekly and created two master files: one for Creating Connections and one for Juntos, with the extracts organized by the analytical themes. The extracts were color coded to indicate which researcher identified each extract and track instances when two or more researchers agreed on the classification in an effort to understand interrater reliability and reduce individual bias. Cases of disagreement were discussed between the research team.

5.2.5. Results

The results of thematic analysis will be presented hereunder through an in-depth description of the analytical categories and sub-themes emerged from both the case studies.

Similarly to the first study, an intersection among the sub-themes of the two analytical categories emerged in both the case studies.

For clarity's sake the results of each SEMB will be presented separately.

Each theme described will be exemplified by the most representative excerpts. Each excerpt will be followed by a code that, as explained in the previous study, indicates

the number of the interview, the interviewer, the respondent, and the line number of the interview whereby the excerpt is placed.

Creating Connections

The results of the theoretical thematic analysis applied to the dataset from Creating Connections case study will be presented hereunder.

Social Capital

As the Social Capital developed for the SEMB foundation is different from the one developed by the SEMB to foster its beneficiaries' social integration, these two different forms of Social Capital will be presented separately.

Social Capital for the SEMB start-up

The start-up of this SEMB is the result of an interplay between bonding and bridging Social Capital. For this reason, a strong interrelation emerged between the correspondent sub-themes.

Founders of Creating Connections are four people coming from different countries of origin: GP001, the president, and GP002 are from Somalia, GP008 is from Perù, while GP007 is from Italy. They also have different migratory backgrounds: GP001 is a former refugee, GP002 is holder of international protection and GP008 belong to the second-generation.

The foundation of the start-up is therefore based both on Bonding and Bridging Social Capital.

GP001 met the co-national GP002 through the Somali community in Turin. In particular, they came in contact because of housing placement, as the following excerpt testifies:

EXCERPT 1

356. *We met through some other Somali friends because GP001 was looking for housing. I was here (In Turin) for years so they told me "there is a guy who is looking for housing". Since at that time I was leaving on my own I told him "If you want to come, there is a place for you"*

[Interview2 – InterviewerC – GP002]

This very first result is consistent with results of the previous study according to which bonding Social Capital is particularly useful for housing placement.

The president of the association met instead the other two members through a common path in the third sector where the three of them worked. The following excerpts are from GP001 and GP007's interviews.

EXCERPT 2

408. *I met GP008 in 2012 in a campaign called "I am Italy too" (…) she worked in an Italian NGO that organized exchanging programs (…) and she involved me in lots of initiatives and also in a project addressed to schools.*

[Interview10 – InterviewerC – GP001]

EXCERPT 3

156. *I met GP001 through an experience we made together in an association whereby I still work that deals with international cooperation and social cohesion.*

[Interview7 – InterviewerC – GP007]

As already discussed in the previous study, the foundation of this SEMB is the result of the development of an already existing network. In particular, in the case of Creating Connections, the professional and housing context provided the soil to deepen the founders' relationships, to identify common values and professional

goals. The recognition and the endorsement of a common project grouped the four members under the wider category of activism. Therefore, their nationality was no longer a suitable category to describe the element that held them together.

EXCERPT 4

366. *When GP001 and me talked about the situation in Somalia we agreed because we had similar ideas about what we wanted to do in our lives (…), in the future, both at a personal level but also with regards of our Country, of our people and the Country that welcomed us (…) Our two Countries.*
[Interview2 – InterviewerC – GP002]

EXCERPT 5

391. *(The project) grew up also through the activism. We have carried out lots of initiatives (…) among these initiatives some minds met and narrated and understood each other and they created a relationship of trust.*
[Interview7 - InterviewerC – GP007]

In excerpts 4 and 5 the climax of founders' connectedness is well described. The activism provided them the chance to deepen their relationships, and to create a new form belonginess. In particular, in excerpt 5 the interviewee vividly describes the creation of a relationship that owns the features of the bonding type of Social Capital. Such a characteristic is particularly evident in the following excerpt from the president's interview.

EXCERPT 6

497. *I am really happy to share (this project) with competent people like them (the co-founders). We have a common vision because the statute is shared, and we have common strategies. Even though we come from different paths I realized that with the three of them I have built lots of things even for free but with passion. I have to work with these (…) brothers (…) I trust them, we trust each other.*

[Interview10 – InterviewerC – GP001]

In excerpt 6, GP001 gives to the relationship that ties him with the co-founders an emotional connotation that refers to the family dominion. In particular, he emphasizes that despite the different backgrounds their common professional vision brought to the establishment of a trustful relationship of a family kind.

No relevant results emerged with regard to the role played by linking Social Capital for this SEMB foundation.

<u>The Social Capital created for beneficiaries' social integration.</u>

From the thematic analysis it emerged that Creating Connections aims at building four different types of Social Capital for newcomers' social integration: the bonding, bridging, linking and collective Social Capital. These four types constitute therefore four different subthemes.

Overall, the bonding, bridging and linking connections produce resources for newcomers' social integration that go from information access to the promotion of the Italian cultural competences. Through the inclusion in a resourceful network, the SEMB fosters its beneficiaries social and psychological integration.

With the exception of the four founders that, by the time of the start-up, were tied by a bonding connection, Creating Connections is based upon the construction of bridging Social Capital. The aim of the SEMB is indeed to create a plural society

through the promotion of connections among people with different backgrounds. To do so, the founders started from the SEMB composition: the active members are indeed people with different countries of origin and different migratory backgrounds.

> EXCERPT 7
>
> 654. *It is not easy to have meetings with Afghani, Pakistani, Somali, Italian and Peruvian people (…) it is not easy to write a project (together), it is easier if I write it on my own, but the lifeblood comes from them, from what they think*
> [Interview8 – InterviewerC – GP008]

In excerpt 7, GP008 offers an insight about the SEMB organization. She describes a bottom-up approach whereby active members are directly involved in the process of project design: their experience is indeed considered the starting point in order to identify social integration current problems and solutions. Active members' experience constitutes therefore part of SEMB human capital, or rather the stock of knowledge and competences required to effectively manage an organization (Luthans, Luthans and Luthans, 2004). This human capital addresses the beneficiaries' social integration. It is interesting to outline that active members' differences in terms of culture and backgrounds are not just valued but also considered the *lifeblood* of the association.

Creating Connections works on its beneficiaries' inclusion in resourceful bridging connections also providing them with Italian cultural competences. The SEMB hallmark activity is indeed aimed at fostering the beneficiaries' knowledge about the Italian history and cultures. As the previous study testifies, the development of the Italian cultural competences allows newcomers to share the local community

repetoire of meaning that in turn fosters the recognition of being an effective member of the resettlement community.

Active members are former beneficiaries that, by virtue of the position held within their community of origin, have been selected in order to formally participate in the association. Active members are indeed community leaders of their own community of origin who were the firsts to benefit from the association activities. The first excerpt is from the President's first interview, whilst the second one is from the interview of an active member.

> EXCERPT 8
>
> 471. *(In the first project) we have involved thirty refugees with fourteen different nationalities. Fourteen nationalities, so that once they have acquired this information, they can multiply its effect by recounting it to their own community.*
> [Interview1 – InterviewerC – GP001]

> EXCERPT 9
>
> 469. *We learn something and share. We give back what we received.*
> [Interview3 – InterviewerC – GP003]

In excerpt 8, the President describes the strategy adopted by the association in order to multiply its beneficiaries. In particular this strategy exploits active members' bonding connections in order to reach out to a wider audience. In this way, as the excerpt 9 testifies, the bridging Social Capital created out of the smaller group of founders and active members is afterwards transformed into bonding Social Capital through the active members' function.

The association aims at easing its beneficiaries' connections also with institutions, in order to foster the creation of linking social capital.

EXCERPT 10

585. *For six months the police headquarters all over Italy have not released the travel document to the Somali citizens holders of subsidiary protection (…) So, me as Creating Connections (representative) went to the prefecture and told them "There's this problem, how can we solve it?" (…) The trader told me "Group all the people who have this problem". I went to the mosque attended by the Somali community (…) and announced: "Whoever has this problem please provide me the copy of the documents" (…) I grouped fifteen people and sent an email to the prefecture (…) Eventually last week the trader called and told me "I have talked with the police headquarter and the issue is now solved. From Friday forward Somali citizens can go to the headquarter and solve their problem"*

[Interview10 – InterviewerC – GP001]

In excerpt 10 the President narrates an episode whereby the association worked towards solving a problem of the Somali community in Italy. For this very reason, the connection among the SEMB and the prefecture is resourceful for the association beneficiaries and constitutes its linking Social Capital. In this case though the association did not just solve a problem but also, and maybe more importantly, it eased the relationship among the President's co-nationals and the Italian institutions. The SEMB linking Social Capital is therefore transferred to its beneficiaries.

The aim of Creating Connections is to promote a pluralistic society by fostering the establishment of connections among people belonging to different cultures. For this very reason, the construction of collective Social Capital for the social and cultural development of the local community is the ultimate scope of the SEMB.
The following excerpt is from one of the founders' interviews.

EXCERPT 11

394. *The greatest obstacle is the distance experienced by individuals, I mean, to feel different because of the provenience or the culture because we don't know each other. And this creates an almost insurmountable barrier. There is a bit of fear, distrust and the creation of the black beast or whatever the representation that does not allow you to approach the other. So, expedients should be created in order to lower the defenses, prejudices and everything has been created across time within the society because of certain ideologies and politics.*

[Interview7 – InterviewerC – GP007]

In excerpt 11 GP007 describes what he feels is the heart of the social integration problem: the prejudices and mutual distrust that hinder the chance to keep in contact people from different cultures. In this interview excerpt, the same political and ideological manipulation recounted by participants in Study 1 is identifiable when describing the social context of their country of origin. To address this issue, Creating Connections organizes events aimed at keeping in contact with people from different cultures and religious faiths. The following excerpt is from the President's interview.

EXCERPT 12

145. *To work on the preparation of the local community means to establish connections with schools, churches, to create an interreligious dialogue. We have organized events addressed to Christian guys as well as to the Muslim community (…). It also means to organize sport tournaments; the sport also has a role with regard to social integration.*

[Interview1 – InterviewerC – GP001]

In excerpt 12, GP001 tells about the SEMB commitment toward the promotion of a cohesive social fabric. The President is describing some of the activities that the association has carried out in order to ease the contact among otherwise

disconnected social groups. Beneficiaries of these kinds of activities are not just newcomers but the whole local community, because a cohesive community is a community whereby all its members despite their differences cooperate to foster its development. The social development that founders pursue is therefore the constitution of a pluralistic society.

Self-efficacy

As Table 5.2 shows, within Creating Connections dataset the analytical category of Self-Efficacy includes four subthemes: Awareness internal resources, Awareness of relational resources, Relational agentivity and Empowerment. Taken together, these subthemes depict the internal resources that founders owned and developed in order to address the SEMB mission.

Similarly to the previous study, the subtheme "Awareness of internal resources" accounts for the inner resources founders were aware of and willingly activated in order to give birth to the SEMB. In particular, these resources derive from the experience founders made as direct users but also workers in the reception system. The following excerpt is from the first GP001's interview.

> EXCERPT 13
>
> 36. *Those who arrive after us are going to meet our same difficulties, but some of them can already be overcome. It is not possible that the same difficulties I met ten years ago must be met by another person. Things that can also be trivial, very simple to solve. [...] I said "I have to give some answers".*
> [Interview1 – InterviewerC – GP001]

In excerpt 13, the transformation of the founders' direct experience as recipients of the reception system into the SEMB human capital is well depicted. A resilient

process whereby difficulties were transmuted into opportunities can be also identified. What is interesting to highlight is that these difficulties become opportunities and resources not just for the founders themselves but also for others, in this case the SEMB beneficiaries.

Differently from the previous subtheme, the Awareness of relational resources accounts for founders' awareness of the resources that came from the relationship among them. In other words, this subtheme accounts for founders' awareness of the Social Capital that their relationship produces. The following excerpt is from GP007's interview.

> EXCERPT 14
>
> 227. *The enterprise was born from such a strong and trustful relationship and somehow from the willingness (…) I mean (we were) the good guys who were carrying forward the others' enterprise while we (…) knew we had some potential (…) I mean we knew we were already heard, we knew we had some chances, so we said "Why don't we value everything we have done so far?" Even just because (we were) so active, so present. Personally, I have never backed out (…) This is a serious commitment to which I'm fully engaged because I know I am surrounded by people I trust with whom I am on the same wavelength.*
>
> [Interview7 - InterviewerC – GP007]

In excerpt 14, GP007 vividly describes the experience of a resourceful relationship with the co-founders. This experience comes from the chance they had to work together and therefore to develop a common vision of the work in the third sector. Similarly to the previous excerpt, a founders' previous experience is valued and transformed into a resource for the association itself. Therefore, also in this case individual experiences become collective resources. It is important to highlight

though that fundamental ingredients for this transformation are the founders'

mutual trust and willingness of the path they have gone through so far.

Similarly to the results obtained in study 1, Relational agentivity stands for the

activation of relational resources. Differently from the previous sub-theme this one

indicates the commitment toward the activation of a Social Capital that is not already

existing. This specific form of agentivity is addressed toward the achievement of the

SEMB mission.

EXCERPT 15

249. *To grow from the associative point of view means to create new chances for the*

founders, active members, people who approach the association to know each other, to

network their skills and energies with the aim to create something new and strong.

[Interview7 - InterviewerC – GP007]

In excerpt 15 GP007 is talking about the role that every single member, being a

founder, an active member or a beneficiary, plays within the SEMB. SEMB essence

does not reflect its single, individual members but is reflected in the networking of

the collective competencies and skills. By creating spaces to foster this kind of

network, the SEMB operates as a catalyst for relational agentivity.

The last sub-theme emerged within the Self-Efficacy category of Creating

Connections qualitative dataset is Empowerment. Consistent with Zimmerman, who

defines Empowerment as a "construct that integrates perceptions of personal control,

a proactive approach to life, and a critical understanding of the sociopolitical

environment" (1995, p. 581), this subtheme indicates the SEMB effort to foster its

beneficiaries' empowerment.

EXCERPT 16

554. (A beneficiary) is here (in Italy) for five years now. I met him in the reception center where I worked. He is an exploited person, exploited, there are no other words. He has to be in a porter's lodge, in a kitchen, he has to be a warehouse worker, he slept there and after five years he didn't know anybody. This is not the point, if you lose that job because you don't accept anymore to work under those conditions (…) Where do you go? (…) Who knows you? Who do you know? So what? You start crying? No you don't, you go outside and I 'll keep you in touch with some other people that I think can be an opportunity.

[Interview10 - GP001 – interviewerC]

In the excerpt above the SEMB President describes the life condition of a beneficiary and its side effects. The absence of social connections puts the person into question in a vulnerable position: in order to have a basic life condition the person has to accept exploitative working conditions that in turn hinder the chance of creating other external relationships. The aim of the association is therefore to include its beneficiaries in a resourceful social network whereby they can identify and exploit opportunities. In this way SEMB beneficiaries come out of a helpless condition and widen their contexts of belonging. The president's expression *you go outside* also recalls a rooted relationship with the resettlement community.

EXCERPT 17

403. One of our projects was aimed at providing newcomers with some knowledge about the Italian history in order to make them feel part of this same history.

[Interview7 - GP007 – interviewerC]

EXCERPT 18

492. *I have learnt lots of things even through the cultural exchange. You can do lots of things for the city and we don't have to always blame: "we are poor, we come from a poor country" we should go forward and do something (for the community)*
[Interview3 - GP003 – interviewerC]

In these last two quotations it emerges that the beneficiaries' empowerment is strongly linked to the possibility to experience a sense of belonging to the resettlement community that is not limited to the social connectedness but includes also the feeling of being part of its cultural and historical life. It is this sense of belonging that in turn fosters an active commitment toward the community development that, according to study 1, represents the third and final stage of social integration.

Juntos

The qualitative results of the second case study will now be presented.

Social Capital

Even in this case the Social Capital developed for the start-up of the association is different to the one developed to foster its beneficiaries' social integration.

Social Capital for the SEMB start-up

The social Capital that formally brought to the SEMB start-up is of a bonding type. Nevertheless, also in this case it is possible to identify a network transformation: the President started-up the association with some co-national friends, although she afterward decided to run it with her family.

EXCERPT 1

277. *I started-up the association with some friends of mine, but I realized that the association didn't work because if you have a partner there is always a problem. If the association doesn't have money, there are no problems but when money arrives it is a mess. This is the problem, you know. So, it is better to run it on your own because if you fall you fall alone and if you stand up it is better to stay on your own. It is easy to start-up an association because it requires just three people, but the issue is to manage it.*

[Interview5 – JX002 – interviewerC]

In excerpt 1 the President delineates the organizational change that from the start-up of the association brought to its actual configuration. In particular she mentions some financial problems that brought her to run the SEMB on her own. Effectively, though, the association sees the active participation of four other members, but three of them belong to her same family: two being her sons and one being her daughter-in-law. In this way the SEMB takes the connotations of a family enterprise lead by the woman. In this case therefore, it is possible to track a network narrowing: the initial friendship network shrank into a family network.

The President also cites a bridging connection that became resourceful for the SEMB start-up.

EXCERPT 2

610. *The stimulus (to start-up the association) came from my first employer in Italy. He told me "You have to study, you are not a house care worker, you have to study because you have to work for your people"*

[Interview2 – JX002 – interviewerJ]

The employer, whom the woman is talking about, is the father of a family where she has worked as a baby-sitter for seven years as soon as she arrived in Italy. The man into question recognized and valued the woman's past work experience in the Ecuadorian government whereby she worked as the President's secretary. During the interview the woman explains that the man not only sustained the SEMB president by empowering her but also facilitated her the chance to study and dedicate time to the association foundation and management.

The SEMB start-up and management is also the result of linking Social Capital. The following excerpt is again from the JX002's second interview.

> EXCERPT 3
>
> 267. *They say that in Italy you have to have four friends: a friend in politics, one in the police, a lawyer and an accountant. I have all of them (…) because you see it is not easy to start-up an enterprise, you have to do everything properly and it is not so easy.*
>
> [Interview5 – JX002 – interviewerC]

In excerpt 3 the President recalls an Italian expression that indicates the friendships that in Italy matter in order not to have law problems when running an enterprise. This is an expression that recalls corruption. Nevertheless, it is interesting to highlight that these professionals, instead of providing an illegal form of protection, gave the woman the information necessary to properly start-up and manage the association. During the interview the President explains that since the law regulating immigration and economic affairs changes so rapidly these kinds of friendships guarantee her the chance to keep being updated and to correctly answer to the SEMB beneficiaries' needs.

<u>Social Capital created for beneficiaries' social integration.</u>

The Social Capital that the SEMB produces for its beneficiaries mainly comprises the development of the origin and Italian cultural competences as well as information and opportunities for social integration. The SEMB provides its beneficiaries with this social and psychological integration by including them in the SEMB bonding, bridging and linking network.

Although the SEMB addresses people from different countries of origin, those who have a continuous involvement in the association activities are mainly beneficiaries from Latin America. This is because the SEMB considers the maintenance of the origin culture an important ingredient to feel at home in the resettlement country. For this very reason, the association organizes various cultural events addressed to first, second and third generation beneficiaries to celebrate some of the Latin American cultures from which the same founder and active members originate.

> EXCERPT 4
>
> 125. *The Ecuador embassy called us and asked to work in order not to lose our roots, our cultural diversity (…) So we organized lots of events and participated in lots of celebrations in order to foster our co-nationals' inclusion.*
>
> [Interview2 – JX002 – interviewerJ]

As excerpt 4 testifies, besides the cultural celebrations, these events also promote inclusion. In particular, they reinforce the connectedness among the Latin American beneficiaries that is resourceful not just for the cultural maintenance but also for the social integration. This is consistent with the results of Study 1 about the bonding connections resourcefulness for social integration and also with the literature results (Putnam 2000; Briggs, 2003; Calhoun 2010; Eriksson, Wimelius & Ghazinour, 2018; Cheung & Phillimore, 2013).

The association fosters its beneficiaries' bridging Social Capital in two ways: by directly including them in the SEMB bridging connections that are resourceful especially for job opportunities, but also working on the pre-conditions for the establishment of such a kind of linkages.

The following excerpt refers to the first activity aimed at fostering the bridging contact.

> EXCERPT 5
>
> 626. *Some (local) employers call my mother and tell her "I'm looking for five builders to work on a project" and my mother replies "I'll let you know this evening" and then my mother phones to the beneficiaries and say "Look, I've found this job"*
> [Interview3 – JX003 – interviewerJ]

In order to promote beneficiaries' integration, the SEMB established connections with members of the local community that can be a source of job opportunities. During the interview the man explains that these contacts are the product of rooted relationships among the President and the local community. Therefore, in this case the SEMB bridging social capital is put at its beneficiaries' service.

The following excerpts from JX002 and JX003's interview refer instead to the SEMB's commitment toward its beneficiaries' acquisition of the language competences that ease the establishment of bridging connections.

> EXCERPT 6
>
> 484. *When I talk to lots of people from Latin America I told them to speak in Italian and they say "Let's speak in Spanish" and I reply "We live in Italy let's speak in Italian"*
> [Interview2 – JX002 – interviewerJ]

EXCERPT 7

612. *Juntos works for social integration by keeping in contact people who don't speak Italian with Italian professors who teach the Italian language.*

[Interview3 – JX003 – interviewerJ]

As the previous study testifies, the acquisition of the Italian language is a fundamental ingredient for social integration as it eases the establishment of bridging connections but also the recognition of being part of the resettlement community. The fluency in the use of Italian language emerged as one of the elements that allowed participants of study 1 to progress from a peripheral to a central position within the local community.

Juntos also owns a strong linking network that promotes its beneficiaries' social integration from a legal and economic viewpoint. This network addresses the enterprise goal to foster newcomers' rights.

With specific regard to the legal part, through the course of time the association developed a network of lawyers that could help its beneficiaries with the support and information necessary in order to apply and manage issues related to the residence permit and citizenship.

EXCERPT 8

304. *I deal with appeals against the rejection of residence permit, tourist visa. I mean I deal with the legal consultancy for those who need international protection or the application for family reunion.*

[Interview4 – JX004 – interviewerJ]

JX004 is one of the lawyers that works with the SEMB. She follows the residence permit practices by mediating the relationship among the SEMB beneficiaries and the Italian institutions. The mediation though is not just professional, but also cultural

and linguistic as JX004 herself is from Latin America, in particular she is from Ecuador.

A similar service mediates the relationship among beneficiaries and the economic institutions. This service provides beneficiaries with information related to the tax payment and the demand for economic subsidies. This network is preserved by the continuous training the President and an active member attend in order to be constantly updated about these economic issues.

Lastly, also Juntos is committed toward the development of collective Social Capital. The scope of the enterprise is indeed to foster the social development of the local community through the promotion of social cohesion. For this very reason, the SEMB organizes events that ease the contact among Latin Americans and the resettlement community.

> EXCERPT 9
>
> 378. *For two years we have participated in the Eataly week of Latin America and they gave us the day for the Perù (cuisine). The owner could not believe we could fill the hall but we were full (…) it was full of Italians.*
> [Interview2 – JX002 – interviewerJ]

As excerpt 9 testifies, the strategy that Juntos adopts to foster the social development of the local community is to organize events that ease the inter-cultural contact. In particular, the SEMB takes advantage of Latin American celebrations in order to allow the resettlement community to keep in contact with these cultures. Indeed, similarly to Creating Connections, Juntos addresses social development as the promotion of a society that is respectful of the cultural diversity of its members.

Self-Efficacy

Within Juntos qualitative dataset, the analytical category of Self-Efficacy includes three subthemes: Awareness of internal resources, Relational agentivity and Empowerment. These subthemes account for the internal resources that the President and the active members owned and developed in order to address the SEMB mission.

The subtheme "Awareness of internal resources" includes the President's inner resources that fostered the start-up of the SEMB. As in Creating Connections, in this case-study the inner resources are made of previous experiences that gave the stimulus to give birth to the enterprise.

> EXCERPT 10
>
> 607. *What really helped me was the desire to move forward. I told myself "If a became an important person in my Country I have to be successful even here where I received some opportunities"*

> EXCERPT 11
>
> 674. *I told myself "We have to change, I have to change. I don't have to wait for the money at the end of the month to live and to live just for that kind of life" (…) I don't like to be shut-in (…) All the sentences that I heard on the television "My little caretaker, my Peruvian housekeeper, my housekeeper is from Peru". All that sentences bothered me, and I said "We must be at the same level"*
>
> [Interview2 – JX002 – interviewerJ]

In excerpts 10 and 11 the interviewee describes the steps that brought her to actively promote a change in her life. In Ecuador she graduated as an engineer and covered an important role within the Country's government. Nevertheless, when she arrived

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in Italy, she worked as a baby-sitter, a job that she has held for seven years. The excerpts describe an important advancement in social integration. As the previous study testifies, an important change in newcomers' social integration path is the shift from a job of convenience that guarantees an economic income to a job that reflects new citizens' professional interests. This shift is the result of an economic but also emotional investment as new citizens have to abandon a secure job position for an insecure but more satisfying one. As already mentioned in the previous study, this process deals with Self-Actualization.

In the excerpts above the interviewee narrates this inner change and the motivations that supported it: the desire to Self-Actualize again, as she did in the past in Ecuador, and to move from the representation of a subordinative position that she felt it did not match her self-conception.

This inner change is also accompanied by the experience that the President did in first person as recipient of the resettlement system that, similarly to Creating Connections, constitutes the SEMB human capital.

> EXCERPT 12
> 418. *As they (referred to politicians) say, we are the problem, so we have the solutions. How do you find solutions simply being at the desk?*
> [Interview2 – JX002 – interviewerJ]

Even if in a quite provocative manner, the President underlines that solutions in the social integration issues must take into account the direct experience of those who benefit them. She also calls into question the disconnection from the immigration reality that she observed in those entitled to work in the immigration policies.

The sub-theme "Relational Agentivity" accounts for the Social Capital that the SEMB built in order to address its mission. Within Juntos the relational agentivity is a

process that is observed within the SEMB but also between the SEMB and other stakeholders. As already mentioned, the association started with a core of founders made of the President and some friends and changed in an almost entirely familiar network. Aware of the beneficiaries' needs, the President designed a series of services and assigned them to members of her family and friends that developed the skills to effectively deliver them. This is how the economic and legal consultancy services developed within the SEMB.

As already mentioned and discussed in the paragraph about Social Capital, the association also created a network of stakeholders that contribute to the achievement the SEMB mission. This network of stakeholders is made of the Ecuadorian Embassy, authorities of city Council, other associations with migratory background that work in the local community.

Empowerment is the last sub-theme that emerged within this analytical category. The SEMB foundation itself is based upon the empowerment intervention the President's first employer provided her. In fact, he pushed her to give a concrete outlet to her professional interests. Interestingly, the founder endorsed the same empowerment intervention and transmitted it at first hand to her sons, who work in the SEMB, and afterward also to the SEMB beneficiaries.

> EXCERPT 13
>
> 514. *My mother taught me to never give up. She never gave up. She brought me in another Country (…) now she is happy, and she says "Ok I made my part, now it's your turn"*
>
> [Interview3 – JX003 – interviewerJ]

In the excerpt above a picture of the family but also of the organizational context is presented. The founder of the association provided her sons, who are employed in

the SEMB, with an education and a context to professionally get involved. Nevertheless, she also provided them with a social model (Bandura, 1994) for social integration. This social model is also a point of reference for the SEMB beneficiaries.

> EXCERPT 14
>
> 39. *I always tell them "If you were a journalist in Ecuador, set up your radio station here too. You work in the morning and in the afternoon, you dedicate time to your radio station".*
>
> [Interview2 – JX002 – interviewerJ]

In this excerpt it is possible to identify a continuity among the President' social integration path and the empowering suggestion she gives to the SEMB beneficiaries. Indeed, she proposes them to adopt the same model for social integration that was successful for her.

Eventually, similarly to Creating Connections, this SEMB pursued a strategy for its beneficiaries' social integration based on independence.

> EXCERPT 15
>
> 682. *I share everything I know and own, but I also say "Go and fight for what you want to become, I cannot give you everything"*
>
> [Interview2 – JX002 – interviewerJ]

This very last excerpt is representative of a series of examples whereby the founder and the active members account for a SEMB strategy that is aimed at providing beneficiaries the resources not merely to get socially integrated but especially to become proponents of their own social integration path.

Summary

Results from the first substudy highlight that the trigger that brought to the foundation of the two SEMB is the same: a Self-Actualization process that pushed founders to transform their personal experience of social integration into the human capital of a social enterprise aimed at fostering newcomers' integration. Nevertheless, even though the founders' internal resources that drove the two SEMB foundation are quite comparable, the relational resources that they activated are different.

Creating Connections founders are currently tied by a bonding connection, indeed they attribute to their relationship typical features of the bonding Social Capital. This characterization of founders' relationship is although the result of a bridging relationship that became progressively deeper. On the contrary Juntos arose from a bonding network of co-national friends. Nevertheless, over the years the initial network has been substituted by a familiar one.

Therefore, while Creating Connections developed out of a bridging Social Capital, Juntos grew out of a bonding Social Capital.

Consistent with this, in order to pursue the SEMB mission the two associations attribute salience to the same type of Social Capital upon which they were founded. For this very reason, while Creating Connections addresses the creation of bridging Social Capital to ease its beneficiaries' social integration, Juntos addresses instead the creation of bonding Social Capital.

In addition, both the SEMB aim to create Collective Social Capital to foster the social development of local communities. Nevertheless, even in this case the two SEMB adopt two different lines of action. While Creating Connections organizes events based on cultural exchange, Juntos organizes instead celebrations to spread its members' cultures of origin.

From the qualitative study no difference emerged with regard to the linking Social Capital. Indeed, both the enterprises consider fundamental to ease their beneficiaries' contact with local institutions.

The following part of the study will verify whether the two associations actually produce different kinds of Social Capital, with Creating Connections producing bridging Social Capital while Juntos producing bonding Social Capital. The second part will also confirm whether the two associations produce a comparable amount of linking Social Capital.

5.3. Substudy 2

5.3.1. Research Question

Aim of this second substudy is to answer to the second research question:

> RQ 2- Is there a correspondence among the process of the SEMB foundation and management and the Social Capital they produce to foster their members' social integration?

The exploratory nature of the first part allowed to retrace the process that brought to the two SEMB foundation and to their actual management. Qualitative results highlight a strong relation between founders' Self-Efficacy and the Social Capital they produced to carry out the SEMB. This second substudy is aimed at exploring the correspondence among the Social Capital founders exploited to start-up the enterprise and the one that they developed for their members' social integration. Results from the first part of the study drive the formulation of the following hypothesis:

1. Creating Connections social network is characterized by the development of bridging Social Capital while Juntos network is characterized by the development of bonding Social Capital.
2. No differences emerge in terms of linking Social Capital.

5.3.2. Participants

The two SEMB founders, active members and beneficiaries participated to the second substudy. Table 5.3 shows participants' demographic information. As Table shows, also in this case the two organizations differ in terms of participants' countries of origin: the countries of origin of Creating Connections are much more diverse than the one of Juntos participants' that are all related to Latin America.

Table 5.3

SEMB beneficiaries' demographics

	Creating Connections	Juntos
Tot	27	17
Founders	4	1
Active Members	5	3
Beneficiaries	18	13
Gender	F=14 M=13	F=10 M=1
Age	M=30.48 DS=5.83	M=45.47 DS=10.75
Nationality	6 Somalia 3 China 3 Morocco 3 Pakistan 2 Albania 2 Perù 2 Romania 1 Iraq 1 Ghana 1 Gambia 1 Afghanistan 1 Kashmir 1 Italy	11 Ecuador 4 Perù 1 Panama 1 Paraguay
Stay permit	6 work permit 5 subsidiary protection 4 parents' stay permit 3 study permit 5 refugee 1 UAM 1 unknown	6 subsidiary protection 5 work permit 3 parents' stay permit 3 unknown
Italian Citizenship	5 acquired 4 from the birth	1 acquired
Years in Italy	M=14.37 DS=8.93	M=20.60 DS=5.41

5.3.3. Data Collection

To address the second research question and verify its hypothesis, a Social Network Analysis has been carried out in order to identify the two SEMB Social Capital. For this very reason, the same survey administered in study 1 was adopted and fulfilled also by the two SEMB beneficiaries.

Participants to this second part of the study were asked to list the name of people that helped them to get integrated within the local community. In particular, consistent with Ager and Strang's (2008) markers of social integration, participants

indicated people who helped them to find a job and a house, and to get oriented within the education and the health care systems. Consistent with study 1, they were also asked to specify each people's country of origin and whether they worked in local institutions in order to differentiate among the bonding, bridging and linking resourceful connections. In addition, participants were also asked to specify whether these resourceful contacts belonged to the SEMB and if they got in touch with them through the SEMB.

5.3.4. Data Analysis

A Social Network Analysis has been carried out in order to analyze the structural Social Capital of the two SEMB.

In the previous study, an ego-network approach of the social network analysis was conducted in order to identify the resourceful connections for founders' and active members' social integration. Nevertheless, since aim of this part of the second study is to explore the Social Capital of the two SEMB as two contexts, in this case data will be analyzed through a *whole-network* approach (Borgatti & Ofem, 2010; Borgatti, Jones & Everett, 1998) in order to identify the bonding, bridging and linking Social Capital developed by the two SEMB.

Borgatti, Jones and Everett (1998) identify some whole-network measures that are related to Social Capital. For the purpose of the study three measures have been taken into consideration:

- *Size* that refers to the number of *nodes* and *ties* a network is made of. The highest the number, the greater the chance for each node of a network to gain relational resources.

- *Homophily* that represents the tendency of the nodes in a network to connect with other nodes with similar characteristics, eg. country of origin. The index

Yule's Q is a measure of homophily that ranges from -1 for perfect heterophily (bridging) to 1 for perfect homophily (bonding). This index is the same retrieved in study 1 (see paragraph 4.1.4.2.) nevertheless, while in the first study it was applied to each ego-networks, in this second study it has been applied to the whole-networks. For this very reason, in this case this second index indicates the tendency of the two SEMB to develop bonding (when the Yule's Q approaches +1) or bridging Social Capital (when the Yule's Q approaches -1).

- *Bonding* that reflects the number of bonding connections within a network. Thus, it allows to calculate the amount of bonding Social Capital of the two SEMB. The index represents, the number of alters that came from the same country of origin with respect to the total number of alters of a same whole-network;

- *Bridging:* This measure stands for the number of bridging connections within a network and allows therefore to calculate the amount of bridging Social Capital of the two SEMB. The index represents the number of alters that had a different origin with respect to the total number of alters of a same whole-network *;*

- *Compositional quality* that reflects the number of nodes in a whole-network with needed characteristics such as a power position. This measure therefore allows to retrieve the linking connections of the two SEMB. To calculate the compositional quality, a proportion was computed between the alters that worked in the Italian institutions with respect to the total number of alters a network is made of. The index goes from 0 (no linking at all) to 1 (perfect linking)

In order to perform the two whole-network analysis, the raw data were coded and entered in two file excels. The first excel file contains the attributes of each node

within the network, or rather information related to their gender, age, birthplace, occupation and religion. The second excel file contains the adjacency matrix whereby the presence or absence of a tie among the nodes of a network was reported.

This procedure was repeated for the two SEMB.

The Software UCINET was adopted to perform the Social Network Analysis.

In addition, to verify the presence of statistically significant difference among the amount of bonding, bridging and linking Social Capital of the two SEMB, a U Mann-Whitney test was computed through the SPSS software.

5.3.5. Results

Through the software UCINET two maps were created representing Creating Connections and Juntos results.

Maps are made of squares and arrows. Each square indicates a node. Only the squares representing the research participants, the *focal nodes*, have been labelled with the alphanumeric code assigned to each participant. Focal nodes are also addressed with a capital letter in order to identify their role within the SEMB: "F" stands for founder, "A" for associate member, "B" for beneficiary.

The rest of the nodes, that are not labelled, represent participants' contacts that were resourceful for their social integration, the *resourceful node*. The arrows represent the direction of the tie, so they go from the *focal node*, the research participant, to the *resourceful node*.

Nodes are color-coded: each color indicates the node's country of origin in order to visually identify the bonding and bridging connections. In bonding connections, the *focal node* and the *resourceful node* share the same color because they come from the

same country of origin; in bridging connections instead the two nodes have different colors because their countries of origin are different. Purple squares indicate an Italian origin. Lastly, black squares indicate resourceful contacts that worked in the Institutions, in order to visually identify also the linking connections.

Map 1 – Creating Connections Social Capital

Creating Connections is led by four founders and sees the active participation of five members. As Map 1 shows all the four Creating Connections founders - GP001, GP002, GP007, and GP008 - are interconnected. This is consistent with results from the qualitative study. In particular, the map shows that GP008 emerged as the most resourceful for the co-founders' social integration. Indeed, as the direction of arrows show, GP001, GP002 and GP007 cited GP008 as a resourceful contact for their social integration.

According to the map, the founder network is mainly made of linking and bridging connections with Italians. This is due to the group composition that is made of two holders of international protection, an Italian and a second-generation new citizen with an Italian parent. Indeed, results from the previous study attest that refugees take advantage mostly of linking connections due to their specific status. Differently, since they grew up in the resettlement community, second generation new citizens establish bridging connections quite easily.

Nevertheless, the most interesting result is the one related to GP002 who is holder of subsidiary protection and established 8 out 11 resourceful ties with Italians in order to get settled within the local community.

GP001 emerges as the only founder that represented a resource for active members and beneficiaries' social integration. Indeed, GP001 was cited by 3 active members out of 5 and 3 beneficiaries out of 18, as resourceful for their social integration path.

This part of the network that is made of four founders, three active members and four beneficiaries, that are interconnected within each other, constitute Creating Connections *core* network (Borgatti, Everett, 2000).

The map shows also a consistent *periphery* made of two active members, GP004 and GP005, and fourteen beneficiaries. The *periphery* of a network is the one made of nodes that are disconnected from the *core* (Borgatti, Everett, 2000). These participants did not take advantage of the SEMB contacts in order to get integrated within the local community.

Given the consistency of the periphery, Creating Connections network emerges to be sparse. Nevertheless, this result needs to be read in light of the SEMB history and characteristics. Indeed, the fact that Creating Connections was founded two years before the data collection makes it necessary to consider the impact of a short lifetime on the constitution of its network. In addition, the SEMB is not addressed to a specific ethnic group. It is possible to hypothesize that because of this condition Creating Connections members require a longer time to establish resourceful connections among each other. Indeed, literature addresses cultural diversity as an element that extends the time for the creation of trustful social connections (Nì Raghallaigh, 2013).

Lastly, it is interesting to highlight that two beneficiaries, GP017 and GP012, cited two active members, respectively GP006 and GP005, as resourceful for their own social integration path. This result is consistent with the qualitative one that sees active members as key-actors to multiply the SEMB resources.

Overall, the color-code shows that Creating Connections network is heterogenous in terms countries of origin, and more than a third of the nodes attest an Italian origin.

As the following paragraph will confirm this result suggests that the SEMB is based on a prevalence of bridging Social Capital.

Map 1

Creating Connections network
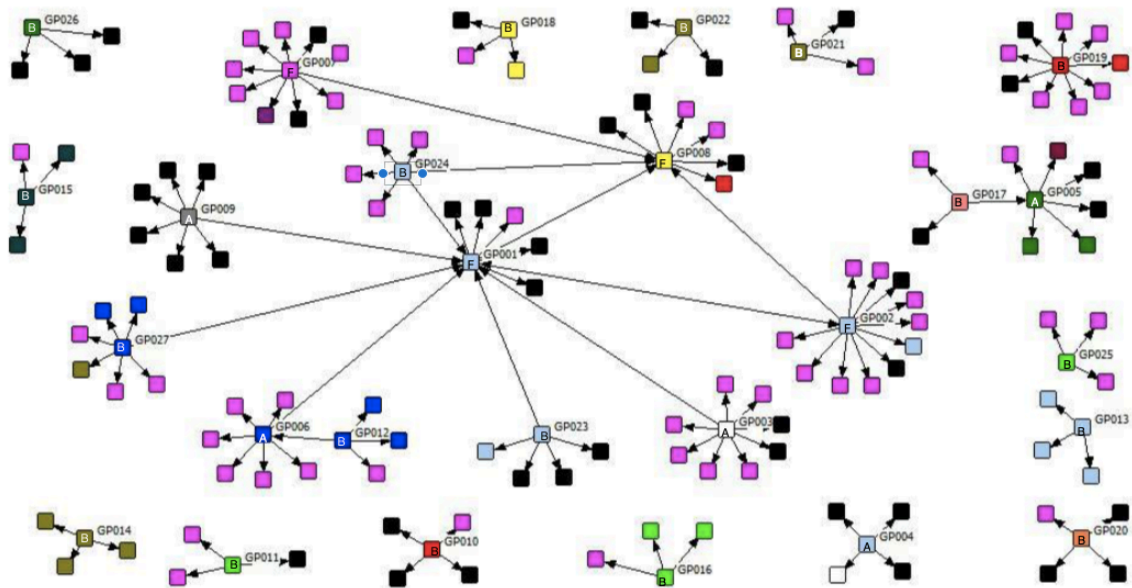
Map 2 – Juntos Social Capital

As qualitative results explain, among Juntos founders, just one is still involved in the SEMB. Nevertheless, the association sees the active participation of three members: JX001, JX003 and JX004.

As Map 2 shows, only one of them, JX003, cited the founder as resourceful for his social integration. Besides being connected, JX003 and JX002 share also a common resourceful contact that comes from their same country of origin.

Overall, JX003 and JX002's networks are mainly made of bonding connections.

Even in this case, this result is due to these two participants' specificities. Consistent with study 1, the SEMB founder, who received a residence permit for job purpose, referred to co-nationals acquaintances in order to get settled within the local community. JX003 is instead the founders' son who arrived in Italy once JX002 got

stabilized and could drive also her sons' resettlement. There is a similarity among JX002 and JX003's networks. Indeed, beside the prevalence of bonding connections, just two out of eight among JX002's ties, and one out of five among JX003's resourceful connections, are Italians. Moreover, both of them do not report any resourceful linking connections. Therefore, it is possible to hypothesize a continuity among the mother and the son's networks.

Similar to JX003 and JX002, JX001 mostly took advantage of bonding connections. On the contrary, JX004 reported two linking and one bridging tie with an Italian native. Interestingly, these two active members are not part of the SEMB *core* network that is instead made of the founder, one active member and five out of thirteen beneficiaries. Within the *core* network, five out of thirteen beneficiaries cited the founder as a resourceful contact and just one cited also JX003.

The *core* network is in prevalence made of bonding Social Capital: indeed, 21 out of 34 nodes of the network share the same Ecuadorian origin.

Even Juntos network emerges to be sparse. The periphery network is made of two active members and eight beneficiaries that are all disconnected within each other. In comparison to the *core* network, the *periphery* sees a higher incidence of linking connections. Indeed, it comprehends 19 out of the 24 linking connections of the whole network, with one ego-network (JX024) that is exclusively made of linking connections and three that see a prevalence of this kind of ties (JX004, JX005, JX012). Nevertheless, also in this case the bonding connections are higher than the bridging ones: as the map shows, the periphery comprehends 15 bonding ties whilst just 7 are of a bridging type.

The *periphery* is also much more heterogenous in terms of focal nodes' origin. Indeed, while the *core* network is exclusively made of focal nodes that are from Ecuador, in

the *periphery* four focal nodes are from Ecuador, four are from Perù, one is from Panama and another one is from Paraguay.

Overall, these results seem to suggest the presence of a tendency toward the homogenization within Juntos *core* network. Notwithstanding, the whole network is quite homogeneous, in fact all its participants are from Latin America.

Map 2

Juntos network
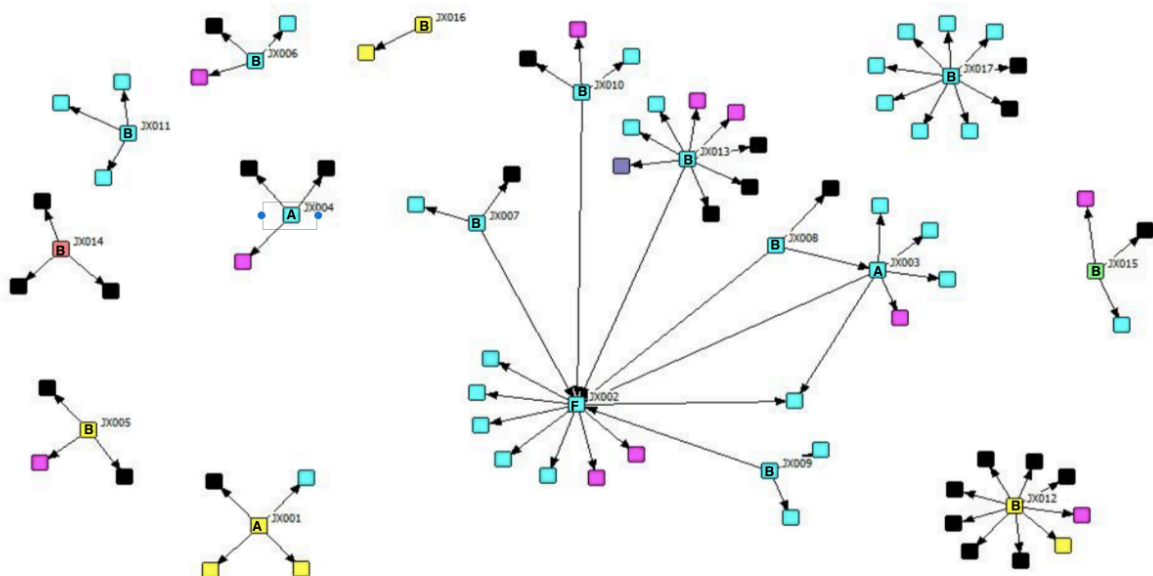
Comparison between the two SEMB

While Creating Connections shows a higher prevalence of bridging connections, Juntos shows a higher incidence of the bonding ones.

This data is confirmed by the analysis of the Yule's Q index showed in Table 5.4.

Table 5.4

Creating Connections and Juntos' networks Social Capital

	Size_nodes	Size_ties	Yule's Q	Bonding	Bridging	Comp_quality
CC	154	142	-0.77	0.28	0.40	0.31
JN	86	77	0.47	0.48	0.19	0.32

CC=Creating Connections N=27; JN=Juntos N=17

The Yule's Q index of the SEMB shows that while in Creating Connections participants attest a strong tendence to establish resourceful connections with people from a different country of origin, Juntos participants show instead a mild tendence to establish resourceful connections with people from their same country of origin.

With regard to the bonding index, the U Mann-Whitney test highlights a close to significance difference among the indexes of the two SEMB, with Juntos index (*Mean rank* = 26.03) being higher than the Creating Connections one (*Mean rank* = 19.37; $Z = -1,73$, $p = .08$).

On the contrary, with regard to the bridging index, Creating Connections score (*Mean rank* = 24.83) is higher than the Juntos one (*Mean rank* =17.68) with a difference that is close to significance ($Z = -1,87$, $p = .06$)

This is consistent with results from the qualitative analysis. The first part of the study highlighted that while Creating Connections pursues the development of bridging Social Capital, Juntos gives to the community of origin a greater relevance for the promotion of its members' social integration. Therefore, taken together, all these results confirmed hypothesis 1.

Table 5.4 shows also that the Compositional Quality index retrieved from the two networks is comparable, showing that the two SEMB do not differ in terms of linking Social Capital. In particular, for both SEMB the linking Social Capital covers almost a third of the overall resourceful connections. The U Mann Whitney test underlined

that no statistically significative difference emerged between the values of the two indexes (Creating Connections *Mean rank* = 21.71, Juntos *Mean rank* = 22.44; *Z* = -0.19, *p* =0.84). Nevertheless, while within Creating Connections the linking connections are transversally recorded between the *core* and the *periphery*, within Juntos this kind of ties are recorded predominantly in the *periphery*.

Overall though, hypothesis 2 is confirmed, too.

Summary

This second substudy traces a continuity between the two SEMB foundation and the networks structures and resources. The history of the social relationships that led to the foundation of the two associations is indeed reflected in the network composition and in the type of Social Capital that they produce.

In terms of network composition Creating Connections is indeed heterogenous as its members belong to different nationalities. On the contrary, Juntos participants are all from Latin America and mostly from Ecuador. Consistent with this data, Creating Connections produces a higher degree of bridging Social Capital than Juntos. On the contrary, this second enterprise produces a higher degree of bonding Social Capital than the first one.

The third substudy will verify whether the two different forms of Social Capital produced by the two SEMB are also related to a different pattern of their beneficiaries' social integration from a normative and a psychological point of view.

5.4. Substudy 3

5.4.1. Research Question

Aim of this third and final substudy is to answer to the third research question:

RQ3 - Does the kind Social Capital developed by the SEMB have an impact on their beneficiaries' social integration and psychological acculturation?

So far, the first and second substudies highlighted a correspondence among the process of the SEMB foundation and management and the Social Capital they produce to foster their members' social integration.

This third substudy will explore how these social dynamics are reflected in the SEMB beneficiaries' social integration path both from a normative and psychological point of view.

Indeed, study 1 highlighted that social integration is the result of a complex interplay among psychological acculturation strategies and the achievement of a self-sufficient position among the local community.

Therefore, this final part of study 2 explores SEMB beneficiaries 'acculturation strategies and achievement of the four markers of social integration in relation to the characteristics of the SEMB they belong to.

Particularly in reference to acculturation strategies, results from the previous parts of study 2 allow to formulate the following hypothesis:

1. Creating Connections beneficiaries show a significative higher Italian identification and cultural competence than Juntos beneficiaries;

2. Juntos beneficiaries show a significative higher identification and cultural competence of the culture of origin than Creating Connections beneficiaries;

In addition, this final part of study will verify also whether within the two groups:

3. beneficiaries significantly identify more with the Italian culture or with the origin one;

4. beneficiaries feel to be more competent in the Italian culture or in the origin one.

Lastly, the study will also examine whether the social organization of the two SEMB is related to a different self-sufficiency position within the local community. Therefore, this final part of study 2 will verify:

5. whether the two groups significantly differ in terms of achievement of the four markers of social integration.

5.4.2. Participants

Table 5.5 contains demographic information about SEMB beneficiaries who participated in the third substudy by filling out the survey. SEMB founders were asked to involve in this third part only beneficiaries with good or excellent competences in reading and writing in Italian. As the Table shows, participants from the two SEMB differ in terms of age, with Juntos participants being older than Creating Connections ones. In addition, they also differ in terms of years spent in Italy, with Juntos beneficiairies being in Italy for a longer time than Creating Connections ones.

Table 5.5

SEMB beneficiaries' demographics

	Creating Connections	**Juntos**
Tot	18	13
Gender	F=11 M=7	F=7 M=6
Age	M=29 DS=6	M=47 DS=11
Nationality	3 China 3 Somalia 3 Morocco 2 Albania 2 Pakistan 1 Iraq 1 Ghana 1 Perù 1 Gambia 1 Romania	8 Ecuador 3 Perù 1 Panama 1 Paraguay
Stay permit	6 work permit 3 subsidiary protection 3 parents' stay permit 3 study permit 2 refugee 1 unknown	6 subsidiary protection 3 work permit 1 parents' stay permit 3 unknown
Italian Citizenship	3 acquired 2 from the birth	1 acquired
Years in Italy	M=13.61 DS=8.56	M=20.73 DS=5.4

5.4.3. Data Collection

To answer to RQ3 and verify its hypothesis, a survey addressed to the SEMB beneficiaries was created.

The survey is divided into five sections.

The **first section** collects some demographic information that include data about participants being Italian or foreign-born, the family country of origin, the number of years spent in Italy, the kind of stay permit, whether or not they received the Italian citizenship.

The **second section** explores beneficiaries' contact with the SEMB. In particular, this section collects information about: how and why participants got in contact with the association, how long they have been participating in the association activities.

The **third section** explores **beneficiaries' psychological acculturation** (Berry, 1997). With this regard, two of the three subscales of the Abbreviated Multidimensional Acculturation Scale (AMAS-ZABB, Zea, Asner-Self, Birman & Buki, 2003) were applied. The AMAS-ZABB is a 4-point-Likert bilinear scale that assesses the identification and engagement both in the culture of origin and in the resettlement one. The original version of the scale is made of 42 items divided into three subscales assessing the cultural identification, competence and the language proficiency related both to the culture of origin and to the resettlement one. Because the subscale on language proficiency is strictly related to the technical abilities of speaking, writing and reading the two languages, whose exploration do not match the purpose of this study, it was excluded from the survey. For this reason, only the subscales related to cultural identification and competence were taken into account.

The **fourth section** collects information about the **four markers of social integration** described by Ager and Strang (2008). For this very reason participants have been asked about their employment, housing, education and health care situation in Italy. The Survey is reported in [Appendix 5](#).

The completion of the overall questionnaire took approximately 20 minutes. Each respondent was assigned an alphanumeric code (i.e. GP020) to guarantee the participant's anonymity.

The survey was designed in Italian and, before involving the SEMB beneficiaries a pilot study was carried out in order to test the intelligibility of the items. Specifically, the questionnaire was submitted and fulfilled by three not Italian mother tongue people with different levels of proficiency in reading Italian. This allowed a refinement of the survey and the avoidance of ambiguous questions due to incomprehensible words.

5.4.4. Data Analysis

In order to conduct statistical analysis, some key variables have been extracted from the beneficiaries' survey.

Control Variables

The following control variables were extract and coded from the survey:

1. Gender: (0) male and (1) female;
2. Status: (1) holders of international protection status and (0) holders of other stay permit;
3. Age;
4. Years spent in Italy.

Participation to the SEMB

Beneficiaries participation in the SEMB activities have been operationalized in terms of time. For this reason, a continuous variable assessing the number of *months* beneficiaries have been engaged in the SEMB have been extracted from the survey.

In addition, participants were also asked to indicate:

1. how they came in contact with the SEMB - whether through (1) members of their same community of origin; (2) Italians friends or acquaintances; (3) social network; (4) website; (5) pamphlet; (6) other;
2. Why did they approach the SEMB – whether (1) for legal and informative consulting about residence permit, employment, housing, education, health care; (2) to establish relationship with the community of origin; (3) to establish relationship with the Italian community; (4) to deepen the culture of origin; (5) to deepen the Italian culture; (6) other.

Psychological acculturation

Consistent with Zea and colleagues' (2003) indications, four continuous variables (Min=1; Max=4) representing the average value obtained by each participant in each of the four subscales of the AMAS-ZABB scale were created. The four variables are:

1. *Italian Identification;*
2. *Italian cultural competence;*
3. *Identification with the culture of the country of origin;*
4. *Country of origin cultural of competence.*

The four markers of social integration

Consistent with Cheung and Phillimore (2017), in order to assess participants' achievement of the four markers of social integration the ordinal variables reported hereunder were used.

Employment

1. Condition – participants were asked to indicate whether they were (0) unemployed or (1) employed.

2. Stability - participants were asked to indicate how many times they changed jobs during the last six months. Answers were coded as follows: (1) more than twice; (2) twice; (3) once; (4) never.

3. Employment contract stability – participants were asked to indicate whether they had (1) a temporary job; (2) fixed-term job; (3) permanent job.

Housing

1. Conditions – participants were asked to indicate whether they were living in a (1) resettlement center; (2) room for rent; (3) house for rent; (4) property house.

2. Stability - participants were asked to indicate how many times did they change house in the last six months. Answers were coded as follows: (1) more than twice; (2) twice; (3) once; (4) never.

Education

1.   Education in Italy - participants were asked to indicate what level of education they received in Italy. Answers were coded as follows: (1) none; (2) lower than secondary; (3) secondary; (4) professional training; (5) Bachelor's degree; (6) Master's degree; (7) PhD.

Health

1.   Primary doctor - participants were asked to indicate whether they had (1); or not (0) a primary doctor.

Access to the Health care facilities - Participants were asked to indicate the degree of agreement with the two following questions:

2.   I know how to book an ordinary medical treatment in the hospital;

3.   In case of an emergency, I know what to do in order to receive medical treatment.

Answers were coded as follows: (1) strongly disagree; (2) disagree; (3) agree; (4) strongly agree.

Given the small sample size, non-parametric tests were conducted. In particular, to verify Hp 1, 2 and 5 the U Mann-Whitney test was computed to identify significant differences in the indexes of Psychological Acculturation (Hp 1 and 2) and Social Integration (Hp 5) between the two groups of beneficiaries. In addition, the Wilcoxon test was used to test differences between couples of Acculturation indexes, within each of the two groups of beneficiaries (Hp3 and 4).

5.4.5. Results

Before comparing the two groups in relation to the acculturation and the social integration indexes, a control has been carried out for participants' gender, status of international protection, age and the number of years spent in Italy.

As Table 5.6 shows, women emerge to have more stable Housing Conditions and also to feel more confident in Booking Ordinary Medical Treatments.

Results attest also a positive and significative correlation among the status of international protection and an identification with the culture of origin.

A positive and significative correlation emerged also between participants' age and the identification with the Culture of Origin as well as with the Employment Contract Stability.

Lastly the number of years spent in Italy is positively and significantly correlated to Italian Cultural Competences, the Employment Contract Stability, the Housing Conditions and Stability.

Table 5.6

Spearman's correlation between control variables and the indexes of acculturation and social integration

Spearman	Italian Identity	Origin Identity	Italian Competence	Origin Competence	Employment Stability	Employment Contract Stability	Housing Condition	Housing Stability	Education	Health - Booking	Health - Emargency
Gender	0,03	-0,19	0,23	-0,05	-0,12	0,09	,490**	0,31	0,16	,351*	0,06
Status	0,03	,502**	-0,25	-0,13	-0,06	0,13	-0,13	-0,12	-0,27	-0,09	-0,24
Age	0,01	,479**	-0,03	0,12	0,04	,614**	-0,13	0,04	-0,05	0,07	-0,23
Years in Italy	0,11	-0,24	,524**	-0,28	0,08	,416*	,389*	,388*	0,22	0,24	0,22

*p<0.05 **p<0.01

In order to highlight the comparison between the two groups in the indexes of psychological acculturation and social integration, results from the analysis of the two SEMB will be now shown together.

<u>Participation in the SEMB</u>

Juntos beneficiaries have been engaged in the SEMB for a higher amount of time with respect to Creating Connections beneficiaries. Indeed, while the first have been participating in the SEMB for a mean of three years and a half (months $M = 43.54$ $SD = 33.07$), the second just for a year (months $M=11.44$, $SD=9.89$). The U Mann-Whitney

test indicates that this difference is statistically significant with Juntos *Mean rank* = 22.31 and Creating Connections *Mean rank* = 11.44, (Z = -3.296, *p* = .001).

This result is inscribed in the two SEMB histories: Juntos was founded in 2000 while Creating Connections in 2018.

The way the two groups of beneficiaries came into contact with the associations reflect the characteristics of the social organization of the two SEMB.

Indeed, the 61.1% of Creating Connections beneficiaries declared to have met the SEMB through Italian contacts, while just the 16.7% through contacts from the same community of origin. On the contrary, the 61.5% of Juntos beneficiaries declared that they came in contact with the association through contacts from their same community of origin, whilst just the 23.1% through contacts from the Italian community.

Even the reasons that drove beneficiaries' approach to the two SEMB is aligned with the representative distinctions of the two association. Table 5.7 shows indeed that more than a third of Creating Connections beneficiaries approached the SEMB in order to deepen the Italian culture, while almost a fourth of Juntos members declared to be motivated by the desire to get in touch with people from their same community of origin.

Interestingly, though the majority of Juntos members referred to have approached the SEMB for legal and informative consulting. This aspect has instead motivated just a small percentage of Creating Connections beneficiaries.

Table 5.7

Reasons for approaching the SEMB

Reason	Creating Connections N = 18 %	Juntos N = 13 %
Legal and informative consulting	5.6	76.90
Tying bonding connections	0	23.10
Tying bridging connection	11.1	0
To deepen Italian culture	38.9	0
To deepen the origin culture	11.1	0
Other	33.3	0
Tot	100	100

Psychological Acculturation

Aim of the administration of the 4-point-Likert bilinear scale AMAS-ZABB (Zea et al., 2003) was to explore whether and how beneficiaries of the two associations differ in terms of identification and cultural competences related to the Italian and origin culture.

Table 5.8 presents the means and standard deviations that the two groups of beneficiaries obtained to the four sub-scales.

Table 5.8

Psychological acculturation

	Creating Connections N = 18		Juntos N = 13	
	M	SD	M	SD
Italian Cultural Identity	3.05	0.35	2.92	0.51
Italian Cultural Competence	2.89	0.48	2.84	0.39
Origin Cultural Identity	2.98	0.44	3.33	0.46
Origin Cultural Competence	2.83	0.67	2.87	0.40

Min = 1 Max = 4

Results attest that beneficiaries of both the SEMB identify both with the Italian and their origin culture and feel to be competent in both the cultures. Therefore, both the

groups adopt a social integration acculturation strategy (Berry, 1997) as they feel engaged in both the Italian and the origin cultural communities.

A U Mann-Whitney test was computed in order to verify Hp 1 and 2, that hypothesized a significative difference between the two groups with respect to the four variables of psychological acculturation.

As Table 5.9 shows, no significative differences emerged in the two variables related to the Italian culture. Therefore, despite Creating Connections is much more committed toward the participation in the Italian cultural community than Juntos, Hp 1 is not verified. Nevertheless, this result must be read also in light of a significative difference in the time of participation to the SEMB activities. Results show that beside the time of participation in the SEMB is significantly lower for Creating Connections beneficiaries, the two groups obtain comparable results in terms of identification with the Italian culture and Italian cultural competences.

As Table 5.9 shows, the test revealed instead a significant difference in the origin cultural identity (Z = -1.947, p = .052), with Juntos beneficiaries showing a higher identification (*Mean rank* = 19.17) than that reported by Creating Connections beneficiaries (*Mean rank* = 13.06).

This result partially verifies Hp 2 and is therefore consistent with results from the previous parts of the study, that see Juntos being more focused than Creating Connections on the maintenance of its members' culture of origin and on the establishment of bonding connections.

Table 5.9

Summary of the differences among the two groups in psychological acculturation strategies

	Creating Connections	Juntos		
	Mean Rank	Mean Rank	Z-value	p value
Italian Cultural Identity	16.11	14.58	-.49	.63
Italian Cultural Competence	14.81	16.54	-.54	.60
Origin Cultural Identity	13.06	19.17	-1.95	.05
Origin Cultural Competence	15.25	15.88	-.19	.85

Lastly, to answer to the explorative hypothesis 3 and 4, a Wilcoxon test was computed to verify whether within the two groups significant statistical differences emerged between the identification with the Italian culture and with the culture of origin, as well as between the Italian cultural competences and the ones related to culture of origin.

Within Creating Connections, no significant differences emerged in the identification variables ($Z = -.537$, $p = .591$) nor in the ones related to cultural competences ($Z = -.389$, $p = .697$). On the contrary, within Juntos beneficiaries, a significative difference emerged between the variables related to the cultural identification. Indeed, the score related to the identity of the culture of origin is significantly higher than the one related to the Italian cultural identity: $Z = -2.673$, $p = .008$. No significant differences emerged instead between the variables related to the cultural competences ($Z = -.933$, $p = .351$).

<u>Four markers of social integration</u>

This final sub-paragraph verifies whether the belonginess to a specific SEMB is associated with a specific pattern of social integration from a normative point of view. Results about the two group self-sufficiency conditions within the local community are now presented.

Employment

The majority of beneficiaries of both groups are employed. Indeed the 72.2% of Creating Connections and the 76.9% of Juntos beneficiaries declared to have a job. Table 5.10 shows the results about their employment stability condition that emerges to be heterogenous in both groups. About half of Creating Connections beneficiaries and more than third of Juntos beneficiaries declared that they have never changed jobs in the previous six months. However, in both the associations a third of participants changed occupation twice or more. Nevertheless, the average score obtained by the two groups indicates an overall stable condition that is comparable between the two groups (Creating Connections $M = 3.11$, $SD = 1.02$; Juntos $M = 2.82$, $SD = 1.32$); indeed the U Mann Whitney test shows no significative difference ($Z = .-554$, $p = .580$) between Creating Connections (*Mean Rank* = 15.64) and Juntos (*Mean Rank* = 13.95) beneficiaries.

Table 5.10

Beneficiaries' employment stability

Job change in the last six months	Creating Connections N = 18 %	Juntos N=13 %
More than twice	5.5	23.1
Twice	27.8	7.7
Once	16.7	15.4
Never	50	38.5
Missing	0	15.4
Tot	100	100

Notwithstanding, the situation about the job contract length is a bit different. As table 5.11 shows, while a half of Creating Connections beneficiaries has a fixed term contract, almost the same percentage of Juntos beneficiaries holds a permanent employment contract. Hence a statistically significant difference emerged in this variable, with the Juntos group reporting a more stable employment contract ($M =$

2.50, SD = .70; *Mean rank* = 19.50) than Creating Connections (*M* =1.72, *SD* = .67; *Mean rank* = 11.72: *Z* = -2.562, *p* = .010).

Table 5.11

Employment contract

Employment contract	Creating Connections N = 18 %	Juntos N=13 %
Temporary	38.9	7.7
Fixed Term	50	23.1
Permanent	11.1	46.2
Missing	0	23.1
Tot	100	100

Housing

The two groups do not differ in terms of housing conditions and stability. Indeed, both report high scores in both the variables, attesting a stable housing situation. Table 5.12 shows the distribution of percentages with regard to the two groups housing conditions. More than a third of Creating Connections beneficiaries and more than a half of Juntos beneficiaries lives in a house for rent. Nevertheless, another 38.9% of Creating Connections lives in a property house against the 15.4% of Juntos beneficiaries. The U Mann Whitney test shows no significative differences (*Z* = -.821, *p* = .412) with regard to average score obtained by the two groups in this variable: Creating Connections M = 3.06, SD = .99, *Mean rank* = 17.06; Juntos *M* = 2.92, *SD* = .64, *Mean rank* = 14.54.

Table 5.12

Housing condition

Housing conditions	Creating Connections N = 18 %	Juntos N=13 %
Resettlement centre	11,1	0
Room for rent	11,1	23,1
House for rent	38,9	61,5
Property house	38,9	15,4
	100	100

With regard to the house stability, the majority of both groups declares that has changed house never or just once in the previous six months. The mean scores obtained by the two groups are comparable: Creating Connections M =3.28 (SD =.826), Juntos M = 3.00 (SD = 1.15); indeed, the U Mann Whitney test shows no significative difference (Z = -.474, p = .635) between Creating Connections (*Mean Rank* = 16.61) and Juntos (*Mean Rank* = 15.15) beneficiaries.

Education

The two groups significantly differ in the education marker.

Table 5.13 shows the percentages distribution of the level of education achieved by the two groups. Within Creating Connections, almost a half of beneficiaries achieved academic levels of education. On the contrary, almost a half of Juntos participants attended a professional training, while the 38.5% received no education.

With an average score of M = 4.44 (SD = 1.30) against an average score of M = 2.85 (SD =1.57), Creating Connections beneficiaries report an educational level higher (*Mean rank* = 19.17) than that of the Juntos beneficiaries (*Mean rank* = 11.62; Z = -2.357, p = .018).

Table 5.13

Educational level in Italy

Level	Creating Connections N = 18 %	Juntos N=13 %
None	0	38.5
Lower than secondary	0	0
Secondary	27.8	7.7
Professional training	27.8	46.2
Bachelor's degree	27.8	7.7
Master's degree	5.6	0
PhD/Specialization	11.1	0

Health

Lastly, both groups report a good level of orientation among the Italian health care system. More than the 80% of beneficiaries from both SEMB have a primary doctor. Results on the items about the booking of an ordinary treatment and on the request for medical assistance in case of emergency are comparable (see Tab. 5.14). Consistent with this, the U Mann-Whitney Test reported no statistical differences in both the variables.

Table 5.14

Orientation within the health care system

Health care	Creating Connections N = 18			Juntos N=13				
	M	SD	Mean Rank	M	SD	Mean Rank	Z	p
Book an ordinary treatment	3.44	.511	18.00	2.85	1.06	13.23	-1.58	.11
Medical treatment in emergency	3.44	.511	17.72	2.92	1.03	16.72	-1.38	.13

Min = 1 Max= 4

Summary

To sum up, statistical results align with results from part I and part II.

Starting from the section about the contact with the SEMB, results show that while Creating Connections beneficiaries got in contact with the association through Italian acquaintances, Juntos beneficiaries acknowledged the association through bonding connections. In addition, among the motivations that drove Creating Connections beneficiaries to participate to the SEMB activities a consistent part is constituted by the desire to deepen the Italian culture. Differently, Juntos beneficiaries are mostly motivated by the need to acquire informative and legal consult but also the desire to strengthen relationships with co-nationals.

Results about the acculturation strategies attest that Juntos beneficiaries identify more with the culture of origin than with the Italian one. In addition, their identification with the culture of origin is stronger than the one of Creating Connections beneficiaries. On the contrary, results show that Creating Connections beneficiaries do not engage with the Italian culture more than with the origin one. Furthermore, their engagement in the Italian culture is not even stronger than the one of Juntos beneficiaries. This result will be discussed in light of a significative difference in the amount of time spent within the association from both groups. Lastly, results about the four markers of social integration show an overall self-sufficiency conditions in both groups.

However, a remarkable difference stands in the employment contract length, with Juntos members being more stable in this area, and also in the educational level, with Creating Connections achieving higher qualifications with respect to Juntos beneficiaries. Both these two markers refer to two different aspects of social integration to which the two associations attribute a different salience.

5.   Discussion

Aim of the current multiple case study was to explore how two different SEMB address newcomers' social integration.

The two SEMB have been selected because of the diversity through which they address the same mission.

This diversity is inscribed in their founders' social integration path. Creating Connections is a newly born SEMB started up in the north of Italy by four people in their thirties with different migratory backgrounds and different countries of origin. On the contrary, Juntos was founded in Rome twenty years ago by a network of co-national friends from Ecuador and is currently led by just one of them, a fifty-five-year-old woman that held the role of President. Through the course of time the woman assigned some of the SEMB functions to three family members and a co-national lawyer.

These very differences are inevitably reflected in the SEMB management and in the activities they carry out in order to achieve their mission.

Nevertheless, the trigger that brought to the foundation of the two SEMB is the same: the valorization of the experience that founders made in first person as newcomers when they resettled in Italy. This very first result is consistent with literature on social entrepreneurship: as Mair and Noboa (2003) underlined, social enterprises are characterized by a strong nexus between their founders' personal experience and the social problem the enterprise aims to address. Founders' first-hand experience as newcomers in Italy is therefore transformed into the two SEMB human capital (Luthans et al., 2007). In line with this and in continuity with study 1 the foundation of the SEMB is the result of their founders' process of Self-Actualization (Maslow, 1943). Indeed, once they achieved a stability in terms of social integration from a normative point of view (Ager and Strang, 2008), and a central position (Wenger, 1998) within the Italian local community, founders of both the SEMB invested the resources they acquired during their social integration path to start-up their own professional activities. Consistent with literature on social entrepreneurship,

founders of both SEMB emerged to be characterized by high levels of Self Efficacy (Konakll, 2015; Aydogmus, 2019).

Beside their direct experience as former newcomers, the resources that founders of the two associations bring into play to found, manage and achieve the SEMB mission are related to social connectedness. Founders of both the SEMB can be defined as Social Capital creators, as the thematic analysis results about the intersection among the analytical category of Self-Efficacy and Social-Capital testify. Moreover, the creation and exploitation of Social Capital is a specific function of social enterprises (Evers, 2001).

In line with literature on enterprises with migratory background (Casson, Della Giusta, 2007), results show that the exploitation of bonding Social Capital is the base for the creation of the two SEMB but with a specificity: while Juntos is an initiative of a group of co-nationals, Creating Connections founders come from extremely different migratory backgrounds and cultures. Nevertheless, an in-depth analysis of the relationship that tied Creating Connections founders, reveals that the four people were tied by a strong mutual trust and a common identification as activists. The chance they had to deepen their reciprocal knowledge and to identify common values and professional goals transformed their relationship from a bridging to a bonding type. The SEMB foundation is therefore the product of such a bonding network.

Even Juntos underwent through a transformation of founders' network. Indeed, the SEMB saw a network narrowing from a friend's composition to a family one.

In this regard, the two associations seem to have gone through a diverse process: within Creating Connections the bonding definition of relationship is given by an increase in the founders' relationships depth, whilst within Juntos the bonding type of relationship is given by an increase in the closeness of the tie type.

Qualitative results show also that the kind of Social Capital that founders' aim to create in order to ease their beneficiaries' social integration is what differentiate the two SEMB.

Beside a comparable result in the linking Social Capital, Creating Connections is focused on the creation of bridging Social Capital whilst Juntos is instead centered on the creation bonding Social Capital.

Literature outlines that bonding connections ease newcomers' social integration by representing a source of emotional support, job and housing opportunities (Putnam 2000; Briggs, 2003; Calhoun 2010; Eriksson, Wimelius & Ghazinour, 2018; Cheung & Phillimore, 2013). Juntos eases its beneficiaries' inclusion in this kind of networks through the organization of activities that celebrate the members' cultures of origin, whose majority come from Latin America. These events have the effect to strengthen the Latin America beneficiaries' bonding connections and create opportunities for information and resources access.

Qualitative results show that also Creating Connections values the bonding networks for newcomers' social integration. Indeed, the association adopts an information sharing system of a peripheral type that sees the active participation of ethnic minorities community leaders. Their function is to share with the rest of the community members the information and resources they acquired through the SEMB.

Nevertheless, a difference emerges about the importance the two SEMB attributes to the culture of origin: Juntos uses it as a grouping element while Creating Connections as a means of information transition.

On the other side, the establishment of bridging connections is Creating Connections main focus of intervention. Literature attests that this kind of connections: are fundamental for psychological acculturation (Ager and Strang, 2008); increase

employability; ease the services and information access; support the linking connections (Cheung & Phillimore, 2013; Eriksson et al., 2018).

With this regard, Creating Connections adopts the complementary strategy carried out by Juntos: indeed, the SEMB uses the celebration and transmission of the Italian culture as a grouping element. Creating Connections hallmark activity is in fact a project aimed at fostering newcomers' cultural competence about the Italian culture and history. By doing so, the association works on the pre-conditions that ease newcomers' contact with Italian natives and, at a longer term, also the recognition of membership to the resettlement community. In addition, Creating Connections eases the establishment of bridging connections by including its beneficiaries in networks that involve not just Italian autochthonous but, in a broader way, people from different countries that live in the local community. Through the inclusion of newcomers with different backgrounds, Creating Connections aims to develop a deep knowledge of social integration issues and solutions in the local community of Turin. This is in continuity with the process of the SEMB foundation that sees the cooperation of four people with different backgrounds but a common mission. Qualitative results show that also Juntos values the establishment of bridging connections even though with less salience. Indeed, its founder and active members actively ease this kind of contacts specifically as a source of job employment. Moreover, even though the SEMB declares to care about beneficiaries' acquisition of Italian cultural competences as preconditions for their social inclusion, effectively the association puts them in contact with Italian language teachers while it does not carry out any specific activity that address this goal.

Qualitative results show also that both associations are aimed at creating Collective Social Capital for the local community social development. Indeed, either Creating Connections and Juntos aim to foster the local community social development by promoting the establishment of resourceful connections among community members

that in turn ease a Sense of Commuinity based on cultural pluralism (Chavis, 2000; McMillan and Chavis, 1986).

Nevertheless, also in this case the two SEMB pursue this same goal in a very different way: while Juntos organizes meeting spaces between new and old Italian community members centered on the acknowledgment of the Latin American culture, Creating Connections organizes instead events of reciprocal cultural exchange.

The different salience the two enterprises give to the origin and Italian culture and to the bonding and bridging connections is reflected in the Social Capital they produce for their members social integration. Results from the second part of the study attest that while Juntos members tend to refer to co-nationals in order to get settled within the local community, Creating Connections members refer instead to bridging connections. The amount of bonding and bridging Social Capital produced by the two association is indeed significantly different. On the contrary, the two associations linking Social Capital is comparable and represent a third of the overall resourceful connections.

Eventually, the strategic and social structure of the two associations is reflected in their beneficiaries' social integration paths.

From a psychological point of view, Juntos beneficiaries identify more with the origin culture than with the Italian one. In addition, their identification with the culture of origin is higher than in Creating Connections beneficiaries. This result is consistent with Robertson and Grant's (2016) findings that highlight a strong correlation among the creation and use of bonding Social Capital and the strength of origin cultural identity in enterprises with migratory background.

Contrary to the research hypothesis, Creating Connections beneficiaries did not obtain higher scores in the identification with the Italian culture and in the Italian cultural competences, neither when compared to the score the group obtained in the

origin culture subscales, nor when compared to Juntos scores. However, to appropriately interpret this result it is necessary to take into account that on average Creating Connections beneficiaries have been participating to the SEMB activities for less than one year. Therefore, it is hypothesized that a longer time is needed in order to effectively estimate the impact that their participation in the SEMB activities has on their acculturation path.

Notwithstanding, despite the different salience the two SEMB dedicate to the acquisition of Italian cultural competences and to the maintenance of the origin one, data show that beneficiaries of both the SEMB pursue a social integration acculturation strategy (Berry, 1997). Indeed, both groups report a high score in all the four sub-scales of the AMAS-ZABB, showing a high degree of cultural identification and competences in both the origin and Italian cultures. As the previous study highlights and consistent with literature in the field (Ager and Strang, 2008), the sense of belonging to the resettlement community and the acquisition of its cultural competence foster the transition from the newcomer position to the new-citizen one, but foremost it fosters the commitment toward the active participation to the local community life and development.

Results from the qualitative methodology allow to track a continuity among founders' direct experience of social integration and the activities designed to achieve its mission. Founders of the two SEMB are indeed new citizens with stable living conditions in Italy who feel and are recognized as effective members of the Italian local community. Beside their diversities, both the SEMB set for their beneficiaries the same results: providing them the conditions to stabilize in the resettlement community and to become effective members. Consistent with this, founders use their own experience as a social model (Bandura, 1977) to foster beneficiaries' transition from newcomers to new citizens. With this regard, both the

SEMB foster a model of social integration, that, consistent with the Ager and Strang's study (2008), is based on self-sufficiency. In other words, founders empower beneficiaries by providing them the conditions to make them actors of their own social integration path. Effectively, beneficiaries of both groups report high scores in each of the four markers of social integration. In this area the two SEMB differ just in two markers that are strongly related to the SEMB characteristics.

The first one is related to the employment contract length that sees Juntos beneficiaries having a more stable condition than Creating Connections beneficiaries. Firstly, this difference needs to be read in light of some demographic characteristics: Juntos beneficiaries are older and live in Italy since a longer time than Creating Connections beneficiaries. Secondly, this result is also consistent with a qualitative result that sees Juntos being strongly committed toward its beneficiaries' job placement.

The two groups also significantly differ in terms of educational level. Literature in the migration field addresses the educational context as the main important in order to get in touch with the resettlement community and to acknowledge the resettlement culture (Trickett, Birman, 2001). This result is therefore consistent with Creating Connections line of action as emerged from the qualitative study.

This study has some limits especially in the last part about the impact of the SEMB organization in its beneficiaries' social integration path. With this regard the limit of the study is the reverse side of its strength. Indeed, each result concerning the comparison between the two SEMB must be read in the light of the two associations specificities. While it is true that the distinctions among the two associations help to have a deeper acknowledgement of the SEMB phenomenon, it is also difficult to make comparisons if some characteristics are not adequately taken into account. Among these, two distinctions are the most evident: the years spent in Italy, with Juntos members (being founders, active members and beneficiaries) having been

resettled for an average of twenty years against the fourteen of Creating Connections members'; the time of activity of the SEMB, with Juntos being founded eighteen years before Creating Connections. Given these differences, the only way to measure the effective impact of each SEMB on its beneficiaries' social integration path is to either carry out repetitive data collection on a regular basis, or to involve a large sample size that allow to compute complex statistical analysis.

The design of this second study foresaw the adoption of the second data collection strategy but unfortunately, as above mentioned, the spread of COVID-19 pandemic hindered such a chance.

Nevertheless, this study offers a glimpse over the phenomenon of the Social Enterprises with migratory background, realities that are poorly explored in the immigration studies. Nonetheless, SEMB worth to be explored because of the point of view they adopt in order to ease social integration issues. Indeed, SEMB are based on their founders direct experience of social integration that provide them with an awareness about the effective strategies and the needs to address to foster newcomers' social integration. Consistent with this, this study allowed to explore how founders used their experience in social integration to shape the SEMB features, its Social Capital and the strategies adopted to carry out Community Development programs aimed at easing newcomers' social integration. Furthermore, it allowed to explore also their beneficiaries' conditions of social integration and how the SEMB peculiarities relate to them.

These results suggest some hypothesis that further studies might explore.

In terms of Social Capital, while it is evident a centralized organization of Juntos, with the founder being a resourceful contact for most of the beneficiaries, it may be as well hypothesized that Creating Connections beneficiaries become progressively more connected with the association but with an organization that sheds light over the brokering role of the active members too.

Furthermore, given the saliency Creating Connections gives to the development of Italian cultural identity and the acquisition of the Italian cultural competences, it may be hypothesized that, at a longer time, the difference with Juntos beneficiaries become significant also in these aspects.

A larger sample size in both groups will also allow to verify the mediator role of social connections in the relationship among the SEMB attendance and the social integration outcome. In other words, it is hypothesized that the amount of time spent within the association increase the number of beneficiaries' resourceful social connections that in turn positively impact over their social integration paths both form a normative and a psychological point of view.

In conclusion, this study paves the way for the conduction of further studies about the impact evaluation of SEMB. These studies might provide SEMB founders with a rigorous and theory driven evaluation of the effectiveness of the activities they carry out and also with recommendations about how to better address their beneficiaries' and the local communities' needs. Moreover, these studies might foster the development of a dialectic relation between the academic studies and the practical field of intervention of social psychology.

With this regard, Appendix 1 presents a proposal for the impact evaluation of SEMB designed according to the results gained from Study 1 and 2.

Conclusions

The thesis aims to share a research contribution able to provide useful suggestions for the improvement of newcomers' social integration within resettlement communities.

The thesis is indeed framed within an historical, social and political phenomenon that sees the greatest number of people on the move ever recorded. In the last years, this issue became object of the Italian and European political debate and has polarized public opinion among those who oppose newcomers' entrance in the resettlement countries, seen as a threat for the maintenance of the national culture, and those who recognize and endorse the duty to guarantee a shelter to populations in danger. Although qualitatively different, both these two approaches arise from a social representation of newcomers as people in need, issue that do not allow to realistically interpret the immigratory phenomenon and to understand its implication and potentialities.

The contextual framework of the first part highlights two important facts. Firstly, numbers related to the presence of extra EU citizens in Europe are extremely low, around 4% of the overall population. In Italy, as other European border countries, the percentage is slightly higher because of its geographical position.
The second consideration is that immigration is the result of an interplay between push and pull factors. While it is undeniable that the number of forcibly displaced people is increasing due to war, poverty and famine, it is as well undeniable that European labor policies attract if not actively recruit workers from the nearby non-EU countries due to the possibility to underpay their labor force.

Consistent with the European trend, in Italy newcomers are employed in lower skilled professions, in the industrial sector in the north and in agriculture in the

south, with a considerable employment also in the home care sector. In the last years, Italy adopted a progressively restrictive approach toward newcomers' entrance and social integration. The last law that attempted to regulate newcomers' social integration dates back in 1998 with the Turco-Napolitano law, better known as the Immigration Unique Text, that described the government duties to ease newcomers' integration within the local communities. From that moment onward, there have been a series of laws aimed at limiting the access of third countries citizens in the Italian territory. Beside an increase in newcomers' arrival between 2011 and 2017, during the so-called Arab Spring and the Refugee crisis, the number of people applying for residence permit in Italy has declined as an effect of the restrictive approach that also fostered irregular entrances. Therefore, as the first chapter highlighted, while the number of people arriving is decreasing, those who are planning a permanent resettlement in Italy are instead increasing. As the history of immigration in Europe testifies, under conditions of insecurity and instability, those who managed to settle in Europe tend to secure their position. As a consequence, the number of applications for citizenship and family reunifications are increasing in the last years.

This situation calls upon the need to improve the Italian social integration system in order to sustain new citizens in the process that will make them effective, recognized and active part of the Italian local communities.

As outlined in chapter 1 the Italian Immigration Unique Text defines social integration as a two-way process that involve both those who are welcomed and those who welcome. While it is necessary to foster newcomers' self-sufficiency and inclusion within the resettlement community, it is likewise necessary to foster the development of a reception culture that values and is respectful of the cultural diversity.

Social sciences such as Social Psychology and Sociology have developed theories that help to understand these issues and to develop theory-driven programs of intervention. The integration among these two different fields of investigation has been the focus of chapter 2.

Social integration is here intended as a complex interplay between the context characteristics and acculturation patterns. Context characteristics refer to the resettlement country's reception system made of possibilities and demands for newcomers' integration. The acculturation patterns refer instead to the effects of an intercultural contact both on the resettlement community and on newcomers. While sociological theories focused on the former, psychological theories focused instead on the seconds.

Ager and Strang's (2008) model of social integration belongs to the first type of theories since it addresses and highlights the tension among newcomers' rights and the requirements they need to achieve. The model also outlines the factors that ease this interaction. Within this theory, social connections play a central role. Indeed, newcomers' resourceful connections, with the community of origin, the resettlement community and with public institutions devoted to their social integration, ease the achievement of the four markers of social integration: a stable employment and housing condition, the navigation within the education and health care system. Taken together the achievement of these four markers indicate newcomers' self-sufficiency in the resettlement community (Ager and Strang, 2008).

On the contrary, Berry's acculturation model sees newcomers' social integration in a local community as a phenomenon of intercultural contact that challenges ones' own cultural references such as values, habits, traditions. Berry's (1997) model explores the effect of an intercultural contact both from the resettlement community perspective and from the newcomers' one. With regard to the first, the way an intercultural contact is managed by the resettlement community determines an openness or a closure toward the respect of newcomers' cultural diversity and their

effective inclusion in the community. From newcomers' perspective, the intercultural contact shapes for them the chance to navigate between the culture of origin and the resettlement one or to adhere just to one of them. Of course, the way a community and newcomers deal with the intercultural contact are strongly interrelated.

The present thesis sustains that it is not possible to deeply understand the phenomenon of social integration by focusing just on one of these two approaches. Indeed, the context reception system and the acculturation pattern are in a dialectic relationship of mutual influence. The integration of Ager and Strang and Berry's models provide instead with a complex yet thorough model to address newcomers' social integration. This integration also clarifies that groups dynamics within and between newcomers and the resettlement community are at the base of the phenomenon into question.

Group dynamics constitutes a specific field of investigation of social psychology. In particular, the Social Identity Theory explores the relation between individual's behavior and group dynamics by means of the Social Identity construct. Social Identity describes the individual's self-conception that derives from the awareness of being member of a specific group, and from the emotional meaning and value assigned to such a membership (Tajfel, 1968). According to Tajfel, the need to maintain a positive self-representation is what motivate the individual's behavior within the group but also in the interaction with other groups. The Ethnic Identity is a specificity of Social Identity and is particularly related to individual's awareness and interpretation of being part of an ethnic and/or cultural group. Through the concept of Ethnic Identity, the Social Identity Theory has allowed to explore the dynamics of relationships that tie newcomers with their community of origin and with the resettlement community. Indeed, according to studies on Ethnic Identity a person can identify with more than an ethnic group, generally at least with the origin

and resettlement one. Recent studies testify that these different forms of cultural belonging interact within each other and acquire different salience according to different contexts. With this regard, Wenger's theory on Communities of Practice (1998) provides with lenses to zoom into the identity dynamics that accompany newcomers' integration within the resettlement community. The five identity characteristics described in chapter 2 highlight the multi-membership nature of identity and also the way it interacts with the context. The theory also delineates trajectories that newcomers can endorse in order to participate to the already existing resettlement community and the specific function they can assume within it once they become effective members. In other words, this theory allows to explore the process of newcomers' progressive cultural inclusion in the resettlement community and the way they can integrate their different cultural belongings. Once acquired the cultural competences of the resettlement community, former newcomers can actively participate to the community life by endorsing its development. Indeed, as Wenger outlines, members of a group share a mutual engagement for the community growth. Group belonginess and dynamics produce therefore resources for the group as a whole and for each member, that by virtue of membership, can access the communal resources. The sociological construct of Social Capital addresses these very specificity of group dynamics.

Social Capital is here defined as resourceful relationships that allow individuals or groups to achieve some goals. Social relationships become resourceful whether characterized by trust, respect and mutuality. The kind of resources that social relationships produce can be both material, such as economic income, housing placement, but also non-material, such as an improved quality of life or a feeling of belonginess to a group.

The thesis has presented the contribution of four sociologists who investigated the construct of Social Capital outlining what Social Capital is, the function it fulfills, the way it is produced and who can benefit it, being the collectivity or the individual. The integration between this sociological construct and the Social Identity Theory defined the differentiation among the bonding, bridging and linking Social Capital. Within the migration studies, bonding Social Capital addresses the resourceful relationship among newcomers' and the community of origin, bridging Social Capital refers instead to the resourceful connections among people who belong to different cultures, linking Social Capital addresses instead resourceful connections among newcomers and the local institutions devoted to their social integration. The construct of Social Capital has been applied to migration studies in order to identify the material and non-material relational resources that foster newcomers' social integration mostly from a normative point of view.

Nevertheless, these studies arose from a statical definition of Identity. In other words, they studied Social Capital for newcomers' social integration by assuming newcomers' solely identification with the community of origin. On the contrary, they did not take into consideration the different forms of belonging that newcomers can experience within the resettlement community and how these different belongings shape their social integration path. For instance, newcomers do not resettle all for the same reason: some of them seek for asylum and become refugees, some others arrive in search for job and are addressed as economic migrants and so on. The residence permit also provides with identity categories that have an impact on newcomers' social integration experience. Furthermore, those who share a common origin not necessarily share also a common identity, this is particularly true in cases of countries afflicted by ethnic differentiation. Lastly and more importantly, no studies have been found that take into account the chance for newcomers to become effective members of the resettlement community and therefore to develop a Social Identity that is related also to this community.

The thesis proposes therefore to improve the theories about the development of Social Capital by integrating the above-mentioned Communities of Practice model. Wenger's theorization about newcomers' trajectories within communities allows to capture the resources that multiple belongings produce not just for them but also for their communities.

Following this literature, social integration is here considered as the process that brings to the development of a pluralistic society.
Social integration is possible in a country whose relevant legislation sustains a multicultural system whereby social diversities are not mutually exclusive but interact and share a common membership to the local community. Indeed, the coexistence of multiple memberships provides with resources both for newcomers' inclusion and for the community development.

From a theoretical point of view the thesis was aimed at verifying the suitability of a model of social integration that integrates the sociological and psychological theories, and also that studies Social Capital from a Communities of Practice model. Furthermore, from an applicative point of view the thesis was aimed at providing a research contribution able to present some evidence-based indications for the improvement of the resettlement and social integration system.

To suitably address these two aims, the research has explored the realities of the Social Enterprises with Migratory Background. SEMB are defined as social enterprises founded by former newcomers with the aim to ease newly arrived people' s social integration within the resettlement country. Differently from diasporas, SEMB are not defined by a specific cultural belonginess, therefore they target people from different countries of origin and with different stay permits.

The reason for SEMB involvement is two-fold. Firstly, the exploration of their founders' history of social integration allows to identify the factors that lead to successful social integration paths. Moreover, the eclectic nature of SEMB allows also to explore how different reasons for resettlement and different status shape the integration process. Secondly, these contexts are based on their founders brokering role within the local community. Therefore, SEMB allow to study how such a role is developed and its impact both on newcomers' social integration and on the resettlement community.

Consequently, the research was divided into two studies: the first one was devoted to the investigation of founders' and active members' social integration paths; the second was aimed at exploring the SEMB reality, the process of foundation and management, the Social Capital they develop and its effect.

From a theoretical point of view the research produced some advancement with regard to the literature on Social Capital and on Identity processes.

With regard to the first field, results from the first study testify that there is an association between newcomers' Social Capital in the country of origin and the one they develop and exploit in the resettlement country, and also that this relationship is mediated by the kind of stay permit granted in Italy. Indeed, data show that those who come from contexts of civil conflict hardly take advantage of bonding Social Capital in Italy for two reasons: firstly because the impairment of the social fabric in the countries of origin produces mistrust among co-nationals; secondly, because those who come from countries of armed conflict can apply for the refugee status that provide them with a great amount of linking Social Capital able to provide the basic resources to become self-sufficient in the new community.

The same function that linking Social Capital played for refugees was covered by the bonding Social Capital for those who arrived for different reasons. Indeed,

newcomers who could not benefit from the customized path for social integration delivered by public institutions, referred to co-nationals in order to start their new life in Italy.

Results from the first study highlight a specific function of bridging Social Capital that is instead related to the process of integration from an acculturation perspective. Data shows that respectful relationships with the resettlement community provide newcomers with a progressive identification with the resettlement community, that in turn drives a process of social integration that goes beyond the achievement of a self-sufficient position.

With this regard the first study allowed to track four steps that brought participants from the newcomer position to the new citizen one. These are:

1. Acceptance;
2. Cultural Acknowledgment;
3. Auto and hetero-recognition of belonginess;
4. Commitment toward the local community development.

Whether these four steps are accompanied by the maintenance of a deep contact also with the culture of origin, they drive the pursue and achievement of an acculturation strategy characterized by social integration. By the end of this stage, new citizens identify both with community of origin and with the resettlement one, becoming in this way a resource for both. Therefore, this result confirms the need to re-consider the definition of bonding and bridging Social Capital in this population. Once become new citizens, the connections that tie former newcomers with the resettlement community shift from a bridging to a bonding type.

This data also allows the identify a specific function that new citizens can play within local communities. Because of these multiple belongings new citizens can endorse a brokering role between newcomers and the resettlement community by easing the establishment of connections between the local community and the origin

community they belong to. This peculiar position guarantees them a specific function for the social development of the resettlement community: indeed, through this mediating role new citizens actively work on the development of the social cohesion of the community.

With this regard, results outline that the active participation to the community development is the last stage of a successful social integration path also from a normative point of view. Hence according to the present proposal, Ager and Strang's (2008) model for social integration should be improved by considering newcomers' active participation to the community development as a stage that follows the achievement of a self-sufficient position. To identify such a stage, newcomers' social integration needs to be studied at a longer term and in its dialogue with the identity dynamics that accompany this process. Indeed, the achievement of a self-sufficient condition does not grant an integrated position if by integration is meant a deep, felt and recognized connection with the resettlement community that is manifested through its members' active and shared contribution. A person can be self-sufficient in a place whereby he or she does not experience a sense of belonging. Within this condition, this person's engagement in the local community may be motivated only by the need to maintain a sustainable life condition. Therefore, results from the first study attest that the normative social integration path and the psychological one are strongly inter-related and cannot be fully understood if not integrated within each other.

These results outline another central issue for the comprehension of Social Capital development that emerged both from study 1 and 2. The research highlighted that social relationships can be resourceful in two different ways. Following an *assistentialistic* model, someone who is in need, being an individual or a group, takes advantage of the relationship with a resourceful Other in order to satisfy its necessities. Following a *mutual* model, two actors identify a common goal and take

advantage of reciprocal resources in order to achieve it. This last model of Social Capital is closely related to Wenger's definition of mutual engagement and describes the production of a collective form of Social Capital. Results from the research testify that to produce this kind of Social Capital, Self-Efficacy is needed in order to identify a common a goal and the inner, relational and contextual resources that must be activated or produced to achieve it.

Participants to study 1 exploited the *assistentialistic* Social Capital that bonding and linking connections provided them in order to stabilize within the resettlement community. Once stably resettled and identified the way they could actively contribute to the local community, they managed to widen this initial network, creating a new *mutual* form of Social Capital aimed at giving shape to their commitment to the community development. In this form of Social Capital, participants' agency is well-recognizable. It is interesting also to note that for participants such a process corresponded to a dynamic of Self-Actualization, as if an association exists between the achievement of one's own purpose of life and the community advancement. Results suggest that for new-citizens Self-Actualization corresponds to the active contribution they can give to the resettlement community. As SEMB founders, this contribution is related to the improvement of newcomers' social integration system in Italy. In other words, participants transmuted their own social integration path into a wealth of knowledge to ease newcomers' social integration path by providing them and the community with their own experience. Through the constitution and management of the SEMB, founders gave to their experience the form of interventions that worked on newcomers' social integration from both sides: by providing newcomers with resources to ease their resettlement and fostering a pluralistic community culture.

Since SEMB are deeply rooted in their founders' social integration path, this kind of social enterprises assumes as many shapes as the different paths of social integration

can take. Indeed, while the inner process that brought founders to transform their experiences into collective resources emerged to be transversal across the founders' interviews, the way such a transformation is put into practice varies according to the founders' specific experience.

With this regard, results from study 2 testify that beside being driven by the same purpose, Creating Connections and Juntos address their mission in two very distinguished ways.

Creating Connections founders developed the association out of initial bridging relationships that became progressively more of a bonding type. The successful history of cooperation among Creating Connections founders brought them to pursue a model of social integration based on the integration of cultural distinctions. Indeed, Creating Connections target are people from different countries of origin, with different residence permits, belonging to different religious communities. Nevertheless, the association highlights what all these different stories have in common: the belonginess to the Italian culture. Upon this very eclecticism the enterprise promotes a pluralistic culture of newcomers' reception and integration that values the differences by function of commonalities.

Differently, Juntos arises from a history of bonding connections, condition that brought the founder to pursue a model of social integration that is centered on the valorization of the Latin American culture. As already argued, Juntos is opened to newcomers' coming from all over the world, nevertheless those who have a continuative engagement with the association are all from Latin America. The valorization of the culture of origin is therefore used to strengthen relationships both within newcomers and the between them and the resettlement community. In this way the association fosters a pluralistic culture of reception and social integration that values the cultural differences by fostering their knowledge.

When comparing beneficiaries' social integration, these two different strategies have an impact on the degree of identification with the culture of origin and with the one of resettlement. Nevertheless, results show also that beneficiaries of both the enterprises obtain high scores in terms of social integration both from a normative and a psychological point of view.

This is probably due to the effectiveness of the activities of the two SEMB. Indeed, these can be considered as evidence-based because they derive from their founders' direct experience of social integration. Such an experience provided them with an awareness about the criticalities to solve and the strengths to value and systematize in order to effectively address the local communities' social integration. Interestingly, these strengths and criticalities refer to the resettlement context and system as well as to the way founders in first person interacted with the context limits and resources. From the founders' interviews clearly emerges that social integration does not depend solely on the possibilities the context offers or on newcomers' willingness to get integrated. This thesis testifies that social integration is a matter of interaction between the individual and the context, but also between the disciplines and theories able to detect and understand this process.

This leads to the applicative implication of the thesis.

From a normative point of view, social integration is ruled by the resettlement country government who defines the conditions for newcomers' settlement in the local community and the requirement they need to fulfill in order to become effective members. The way the government manages social integration influences the community's degree of openness toward newcomers' reception. Given the contextual characteristics SEMB carry out strategies that boost newcomers' social integration. As already mentioned, these strategies developed from founders' direct experience as former newcomers, from the knowledge of the context they acquired and also from the connections they developed with local institutions that deal with social

integration. Therefore, on one side SEMB provide newcomers with a set of activities to improve their social integration within the local community. On the other side, their beneficiaries' target provides SEMB with constantly updated information about the immigratory phenomenon, its characteristics and specific needs. Indeed, as chapter one outlined, the migratory phenomenon is in constant evolution and depends on contextual push and pull factors. Because of their position among local institutions and newcomers, SEMB can effectively mediate among newcomers' needs and the context demands and resources. This mediation is the effective contribution that these organizations can give for the improvement of the resettlement system.

Nevertheless, to do so SEMB need to become reliable interlocutors for the institutions devoted to newcomers' social integration. The impact evaluation is a strategy to develop such a reliability. Indeed, impact evaluation programs provide with evidence-based information about the effectiveness of a project by studying the interaction between that project and the context whereby it intervenes and by measuring the change that it produces on the environment. A SEMB impact evaluation would provide founders with a feedback about the impact of their activities; at the same time such a strategy provides SEMB stakeholders with data that demonstrate the SEMB results. An impact evaluation represents therefore a mean to improve the quality of SEMB activities but also to build partnership with policy makers.

Table 7.1. hereunder reports a summary of the research major findings.

Table 7.1

Research major findings

Study	Mayor Findings

Study 1	• The social fabric of participants' country of origin is fragmented: from separation to conflict dynamics.
	• Linking Social Capital for refugees and bonding Social Capital for holders of other residence permits were resourceful to start from scratch.
	• Job is the context whereby the group of participants reported the highest number of bridging connections.
	• Housing is the context whereby the group of participants reported the highest number of bonding connections.
	• Bridging Social Capital fostered the shift from a peripheric to a central position within the resettlement local community.
	• Four stages for psychological acculturation:
	  1. Acceptance;
	  2. Cultural acknowledgement;
	  3. Auto and hetero recognition of belonginess;
	  4. Commitment toward the community development.
	• Activism is a crossing boundary identity category that creates a new form of bonding Social Capital among new citizens and autochthonous.
	• Self-Efficacy makes social connections resourceful for Self-Actualization and for the commitment toward the Community Development.

Study 2	• Founders of both the SEMB included in the study created a wealth of knowledge out of the experience that they made in first person as newcomers.
	• Both the SEMB developed out of bonding connections:
	  - Creating Connections transformed bridging connections into bonding;
	  - Juntos narrowed its network from a friend to a familiar type.
	• Creating Connections produces bridging Social Capital for its beneficiaries' social integration.
	• Juntos produces bonding Social Capital for its beneficiaries' social integration.
	• The amount of bonding and bridging Social Capital produced by the two association is significantly different.
	• The two associations linking Social Capital is comparable.
	• Both the SEMB aim at producing collective Social Capital for the social development of the resettlement community.
	• Juntos beneficiaries identify more with the origin culture than with the Italian one.
	• Creating Connections beneficiaries do not differ in terms of identification and cultural competences related to the community of origin and to the resettlement one.
	• Beneficiaries of both the SEMB pursue a social integration acculturation strategy.
	• Juntos group report a more stable employment contract than Creating Connections beneficiaries.
	• Creating Connections beneficiaries report a higher educational level than that of the Juntos beneficiaries.
	• Beneficiaries of both groups report high scores in each of the four markers of social integration.

A conclusive note on the research methodology. The research has adopted an ethnographic method, characterized by an epistemological approach that considers research data as a knowledge that researchers develop together with research

participants. According to the ethnographic approach, the research methodology from its design to the interpretation of results is the product of a joint activity between the researcher and the context of research. This joint activity creates therefore the research field (Talamo, Mellini, Camilli, Ventura & Di Lucchio, 2015) and arises from a negotiation between the researcher and the gatekeeper about the purpose of the research and the way it will be carried out.

In the case of this research, the researchers and SEMB founders shared a common purpose to contribute to the diffusion of alternative narratives on newcomers' reception, or rather narratives that go beyond the rhetoric of newcomers' reception or rejection and focus instead on the contribution that they give to the local communities. Such an agreement laid the groundwork for the development of a trustful relationship with the gatekeepers who acted as guarantor with regards to the other members, thus allowing researchers to conduce in-depth interviews and submit surveys about their social integration path.

In a similar way, the data collection strengthened the researcher presence within the SEMB and established a dialectic with participants about the research results. While the researchers offered categories to interpret data that come from sociological and psychological literature in the social integration field, participants used their experiential knowledge to advance matters of reflection to identify advancements and limits.

The thesis is the product of this overall process. Hence, the thesis represents a mutual form of Social Capital that researchers and SEMB produced in order to advance the comprehension of the phenomenon of social integration but also the knowledge and transmission of successful practices, and ultimately to concur to the development of a pluralistic Italian society.

GP001, President of Creating Connections, has well summarized this process in his last interview:

FINAL EXCERPT

651. *Why should they (Creating Connections members) trust you (Camilla Modesti)*
and tell you all their stuff? Well, because I call the other members that trust me and I
tell them "Don't worry, she is trustworthy person".

At least a piece of trust is needed and we as Creating Connections can use it by
saying "This is a research that is aimed at showing that we are here (in the local
community), that we managed to do it (to become part of the local community), to
show that it is possible to do positive things and this can be a stimulus for all the
invisibles".

[Interview10 – GP001 – interviewerC]

Appendix 1 – Proposal for a SEMB impact evaluation

The conduction of Study 1 and 2 allow to design an impact evaluation study of SEMB. According to White (2010), an impact is "the final level of the causal chain (or log frame), with impact differing from outcomes as the former refers to long-term effects" (p.154). An impact evaluation study should retrace that chain of casualty to verify whether the change obtained through the implementation of an intervention are result of the intervention itself. An impact evaluation study provides implementers with evidence-based information about its effectiveness and with recommendations to better address the intervention aim and specific objectives. Impact evaluation is a process that should be integrated in every phase of a project life: from its design to its conclusion (WHO, 2013). Indeed, it is based on the analysis of expected and achieved goals and of the context whereby the intervention is carried out.

An organization that carries out impact evaluations of its activities values the chance to learn from the feedback of the evaluation result and is interested at making its results persistently relevant. By doing so, it conduces constantly update interventions. (WHO, 2013).

Impact evaluation studies can be addressed with different methodologies as long as the attribution principle is respected. While statistical methodologies allow to rigorously track the casualty chain between the intervention input and results, qualitative methodologies provide with a complex and better understanding of the context whereby the intervention takes place and of the interaction between the context and the intervention itself (White, 2010). With this regard a mixed method strategy, whether possible, exploits the best of the two methodologies, allowing to integrate results from both the methodologies in a complex analysis of an intervention evaluation.

According to White (2008) mixed methodologies can be used in three different ways:

1. By integrating the qualitative and quantitative methodologies;

2. By using the results of a methodology to corroborate, refuse, deepen, clarify the results of the other methodology;

3. By integrating the findings of both the methodologies into a set of proposals.

Chapter 1 of the thesis attests that issues related to newcomers' social integration are strongly rooted in the historical, social, cultural and of course, political context. The combination and mediation of all these factors make these issues changing rapidly. For this very reason, the impact evaluation of SEMB may inform founders on the effectiveness of their activities and provide recommendation on how to re-organize the SEMB activities in order to better address their beneficiaries' needs within the specific context of intervention.

Findings from study 2, reveal that, beside the same mission, the two SEMB studied carry out very different actions and that these differences are inscribed in their founders' histories of social integration. Impact evaluations studies might therefore inform on how the different strategies adopted by the SEMB affect the pattern of their beneficiaries' social integration.

By providing SEMB with evidence-based findings about their effectiveness, the conduction of impact evaluation studies allows also to make SEMB reliable interlocutor for the improvement of the resettlement system, and therefore to establish a dialectic relationship with government policymakers that deal with newcomers' social integration. In this way, the central government of the resettlement countries can benefit of the collaboration with organizations deeply rooted in local communities that not only provide with services of collective interest, but also collect information about the constantly changing needs of social integration.

A proposal for the impact evaluation of SEMB is presented hereunder. To design this proposal, reference has been made to results from study 2 and to the peculiarities of the two SEMB involved in it. Of course, the design and conduction of a SEMB impact evaluation needs to be adapted to each SEMB reality.

Aim

Evaluate the impact of SEMB for the promotion of integrated local communities

Specific objectives

1. To explore the SEMB history;
2. To explore how the SEMB addresses issues related to newcomers' social integration and to the promotion of the local community social development;
3. To verify the Social Capital developed by the SEMB to foster its beneficiaries' active participation to the resettlement community;
4. To verify the effectiveness of the SEMB activities aimed at fostering newcomers' social integration and psychological acculturation;
5. To verify the effectiveness of the SEMB activities aimed at fostering the intercultural contact within the local community.

Participants

A SEMB impact evaluation study should include:
- SEMB founders;
- SEMB beneficiaries, being newcomers and natives;
- Stakeholders: i.e. representatives of reception centers, government immigration offices that deal with social integration projects, formal and non-formal ethnic minorities organizations, civil organizations that foster newcomers' social integration and local social development (NGOs, religious communities, etc.).

<u>Methodology of data collection</u>

Given the characteristics of SEMB and of the context whereby they intervene, a mixed method approach for their impact evaluation emerges as the most appropriate.

The qualitative approach allows to carry out an in-depth analysis of the context whereby the SEMB intervene, the dialectic among it and the SEMB mission, the SEMB peculiarities, and their inscription within their founders' social integration path. Nevertheless, this approach does not allow to measure the impact of the SEMB intervention. A quantitative approach should therefore be integrated to the qualitative one. With this regard, the preliminary qualitative approach will also allow to refine the specific objectives and methodologies of the quantitative approach in order to design a tailored impact evaluation study.

At least two phases of data collection should be foreseen: idealistically, the first one should be carried out at T0, before the start of the SEMB intervention (being an activity or a set of activities) while the second should be implemented by the end of the intervention itself. Nevertheless, the administration of the quantitative approach should be carried also one and two years after the end of the intervention in order to track whether the SEMB impact is stable across time.

Qualitative approach

To address specific objectives #1 and #2 a qualitative approach should be adopted with the aim to collect data that frame the SEMB within the context whereby it intervenes and within its' founders' history.

A background ethnography should be carried out in order to explore the historical, social, cultural and political context whereby the SEMB intervene. Given the

changing nature of the immigration phenomenon, the background ethnography should be carried out on an ongoing basis throughout the impact evaluation process.

At T0, semi-structured interviews addressed to SEMB founders should explore the following areas:

    a. Founders' social integration paths;

    b. The motivation behind the start-up of the association;

    c. Resources that drove the SEMB foundation;

    d. Needs and resources of the local community in terms of social integration;

    e. The SEMB mission, specific objectives and actions;

    f. The SEMB stakeholders;

    g. The SEMB expected results.

The follow-up interview, administered at the end of the intervention, should explore the following areas:

    a. the goals achieved and the ones not achieved;

    b. limitations of the intervention;

    c. their overall perception about the effectiveness of the activities;

    d. Future directions.

Semi-structured interviews should also be addressed to stakeholders in order to explore their relationship with the SEMB. With this regard, at T0 the following area should be explored:

    a. Needs and resources of the local community in terms of social integration;

    b. how their organizations deal with the social integration of the local community;

    c. the presence or absence of a collaboration relationships with SEMB and the reason for the that.

Stakeholder' follow-up interview should be focused on:

a. whether and how they partnered with the SEMB on the intervention activities and their contribution;

b. the nature of collaboration during the SEMB intervention;

c. the needs met and unmet through the intervention;

d. the overall perception of intervention effectiveness.

Quantitative approach

To address specific objectives #3, #4, and #5 a quantitative approach should be adopted with the aim to measure the SEMB impact in the following outcomes: Social Capital created, beneficiaries' social integration from a normative point of view, beneficiaries' psychological acculturation, beneficiaries' attitudes toward the intercultural contact.

Hereunder each outcome together with its measures is presented.

<u>SEMB Social Capital</u>

To address specific objective # 3, a social network analysis assessing the SEMB whole-network should be conducted to verify the SEMB structural social capital. Indeed, the Social Network Analysis should collect information about the resourceful social connections the SEMB includes and directly activate. For this very reason it should collect data about:

a. Newcomers and autochthonous beneficiaries outreached;

b. Stakeholders that collaborate with the SEMB;

c. The presence of ties within and between (a) and (b).

In order to verify whether the intervention impacts also the SEMB network in terms of size, composition, and degree of connectedness, the following variables will be extract from the Social Network Analysis:

1. *Size* that refers to the number of *nodes* and *ties* a network is made of. The highest the number, the greater the chance for each node of a network to gain relational resources.

2. *Homophily* that represents the tendency of the nodes in a network to connect with other nodes with similar characteristics, e.g. country of origin. The index *YulesQ* is a measure of homophily that ranges from -1 for perfect heterophily to 1 for perfect homophily.

3. *Compositional quality* that reflects the number of nodes in a whole network with needed characteristic such as a power position. This measure allows to retrieve the connections of the SEMB with stakeholders and institutions. To calculate the compositional quality, a proportion will be made among the number of stakeholders and institution included in the network and the total number of nodes a network is made of. The index goes from 0 to 1.

4. *Betweenness* that is a measure that indicates how well a person connects other individuals within a network. In terms of Social Capital, this index indicates an individual's ability to connect people from different groups. Individuals with a high value of betweenness ease the information flow from a group to another.

5. *Density* that reflects the degree of connectedness among members of a same network. The measure is a proportion among the number of ties recorded in a network and the number of possible ties that can be established within the same network.

Beneficiaries' outcomes

Because social integration is here considered as a two-way process, its assessment should be addressed to all SEMB beneficiaries, being newcomers or natives.

The survey administered in study 2 and adapted to the SEMB peculiarities can be used to address specific objectives # 4 and #5. The survey should include the four sections hereunder.

1. *Demographics information*

2. *Four markers of social integration* (Ager and Strang, 2008).

   Beneficiaries' social integration from a normative point of view will be measured through the following variables taken from Cheung and Phillimore's studies (2017). Since function of the four markers is to identify individuals' stable and self-sufficient position within the local community, their evaluation is not limited to newcomers' conditions but should be also addressed to autochthonous members of local communities. The following variables will be retrieved.

   Employment

   a. Condition – (0) unemployed or (1) employed.

   b. Stability - how many times beneficiaries changed job during the last six months: (1) more than twice; (2) twice; (3) once; (4) never.

   c. Employment contract stability – (1) a temporary job; (2) fixed-term job; (3) permanent job.

   Housing

   a. Conditions – (1) resettlement centre; (2) room for rent; (3) house for rent; (4) property house.

   b. Stability - how many times did beneficiaries change house in the last six months: (1) more than twice; (2) twice; (3) once; (4) never.

   Education

   a. Education in Italy: (1) none; (2) lower than secondary; (3) secondary; (4) professional training; (5) Bachelor's degree; (6) Master's degree; (7) PhD.

   Health

   a. Primary doctor - having (1); or not (0) a primary doctor.

   b. Access to the Health care facilities - degree of agreement with the two following questions:

  c. I know how to book an ordinary medical treatment in the hospital;

  d. In case of emergency, I know what to do in order to receive a medical treatment.

  Answers will be coded as follows: (1) strongly disagree; (2) disagree; (3) agree; (4) strongly agree.

3. *Psychological acculturation* (Berry, 1997)

Newcomer beneficiaries' psychological acculturation will be measured through the 4-point-Likert Abbreviated Multidimensional Acculturation Scale (AMAS-ZABB, Zea, Asner-Self, Birman & Buki, 2003). In particular, the following four subscales will be selected from the complete scale:

  a. *Italian Identification;*

  b. *Italian cultural competence*

  c. *Identification with the culture of the country of origin;*

  d. *Country of origin cultural of competence.*

Four continuous variables representing the average value obtained by each participant in each of the four subscales of the AMAS-ZABB scale will be created.

4. *Social Distance* (Bogardus, 1967)

The Bogardus Social Distance Scale (Bogardus, 1967) will be administered to evaluate the newcomer and native beneficiaries' social distance. The scale is made of seven propositions whereby individuals are asked to indicate whether they would interact with people from a different ethnic group in seven different situations characterized by a progressive smaller social distance. Therefore, this scale not only captures a positive versus a negative attitude toward the intercultural contact, but it also captures different nuances of positive attitudes. The Borgadus Social Distance Scale provide with a final score that ranges from 1 for the smallest social distance to 7 for the highest social distance.

Data Analysis

Qualitative approach

The SEMB founders and stakeholders' interviews, collected at T0 and at the end of the of the intervention, will be transcript and will constitute two different datasets: the first including the founders' interviews, and second including the stakeholders' ones. The two datasets will be analyzed separately through the thematic analysis (Braun & Clark, 2006) as it is a useful tool to identify, encode, and interpret recurrent themes in large amounts of qualitative data. Thematic Analysis is a flexible research tool that yields rich, detailed, and complex accounts of data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The thematic analysis will be independently carried out by at least two researchers in order to guarantee results validity.

Quantitative approach

Structural Social Capital will be measured through a whole-network Social Network Analysis (Borgatti & Ofem, 2010). A comparison between the network retrieved from the first administration and the one from the follow-up administration will be made. The analysis will be carried out through the software UCINET.

To verify the effect of the intervention on participants' social integration, psychological acculturation and social distance, repeated measures and mediation analysis will be computed using SPSS.

Expected Results

The integration of the qualitative and quantitative methodologies will provide with an in-depth analysis of the SEMB intervention effectiveness within the context whereby it operates.

The qualitative approach will provide data about the context needs and resources in terms of social integration and how the SEMB relates to them. The qualitative approach will therefore inform about the SEMB rootedness within the local community: how did it developed within the community, what needs it addresses, how it aims to contribute to its social development.

On the other side, the quantitative approach will measure the SEMB outcomes. Data from the Social Network Analysis will provide information about the social capital created by the SEMB. Indeed, the network generated will involve all the local community members outreached by the SEMB and the density of connections among them. Therefore, this methodology will allow to verify whether the SEMB plays a bridging function among the community members. This result combined with the ones about the four markers of social integration achieved by the SEMB beneficiaries, and the effect of the SEMB activities on beneficiaries' attitudes toward intercultural contact, will provide information about the impact of the SEMB on the social development of the local community.

Eventually, the combination among the qualitative and quantitative results will verify whether the impact of the SEMB intervention lines up with the context characteristics and needs.

Appendix 2 – Study 1: Narrative interview outline

I. Interviewer introduces herself/himself and explains the research objectives

II. *Can you tell me about yourself?

III. Area 1 – Country of origin, before departure

1. Where are you from? Can you tell me something about your home country? What was [country] like when you left?

2. How was the social atmosphere?

3. Did this social atmosphere impact your relationships? How was your social life?

4. Can you tell me about your departure? When did you leave? What motivated your decision? Did you leave on your own or with someone?

IV. Area 2 – Arrival and social integration in Italy

1. Can you tell me about your arrival in Italy? What year did you arrive? Did you arrive alone or with someone else? Or were you joining someone in Italy that you already knew? Was it your plan to come to Italy or did you end up staying for other reasons?

2. How did you get to where you are today, specifically regarding your legal status? Language acquisition? Education or training? Getting to know the local healthcare system and other services? How about work?

3. Do you maintain a community of co-nationals in Italy? If so, have they played a role in your integration?

4. What does it mean to you to be socially integrated? Do you feel integrated? Do you feel like you belong in Italy? If so, since when? What do you think made or makes you feel that way?

5. Who has played the biggest role in your integration here in Italy? Who has helped you along the way?

V. *Is there anything else that you'd like to add that we haven't covered or that I haven't asked you?

*Questions marked with an asterisk should be asked exactly as written.

Appendix 3 – Study 2: Narrative interview outline

I.   Can you describe your enterprise?

II.   Area 1 – SEMB foundation

    1. When and why did you found or why did you decide to join this association? What motivated you?

    2. Can you explain the process of foundation?

    3. What are the SEMB goals?

    4. Whom the SEMB is target to?

III.   Area 2 – SEMB management

    1. What kind of activities do you carry out?

    2. What are the SEMB stakeholders?

    3. What is the connection with the local community?

    4. How do you think the organization facilitates social integration of other newcomers in Italy?

IV.   Area 3 – Roles and functions

    1. Is there a differentiation of roles and functions within the SEMB founders and active members?

    2. What is your specific role? What is your function? How do you carry them out?

V.   Is there anything else that you'd like to add that we haven't covered or that I haven't asked you?

Appendix 4 – Study 1 and 2: Survey for Social Network Analysis

QUESTIONNAIRE

Name		
Gender	M	F
Date of birth		
Country of origin		
When did you arrived in Italy?		
What is your residence permit?		
Are you holder of Italian citizenship?	YES	NO
Occupation		
Religion		
Level of education achieved or recognized in Italy		
Level of education achieved in the country of origin		
Do you have some relatives living with you in Italy		
Do you have children living with you in Italy?	YES	NO

INITIALS	GENDER		AGE	ORIGIN	INTERNATIONAL PROTECTION		ITALIAN CITIZENSHIP		OCCUPATION	RELIGION	RELATIONSHIP TYPE 0 = not directly known 1 = acquaintance 2 = friend 3 = colleague 4 = relative 5 = public services	IS HE/SHE MEMBER OF THE ASSOCIATION?	
1	M	F			YES	NO	YES	NO				YES	NO
2	M	F			YES	NO	YES	NO				YES	NO
3	M	F			YES	NO	YES	NO				YES	NO
4	M	F			YES	NO	YES	NO				YES	NO
5	M	F			YES	NO	YES	NO				YES	NO
6	M	F			YES	NO	YES	NO				YES	NO
7	M	F			YES	NO	YES	NO				YES	NO
8	M	F			YES	NO	YES	NO				YES	NO
9	M	F			YES	NO	YES	NO				YES	NO
10	M	F			YES	NO	YES	NO				YES	NO
11	M	F			YES	NO	YES	NO				YES	NO
12	M	F			YES	NO	YES	NO				YES	NO
13	M	F			YES	NO	YES	NO				YES	NO
14	M	F			YES	NO	YES	NO				YES	NO
15	M	F			YES	NO	YES	NO				YES	NO
16	M	F			YES	NO	YES	NO				YES	NO
17	M	F			YES	NO	YES	NO				YES	NO
18	M	F			YES	NO	YES	NO				YES	NO
19	M	F			YES	NO	YES	NO				YES	NO
20	M	F			YES	NO	YES	NO				YES	NO
21	M	F			YES	NO	YES	NO				YES	NO
22	M	F			YES	NO	YES	NO				YES	NO
23	M	F			YES	NO	YES	NO				YES	NO

Appendix 5 – Study 2: Survey for Beneficiaries

I. Demographics
    1. Gender
    2. Year of birth
    3. Religion
    4. What is your Country of origin or the one of your family?
    5. When did you arrive in Italy?
    6. What is your current or former residence permit?
    7. Are you holder of the Italian citizenship?

II. SEMB participation
    1. How did you come in contact with the enterprise?
    Through:
    - Members of the community of origin;
    - Italians friends or acquaintances;
    - Social network;
    - Website;
    - Pamphlet;
    - Other

    2. Why did you approach the enterprise?
    - For legal and informative consulting about residence permit, employment, housing, education, health care;
    - To establish relationship with the community of origin;
    - To establish relationship with the Italian community;
    - To deepen the culture of origin;
    - To deepen the Italian culture;
    - Other.

    3. How long have you been participating in the enterprise activities? (In months)

III. Psychological integration - Abbreviated Multidimensional Acculturation Scale (Zea, Asner-Self, Birman, & Buki)

Cultural identity

Please mark the number from the scale that best corresponds to your answer.

Strongly Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly agree
1	2	3	4

1. I think of myself as being Italian.
2. I feel good about being Italian.
3. Being Italian plays an important part in my life.
4. I feel that I am part of Italian culture.
5. I have a strong sense of being Italian.
6. I am proud of being Italian.
7. I think of myself as being _____ (a member of my culture of origin).
8. I feel good about being _____ (a member of my culture of origin).
9. Being _____ (a member of my culture of origin) plays an important part in my life.
10. I feel that I am part of culture _____ (culture of origin).
11. I have a strong sense of being _____ (culture of origin).
12. I am proud of being _____ (culture of origin).

Cultural competences

Please answer the questions below using the following responses:

Not at all	A little	Pretty well	Extremely well
1	2	3	4

How well do you know:

1. Italian national heroes
2. popular Italian television shows
3. popular Italian newspapers and magazines
4. popular Italian actors and actresses
5. Italian history
6. Italian political leaders

How well do you know:

1. national heroes from your native culture
2. popular television shows in your native language
3. popular newspapers and magazines in your native language
4. popular actors and actresses from your native culture
5. history of your native culture
6. political leaders from your native culture

IV. Social integration

Employment

1. What is your employment condition?
   o Unemployed
   o Employed.
2. How many times did you change job during the last six months?
   o More than twice;
   o Twice;
   o Once;
   o Never.
3. What kind of employement contract do you have?
   o Temporary job;
   o Fixed-term job;
   o Permanent job.

Housing

4. Where do you live?
   o Resettlement center;
   o Room for rent;
   o House for rent;
   o Property house.
5. How many times did you change house in the last six months?
   o More than twice;
   o Twice;
   o Once;
   o Never.

Education

6. What level of education did you achieve in Italy?
   o None;
   o Lower than secondary;
   o Secondary;
   o Professional training;
   o Bachelor's degree;
   o Master's degree;
   o PhD.

Health

7. Do you have a primary doctor?
   o   Yes
   o   No

Please indicate the degree of agreement with the two following questions:

8. I know how to book an ordinary medical treatment in the hospital;

Strongly Disagree   Somewhat disagree   Somewhat Agree   Strongly agree
        1   2   3   4

9. In case of an emergency, I know what to do in order to receive medical
   treatment.

Strongly Disagree   Somewhat disagree   Somewhat Agree   Strongly agree
        1   2   3   4

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