

**Mutual intercultural relations among immigrant
and autochthonous youth in Italy.
Testing the integration, multiculturalism, and
contact hypotheses**

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Abstract

Italy is increasingly becoming a culturally complex society. This poses numerous challenges for developmental and educational psychology, mainly in terms of how to encourage adequate levels of social harmony by promoting positive development of both immigrant and autochthonous youth. Within this perspective, the current paper presents the Italian findings of the Mutual Intercultural Relations in Plural Societies (MIRIPS) international project, postulating the centrality of three core hypotheses: integration, multiculturalism, and contact. Two studies were performed to investigate these hypotheses. Study 1 comprised 188 Tunisian adolescents aged 13-18 (51% F; $M_{age}=15.94$), while Study 2 included 282 Italian adolescents aged 13-18 (58% F; $M_{age}=16.34$). Data collection involved completion of the Italian version of the MIRIPS questionnaires, including security, contact, attitudes, acculturation, and well-being measures. In both studies, hypotheses were simultaneously tested by a SEM approach. The tested theoretical models fit the data well. For Tunisian adolescents, establishing contacts with Italian peers was associated with acculturation outcomes of integration (contact hypothesis), that, in turn, were related to higher well-being (integration hypothesis). Also, higher levels of perceived discrimination were related to acculturation outcomes of separation (multiculturalism hypothesis). For Italian adolescents, feelings of security were linked to higher multicultural ideology and tolerance (multiculturalism hypothesis) as well as to higher contact with immigrants, that, in turn, were connected to lower segregationist attitudes (contact hypothesis). Moreover, higher levels of acculturation expectation of multiculturalism (the idea that non-dominant/immigrant groups should be integrated by both maintaining the original culture and adopting the dominant/hosting culture) were linked to higher self-esteem (integration hypothesis). The findings substantially supported the three core hypotheses and provided insights for decision-makers and practitioners to design effective social policies and educational programs to enhance the quality of intercultural relations among youth in Italy.

Keywords: integration, multiculturalism, contact, intercultural relations, immigration, acculturation.

Introduction

Italy is increasingly becoming a complex multicultural society, principally because of the growing incidence of migration flows, mainly directed to southern regions such as Sicily. According to the Caritas Italiana & Fondazione Migrantes (2019), the overall number of legal immigrants who are permanent residents in Italy has increased from about 1,000,000 in 2001 to about 5,300,000 in 2019 (8.7% of the total Italian population). Hence, Italy, and particularly Sicily, has become an interesting context for the study of intercultural relations because of its specific patchwork of religions, cultures and people in search for a new pattern of intercultural co-existence (Scardigno, Pastore, & Mininni, 2019).

Focusing on Sicily, one interesting group of immigrants to analyze is the Tunisian one. Indeed, Tunisians are the second largest immigrant group in Sicily (about 21,000 persons), composed predominantly of men (68%) and young people (32% under 34 years old). The Tunisian community living in Sicily is characterized by strong connections with their culture of origin, and a solid sense of belongingness to their ethnic group (Musso, Inguglia, & Lo Coco, 2017). At same time, Tunisians show positive relationships with Sicilian people, and quite high levels of integration (Inguglia & Musso, 2015). Despite this positive climate, the patterns of relationships between Sicilian and Tunisian people, as well as those with other groups, need to be improved. This is needed in order to prevent future episodes of discrimination and conflicts, especially during periods of economic and social instability, which are characterized by high youth unemployment rates (see Italian National Institute for Statistics; ISTAT, 2019a) and interpersonal distrust (ISTAT, 2019b; see also Musso, Inguglia, Lo Coco, Albiero, & Berry, 2017, for a quick overview of Italians' attitudes towards the most representative immigrant or discriminated groups).

The management of intercultural relations and of peaceful cohabitation within multicultural societies are joint tasks that equally encompass people of both hosting societies and minority groups. Following Berry (2017), such a management "depends on many factors including a research-based understanding of the historical, political, economic, religious and psychological features of the groups that are in contact" (p. 1). In particular, developmental and educational psychology may contribute by improving the knowledge of factors fostering personal and social development in multicultural contexts during the life cycle as well as the educational strategies more suitable to achieve this goal. This can better help decision-makers

and practitioners to effectively manage intercultural relations and to design effective social policies and educational programs able to endorse intercultural dialogue since childhood.

Psychological studies that have already tried to contribute to the enhancement of this knowledge are divided into two distinct approaches, named acculturation and ethnic relations (Berry, 2005, 2006). The first approach has been concerned with the views held by non-dominant groups (e.g., immigrants) regarding how they wish to live in the host society, using concepts such as acculturation strategies and adaptation. The second approach has examined the views and behaviors of the dominant group toward the non-dominant ones, using concepts such as acculturation expectations and prejudice. However, both the approaches represent 'one-way' views of intercultural relations, which miss examining the reciprocal views held by non-dominant groups towards dominant group, and vice versa.

The current project tried to bring together these two approaches by studying both non-dominant and dominant groups following the guidelines developed by Berry (2017) in the framework of the international project titled Mutual Intercultural Relations in Plural Societies (MIRIPS; see <http://www.victoria.ac.nz/cacr/research/mirips>). In doing so, we decided to focus on adolescence as an interesting life period to conduct the research. In fact, this developmental phase is critical for the formation of acculturation strategies, cultural identities and attitudes towards other cultures (Sam & Berry, 2006). During adolescence, youths try to learn more about their own ethnic belonging and culture, as well as about those of the other groups, thus the cultural dimension becomes very salient in their life and in the process of their identity development (Motti-Stefanidi, Berry, Chrysoschoou, Sam, & Phinney, 2012; Musso, Inguglia, & Lo Coco, 2017; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014).

Starting from these preliminary considerations, we aimed at providing an innovative contribution to the current literature by testing simultaneously and in the Italian context three core hypotheses of intercultural relations among both majority and immigrant youth: integration, multiculturalism, and contact (Berry, 2017). Although these hypotheses have already been analyzed by several researchers (Berry, 2017; Inguglia & Musso, 2015; Inguglia, Musso, & Lo Coco, 2017; Motti-Stefanidi, 2018; Musso, Inguglia, Lo Coco, et al., 2017; Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013; Neto, 2019; Pavlopoulos & Motti-Stefanidi, 2017; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008), to our knowledge no studies have tested them simultaneously in a comprehensive framework, least of all in Italy. Moreover, only few studies have investigated the integration hypothesis in dominant group members or the

multicultural hypothesis in non-dominant group members (Inguglia & Musso, 2015; Verkuyten, 2005). Thus, more evidence is needed to further advance the literature in this direction.

Integration Hypothesis

The integration hypothesis is related to the concept of acculturation strategies, namely the way in which people of non-dominant groups seek to relate to the larger society in which they live. According to Berry's (1997) acculturation framework, there are four acculturation strategies: (1) integration, when individuals have interest in maintaining the original culture, while at the same time seeking daily interactions with other cultural groups and participation as an integral member of the larger society; (2) separation, when individuals place a value on holding on to their original culture, and at the same time wish to avoid interactions with other cultural groups; (3) assimilation, when individuals do not wish to maintain their original cultural identity and seek daily interactions with other cultural groups and participation in the larger society; (4) marginalization, when individuals have little possibility or interest in cultural maintenance (often for reasons of enforced cultural loss), and little interest in having relations with other cultural groups (often for reasons of exclusion or discrimination).

Based on these concepts, the integration hypothesis proposes that individuals from minority groups, who are engaged in both their own culture and that of the larger society (i.e., integrated), show higher levels of psychological and sociocultural adaptation than those using other strategies. That is, being bicultural provides the basis for successful adaptation to intercultural living (Berry, 2017). In contrast, if individuals adopt the strategy of being exclusively engaged in their own culture or in the hosting culture, or if they engage in neither culture, they will have poorer psychological and sociocultural adaptation than integrated individuals. A possible explanation is that people with multiple cultural engagements increase their opportunities for support and resources from diverse cultural groups, besides being competent in dealing with them (Berry, 2013).

The evidence for the integration hypothesis in immigrant youth has been reviewed by several authors (Abu-Rayya & Sam, 2017; Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006a, 2006b; Inguglia & Musso, 2015; Motti-Stefanidi, 2018; Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013). Being integrated is associated with higher self-esteem (Berry & Sabatier, 2010; Inguglia & Musso, 2015; Musso, Inguglia & Lo Coco, 2015), lower levels of identity conflict (Ward, Stuart, & Kus, 2011), more prosocial behaviors (Carlo, Basilio, & Knight, 2016), fewer sociocultural adaptation problems (Neto, Barros, & Schmitz, 2005), higher life satisfaction (Inguglia & Musso,

2015), greater global self-worth (Kiang & Harter, 2008), better school adjustment and fewer behavioral problems (Berry et al., 2006a; Motti-Stefanidi, 2018; Schwartz et al., 2015).

However, some other studies have underlined that integration does not always result in the most beneficial outcomes for immigrant youth (Brown & Zagefka, 2011; Rudmin, 2003; Schotte, Stanat, & Edele, 2018; Ward, 2013). For instance, Schotte and colleagues (2018) showed that the adaptive potential of integration is limited in assimilative contexts, such as Germany, in which the identification with the mainstream culture, but not with the ethnic context, is associated with better adaptation of immigrant youth. In other words, acculturation strategies have to be analyzed in the light of the context in which immigrants live, by taking also into account some features such as the attitude of majority toward the acculturation of minority groups and the multicultural policies (Pfafferott & Brown, 2006; Piontkowski, Rohmann, & Florack, 2002; Ward, Gale, Staerke & Stuart, 2018).

For this reason, it is important to test the integration hypothesis in different contexts that are understudied, such as Italy. Although previous research has provided empirical evidence for this hypothesis in this country (e.g., Inguglia & Musso, 2015; Musso, Inguglia, Lo Coco, et al., 2017), more empirical support is needed. Moreover, the current paper tried also to advance the current literature by focusing on the recent extension of the integration hypothesis to members of the dominant national group. This extension claims that a positive attitude towards integration of the minorities (i.e., the acculturation expectation of multiculturalism) is related to positive outcomes (Berry, 2017). Some studies have showed that a more open and tolerant orientation to cultural diversity may provide a positive contribution for the well-being of dominant group members (Inguglia & Musso, 2015; Verkuyten, 2009).

Multiculturalism Hypothesis

The multiculturalism hypothesis proposes that when individuals feel secure in their groups and personal place in society with respect to their cultural identity and their economic situation, they will be more accepting of those who differ from themselves (Berry, 2013; Berry, Kalin & Taylor, 1977). Conversely, if individuals feel culturally, economically or personally threatened, they will reject others who are different. In particular, when the focus is on individuals of dominant groups, their levels of perceived security are expected to be positively associated with their levels of intercultural adaptation, including many social contacts with people of other ethno-cultural groups, and high multicultural ideology and tolerance. Instead, when the focus is on individuals of non-dominant groups, when

they are threatened, especially by acts of discrimination, they will prefer the separation and marginalization strategies, and will exhibit low levels of multicultural ideology and tolerance (Berry, 2017).

Support for this hypothesis was provided by several studies involving both immigrants and autochthonous people, from adolescence to adulthood (Berry, 2017; Giuliani, Tagliabue, & Regalia, 2018; Musso, Ingegria, Lo Coco, et al., 2017; Neto, 2019; Pavlopoulos & Motti-Stefanidi, 2017; Stephan, Renfro, Esses, Stephan, & Martin, 2005; van de Vijver, Breugelmans, & Schalk-Soekar, 2008; Vedder, Wenink, & Geel, 2017; Verkuyten, 2005; Ward & Masgoret, 2008). For instance, Pavlopoulos and Motti-Stefanidi (2017) have found that Greek people who feel secure about their own identity and place in society show more tolerant attitudes and acceptance of diversity. Moreover, Ward and Masgoret (2008) in a sample of adolescents and adults living in New Zealand found that security was positively related to multicultural ideology and favorable attitudes towards immigrants, whereas high threat predicted negative attitudes toward them. Similarly, Dandy and Pe-Pua (2010), in a sample of tertiary students in Australia, showed that when cultural diversity is seen as something that enriches Australian culture and economy, not only youth are more tolerant and accepting of others, but also stereotypes, discrimination and racism are reduced. Conversely, when cultural diversity is perceived as potentially negative, racial intolerance and intergroup conflict arise. However, Verkuyten (2005) provided only partial support for the multiculturalism hypothesis showing that, in a sample of Dutch adolescents, a secure cultural identity is not necessarily associated with a more accepting attitude toward out-groups. In summary, even if there is a certain empirical support for this hypothesis, further evidence is needed involving new contexts and groups.

Contact Hypothesis

The contact hypothesis is based on the idea that intergroup contact improves intergroup relations (Allport, 1954). In other words, individuals will be more accepting of others if they engage in contact with them. However, these improvements in mutual acceptance may take place only under certain conditions, such as when contact is voluntary, of equal status, and promoted by shared norms or by public policy.

Pettigrew and Tropp (2008) carried out a meta-analysis of numerous studies focused on testing the contact hypothesis in many countries and in many diverse settings (schools, work, and experiments). They found that intergroup contact typically reduces prejudices of many types by the intervention of mediating mechanisms, such as enhancing outgroup knowledge, reducing contact anxiety, and increasing empathy and perspective

taking. Further and more recent evidence supported the contact hypothesis showing that positive intergroup contact does usually relate negatively to prejudice and positively to multicultural ideology in both non-dominant and dominant samples of youths (Gieling, Thijs, & Verkuyten, 2014; Salvati, Carone, De Cristofaro, Giacomantonio, & Baiocco., 2019; Titzmann, Brenick, & Silbereisen, 2015; Vedder et al., 2017). Moreover, longitudinal studies have suggested that the direction of the effect is from contact to both prejudice reduction and acceptance of other cultures (Binder, Desai, Graves, & Conant, 2009; Broad, Gonzalez, & Ball-Rokeach, 2014; Eller & Abrams, 2003, 2004; Levin, van Laar, & Sidanius, 2003; Swart, Hewstone, Christ, & Voci, 2011).

The contact hypothesis can be easily linked to the acculturation process. In the case of immigrant people, frequent and satisfactory social contacts (i.e., friendly relationships) with mainstreamers can be associated with a more positive attitude toward the majority culture as well as toward the dominant group members, resulting in higher levels of integration and lower levels of separation (Berry, 2017; Vedder et al., 2017); on the other hand, social contacts with people of the same ethno-cultural group may be related to higher levels of both integration and separation, and lower levels of assimilation. For mainstreamers, frequent and satisfactory social contacts with immigrants can be associated with more tolerance and positive attitudes toward their integration (Titzmann et al., 2015; Vedder et al., 2017). Related to this issue, Berry (2013) developed the concept of acculturation expectations, usually identified by asking autochthonous people whether immigrants should maintain their cultural attributes and/or seek contact with other cultural groups (Phinney, Berry, Vedder, & Liebkind, 2006). Based on these two dimensions, four acculturation expectations are derived that parallel the four acculturation strategies of non-dominant people: multiculturalism (when the dominant group prefers immigrants to integrate); melting pot (when they prefer immigrants to assimilate); segregation (when they prefer them to separate); and exclusion (when they prefer marginalization). Consequently, positive social contacts with immigrant people are likely to be related to high levels of a preference for multiculturalism and low levels for segregation.

Despite the existence of many studies that provide support for the contact hypothesis, as already mentioned, few studies are focused on the relationships between social contacts and acculturation strategies (in non-dominant group members) and acculturation expectations (in dominant group members), especially in Italy. Thus, more research is needed also in this area, and the current paper tried to fill this gap.

The Current Study

The current study sought to contribute to the literature by testing simultaneously the three core hypotheses postulated by the MIRIPS project – namely integration, multiculturalism and contact – among adolescents living in Sicily (Italy) of both non-dominant (Tunisian) and dominant (Italian) groups. We performed two studies, one for each subgroup. In conceptualizing the theoretical models to be tested within each study, we also considered the role of other predictors and/or intervening variables beyond those more directly included in the three core hypotheses. These variables are described below.

Study 1 focused on Tunisian adolescents and took into account contact, multiculturalism and integration hypotheses. On the basis of the aforementioned conceptualizations and research findings, our expectations were as follows.

H1. Social contacts with Italian peers would be positively associated with the acculturation strategies of integration and assimilation, and negatively with separation, whereas social contacts with Tunisian peers would be positively associated with separation and integration and negatively with assimilation. In line with other studies, we did not include marginalization because the construct has been regarded by some as conceptually questionable (Kunst & Sam, 2013; Rudmin & Ahmadzadeh, 2001; Schwartz & Zamboanga, 2008).

H2. Few social contacts with Italian peers would be associated with the experience of discrimination. Discrimination, in its turn, would be related to higher levels of preferring the acculturation strategy of separation and lower preference for integration. This hypothesis is in line with studies underlining that the perception of discrimination may strengthen youths' ethnic group identification and weaken their identification with the mainstream culture (Berry, 2017; Lorenzo-Blanco, Unger, Ritt-Olson, Soto, & Baezconde-Garbanati, 2011; Musso et al., 2015; Robinson, 2009). This is also in line with the multiculturalism hypothesis. In fact, the role of discrimination for immigrants can be equated to the feeling of security for mainstreamers, but in the opposite direction. As higher levels of security for mainstreamers would lead to higher levels of cultural acceptance, lower level of discrimination would lead to higher level of openness to the hosting culture (Berry, 2017).

H3. Acculturation strategy of integration would be positively associated with higher levels of psychological well-being in terms of life satisfaction and self-esteem than both assimilation and separation, according to the integration hypothesis.

Study 2 focused on Italian adolescents and simultaneously tested the multiculturalism, contact and integration hypotheses. On the basis of the aforementioned conceptualizations and research findings, our expectations were as follows.

H4. Perceived security would be associated positively with multicultural ideology, and tolerance, as well as with social contacts with immigrant peers. We also expected that multicultural ideology and tolerance would mediate the relationship between perceived security and acculturation expectations. In line with previous studies (i.e., Musso, Inguglia, Lo Coco, et al., 2017; Salvati et al., 2019), we hypothesized that higher levels of perceived security would correspond to higher levels of multicultural ideology and tolerance, and, in turn, to a more positive attitude toward the acculturation expectation of multiculturalism, as well as to lower levels of preference for melting pot and segregation. As we did not consider marginalization in Study 1, we also left out the acculturation expectation of exclusion in Study 2.

H5. Social contacts with immigrant peers would be positively associated with multiculturalism, whereas they would be negatively related to segregation and melting pot, in line with contact hypothesis.

H6. The acculturation expectation of multiculturalism would be associated with higher levels of adolescents' psychological well-being in terms of both life satisfaction and self-esteem than melting pot and segregation, in line with the integration hypothesis for dominant group members, stating that multicultural acceptance is related to a better psychological well-being (Inguglia & Musso, 2015; Verkuyten, 2009).

Study 1

Method

Participants

Participants of Study 1 were 188 Tunisian adolescents aged from 13 to 18 years (51% female; $M = 15.94$, $SD = 1.40$), living in Mazara del Vallo, a western Sicily (Italy) town with about 50,000 inhabitants. This town is characterized by a presence of immigrants (about 10%) who are almost exclusively Tunisians and, therefore, it is an ideal context to study in a clearer and specific way the reciprocal contacts between immigrant and autochthonous people. The group included both first-generation (those who were born in the country of origin) and second-generation immigrants (those who were born in Italy). First-generation adolescents were 41% ($n = 77$; 31% female, $M = 16.27$, $SD = 1.42$) and they had lived in Italy for at least four years ($M = 5.01$; $SD = 1.67$). Second-generation ado-

lescents were 59% ($n = 111$; 62% female, $M = 15.70$, $SD = 1.34$). Almost all participants attended middle or higher school (79%), were bilingual (90%) speaking both Italian and Arabic (those who were not bilingual spoke only Italian) and came from two-parent families (94%). The socio-economic status (SES) of the participants' families was prevalently low; based on a three-stratum classification of scores using the Barratt Simplified Measure of Social Status (BSMSS, Barratt, 2006), 70% fell into the low stratum, 23% into the medium, and 7% into the high.

Procedure

The study, as part of the MIRIPS project, was approved by the local Psychology Department and was performed in accordance with the Italian Association of Psychology ethical principles for psychological research (2015). Data collection involved the completion of the structured version of MIRIPS questionnaire for immigrant groups (Inguglia & Musso, 2015). All participants were contacted in schools as well as in community centers. After having received permission from the respective principals, participants' parents were informed about the purpose of the research, the voluntariness of participation and the anonymity of responses through specific parent meetings. During the meetings, parents provided informed consent for their son's or daughter's participation. Less than 5% of the parents did not allow their son or daughter to participate. Nonetheless, adolescent participants provided signed assent agreeing to participate as well. The data were collected by Italian research assistants and young graduate trainees. The questionnaire was administered with the support of a cultural mediator.

Measures

Demographic variables. Respondents were asked to indicate their age, gender (0 = male; 1 = female), state of birth, age of arrival in Italy, and spoken languages. Family characteristics, number of parents, paternal and/or maternal level of school completed, and their occupation were assessed using BSMSS (Barratt, 2006).

Co-ethnic peer contact. Two items assessed the number and the frequency of contacts with co-ethnic friends (Berry et al., 2006b). The items are respectively: "How many close Tunisian friends do you have?" and "How often do you meet with?" Participants responded on a scale ranging from 1 (*none*) to 5 (*many*) in the former case and from 1 (*never*) to 5 (*daily*) in the latter case. The co-ethnic peer contact was measured as a composite variable by calculating the product of the two items.

Contact with Italian peers. Two items assessed the number and the frequency of contacts with Italian peers (Berry et al., 2006b). The items are respectively: “How many close Italian friends do you have?” and “How often do you meet with?”. Participants responded on a scale ranging from 1 (*none*) to 5 (*many*) in the former case and from 1 (*never*) to 5 (*daily*) in the latter case. The contact with Italian peers was measured as a composite variable by calculating the product of the two items.

Perceived discrimination. A 5-item scale assessed perceived ethnic discrimination (see Annis, Gibson, & Berry, 2010; Schmitz & Schmitz, 2012). Example items are: “I think that others have behaved in an unfair or negative way towards my ethnic group” or “I don’t feel accepted by Italians”. The items were coded on a 5-point scale, from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). In the present study, Cronbach’s alpha (α) was 0.83.

Immigrants’ acculturation attitudes/strategies. A 12-item scale assessed three acculturation attitudes: integration, assimilation, and separation (Berry, Kim, Power, Young, & Bujaki, 1989). The items concern four domains of life of non-dominant group adolescents: cultural traditions, language, social activities, and friends. For example, the items in the social activities domain include three questions: “I prefer social activities that involve both Italians and Tunisians” (integration), “I prefer social activities which involve Italians only” (assimilation), and “I prefer social activities which involve Tunisians only” (separation). The items were presented as declarative statements and participants were asked to indicate on a 5-point Likert scale the extent to which each statement was true for them, from 1 (*very untrue*) to 5 (*very true*). In the present study, Cronbach’s α s were .68 for integration, .77 for assimilation, and .63 for separation. Although the coefficients for integration and separation were modest, these subscales appeared to show sufficient levels of internal consistency, considering the small number of items for each subscale (four) and the average item-total correlations of .37 for integration and .34 for separation, which were higher than the acceptable level of .30 suggested by Nunnally and Bernstein (1994). This indicated that the different groups of items were measuring each construct in the same direction.

Psychosocial well-being. It was assessed via two indicators: self-esteem and life satisfaction. Self-esteem was measured by the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (1965; Italian adaptation by Prezza, Trombaccia, & Armento, 1997) which consists of 10 items. A sample item is “On the whole I am satisfied with myself”. The items were presented as declarative statements and participants were asked to indicate on a 5-point Likert scale the extent to which each statement was true for them, from 1 (*very untrue*) to 5 (*very true*). In the present study, Cronbach’s α was .77

Life satisfaction was measured with a 5-item scale which assessed the overall degree of adolescents' satisfaction with their lives (Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985). A sample item is: "I am satisfied with my life". The items were presented as declarative statements and participants were asked to indicate on a 5-point Likert scale the extent to which each statement was true for them, from 1 (*very untrue*) to 5 (*very true*). In the present study, Cronbach's α was .82.

Data Analysis Plan

The data analysis proceeded in two main steps. A path analysis was first performed using structural equation modeling (SEM). All indirect effects were tested using a Bootstrap sample of 5,000. We relied on multiple indices (Kline, 2010) to evaluate model fit (adopted cut-offs in parentheses): chi-square test (χ^2_{SB}) with the associated p -value ($p > .05$), comparative fit index ($CFI \geq .95$), root mean square error of approximation ($RMSEA \leq .05$), and standardized root mean square residual ($SRMR \leq .05$). In the second step, the model fit was compared with the fit of an alternative model in order to gather information about its appropriateness.

Tab. 1 – Correlations, Means, Standard Deviations, Skewness, and Kurtosis for Key Constructs in Study 1 (N = 188)

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.
1. Co-ethnic peer contact	-											
2. Contact with Italian peers	-.22**	-										
3. Perceived discrimination	.19**	-.24**	-									
4. Integration	.25**	.16*	-.15*	-								
5. Assimilation	-.31***	.17*	.06	-.36***	-							
6. Separation	.23**	-.18*	.28**	-.29***	.24**	-						
7. Self-esteem	.00	.21**	-.31***	.30**	-.16*	-.29**	-					
8. Life satisfaction	.01	.10	-.10	.19**	.06	-.11	.42***	-				
9. Age	-.11	-.23**	.08	-.11	.03	.20**	-.11	-.14*	-			
10. Gender (0 = female; 1 = male)	-.19**	.03	-.05	-.13	-.04	-.03	-.16*	.09	-.14	-		
11. Generation (0 = first; 1 = second)	-.39***	.31***	-.29***	.03	-.07	-.26***	-.05	.02	-.20**	.31***	-	
12. SES (0 = low; 1 = medium-high)	-.03	.27***	.04	.10	.19*	.10	-.10	-.04	-.12	-.13	.22***	-
M	13.82	19.84	1.79	4.34	2.24	1.74	3.96	3.54	15.94	0.49	0.59	0.30
SD	7.06	5.39	0.74	0.83	1.15	0.70	0.61	0.93	1.40	0.50	0.49	0.46
Skewness	0.12	-0.89	0.34	-0.92	0.70	0.70	-0.57	-0.20	0.04	0.04	-0.35	0.89
Kurtosis	-0.88	-0.50	-0.61	-0.39	-0.50	-0.42	-0.34	-0.65	-0.16	-2.02	-1.90	-1.22

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Results

Descriptive statistics are displayed in Table 1. We explored the three core hypotheses of intercultural relations for immigrant adolescents by the model shown in Figure 1. It proposed the following relations after controlling for age, gender, generation, and SES: (a) direct associations of co-ethnic contact and contact with Italian peers with perceived discrimination and acculturation strategies (contact hypothesis); (b) a direct association of perceived discrimination with acculturation strategies (multiculturalism hypothesis); (c) indirect associations of both co-ethnic contact and contact with Italian peers with acculturation strategies by perceived discrimination; (d) direct associations of acculturation strategies with self-esteem and life satisfaction (integration hypothesis); (e) direct associations and indirect associations by acculturation strategies of perceived discrimination with self-esteem and life satisfaction. This model had a good fit, $\chi^2(27) = 35.30, p = .13, CFI = .975, RMSEA = .040, SRMR = .043$. Furthermore, using Cohen's (1992) guidelines (13% explained variance for moderate effect size and 26% explained variance for large effect size), the percentage of explained variance for all the relevant dependent constructs was moderate, with the exception of life satisfaction, whose percentage of variance explained (10%) was however quite close to the moderate level. This suggested a generally moderate explanatory power of the model.

Direct effects showed that co-ethnic contact was positively associated with acculturation strategies of integration and separation, and negatively with assimilation. No significant association was evidenced with perceived discrimination. Contact with Italian peers was significantly related to only integration (positively) and perceived discrimination (negatively).

Perceived discrimination was significantly and negatively linked to integration, and positively with separation. Among acculturation strategies, integration was significantly and positively associated with self-esteem and life satisfaction, assimilation was significantly and positively associated with life satisfaction, and separation was significantly and negatively associated with self-esteem.

The analysis of indirect effects showed that the contact with Italian peers was indirectly and negatively related to the acculturation strategy of separation via the mediating role of perceived discrimination ($\beta = -.04, p = .04$) and that perceived discrimination was indirectly and negatively associated with self-esteem via the mediating role of separation ($\beta = -.04, p = .04$). Moreover, both co-ethnic contact and contact with Italian peers were indirectly and positively linked to self-esteem and life sat-

isfaction via the mediating role of the acculturation strategy of integration (respectively, $\beta = .06, p = .02$ and $\beta = .04, p = .05$ for self-esteem and $\beta = .08, p = .01$ and $\beta = .05, p = .03$ for life satisfaction), while co-ethnic contact was also indirectly and negatively linked to life satisfaction by the mediating role of assimilation ($\beta = -.07, p = .03$), and contact with Italian peers was also indirectly and positively linked to self-esteem by the mediating role of perceived discrimination ($\beta = -.06, p = .02$).

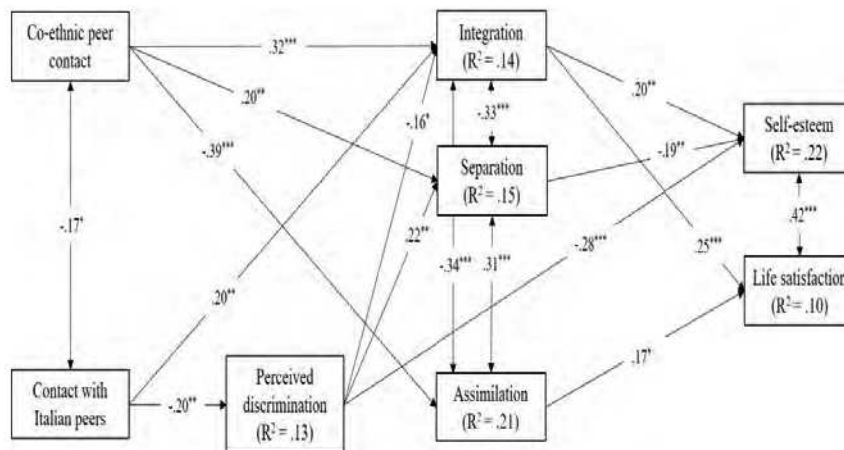


Fig. 1 - Estimated path model for the relationships between the key variables in Study 1

Note. Maximum likelihood standardized coefficients are shown. For better visualization, nonsignificant pathways, controlling variables (age, gender, generation and socio-economic status) and paths from them to the key study variables as well as residuals are not shown. R² represents the percentage of explained variance for the relevant dependent constructs. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Estimation of an Alternative Model

A model was specified in which the relationship between contact measures and perceived discrimination was reversed (i.e., perceived discrimination preceded both co-ethnic contact and contact with Italian peers), as suggested by some literature (see, for example, Pettigrew, 1998). A path analysis was then performed according to the steps followed for the initial hypothesized model. Because the hypothesized and alternative models were not nested, they were compared using the Akaike Information Criterion (AIC), the Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC), and the Sample Size Adjusted Bayesian Information Criterion (SSA-BIC), where lower values indicate a better fitting model. This comparison indicated that the hypothesized model provided a better fit to

the data than did the alternative model ($\Delta AIC = -9.28$; $\Delta BIC = -15.75$, and $\Delta SSA-BIC = -9.42$). Accordingly, the alternative model was rejected, and the hypothesized model was retained.

Study 2

Method

Participants

Participants of Study 2 were 282 Italian adolescents aged from 13 to 18 years (58% female; $M = 16.34$, $SD = 1.36$), living in the same town of the Tunisian participants of Study 1. Almost all participants attended middle or higher school (93%) and came from two-parent families (80%). The socio-economic status (SES) of the participants' families was prevalently medium; using the BSMSS, 27% fell into the low stratum, 66% into the medium, and 7% into the high.

Procedure

We followed the same procedure as in Study 1. Data collection involved the completion of the structured version of MIRIPS questionnaire for dominant groups (Musso, Inguglia, Lo Coco, et al., 2017). Approximately 1% of adolescents was not allowed for participation by their parents.

Measures

Demographic Variables. Respondents were asked to indicate their age and gender (0 = female; 1 = male), while family characteristics, number of parents, paternal and/or maternal level of school completed, and their occupation were assessed using BSMSS (Barratt, 2006).

Feelings of Security. A 6-item scale assessed sense of security including cultural, economic and personal facets (see Berry, 2006). Sample items are: "I am concerned about losing my cultural identity" (cultural; reverse scored), "The high level of unemployment presents a grave cause for concern" (economic; reverse scored), and "People's chances of being robbed, assaulted, and even murdered are getting higher and higher" (personal; reverse scored). Items were rated on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*totally disagree*) to 5 (*totally agree*). In the present study, Cronbach's α was 0.60. Although this coefficient was not particularly high, the average item-total correlation was .31, suggesting a sufficient level of reliability according to the Nunnally and Bernstein's (1994) cut-off of .30.

Contact with Tunisian Peers. Two items assessed the number and the frequency of contacts with Tunisian peers (Berry et al., 2006b). The items are respectively: “How many close Tunisian friends do you have?” and “How often do you meet with?”. Participants responded on a scale ranging from 1 (*none*) to 5 (*many*) in the former case and from 1 (*never*) to 5 (*daily*) in the latter case. The contact with Tunisian peers was measured as a composite variable by calculating the product of the two items.

Contact with Italian Peers. Participants answered two items as described in Study 1.

Multicultural Ideology. A 10-item scale assessed support for multicultural variety as enriching the society and its individual members (see Berry & Kalin, 1995). Items (e.g., “We should recognize that cultural and racial diversity is a fundamental characteristic of Italian society”) were rated on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*totally disagree*) to 5 (*totally agree*). In the present study, Cronbach’s α was 0.76.

Tolerance. An 11-item scale assessed both one’s ethnic tolerance (6 items; e.g., “It is good to have people from different ethnic and racial groups living in the same country”) and social egalitarianism (5 items; e.g., “We should promote equality among all groups, regardless of racial or ethnic origin”) (see Berry, 2006; Berry & Kalin, 1995). Items were rated on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*totally disagree*) to 5 (*totally agree*). In the present study, Cronbach’s α was 0.82.

Acculturation Expectation. A 12-item scale assessed three acculturation expectations: multiculturalism, melting pot, and segregation (Berry, 2003). The items concern four domains of life of dominant group adolescents: cultural traditions, language, social activities, and friends. For example, the items in the social activities domain include four questions: “I feel that Tunisians should engage in social activities that involve both Italians and their own group” (multiculturalism), “Tunisians should engage in social activities that involve Italians only” (melting pot), and “Tunisians should engage in social activities that involve their own group members only” (segregation). The items were presented as declarative statements and participants were asked to indicate on a 5-point scale the extent to which each statement was true for them, from 1 (*very untrue*) to 5 (*very true*). In the present study, Cronbach’s α s were .72 for multiculturalism, .63 for melting pot, and .67 for segregation. These reliability coefficients appeared to be sufficient, considering the small number of items for each subscale (four). Furthermore, the average item-total correlations were .51 for multiculturalism, .40 for melting pot, and .47 for segregation.

Psychosocial Well-being

Participants answered self-esteem and life satisfaction measures as described in Study 1. In the present study, Cronbach's α s were .83 for self-esteem and .80 for life satisfaction.

Data Analysis Plan

We followed the same data analysis plan as in Study 1.

Tab. 2 - Correlations, Means, Standard Deviations, Skewness, and Kurtosis for Key Constructs in Study 1 ($N = 188$)

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.
1. Feeling of security	.14*											
2. Contact with Tunisian peers	.16**	.14*										
3. Contact with Italian peers	.18**	.04	.16**									
4. Multicultural ideology	.20***	-.01	-.01	.63***								
5. Tolerance	.00	.19**	-.05	.34***	.42***							
6. Multiculturalism	.00	-.06	.02	-.37***	-.43***	-.34***						
7. Melting pot	-.24**	-.18**	-.02	-.51***	-.57***	-.48***	.50***					
8. Segregation	.07	.00	.13**	.11	.05	.17**	-.24***	-.11				
9. Self-esteem	.03	.04	.10	.02	.10	.08	-.04	-.01	.55***			
10. Life satisfaction	-.17**	.15*	-.37***	-.01	.08	.20**	-.14*	-.12*	.04	-.13*		
11. Age	.14*	.02	.20***	-.01	-.14*	-.09	.00	.09	.23***	.00	-.06	
12. Gender (0 = female; 1 = male)	-.26**	.02	-.08	-.14*	-.10	.00	.11	.22***	.05	.17**	.06	-.02
13. SES (0 = low; 1 = medium-high)	2.82	4.56	21.30	3.62	3.99	3.93	1.55	1.55	4.03	3.74	16.34	0.42
M	0.66	4.12	3.64	0.59	0.64	0.80	0.57	0.57	0.60	0.79	1.36	0.50
SD	-0.37	0.74	-0.78	-0.26	-0.46	-0.71	0.85	0.93	0.00	-0.33	-0.93	0.27
Skewness	-0.18	-0.24	-0.26	-0.50	-0.41	-0.11	-0.32	-0.01	-0.23	-0.39	-0.11	-1.94
Kurtosis												

$p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

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N.B.: Copia ad uso personale. È vietata la riproduzione (totale o parziale) dell'opera con qualsiasi mezzo effettuata e la sua messa a disposizione di terzi, sia in forma gratuita sia a pagamento.

Results

Descriptive statistics are displayed in Table 2. We explored the three core hypotheses of intercultural relations for dominant Italian adolescents by the model shown in Figure 2. It proposed the following relations after controlling for age, gender, and SES: (a) direct associations of feeling of security with multicultural ideology, tolerance, and contact with Tunisian peers as well as with acculturation expectations (multiculturalism hypothesis); (b) direct associations of multicultural ideology and contact with Tunisian peers with tolerance; (c) direct associations of contact with Tunisian peers with acculturation expectations (contact hypothesis) as well as direct associations of multicultural ideology and tolerance with acculturation expectations; (d) indirect associations of feeling of security with acculturation expectations by multicultural ideology, tolerance, and contact with Tunisian peers; (e) direct associations of acculturation expectations with self-esteem and life satisfaction (integration hypothesis); (f) direct associations and indirect associations by acculturation expectations of multicultural ideology, tolerance, and contact with Tunisian peers with self-esteem and life satisfaction; (g) no association of contact with Italian peers with the other variables. This model had a good fit, $\chi^2(29) = 33.39, p = .26, CFI = .994, RMSEA = .023, SRMR = .036$. The percentage of explained variance for most of the relevant dependent constructs was moderate, but it was low for multicultural ideology (3%), contact with Tunisian peers (5%), and life satisfaction (7%). Considering the model in its entirety, this suggested a low to moderate explanatory power.

Direct effects showed that feeling of security was significantly and positively associated with multicultural ideology, tolerance, and contact with Tunisian peers, but not with acculturation expectations. Multicultural ideology was significantly and positively related to tolerance and both of them were significantly and positively linked to multiculturalism as well as significantly and negatively linked to melting pot and segregation. Contact with Tunisian peers was only significantly and negatively associated with segregation. The acculturation expectations of multiculturalism (positively) and melting pot (negatively) were significantly associated with self-esteem, while no association of segregation with well-being measures was evidenced. Life satisfaction was significantly and positively related to only tolerance.

The analysis of indirect effects showed that the feeling of security was (i) indirectly and positively associated with the acculturation expectation of multiculturalism via the mediating role of tolerance ($\beta = .03, p = .03$), contact with Tunisian peers ($\beta = .05, p = .01$), and multicultural

ideology through tolerance ($\beta = .04, p = .01$); (ii) indirectly and negatively associated with the acculturation expectation of melting pot via the mediating role of multicultural ideology ($\beta = -.03, p = .04$), tolerance ($\beta = -.05, p = .01$), and multicultural ideology through tolerance ($\beta = -.04, p = .01$); (iii) indirectly and negatively associated with the acculturation expectation of segregation via the mediating role of multicultural ideology ($\beta = -.04, p = .02$), tolerance ($\beta = -.06, p = .01$), contact with Tunisian peers ($\beta = -.03, p = .03$), and multicultural ideology through tolerance ($\beta = -.05, p = .01$). Multicultural ideology was indirectly linked to multiculturalism ($\beta = .21, p < .001$), melting pot ($\beta = -.20, p < .001$), and segregation ($\beta = -.25, p < .001$) via tolerance. Moreover, multicultural ideology was indirectly and positively related to self-esteem via melting pot ($\beta = .04, p = .04$), tolerance through multiculturalism ($\beta = .03, p = .03$), and tolerance through melting pot ($\beta = .05, p = .01$). The acculturation expectation of multiculturalism also mediated the associations of tolerance ($\beta = .05, p = .03$) and contact with Tunisian peers ($\beta = .03, p = .04$) with self-esteem, while the acculturation expectation of melting pot mediated the association of tolerance ($\beta = .07, p = .01$) with self-esteem. Furthermore, multicultural ideology was linked to life satisfaction via tolerance ($\beta = .10, p = .04$).

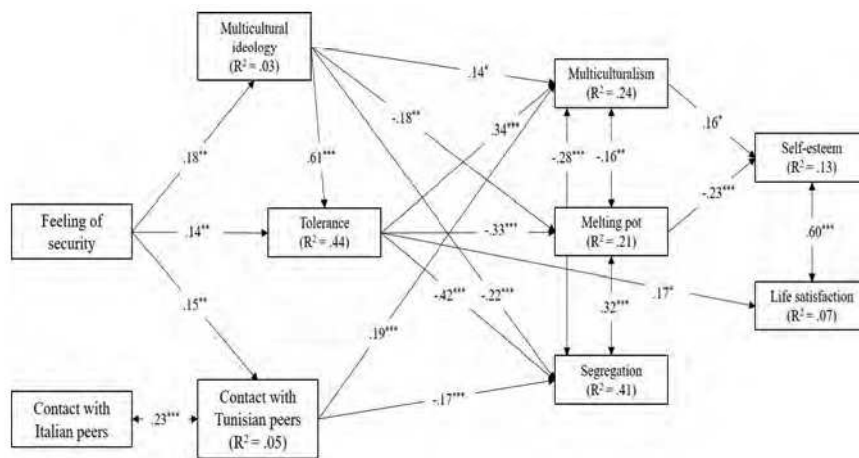


Fig. 2 - Estimated path model for the relationships between the key variables in Study 2

Note. Maximum likelihood standardized coefficients are shown. For better visualization, nonsignificant pathways, controlling variables (age, gender, and socio-economic status) and paths from them to the key study variables as well as residuals are not shown. R^2 represents the percentage of explained variance for the relevant dependent constructs. $^*p < .05$, $^{**}p < .01$, $^{***}p < .001$.

Estimation of an Alternative Model

A model was specified in which the well-being measures (self-esteem and life satisfaction) were considered as predictors, along with the feeling of security, of the other key variables (i.e., multicultural ideology, tolerance, contact with Tunisian peers, and acculturation expectations), given that it could be the case that higher well-being was related to higher positive attitudes towards and acceptance of others. A path analysis was then performed according to the steps followed for the initial hypothesized model. As in the Study 1, we used AIC, BIC, and SSA-BIC for comparison. The hypothesized model provided a better fit to the data than did the alternative model ($\Delta AIC = -4.82$; $\Delta BIC = -23.03$, and $\Delta SSA-BIC = -7.18$). Accordingly, the alternative model was rejected, and the hypothesized model was retained.

Discussion

While there are several studies that provide separate support for the integration, multiculturalism and contact hypotheses in different countries and ethno-cultural groups, the current paper tried to advance the literature in this field by testing simultaneously these three core hypotheses of intercultural relations, while also considering some mediating processes. Moreover, we sampled participants from an understudied group of both non-dominant (Tunisian) and dominant (Italian) adolescents living in Sicily (Italy). The findings of our two studies are partially consistent with the hypotheses.

Study 1, involving the Tunisian adolescent group, provided a certain support for the three hypotheses. With regard to contact hypothesis, in line with our predictions, (H1) a greater number of social contacts with Italian peers was positively and significantly associated with the acculturation strategy of integration. However, contrary to the expectations, social contacts with Italian peers were not significantly related to either assimilation or separation, although the directions of correlations were consonant with our expectations. In line with study's predictions, a greater number of social contacts with Tunisian people was positively and significantly associated with both separation and integration, while it was negatively and significantly related to assimilation. Taken together, these findings provide further support to contact hypothesis (Blair, Park, & Bachelor, 2003; Lebedeva, Tatarko, & Berry, 2016; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008) because they confirm that immigrant youth who spend more time in joint activities with their peers of the mainstream group show a more favorable attitude toward their integration into the host country (Asendorpf & Motti-Stefanidi, 2017; Titzmann & Lee, 2018).

Moreover, the findings also highlighted the importance of hanging out with both mainstreamers and ethnic peers because in this way youths may participate and interact with two different cultural domains and develop internal working models that integrate the values of the two cultures reaching a bicultural competence (Benbow & Rutland, 2017; Moti-Stefanidi & Masten, 2017; Oppedal, 2006; Titzmann & Jugert, 2017). In contrast, having connections only with ethnic peers were associated with a separation strategy and a negative attitude toward the dominant group and the host culture. These results have to be cautiously interpreted because we did not collect longitudinal data, thus we are not sure about the direction of the associations. It is also possible that Tunisian adolescents who hold a more positive attitude toward the mainstream Italian culture tend to have more social contacts with their Italian peers. Thus, further studies with a longitudinal design are needed to confirm our hypotheses. Furthermore, we did not assess the prejudice toward the Italian group, as postulated in the contact hypothesis, but rather the more general attitude toward the host culture and the mainstream group.

The second hypothesis was partially confirmed: few social contacts with Italian peers were related to higher levels of perceived discrimination that, in turn, were associated with higher levels of separation (the indirect association of contact with Italian peers with integration was only close to significance). These findings provide evidence to support the multiculturalism hypothesis and are also consistent with the studies showing that the perception of discrimination may strengthen youths' ethnic group identification (Berry, 2017; Lorenzo-Blanco et al., 2011; Musso et al., 2015; Robinson, 2009). From a developmental acculturation perspective, few opportunities to interact with mainstream peers may be associated with an experience of discrimination as well as to a limited likelihood to develop a bicultural self.

Finally, we found support for the integration hypothesis (H3): the integration acculturation strategy was positively and significantly associated with both life satisfaction and self-esteem, while assimilation had only significant associations with life satisfaction, and separation was negatively and significantly associated with self-esteem. In line with several studies (e.g., Inguglia & Musso, 2015; Musso et al., 2015), these findings suggest that for Tunisian adolescents living in Sicily, integration represents the best acculturation strategy in terms of psychological well-being, whereas separation is the worst (mainly in terms of self-esteem). Perhaps, the importance of integration is related to the fact that this strategy can support the development of a harmonious bicultural identity that is central to the adolescents' well-being (Berry, 2013). Instead, it is like-

ly that in contexts such as Sicily in which there are moderate levels of discrimination toward Tunisian people, separation can result in negative outcomes for the adolescents. In such a situation, assimilation may be less relevant for the adjustment of immigrant youth than integration as showed by the association with only one of the psychological well-being indicators (life satisfaction).

Study 2 also provided support for the three hypotheses of intercultural relations. With regard to (H4), our data showed support for multiculturalism hypothesis since perceived security was associated positively and significantly with multicultural ideology, tolerance, and social contacts with Tunisian peers. These findings highlight one more time the importance of the perception of being secure for dominant group adolescents living in plural society (Berry, 2006; Hui, Chen, Leung, & Berry, 2015; Lebedeva et al., 2016). Moreover, we found further support for this hypothesis because a feeling of security was shown to be also indirectly and positively associated with multiculturalism and negatively with preference for melting pot and segregation through the mediation of multicultural ideology and tolerance. These results can shed some light on the process underlying the expression of multiculturalism that originates from a variable related to the context, such as the perception of security, that is associated with the more abstract variables of multicultural ideology and tolerance that, in turn, are related to higher levels of multiculturalism. At the same time, perceived security may have also a more concrete effect because it was significantly and positively related to social contacts with Tunisian peers since the more the Italian adolescents feel secure the more they may have contacts with immigrant (Tunisian in this study) adolescents.

With regard to H5, social contacts with Tunisian peers were positively and significantly associated with multiculturalism and negatively associated with segregation. Thus, the opportunity to be in contact and spend time with immigrant adolescents seems to be associated with considering integration as the best acculturation outcome for them. Maybe, adolescent mainstreamers, by spending time with their ethnic peers, begin to know in a deeper way the culture of immigrant peers, to value it and to learn that it is not a threat for their culture (Salvati et al., 2019). Consequently, they start wishing that Tunisian peers maintain their own heritage culture while adopting the Italian one. The negative association between social contacts with Tunisian peers and segregation give further support to this explanation.

Finally, findings partially confirmed H6 because a preference for multiculturalism was associated with higher levels of psychosocial well-being in terms of self-esteem than melting pot and segregation. This is in line with the integration hypothesis applied to dominant group members (Berry, 2017) and with previous studies on similar topics (e.g., Inguglia & Musso, 2015; Verkuyten, 2009) which have observed that recognition and acceptance of cultural diversity appears to be associated with better self-feelings of majority group members. Thus, the results seem to support the idea that multicultural acceptance is positively related to the psychological well-being of majority group in terms of self-esteem, whereas the preference for assimilation of minorities is associated with lower levels of self-esteem.

Although our findings provide support for the three hypotheses of the MIRIPS project also among adolescents living in Italy, they should be considered in light of some limitations. First, the data collected were cross-sectional and correlational, which hinders our ability to clearly establish causal relationships and the mediating processes. Thus, longitudinal research is needed to determine temporal ordering and causality among the variables. Second, the measures were all self-report and, as a consequence, they might lead to social desirability bias. Future studies should adopt mixed methods or experimental designs. Third, we focused only on Tunisian people as the non-dominant group because we consider it as one of the more interesting in the research context. However, future research in Italy should consider also other immigrant groups living in the country, which can be characterized by different cultural features than Tunisians. Fourth, in order to test simultaneously the three research hypotheses we were forced to simplify both the literature view and the models to be tested, by leaving out some theoretical extension of the hypotheses. For instance, as regards to the contact hypothesis, some authors have already showed the existence of both mediating (like intercultural communication emotions, intergroup anxiety, and empathy) and moderating (like group status, typicality, and age) variables in the association between intercultural contact and prejudice reduction (Binder et al., 2009; Mak, Brown, & Wadey, 2014; Vezzali, Hewstone, Capozza, Trifiletti, & Di Bernardo 2017; Yucel, & Psaltis, 2019). Future efforts to include also these variables in the theoretical models should be done. Finally, the models tested in this work showed a low to moderate explanatory power, thus suggesting that other important variables play a role in the intercultural relationship processes. Indeed, our research focused mainly on the personal variables and did not take properly into account the influence of family as well as the socio-political variables. Further

studies should investigate such variables in order to have a deeper knowledge of the processes affecting mutual intercultural relations in teens and emerging adults.

Despite these limitations, our studies make a novel contribution to the literature on intercultural relations in adolescence because we examined simultaneously the three research hypotheses (integration, multiculturalism, and contact) that have important implications for social and educational interventions in an understudied and relevant context such as Italy. In particular, our findings provide insights for decision-makers and practitioners to design successful policies and programs that enhance the quality of intercultural relations which, in turn, seems to play a key role in the promotion of the psychosocial well-being of the ethnocultural groups living in Italy (both non-dominant and dominant).

With regard to non-dominant adolescents, it seems important to design intervention programs with at least two main aims. First, these programs should pursue the integration of immigrant youth by providing them with opportunities to maintain their culture of origin and, concurrently, should promote their participation at the larger societies and their contacts with autochthonous people. Second, the interventions should try to mitigate perceived discrimination since its effects could be detrimental for the psychological well-being of the immigrant youth (Miconi et al., 2018).

With regard to the dominant adolescents, they should be provided with more opportunities to enhance the sense of perceived security, as well as to reduce their sense of threat related to immigration. Schools, in particular, could be regarded as stimulating contexts in which non-immigrant and immigrant youth might be encouraged to experience cohesion, collaboration and reciprocal trust (Schachner, Noack, Van de Vijver, & Eckstein, 2016; Sklad & Park, 2017).

To conclude, social policies and educational programs targeted to both non-dominant and dominant group members are needed to promote more opportunities of intercultural contacts between groups. However, in designing such opportunities it would be very important to follow Allport's provisos (1954), that in order to improve the quality of intergroup relations the contact should take place only under certain conditions. In particular contact should be voluntary, of equal status, and should be promoted by shared norms or by public policy. To date, the previous insights are supported by empirical evidence coming from different studies across the world and could be the basis for developing effective policies aimed to promote intercultural dialogue and psychological well-being of ethnocultural groups living in plural societies.

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