Uncertainty and agency among young people in Italy: a life course analysis of young people with migrant backgrounds

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UNCERTAINTY AND AGENCY AMONG YOUNG PEOPLE IN ITALY: A LIFE COURSE ANALYSIS OF YOUNG PEOPLE WITH MIGRANT BACKGROUNDS

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ABSTRACT

Uncertainty and agency among young people in Italy: a life course analysis of young people with migrant backgrounds

In view of the recent literature on the life course of young people, discussions on the advancement of the feeling of uncertainty have been almost unanimous. It has been argued that in the face of the social, economic, and cultural transformations that have taken place in Western societies, young people today would live in a precarious scenario in relation to their paths of work, education, housing, etc. and unpredictability about the future. Life course studies on the lives of young people point to increasingly "individualized, non-standardized and non-linear" biographical constructions. Although this literature provides an overview of how the life course of these young people has been built, little has been addressed about the impact of origin on these trajectories. In view of this, the present work seeks to investigate how young descendants of immigrants in the Italian context experience their transitions in the life course, in view of the impact of their origins in different areas of life (education, work, financial autonomy, leaving home, parenthood). Therefore, qualitative longitudinal research was carried out with young people between 22 and 30 years old in Italy who have a migratory background. From the biographical construction of individuals, it is possible to observe changes in the understanding of youth and adulthood, and with that in questioning what transitions to adulthood consist of today. It was possible to perceive how gender, class, educational level, and origin shape the trajectories of these individuals: the life path of young people today must be understood contextually, considering both the structural elements that involve their realities, as well as the agency in their trajectories. Furthermore, origin also appears as a strong element in the biographical construction: in addition to the impact of immigration, discrimination, and racism in the lives of these young people, it was possible to observe that different cultural repertoires (both of Italy and the culture of the parents or country of origin) can bring different experiences and expectations in relation to adulthood.

Keywords: life-course; transitions to adulthood; second generation youth.

Introduction

In contemporary life course studies, the idea of "transitions to adulthood" is being discussed starting from the question of what this phenomenon would substantially mean (Cuzzocrea and Magaraggia, 2013; Pitti, 2017; Ferreira e Nunes, 2013; Blatterer, 2007; Silva, 2012; Bynner, 2005; Serracant, 2012; Sironi, 2015; Shanahan, 200; Billari and LiefBroer, 2010; Furlong, Woodman and Wyn, 2016; Silva, 2012; Gordon, 2015; Dannefer et al, 2016; Benasso and Magaraggia, 2019; Leccardi, 2020 Wyn and Woodman, 2021). This is because, in the face of changes in the economic, political, and cultural dimensions of society, it has been questioned how the life course of individuals has been affected, configuring itself as less standardized, less linear and more uncertain (Spanò and Domecka, 2021). Modell (1989), when analyzing the paths of young people from the 1920s to 1975 in the United States, already demonstrates that this questioning is not old: Modell shows that since that time young people tend to control the construction of their lives in a less determined way by the sequences of school, work, marriage, and parenting. The emergence of new concepts and metaphors in youth studies at the beginning of the new century would indicate a new way of living adulthood and therefore also a new way of transitioning to adulthood. Many authors (Silva, 2012; 2015; Wyn and Woodman, 2021; Bçatterer, 2007; Leccardi, 2020) even question the association of adult life with "right" and linear transitions in relation to work, education, marriage, and family formation. In view of the transformations that have occurred in the world we can asks ourselves what could be the very meaning of what it is to be an adult today.

Other studies give a different centrality to the changes in transitions in the life course of young people (Goodwin and O'Connor, 2009; Nico, 2011; 2014; Schizzerotto and Pisati, 2002), and emphasize that the standardization of life trajectories still takes place. For these authors, linear transitions to adulthood continue to take place, although later if compared to past generations (Goodwin and O'Connor; 2009; Nico, 2014). The fact is that, if there is still a configuration of what it means to be an adult, changes have taken place either in the delay of transitions or in the reconfigurations of what these transitions would consist of. The construction of increasingly "deregulated" lives would be responses to the changes that have occurred: the flexibilization of the labor market, the dismantling of the welfare state, the extension training and education, changes in family models, changes in gender roles, sexuality and patterns of parenthood (Beck, 1992; Beck-Gernsheim, 2002; Boltanski and Chiapello, 1990; Sennet, 1998; Rosa, 2003; 2013). These structural and institutional transformations experienced in the industrialized western context were configured for some authors as consequences of the development of modernity (Beck, 1992, Bauman, 2001; Shanahan, 2000). The advance of the modern project as a life project would intensify the phenomenon of individualization in which the agency of individuals becomes the main resource in the social environment and in the organization of the life course (Beck, 1992). Different from what was before, in which the lives of individuals were strongly influenced by communities and institutions, the intensification of individualization places the individual as the main agent and responsible for their destiny (Spanò and Domecka, 2021). This phenomenon was mainly felt with the advance of flexible capitalism, neoliberal policies, and in the new configurations of relationships and even in psychophysical well-being. The crisis of collective representations (Bauman, 2000; Shanahan, 2000; Beck, 1992; Costa, 2004) makes the subject responsible for the construction of his own identity and biography, a process that does not necessarily mean

greater freedom and emancipation from social structures, but rather a new way of relating to them.

In addition to the advance of individualism, the development of capitalism and industrialization intensifies the experiences of danger and uncertainty in the face of the repercussions of these processes in the lives of individuals and on the planet. In addition to the social and economic transformations mentioned above, it is important to mention the impact of the Anthropocene on our reality: the destruction of natural resources, the production of increasingly sophisticated war weapons, the development of nuclear energy, the production of pesticides and GMOs, etc. For example, the phenomenon of global warming has destroyed scenarios of certainty experienced by previous generations. Uncertainty has become an imperative in our social life in relation to various aspects of life (Bauman, 2000; Beck, 1992, Cuzzocrea, 2020; Batchelor et al, 2020; Sennet, 1998, Leccardi, 2008), being a moment of potential intensified feelings of uncertainty and lack of control.

Recently, with the arrival of the COVID-19 Pandemic, much has been debated in the academic and social context about the levels of risks that society is exposed to. In social media, the "risk" of the virus extends to other risk imaginaries: fear of the vaccine, fear of other Pandemics, fear of restriction measures given by governments, and other risks related to the well-being of humanity. The radical and abrupt transformations resulting from the advance of the COVID-19 virus put us in a further alert situation, and at the same time reinforced the idea of a world in constant crisis, danger, and uncertainty (Santos, 2020). The expansion of control and surveillance measures by the States and the expansion of sanitary measures and biomedical controls - use of mask, vaccination, types of vaccination and vaccination certificates, and restrictive measures such as lockdown were some of the solutions implemented during the Pandemic to stop the virus, but which strongly affected our sense of control and security. In addition to the concrete repercussions of the virus, it was possible to observe, during the pandemic, the intensification of the scenario of uncertainty due to the stoppage of most educational, financial and work activities. The ISTAT data (2021[1]) show that in 2020 the employment rates in Italy had a record decrease (-405 thousand compared to 2019) much lower when compared to other European countries. Another important data from the Pandemic is that the economic recession generated had a special impact on the participation of young people aged 15 to 34 in the job market[2].

The scenario of precariousness and uncertainty was already evident even before the pandemic: research (Pastore, Quintano and Rocca, 2020; Lopez-Andreu and Verd, 2020; Spanò and Domecka, 2021) show that young people in southern Europe tend to have their life paths marked by the prolongation of life stages and also by uncertainty. The prolongation of schooling, the precariousness of the job market, the prolonged stay in the parents' house and economic dependence (Andrade, 2010; Spanò and Domecka, 2021) in Italy, mean that many young people live in a situation of instability in relation to the present and also in relation to

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[1] Annuario Statistico Italiano, 2021.

[2] According to data from the Yearbook, young people aged 15-24 had an occupancy rate of 16.8% and young people aged 25-34 had an occupancy rate of 60.7 percent in 2020.

future projects. The Italian context is often read in such a way that young people would be experiencing the transitions of adult life in a "delayed" way.

It is worth remembering that the lack of protection from the state, the reduction of work opportunities and greater financial dependence on the family nucleus, takes place in a context where differences in class, gender, ethnicity, race, origin can generate even greater situations of inequalities, also generating different forms of reflexivity and action (Spanò and Domecka, 2021). In this regard, it is argued in the literature (Leccardi, 2008) that the current scenario of social uncertainty leads to a precarious condition in the lives of many young people, getting them used to new modalities of reflection and action, in which unpredictability of social processes is incorporated into their actions (Leccardi, 2015; 2018; Silva, 2012).

In view of what was briefly reported, there is still a lot of discussion about what the life trajectory of young people is like in contemporary times. Despite the advances made in youth studies regarding the meanings given to the transitions of adult life and the use of this concept to understand how people live the social world, it is impossible to reach unequivocal conclusions. This is because the relationship between institutional and structural contexts together with subjectivities produce diverse realities that need to be historically and socially situated. If, on the one hand, the boundaries of what it means to be young and what it means to be an adult would be blurred, it is necessary to understand how these very conceptions are actually situated in very specific geographic and socioeconomic contexts. For example, studies that deal with individualization and transitions to adulthood have shown the importance of personal skills, choices and agency as ways that young people can build their biographies in a more free and less institutionalized way. However, authors have demonstrated the importance of structural opportunities in building diversified paths or exploring individuality (Hardgrove et al, 2014; Schizzerotto, 2002, Spanò and Domecka, 2021) as a positive human resource (Hardgrove et al, 2014).

Although the literature provides insights (Hardgrove et al, 2014; Schizzerotto, 2002; Spanò and Domecka, 2021) of how life course transitions and meanings of adult life are impacted by socioeconomic and gender issues, little has been addressed about the impact of origin, race and ethnicity in life trajectories and transitions of what are considered to be transitions to adulthood in the Italian context (Spanò and Domecka, 2021; Pastore, Quintano and Rocca, 2020; Harris and Raffaetà, 2020; Raffaetà, Baldassar and Harris, 2016; Andall, 2002; Colombo and Rebughini, 2012; Colombo, Leonini and Rebughini, 2009). It is interesting to note that although the first studies[3] of life trajectory have addressed the issue of immigration, there are still few recent analyses on the phenomenon of the impact of immigration on the biography of different individuals and at different stages of life (Edmonston, 2013). In this situation, I am referring to people who have had to deal with situations related to the migration process at some point in their lives: moving from the country of origin to the country of destination; migration by parents or family members; the status of legality; the acquisition of citizenship; the process of socialization in the country.

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[3] The analyzes by Florian Znaniecki and W. I. Thomas are a milestone in life course studies as they analyze the life course of immigrants who moved from Poland to North America and Europe. (Edmonston, 2013). We must, however, pay attention to the fact that this analysis, despite addressing the immigrant issue, does not address other issues that may be correlated, which are ethnic and racial issues.

Denying an "a priori" conception, this thesis understands that the "transitions to adulthood" are built in a sociocultural context in which science is also inserted. Therefore, the meanings given to the idea of "youth" and the idea of "adulthood" and the idea of transitions to adulthood must be understood in their contextual character. Therefore, we must ask ourselves in what ways the social positions and identities (under construction) of individuals interfere in our own understanding of transitions and adulthood, giving us imaginative possibilities of what it is to be young and adult today. Issues of class, gender, origin, location, race, religion, ethnicity can be elements that help to think about the possible meanings given to adulthood and transitions to adulthood. The idea of adulthood can vary according to cultural, social, political, and economic contexts, making us wonder to what extent the common understanding of this concept is key to understanding the path of people's lives.

Before rushing to say that young people build less standardized and traditional identities and life courses, also living less traditional and standardized experiences, it is more interesting to understand how diverse groups can experience these phenomena. Therefore, it is also important to understand how class, gender, origin, race, and ethnicity affect the construction of people's lives. The existence of patterns related to adulthood must be analyzed in different groups that make up youth and that can incorporate and experience these transitional milestones in different ways. It is in the face of this understanding that this thesis launches itself to analyze the universe of young Italians who have the common characteristic of the migratory path, mainly of some of their parents.

This thesis is part of the research project "*Italian lives: indagine sui corsi di vita in Italia*", developed by the Department of Sociology and Social Research at the University of Milano-Bicocca. Based on two research groups, one for quantitative analysis and the other for qualitative analysis, the longitudinal research will address diverse topics such as work, education, health, family relationships to understand how people are living today. Specifically, qualitative, and longitudinal research is analysing the life course of young people in order to be able to delve deeper into what elements characterize the life of young people in Italy. Within this framework, this doctoral research has the specific objective of portraying the conditions of young descendants of immigrants in relation to what in the literature is called transitions to adulthood.

Therefore, the objective of this thesis is to investigate the transformations that occurred in the construction of the lives of young descendants of immigrants in the Italian context. The guiding question of this research is: how is the life path for young men and women in Italy? So, from the biographical construction of individuals, is it possible to observe changes in the understanding of youth and adulthood, and with that of transitions to adulthood? This main question is related to other associated questions:

i) how young people live and build their lives today.

ii) how the different traditional transitional milestones (i.e., work, housing, living household, marriage and parenting) are experienced by young people and how are the meanings attached to the idea of "transitions to adulthood" change.

iii) how are structural issues (class, gender, nationality, citizenship status, location) also affecting the youth experience.

iv) how the biography of these young people reformulates the dimensions and definitions of youth and adult life.

v) how they conceptualize and plan their future.

To answer these questions, qualitative longitudinal research has been conducted with young men and women with a migratory background aged between 22 and 29 years living in Italy. Therefore, the main objective of this research is to understand how young descendants of immigrants (also called second generation) perform some transitional milestones in life. To this end, in this thesis I will carry out an analysis of three main dimensions: transitions from school to work, residential conformations and perceptions and experiences of love relationships and parenting. In addition to these three milestones, it is also our objective to observe how these dimensions are experienced and how horizons are built for the future. It is also in view of the migratory background and a diverse origin that this research will understand how experiences throughout life influence these young people's perception of belonging.

This thesis is structured in the following format: in the first part I bring the main concepts that guide this research. In the first chapter of this thesis, I bring the main theoretical frameworks that I will work on, together with a discussion of the literature on the topics that will be referred to. In the first chapter I will bring conceptualizations about the life course approach and about the main concepts that this approach brings. Thus, I will discuss the principles of life course analysis, in addition to bringing important conceptualizations to this research, such as the relationship between age and transitions in time, the centrality of the concept of generation in youth studies and the relationship between the life course, biography and agency.

The second theoretical chapter of this thesis will deal with youth studies and issues of transitions to adulthood. The chapter is concerned with the main contemporary studies on youth and transitions to adulthood in the more general context and in the Italian context. Thus, I will present how the literature has pointed to a transformation in the living conditions of young people in the Western context from the 1990s to the present day. Based on this literature, it was perceived that the macro-transformations that took place in Western societies were accompanied by intense transformations in the living conditions of young people at the economic, cultural and social levels. In this part I will also address the importance of markers of difference such as class, gender, origin, religion, and race. Based on all this literature, I stress in what sense it is still worth debating about transitional milestones in life course studies. Based on the objectives of this research, it is also in this chapter that I bring a literature review on the main discussions related to the milestones that will be analyzed here: school to work, housing and parenting.

In the third theoretical chapter, my concern is to deal with studies that investigates the life course of young people in the Italian context. It is considering the importance of context in my research that in this chapter I look at the Italian context as a context that fits into the western scenario but from specific historical, geographical, economic, and cultural determinations. In this chapter, I bring an overview of studies that show the specificity of adult life transitions in the Italian context, pointing to the influence of economic, institutional, and cultural conformations that paint a specific scenario of the countries of southern Europe in relation to trajectories at work, in education, housing and parenting experience. Analogous to the previous chapter, I also bring the discussion of milestones (from school to work, parenting and housing autonomy) only bringing the Italian context. This chapter will be important to delimit the social context in which the young people in this research are inserted, as well as delimit what the literature has said about young people and their transitions in the Italian context.

In the fourth theoretical chapter of this thesis, I will bring studies that address the issue of descendants of immigrants. I start first with a discussion about the use of nomenclatures and categories within migration studies and how we can better deal with these categories within sociological analysis. After that, I bring the main elements within the literature that indicate the specificities of the life course of young people descended from immigrants. Thus, I bring into discussion how the origin impacts on different elements in the life trajectory of individuals: transnational ties, processes of belonging and identification, experiences of discrimination and issues with citizenship. After that, and similarly to the earlier chapters, I also bring an overview of how young people of immigrant descent have lived through the different transitional milestones of adult life.

Following these three theoretical chapters, I show the methodological development of the research. In this part I point out the main objectives, data collection and data analysis. I will focus on the methodological resources used and on the methodological issues that emerge throughout the research. I will show the guiding questions of the research, the units of analysis, the procedures for carrying out the sampling and for the collection of data and, finally, the procedures for analyzing the data. In this part I also bring the ethical and methodological implications resulting from the context of the research, namely the issue of the Pandemic and the researcher's position during research.

After organizing the theoretical and methodological chapters, I proceed to analyze the material raised in this research. This thesis has five data analysis chapters. Following the chapter sequence, the sixth chapter will analyze the trajectories from school to work of the young people in this research. I will point out how the different initiations into the world of work take place, the expectations, and the working conditions that these young people experience, giving main attention to the effect of origin on their trajectories. It will also be possible to observe how the COVID-19 Pandemic affected the paths of these young people and what were the strategies they used to deal with the suspension of life that came with the restriction measures.

In the seventh chapter, I will analyze two dimensions together: the way young people experience and imagine love relationships and the way young people imagine and experience parenting. In this chapter, the objective is to understand to what extent young people are living more or less individualized paths in these matters and how they could also be being crossed by cultural elements both from the Italian context and from the context of their parents' origin. As we will see, relationships and parenting, when experienced or imagined, condense cultural elements from different matrices. In this chapter gender took on a crucial role in view of how the gender identities generated in this complex process of cultural condensation led to different attitudes and opinions about romantic relationships and parenting.

Continuing with the analysis of the research in chapter eight, it will be examined the residential situation of young people. Considered as an element of important significance towards autonomy, leaving the parents' home is an essential element to be analyzed. Here, once again, we will perceive different patterns in the lives of young people. It will be possible to observe the interference of structural dynamics in the patterns found and it will also be possible to observe the interference of cultural dynamics in these residential conformations. As we will see, young people have a different residential transition from that considered typical of the Italian context. This would demonstrate a need to broaden the concepts of autonomy that can go beyond the residential framework.

In view of these three milestones investigated, in chapter nine, I explore other dimensions that are also important in the lives of these young people and that interfere with their transitional processes. In the ninth chapter I carry out an investigation of how young people project the future. This chapter aims to understand how living in the present - uncertain, precarious, contingent, and intermittent - influences perceptions of the future and the ability to imagine and project a future. As we will see from the interviews, there is a differentiated temporal construction in which the future is nothing more than what is lived in the current moment. What will be observed demonstrates both the speed of social processes and demonstrates the capacities of agency, resilience, and adaptation of these young people to the scenarios of constant suspension that they live.

Coming to our last point of analysis, in the last chapter I adress strictly the issue of identity and the processes of belonging of young people. Bearing in mind that one of the questions in this research is to understand the impact of origin on the different milestones of adult life, the last analytical chapter of this thesis investigates how young people construct their process of belonging in the context in which they live. Understanding how they build meanings of belonging and feelings of identification with the world they live in is important to give us the dimension of how these young people's biographies are constructed and how they are impacted by their origins. As we will see, it is not just being a foreigner that is important in the process of belonging: being perceived as a foreigner based on racialization processes will make a difference in the trajectories of these young people and in the construction of their identities. It is highlighted that the construction of identity and belonging is made from a precarious and uncertain dynamic, which points to the need to understand the idea of uncertainty and precariousness in subjective dimensions as well.

After studying these data in the last chapter, I bring the final considerations of this thesis and point to the need to broaden the meanings given to the transitions to adult life, as well as to broaden what is currently placed in the "youth" category. As we will see in the course of the thesis, although some dynamics are similar to the Italian context, the young subjects of this research re-signify the way transitions in milestones are experienced and also re-signify the meanings given to precarity.

Part 1:
Theoretical Chapters

Chapter 1
Life-course approach

This research involves a life course approach to understand the way in which young descendants of immigrants live their transitions to adulthood and give meaning to the idea of adult life. In order to study this, in this chapter I bring the main concepts within the life course approach that will be used in this research. I claim that these concepts are interconnected and compose in a complex way the construction of the biographies of young people who find themselves in a specific moment of their lives. Before we start with the main concepts, below I bring the main approach that guides this research, namely the life course approach.

From the classic sociological approaches' sociology, it becomes evident that there is a theoretical and methodological divide as to where sociological research is headed (Alexander, 1986), it was common to try to understand and interpret the social structures to understand and explain the phenomena of society. On the other hand, and with the development of sociology as a science, other approaches emerge and seek to understand social phenomena privileging the elements related to the agency of individuals, focusing mainly on the individual as a starting point. These two approaches, commonly called macrosocial and microsocial, still generate heated debates and discussions in Social Science departments. The dilemma of sociological analyses, as pointed out by Alexander (1986), in focusing on only one of the dimensions (micro or macro theories, according to the author), makes many theories unsatisfactory in view of the need for articulation between them.

As a result, theoretical formulations in sociological analysis have always been based on this dilemma between the macro and the micro social, in which sociologists sought to bridge these two elements. Bourdieu (2007) and Elias (2001), for example, outlined theories that consider the interrelationships between the two spheres of analysis. Norbert Elias, in *Society of Individuals* (2001), creates an interesting argument about how society and individuals relate to each other in a complementary way, making a unilateral approach to understanding society impossible. With this, it can be understood that the macro and micro social phenomena transform and influence each other. Bourdieu (2007), when investigating the reproduction of structures in society, points out that the agent and the social structure are connected, and the action of individuals is influenced by structural factors such as economic and cultural capital and the individual's position in society.

It is in seeking to understand the relationships between macrosocial processes and agency that many authors (Willekens, 1990; Giele and Elder, 2013; Heinz and Kruger, 2001; Elder et al, 2002; Settersten and Richard, 2002; Mayer, 2009; Elder and Giele, 2009; Giele and Elder, 2013; Shanahan and Mortimer, 2016), used the life course approach as a way of understanding and explaining the social phenomenon. In this thesis, the life course approach is

not just a methodological tool, but a theoretical approach[4]. Thus, the objective of using the life course as a theoretical approach is to investigate how individuals go through life events, how individuals act within these events and how the set of these phenomena can be connected to individual choices and to the broader social process. Indeed, the main objective of this approach is to observe the life course in order to understand social change from the events and transitions that take place in the lives of individuals (Giele and Elder, 2013) connecting this to the wider processes of society.

This is strongly linked to the idea of a sociological imagination proposed by Mills (2000). According to the author, the sociological study, when completed, must always connect biography, history, and society (Mills, 2000). Sociology needs to develop and place the sociological imagination in its studies, a process that makes it possible to understand biography in relation to society and vice versa. Therefore, the life course approach considers micro aspects, such as individual action, and macro aspects, such as social norms, institutions, cultures, and social values. Furthermore, from this approach, the life of individuals is not simply a set of random events, but a set of stages experienced by individuals that, in a way, evidence a set of existing social events and structures (Wissen and Dykstra, 1990). To understand the life course of individuals, it is necessary to understand that people trace life trajectories, that is, paths that have patterns of stability and transformations over time. Trajectories can be defined as "a sequence of transitions or life events and implies an interrelation of impacts over time" (Schittenhelm and Schmidtke, 2011: 105). In these trajectories individuals experience transitions that are a set of events that transform their lives and identities. Concerning this research, the idea of transitions in the life course would delimit or differentiate one phase of life to the other, showing a transformation in the identity or in the status of individuals in society. The timing of events and transitions is also an important factor of analysis in this approach. Thus, the moment that people live and the moment that certain transitions or events occur will impact an entire life trajectory. Finally, there is also the "turning points" that are important transitions that bring great transformations in the individual's trajectory.

This implies that the life course allows for a holistic understanding of people's lives and social contexts (Elder et al., 2002). However, it was not always understood this way; the emergence of the life course approach is part of a paradigm shift that comes from the way this approach, in studying human behavior, manages to make connections between social structure, social change, and individual action (Wissen and Dykstra, 1990). The objective of the first studies that implicated the perspective of the life course was to understand the reflection of structural dynamics in people's lives. Willian I. Thomas and Znaniecki are considered the precursors of studies that aimed to address people's lives (Elder et al, 2002; Heinz and Kruger, 2001; Nico, 2011). These studies already pointed out the importance of understanding people's

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[4] Some theorists see the life course as a theoretical approach and others as a methodological approach. In this article the life course is understood as a theory. To see the debate on life course as a methodology or theory see Nico (2011); Giele and Elder, 2013.

experiences as a continuous flow, in order to understand what those experiences were like in the historical course of society (Elder et al, 2002; Heinz and Kruger, 200; Nico, 2011).

To address the main categories examined in the life course, it is important to list some guiding principles pointed out by Elder et al (2002). These principles became common elements to several works (Edmonston, 2013; Nico, 2011; Elder et al, 2002; Settersten and Richard, 2002; Hardgrove et al, 2014; Severson) and Collins, 2020). The first principle calls into question the dimension on agency, which seeks to understand how individuals act and choose among the opportunities and impediments they face in social and historical circumstances. Thus, the construction of individuals' lives is made from actions and choices made within a specific context provided to them. The second principle is the perception that the lives of individuals are inserted and modulated by a historical time and by the places that people live during their lives. Geography is valuable in understanding the life course because: a) it can be used to locate the culture, meanings and values in which individuals will be immersed; b) geography changes the way historical events are felt and understood. Studies conducted by Ryder (1965) and Riley et al. (1972) (apud Elder and Giele, 2009) are the main studies identified as developers of this principle. The third principle proposed by Elder et al (2002) and Elder and Giele (2009) is the timing principle. This principle is related to the relationship between social expectations that dictate the transition of individuals' social roles, assessing whether they occurred late or not (Elder and Giele, 2009). The life course understands that the development of these stages has been influenced by social expectations, but also by the social and historical context of individuals' lives. The fourth principle stated here is the principle of social bonds, which involves the perception that people's lives are influenced by relationships and social rules. In addition, it is possible to observe how the lives of individuals are influenced by the interpersonal relationships that these individuals have. The way we relate to others and with whom we relate points to certain forms of socialization and control, also affecting the actions of individuals (Elder and Giele, 2009).

These principles help us understand the agency of individuals, the social context, the history and timing of events, and the role of change in individuals' lives and actions. With these four principles, it is established that the life of the human being needs to be understood in a relational way, that is, from the relationships with others in society. The life course approach goes beyond the description of life events to deepen understanding of how social, historical relationships and institutional circumstances shape individuals' life trajectories. So, when we think about examining the sequences and transitions in the lives of individuals, it will be in relation to a broader social and historical context. In fact, the development of the life course as a theoretical or methodological approach follows a path in which social change is also analyzed. In summary, the life course approach is developed as a theory that pursues to enable the capture of the movement of society and individuals from the point of view of historical time (from generations and cohorts), social/institutional aspects (from transitions, stages, careers) and individual characteristics (from people's biography). If we understand social change as a set of transformations that occur in social institutions, in social relationships, and in people's lives,

life course analysis will show how changing circumstances interact with individuals and how individuals are agents of change. Through this approach it would be possible to understand how social categories change over time, or how social categories change depending on their context. It is also interesting to note that, through this type of approach, it is possible to understand social and historical contexts not only as a set of opportunities and restrictions, but as mechanisms that create actions and life trajectories. In this way, the relationship between macro and micro social is observed in the biography of people, which, when analyzed, helps us to understand the mechanisms that imply changes in society and how they affect the lives and decisions of individuals. Therefore, it is the temporal analysis of the life course of individuals that allows us to understand social mechanisms. The use of time in the analysis of the course of life opens ways to understand how the social changes that have occurred generate impacts on the temporality of people's lives, making them re-signify events, transitions, and stages that they may experience.

1.1. Dimensions of time and life course analysis in times of change

Time is a social product, a product of inherited and exercised experiences (Elias, 1992). In modern industrial societies, the measurement of time is seen as necessary for a complex process of self-regulation and awareness of time. The use of the calendar, for example, is one of the representations that can be used to visualize the sequence of irreversible facts and events that happened. The lives of people in Western societies are measured, divided, and timed to the point where certain events are associated with a temporal moment in life. We can say that time is an instrument of social orientation and communication created by individuals in societies. Therefore, time organizes the social and individual life of subjects, being in modern societies the main means by which individuals establish their relationships and actions in life.

The location of events in time (Adam, 1990) is also used analytically by the life course approach. The paradigmatic development of the life course was based on the perspectives arising from the life cycle, a paradigm that has a normative idea of the stages of life in a static and formatted way (Nico, 2011). However, with the development of the sociology of age, the focus on particular stages of life, such as old age or youth, gradually shifts to a focus on aging processes, understanding the course of life as a continuum that is difficult to explain only in terms of social expectations (Nico, 2011: 15). The objective of these transformations was to understand life as something in progress, improving the knowledge of social change in the lives of individuals. The life course, while coming from life cycle studies, innovates in the understanding of life not as a cycle, but as a course in time. This understanding becomes essential to observe people's lives in a more dynamic and less normative way. It is from the perspective elucidated by Worth (2009) that the transitions here will be seen in the course of life and not just focusing on the moment of transition. Focusing on just one moment in life makes one lose the senses that intertwine agency and structure and give meaning to the social.

Overcoming a narrow focus on one stage of life will bring the link between individuals' experiences with broader processes taking place in time and space (Hopkins and Pain, 2007).

In this way, time is essential for the analysis of the life course, as social paths are traced (Elder et al, 2002) in the connection of biographical, historical and social time (Wissen and Drikysta, 1990). The first dimension, individual time (biographical time), refers to the moments and stages that happen in people's lives, the transitions they go through and how subjects act and respond to the moments they go through over time. When we talk about time in the lives of individuals, we are referring to the transformations that individuals go through and the different social roles they play in their life stories. Furthermore, people's lives are influenced by the different events that have happened in their lives. The second dimension of the analysis of time is historical time, which constitutes the set of historical changes that are related to the lives of individuals. Here we can refer to events of various social orders in people's lives. The third dimension of the analysis of time is the social time in which social norms and values affirm expectations regarding age and moments of transition. (Wissen and Drikysta, 1990).

The use of time in sociological analysis and in this research allows us to understand how individuals' life transitions over time (individual time) are marked by historicity and a social context/ time. Regarding this research, the idea of transitions in the life course would delimit or differentiate one phase of life from the other. In Western societies, the separation into life stages from childhood, youth, adulthood and old age presupposes a set of minimum stages – sometimes biological and social – that individuals must go through. These stages, or transitions, must also be lived respecting a temporality that is commonly marked by age.

The way we experience time is linked to a set of cultural and social constructions situated in a given historical time. However, in relation to social time, we must ponder that the perception of time and the way it is seen and reported varies according to the society studied. The measurement of time, the existence of social clocks and normative schedules bring expectations of actions in relation to individuals when they reach a certain age. The transitions that individuals go through in life are marked by a social time that, prominently, imposes stages of life that must be lived. Time is therefore essential to understand the age classification standards that are convenient in societies and how these age classification standards are associated with "stages" of life. For the analysis of this thesis, it will be essential to use temporal analysis to understand the links between the actions of individuals within an individual, social and historical time, considering the repercussions of actions throughout people's lives.

From this derives a further category for this work: age. Understood as a biological element, but also a social one, age is the most used indicator in the analysis of the life course (Heinz and Kruger, 2001; Heinz, 2009). In many societies, the order of life stages is commonly marked by age and variations in the way of using it occur as age is incorporated differentially into social institutions. (Heinz and Kruger, 2001). In general, each society will build institutional schedules that organize the course of life based on entry and exit requirements; requirements that are often age-based. In this process, the State and specific social policies play a fundamental role in defining, shaping, and sustaining living standards (Heinz and Kruger, 2001). For example, in western societies there is the right age to be able to vote, drive cars, drink and be able to be independent from the family nucleus. Likewise, there is a time to work and to retire, and this marking is usually made by age. It is worth noting that the age framework varied in view of the changes that took place in the life expectancy of the population in the

countries. Additionally, age and time were used to shape the life trajectories of individuals in an institutional organization: the institutional organization of school time, work, retirement; the elaboration of laws that define the minimum and maximum age for the exercise of some activity in society; definitions of rights and duties of each age group, etc. Even today there is a formal regularization of individuals based on age within social structures (Settersten, 2002). Thus, age-based living standards serve as regulators of actions and expectations in the biographical construction of individuals. In the construction of the temporality of life based on age, biological discourses are also used to strengthen a set of characteristics or patterns of conduct for each age group in Western society.

It is also necessary to highlight that the relationship between age and life stages can be configured from informal/cultural norms that influence aspirations and processes of self-identification and identity construction. Therefore, in most societies there is a normative path (direct or indirect, with or without sanction, with the involvement of the law or not) that specifies the appropriate ages for transitions in life. But at the same time, even if there are no laws or sanctions pointing out the right or wrong time to make a transition, society and culture impose certain clocks on individuals. For example, based on culturally constructed gender roles, one can define the right moments to marry and have children. Or based on cultural and social values, someone may feel pressured for not having been able to reach a certain profession or certain financial independence.

In this way, culture and biology are used within institutions to demarcate the moments considered "right" or "ideal" to carry out some transition or event. Age here is seen as a way for society to connect individual time with social time. Age can be categorized by the temporal aspect of nature and history, but also by the social aspect due to the meanings attributed to certain ages (Elder at Al, 2002; Settersten and Kruger, 2002). Furthermore, life course analysis often follows this initial direction that lives are socially structured starting with age (Settersten and Richard, 2002). Examples that demonstrate the social character of age and the phases linked to it are the historical changes related to the concept of childhood, youth, adulthood and old age. From the transitional perspective, ages are understood as markers of the stages of youth and adulthood. However, given the transformations that have taken place in societies, "the starting point and the arrival point" (Spanò and Domecka, 2021: 172) of these phases has become confusing, making us question the use of the transitional approach to understand people's life paths. At the same time, the literature has shown that, despite the "blurred" barriers, young people today with their experiences end up reconceptualizing these stages and bringing new perspectives, which could, on the other hand, bring out the importance of the "transitional approach" insofar as young people continue to signify their lives with the ideas of being young and being an adult, but from other configurations and characteristics. The life configurations of today's young people, different from the old days, brings us another important concept in this research: the generation (Spanò and Domecka, 2021).

1.2. Age, cohort, and generation

The way in which age appears within the analysis of the life course and especially in the analysis of the life course of young people is based on two categories-concepts: age cohort and generation. Many authors (Alwin and McCammon, 2003; Goodwin and O'Connor, 2009; Leccardi and Feixa, 2011) have already argued that, although life course analyses sometimes use cohort age, sometimes the idea of generation, there is still a difficulty in conceptualizing these two categories.

First, the meaning of age cohort would mean "a group of individuals who have lived some experience or event for the same period of time" (Alwin and McCammon, 2003, p.26). The members of a birth cohort share a historical time which makes them live a set of dispositions already found in a society at a given time. We can cite many examples on how to define people from the same cohort: people who were born in the same year, people who got married in the same year or went to university in the same year (Alwin and McCammon, 2003).

An additional element that would conceptualize the birth cohort is that all people who are part of a birth cohort experience the life cycle simultaneously, that is, they go through childhood, adolescence, and old age at the same time (Alwin and McCammon, 2003). The effects of experiencing some significant public event or event in the lives of individuals in the same birth cohort are called cohort effects. For example, the event of the 2008 crisis had very specific repercussions for young people who lived through the times that led to this crisis. This event will most likely mark these individuals for the rest of their lives, as they will be influenced by a series of political, economic, and social configurations arising from a state of economic recession on a global scale. According to Alwin and McCammon (2003) there is a difference between birth cohort and generations in which one should not confuse the elements that involve these concepts. This is because it can be assumed that people who were born at the same time or year will subjectively share the same characteristics and will experience social conditions in the same way. However, as we will see below, the meaning given to generation is much greater than sharing the same year of birth.

On the other hand, the meaning of generation would be different, in which social and historical contextualization are essential. An important work from is that of Manheim (1952), who conceptualized generation as the common position of individuals in each social and historical moment. From the conception of Manheim (1952) the generation is a group of people who, when experiencing the same social and historical moment, build a culture and an identity distinct from the previous ones (Alwin and McCammon, 2003). The generation would not necessarily be defined by a date of birth, but the set of historical and social circumstances that people of the same age go through and end up building a meaning and an identity of their own to what is happening. This concept can be important to understand the idea of youth and adulthood in a less normalized/positivist and more contextualized way (Feixa and Leccardi, 2010; Weller, 2010).

Furthermore, the concept of generation is important for thinking about the social and cultural change of an epoch, as it manages to show how the conjunction of specific social and historical conditions create new identity and social conformations. Therefore, we can differentiate cohorts and generation from the conception that cohort would mean the association between the birth of certain individuals and a certain historical period, while generation is a construction of meanings, identities, lifestyles that is liable to recognition and differentiation (Alwin and McCammon, 2003). Based on Elias' (2013 in Connolly, 2019) conceptions about

generation, it is understood in this research that current generations of young people and previous generations were connected among themselves from the social contexts they share and from everything that today's young people learn in the socialization with older generations. The generations must be seen in interrelation, in a connection that makes it possible for young people to learn kinds of behaviors, kinds of patterns of adult life by observing previous generations. Observing the course of life from the idea of generations, situating it socially and historically allows us insights into "changing group identities, behavioral standards, changing relationships, interactions, configurations, and power balances" (Goodwin and O'Connor, 2009: 25)

Based on these conceptions, this thesis uses the idea of generation to understand how young people live today in a different way, in a way that can differentiate themselves from previous ways of building life. The use of the idea of generation will help us to understand the changes that have taken place in society and in individuals. In this thesis it is understood that the processes by which young people live today are not unique in history, being interconnected with the past (Alwin and McCammon, 2002; Goodwin and O'Connor, 2009). As a result, "being an adult" or "being young" are dimensions born in society that change over time and depend on the political, social, economic, and historical context. With this, it is understood that the meanings given to transitions to adulthood are circumstantial because they involve what individuals mean as typical characteristics of youth and typical characteristics of adulthood. There is therefore no a priori definition of what it would be like to be young and to be adult, and the meaning attributed to these categories is associated with what individuals and in defined contexts formulate about these life passages. The normativity of transitions and the considerations of being an adult and being young from the idea of the end of educational training, entry into the labour market, leaving the parents' home, marriage, formation of a family nucleus is formulated in the context of social formation. of the modern capitalist West.

At the same time, I also use the transitional approach because I understand that, despite perhaps inscribing other ways of being young and being an adult, society, institutions and individuals, themselves may still use these archetypes to situate themselves in society. Even using other characteristics of considering an adult, it is still possible for some studies to understand the continuities between past and present, something typical of the generational approach that allows to see the change, but also the continuity of sociocultural elements passed from past generations to the present.

1.3. Agency in life-course studies

An additional crucial component that is also linked to the life course approach is the role of agency of individuals. As already mentioned, one of the great debates within sociology and also within youth studies is about the relationship between agency and structure. The truth is that the concept of agency carries ontological and heuristic meanings that are allocated in different theories and conceptual structures (Coffey and Farrugia, 2014). Its meaning and use may vary according to the different studies and theories found in sociology, but as Davies (1991) points

out in the "social sciences, agency synonymous with being a person. It is used interchangeably with such concepts freedom, autonomy, rationality and moral authority" (Davies, 1991: 42).

Agency is understood as the main means by which we construct our biography. We are "architects of our life course" (Gecas, 2003: 369), with the agency being the main means of carrying out this trajectory. From a life course perspective, the concept of agency understands the action and planning of individuals within social and historical contexts (Elder, et al, 2002). The construction of individuals' lives is based on actions and choices made within a specific context provided to them. In the discussion of agency within sociological analysis, it is common to seek to understand how the agency of individuals connects with social structures and social norms (Crockett, 2002). In this way, one would tend to observe how social structures give individuals more or less freedom of action, how agency (individual or collective) is embedded in society, culture and historical context. As stated by Dannefer et al. (2016) the personal conscience that is formed in individuals and that provides actions is directly linked to social expectations, social standards, language, culture, and the individual's position within the social fabric. Structure should not be considered just as the mechanisms that allow or deny human agency, but the very origin of human agency. The agency of individuals only exists because there is society, because it is within society that individuals create their internationalities, their plans of action, whether to affirm social standards or to contradict social standards. Therefore, an understanding of youth action from its contextuality (White and Wyn, 1998) helps us to understand the relationships between action and social structure.

Another similar definition made by Hitlin and Kwon (2016) agency would be the ability people would have to influence and act in their own trajectories in the context in which they live. Based on this, it is also important to point out that this agency is constantly being put into practice, dealing with internal circumstances (mental states, feelings, perceptions, values) and external circumstances (institutions, interpersonal relationships, spheres of life). In this way, it is important to emphasize that in the life course the agency mechanisms are explored in the search to understand the cultural and structural factors that influence and circumvent people's actions. That's why, when we think about the choices and actions of individuals, we take into account how the action takes place but from the limits of their contexts. (Hitlin and Know, 2016).

Knowing the importance of this category, Hitlin and Elder (2007) analytically conceptualize 4 types of agency: existential, identity, pragmatic and life course. Among these agencies, the existential would be the one that would indicate the meaning of free will, being, according to the authors, sociologically irrelevant. In addition to this, we would have the identity agency that deals with how people interpret and act from different identities and roles. The third type of agency would be pragmatic, dealing with situations in which actions are taken when routine situations are undone. Last and most important in this research is the life course agency that focuses on how subjective beliefs at a given moment in time influence later trajectories in the life course. Given these different conceptualizations, what is evident is that

the objective of observing the agency, in addition to understanding the interaction of the context and the action, is to comprehend individual's agency and the results of their agency during life (Hitlin and Know, 2016).

Consequently, it is from this reading of the relationship between agency and social structure that we can say that the perception and planning of the future of individuals is also related to the social and historical context that is mixed with their own biography. Therefore, given the social and historical context and their own biography, both actions and perceptions about the future and the present will be influenced. The perception of the future is totally related to social action, since it is from what is expected of the future that individuals act in the present. As stated by Hitlin and Kwon (2016), looking to the future is what motivates and guides the action of individuals today (Hitlin and Kwon, 2016). Since the projection of the future is one of the essential elements of human action, in this research we must also analyse individuals' perceptions of the future, questioning how they imagine the individual and social future. The beliefs, projects and horizons aimed at by the young person for the future will influence their present actions. In this way, the future when imagined or the future when planned influence their present actions, thus impacting their life paths.

Chapter 2
Youth transitions

In view of what has been exposed so far, this chapter aims to bring the main studies and conclusions that other scholars from different areas have made on the issue of young people and their transitions to adulthood. This literature review points primarily to general studies on youth, transitions and on adulthood; secondly, it will focus on the repercussions of the social context and then on the specificity of four milestones towards adulthood.

2.1. Defining the context: uncertainty, risk and acceleration of social times
Uncertainty, risk, and acceleration: life course implications

Bearing in mind the theme of this research, namely, the transitions of young people descending from immigrants in the Italian context, it is important to emphasize the social, economic, political, and cultural context in which the main studies on the subject have been developed. As we will see, most studies that focus on youth transitions in the Western context will highlight three major disruptive umbrella elements that pose new challenges in the contemporary world: a risk society, an uncertain society and an accelerated society. The analysis of the impacts of modern globalization and the advance of the capitalist system at the end of the 20th century gave rise to many considerations of what has happened in the last 40 years. The theories of late capitalism, post-modernity, post-industrial society, and reflective society gained strength, diagnosing contemporaneity as increasingly fragmented, uncertain, dangerous, and accelerated.

The idea of risk in Beck's work would be the structuring element of reality in the so-called "second modernity" (Beck, 1992; C2006; Costa, 2004). The reflexivity arising from the development of capitalism, science and technology brings the general feeling of uncertainty and risk. The author uses "risk" to refer (Costa, 2004) to a feeling of uncertainty and a realization of an increasingly precarious world in which social, economic, and environmental catastrophes come from the very development of the capitalist system in modern-western societies. According to Beck, the main characteristic of the beginning of the 21st century is the presence of threats, insecurity, and unpredictability in relation to the future (Beck, 2006), and unlike the past, the intensified process of reflexivity makes us pay attention to and prevent these risks in a different way (Costa, 2004). The certainties arising from modernity end up being considered only possibilities, thus revealing a new context of uncertainty. It is in the realization of a new horizon of Western societies that Beck (and later other authors) dedicated himself to explaining what the uncertainty of our times would consist of. The uncertainty, and the impossibility of control according to the author, would come precisely from the advance of the

capitalist type of production (and with it the degradation of the environment and the depletion of natural resources), from the crisis of modern institutions (the State, the family, the church) and the advancement of new social and economic configurations (at work, in personal relationships, in interpersonal relationships) and the individualization of social inequalities. Finally, one of the author's discussion is that the risk situation and the feeling of uncertainty would be common to everyone on the globe, regardless of class or social position (Beck, 1992; Costa, 2004).

In this circumstance, the focus on agency in youth studies is strongly related to studies on individualization (Beck, 1992; Coffey and Farrugia, 2014; Leccardi, 2020). The vast majority of these studies (Shanahan, 2000; Goodwin and O'Connor, 2009; Heinz and Kruger 2001, 2009; Settersten, 2002; Billari and Liefbroe, 2010; Leccardi, 2008; 2015) will argue about the processes of individualization of agency in the current context and how this individualization impacts the type of agency of young people today. For example, in Beck's (1992), the concept of agency is related to his theory about the process of individualization in societies that he calls reflexive society or late capitalism. The strengthening of the individualistic ethos (Settersten and Richard, 2002) is based on the changes that have taken place mainly in the last 30 years due to the weakening and reformulation of important institutions in our society. Institutions such as family and religion weakened in the development of modernity, bringing the possibility and the need for the individual to act for himself/herself/their self. In addition, the State, increasingly deregulated and less welfare-oriented, leaves the role of organizing the different spheres of life in the hands of individuals, implying that they are the only ones responsible for their achievements and defeats in society.

It is in this context that the theoretical construction of agency as greater freedom and autonomy is also strengthened (Davies, 1991). In this sense, agency is given a sense of total autonomy and independence of the individual within society. The apparent autonomy can, however, result in the deepening of the lack of choices that individuals may have in the face of the weakening of institutions. When the State and society refrain from dealing with structural problems, placing them only as processes or as individual problems, it is likely that individuals' responses to issues such as gender or class lie within the individual micro-sphere. The idea of chosen biographies commonly portrayed in the literature on youth studies must always be considered those aspects, given that the individual and the high reflectivity of the individual are elements that are born in specific context of the development of western . Therefore, it becomes more fruitful to understand how structure and action intertwine in what young people do. The concept of life course individualization, a concept borrowed from Beck's studies (Beck, 1992; Beck-Gernsheim, 2002) should not be summarized as a greater agency of individuals, but as an element of changes that have taken place in this century (O'Connor, 2015). It is important to understand that individuals in contemporary times have not necessarily become more autonomous in previous social structures. The process of individualization does not mean the end of the interference of social structures in the lives of individuals, but simply means that people can respond differently to structural questions (O'Connor, 2015). Contemporaneity does

not diminish the structural issues of class, gender, race, origin, religion, sexual orientation, and the actions and decisions of individuals are based more on individuality, in which the individual is responsible for what happens.

In contrast, these increasingly "fragmented" social institutions rebuild the way individuals will interact with society, requiring an individual increasingly guided by the idea of "do it yourself". Here, the possibilities of paths and choices to be made increase, bringing less normative ways of understanding, and living family, educational or professional processes. Giddens (2002) also states that one of the hallmarks of modernity is the advance of individualism in which social role transitions that were strongly defined by social institutions are losing strength. Authorities coming from religion, the state, or the market change, bringing the need for a more reflective individual and more focused on the construction of the self (Giddens, 2002). Within this process of individualization in modernity, the construction of the path of life passes through the idea of self-construction and individual realization where the construction of adult life as a process of self-realization (Silva, 2012). As Silva (2012) points out, this new identity construction, escaping from traditional social roles, brought a greater possibility of agency.

From a different point of view, Shanahan (2000) understands the phenomenon of individualization more as a process than as a dated phenomenon. According to the author, the advance of modernity initially brought a process of institutionalization of various elements of life, elements that were shaped by the expectations of the State, religion or family and community nuclei. It can be said that for a long time in the history of modernity, people's lives have been standardized, a process that can be understood as a process of bureaucratization, typical of modernity. Today what is seen is a progressive individualization resulting from the weakening of community, family, religious and state elements. However, it must be considered that individualization as a modern project culminated in a different process than initially imagined. While in the beginning individualization meant emancipation from the impositions of the community and the impositions of social institutions, today individualization involves transforming individualized action into a "task" (Bauman, 2000) that must be performed by all individuals, these being the solely responsible for the consequences of these actions (Bauman, 2000). Individuality and with its agency became a burden, an obligation and not an increase in autonomy and freedom, that the initial project of modernity promised (Bauman, 2000). Thus, the idea of agency does not necessarily bring a form of freedom, but a new form of monitoring, no longer coming from external authorities, but from within (Giddens, 2002). It is considered here that the idea of a more individualized society in which the center of social organization would be the agency does not mean the extinction of a social being (Bynner, 2005). The culture of individualism is understood as a social process that involves several spheres (economy, politics, education, and family) and that has become the responsibility of individuals. The deepening of individualistic practice focuses on the self-esteem of the individual in internal control, with life being a continuous journey in search of personality and individual pleasure.

Social changes in recent years have reduced standardization and regulation, making human agency more individual-centred.

Bauman, when portraying contemporary societies in the West, inaugurates the metaphor of liquid society to characterize a society that is increasingly fragile, ephemeral, and unstable. (Bauman, 2001; Basílio, 2007). The reality pointed out by Bauman is mainly related to the following elements: weakening of social institutions (which were the locus of regulation of individuals' actions); transformation of relationships between individuals, increasingly elusive and superficial. The end of the possibility of long-term projects and the weakening of institutions makes the reality uncertain. Thus, life projects and life itself are thought of in the short term. Furthermore, with the growing process of individualization of dilemmas that were mainly social issues (e.g., social inequality, unemployment, discrimination, etc.), reality and relationships become more fragmented. All these elements affirm an increasingly uncertain, fleeting, indefinite reality. Bauman shows us the level of uncertainty not only on the material level, but also on the subjective and existential level. The insecurity of our society would come from the weakening of human relationships, the liquidity of these relationships being a symptom of an unstable and unpredictable society (Basílio, 2007).

Elliot and Lemet (2006) reflect on the process of individualization and the impact of this process on the agency of individuals, pointing out some characteristics: in the face of an accelerated society, marketed by uncertainty and contingencies, individuals must be in constant reinvention to be able to adapt to the constant changes in the social environment. Thus, individuals are required to be malleable and able to deal with change. The constant contingency was posited based on the idea of personal experimentation, self-regulation, and self-undertaking. In addition, the authors reinforce that in the current context, time is experienced at a different, more accelerated speed. In view of this, individuals would regulate themselves based on a new speed of social processes, making them always predisposed to deal with continuous change. Lived experiences are allocated to unpredictability (Leccardi, 2020) and make short-term experiences (at work, in social, intimate relationships, etc.) desirable. The need and desire for constant reinvention of the self makes individuals live their biographies always in the short term, where plans and projections for the distant future are undermined (Leccardi, 2020).

In fact, what these authors advocate at the end of the 20th century is the realization of an uncertain world strongly linked to the contemporary crisis scenario. The rapid changes that have taken place in the economic sphere since the successive economic crises; changes in the labor market in which the neoliberal logic increasingly demanding a fragmented and flexible individual, capable of dealing with the lack of continuity; the advancement of intermittent work and the extinction of many other work positions in the face of the development of technologies are some of the examples of life configurations and increasingly temporary and unstable jobs (O'Connor, 2015).

In addition to the dynamics of the market and the economy having been transformed, the State no longer guarantees the same social security as in the past: the legislative changes for privatization in relation to health, housing assistance and retirement are examples of this. It is also worth mentioning something already mentioned by Beck about climate change and the succession of climatic disasters that point to an increasingly fragile future. The already present climate change has not only questioned the future of humanity as a whole but has become a reality in the life course of the most vulnerable peoples.

Unpredictability is also linked to a different important element, which is the acceleration of time or at least the way we live time socially. The process of western modernization has affected the structures and time horizons of western societies, a process that Rosa (2013) calls social acceleration. The acceleration arising from new technologies, the information society, and the development of contemporary capitalism produce our subjectivities, which in turn create new social actors (Rosa, 2013; Aderaldo et al, 2020). In addition, the speed of social transformations directly impacts the feeling of certainty, since the recurring flow of new situations in different spheres makes it impossible to carry out, for example, long-term projects: building a career, or organizing a financial life are many sometimes suspended in a context in which the speed of social dynamics demands greater versatility from individuals.

Thus, a further element appears in the scenario of uncertainty, which is the relationship between individuals and the future. The future is intrinsically connected with the degree of stability or predictability found in cultural and social environments (Rosa, 2013). If we live in a society that intensifies the feeling of risk and instability, which increases the speed of social changes, the look towards the future will also be influenced. In contemporary western societies, temporality was built from a linearity and the future loses its character of becoming and starts to be seen as open and, therefore, uncertain (Rosa, 2013). The ability to plan and idealize/carry out a life project is compromised in a context where uncertainty, the unpredictable and the contingent cannot be controlled (Leccardi, 2015).

The acceleration of social transformations and the intensification of precarious conditions for maintaining life, obtaining employment, and carrying out life projects generate a feeling of uncertainty and contingency for many people. These feelings can generate inconsistencies between traditional expectations and impossibilities to meet life projects or can also generate new ways of dealing with a constantly changing context. Given the context advocated by several authors at the end of the last millennium, studies on youth and life course will also question how this context of uncertainty can change the course of young people's lives (du Bois-Reymond, 2009). According to du Bois-Reymond (2009: 31), "living in contemporary risk societies intensifies feelings of contingency, feelings of never being sure whether personal decisions will take the individual where he wants to go". In this scenario, the main vector of connection between the uncertain course of life and the moment in which one lives is based on individual agency.

In addition to the realization of an uncertain, contingent, and risky life, the recent experience of a Pandemic brought us very close to the theories formulated at the end of the 20th century. A lot can already be said after almost two years immersed in a pandemic life: the change in habits due to restrictive measures, the economic crisis resulting from the decrease in economic activities and the traffic of people and goods; the social crisis coming with the deaths and the exhaustion of health systems around the world; increased surveillance, control and tightening of real and symbolic borders; the political issues surrounding the Pandemic narrative, the issue of vaccination and its democratization and/or denial; the increase in poverty, unemployment and precariousness, especially in less developed countries and among the most vulnerable people in societies. It can be said that the COVID-19 Pandemic arises by updating the senses of risk, fear, surveillance, and uncertainty. It is important to note that this research was carried out during the COVID-19 Pandemic and understanding the impacts of this event on the lives of individuals will also have space in the discussion of this thesis.

2.2. Transitions to adulthood in a changing world

Looking back a little, it is possible to understand why today most studies dealing with youth and life course question the idea of transitions to adulthood, also questioning the concepts of adulthood and youth. When we look deeper into studies within the life course approach, the conceptual development that associates age, life stages and life transitions was already present since the 1970s. In those years (Elder and Giele, 2009), studies were carried out that traced a relationship between age and social order, showing that people's experiences are shaped by age cohorts. These studies already point to the understanding of the relationship between social order, life trajectory and time, with individual age being the element used to consider people's life transitions. According to this theoretical perspective, "age expectations define appropriate times for major life events and transitions when passing through the age structure, individuals are made aware of being precocious, or punctual or delayed in their role" (Elder, 1975, p.175). It became evident from the 1970s that becoming an adult would be related to the achievement of a series of events (Billari and LiefBroer, 2010).

Until the end of the 1980s, studies focused on analyzing the transitions were largely interested in providing data for possible public policies aimed at young people. Both in life course studies and in youth studies, there is evidence of a standardization of the life course based on the relationship between stages and age, in which becoming an adult would be related to transitions to a certain phase at specific moments in life. Thus, the beginning of studies aimed at youth sought to understand, in general, how individuals transitioned to adulthood, generally focusing on a normative and institutionalized perception of youth. The moment of leaving school, the entry into the job market, together with the formation of a family that also went through marriage, were considered some transitional milestones (Modell, Furstenberg and Hershberg, 1976). The analysis of more normative approaches to the life course started from

the institutionalization process of the life course in which transitional patterns and social roles are defined as "normal" based mainly on age and gender (Shanahan, 2000).

Many policies and laws will be based on the principles mentioned above trying to deal with "deviations" or the idea of people being "out of time". These more standardized approaches took different directions from the 1990s onwards due to the flow of social transformations that took place at that time and focused on two different perspectives (Goodwin and O'Connor, 2009). From this decade on, institutional and contextual factors became part of the explanation of the variety of markers of transition to adulthood between societies (Shanahan, 2000), consolidating studies that focused on markers of transition to adulthood as a social construction. These markers (leaving school, starting a full-time job, leaving home, getting married, having a child for the first time[5]) (Modell, Furstenberg and Hershberg, 1976); Shanahan, 2000; Schoon and Mortimer, 2017) started to be relativized in view of the variability in the way these transitions were lived. (Shanahan, 2000). For example, in Germany, studies have been carried out with an emphasis on the process of individualization during modern life (Settersten, 2002; Heinz and Kruger, 2001). Thus, studies on the life course of young people have come to understand that the transition to adulthood is beyond the arrival in the world of work, affirming, therefore, the need to understand the complexity of the transitions of young people to adult life (MacDonald et al., 2001). A new element that changed the understanding of studies on the life trajectory of young people are the concepts that began to question the meaning associated with youth.

When Bourdieu (1983) defines youth as a contextual and historical product of a society, he brings another way of looking at youth beyond an identity positioned in time. The author questions age, class, and gender markers to show that these classifications impose limits on individuals agency and possibilities. The positioning of individuals in the social structure based on these elements becomes relevant to understand later studies on youth and the relationship between age and life stages (Bourdieu, 1983). Youth and old age would be social constructions in which the way of life of these two groups would be marked by their sociocultural context, by class issues, class fractions and social distinction. Thus, people of the same age could be experiencing different social "phases": young people from less favored classes would already be inserted in the job market and in marriage relationships before many young people from wealthy classes who were in the process of university education and navigation through alternative paths other than work and marriage.

In addition to this situated perception of the concepts of youth, placing it as an empty concept that is filled by the social, within the general sociological theory, studies of the life trajectory of youth were also influenced by authors who sought to interpret the moments experienced since the 1990s. 1980. As said earlier, many authors (Beck, 1992; Beck-Gernsheim, 2002; Boltanski and Chiapello, 1990; Sennet, 1998; Rosa, 2003, 2013) interpreted a society that, through modernity and industrialization, makes individuals experience constant risk.

The advance of flexible capitalism and neoliberal policies bring changes in economic relations, labour relations and social protection, developing transformations in people's lives.

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[5] It is worth mentioning that the milestones for adult life were first formulated by the authors John Modell, Frank Furstenberg and Theodore Hershberg (1976), who associate these milestones with a condition of autonomy and individuality of individuals to the detriment of a situation of dependence on the family of origin. (Stanger-Ross, Collins and Stern, 2005).

The intensification of neoliberalism and the end of the welfare state, the extension of studies in the face of an increasingly competitive and precarious job market, the increase in intermittent jobs, the decrease in average incomes, the weakening of the family as an institution, the end of the welfare state and changes in policies for work, health, retirement, (Spanò and Domecka, 2021) bring new dynamics in modern western society and new sociological interpretations.

In addition, the changes that have taken place in society since the turn of the century, and later with the 2008 economic crisis, have altered economic, social, political, and geopolitical configurations. In this new social dynamic, the subject is fragmented and must adhere less to formalities and norms, being able to deal with sudden and unpredictable changes, in addition to being willing to take permanent risks. (Sennet, 1998; Boltanski and Chiapello, 2009). The contemporary world marked by the acceleration of society social changes are occurring more and more frequently, and the pace of life is also affected by this acceleration. Economic (sequential crisis, changes in economic models) and technological (new devices, new forms of communication, easy, fast, and controlled informational tools) phenomena are constantly changing, increasing the speed with which we live the moments of life (Rosa, 2013).

All these analyses, as they will serve as inspiration for future research on the life trajectory in relation to youth. The themes of risk, flexibility, individualization, and uncertainty found in the sociological theories mentioned above will serve for the construction of studies in the life course related to youth. More specifically, in relation to youth and the life course, three main themes emerged in an interconnected way. As stated by Furlong (2009), the context in which the youth of the last 30 years has developed is marked by social changes in the structural and individual spheres. These social changes are inserted in a specific context of social dynamics of acceleration, deregulation, and precariousness (Leccardi, 2015; Rosa, 2013). This transformation in the way of living or feeling time and social change (Leccardi, 2015; Rosa, 2013) will provoke changes in the way young people construct their biographies.

Studies that deal with the course of life begin to observe the extent to which the changes that have taken place in the social world impact the lives of young people and their transitions to adulthood. What has been seen in the last three decades in youth studies is the denial or affirmation that the way of experiencing youth and the way of transitioning to adult life has changed, which has led to questioning the concepts used in the analysis of youth. life course and approaches that use transitional milestones to adulthood as a conceptual framework.

In studies that support the idea of change in transitions it is stated that the association between age and transitions begins to lose its normative force in the face of the inability of many individuals to follow the social expectations. The way they were experiencing the spheres of education, employment, family, parenting changed, causing transformations in the very concepts of youth and adulthood. In fact, and as pointed out (Andres and Adamuti-Trache, 2008), several European sociologists launch their research towards a perspective of a more individualized, less linear, and reversible view in the construction of biographies. The main point of discussion among the authors is how the life course has become less and less standardized and more and more individualized (Shanahan, 2000; Goodwin and O'Connor, 2009; Heinz and Kruger, 2001, 2009; Settersten, 2002; Billari and Liefbroer, 2010; Nico, 2011, 2014; HardGrove et al., 2014 Walther 2006). The studies mainly try to deal with the continuities and discontinuities in the life course of young people in the spheres of education, work, family and affective relationships, marriage, housing (Shanahan, 2000; Heinz and Kruger, 2001;

Bynner, 2005; Leccardi, 2008; Heinz, 2009; Nico, 2011; Nico, 2014; Severson, 2020). It can be said that the main studies on youth and its transitions point out some main characteristics in the condition of being young and being an adult in contemporary western societies: extension of the youth phase, resignification of the idea of adult life, diversification and non-linearity in the paths travelled in the face of greater individualization and agency, intensified feeling of risk and uncertainty.

Some authors argue that the new context of individualization transforms the way young people experience their life path and their transitions to adulthood (Arnett, 2000; Cuzzocrea, 2020), towards the construction of increasingly self-centred and hedonistic biographies. The studies developed from this idea point to the growing process of individualization in western industrial societies that, in the face of the weakening of institutions drive the construction of less uniform and more individualized biographies. Other studies (Leccardi, 2015; Cuzzocrea 2020,) question the risks arising from an increasingly uncertain and precarious society for young people, compromising their biographical construction. The diversification of the life course would come from a greater context of uncertainty and instability, which would generate new ways of living and planning. These studies argue that although many young people today have greater freedom in their professional and educational paths, this reality is not applicable to everyone, considering the social position of individuals in society. These studies tried to prove the idea that in our contemporary society the economic, political, and social systems decrease the linearity of the course of life, making it increasingly influenced by uncertain, contingent, and ephemeral perspectives. The studies developed on this topic focused on the analysis of evidence that affirmed the individualization of adult life from the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century. The new social and historical moment created different possibilities and restrictions in relation to life goals (getting married, having a home, entering the job market, first job, etc.), with this new context creating new actors, new needs and new paths chosen. individuals to reach adulthood.

One of the first concepts that emerged to explain the transformations that occurred in the transitions of young people to adulthood is that of "emerging adulthood" (Arnett, 2000) which would refer to a new period for young people aged between 18 and 25 who, in the face of demographic and social changes, have a differentiated constitution of subjectivity and identity (Arnett, 2000). Emerging adulthood is a time when young people have certain privileges of adult life - independence, legal rights (being able to consume alcohol, vote, drive), being able to live without their parents - without, however, having too many responsibilities or still financially dependent on their parents (Markstrom, Mathew and Amick, 2015). The use of this concept in Arnett's theory (2000) sought to create a new phase of life that would be one between adolescence and adulthood (Brandão, Saraiva and Matos, 2012). This concept also intended to refer to the greater possibility that young people would have to explore paths in life both in relation to educational and occupational training, as well as in relation to affective spheres, and future projections (Andrade, 2020; Brandão, Saraiva and Matos, 2012), in the context of crisis of institutions and social expectations.

The "transitions out of time", an idea pointed out by Heinz and Kruger (2001), points precisely to the change in the rhythms of life – mainly the prolongation of certain phases – in the face of the rapid social transformations underway. Settersten (2002) on the other hand points to greater complexity, diversity, and flexibility in understanding and developing the stages of life. For the author, individuals can be guided by age markers, but making them not completely

normative and inflexible (Settersten, 2002), but based on more personal timelines. The social changes that have taken place in recent years have reduced the standardization and regulation of transitions and phases of life. Here, the theory of individualization is the basis for the author's explanation, that realizes that the orientation of the life course is based on increasingly individualized calendars and schedules (Settersten, 2002). The author, who is based on age-related stages of life, shows how individuals deepen the individualistic practice, in which acting from oneself has become an important skill in carrying out the stages of life (Settersten, 2002). In addition, the author shows that the biographical construction, each more individualized and self-centred, has as its principle value the development of self-esteem and internal control in which the course of life becomes a continuous search for identity construction and individual pleasure.

Billari and Liefbroer (2010) also pointed out the same trend of change in transitions to adulthood from the analysis of quantitative data in Europe. Based on a methodology focused on the time of events and on the moment of transition events, the authors concluded that there was a greater individualization of the course of life, as the data showed greater autonomy, generating new patterns of behaviour. Thus, the assessment that the transition to adulthood involves a series of events is questioned based on approaches in which biographies would no longer be standardized and institutionalized. Drawing on the typical life course history of the 1950s and 1960s, the authors characterize the transition to adulthood as "early, contracted, and simple" (Billari and Liefbroer, 2010). That is, previously, the transition to adulthood happened objectively and almost successively, a process different from what has been happening culturally and socially in contemporary Europe. The increase in secularization and the idea of self-realization, typical of the development of modern capitalist society, together with political and economic transformations, appear as elements that transform the individual's transitions to more individualized paths (Billari and Liefbroer, 2010). The State guided by social democracy is based on the individual, which causes behavioral changes. Furthermore, the advance of neoliberal measures in various spheres of life is strengthened and creates a new specific modus operandi and subjectivity.

Starting from a perspective that considers the contextuality of meanings related to adult life, Leccardi (2018) reminds us that the representation of youth has changed, also changing the standardization of the stages from youth to adulthood. Currently, the structuring of the life trajectory of young people, no longer marked by traditional frame, goes through a constant recognition and reconstruction of meanings from possible actions over time and in social contexts (Leccardi, Cuzzocrea and Bello, 2008; Blatterer, 2007). The control of life is no longer carried out based on long-term life plans, considering the uncertainties, frustrations, and possibilities that the future may bring with it. The new way of living time, the acceleration of events, the unpredictability, and the possibility or not of controlling what happens in the present and what will happen in the future directly influences the construction of young people's lives. The acceleration of the social changes the biographical construction of young people, making the biographical structuring indeterminate and fragmented (Leccardi, 2015).

Another important contribution to the discussion on uncertainty and the life course of young people is the analysis of the metaphors of the youth life course (Cuzzocrea (2020; Benasso and Magaraggia, 2019, Biggart and Walther, 2005; Furlong and Kelly, 2005) The

reflections agree on the observation that, since the first metaphor of the train[6] (Furlong and Cartmel, 2007) youth metaphors gradually indicate an idea of intensified, accelerated, and diffuse movement. As Furlong and Cartmel (2007) point out, young people would be experiencing increasingly individualized life trajectories in which the possibilities of choice but also of errors are greater (Benasso and Magaraggia, 2019). Thus, the idea of mobility in the metaphors about youth starts to emphasize the greater variety/freedom of paths to be chosen, leaving aside the social stratification that accompanies the lives of young people. Magaraggia and Benasso (2019) propose the metaphor of the sharing, car to elucidate how today young people carry out their increasingly non-standard and individualized transitions, but at the same time shared with other peers. Example of work transitions - new work relationships such as co-working - and residence transitions - sharing an apartment, co-living with friends - would prove that despite the diversification and individualization of transitions, young people at the same time. Example of transitional experiences at work - new work relationships such as co-working - and at home - sharing an apartment, living with friends would prove that despite the diversification and individualization of transitions, young people experience this together. More than a simple sharing of means – explain the authors – this metaphor also elucidates young people's life experiences and values that are related to collective accountability practices – such as sustainability values and ethical consumption (Benasso and Magaraggia, 2019).

Other metaphors, such as those proposed by Tejerina (2019), try not only to deal with the sense of movement and diversification, but also of precariousness. Tejerina proposes a series of metaphors ('being on the tightrope', 'stressed like crazy', on 'standby', 'taking a step backwords' and 'I want to be normal') to deal with the condition of precariousness and with feelings of uncertainty and anxiety on the part of young people in Spain .Considering similar perspective Cuzzocrea proposes the metaphor of "pinball" (the arcade game) to characterize the uncertain experience of youth (Cuzzocrea, 2020). The idea of rapid mobility, risk, uncertainty in the paths that will be taken and continuous interruptions (stop, continue, and start process), characteristic elements of the pinball game, also represent the lives of young people. The conditions of employability (which are ephemeral and inconstant) and the conditions of organization of the future, in which young people need to move in different directions, would be other characteristics contemplated by metaphorical pinball. Furthermore, the game also highlights the lack of agency that many young people experience in controlling their ways. In addition, the individualistic character is also emphasized in the metaphor, because, like the game, individuals trace their path in a solitary way (Cuzzocrea, 2020).

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[6] Furlong and Cartmel (2007 [1997]) marked youth studies by bringing, among other things, the metaphor of the train as a way of explaining what the transitions of young people were like until then. Marked by linearity and predictability, the trajectories of young people would resemble the journey of a train in which date and destination, for example, are previously recognized (Cuzzocrea, 2020).

When talking about changes in patterns of transition and life course Shanahan (2000) focuses more precisely on the relationship between development of modernity and life course. The author argues that variability during life is not exclusively attributed to the specific contemporary moment. In fact, the transformations in the transition processes to adulthood are related to the advance of modernity. The variability of trajectory for adult roles over time is interpreted by Shanahan (2000) as the construction of variability, making this the individuation and variability in life paths are processes inherent to the modern project. Thus, time and transition markers have changed throughout Western history and modernity (Shanahan, 2000). The attention given to structural causes in the transformations of modes of construction of biographies is also pointed out by the author. "Economic fluctuations" (Shanahan, 2000) and historical events have altered the transitions of young people's lives since the beginning of the 20th century. The economic fluctuations that occurred in the USA and in European countries (for example, the great depression) would have provided, for example, "delays in paternity" (Shanahan, 2000, p.672). As well as changes in the economy, historical events changed the transitions of adult life: the Second World War was mainly carried out by young people, which caused changes in the family, marriage, and the work environment. When talking about the individualization process from the 1980s onwards, the author affirms in the specificity of the historical and social context of acceleration of social processes, of the individualization of life course transitions (Shanahan, 2000).

2.3. Beyond individualities: repercussion of social markers

Attentive to the development of individuality in the construction of increasingly less linear and standardized biographies, studies point to the negative repercussions of these processes (Brannen and Nilsen, 2002; MacDonald, 2008; Worth, 2009; Alm, 2011; Carabelli and Lyon, 2016; Severson and Collins, 2020; Lopez-Andreu and Verd, 2020; van Lanen, 2021). From the perspective of de-standardization, young adults are now forced to plan their lives based on autonomy and individuality. Given the insecurity caused by the economic crisis, privatization of public services and job unpredictability, studies on youth and life trajectory will also question how this context brings a scenario of uncertainty, unpredictability, and risk in the lives of young people (du Bois-Reymond, 2009). Consequently, studies will question the extent to which individuals are experiencing a condition of uncertainty and unpredictability in relation to the present and a planned future.

Du Bois-Reymond (2009), for example, criticizes the idea of greater autonomy for young people in navigating the paths of life. Thus, it is not that the future of young people is more open and freer as some authors wish to defend, but when compared to past generations, the future becomes less predictable in the face of changes in the circumstances of social life that are rapidly and constantly changing (du Bois- Reymond, 2009). Du Bois-Reymond (2009) points to a greater differentiation and individualization in the life course of young people needs to be analysed by observing how greater individual responsibility in the construction of life paths can direct young people to experience a contingent life course.

Schoon and Mortimer (2017), for example, evaluated the impact of the 2008 economic crisis on the lives of several young people. From the economic transformation, it was verified that young people, mainly between 18 and 25 years old, face several problems related to the insertion in the labour market, the considerable increase of young people in unemployment, the

decrease of salaries, and the increase considerable in temporary contracts (Schoon and Mortimer, 2017; Cuzzocrea, 2020). These transformations will affect not only the economic sphere, but also the family, social and well-being (Schoon and Mortimer, 2017; Cuzzocrea, 2020). The values in this process change in the authors' observation that, according to the data, there was a decrease in trust in social institutions, generating actions of greater support among the young people themselves.

Furthermore, if part of the literature points to the loss of linearity and age-related social norms, another part (Pisati, 2002; Nico, 2014; Severson and Collins, 2020; Berngruber and Bethmann, 2022) points to nuances in this interpretation. Thus, for example, studies show that individuals continue to perform and idealize transitional milestones, despite making certain transitions later (Severson and Collins, 2020). Other studies will question the very meaning given to transition concepts in view of the very variability of transitional milestones and ways of living these transitions within the Western context and within the European context. Pisati (2002) when studying the Italian context, for example, demonstrates that the idea of making transitional models more flexible appears unfounded when looking at the collective data of young people in Italy. However, and as the author points out, what he visualized was that the transitional sequences considered typical in literature (school to work, leaving home, getting married and having a child) did have changes in which young people start to have, for example, experiences of work before the educational training and start to have experiences of cohabitation with partners before marriage (Pisati, 2002).

Recently Berngruber and Bethmann (2022) by comparatively analysing different countries and the issue of youth transitions, show that the transitional milestones and the way to carry them out in Europe vary to the point of making it impossible to generalize a transitional pattern for the whole of Europe. Therefore, and according to the authors, talking about destandardization processes would not make sense in the absence of consistent standards. Following the arguments of the authors, the idea of non-standardization must be questioned because, according to their analysis, non-standardization in transitions does not happen in a generalized way to all and in all transitional domains (work, education, residence, marriage, and parenting) (Berngruber and Bethmann, 2022).

In this sense, it is important to emphasize that there were studies that position themselves differently in relation to the perception of changes in the transitions in the life course of young people. I highlight here the studies of Goodwin and O'Connor (2009) and Nico (2011; 2014), Schizzerotto (2002) and Trivellato et al., (2011). These studies seek to show that, despite changes related to the course of life, many young people still plan their lives based on traditional perceptions of the stages of construction of adulthood. The main idea of this type of argument is that despite the "delay" in the duration of internships, young people continue to plan their life path from "traditional" perspectives. These studies start from a more holistic view of the life course, in which life goals are not necessarily aligned with the specific age group. The authors have criticized the idea that transitions to adulthood are de-standardized due to the advance of a possible "late modernity" (Goodwin and O'Connor; 2009; Nico, 2014).

Goodwin and O'Connor (2009) criticize studies that limit themselves to focusing on the idea of distinction between young people and previous generations to affirm the difference

between young people of today and young people of the past. The authors' criticism was directed at studies that consider today's youth as unique and distinct from the past, without considering the set of interconnections that exist between youth and other generations. By approaching the concept of generation as an important element in the analysis made about youth, the authors wanted to emphasize the importance of the concept of generation and how generations are not separated but interconnected. The complexity of modernity makes the transition to adulthood more complex. This would imply an involution in learning the norms of adult life and not necessarily a break with past generations and the way of life of the past.

Other authors will also point out a contradictory relationship between tradition and contemporaneity. In an analysis developed by Heinz (2009), he states that individual biographies today are often detached from previous patterns, but at the same time young people, adults, families, and institutions still use the standardized way of organizing the life course. as a reference for actions and expectations. The different age groups and what is expected to happen in them have changed, following other rhythms guided by society and subjective changes. The boundaries defined during life have become indistinct and diffuse (Heinz, 2009), given the uncertain and contingent world in which we live. More recently, Severson and Collins (2020) have analysed the transitions of young adults as they relate to their emancipation from the home. The author discussed lifelong passages and how they related to real expectations and possibilities of buying a home. For the author, the distance between expectations and what happens creates in young adults the feeling of being between two different processes. The authors call this the situation "between the scripts of life" and "*in-betweenness*" (Severson and Collins, 2020). The new transition to adulthood is marked by other experiences that impact subjectivity, and these do not become a lack of expectation from previous life course organization schemes. Even with the changes in the social structure, which allows other formats and passages for young people, they continue to internalize more traditional or previous ways of life.

Nico (2014) discusses the levels of variability in transitions to adulthood in Europe. The author also criticizes the idea of destandardization inspired by the concepts of individualization of society (Beck, 1992; Beck-Gernsheim, 2002). According to Nico (2014), the concept of destandardization of transitions is more used as a premise than as an empirical finding. Furthermore, the idea of individualization would be measured from qualitative research based on reflexivity and subjectivity, without it being possible to measure the social change that accompanies the individualization process. The author's criticism is made in relation to the use of destandardization as a concept for assuming that this process occurred in the same way, at the same pace and with the same intensity everywhere, regardless of social context or even geographical location. The author indicates a lack of concept precision and shows with a quantitative analysis how the de-standardization process is not a reality in Europe. The analysis that try to confirm standardization by looking only the moment of transitions are, according to Nico (2014), insufficient to prove a destandardization process. Based on a holistic perspective of the life course (the focus is placed on the trajectory and not the timing of events), she highlights that transitions to adulthood can occur. As Silva (2012) and Severson and Collins (2020) point out, young people are not totally separated from past generations and can often

receive more traditional models still rooted in our culture within increasingly uncertain and flexible social structures. These and other studies point to the need for an in-depth look at young people's experiences considering current changes and their impact on young people's lives.

It is necessary to precisely recognize the diversity of the life course of young people within a social and historical context (McDonald et al, 2001; Bynner, 2005). As pointed out by Elder et al. (2002), life transition expectations, in relation to age, are built in the social context in which they live. Consequently, it is important to understand how these expectations can vary, for example, according to social classes, location, or according to different ethnic groups. An important element that appeared in these studies was the understanding that greater flexibility in the life course and variety in transitions must be understood in view of the differences between socioeconomic and cultural issues. For example, youth and life course studies that aim to prove the existence of an "emerging adulthood" (Arnett, 2000; Heinz and Kruger, 2001, 2009; Bynner, 2005) are questioned for not emphasizing how structural elements caused differences in life trajectory of young people.

2.4. Class, Gender, and Ethnic-Racial identity

As we saw in the previous paragraphs, to talk about the construction of young people's lives, the different areas of inequality and the different manifestations of discrimination and prejudice must be taken into account. The observation of changes in the lives of individuals and in the transitional milestones makes us realize that there is a link between the individual level and the structural level, preventing us from resorting to simplistic explanations about the stages of young people's lives. When talking about inequalities, many studies tend to focus on just one moment of life, and from the studies of the life course it was possible to understand how social inequalities remain or are reproduced during life. However, as stated by Neale (2011), on the way to understand how young people live today, it is necessary to understand the intersection between personal factors – biography, personal relationships, personality – together with the social context – culture, historical context, socioeconomic, political, gender, race, etc. Consequently, it is important to understand how the life trajectory of young people in the current context can also vary, according to important structural elements such as class, gender, race, and ethnicity.

Starting from class, classical and contemporary studies already seek to understand the role of social class in people's life opportunities and actions. From relational understanding between structure and action Bourdieu (2004) developed a perception of social class that goes beyond the economic character to everyday practices, preferences, and subjectivities. Bourdieu, against an economistic reductionism, seeks to understand the cultural, symbolic, and cognitive aspects of the exercise and reproduction of class[7] privilege and power. According to Bourdieu,

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[7] In his theory agents (individuals) are distributed in the social space according to the global volume of capital (economic and cultural) in the first dimension and in the second dimension based on the structure of their capital, that is, based on the different weight of the two types of capital. in the overall volume. The individual's social position in society - financial capital, cultural capital, tastes and dispositions, social capital, personal relationships - will be fundamental to understanding the individual's place in society, as well as to understanding how this individual acts and the scope of these actions in society. The social space, when constructed, has material and symbolic distinctions, which are based on the agency of individuals who provide the reproduction of differences within society. The social position in the social space of the characters demonstrate, for example, expectations about different professions, or about different horizons and possibilities. This type of approach becomes interesting

class would be a social space in which people occupy the social field. Bourdieu, who is against economistic reductionism, seeks to understand the cultural, symbolic, and cognitive aspects of the exercise and reproduction of class privilege and power. The social space, when constructed, has material and symbolic distinctions, which are based on the agency of individuals who provide the reproduction of differences within society. This social space and the way people act within it will depend on their social, cultural, and economic capital. Based on Bourdieu's studies (1983; 2004; 2007), the reproduction of actions, that is, the habitus, functions as structures that, in addition to structuring individuals, are structured and perpetuated by them. The markers of social difference and inequality are not only related to the economic issue per se, but to a series of other elements that the individual's social position enables or restricts: the lifestyle, expectations regarding the professional or educational future are placed as a set of practices and preferences that expose the differences between classes. Bourdieu, also shows the role of parental inheritance (cultural, social and economic capital) in the positions of individuals, in the habitus of individuals and expectations: as put in the life course approach, that the life of an individual is connected with the lives of others, the social and cultural capital inherited from their parents will also reflect on the life trajectories of young people in their choices, possibilities and in what they project and desire. As Worth (2009) points out, the power of the concept of social capital in youth studies consists of the possibility of, for example, understanding the dynamics of social exclusion in which the agency of individuals is limited by the resources available to them.

Also in life course and transition filed, what the studies point out is that for those with a lack of knowledge and resources (Furstenberg, 2008; Furlong et al, 2011; Silva, 2013; Schoon and Bynner, 2019) the trajectories of life are more uncertain and precarious. The resources available to young people to walk through various paths and transitions in education, work, financial autonomy, and other spheres of life will be developed throughout life, with class status being invaluable in this process. As pointed out by Furstenberg, (2008) in the life course of young people, there is an accumulation of advantages or disadvantages that start from birth to adulthood. Since birth, there are differences in the trajectories of children from a low-income family to a high-income family: the type of housing, food, available economic resources; after that, the trajectories of education, type of school and educational background; the possibility of participating and having extra-curricular experiences and training (language courses, trips, excursions); in addition, many young people from low-income families begin their work experiences in adolescence, unlike many young people from the middle and upper classes; school trajectories and destinies after that when some young people start and finish their university education, while others do not start university education and if they do start they must do it with a job (Furstenberg, 2008). These are some of the examples that we can cite that have a class component and that can influence the lives of young people. Even though there is an expansion of higher education today to several classes other than the middle class, the subjective and structural variations that exist in this expansion of education can also vary from the fractions of classes and subjectivities created in these classes (Furlong et al, 2011).

The idea of becoming adult carries with it a series of norms that are not only related to the passage of time and social class, but also to cultural norms associated with the social roles

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for this research because it tries to show that the set of social positions and the types of capital accumulated by the social subject influence their dispositions/choices and their biographies.

of gender in societies. Leaving home, getting married, having children, and starting a family, for example, were considered until the 80's important milestones for adult life throughout life course studies. Today, these milestones are seen critically, for realizing that becoming an adult is also related to social expectations of sex and gender, expectations that are based on social models. What can be seen today is that social dynamics regarding gender and sexuality issues have undergone radical changes in the last 60 years, causing gender roles and the way of living sexuality to have changed in European society.

The greater independence of women with the advancement of this group in the job market, the radical changes in interpersonal relationships, the "delay" or non-desire of motherhood, and the changes in gender roles are some of the changes that have taken place that question the definitions of adult life. Studies on gender relations show, for example, that the culture of individualism also influences gender identities, which are now lived in a more self-reflective way. In addition, the transformations of transitions to adulthood are strongly related to changes in family models and gender identities (Machado, 2001; Tanturri and Mancarini, 2008; Mauceri and Valentini, 2011; Magaraggia, 2012; Bottinelli, 2016; Bozzon, 2021). If before, some of the traditional milestones of adult life would be getting married and having children, what we see today is that the paths lived by many people vary in relation to these experiences.

While it is possible to observe changes in gender relations and gender identities, other studies point to the permanence of gendered inequalities and sexism, stressing the obstacles women face on a daily basis. The idea of a "stagnant revolution" (Hochshield, 1989; Gerson, 2010,2015) in which, although women have occupied spaces that were once exclusive to men, men, in turn, did not leave their positions of leadership and power. Although opportunities have been expanded for women in the most varied spheres of life, the dynamics of reconciling parenthood and work, for example, persists in penalizing women. Gerson (2010) talks about the "stalled revolution", which would be an uneven gender revolution in which, although women have entered the job market, they are unable to reconcile the long hours of work with the long hours of caring for their children. As a result, women end up giving up their professional careers to take care of their children and family (Gerson, 2010, 2015; Hochschild 1989). As the author points out, despite changes at the cultural level, economic and social forces end up strengthening the position of women unequally. Regardless of the changes, it is possible to see the persistence of social inequality: motherhood and domestic work (unpaid work), for example, are still experienced differently between men and women.

From an intersectional perspective (Crenshaw, 1989), it should be considered that within all this complexity, only a group of women felt the transformations related to the gender issue more broadly. Class, gender, and race systems simultaneously create matrices of inequality that are different for black and white women (Crenshaw, 1989). As bell Hooks (1982) and Angela Davis (1981) point out, talking about the transformations that led women to the labour market is to leave aside a group of women, mainly black and from the lower class who have always been part of the workforce and who have always they were in the most underprivileged places in society.

It's important think and put in our analysis "how ideology and social institutions create as well as reproduce gender, race, and class inequality during the transition to adulthood" (Mahaffy, 2003: 2). There is interdependence between forms of power and maintenance of inequality that is anchored from class, race, gender (Mahaffy, 2003) and other identities in

society that overlap, connect, and create differentiations in society. As stated by Zinn and Dill (1996 in Mahaffy, 2003) depending on the interactions of class, gender, race and sexuality oppressions or opportunities will be created in people's lives. Looking at systems of oppression and including them in studies of transitions to adulthood helps us understand how the very meaning of adult life is influenced by these issues. In this way, it is interesting to think about how issues of race, class and gender, sexual orientation, nationality, religion, disability, define what it means to be an adult. More than that, it is interesting to think about how the meaning of being an adult adopted by institutions and public policies can ignore different experiences of class, disability, religion, gender, sexual and racial identity. Therefore, adopting an intersectional perspective, able to contemplate elements of oppression and inequality would help us understand how "current social policies incorporate gender, race, and class to create opportunities for some youth to achieve adulthood while denying others a chance to achieve normative definitions of adult status". (Mahaffy 2003: 4).

From life course studies, ethnic-racial identity has also been shown to be a strong differentiating element when we talk about life course trajectories. As Hardaway and McLoyd (2009) point out, historical discrimination against racialized people has historically increased social and economic disparities. As well as class and gender, ethnic-racial identity within transition studies proved to be a strong differentiating element in the way of entering the university, the job market, achieving financial autonomy, etc. Discrimination, for example, compromises job opportunities or creates situations of greater vulnerability in the work environment Hardaway and McLoyd (2009). Furthermore, in school trajectories, Black people report high levels of discrimination Hardaway and McLoyd (2009). All these factors prove to be important when thinking about the transitions of individuals.

Barr et al (2018) when bringing the relationship between racialized youths and connected lives - one of the principles of the life course approach - demonstrate that in the North American context, the marginalization and discrimination of young black people has repercussions not only on the lives of these young people, but also on the physical and subjective health of their parents. What studies indicate is that the precariousness of the path of young people influences not only their lives, but the lives of people around them. The US studies by Swisher, Kuhl and Chavez (2013) for example demonstrate how inequalities persist at different stages of life, especially in zones with groups of people of black and Hispanic origin. Studies show that living in disadvantaged neighborhoods is something that often lasts in the lives of these young people after their transitions to adulthood, even after returns related to educational paths. This is also pointed out by Bois-Reymond (2009) who, when addressing the loss of linearity in the life course, states that schooling (good or bad, prolonged, or not prolonged) between whites and blacks, between women and men will interfere in the level of diversity in people's lives. The "discontinuous biographies" (Heinz, 2009) will depend on social markers, and, in this specific case, attention is also given to the question of origin and the racial question.

Consequently, the structural elements of class, gender, origin, and institutional opportunities influence the processes of "navigation" (Heinz, 2009) of young people along different and alternative paths. The view that young people now have greater control and greater variety of choices in the process of reaching adulthood is partially misguided because the different timelines of identity formation that exist are influenced by social class, institutional arrangements for educational improvement and social care, and job opportunities. After all, from the restrictions and opportunities arising from social class, race, origin or gender, the

current context affects the life trajectory of young people in a particular way. Consequently, it is important to understand how the life trajectory of young people in the current context also may vary, according to social classes and other important structural elements such as gender, race, sexual orientation, religion. The lengthening of young people's study time makes them take longer to enter the job market (when compared to previous generations), postponing the moment of financial autonomy. Furthermore, the type of Italian education system (Pastore, Quintano and Rocca, 2020; Spanò and Domecka, 2021;) separated from the reality of the labour market, gives few opportunities for young people to develop skills related to the world of work.

2.5. Transitional milestones in the light of social transformations

In this part of the chapter, I focus on the main conclusions and discussions of contemporary youth transition studies that are generally situated in the Western context. As we will see below, this next session will focus on showing how the main transitional milestones such as: trajectories from school to work, parenthood, leaving the parents' home are being experienced by young people and discussed in the literature.

School to work trajectories

Facing the tradition of the milestone-based transitional approach to adulthood one of the major themes that have been discussed in recent decades in youth studies is how young people in transition to adulthood are entering the job market (Kerckhoff, 2003; MacDaniel and Kuehn, 2013; Silva, 2016; Furlong 2015; 2016; Cuervo, Crofts and Woodman, 2017; Schoon and Bynner, 2019). Studies that examine these trajectories show that the set of economic, technological, political, and social transformations brought changes in the way work is experienced. As Sennett (2009) points out, the new type of capitalism that begins to be designed in the 90s and takes shape in contemporary times is organized in a structure in which flexibility becomes its main mode of organization and development. Faced with a deregulated economy with little intervention by the State, the labour market also takes the same conformities: temporary contracts or work without a contract, deregulation of labour rights in relation to vacations, minimum wage and welfare measures. This phenomenon is also called flexibilization of the economy and the labour market: faced with fast-paced social changes, the market should therefore follow these trends and make work adaptable to the new and constant contexts that arise. Furthermore, work in the context of flexible accumulation also increases subcontracting, outsourcing and self-employment (Tittoni, Andreazza and Spohr, 2009). What we see today are new work relationships, in which conformations of work differ from a stable professional career, with good present and future provisions on the job (Witeeven, 2018).

The set of transformations in the economic field is accompanied by high-speed technological alterations. The development of new technologies within the labor market, which by transforming work settings has often made human work an appendix part of the process (Borges, 1996; De Cuyper, Havermans, Vandermeerschen, 2018). The advance of globalization

and the innovations of information technologies have revolutionized the labor market, changing its nature: today it is common to have jobs that require high qualifications and concomitantly with this, jobs that were previously low-skilled or unskilled also grow (example is the centrality in the service sector) (De Cuyper, Havermans, Vandermeerschen, 2018). What we are experiencing today in many parts of the world is a decline in full-time, an increase in temporary, part-time, and intermittent jobs and a flexible economy based mostly on services and no longer industrial (Marks, 2005: 364). As Castel (2005) points out, with the goal of increasing the productive force and reducing the cost of the workforce in flexible capitalism, precariousness, unemployment, and individualization are essential elements.

All these elements should not be summarized as being only characteristics of the contemporary conformations of work, but also as a mode of socialization and ideology. (Loustaunau et al., 2021). In addition to the objective dynamics of new conformations of the labour market the change in conduct, ideology, and subjectivity (Boltanski and Chiapello, 2009; Sennett, 2009; Tittoni, Andreazza and Spohr, 2009) that involve subjects in contemporary times are related to transformations of an economic order: the idea of the individual entrepreneur of yourself. Faced with a volatile economy, an uncertain and constantly changing market, individuals are required to have a capacity for flexibility, adaptability, and constant professional improvement (De Cuyper, Havermans, Vandermeerschen, 2018; van Lanen, 2021). The subjectivity of people is changed to conform to the dynamics of work, which must be managed in individuality, in which the person must have the ability to self-control, adapt, be autonomous and create their own opportunities in the labour market and at the workplace. That is, what we have seen in the last 30 years are practices of regulation, self-control, motivation, and entrepreneurship allocated in the labour market and in other spheres of life (Canditto, 2011; van Lanen, 2021). Another dimension examined in the relationship between subjectivity and work is to understand how the subjectivity of individuals is shaped by work relationships and how this modulation builds perceptions of themselves in the world. As Tittoni, Andreazza and Spohr (2009) point out, work often becomes the central part of individuals' lives, and is even the organizing principle in their lives.

With a specific focus on life course approach, authors who work with youth and transitions point out that the precariousness and crisis in the economy and in the labour, market affect young people in their trajectories. From the traditional model of transitions in the life course, entering the job market is seen as the main means of building autonomy and is therefore considered one of the milestones for the transition to adulthood (Broschinski et al, 2022). Also, according to Cuervo (2020) in the capitalist society, young people are seen as important subjects for economic reproduction, with the development of work skills and entry into the labour market directly associated with reaching adulthood.

However, what has been witnessed in the last three decades is that the journey of young people does not happen sequentially from school to work. Many young people continue their higher education; some have already started higher education while performing some type of work activity; and others, after a precarious entry into the job market, return to studies again (Silva, 2013; Witeeven, 2018). As the literature points out (Silva, 2013; Witeeven, 2018;

Furlong 2015; 2016; Broschinski et al., 2022), in the current context, the transition from educational training (especially higher education training) to the job market has become increasingly tortuous, uncertain, precarious, and impossible to achieve in the traditionally conceived way (Ferreira and Nunes, 2014; Rostan and Stan; 2017; Cuzzocrea 2018; France et al, 2021). The changes in the political and economic scenario of the last 30 years have therefore generated greater job insecurity in which employment becomes contingent (Furlong 2015; 2016; Loustaunau, 2021).

Together with an increasingly deregulated labour market, each country has its educational system, labour regulations, job protection policies, in addition to the cultural dynamics in which other institutions can play an important role in building these paths. (Hardgrove et al., 2015; Loustaunau, 2021; Broschinski et al., 2022). The context of precariousness and uncertainty in relation to work trajectories generates not only economic impacts, but also subjective impacts on family and interpersonal relationships (Batchelor et al, 2020). The precariousness in the work sphere generates a precariousness in temporality and in the way of living in different spheres of life: due to a temporally deregulated work, with irregular hours, young people may have difficulties managing the "private sphere", for example family and interpersonal relationships (Batchelor et al. al, 2020). Temporary "poverty" or irregular schedules between work time, study time and free time therefore harm the social life of young people. Precariousness in the world of work imposes a new way of living time, in relation to both working days and professional careers, blurs the division between working time and non-working time (Batchelor et al, 2020).

The diversification of paths through which young people today live their educational and work paths was also understood by the literature (Cook and Furstenberg, 2002; Kaya and Barmark, 2019) as a positive aspect. The decrease in linear trends that led young people to finish their educational training to enter directly into a stable job can be seen as something positive since this would indicate the possibilities for young people to navigate between different educational experiences and different work experiences. The greater possibility of navigating the world of work (Heinz, 2000; Silva, 2013) has become one of the main characteristics of young people in transition to adulthood. However, as Silva (2013) points out, this type of reading of reality does not consider many young people who do not have financial, temporal, subjective resources and who do not have class, race and gender privileges that allow multiple choices.

Residential patterns

Considered one of the greatest symbols of independence and autonomy by literature (Bertolini and Goglio, 2019; Bertolini et al, 2021; Mínguez, 2016; Stone, Berrington and Falkingham, 2014; Murray and Gayle, 2012; Andrade, 2010; Billari and Liefbroer, 2007), leaving the family home is also considered one of the key markers of the transition to adulthood. Leaving the household is commonly associated with taking on new responsibilities related to organizing their own finances, housework, and decisions related to consumption (Sassler, Ciambron and Benway 2008; Roberts, 2013). Sometimes, the dependency on parents that many young people

experience today can even be cumulative when we think about financial and housing dependency (Berrington and Falkingham, 2014).

The literature that studies this topic (Bertolini et al, 2021; Goglio and Bertolini, 2021; Bertolini and Goglio, 2019; Minguez, 2016; Stone, Berrington and Falkingham, 2014; Zorlu and Murder, 201 1; Andrade, 2010) points to changes in residency patterns, changes that are often related to changes in the fields of economy, demography[8], politics and culture (Murray and Gayle, 2012). As seen in other spheres of life (work, parenting, and marriage) residency transitions in the West have become increasingly diverse compared to past generations.

As Murray and Gayle (2012) point out, in many countries, mainly in northern Europe, young people experience leaving their parents' house to live alone or cohabit with colleagues and partners. Leaving home experiences are usually not associated with situations of marriage and family formation, as many of the young people initially leave home to study in another city. These changes are associated with the values attributed to the construction of independence and autonomy as opposed to institutional and family controls (Mínguez, 2016).

In contrast, the pattern that was especially found in southern European countries is the relative "delay" when compared to past decades (Bertolini et al, 2021; Bertolini and Goglio, 2019). Going against a trend in northern Europe, young people in southern Europe tend to stay with their family longer than before. These residential transition trends in the southern European context were also explained from the economic, political, and demographic circumstances. The extension of educational training, the precariousness of the labour market, the lack of effective public policies and the scarce resources available to young people in the cultural context would explain the pattern of late emancipation of young people (Bertolini et al, 2021; Mínguez, 2016). Even though many young people leave their parents' house to carry out their studies, it is also common for them to return when faced with the impossibility of finding a satisfactory job. Bertolini and Goglio (2019) emphasize that the way young people make the transition to residency is related to social class: according to the survey of studies carried out by the authors, young people from social lower social classes or young people living in areas of unemployment tend to stay longer in their parents' homes to avoid situations of greater precariousness and poverty. It is important to emphasize that the residential transition reduces the chances of receiving not only material support, but also emotional support. Thus, the support that may exist within the parents' home becomes a differential for young people in the construction of their work trajectories (Bertolini and Goglio, 2019). Also, as the authors state, if young people face difficulties in the world of work, they may feel less willing to assume responsibilities in another home. Difficulties in finding a job or simply the possibility of losing a temporary job can give a feeling of risk when it comes to choosing to live outside the family environment.

On the other hand, young people from higher social classes, since they have more support and have better economic and work prospects, end up leaving their parents' house more

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[8]Here I refer to the second demographic transition that took place in the Western context: decrease in marriages, increase in cohabitation without marriages, increases in residential experiences without a partner (Zorlu and Mulder, 2011).

often to live alone or without marriage. It is possible to affirm that, between leaving or staying at home, the socioeconomic characteristics of the young people and the family/parents play an essential role: the material, social and affective resources of the young person, as well as the material, social and affective resources of the family and the type of intergenerational support offered within the family (Stone, Berrington and Falkingham, 2014; Hochstenbach and Boterman, 2017) will impact residential conditions.

In addition to class and labour instability, another factor that is considered when talking about residential transitions is the question of real estate market configurations. In a context where housing costs are high or there is little housing availability (Mínguez, 2016; Clark, 2018; Severson and Collins, 2020) to rent or buy a house, staying in the parents' house can also be an option and even a necessity.

Additionally, the literature also points out a phenomenon to be considered that is the experience of leaving home and then returning - the boomerang movement. The boomerang phenomenon would be the process in which young people, after having left their parental home for some time, end up returning to their family home (Stone, Berrington and Falkingham, 2014; Arundel and Lennartz, 2017; Cooper and Luendo-Prado, 2018; Olofsson et. al., 2020). This process is usually associated with a time when young people, after finishing their university studies, find no place in the job market and due to financial issues, they return home. According to Cooper and Luendo-Prado (2018), the 2008 crisis would be associated with the movement to return to the parental home: in a scenario of general economic vulnerability, leaving higher education and not having a job or even the dissolution of a relationship (Olofsson et al, 2020) would cause homecoming. Therefore, what is placed in the boomerang experience is usually a situation of dependence on their parents (Olofsson et al. 2020). Furthermore, as pointed out by Sassler et al., (2008: 678) "cost and availability of alternative living arrangements, job opportunities, an ability to be financially independent, and conditions in the family home" are some of the factors that affect the return home.

Intimate relationships and parenthood

Considering that in this thesis, gender is understood as a relational concept in which socially constructed ways of being, living and acting are attributed, arbitrarily, to differences between those considered men and women in a society. It is the very identification of people as men and women that positions these identities and these individuals in situations of asymmetrical power (Murgia, 2006). Historically, the social construction of gender has pointed to a series of social roles, behaviours, life destinies and projects linked to different individuals in society. These gender roles are so ingrained in our society that, for example, the ideal type of transition to adulthood involved (and to some extent still does) heterosexual marriage, procreation, and family formation. These stages would be considered as the final stages to reach adult status. The attribution of certain social roles to women (such as mothers or housewives) (Murgia, 2006), as well as the demarcation of "right" or "wrong" moments to have a child, get

married, etc. life is strongly marked by gender issues. Considering that these representations of gender are culturally and historically constructed, we can say that these representations vary according to the society in which one lives, with the historical moment and with the social relations experienced in the life course.

Many studies (Machado, 2001; Tanturri and Mancarini, 2008; Mauceri and Valentini, 2011; Magaraggia, 2012; Bottinelli, 2016; Bozzon, 2021) portrayed changes in gender roles, love relationships, and parenting experiences pointing out possible causes to these processes. Studies in Western countries (Machado, 2001; Tanturri and Mancarini, 2008; Mauceri and Valentini, 2011; Magaraggia, 2012;2015; Bottinelli, 2016; Bozzon, 2021) show a decrease in marriages and births. Getting married and having a child has appeared as increasingly rare events, which has led researchers to try to understand these processes. One of the first explanations given is the role of the massive entry of women into the labour market after the 1960s, which transformed the way women spend their time between housework and caregiving. Furthermore, the entry of women into the labour market would have enabled a cultural transformation in relation to the roles of gender, motherhood, and parenting care (Magaraggia, 2012).

Another explanation given for the transformations that occurred in the tendencies towards marriage and parenting would be related to cultural changes and the advance of the culture of individualism: the values of autonomy, individuality, freedom, and the need for self-expression would culminate in transformations in the desires of parenthood. And in the types of conjugal unions (Bozzon, 2021). In this type of explanation, it is argued that the advance of individualism in the West would question the family itself as an institution and as a social value (Machado, 2001). Finally, other explanations are also given: the role of social, economic, and cultural resources inherited in the family for the realization of parenthood: the cultural and economic capital inherited from parents can provide greater economic and material resources for leaving home and with this gives greater autonomy to carry out parenting or not. In addition, social values socialized within the family – whether they are values of greater independence and individuality or not – can influence these processes (Bozzon, 2021). The fact is that today the conformation of family formation and parenting has changed strongly: marriages that take place later in age when compared to past generations; women who do not want to be mothers; birth of children out of marriage (Bottinelli, 2016); people who divorce and remarry, and people who don't want to get married.

Studies that focus attention on the impact of the current context on the lives of young people show that precariousness and uncertainty - mainly related to the job market - make young people postpone unions in marriages and postpone parenting, considered in this case " a long-term commitment" (Bozzo, 2021: 10). Instability, the lack of perspective in the labour market, in the possibility of housing autonomy means that many young people are forced to live a more restricted life in which marriage and the arrival of a child are seen as inconceivable in the face of economic impossibilities (Tanturri et al. Mancarini, 2008). An economic condition and a stable job would, for example, be preconditions for entering the experience of being a father (Tanturri and Mancarini, 2008; Bozzo, 2021). Furthermore, the extension of the years of

educational training for men and women would have "delayed" other stages of life, such as starting their first job and consequently delaying financial and housing autonomy. As a result, marriages and, consequently, the emergence of a new child, were placed further ahead. Other studies discuss the extent to which women who have made greater educational investment also prolong their entry into the labour market, as they expect professional fulfilment compatible with training (Tanturri and Mancarini, 2008). In this type of trajectory, women would be more focused on professional recognition, making motherhood a distant horizon. Last, but not least, it is necessary to consider the role of transformations in gender identities and in relationship models in the current conformations of marriages (Fanchini, 2015).

Data have already shown that today women in Western countries have either "delayed" the experience of being a parent, or have stopped living this experience, with Italy being a case in which parenting is performed later in relation to previous generations and in relation to other Western countries (Mauceri and Valentini, 2010; Falcinelli and Magaraggia Naldini, 2015). Magaraggia (2015) points out four main characteristics in the way of living the experience of parenting today. The first is that there is a decrease in the almost naturalized association between marriage and having a child. Today people would be having children from other marital conformations than marriage or having children even without having a union with someone.

Another characteristic raised is that parenting today is understood as an option and a choice. In this sense, individuals would be more likely to think of parenting not as a fatality, but as something that can be chosen, and that can be planned accordingly. The third characteristic pointed out is that, given the transformations that have taken place in the milestones towards adulthood, being a mother or being a father becomes the only transition that is not reversible and that cannot be changed. Being a parent today would be associated with the identity change that occurred with the arrival of a child. Parenthood would be a transitional milestone that would change all the dynamics of life and the identities of individuals. The fourth characteristic is linked to the last one, which is the individual's association of transformation when he/she/they becomes a parent. The parental transition is understood as a process that involves greater reflexivity and identity transformation in which it is necessary to assume greater responsibilities and new skills (Magaraggia, 2015).

Chapter 3
The role of context: the Italian case

As we saw in the previous paragraphs, to talk about the construction of young people's lives, the different areas of inequalities and the different manifestations of discrimination and prejudice must be considered. The observation of changes in the lives of individuals and in the transitional milestones make us realize that there is a link between the individual level and the structural level, preventing us from resorting to simplistic explanations about the stages of young people's lives. As stated by Neale (2011), to understand how young people live today, it is necessary to understand the intersection between personal factors - biography, personal relationships, personality - together with the social context - culture, historical context, socioeconomic and political environment, issues of gender, race, etc. Consequently, it is necessary to contextualize these young people in a geographic location in which specific economic, social, and cultural dynamics are embedded.

When focusing on the context of southern Europe, fluid navigations and increasingly individualized biographies need to contemplate the social and cultural context. Studies (Schizzerotto, 2002; Sironi, 2015; Pastore, Quintano and Rocca, 2020; Serracant, 2012; Spanò and Domecka, 2021) show that although today many young people have greater freedom in their professional, educational, and interpersonal paths, this reality it is not applicable to everyone considering the social position of individuals in society and the cultural, social and economic context in which they are inserted.

Serracant (2012) uses 4 typologies – extension, de-linearization, reversibility, diversification – to understand the transformations in the life courses and transitions that young people make in the context of southern Europe. Beck's (1992) idea of biographical choices, according to Serracant (2012), could imply that the fracture of the linearity of life course patterns gives the individual more options. The idea of greater freedom and autonomy that would come from a more flexible society, however, is opposed by the author by showing that the de-standardization of trajectories can force individuals to lead with the structural limitations found in society today. When researching young in Catalonia- Spain, the author observes the persistence of traditional patterns in the transitions, a phenomenon that is articulated with the culture and with the economic and social policies of the country. The typical welfare of southern Europe, the scarce state protection, the precarious and intermittent labour market, and the few public policies aimed at youth – make family support, for example - generate stability and perpetuate traditional models of transition. This author argues that the trends identified on the European continent must be examined from the point of view of the particularities of each national and cultural context. In this sense the analysis that point to desynchronization, the non-linearity and individuality of transitions, one must always consider a set of institutional factors - welfare regime, public policy - and structural factors such as social class, gender, and race (Andres and Adamuti-Trache, 2008). Siri's (2015) data, for example, demonstrate that Southern European and Northern European settings are different for young people and scholars need to take this into account. According to the author, while the high rate of unemployment and uncertainty after the completion of education is temporary among young people in Northern Europe, this process becomes almost a characteristic among young people in Southern Europe.

In Italy in particular, it is possible to perceive that the transitions of young people when compared to the rest of Europe can be considered as uncertain and precarious. Thus, as pointed out by Serracant (2012) and other authors (Andrade, 2010; Brandão, Saraiva and Matos, 2012; Sironi, 2015; Schizzerotto and Lucchini, 2004; Spanò and Domecka, 2021), the configuration of educational training, the precariousness of the Italian job market and the absence of effective public policies have specifically penalized young people and especially young women (Spanò e Domecka, 2021; Eurostat, 2021[9]).

Schizzerotto's (2002) reflection has become classic when it comes to social disadvantages and the course of life. The author shows that it is necessary to observe how structural differences shape the life course of young people and life course transitions even today in an individualized and non-standardized context. The different factors (or areas) of inequality considered in the author's analysis - social class, gender, generations - are investigated in a temporal perspective. Schizzerotto's main objective is to present how inequality and its variations remain or change in people's lives, also changing their opportunities and restrictions throughout life. His (2002) reflection shows that it is necessary to observe how structural differences shape the life trajectory of young people and the transitions of the life trajectory even today in an individualized and non-standard context. Furthermore, the author shows how disparities between individuals and groups are shaped by life trajectories. Inequality is analyzed not only looking at the point of departure in relation to the point of arrival, but also looking at the life course of these people and how inequalities are maintained along this path.

School to work transitions in the Italian scenario

When looking at young people living in southern Europe, the insertion in the labour market - if it occurs - occurs mostly through precarious and temporary jobs, many of which are not related to the academic training acquired (Pastore, Quintano and Rocca 2020; Lopez-Andreu and Verd, 2020). What studies show is that the complexity of work trajectories follows a rhythm similar to other contexts: the concomitance between study and work; employment that is not associated with educational background; successive fixed-time or temporary jobs. Eurostat (2021) data show that 17.6% (14 million) of European young people aged 20 to 34 were not in employment, education, or training (NEET). In Italy, in 2021, 19% of young people aged between 25 and 29 and 32% of young people aged between 20 and 24 are without a job.

According to data from the literature in Italy (Sironi, 2015; Schizzerotto and Lucchini, 2004 Pastore et al., 2020; Spanò and Domecka, 2021) young people after finishing their studies tend to unemployment, precariousness, and career instability (Pastore, Quintano and Rocca, 2020; Lopez-Andreu and Verd, 2020; Bertolini e Goglio, 2019; Reyneri, 2017; Fullin, 2005; Cuzzocrea, 2015; Murgia, 2006). What these studies show is that leaving school for work is marked by excessive extension, instability, unstable jobs, and precarious working conditions.

Walther (2006) characterizes Italy as part of a sub-protective transition regime for adulthood. In this type of model, argues the author, there is a low percentage of labour regulations, in which several elements of living conditions are unprotected (work and housing for example) in which the family and informal work are elements that maintain the transitions of the young. Faced with a school with underdeveloped professional training and with low

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[9] https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=Young_people_-_social_inclusion

insertion of companies and in view of the economic fragility differentiated by region, many young people move from school to work in a long waiting process. Young people without the right to social benefits and faced with a segmented labour market end up experiencing unemployment or precarious work (Walther, 2006).

More recently Pastore et al. (2020) show that, in fact, in Italy the school-to-work transition (STWT) is still one of the longest within the European Union, a phenomenon that occurs due to the conformation of the labour market. According to these authors, in the context of Mediterranean countries, there is a diffusion of temporary jobs, in which the status of being unemployed suffered brief interruptions, without bringing a satisfactory transition of employment for many young people (Pastore, Quintano and Rocca, 2020). In other words, many young people in the Mediterranean region may not be unemployed, but they are largely occupying temporary positions that often do not match their work aspirations. Precariousness and uncertainty, according to the authors, were strongly felt after the 2008 crisis, especially after 2011, when the social and economic repercussions within the country began to be felt. Comparing the transition time from school to work with three other countries (Austria, Poland, and the UK) shows that Italy is one of the countries where the transition from school to work is the longest (Pastore et al., 2020). Considering the transition to a regular job of more than six months, the authors state that the average measure of carrying out the transition is a little over two years in which gender differences and levels of education are strong in which women with low schooling are the most penalised.

Other authors also focus on the repercussions of the Italian economic, social, and institutional context on the lives of young people. Bertolini and Moiso (2020) diagnose the same reality for young people: financial instability, job insecurity and little support from the State. Faced with the absence of "flexsecurity" (Bertolini and Moiso, 2020: 113) which would be the absence of benefits to the unemployed arising from flexible and atypical jobs, young people are looking for survival strategies.

Today most young people do not have regular contracts, with regular payments and at the same time they do not have the support of the State to obtain credits (something that would make it possible, for example, to buy a house or to plan financially for the long term) (Bertolini and Moiso, 2020). Not having a permanent contract would generate an accumulation of inequalities, since economic autonomy would compromise not only financial autonomy, but also other legal benefits vis-à-vis the State. In addition to socioeconomic conformations, a further critical structural factor is the support given to young people by the State. As pointed out by a vast literature in Italian context, (Leccardi, 2020; Siri, 2015; Sciolla and Torrioni, 2018; Bertolini and Moiso, 2020; Spanò and Domecka, 2021) the 'end of the welfare state' diminishes the provisions and benefits for society, with young people being the most affected by these transformations. The weakening of public policies and assistance by the state diminishes the possibility of well-being and makes social problems an issue to be resolved in the personal-individual-private order. Hence another formatting of the condition of young people in the Italian context: greater dependence on the family. It is in this context that the family takes on an essential place in the lives of young people: in the face of work impossibilities and uncertainties in the world of work, young people often become dependent on their families (Walther, 2006). The extended family becomes more the rule than the exception as the possibility of financial autonomy is increasingly delayed (Walther, 2006).

Housing trajectories

Although one of the milestones of social and financial independence is the end of cohabitation with parents, what the data show is that the average age of leaving the parents' home has increased in Europe (Siri, 2015). According to data from Spanò and Domecka (2021) the percentage of young adults aged 25-34 living with their parents is 53% in Italy, the European average being 30.5%. Also, according to Eurostat data, thirty years is the average age at which young people leave their parents' home. In the data collected by Bertolini et al. (2021) in Italy, 66% of 18-34 year olds are still in their parents' home. Staying in the family until later has become, as the literature points out (Bertolini et al, 2021; Bertolini and Goglio, 2019; Minguez, 2016), one of the alternatives found by young people – and by their families – to deal with uncertainty and precariousness in different areas of life. Even when educational training happens in different cities causing the displacement of young people, this process happens most of the time without many changes as it does not change the relationship of financial dependence on parents (Andrade, 2010).

Given the context of instability and the little support given by the State to young people, the family nucleus becomes the main place of support that young people find to build their paths towards autonomy (Spanò and Domecka, 2021). Historically, the family in Italy has been an institution that is built from strong ties and well-defined hierarchies in which paternal power was the axis of family organization (Walther, 2006; Andrade, 2010). However, what appears contemporaneously is that (Andrade, 2010), the cultural changes that occurred gave space for the construction of increasingly horizontal family relationships in which parental authority is reduced (Andrade, 2010). The extension of the stay at the parents' house (or cohabitation with the parents) occurs in such a way that there may be a relationship of financial dependence, concomitant with the experimentation of autonomy in other areas of life (freedom of movement, freedom in love relationships).

It is possible to say that in the Italian context the family has given essential support in a context of precariousness (Scabini, 2000; Brandão, Saraiva and Matos, 2012; Santoro, 2006). Despite experiencing the prolongation of the stages of educational training and cohabitation with their parents, many young people do not seem to feel frustrated for still not being able to be fully autonomous, or to be autonomous in some spheres of life (Andrade, 2010). Many standard transitions of adulthood take place while young people are still dependent on and cohabiting with their parents. It is important to emphasize that within this context there are still cultural values linked to the role of the family, which in Italy is still seen as a place of support and help (Andrade, 2020; Siri, 2015).

Another explanation besides those mentioned above is the cultural and institutional approach. The welfare regimes and the culture of familism in Italy could be reasons that can explain the residential pattern in Italy for young people. In a context where, on the one hand, there is an increasingly flexible and unstable labour market and, on the other, a State that supports its young people less and less, families end up being the main support space (Spanò and Domecka, 2021). The strong ties of family and societal organization in Italy (Andrade, 2010; Bertolini and Goglio, 2019) contributed to the extension of the stay in the family nucleus, in view of the financial and subjective support that the family can provide in the context of

uncertainty. Therefore, in the face of a familyist welfare model (Bertolini and Goglio, 2019) in which there is great family support, staying at home is more comfortable than staying in a precarious situation outside the home. Housing trends among young people in Italy would also be affected by the propensity of young Italians to leave home only when they are in a romantic relationship. As Brandão, Saraiva and Matos (2012) point out, involvement in a love relationship has become a passport to leaving home. This tendency to leave home to go straight to a family composition would also influence this delay, as today the tendency of young Italians is to get married much later than before.

In addition to understanding the dynamics that cause changes in residential transition configurations, some studies will seek to understand what happens in family relationships when young people continue to stay in their parents' homes. How are family relationships built? How do young people position themselves in the face of household chores and responsibilities that involve the context of the home? How do stay-at-home trends clash with individualistic values? On the one hand, authors (Andrade, 2010; Scabini, 2000; Brandão, Saraiva and Matos, 2012; Sciolla and Torrioni, 2018) point to the construction of increasingly horizontal family relationships in which it is possible to visualize a negotiation between parents and children about the issues involving freedom, individuality, and autonomy. Cohabitation would provide the construction of less hierarchical relationships as young people at home become active agents in managing the home both in financial matters and in domestic work matters (Sciolla and Torrioni, 2018; Magaraggia, Cherubini and Gambardella, 2021). The subjective dimensions of this process indicate that continuing in the family home is not necessarily felt by young people as a lack of total autonomy. Quite the contrary, young people would feel between two worlds in which one is characterized by economic dependence and in which there is individual and cultural autonomy on the other (Sciolla and Torrioni, 2018). Thus, staying at home would mean having the possibility of building professional and financial paths, with the family being the place of greatest support for these processes. However, other studies (Magaraggia, Cherubini and Gambardella, 2021) have shown that cohabitation is not always experienced in a positive way: in cohabiting family relationships there are generational conflicts related to the expectations that parents may have in relation to young people and their transitions. The different way of understanding the circumstances that young people live create an intergenerational dynamic in which young people feel that their parents cannot understand the difficulties of building their lives in the current context. These generational clashes are, however, actively perceived by young people who try in return to create spaces of autonomy (Magaraggia, Cherubini and Gambardella, 2021).

By delving into the subjective meanings about the prolongation of the stay of young people in their parents' homes, the authors defend giving new meanings to what is commonly understood by autonomy and adulthood (Sciolla and Torrioni, 2018). Delaying leaving the parents' home and continuing to cohabit with them is seen as a valid strategy to deal with the conditions of uncertainty and precariousness found in the social context (Sciolla and Torrioni, 2018). According to the authors, instead of "complaining" about the situation, young people become "active agents" who develop "adaptation strategies" (Sciolla and Torrioni, 2018: p. 5). Continuing in the parents' house would be a decision to deal with uncertainty and precariousness in the work sphere. Continuing in their parents' house can mean both a way of organizing themselves professionally and financially (looking for a job with better pay, or one that matches their educational background, gathering money) and a new way of family relationship in which young people themselves help in managing of the house - whether

financially or with everyday responsibilities (Sciolla and Torrioni, 2018). These transformations, according to the authors, would indicate changes in family structures, more specifically in family hierarchies that are horizontalized both by young people who build their autonomy and freedom by cohabiting with parents and older relatives, and by the family members themselves who deem this process necessary.

Regarding parents, according to the authors, they do not feel pressured and believe that they prefer that their children live with them until they achieve the necessary autonomy to leave home. the diffusion of individualistic conduct and the idea of one's own identity modifies, according to the author, the authority schemes favoring greater autonomy of young people in relation to their parents, especially in relation to affective and sexual issues. Prolonged cohabitation with the family does not generate strong friction, but accommodation and negotiation of rules to be respected. The authors perceive that the family becomes the place of support and social integration (Sciolla and Torrioni, 2018) and the absence of generational conflicts is one of the proofs of this change in the family structure and in the construction of autonomy of young people. Despite the economic and social dependence of the family, there is autonomy in relation to culture, lifestyle, values, relationships, and affective issues. It seems that being at their parents' house does not "get in the way" of building their identity as a subject of specific values, tastes, and attitudes. Recent research (Magaraggia, Cherubini, and Gambardella, 2021) carried out during the COVID pandemic shows that there is a tension between autonomy and dependence in the relationship that young people build with their parents and family. The forced and constant cohabitation with the family in times of a pandemic showed that in fact the family remains an important support. At the same time, cohabitation brought intergenerational conflicts between parents' expectations regarding how young people follow the milestones of adult life and what is lived and felt by young people in a context of radical social transformation. What the study showed is that there is a considerable degree of agency on the part of young people to deal with these conflicts from the attempt to create spaces of autonomy in a context in which, contradictorily, there is still a situation of dependence (Magaraggia, Cherubini, and Gambardella, 2021).

Marriage and Parenting patterns

Western countries have either "delayed" the experience of being a parent, or have stopped living this experience, with Italy being a case in which parenting is made later in relation to previous generations and in relation to other Western countries (Mauceri and Valentini, 2010; Falcinelli and Magaraggia, 2013; Naldini, 2015). These choices related to reproduction are related to macrostructural aspects of social, cultural, and economic order (Naldini, 2015). Considered one of the "example" cases of the transformations that have taken place in relation to transitions, in Italy the postponement of having a child has become the subject of investigation by Mauceri and Valentini (2010). The authors demonstrate that, faced with precariousness and the reduction of social opportunities, young people prefer to "delay" the arrival of a child when compared to previous generations. For the authors, this postponement of parenting would be a consequence of the attempt that young people make to guarantee the realization of other transitions in life - end of studies, stable employment, financial autonomy. Faced with the unpredictability and precariousness of the social context in which they live, young people postpone the arrival of a child to be able to first fulfil themselves individually. For the authors, despite a more individualized agency in relation to parenting, young people are

still based on schemes considered "traditional" as they prefer to carry out other steps considered essential before having a child (Mauceri and Valentini, 2010).

The Italian case fits into a common dynamic in southern Europe: with the extension of time in household due to structural dynamics (prolongation of studies, difficulties in the labour market), marriages happen later (when compared to previous generations) and the postponement of motherhood (when compared to previous generations). The rise of non-marriage parenting experiences, the new forms of love relationship that are not limited to marriage, indicate the changes that have taken place in recent decades (Sciolla and Torrioni, 2018).

Survey data from the IARD[10] has shown that the average age at which young people marry today is 32 years for women and 34.9 for men, with the average age for the birth of the first child being 31.8 years. This picture is often compared with other European countries, mainly in Northern Europe, as the data from these countries show differences in relation to the Italian pattern: while the "delay" of these stages also implies more time within the family of origin, in the northern countries, the postponement of marriage and motherhood has generated diverse life experiences such as cohabitation with friends, more informal unions and parenting outside of marriage (Tanturri and Mancarini, 2008). In fact, the Italian case is studied from such a perspective that it is not just agency or individuality that are driving the transformations that have taken place in relation to marriage and the conception of a child. As pointed out by Bozzo (2021) when looking at a historical perspective of the Italian family, leaving home is usually associated with the creation of a new family nucleus after marriage. This would explain why many young people in Italy spend more time cohabiting with their parents and prefer to leave home to live directly with a partner, to marry and raise a family (Fachini, 2013). Leaving home would only happen at a time of financial stability when, after that, the possibility of marriage was found. The Italian context therefore also reveals historical reminiscences of family relationships that guide the way of living love relationships in general and marriage and parenting. When observing the data related to types of union and parenting, what exists is a mixture between traditional models and contemporary models. For example, a relevant data shown by the IARD is that despite the literature pointing out reminiscences of a strong and traditional family model, in 2016 births outside of marriage were 28%, a very high number compared to the beginning of the year 2000 when the rate was 9.7%. On the other hand, young people living in cohabitation without any official status (that is, without having a stable, civil union or church marriage) is only 10% in 2020. Another example is on childcare in Europe: according to Eurostat data[11] In Italy it is still women who delegate most of their time to taking care of the children and the house in the Italian context. This reality, according to some authors (Bonizzoni, Falcinelli and Magaraggia, 2014) would be strongly related to the low participation of women in the labour market and not necessarily with a purely ideological issue. Italy it is still women who delegate most of their time to caring for children and the home. According to this data, this is much more due to the low participation of women in the labour market than to an ideological or cultural issue (Bonizzoni, Falcinelli and Magaraggia, 2014)

When we focus on studies that analyses women's opinion about motherhood, it is noted that today many women see motherhood as a plan that is placed only in the horizon of the future and sometimes not even that (Mauceri and Valentini, 2010; Falcinelli and Magaraggia, 2013). The choices about reproduction were in fact associated with macrostructural aspects of social,

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[10] https://www.istitutoiard.org/2019/11/24/la-questione-giovanile-in-italia/

[11] https://www.istat.it/donne-uomini/bloc-3d.html?lang=it

cultural, and economic order (Naldini, 2015). Among individuals who go through the experience of being a parent, the literature points out that, in the Italian context, the balance between motherhood-fatherhood and the labour market has been a disadvantage for women who are penalized for carrying out domestic and childcare activities (Mauceri et al. Valentini, 2010; Falcinelli and Magaraggia, 2013; Magaraggia, 2015). Data from Istat [12](2021) indicate that 11% of women who had a child in Italy have never worked to be able to take care of the child. In addition, what the Istat data also shows is that women who live and have a child, the occupancy rate in 2018 was 65.1% and in 2019 it was 64.3%. On the other hand, women without children reached an occupancy rate of 76.1% in 2018 and 74.6% in 2019.

In other words, what the literature points out is that the more traditional gender roles are put into practice again when the first child is born (Magaraggia, 2015). Motherhood as an experience is still unequally lived, with the role of childcare being placed more heavily on women (Naldini, 2015). After years of changes regarding the position of women as mothers, today the traditional roles of maternal care tend to return. As Naldini (2015) points out, there is today the experience of intensive motherhood in which, in a contradictory way, the woman as a mother must invest a large part of her time and her daily life in the care of the child, becoming the main priority. This "intensive motherhood", as Naldini points out, is a "cultural and social contradiction" (Naldini, 2015) at a time when it is also placed for women to study, have financial independence, and a stable job. The culture of gender equality in the workplace and in relationships in general clashes with the maternal culture of intensive and responsible care (Naldini, 2015). Being a parent has a different impact on the biography of men and women, which strengthens the conception that parenting in Western societies and specifically in the Italian case reproduces patterns of differentiation that are based on gender (Magaraggia, 2015).

All these changes in the way of living parenthood also make us question the meanings given to adulthood, to the experience of motherhood or its horizon in the lives of young people. More than that, in this research the question about how these experiences is being lived by young people is also related to the construction of their identities in the world.

The Italian case as a disruption in the youth studies

It is based on the scenario portrayed above that many authors in the Italian context will question the extent to which it still makes sense to focus on transitional milestones to think about the meaning of adulthood in the Western world. Cuzzocrea and Magaraggia (2013) already questioned the idea of adulthood when they perceive Italy as an ideal case to understand the specificities of southern Europe. By identifying five thresholds in the adulthood literature (completion of educational training, obtaining a relatively stable job, end of cohabitation with parents, formation of a stable relationship and parenthood) the authors question how these five elements are being lived among young people. The authors' criticism is that these thresholds are not enough to deal with the complexity that exists among young people in industrialized and western societies. Based on data from their research in an Italian context, the authors argue that instead of focusing on analysing how young people are or are not completing their transitions from education to work, or from family cohabitation to housing independence, it is necessary to understand how the transitions associated with adulthood have changed with the

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[12]https://www.regione.fvg.it/rafvg/export/sites/default/RAFVG/GEN/statistica/FOGLIA61/allegati/Famiglie_FVG_Conciliazione_tempi_lavoro_e_cura_marzo_2021_sito.pdf

change in the biography of young men and women (Cuzzocrea and Magaraggia, 2013). What they demonstrate is that these configurations are accompanied by the intensification of agency and individual responsibility in making choices. Thus, the meaning of what it is to be an adult, changes considering that constituting a family, or leaving home, or having children is no longer enough to encompass the identity of being an adult. Changes in parenthood, family formation and financial stability are signs that demonstrate the need to change the conceptual framework when we want to give meaning to youth and adult life.

In a further recent studies (Ferreira and Nunes, 2010; Ferreira e Nunes, 2014; Benasso and Magaraggia, 2019), it is shown that the relationship between traditional markers for adult life and the experience of young Italians. The authors show that the identifying and differentiating marks between youth and adulthood have become increasingly "porous" (Benasso and Magaraggia, 2019: 6; Ferreira e Nunes, 2014; Ferreira and Nunes, 2010). The loss of stability in the most varied areas and the increase in the degree of uncertainty contribute to the questioning of these categories towards a less normative definition. As the authors defend, the impossibility of defining adulthood based on traditional markers today makes adulthood a concept/identity that is built more in the interaction with other individuals. The agency of individuals is a fundamental element in understanding the relationship between social transformations and the life course of young people. As stated here by the authors, in view of the deregulation of various spheres of life, the decrease in the strength of institutions, and the destandardization of stages in adult life, the agency of individuals becomes the main regulator and mode of biographical construction.

This is also recently discussed by Leccardi (2020) when pointing out that individualized agency becomes the main strategy used by young people to deal with an uncertain future. The scenario of uncertainty in our contemporaneity is experienced by young Italians who, despite living in disadvantaged situations, try not to lose control of their biographical time (Leccardi, 2020). Presenting data that show the increasing mobility of young Italians to other countries in search of better job opportunities, Leccardi points to migration as a strategy to reduce unpredictability and take control of the future. According to Leccardi, young Italians have lost confidence in institutions that cannot, for example, guarantee the entry of young people into the job market. Faced with this scenario, young people seek individualized solutions based on migration to other parts of the world. This process joins a new trend pointed out by the author, which is the trend towards transnational and cosmopolitan attitudes, enabling young people to create identities and social relationships that go beyond their country of origin. What is evident to the author is that the unpredictability of the context in which we live increasingly pushes young people towards the individualization of their actions and their life course. It is important to emphasize that this individualization does not necessarily mean greater freedom, as it is the current context of weakening institutions and crisis that impels them to seek other strategies. Based on the author's argument, the relationship between individualization and independence is inverted in the current context in which individualized responses for the present and the future come from a progressive increase in dependence, mainly economic (Leccardi, 2020: 182).

Therefore, if, on the one hand, we are thinking about different ways of living adult life, based on a resignification of what it is to be an adult and what it is to be young today, on the other hand, it is necessary to rethink the mechanisms of inequality reproduction in a context in which individualization places personal skills - agency, reflexivity, flexibility (Spanò and Domecka, 2021) - as the main ways that young people can build their biographies. It is

necessary to reflect the impact of different structural conditions in the lives of these people and to understand how these individuals react and project their actions in the structural conditions in which they live.

More recently, in the analysis made by Gambardella, Voli and Mainardi (2021), the cultural, geographical, social, and economic context influences the experiences of "transitions to adulthood" of young Italians. The already discussed feeling of uncertainty regarding the course of life is present in the life trajectories of the analysed young people, who faced a "precarious job market found it difficult to achieve autonomy" (Gambardella, Voli and Mainardi, 2021: 34).The authors question the traditional way of thinking about transitions to adulthood by arguing and seeing in their research results that the singularities that involve transitions are related to the personal experiences of these individuals in relation to social, family, territorial and social issues.

A recent study by Spanò and Domecka (2021), attentive to structural issues, brings an intersectional approach to the studies of transitions to adulthood in the Italian context. The authors analyses the life course of young people in southern Italy from an intersectional and biographical analysis to understand how the structural issues of gender, class and ethnicity/race shape the lives of individuals in two aspects: how the intersection of these elements influence their lives, constraining them to certain life circumstances and how young people manage to "resist and negotiate" these structural influences in their lives. The authors use the expression of "living intersectionality and doing intersectionality". Intersectional studies consider the "simultaneous effects" (Ciurlo, 2017; Spanò and Domecka, 2021) of social inequalities that can be generated by gender issues, but also by ethnic, racial and social class issues (Ciurlo, 2017). The authors address the issue of intersectionality by understanding how social structures or conditions challenge individuals to certain circumstances and life restrictions, and how individuals live and act within this intersectionality. The authors emphasize that the Italian regional context makes young people from the south find themselves in even more precarious situations, given the greater inefficiency of welfare in that region and the lack of job opportunities. These precarious conditions have mainly affected three groups in Italy: foreign people, young people, and women. Employment rates increase more intensely in the south and increase in percentage among youth, immigrants, and women.

Chapter 4
Young descendants of immigrants and their transitions: a study in progress.

By bringing the connection between the theme of the life course, transitions to adulthood and as a second generation, it is necessary to understand how the experience of the second generation can be as different from young people of Italian descent. As Edmonston (2013) has pointed out, the descendants of migrants experience a different life path with different elements of socialization that interpose between the country where they live and the community of the country of origin or parents. Few studies focus on understanding the impacts of origin regarding the life course of young people and more specifically their transitions in education, work, family relationships towards independence. Therefore, this part of the literature review will be divided into three parts. In the first part I focus specifically on the elements brought by the literature that point out the social circumstances that young descendants of immigrants live in general and specifically in Italy. In the second part I bring a contextualization of the Italian identity construction and how this construction is essential to understand some of the experiences that second generation youth live. Finally, I bring a third point that involves the need to add an intersectional perspective to the life course analysis from social, economic and identity issues.

4.1. Defining the research subject

Before entering our research universe, it is necessary to define the research subjects, which in this work involves not only a methodological but also a theoretical dimension. The definition of the investigated subjects goes through a categorization process. Categories within sociology are important for delimiting objects, phenomena, processes, while they are problematic because they can contain political and power contents (Bourdieu, 1983, Dahinden, Fischer and Menet, 2021). Research, as a rational activity, is part of a social and academic field in which power disputes exist, and it is also necessary to question the canons (Bourdieu, 1983). In addition, categorization has a formative character (Dahinden, Fischer and Menet, 2021), because when categories are constructed, they begin "to take on a life of their own" (Jacob, 2018: 134) from their political and social uses. Any type of categorization is embedded in power relations, which brings different consequences for the groups that categorize and that are categorized. Categorization is inherent to the construction of sociological thought and science in general, and the best way to categories in sociological analysis is by observing social elements and how they are connected to political, social, and cultural meanings. (Becker, 2007; Dahinden, Fischer and Menet, 2021).

Focusing on the categories used in immigration studies, the main criticism that arises in relation to these categories is that many are based on mental schemes related to the Nation-State and nationality (Dahinden, Fischer and Menet, 2021). When the topic is the children of migrants, many nomenclatures arise, the most used being "second generation". Second

generation would be the children of people who emigrated (the so called first generation of migrants), whether or not they were born in another national territory (Braga (2019). The use of this category is justified because it is often understood that the life trajectory of individuals would be marked by the immigrant background of their parents. In this way, the idea that the bond between the two generations is inseparable would be reinforced (Braga, 2019). However, the first problem that emerges from this nomenclature is that it puts people who have gone through the experience of immigrating and those who have never done it in the same group.

In the face of this problem Rumbaut's (2004) generational typology for the descendants of immigrants tried to show that these people have generational differences that should be considered. Depending on the place of birth and age of immigration, children of immigrants can have completely different experiences, which are remarkable in the construction of their lives. The generational cohort, birth abroad or birth in the parents' immigration country, age of arrival in the country, acculturation, and socialization processes, whether they have both foreign-born parents or only one parent with a foreign origin, are elements that will influence the experience of these individuals, making the phenomenon of immigration more complex.

For Rumbaut, there is a need for scholars of the phenomenon of immigration to understand the complexity of this process, especially regarding young people descended from immigrants. There is an inherent complexity in the contemporary second generation that is related to the diversity of origins, the types of immigration, the timing of immigration, the influence of globalization, among many other processes. The second generation "is rapidly growing and diversifying through continued immigration, natural increase and intermarriage, complicating its contours and making it increasingly important to clarify who and what is encompassed by that term and to measure its size and composition." (Rumbaut, 2004: 1161).

It is in the face of this dilemma that Rumbaut proposes different analytical categories to deal with the different generations of immigrants. Based on a separation between generational cohorts, Rumbaut proposes a differentiation of groups of children of immigrants based on two main points: birth (of themselves and their parents) and age/stage of life upon arrival in the country of settlement. Thus, within the large umbrella that the second generation category proposes, based on Rumbaut's categorization, we would have the following groups: Generation 1.75, which would be people who arrived in early childhood (from 0 to 5 years old) and who are similar to the socialization of individuals who are children of immigrants who were born in the country of destination; generation 1.5 that would be individuals who arrived between 6 and 12 years of age who learned literacy abroad, but who were later socialized in the destination country; Then we would have the 1.25 generation, which would be people who arrived in adolescence (13 to 17 years old) and who, therefore, would have memories and experiences similar to those of their parents. After that, we would also have the 2.0 generation, which would be people who were born in the country of settlement and who have both immigrant parents. Finally, we would have generation 2.5, which would be young people who were born in the country in question and would have an immigrant parent and a native parent.

Despite calling into question the complexity of the phenomenon and the need for specific categorizations in view of specific experiences, Rumbaut still uses the category "second generation" to refer to young people who were born in the country of destination of at least one immigrant parent (Rumbaut, 2004). We must consider that the "second generation" categorization problem remains, whether for a methodological issue, or for an epistemological

and conceptual one. As Rumbaut himself points out, the category "Second-generation immigrants is an oxymoron, as they also refer to young people who are native to the country and who have never had the experience of immigrating and cannot be immigrants from this country" (Rumbaut, 2004, p. 1165).

Another problem that emerges from the use of the "second generation of immigrant" category is that category it seems to indicate that the immigration experience is something that the immigrant's child receives almost in a hereditary way from his parents (Dahinden, Fischer and Menet, 2021), making him/she/they, in a way, an immigrant being. In addition, this category suggests the need to have multi-generations that settle in a territory to be considered authentically citizens or natives (Dahinden, Fischer and Menet, 2021).

In summary, the problem of using the category second generation exists because this category can bring a sense of non-belonging of these people to the society in which they live, in addition to bringing an essentialist understanding of what immigration is and how identity is constructed (Dahinden, Fischer and Menet, 2021). Individuals who descend from immigrants can build their identities from different levels of relationship with the country of origin (from themselves or from parents), different processes of socialization and adaptation and different constructions of belonging. These experiences cannot be essentialized into a single category which often tends to generalize their experience.

Nationality as a rationale and modes of operandi has repercussions in the construction of identities, in society and in academic production is not different (Dahinden, Fischer and Menet, 2021). Therefore, the way in which immigration studies are carried out, their premises, their categories risks reproducing the status quo. By classifying people as being second-generation immigrants, we end up normalizing the national order and its political, social and identity ideals (Dahinden, Fischer and Menet, 2021; Jacobs, 2018). As Yuval-Davis (2010:262) points out, identity as a concept must be distinguished from a notion of "locality" and must encompass other dimensions of social reality. Summarizing the experiences of individuals only from their migratory heritage would be a territorialization of their identities without considering the multiple existing aspects, including multi-territorialities and their dimensions in the construction of the self. Anderson (2019) by questioning the very meaning of migration as a "problematic" phenomenon - which is placed in opposition to the nation - ends up demonstrating that this dichotomy is a false political and epistemological construct and that it reinforces power relations in society. The immigrant (and his descendants) within immigration studies have always been considered as that group of people in which presence and movement can be considered problematic (2019). This reinforces the need to once again rethink or at least reflect the analytical categories studied within sociology.

It is based on these problematics that transnational approaches reject the nation-state as the main point of analysis, comparison, and further categorization of social processes. (Ammelina and Fast, 2012). Studies on transnationalism (Glick, Nina and Christina, 1995; Zontini, 2007; Ambrosini and Bonizzoni, 2014; Ambrosini er al., 2014; Zontini and Reynolds, 2017 Jong and Petra, 2018; Camozzi et al., 2019) show that the migratory flow that we have today in the context of globalization gives rise to new forms of identification and new experiences of belonging that are not limited to a single State-Nation, calling into question the very sense of nationality and national identity. The immigrant's s and daughters, when claiming their identity and origin from a conjunction of symbols, claims other forms of belonging, of

perception of territoriality and identity. When young people without a migratory background build their identities and references from other national cultures, their national identity is not questioned. So why when young people with immigrant parents do it, is it common to suspend or question the identity of this young person? The transnational approach in any area of study, but mainly in relation to the phenomenon of migration, allows us to understand the construction of identities and cultural productions imply multiple dimensions, territories, and locations (Bying, 2017). A transnational approach allows capturing the construction of identities, cultures, practices, and resources in multiple locations (Levitt and Glick-Schiller, 2004) among migrants and non-migrants (including descendants of immigrants) (Bying, 2017).

When using "second generation immigrants", this category still wants to indicate the foreign and immigrant dimension of these individuals' identity. What usually happens is the essentialization of these young people as immigrants, since their identity would not be 100% linked to national symbols. Claiming an identity outside the traditional nationality scheme makes the very idea of a "second-generation immigrant" questionable. What must be understood is that belonging is not necessarily limited to one or another nationality, given the experiences portrayed in the literature of transnationality and globalization of symbols and identities (Glick, Nina e Christina, 1995; Camozzi et al., 2019; Ricucci, 2022). These young people often corroborate with the erasure of symbolic and identity boundaries built in the imaginary and in the ideas of nationality and nation. As pointed out by Bauböck (1998: 19) "as a social phenomenon migration cross and blurs the boundaries of societies". The fact is that inside and outside the academy the term "second generation" has taken on various connotations and uses, whether in common sense, in the media and in social movements. Sociology, when using terms and categories, must always look at the society under study and understand how these categories are used and manipulated, bringing different meanings to the terms involved.

The attempt to reflect on these issues in the Italian context is made, for example, by Codini and Riniolo (2018) who understand the specificity of the experiences of individuals who have not lived the experience of immigration, but who have a migratory background. As the authors point out, the term 'second generation' is widely disseminated in the scientific literature and in society. In the Italian context other nomenclatures also emerged: " *new generations, new Italians, intercultural natives, second generation immigrants, immigrant minors, young people with a migrant background, foreign minors*" (Codini and Riniolo, 2018:12). Palmas (2006) also analysis the use of these different terms in the Italian context and points to the fateful capacity that these categories have in reducing experiences and biographies that often cannot be summarized to the migratory status of their parents.

There are some examples of youth social movements in Italy that claim the different identity categories listed above. The "G2" movement[13], there is a proper understanding of what they consider second generation. Young people consider themselves the children of immigrants (and not immigrants), the appropriate term being "second generation" and not "second generation immigrants". The "second generation" category would include young people who were either born in Italy and have immigrant parents or who were born abroad but who did not emigrate but were taken to Italy by a family member[14]. Thus, "second generation" would refer not to the second generation of immigrants but to the second generation that is impacted by immigration. It is interesting to note, therefore, that the main idea is to understand that these young people are not immigrants, but that to some extent their lives are impacted by the

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[13] https://www.secondegenerazioni.it/
[14] https://www.secondegenerazioni.it/about/#

migration of their parents or other family members. Another movement "*Nuove generazioni italiane*[15] *(CoNNGI)*" proposes a bet on the idea of "new Italian generations" to encompass the plurality of identities and capacities of young people with a migratory background who even claim their belonging to the Italian territory.

Based on this discussion, it is difficult to say that there is a better categorization, but I believe that a good way is always to look at the subjects of this research and understand how they understand and identify themselves. It is important to understand that these categorizations, inside and outside the academy, will never be totally alien to the social, cultural, and academic context in which any researcher finds himself. However, given the need to categorize and specify my research target, in this work and having as influence the reflections of literature (Dahinden, Fischer and Menet, 2021; Jacobs, 2018; Anderson, 2019; Codini and Rinolo, 2012; Rinolo, 2019), of social movements, and also the way young people identify themselves in my research, I will use the category " young descendant of foreigners and/or second generation". Despite knowing the problems that the category involves, it is important to consider how the subjects themselves, inside and outside social movements, identify themselves. These categories seeks to account for the multidimensionality of individuals who have an identity created around several elements: gender, race, ethnicity, location, education, family, trajectory, generation, class, religion, etc.

4.2. Being young, being a descendant of an immigrant: biographical implications

Studies that provide an analysis of the life trajectory of second generation young people in Italy show that their biographies are crossed by their origins from several elements: bond with the country and the culture of their parents; identification processes; experiences of discrimination; legal issues involving acquisition of residence permits and citizenship; language and cultural involvement. These are some of the elements that emerge when looking at the literature on young descendants of immigrants. Below I bring the main elements presented by the literature and that will be important for the analysis of the life course of young people.

Belonging and transnational ties

A specificity of the young immigrant descendant is the territoriality-time relationship that influences the construction of the life course (Paterson, 2015). In the case of time, it is necessary to take into account your parents' background in the country of origin and how this affects socialization with the family; in the case of territoriality, it is necessary to take into account the construction of identity that is related to the country of residence, but which can also be related to spaces beyond national borders (Paterson, 2015; Colombo, Leonini, Rebughini, 2009). One should consider the possibility of experiences that may be beyond nationality in which the construction of the life path is not limited to the national border of a country (Pater-son, 2015) in view of the process of socialization with parents and other possible family members in another country. Analyses (Camozzi, Cherubini, Rivetti, 2019) show that the links with the culture and the country of origin, from, for example, the

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[15] http://conngi.it/chi-siamo/

engagement in political events of second-generation young people residing in Italy, indicate the construction of an identity to from elements that escape nationality. In the authors' analysis of the life course, transnational ties can change over time and in relation to biographical events, such as the transition to adulthood (Camozzi, Cherubini, Rivetti, 2019, p.375).

It can be said that the relationship with the country of origin can impact the construction of these young people's lives in different spheres: affective, family, religious, etc. As Camozzi, Cherubini and Rivetti (2019) point out, the identity of many second-generation young people in Italy is based on a "hyphenated/ hybrid/ mixed" construction (Dusi, Messetti and Falcón, 2014; Camozzi, Cherubini and Rivetti, 2019; Elliot, 2009). It is possible to bring the first indication of the life course of these young people: the feeling of belonging, of proximity to the country where they live and the country of origin, permeates the construction of adult life. This would mean that young descendants of immigrants can have a transnational life in which affective bonds, political, religious, and cultural conceptions are experienced not only in national contexts. The relationship that is built during life between the country of their parents and the country where they live, influences the configuration of themselves, influences the choices and biography of these young people.

Possible transnational socialization involves different aspects (family relationships, language, political opinions, religion, family memories, ethnicity of identification, relationship with the territory, etc.) and involves different stages of life (Rizzo et al., 2020; Camozzi, Cherubini and Rivetti, 2019; Tezcan, 2019; Levitt, 2009; Wessendorf , 2007). Transnational experience can generate cultural and social capital that is different from young people of Italian descent (Amati et al., 2018; Crul et al., 2017; Camozzi, Cherubini and Rivetti, 2019). This cultural and social capital acquired from the experience with the country of origin can be activated in different ways and at different times in life (Levitt, 2009). In this sense, we must understand how the transnational experience changes throughout life, and how the cultural and social capital that is acquired throughout life influences the construction of adult life (Camozzi, Cherubini and Rivetti, 2019). Thus, it is essential to understand how the lives of these young people can be marked not only by what the literature already points out as the processes of uncertainty and individualization in the European context, but to what extent the practices and construction of identities based on transnationalism interact with the reported phenomena. Transnational contacts therefore allow identity to be placed in the transnational field (Harris and Raffaetà, 2020; Colombo and Rebughini, 2012) in which a mixture of elements, signs, and cultures weave life trajectories, connected with other reference individuals in different territories (Elder et al, 2002; Bucx, Raaijmakers and Van Well, 2010).

Identity

Continuing with the argument of previous sessions, identity in a transnational context is built even with the breakdown of essentialist views that often want to summarize identity to just one nationality. Displacing identities and construction allow us to understand how this

phenomenon impacts the lives of young people descended from immigrants.

Based on some possible conceptions of what identity is (Yuval-Davis, 2010; Hall, 2011 Ricucci and Olagnero, 2019, Gomes, 2005) identity is a process of self-perception based on experiences throughout life. They are narratives that people develop throughout their lives about themselves to be represented in society. It is, as Hall (2011) states, a long unfinished process and always under construction that is always placed in alterity with the other. Transnational and diaspora experiences, while leading to the construction of multiple belongings and identities, can also lead to a difficult construction of self-perception (Creese, 2019; Ince-Beqo and Ambrosini, 2022). The foreign origin of individuals can in this context be a resource of discrimination (Walter, 2002)

Within the process ethnic- racial identification is an additional factor that affect young people's lives. Andall (2010) and others (Pepicelli, 2016; Frisina and Wathorne, 2018;) have analysis the experience of integration of second-generation young people in Italy and their identification processes. The authors demonstrates that the feeling of (not) belonging to the country can be related to situations of racism, discrimination, and prejudice. As Andall (2010) points out, the different situations that involve racism and that are reported by young people of the second generation impact not only on the identification, but on the life trajectory of young people, something that directly affects the construction of the present and the future. Also, according to Andall (2010) many young people demonstrate the feeling of not belonging because they perceive the racism and invisibility that black people have in Italian society. On the other hand, it is precisely in this place of non-belonging and discrimination that new processes of belonging and identification are created. As Frisina's and Wathorne (2018) demonstrates, Afro-Italian and veiled women bet on the positive affirmation of their aesthetics to build positive and cosmopolitan identity narratives. To bring together transnational experiences, other young Muslims seek to integrate their culture and religion in harmony with Italian culture and identity. (Pepicelli, 2016). The fact is that a large part of the literature that deals with the identity construction processes of descendants of immigrants point to the difficulty of building a sense of self that is not always called into question their own origin or that of their parents to another territoriality (Marinaro and Walston, 2010). The identity expressions of many of these individuals who were born and raised in Italy are often challenged by public agents, peers, and legislation from the outside. (Marinaro and Walston, 2010).

Processes of integration

Additional factor that we should study about the life trajectory of second-generation young people is the impact of the processes of interaction with the society in which they live in the construction of adult life. Studies that deal with this phenomenon normally approach these processes from two approaches: the assimilation processes of immigrants and their descendants and the integration processes of immigrants and their descendants.

First, it is important to point out that in the literature these two processes – integration and assimilation – represent different theoretical currents and different contexts of scientific production. As Schneider and Crul (2012) point out, the concept of assimilation was more widely used and discussed in the North American context while the concept of integration was more used in the European context. In the North American context, assimilation would mean the process of becoming similar to the society in which one lives. The first relevant studies on the topic are from researchers who research the North American context (Scheneider and Cru 2005; 2010). Among the most prominent theories is that of Segmented Assimilation. This theory arises in a context in which, unlike post-World War II immigrants, who were mostly white immigrants, the new North American immigration dynamics involves other groups such as Mexicans, Cubans, Asians, and other groups from Latin America. The difference in the origin of immigrants will bring the element of prejudice and racism in relation to the assimilation process, something that did not happen before (Scheneider and Cru, 2005; Porte and Zhou, 1993). In the theory of segmented assimilation, the explanation is based on the relationship between the American racial structure and the way in which different groups of immigrants will be racialized and will be socialized in the new society. Furthermore, the economic structure that today differs from the structure of 50 years ago (Porte and Zhou, 1993). Thus, the theory of segmented assimilation arises with the proposal to deal with the diversity of this new context, because according to this theory the process of integration of the second generation can be segmented in several ways (Porte and Zhou, 1993).

In the European context, the relation between migrants and their offspring in society is conceptualize as a process of integration. The integration process would consist of the incorporation of migrants and their descendants into society, mainly based on issues such as incorporation into the educational system and the labour market (Schneider and Crul, 2012). In this sense, integration would be "measured" from the ability of individuals to integrate within the social structures of educational training and the labour market (Schneider and Crul, 2012). When analyzing the studies in the European context, the theory of segmented assimilation is not enough, as it generates different groups of immigrants. The contribution of European researchers to second generation integration studies consists in showing the effect of the national context on the dynamics of immigrants' integration. Here again, it is important to note that the process of integrating individuals can involve cultural, institutional and agency aspects. In the case of institutional arrangements, we must understand how in each country, immigration and citizenship rules for immigrants, the labour market, the type of economic and productive structure and the educational system influence the integration of different ethnicities. When considering the national aspect, it resumes the introductory discussion on what the integration process would consist of.

In addition to the national element that must be considered when talking about integration processes in general, in the case of the second generation we must ask ourselves: what does the integration of children of immigrants already born in the host country really consist of? According to Schneider and Cru (2005) one of the specificities of the so-called second generation is that they did not experience immigration and the process of adapting to a

new society is something they do not experience. Therefore, these subjects cannot be considered as foreigners in the same way as their parents who underwent a change of residence (Schneider and Cru, 2005). Schneider and Cru point out that the idea that the cultural and social capital that ethnic groups possess is not sufficient to explain the different paths of assimilation. Ethnic heritage does not have the same weight in the experience of the second generation, as it may be more strongly linked to the country in which they live, where the culture, language, and values of the place where they live are found.

Furthermore, other elements must be considered when thinking about the action of second-generation individuals: generation, gender, level of education, etc. (Schneider and Cru, 2005). It is necessary to consider that the identity of the parents does not necessarily delimit or restrict the construction of the identity and the actions of second-generation individuals. Given the discussion about transnationalism and identification process, the current context shows that in the second generation there is a strong connection with different national, local, cultural elements and this is not necessarily something negative that needs to be hidden or overcome.

Colombo, Leonini and Rebughini (2009) point out different ways of dealing with the process of integration of the second generation, in which the ethnic issue may be stronger for some groups of children of immigrants. According to the authors, the problems faced by these adolescents in the integration process (including the processes of discrimination) make the approximation with the culture of the country of origin a form of protection in relation to the difficulties encountered in the integration process. Another element brought by the authors is the role of the high cultural and social capital of young people of the second generation, who end up having other references based on their proximity to "the globalized way of thinking" (Colombo, Leonini and Rebughini, 2009 p. 55). In this way, the approximation or distancing of ethnic values or values of the country of residence are used to improve the opportunities for integration and fulfilment of personal desires. It is worth noting, however, that the processes of integration of second-generation individuals must be seen beyond ethnic belonging, considering the processes of belonging in different spheres of society and from identities other than ethnic-racial (as a young person, as a woman, as a mother, as a worker (Schneider and Cru, 2005).

Citizenship

Citizenship is another differential element in the life trajectory of the subjects studied here, as obtaining official citizenship gives the State the power of inclusion and exclusion (Andall, 2002; Bonizzoni and Dotsey, 2021; Cherubini, 2010; Eliott, 2009). Several problems can arise in relation to the non-acquisition of citizenship: from something practical such as free movement in European territory, to the right to vote, to participation in public contests, influencing even the notion of belonging and identity construction. it is a type of institutionalized identity in which individuals are recognized in social, economic, and political terms (Albeni et al. 2020). According to Albanesi et al, 2020, often the construction of people's identity is not necessarily related to the citizenship dimension, at least not exclusively, so we should not assume that it is less important. The issue of citizenship can be understood from

various angles and theoretical perspectives, the most common being that associated with the nation-state. From this perspective, citizenship as a legal status determines a set of rights and duties of an individual in relation to a State (Albeni et al. 2020). Citizenship is a reproducer of social reality because the right or denial of this status can bequeath the production and reproduction of situations of inequality (Elliot, 2009).

The context of instability and uncertainty for the second generation may be related to citizenship, something that may be absent for young people of Italian parents (Bonizzoni and Dotsey, 2021). Citizenship is a type of institutionalized identity in which individuals are recognized in social, economic and political terms (Albeni et al. 2020;). The social and historical context in which young people live will influence how they will be seen and considered in society. Thus, attitudes towards immigrants in the country, public opinion, as well as immigration and residency laws, will influence the course of life and prospects for education, employment, and family formation. The way these subjects will experience these spheres of life can generate greater degrees of instability and social exclusion. There are still other elements that can be examined about the life course of young descendants of immigrants: the moment of immigration events of themselves or their parents, residence in the country of arrival, the construction of family and community ties were part of the territoriality of a Nation-state are some of the factors that influence the trajectory of life (Edmonston, 2013).

According to data from the Italian government[16], citizenship in Italy is based on three possibilities: the first is the right of blood in which nationality is recognized for people who were born in Italy and who have at least one Italian parent; the second would be citizenship acquired by naturalization, in which individuals born abroad can apply for citizenship by concession at the request of a foreigner who has lived in Italian territory for at least ten years. This group also includes individuals who were born in Italy and who have foreign parents, who must wait until they are 18 years old to be able to apply for citizenship (Dusi, 2021; Mariani et al., 2021). In this one-year interval, the young person must prove that he or she has lived in Italy uninterruptedly since birth (Albeni et al. 2020; Harris and Raffaetà, 2020). What can be said is that the acquisition of citizenship for most young people who have foreign parents coincides with a moment of transition to age of majority; the third way of acquiring citizenship is by marriage, in which the foreign citizen requests citizenship after marrying an Italian citizen.

Italy is one of the most restrictive countries in terms of citizenship (compared to other UE countries) (Mitterhofer,2023; Solano and Huddleston, 2020), as it uses mainly the principle of "*iues sanguinis*" in which citizenship is only guaranteed for those whose parents are Italian citizens (Albeni et al, 2020; Harris and Raffaetà, 2020). As Mitterhofer (2023) points out, citizenship in Italy is not automatically granted to those born in Italian territory with foreign parents. Blood, descent, and place of residence are the main ways of granting citizenship in Italy and this means that a large portion of Italian individuals with parents with a migrant background are still recognized as foreigners (Mitterhofer, 2023). It is worth mentioning that, however, in the year 2022, with the movement of civil society[17] from different movements and

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[16] https://www.interno.gov.it/it/temi/cittadinanza-e-altri-diritti-civili/cittadinanza
https://www.senato.it/japp/bgt/showdoc/17/DOSSIER/0/941909/index.html?part=dossier_dossier1-sezione_sezione11-h1_h14

[17] The initiative was mainly led by this group of social movements: https://dallapartegiustadellastoria.it/

social initiatives, a text was approved by the Constitutional Affairs Committee of the Chamber to reform the ways of acquiring citizenship. This so-called "*ius scholae*" proposal would provide the possibility for young people descended from immigrants who: were born in Italy or lived in Italy until the end of 12 years of age; who had legal and uninterrupted residence in the country; who had attended schools in Italy uninterruptedly for five years (Codini, 2022). Despite the advances in relation to this debate from the project proposal, it is necessary to consider that the persistence of the "status" of legality of these individuals as a pre-condition of citizenship can reaffirm processes of exclusion of people who do not have the opportunity to be legalized (Cordini, 2022).

Discrimination

It can be argued that the experiences of discrimination experienced by young people are mostly due to their diverse origins, as they are considered "foreigners" or "immigrants" and not natives or Italians. But we must ask ourselves: what does be Italian consist of? What visible characteristics could be associated with someone who would be "Italian" and someone who would be a "foreigner". Is the problem really "being" a foreigner or "looking" a foreigner?

The difficulty of allocating the phenomena of discrimination and prejudice against immigrants in general and young descendants of immigrants seems to consist in the difficulty of not knowing whether the cause of discrimination is xenophobic or racist. This is because in the face of the increase in migratory flows, seeming to be an immigrant comprises a racist view insofar as the recognition of these individuals as foreigners is based on physical or cultural characteristics. Sivanandan (2001) helps us to understand this phenomenon when, in seeking interpretations of the immigration phenomenon in England, he introduces the concept of "xeno-racism". For the author, the processes of discrimination and demonization (Faustino and Oliveira, 2021: 196) historically directed towards black people, are now also directed towards migrant populations. According to Sivanandan (2001), discrimination against immigrants is a process that involves not only the physical aspects of a person, but also involves their origin, their religion, their migratory past.

We enter the second point of argument which is the Italian racial classification system and how it is formed. By the Italian ethnic-racial classification system I mean the set of social, institutional, and ideological practices that identify individuals in Italy based on race and ethnicity ideals. To understand how this is constructed in Italian society, we must discuss the meanings given to Italian identity and how it has been constructed throughout history. Authors (Marinaro and Walston, 2010; Tesfau and Picker, 2021; Giuliani, 2019) have pointed out the strict relationship between Italian national identity and the ideas of whiteness and Christianity. The roots of this process still date back to Italian Colonialism and Fascism, which, when trying to follow the racist ideas of the time, bet on the construction of a national identity based on a Mediterranean whiteness: a way of associating itself with the ideal of whiteness in northern Europe, excluding the elements associated with blackness and blackness and Arabs, typical of

the southernmost regions of Europe. Giuliani. (2019) in explaining this phenomenon points to the construction of a normality-normativity[18] (Giuliani, 2019) of what it means to be Italian, mainly related to whiteness, heterosexuality, and Christianity. This self-representation is contradictory because within Italian society itself, different visual traits are visible, other than whiteness and heterosexuality. After the fascist era, the taboo related to the theme of race, prohibiting this term not only in institutional language, but also in the social imaginary, ends up fortifying racializing and racist devices through what Giuliani (2019) calls the process of dissimulation. Despite the taboo in relation to race, the reproduction of power practices from the racist logic is perpetuated from the construction of hierarchies (Giuliani, 2019) based now on issues of culture or nationality in which the immigrant becomes the main subject of clash. The problem with immigrants and their descendants, especially among those who are not considered white, is that they face the homogeneity of the imagined society by being in the territorial demarcation of the nation claiming belonging to "Italianity".

As other authors in other contexts point out, the idea of nation and nationality is often built from not only territorial but also racial boundaries. Kilomba (2009) shows that nation-building and nation-delimiting boundaries are often associated with the construction of an idea of race. This association between national identity and specific physical or cultural aspects "territorializes", according to the author, racism, for not being able to consider the difference and diversity within the same territory. The denial that many young people feel that they are not considered Italian strengthens the interpretation that, to be Italian, one needs much more than speaking the language and being born in the country. What is needed is a set of homogeneous physical and cultural characteristics idealized in the idea of *Italianness.* The fact is that the growing criminalization of immigrants by the mainstream media (Giorgi, 2012; Frisina and Hawthorne, 2018) and immigration policies is based on the idea of defending Italian culture, which is built on essentialized values that practically involve Western and Christian values. The way in which Ukraine's refugees are being welcomed by Italy and other Western countries demonstrates precisely the type of immigrant and the type of refugee that can be welcomed, which in this case are similar. Despite the efforts to build a society no longer based on the idea of a single Italian race and despite the concept of race being taboo in Italian society (and often in the Academy), it is possible to perceive that these elements are still part of the imagination and the modes of operandi in Italy mainly in relation to immigrants and their descendants (Marinaro and Walston, 2010; Tesfau and Picker, 2021; Giuliani, 2019). As Giuliani (2019) and Kilomba (2019) point out, the ways in which racism operates have changed throughout history. If before the justification of "biological races" was used to make people inferior, today racism operates from the idea of difference and cultural incompatibility (Kilomba, 2019: 112). In this sense, immigrants and refugees are seen as dangerous bodies (Faustino e Oliveira, 2021; Giuliani, 2019; Sivanandan, 2001) because they bring from their visual identity, from their culture, a risk to the narrative of national identity, a risk that must be avoided (Moralli et al., 2019; Giuliani, 2019).

Therefore, in this work, we understand that racial and ethnic issues go hand in hand, as both the use of physical characters (such as skin colour, hair appearance, nose and mouth shape,

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[18]A banal example that can be observed in this implicit normativity is the vocabulary used to refer to non-white people in Italy. The idea of the "*persona de colori*" brings an implicit character of norm, or normality, because in this category it can contain the idea that the white person is the "*senza colori*" person, that is, who has no colour and is automatically not racialized.

etc.) (ways, customs, religions, language) are used in societies to exclude, discriminate and violate people. Ethnicity and race are both socially constructed concepts that have important social consequences in sociological analysis. Although race, as a scientific-biological category, no longer exists, in our societies the idea of race is still used to make people inferior, to deny access to certain resources, goods and services. Safi (2020) gives us a plausible argument for using the categories "race and ethnicity" together: according to the author, the social inequalities generated by the understanding of ethnicity and race within society make it understand these categories of yours as co-dependents. The "difficulty of separation" (Safi, 2020: 115) lies in the fact of the difficulty of separating what would be considered in society as a race and what in society would be considered as an ethnicity. The author follows her argument and gives us a basic differentiation between race and ethnicity: while race would be a set of physical-phenotypic characteristics that would be "visible, unalterable and transmissible like skin colour" (Safi, 2020: 115) ethnicity could be defined as a set of characteristics related to a culture shared by a group: language, values, norms, clothing, lifestyles". However, what Safi argues is that despite this pretence of separation, what is actually seen is the mixture of these elements because, often with an ethnic group (such as Jews and Muslims for example) there is a process of racialization of these from the attempt to add immutable and transmissible characteristics to these groups. In addition to cultural groups being racialized, racial markers also gain an ethnic meaning when phenotypic characteristics are associated with certain behaviors, values, attitudes, tastes, language, nationality, culture. These are strong examples of the limits of the analytic separation between the racial and the ethnic. Furthermore, both race and ethnicity are categories that tend to essentialize individuals in their characteristics, in their conduct, etc.

Another reason that the author brings in using the term "ethnic-racial" together is the discomfort inside and outside the academy of using race as an analytical category. for the author or the discomfort with the concept (of race) moreover, is rooted in the fact that a historically specific conception of race - which attributes a hierarchical moral worth to human phenotypes - is still relatively dominant in the social and political imagination, leading to a sort of all-out demonization of the term. According to Barton, this conception corresponds to an understanding of race as "types" of peoples, it is relatively recent and is related to the specific context in which social Darwinism emerged in the west. the predominance of this conception of race has resulted in a sort of decontextualization of the concept, in contradiction to its being understood as the product of perpetual processes of cultural negotiation. the conjunction of race and ethnicity in research that focuses on their consequences in terms of inequality helps overcome this restrictive understanding of race, grounded in the social Darwinist legacy.

The set of classifications of individuals by societies has been intensified with migration processes, processes that trigger elements of differentiation and inequality based on phenotypic issues, language, values, religion, lifestyles, etc (Safi, 2020). Normally, the processes of identification of supposed alterity between groups and individuals are always based on external hetero-identifications (that is, how people identify someone), which are used in an essential way to race (physical visible elements) and also from the process of self-classification (how people identify themselves), which tend to be based on the idea of ethnicity, that is, based on the essentialization of conducts, personalities and values and the feeling of community. This process alone demonstrates once again the need to use ethnicity and race together, given that the external/outside identification of individuals and the self-classification of individuals constantly interact in society.

Therefore, in this thesis the ethnic racial category is also one of the essential elements because it brings together a set of discriminatory practices that involve the external classification of individuals as being different due to physical or cultural aspects. Thus, racism would be a set of ideas and practices that start from the idea that there are biological and cultural differences that would differentiate individuals in a hierarchical way. Much has been discussed about a new type of racism, which is no longer the biological-phenotypic, but the "cultural" type.[19] that uses alleged cultural differences as a way of distinguishing and hierarchize people. This change from the biological precept to the cultural precept (cultures, religions different from the national culture) is what is now called "new racism". In recent scientific discussions on racism, the substitution of the term race for ethnicity tries to leave or unlink the biological meaning and focus on sets of cultural practices and sociability that would be different from what we consider as modern/western practices. But it is interesting to note that the attempt to detach itself from biological discourse ends up falling into the same mistakes as the idea of biological race, by thinking about the behaviours and cultural characteristics of an individual in an essentialist way. Not to mention innate physical aspects, we talk about incompatible cultural aspects with no chance of dialogue. This kind of argument is just as deterministic as the biological racial argument. Considered as inferior cultures or incompatible with the present, non-Western cultures also suffer from the same principles of racialization, not necessarily from a biological point of view, but from an essentializing, hierarchical and exclusionary point of view. These two elements – which may or may not go together, still serve to maintain power relations, to perpetuate economic, educational, cultural, political, and aesthetic inequalities.

The use of different terms such as culture, ethnicity serves to cover up ancient logics in which certain individuals are seen as different and inferior. This type of approach is common in social media where, when talking about immigrants, incompatible cultural differences are alleged between those considered "natives" and those considered "immigrants". With this, new practices of racism are exposed in which the use of the word "immigration" or "immigrants" serve as substitutes for the word race, in the sense that these words end up in public debate and common sense often meaning the same thing (Balibar and Wallerstein, 1991; Giuliani, 2019).

In the Italian context, it can be said that race, ethnicity, and nation are confused in the social and political imagination since being Italian has specific social meanings that involve the idea of a Christian and white society. As we have seen in previous sessions young people who were born in the country of choice for immigration or those who arrived in early childhood have a strong relationship with the society in which they live, a relationship that makes them not feel like a foreigner in that country (Braga, 2019; Jaskulowski and Pawlak, 2019). Despite the strong identification with the country in which they live, many descendants of immigrants feel socially excluded because they are not seen by society as true natives (Andall, 2002; Marinaro and Walston, 2010; Jaskulowski and Pawlak, 2019). The feeling of not belonging to the country where you were born can be related to situations of racism, discrimination, and prejudice (Andall, 2002). The perception of racism and prejudice by young people has an impact not only on identification, but on the life trajectory of young people and on the potential for exclusion (Jaskulowski and Pawlak, 2019). Religious affiliation, name or

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[19]Neo-racism or differentialist racism is pointed out by Marques (2001) as a contemporary type of racism in which it is no longer based on biological determinism, but on strong cultural differences that would be antagonistic and incommunicable with modern culture.

accent, physical appearance, skin colour and cultural habits (Lindemann and Stolz, 2021) are some of the elements reported in the literature that affect people's lives. The perception and experience of discrimination has effects on individuals, their self-esteem and psychological well-being (Lindemann and Stolz, 2021; Quaglia et al, 2020), in the processes of identification and recognition towards society. All these experiences of discrimination throughout life have a direct impact on access to social, economic, political, and symbolic resources.

Many young Afro-Italians [20] do not feel recognized in society as Italians, as they often do not have the white phenotype (Andall, 2002). Despite identifying themselves as Afro-Italians, the feeling of not belonging to the country where they were born is undermined by the situations of discrimination and prejudice they experience (Andall, 2002). The phenomenon of discrimination and prejudice, although they happened in the individual sphere, can be visualized, created, and reinforced in the structural spheres. The role of State institutions, legislation, and the media (Marinaro and Walston, 2010, Frisina and Hawthorne, 2018; Giubilaro, 2018), are important in the biography of individuals who, because they have a foreign origin, have their identity often questioned or even disregarded. It is young people who are denied social resources, whether in the most classified based on citizenship or based on other elements: in interpersonal relationships, in public and institutional spaces, in the search for a job, in police approaches, in the racial, ethnic, religious definition (Andall, 2002; Jaskulowski and Pawlak, 2019; Lindemann and Stolz, 2021).

Specifically with women descendants of immigrants, there is a junction of gender discrimination and ethnic-racial discrimination from the experiences of sexualization or depreciation of these women, whether due to the ethnic-racial issue, but also due to religious intolerance that can be understood as a kind of cultural racism (Frisina and Hawthorne, 2018). When talking about the inequalities experienced by young descendants of immigrants, experiences involving gender and origin are considered. Due to foreign origin, women may experience gender discrimination and sexism in a way that "native" women may not.

Therefore, it is necessary to incorporate gender and immigration background in life course experiences to portray the experience of women with an immigrant background (Nyemba, 2021). A woman who has parents of foreign origin may experience different types of discrimination based on her religious affiliation and the symbols she bears; from gender stereotypes aimed at immigrant women and their descendants; from the violence directed at these people because they are women and because they are considered from different origins than that of the country. In addition to the violence, they may face within the society in which they live, these women may experience systemic violence within the family of origin from cultural perceptions related to the gender roles they must play. Therefore, it must be thought that descendants of immigrants can be violated in universes that are interconnected: the family, the culture they experience, and the society in which they live.

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[20] From the reading Afro-Italians were young people who were born in Italy and who had parents who came from the African continent (Andall, 2002).

The development of the analysis of intersectional studies in immigration also gives us the need to use the same perspective to study the life course of the young people studied here. As discussed before, the origin of intersectional studies gives rise to an analysis that takes into account the "simultaneous effects" (Crenshaw, 1989; Ciurlo, 2017, Spanò and Domecka, 2021) of discrimination against women who may suffer not only due to gender issues, but also ethnic, racial issues and social class (Crenshaw, 1989; Ciurlo, 2017). The main criticism is that feminism and gender studies only considered the existence and experience of white and western women (Crenshaw, 1989; Spanò and Domecka, 2021). On the other hand, racism would have disregarded the specificity of gendered racial experiences (Crenshaw, 1989). As pointed out by Crenshaw (1989) the category "woman" as a universal unit ignored for a long time the reality of women with different nationalities, races, and social classes. The contextualization of precariousness mentioned above affects individuals in different ways, with some individuals being more affected than others. Thinking about young immigrants in this work is not enough because we must consider the intersection of other dimensions and identities that exist within this group. It is therefore necessary to look at multiple overlapping systems of inequality and how they are mutually constituted Spanò e Domecka, 2021, p.176).

Within this type of racism, the aesthetic and cultural mark of women who wear the veil must be considered. The veil is commonly associated with the religion of Islam, with discriminatory practices recognized in the literature (Schuster and Weichselbaumer, 2021; Lindemann and Stolz, 2021; Torrekens et al., 2021; Rizzo, 2020) as Islamophobia. We can consider Islamophobia as discrimination and prejudice against Islam as a religion and its practitioners, the Muslims. In the European context, Islamophobia appears in various domains of life, such as in the labour market, schools, health institutions, housing, etc. (Schuster and Weichselbaumer, 2021; Lindemann and Stolz, 2021). Islam is one of the religions with the most negative associations in the European context, being often considered a "threat" to European values (Torrekens et al., 2021).

In European society, Islam is associated with a set of negative stereotypes, such as: religious fanatics, terrorists, religion in which women are oppressed (Schuster and Weichselbaumer, 2021; Weichselbaumer, 2016; Frisina and Hawthorne, 2018; Peruzzi et al., 2020). The veil is an element that brings greater negative attitudes than Islam itself, and the reasons for this rejection are: the association with the fundamentalist strand of Islam; seen as a way of resisting the integration of immigrants into the society in which they live; seen as a symbol of the oppression of women (Weichselbaumer, 2016). Islamophobia is practiced based on neoliberal justifications that place veiled women as unprofitable (Schuster and Weichselbaumer, 2021). Muslim women in Europe suffer prejudice within the labour market, with experiences of discrimination based not only on Islamophobia but also on sexism (Torrekens et al., 2021; Schuster and Weichselbaumer, 2021). These experiences can lead to an experience of exclusion, low wages, decreased chances of being hired, generating the possibility of poverty and greater inequality (Schuster and Weichselbaumer, 2021). From the first, ethnicity refers to the idea of groups that share cultural elements such as values, language, religion, clothing, etc. Ethnicity is something that is constructed by individuals in society, whether people can identify with ethnic groups.

As seen in the European context in general, women who wear headscarves are crossed by experiences of discrimination, racism and sexism based on their religious and gender identities (Giorgi, 2012). In the Italian context, the practice of Islamophobia in Italy is very strong and is disproportionately directed at Muslim women, with the veil being the greatest symbol of identification and obstacle (Bernacchi and Chiappelli, 2021) in renting houses, finding jobs, and in cases of everyday racism (Riniolo, 2019). It exists both in everyday practices of racism and in the Italian press: as Giorgi (2012) points out, in the Italian context the Muslim woman is commonly associated with submission and a lack of dependence. The patronizing attitudes of media place those women as victims of a religious practice that would supposedly penalize them (Giorgi, 2012). It is worth noting, however, that discriminatory practices directed at veiled women have been followed by practices of resistance to veiling. Frisina and Hawthorne (2018), Peruzzi et al. (2020) demonstrate how the use of the headscarf by second-generation young people has been reframed from a contemporary "fashion" and at the same time politicized use, which causes new meanings to be attributed to aesthetics that are associated with cultures and belongings religious.

4.3. Thinking about transitions in the context of second-generation youth

In view of what has been exposed, what can be seen is that the processes of building the lives of young people today are increasingly fragile, more contingent, and more prone to precariousness. The social transformations in the West towards the reduction of normative forces in making life, in building oneself as an adult, were accompanied by economic, social, and political processes that undermine the construction of a minimally stable life course.

As we saw earlier in the life course of young immigrant's descendants, it is clear that the impact of contemporaneity is also related to other factors: the construction of identity, citizenship, discrimination based on racism, religious intolerance and sexism, the processes integration, socioeconomic disadvantages related to family resources, cultural ties with the country of origin or parents, etc. I will question in my research to what extent these elements can be conducive to an uncertain life course, given that they can, at an individual or structural level, bring a context of uncertainty. After all, the biographies of young people can be impacted by the restrictions and opportunities arising from the context in which they live and how they lived and acted within that context.

Therefore, it is possible that the life course of these young people undergoes a greater or lesser standardization depending also on the relationships they maintain with the country in which they live and with the country of origin. Therefore, it should be considered that young descendants of immigrants have had, in their life trajectories, contacts with other cultural and social frameworks in which different concepts of adulthood and transitions can exist. In many countries outside the Western context, transitions can happen differently: the time to make transitions such as getting married, leaving home, having your first job, educational formation

etc. may be different compared to the European reality and especially the Italian reality. Thus, it can be said that young children of immigrants may be living different markers of youth and adulthood.

When looking at the topic of this investigation, namely, transitions to adulthood and the meaning of adult life itself there are different outlooks given by the literature on the life course of young descendants of immigrants. Studies that focus on the transitions of second generation tend to focus on just one type of transition without contemplating other life experiences and understanding them as integrated parts of a whole (Valk, 2011). As stated by Valk (2011) the literature that addresses transitions to adulthood focuses mostly on groups of young people considered native Europeans, and knowledge of the trajectories of children of immigrants in these transitions is still little addressed.

To give some brief examples in the European context, the study by Belfi et. Al (2022) demonstrates that comparing first- and second-generation immigrants with Dutch natives, the first group has better chances of employment, is less satisfied with work but has less compatibility of skills at work than natives. Schnell and Fibbi (2016), for example, point out the impact of family support and resources provided by parents on the upward mobility of second-generation young people in Switzerland. In addition, what authors also perceive the impact of discrimination perceived in their mobility possibilities. Other studies will focus on how different educational systems and different labour market compositions will also influence the conformation of young people in general and of young immigrant children in particular in the labor market (Crul and Vermeulen, 2003). Tucci (2011) also makes an interesting analysis of the trajectories of young people in education and in the labour market, showing that the process of exclusion that many young people may experience in their life trajectories (at various times in life and from institutional exclusions at school, work, public bodies, etc.) can generate different results and educational training trajectories. and work.

Given the outline of the discussion on the second generation, I will question how the life trajectory of these young people and the way they live and plan their adult life will be influenced by elements different from those found in the life path of young Italians. For this reason, it is important to highlight a final element that involves the transitional path of young descendants of immigrants and that is related to the concept of belonging coming from youth studies. As stated by Harris et al (2021), belonging is a process that involves rights and duties and forms of self-identification with a group, with a society, with a culture, with places. Belonging or feeling belonging involves the construction of social and subjective bonds (Harris et al, 2021) and involves the experiences of inclusion or exclusion that individuals can experience in the face of the social relationships they live and in the face of existing social structures. This concept is of fundamental importance because it manages to unite the two main dimensions of this research, which are transitions to adult life – how young people seek, create or experience the feeling of belonging to society; and the second generation young people – how young people perform their multiple belongings that also involve the issue of their ethnic-racial identities, the territory, the culture (s) and also the society.

Thus, the concept of belonging is a key factor in the construction of these young people's lives for two reasons: belonging related to their identity as descendants of immigrants and

belonging to their identity as a youth. In youth studies, belonging is one of the main concepts used to understand the dynamics of being young and what it is like to make transitions in the life course. In the case of young people in general, the concept of belonging is important to understand how young people recognize themselves as belonging in the reality in which they live, how their life trajectories in different areas can generate a sense of belonging to society. The meaning of belonging in youth studies is to understand how young people connect with the world in which they live in the most diverse ways: with whom they relate; how they relate to institutions, values, social, political, and economic contexts and how all this creates a sense of belonging or not. If they feel they belong to this reality or think about how societies include them (Harris et al, 2020). Hence, one can also think about other forms of belonging: how young people recognize themselves as people in transformation, or towards adulthood; as the practices they bring up to date represent to themselves practices of belonging to a certain stage of life, to a certain group of people.

For young descendants of immigrants, the practices of belonging, of annexation that they develop to feel that they belong to the territories that matter to them are also taken into account: whether in Italy, or in other countries - whether the country of their parents or the country want to go live, or who already do. The perception of belonging as a performance placed by Butler (2020) points to belonging as daily practices based on several elements: reinforcement of culture, language, music, religion, a lifestyle; within the workspace; in family relationships, in educational training. Whether denying or affirming these practices, the processes of belonging are being created. Thus, individuals can practice their dynamics of belonging in various ways and in various spheres: territorial belonging; belonging to the family; belonging at work, in the profession, or at the university. Individuals in general look for different ways to belong, to connect to the social place in which they are inserted: whether in society in the broadest sense, whether in family relationships, at work, at university, between peers, or a nation, to territories and different territories, whether in the notion of youth or adulthood itself, or from the idea that one has of one's own generation.

As seen in the previous section, studies on integration among second-generation youth demonstrate that the process of belonging to a society is often conflictual or based on other forms of identification. In this thesis the focus is to understand how young people build processes of belonging in their society in view of their transitions. Besides that, it will be important to understand how their identities as young descendants of immigrants may or may not contribute to the feeling of belonging. After all, in the face of social changes, precariousness, the speed of processes, the feeling of belonging to social reality or to an identity can be undermined, with structural elements such as class, gender, race, sexuality, religion, disability, etc. conditions of belonging.

With increasingly individualized life paths, the possibilities of identification and connection have become more fragile and with that the belonging to a society, to a phase of life or to a generation can be questioned. Faced with economic crisis, unemployment, environmental crisis, etc. in a context of speed of information, of the use of communicational technologies, looking at the belonging of young people is also important. Therefore, how is the process of belonging, of feeling belonging, related to the transitions in life, which are increasingly deregulated and non-linear? And more than that, how is this phenomenon crossed by the life trajectories of young descendants of immigrants? What other processes of belonging are created by these young people in view of the context in which they live and in view of their ethnic-racial identities and origins? Therefore, the concept of belonging, so important in youth studies, gains here another question, which is how young people in the transition process build

their sense of belonging in a society that, due to situations of discrimination and prejudice, can give less social support to these individuals, or that the feeling of belonging is based on different cultural contexts. The experiences of young people in their paths of work, education, in family relationships, depending on the context, can be essential in building the feeling of belonging either to a society or to a generational group.

School-to-work dynamics

In the international literature there is a vast majority of studies will mostly focus on school-to-work transitions or on comparing the occupational and educational status of second-generation youths in relation to their immigrant parents (Tucci, 2011; Schnell and Fibbi, 2016; Cuyper and Havermans, Vandermeerschen, 2018; Aslam, 2016; Belfi et. Al, 2022). Once again, the question of social and economic capital acquired by parents arises in the studies: the family context, the immigration experiences lived by the parents, the process of family integration[21] into society (in this the jobs that the parents will develop, the type of network of social relationships they will have), and the social and economic capital acquired will impact the work trajectories of these young people. Family relationships and the role of social capital acquired in the family for entering the labour market also influence: the number of social contacts and the types of social contacts available to get a job (De Cuyper, Havermans, Vandermeerschen, 2018).

Some studies of the European context Thomson and Crul 2007; Heath et al., 2008; Schittenhelm and Schmidtke, 2011) point out that young people of immigrant descent have lower educational qualifications and fewer job opportunities when compared to those considered native. As Schittenhelm and Schmidtke (2011) points out, there are several possible explanations pointed out in the literature to explain this reality: the importance of the country of origin; socioeconomic background of immigrants; lack of investment in education; and, finally, the experiences of discrimination in the labour market.

De Cuyper, Havermans, Vandermeerschen (2018) indicates to main theories to explain this reality: the segmented assimilation theory points out that the socioeconomic outcomes of second generation are related to the origin they have and may also vary in view of the region where their parents originate (De Cuyper, Havermans, Vandermeerschen, 2018; Schittenhelm and Schmidtke, 2011). According to the formulators of this theory, skin colour, place of residence, relationship with the country of origin and country of residence, the structure of the ethnic community would be some of the factors that would influence school trajectories and work trajectories. Thus, for example, descendants of non-European countries have a weaker socio-economic position than those who come from Western countries. Consequently, the conformation in the job market in general will be differentiated between those considered native and those considered non-native and within the latter group the country of origin of the parents

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[21]The integration process is referenced in the literature (Aslam, 2016; Camozzi, Cherubini, Rivetti, 2019) as a fundamental process in the construction of economic independence, bringing consequences for society as a whole in relation to economic and social inequality.

would also make a difference. This differentiation would often be due to the educational level of descendants of immigrants being lower than the educational level of natives in the European context (Valk and Milewski, 2011; De Cuyper, Havermans, Vandermeerschen, 2018). However, it is not known whether these data consider the second-generation group to be people who have immigrated at different stages of life and people who were born in the country of destination of their immigrant parents. In any case, as De Cuyper, Havermans, Vandermeerschen (2018) again point out, even with the same educational levels, second-generation people are less successful when compared to natives. In other words, the educational level cannot be the only factor used to think about the positions and trajectories of young descendants of immigrants in the labour market. Other studies, when bringing the idea of "integration" of immigrants and their descendants, point to the influence of the cultural, economic, and social capital inherited in the life paths.

The role of institutions and the structure of the labour market are also important: Fellini and Guetto (2020) show that institutional issues such as the structure of the labour market, pension provisions, the type of existing companies, zmigration and integration policies will strongly influence the position that the immigrant occupies. Therefore, this structure of the labour market will also influence not only immigrants, but also their descendants. Results of Schittenhelm's and Schmidtke (2011) biographical research show that it is not only the institutional conformation of the market that will impact, but also the institutional and social impact of educational passages throughout life that add to situations in the labour market.

In addition to the factors mentioned above, a differential effect that must be deemed is the impact of racism and discrimination (Aslam, 2016; Schittenhelm and Schmidtke, 2011; Roulleau-Berger, 2009). According to the literature (De Cuyper, Havermans, Vandermeerschen, 2018; Aslam, 2016; Schittenhelm and Schmidtke, 2011; Roulleau-Berger, 2009) the experience of being racialized is a differentiator between immigrants and their descendants. Perseverance of racial discrimination in the school trajectories and in the search for jobs can be one of the elements that make transitions to the professional life of young people difficult, in addition to other elements already mentioned such as social capital and training opportunities. De Cuyper, Havermans, Vandermeerschen (2018) demonstrate, for example, that when looking at statistical data on the labour market and the application of interventions, the group of immigrants is often treated homogeneously, without differentiating, for example, people from the second generation and people who were immigrants. Also, according to the authors, Canadian studies have shown that people of the second generation when they are racialized often do not get a good position in the labour market, even when they have a high level of education. According to the authors, studies show that people that are racialized and people with immigrant backgrounds have higher rates of underemployment and lower wages. Schittenhelm and Schmidtke (2011) demonstrated that young people can often feel isolated from their peers at school and in the job market. Successful educational trajectories are one of the most important factors in the accumulation of disadvantages in adult life: the classroom, relationships with peers, the student-teacher relationship are important factors in this success (Kisfalusi et al., 2020). That is, the information and formal levels of interaction in the school institution and in the labour, market generate impacts of differentiation and exclusion that can generate cumulative inequalities and situations of precariousness. (Schittenhelm and Schmidtke, 2011; Kisfalusi et al., 2020).

In the Italian context, the literature points to the impact of specific market configurations in southern Europe, but also affirms the negative role of discrimination experiences. Allasino

et al., (2005) shows that even when comparing young people with the same educational qualifications, with the same experience and linguistic competence, young people with foreign appearance (mainly physical appearance and name) suffered disadvantages in the labor market in relation to young people considered apparently native. Among young people with citizenship "discrimination began as soon as the accent or foreign name was detected, leaving no room for later verification of skills, competence or even citizenship" (Allasino et al., 2005: 185)

Other studies (Ambrosini et al., 2004) demonstrate the persistence of racism and discrimination in a context in which young people have both educational and work aspirations like those of their colleagues considered Italian (Bertani, 2009). The somatic, cultural, and religious characteristics contribute as a cause of school and work differences (Bertani, 2009), being what the difference between expectations and reality make these young people, according to Ambrosine et al (2004), live an "illusory integration" in the labor market. On the other hand, D'Agostino et al (2018) demonstrate that the obstacles faced by these young people in the labor market are experienced in a resilient way: there seems to be a strong tendency among young people to face the adversities arising from legal, economic, and social conditions. In addition, young people seem to demonstrate a greater ability to deal with multicultural environments and use social skills as a way to overcome the obstacles faced.

Housing autonomy

Although studies have well traced the dynamics of young people in southern Europe and more precisely in Italy, little attention has been paid to the patterns of second-generation residential transitions in these contexts (Zorlu and Mulder, 2011). Most studies according to Zorlu and Mulder (2011) are quantitative and fail to convey the particularities of the experiences. The importance of understanding the dynamics involved in the residential trajectories of young people of immigrant descendants helps us to understand how: the group of these young people may or may not differ from what is found in the Italian context; how the residential transition patterns and the timing that are made can imply differences in human capital investments, in socioeconomic conditions (Zorlu and Mulder, 2011) and in the possibilities of greater vulnerability and uncertainty.

According to studies by Rumbaut and Komaie (2010), second-generation young people would be more likely to stay at their parents' home compared to their parents (who in this case migrated and necessarily left the family home). For the authors, young adults in an immigrant family stay at home to reduce the impacts of residential precariousness and also to gather financial resources to be able to carry out the residetinal transition (Rumbaut and Komaie, 2010).

Other examples of studies that demonstrate the impact of immigration were carried out in various contexts. In the North American context, van Hook and Glick (2007) demonstrate that the existence of extended families, in which different generations live in the same residential space, is related to the challenges faced by first-generation migrants. Windizio (2011) tries to trace differences in the patterns of leaving home between young Germans and young Turkish immigrants. The author argues that the difference between these groups concerns strong normative cultural patterns (which mainly affect women), in which leaving home is associated with marriage. However, although these studies have embraced different groups in different national contexts, little is known about the residency pattern of young people in the Italian context. Other data collected by Flake (2012) and other authors (Mitchell, Wister

and Gee, 2004; Van Hook and Glick, 2007; Zorlu and Mulder, 2011) also highlight a common feature in the conformation of multigenerational cohabitation among immigrant families. Both due to cultural preferences and economic restrictions, the multigenerational cohabitation of immigrant families can make some young people stay longer in their parents' homes.

Another quantitative study demonstrates that co-residence situations between Moroccan and Turkish couples are often influenced by cultural issues and other issues, such as restrictions in the real estate market (Bolt 2002). In other words, it should always be considered that the diverse cultural references add up to characteristics of the national scenario: the real estate market, labor dynamics. In addition, we must also ponder the access that young people have to social and economic resources.

Family relationships and the economic, social, and cultural resources available within the family and also in the individual lives of individuals (whether they have a job or not, for example) will influence residential transitions (Mitchell, Wister and Gee, 2004; Zorlu and Mulder, 2011; Flake, 2012; Hochstenbach and Boterman, 2017). The quality of family relationships - greater subjective support within the family, type of bond - and the financial support given by them influence young people leaving home (Mitchell, Wister, and Gee, 2004). Family conflicts along with economic independence can lead to anticipation of leaving home. That is, in a similar way to the life course approach, it is possible to affirm the importance of the interference of connected lives in the construction of paths in relation to housing autonomy. as points Windizio (2011) points out the closest ties that individuals will have, connecting people's life course, influencing their ways of carrying out transitions, including residential ones. Therefore, it is important to consider the role of the family for these young people, as they can be a source of possibilities or restrictions in transitions. (Bernhardt et al, 2009).

Parenthood and family arrangements

In Western societies, attributions to gender roles are made in a long and continuous process of socialization in which specific identities, patterns of conduct and roles in society are learned and affirmed. On the other hand and as stated earlier, gender performances have been transformed throughout Western history. Furthermore, in other societies considered to be non-Western, gender roles are also present in different forms and configurations. In this work, gender is understood as a relational, social, and subjective concept, that is, it is related to the set of social relationships within a cultural and historical context where individuals learn to perform certain gender identities. Therefore, a relational approach to the concept of gender shows the arbitrariness of the differences placed between men and women, culturally and historically situating these differences in representations and identities (Murgia, 2006).

We need to theoretically expand the understanding of family arrangements, love relationships and parenting projects that are based on cultural, regional and class differences (Machado, 2001). As stated by Machado (2001), when differences in parenting and marriage are found within Western culture, these variations are usually associated with the conduct of "immigrant" groups or minority "ethnicities" (Machado, 2001: 14), without considering these manifestations as composing the puzzle of human reality within Europe. The socialized gender roles in the family environment can be reaffirmed in the values of the interlocutors of this research, as they can also be reasons for conflict between family desires and what these young people value or perform as gender identities. This applies to family pressure to have children,

it also applies to gender stereotypes related to care and housework, to marriage, and to the experiences that the interviews had in their parents' country of origin. Therefore, it is important that the dynamics of affective relationships and parenting permeate not only generational confrontations, but also cultural confrontations between the culture in which they live and the culture of their own country of origin or of their parents. I try to show that the way that, mainly among women, they live and think about love relationships and transitions to parenthood are marked by changes and continuities in gender roles. Here it is considered that these young people, having lived in contact with cultures other than just Italian, may reflect on living these aspects differently.

Valk (2011) exemplifies that if, on the one hand, in the Netherlands, as in other European realities, the age of marriage has been postponed, with cohabitation without marriage being more common, on the other hand, in countries such as Morocco and Turkey, for example, marriage and family formation takes place earlier. These cultural differences in relation to transitions and the timing of events can lead young descendants of immigrants to have very particular life trajectories, as these young people may have had contact with "different ways of perceiving transitions to adulthood" (Valk, 2011: 169). In another work, the author discusses how the choice of partners and the conformations of parenting will be different from the groups considered native in view of the cultural immersion that young people descended from immigrants have in different cultural foundations with which they have contact (Valk and Milewski, 2011). Descendants of immigrants can often bring dual behaviours in relation to the continuity of family cultural heritage and change in the face of socialization in the country was socialized, with gender roles and parenting included in this process (Kitterød and Nadim, 2020). When addressing the impact of gender roles on gender attitudes in the labor market, Pessin and Arpino (2018) demonstrate that first generation and second-generation individuals have different ways of dealing with gender roles across societies. First generation adult immigrants tend to be strongly based on the cultural gender schemes of the country of origin, while second generation individuals tend to be based on the gender ideologies of the country where they live. that exposure to different beliefs influences attitudinal formation throughout adulthood (Pessin and Arpino, 2016) and gender is one of them.

Scott and Stanford (2005), shows a tendency for descendants from Eastern Europe and the East to differ from the Swedes in terms of parenting patterns and birth of the first child. The authors explain that the differences between Swedes and these groups (lower fertility rates than Swedes among Eastern European groups and fertility rates among individuals from the Middle East) result from distinct cultural patterns of each locality in question. In addition, the authors reveal that among the different origins of descendants of immigrants, the educational level is also a determining factor: individuals with low education are more likely to enter parenthood than those with higher educational qualifications. And finally, they also demonstrate that being in the labor market with a stable job increases the possibility of having a child regardless of gender, origin, or level of education. These data are important because they show how structural or cultural configurations may come to influence the desire to have a child.

In addition to cultural patterns, another important element is institutional conformations: integration policies and welfare state regimes are also important to understand the patterns among young descendants of migrants. As point out by Husheck et al. (2010) constraints and opportunities at the macro level can influence those dynamics: access to citizenship; conformation of the labor market; safe residence and state support regarding the arrival of the first child are some of the elements to be considered.

Regarding the Italian context, studies are more focused on immigrant women and their fertility patterns than on women descendants of immigrants and their horizons and experiences of motherhood. However, some literature issues may also be important in this research. Based on research that analyses the experience of parenting among immigrants in the Italian context, some questions arise: the question of adaptation between different cultures of reference and how the process of creation and transmission of values will take place (Pastori et al., 2021); the type of assistance given to women immigrant mothers in hospitals and the quality of their health in relation to native mothers (Carovigno and Schettini, 2014); the impact of migration on the process of becoming a mother (Moscardino et al., 2006; Carovigno and Schettini, 2014). Another example from the Italian context but dealing with second-generation women of Italian descent in the UK, is Zontini (2007) who demonstrates the processes of change and continuity in care. The author demonstrates that values in immigrant families vary and are not based solely on dichotomies from the traditional to the modern, or from the ethnic to the globalized.

Given this and following what has already been pointed out by the literature outside the Italian context, it will be important that in this thesis it is possible to observe the patterns of changes and continuities between various cultural references that young people, men, and women, may have in relation to the universe of relationships love, marriage and parenting. The way young people think about these trajectories and the way they act in their lives may involve the confluence of several factors mentioned above: structural, institutional, cultural and agency factors.

Chapter 5
Research Design

5.1. The main objectives

As mentioned earlier, this doctoral thesis is linked to the project "*Italian lives: indagine sui corsi di vita in Itali*a" developed in the Department of Sociology and Social Research of the *Università Degli Studi di Milano-Bicocca*. The study, which has a quantitative approach and a qualitative approach, has as main objective to bring an overview of social changes in the Italian context. My PhD project is linked to the qualitative part of the research that seeks to show in general how young people today live their experiences in different areas of life, trying to understand how the course of life of young people has changed and brought other meanings of what it is to be young and what it is to be an adult. The research is making a detailed analysis of the following spheres: family and affective relationships, parenting, work, education, mobility, use of the internet and social media, relations with politics and religion, individual, family, and collective memory experience, perceptions about the future and personal and collective well-being. It is based on the theoretical-methodological reflections of this project that my research will focus specifically on young people who have parents of non-Italian origin, asking a question similar to the one in the project, which is: how young people live their life courses today and how these impacts on what is happening consider adult life?

Therefore, the main objective of this work is to understand how young people who have parents of foreign origin live their life experiences, whether to re-signify what is meant by adult life. The questions that will guide this research are:

1. What are the paths taken by young people - men and women - today and how do these paths relate to what is commonly considered adult life?

This question aims at understanding how the agency of individuals takes place in the construction of their biographies and how this agency can be related to desires, values and perceptions related to what it is to be an adult.

2. How do young people conceptualize and plan their future?

This question seeks to capture if and how the feeling of uncertainty unfolds especially in relation to the future; whether and how planning is also carried out in a more individualized way or considering the opinion of peers (friends, partners, family members). The reflection of young people on the individual and collective future will be considered.

3. What are young people's experiences in relation to different transitional milestones (i.e., work, housing, marriage, family formation)?

This question seeks to understand how young people experience and act in these spheres of life and if these experiences have lost their linearity, if they are no longer based on traditional and uniform conceptions and experiences. In addition, this question will seek to understand whether uncertainty is reflected in the experience of these milestones and what strategies they put into practice to control and plan their lives.

4. How might structural differences (gender, geographic location, class, legal status) affect life course construction?

An essential element that cannot be overlooked is how issues of class, gender, origin, location, and sexual orientation affect the way young people live today. In addition, from the analysis of the life course, the experience of migration itself or of the parents is an important element, as it can provide different obstacles for the construction of a less precarious and uncertain life course. In the case of young descendants of immigrants, the issue of legal status and citizenship are structuring elements that will be considered in the research.

5. If and how are the dimensions of youth and adult life re-signified?

Given the structures of specific opportunities (in relation to education, mobility, employment, housing) of our contemporaneity, it is necessary to understand how these elements impact on the construction of a life path, making it less linear and traditional. Furthermore, given the cultural changes that have taken place, it is necessary to understand how the subjects themselves help to reconceptualize the understanding of youth and adult life. Therefore, this question seeks to reflect on how the way young people live can question both traditional definitions of youth and transitional milestones to adulthood.

6. How can the multiple identities of contemporary youth affect the way transitions live?

The experience of young people of immigrant descent may reveal cultural pluralism in relation to their own migratory experience or the experience of their parents. This can generate different ways of experiencing youth and transitions throughout life.

5.2. Units of analysis

General characterization of the research subjects

An exact data that brings the number of descendants of immigrants that aggregate those born in Italy, those born outside Italy and who reached early childhood with or without citizenship, in the Italian context is difficult to indicate. This is because in an attempt to find these data, as also seen in the existing literature (Dusi, 2021; Riniolo, 2019; ISTAT, 2020) there is often a

direct association of these young people as all immigrants, many of whom were born in Italy. Furthermore, there is no exact separation between those who have Italian citizenship and those who do not, or between those who arrived at a young age or who arrived as teenagers or adults. This error, which could only be methodological, is an epistemological question about who is considered an immigrant and who is considered an Italian in Italy. As Riniolo (2019) explains, from an analytical point of view there is still a difficulty in having an unanimity of who is included in the "second generation" category (Riniolo, 2019). In view of this, some reports may include only young people born in Italian territory, or also include individuals who reached the age of six or, finally, young people who arrived in adolescence could be included. In this group, a distinction could even be made or not made between those individuals with two immigrant parents or just one. Another point indicated by Riniolo (2019) is the methodological question about the quantitative data available and how they are allocated. For example, official statistics divide the population normally by sex, age, and nationality. In this process, young people who do not have Italian citizenship and who are second-generation, for example, are not considered. In addition, there is a difficulty in finding data that numerically bring the composition of second generation young people after the age of 18 and what are their characteristics: whether they were born in Italy; parental occupation; type of educational background; date of arrival in Italy. An example of this fact is that one of the recent reports on the second generation in Italy (2020[22]) focuses only on younger people and not on those over 18 years of age. Or, for example, in the Italian statistical yearbook, there is only the separation of individuals from citizenship and non-citizenship, without going into the nuances that this legal status acquires and without dealing with the senses of belonging that escape legal citizenship.

In the Italian context, the number of young people under 18 who were either born in Italy or were born outside Italy and have immigrants parents is approximately 1 million and 316 thousand (ISTAT[23],2020). Of these young people, 75% were born in Italy, that is, they did not undergo the migration process. These data alone demonstrate the importance of understanding the life course of these young people. When observing the number of young people between 22 and 30 years of age – the main target of this research, it is observed that the number of young people in this age who are foreigners is 672,267[24] individuals, who cannot specify whether they were born in Italy or at what age did they arrive in Italy. Another interesting fact is that 131,803 was the number of acquisitions of Italian citizenship in 2020. even at a younger age is approximately one million individuals included in this classification in the year 2019.

Regarding attendance in the school system, data from the Report of the Mi Ministry of

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[22] ISTAT. 2020. Identità E Percorsi Di Integrazione Della Seconde Generazioni in Italia.

[23] https://www.istat.it/it/files/2020/04/Identit%C3%A0-e-percorsi.pdf

[24] https://www.ismu.org/dati-sulle-migrazioni/#1614683296230-0573ceba-e30d

Education[25] for the years 2019/2020 show that 877,000 students without citizenship are in the Italian basic education system. The data also show, for example, differences between young people with and without citizenship and their participation in different school grades: in the age group from 6 to 13 years old, school attendance rates in the first cycle are the same as those with and without Italian citizenship (approximately 100%). In the second cycle of schooling, young people aged 14-16 without citizenship, the frequency drops to 93%. Finally, among young people aged 17-18 without citizenship, the frequency rate drops even further to 73.2% (while the rate for individuals with Italian citizenship is 81%. Data on young people without Italian citizenship Enrolled in university courses in 2021/2022 reaches the number of 109,000 students according to MIUR[26] data. that second-generation young people, whereas first-generation young people (that is, those who were born outside of Italy) would be more likely to pursue technical or vocational education. The data collected by Mariani et al. (2021) in fact confirm that young people considered native have higher percentages of enrolments in lyceums than second-generation young people, and first-generation young people (that is, those who were born outside of Italy) would be more likely to follow technical education or vocational. The data on the labor market found, however, tend to make distinctions either by age group (e.g., 15-24 years old or 25 to 34 years old) and when considering citizenship they normally do not use the division by age group. However, the 2020 data on the impact of the pandemic on the labor market show that foreigners, and especially young foreign women with a low level of education and with low-skill professions, are the most likely to lose their jobs.

Specific target group

To fulfil the objective of this research, the units of analysis are young people with at least one non-Italian parent/an immigrant parent[27]. Because this research has a qualitative approach, the sample collected here does not have the expectation of representing the entire population and all the variability of the population (young people in Italy). As we understand that this thesis seeks to give a deeper view of the subject in question, the aspects below were considered at the time of data collection.

First, in this research I will focus on young people who were during the first wave of interviews between 22 and 29 years of age. The choice of this cohort is also justified by the very objective of our research, which is to understand how young people are living in the current scenario of uncertainty. In Italian society, young people in this age group are living and building professional and educational paths. These paths are directly impacted by the current context of social transformations.

The Geographical representation: the research was carried out trying to bring the variety of the Italian context. Given the limitations of time and resources in the face of the Pandemic,

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[25] https://www.miur.gov.it/documents/20182/0/Alunni+con+cittadinanza+non+italiana+2019-2020.pdf/f764ef1c-f5d1-6832-3883-7ebd8e22f7f0?version=1.1&t=1633004501156

[26] http://dati.ustat.miur.it/dataset/iscritti/resource/f0fb0a0a-02a6-44bb-a2b9-feadc9d05f16

[27] See appendix A tables 1 to 7.

it was possible to bring geographical variability mainly in the macro regions of the country. Therefore, interviews were carried out in the Italian macro-regions: north, central south islands.

Another significant element of our unit of analysis was the issue of gender equity among the research participants. Thus, the participation of a similar number of people who identify as men and women were respected in this research. Given that gender is a marker of differentiation and inequality in societies, it was essential to ensure an equal number of men and women participating in this research.

The educational level of individuals was also considered in this research since life experience and life projects may vary in relation to educational level and social positions. Despite the difficulty of finding young people with a wide range of educational levels, it was possible to find at least young people who had completed secondary education and young people who had completed the first cycle of university studies and young people who had completed or were doing the second university cycle.

It was also considered the family situation of the participating subjects. Being single, married or having other forms of relationship impact on life construction and projections Considering the impact of parenthood, this research also investigated the life course of young people who have gone through or are going through the experience of being a mother/father.

Finally, in relation to the origin of young people interviewed for this research the only specification is that the young people chosen to have at least one parent with some foreign origin, in addition to having spent most of their lives in Italy. Based on Rumbaut's (2004) generational typology, the children of immigrants have generational differences that must be considered. Thus, young people can be interviewed who: were born in Italy and have at least one parent of foreign origin (generation 2.5); or young people who were born outside Italy to foreign parents and came in early childhood (generation 1.75); or young people who were born in Italy but have two foreign parents (generation 2.0). This does not mean that I will necessarily have the representation of these three groups of generations. The choice to focus only on these youth groups is justified by the fact that these young people were socialized and spent their entire lives or most of their lives studying in Italy. If there are differences in relation to the generation of young people, these will be considered in the light of the construction of different biographical trajectories and elements related to possible legal and social situations. The purpose of this work is to embrace the diversity of experiences that can be lived by young people with different immigration backgrounds.

5.3. Data collection

The current context of the COVID-19[28] Pandemic has changed political, economic, and social scenarios on a global scale. The rapid transformations generated with the advancement of the

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[28] Italy was one of the first countries in Europe to have the first cases of the disease caused by the SARS-COV-2 virus. From the main chronological events since the beginning of the pandemic in 2020, it is worth highlighting some: (1) first two cases in Italy on January 30, 2020; (2) increase in cases in February and closure of borders on March 9 all internal and external transfers in the country are prohibited unless necessary. At that time, in addition to the ban on travel, all non-essential activities, including schools and universities, were also paralyzed. Italy is then from March to mid-June in severe lockdown. After the arrival of summer and the decrease in cases due to COVID-19, the country reduces some restrictive measures, but has them again at the end of October 2020. After

disease around the world have generated changes in habits and possibilities in a short space of time. Decrees of lockdown, prohibition of travel and meetings, closing of schools, universities, shopping centres and main economic activities. These interventions had as their main purpose the attempt to reduce contact between individuals, thus reducing the spread of the virus. The increase in social isolation has also brought repercussions for qualitative scientific research, not only because the opportunity to carry out face-to-face research is lost, but also because it brings difficulties in the initial socialization between the subjects involved during the research (researcher and research participants).

The academic-scientific generation that is experiencing the current moment knows that the last two years have been marked by considerable changes at all levels of social and work relationships. The emergence and advancement of the pandemic caused many of our activities (research, teaching, learning) to change profoundly. The advancement of digitization and the use of digital platforms in the teaching and research process that was already used became, as of 2020, almost a rule and in most cases an obligation. In the case of conducting an investigation, the main area affected was data collection in qualitative research. This is because qualitative research is known for being a method in which direct contact with the research subjects is predominant, whether from ethnography, field research, participant observation and from the most different data collection - focus groups, semi-narrative interviews, life stories, etc.

Faced with the scenario of transformations in everyday life and within the academy, it is necessary to expose the methodological frameworks developed during the process of this research which involves the recruitment, the construction of the group of people to be interviewed. For this research I used two main tools, the first from the snowball method, using chains of references and contacts that I had within the Italian context, and the second from the help of social networks. Given that this research was conducted in the context of the Covid-19 Pandemic, the use of the snowball method was undermined, with digital platforms being a necessary resource. The use of online research makes information and communication technologies a substantial means of collecting and building data (Salmons, 2011). Therefore, it is important to make clear here how and why I used social networks and other simultaneous video calling applications in this work (Salmons, 2011). Therefore, the methodological reflection in this part of the thesis will involve two main themes: my position as a research subject in relation to the subjects who participated in the research, and the impact of COVID on the construction and development of the research.

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that, the country is in a kind of partial lockdown depending on development disease in the regions. Thus, there is an increase or decrease in restrictions on activities and locomotion depending on the advancement or decrease of cases. It is worth noting that on October 8, a law was enacted making it mandatory to wear a mask both indoors and outdoors. With the decrease that begins in March and is strongly felt in July and August, the restrictions imposed by the government begin to ease, adding to this the increase in people vaccinated from August 2021 to the present, the dynamics surrounding the fight to the COVID-19 Pandemic have become less stringent. It can be said that Italy was one of the countries in the European context that maintained the strictest restrictions,

Methodological implications: the subject(s) in the research

Since sociology began to be founded as a science that seeks to explain social phenomena, it is unanimous to perceive that the relationship between the research subject and the object to be researched is always to be scrutinized (Weber, 1940; Bisztray, 1987; Weiss, 2012). The main concern is related to the ability to observe the social phenomenon in the best way, so that it would be possible to determine, describe or explain the phenomena that happen in society. It is interesting to note, however, the attempts to disentangle the personal being from the researcher/sociologist being have always failed to empower sociologists to a completely neutral and objective observation. There is an a priori assumption within some of these methodological conclusions that it is possible to take a neutral look at social phenomena, that it is possible to look at some phenomenon in question and translate it in such a way that there is no interference from the person who is translating it, that is, without that there is no minimal interference from the researcher.

My position is crucial in this research project, as a migrant woman. In this research, my personal identity influenced the development of the research, considering that I am a foreigner, I am not Italian, and I do not always have the same origin or nationality as my research subjects. This aspect is very important because it will impact on the way in which this research has been carried out. Becker (2007) always proposes a "strange" look at what would be obvious, what for us sociologists would already have an answer. For the author, an important element of sociological research is always to look at social phenomena and research objects in a dubious way, almost as if from the outside, with a foreign and inquiring look at things.

If in sociology we must move away, to get closer and better understand the phenomena to which we put ourselves to research, in anthropology the "strange" look is part of the beginning of this science. Anthropology appears in the studies of researchers who research societies, communities, or tribes outside their society, in which the foreign gaze should adapt, in which the foreign gaze should actually become a native gaze so that it is possible to understand the societies in studies. These two processes, being a native and looking like a foreigner, and being a foreigner and looking like a native, are activities that in the development of research practices in the social sciences were analysed, discussed and put into practice.

Within this research experience, it was necessary to carry out the two processes of estrangement and of relativization of the processes in analysis. I can say that at times my identity as a researcher was sometimes foreign, sometimes native. This phenomenon occurred in this research because maybe I constituted a double identity in myself or I gave the impression of a double identity. On the other hand, I would be the same as these young people I researched, as I somehow shared a different origin from the Italian. Many times, the idea of "us" (me and them) appeared when talking about the bureaucracies related to the "*Permesso di soggiorno*" or about to feel as a "foreigner" in Italy. On the other hand, I also constituted myself as different from them, for not sharing their different ways of being Italian, their "*Italianity*" when talking about cultural issues, anxieties and especially at times when the dialogue was interrupted because I did not understand the Italian language. It can also be said that my position as a foreigner casts this strange look at the phenomena that happen in the Italian context. Coming from a country with a tradition of racial studies and recent studies on migration, my view of the phenomenon studied here is somewhat strange.

Thus, the fact of being a foreigner (different from the foreign look) brought a series of complications and possibilities. As mentioned above, this research was carried out in Italy, the country in which I am also carrying out my doctoral studies[29]. The first difficulty encountered was, as a foreign researcher, to get in touch with people in order to participate in the research. The intermittent experience in Italy - specially during the Pandemic restrictions - meant that my contacts were restricted at the local/regional level, making it almost impossible to have contacts from other regions of the country. In addition to the difficulty of finding contacts who could participate in my research, another important factor is the language issue. Both at the time of approaching individuals who could participate, and at the time of the interviews, the spoken language would always be Italian. This made it necessary to learn Italian, so that I could have a greater openness to my field of study.

The difficulty of socialization due to the little network of contacts and due to the language became complex in the context of the COVID-19 Pandemic. The difficulty of finding people on the street and being open to talking to them in another language was increased by the advance of Covid, which consequently generated a fear of socialization for some people. The increase in social isolation and restrictive measures makes social relationships and socialization between people something dangerous, unwanted, in which only basic contacts are recommended. Personal encounters are considered dangerous encounters, encounters that generate distrust, that generate discomfort in the face of the risks of infection by the disease. The personal contact normally in most qualitative research is suspended, it is undermined before the advance of the COVID-19 Pandemic across the globe.

In this sense, and following Becker's metaphors (2007), to be a strange, an outsider (Elias and Scottson, 2011) is duplicated in a situation in which the risk is taken as immediate when encountering people. My question at the moment was how can I introduce myself to people who have never seen me to participate in a survey, more specifically in a narrative-type interview for two consecutive years. In addition to the discomfort of being a foreigner, the issue of the pandemic intensified the difficulty of getting in touch with possible research participants. It was in this process that I decided to look for contacts of potential interviewees using the internet, more precisely social networks. My research started from two specific social networks, Facebook and Instagram. In this experience, it was possible to realize how the Internet is an essential and indispensable instrument in the socialization of people and in the research process in the Pandemic. My approach to people through the internet showed that, just as in real life, within the universe of the internet, of reality mediated by communication technologies, there are rites of socialization between the researcher and the researcher. Joining internet groups is like joining a society, a village that has its rules of behaviour and socialization. It is interesting to note that the symbols and ways of acting that used to happen in person, now happen from

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[29] My first experience in Italy took place 5 years ago when I was doing an international master's degree. After that, I resume my activities in Italy in November 2019, being quickly interrupted in mid-February 2020 due to the first restrictive measures implemented with the advance of Covid-19 in the country. Between March 2020 and July 2020, I went back to my country of origin and proceeded remotely with my doctoral activities, which at that time were the participation in classes and the initial creation of a research project. After that, I returned to Italy in August 2020 to proceed with the writing of my research project and my first months of data collection. However, gradually, with the end of summer and beginning of autumn-winter, cases of Covid-19 began to increase again in Italy, leading to the beginning of new restrictions on social contact. It was at this moment, known in Italy as the "second wave" of Covid cases, that I began to make the first attempts to find my research subjects.

virtuality, transforming the materiality of social processes. Furthermore, the advance of cyberspace has brought about effects on our relationship with space and time, changing the way of communicating and interacting, raising questions about "the dualities between real-virtual, truth-fiction, authentic-manufactured, technology-nature, representation-reality" (Hine, 2013, p.14).

Since the popularization, it is possible to state that the internet has impacted and transformed our cultural production, which was previously predominantly linked to material artifacts. Today our cultural production is no longer built only on materiality but on electronic data (Hine, 2013). The socialization that comes from spoken language and body language, the presence of two or more individuals in a conversation, is now mediated by technologies that transform my words into electronic data and that transform my dialogue with others into electronic compositions, the bytes. This can be thought of as many other elements that make up societies and that are now electronic data. The social rules for participating in certain groups in society, the social status of the individual, the cultural symbols of acceptance and socialization, all of this is now negotiated, produced and exchanged in a network.

In the case of my research, using the social network Facebook made a big difference. As reported by the Pew Research Centre[30] and Earth Web[31], almost 60% of the world's population today uses social media, with Facebook being the dominant social media among users. Still according to the same data centers, among these users, 43.2% are women and 56.8% are men. Another curiosity is that the daily average of time young people in Italy spend on social media is 3.67 hours a day[32]. Since I was looking for a specific target group, I started researching groups or pages that were related to who I wanted to research. So, I started looking for potential pages of cultural, religious or political groups that were related to people with different origins and who lived in Italy. Realizing that these pages could have biased content, since most of those on these pages could be considered as having a strong link with the country of origin, or because they may have specific political links and opinions, I chose to look for generic groups that were of people of different nationalities, but living in Italy. For this, I started from my own reality: as a foreigner coming from Brazil, I participated in several groups entitled "Brazilians in (name of the city)", in these groups people from different locations, professions, educational levels, ages and sex and who had only one issue in common: some relationship with Brazil.

In view of this, it was possible to map several groups of people with different origins. Facebook searches were done using keywords such as: Moroccans in Italy, Africans in Italy, Albanians in Italy, Brazilians in Milan, Moroccans in Bari, Albanians in Palermo, Muslims in Italy, Chinese in Italy, Tunisians in Sicily, etc. This process of joining groups is similar to joining a tribe into a society. It is necessary to go through the first process of socialization between the researcher and those who may in the future be research participants, which is the acceptance of participation in the groups. The vast majority of groups had participation policies, in which there are basic rules of coexistence and at least three questions were asked to anyone who wanted to join the group. In addition to rules such as respect, non-discrimination and, in some cases, not holding political discussions, the questions that most groups asked were: "why

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[30] https://www.pewresearch.org/topic/internet-technology/platforms-services/social-media/

[31] https://datareportal.com/social-media-users

[32] https://ourworldindata.org/rise-of-social-media

do you want to participate in this group?". In none of them the "origin" of the users has been asked. These observations are important because they demonstrate both the types of content shared, as well as the role that these groups play in being spaces of reception, socialization and sharing of experiences, identities and stories.

After answering the questions and agreeing to the rules, it is necessary to wait for the approval of the participation request. After the approval, I presented my research proposal. In this case, in all groups I made a general post introducing myself, explaining my research and asking people to participate voluntarily. It is important to emphasize that this way of recruiting participants for the research has a flaw that comes from the way social networks are thought, monitored and organized. .Analyses on the impact of social media within society have shown how what we have on social networks is not seen and shared in a free and democratic way, in view of data processing itself and also the expansion of fake news practices (Watts, David and Mobius, 2021; Iosifidis and Nicoli, 2020). The political scandals of the Trump Elections in 2016 and the Brexit referendum elections in 2020 showed that in social networks there are ways to shape the information that is seen by users depending on the profile they have (Watts, David and Mobius, 2021). In this case, what I share and public on social networks will be seen by a specific group of people that is mediated by user preferences and mediated by the profiles that social networks create. So, the intermediation of social networks in the search for potential participants does not happen in a completely free and random way. However, the choice to participate among the individuals who saw my post is random and cannot be controlled. Therefore, despite the filter created by social networks, my research still guaranteed a random sample as they were composed of people I did not know, but who voluntarily decided to participate in my research after seeing my publication in the groups in which they participated.

In my approach to groups on social networks, some issues arose: the first is the lack of interest of people who were either not interested in the post or were not interested in participating in the research. Many responded to my post but did not participate. Some others, all men, took advantage of my publication to approach and harass me in some situations. Among these situations, the arrival of a private message with sexual insinuations was recurrent (Of the people I contacted, at least thirteen men made insinuations of harassment).

The second question that arose was the legitimacy of the research, since in some situations the veracity, integrity and security of the research were questioned. This is common in any research process, as potential participants question the identity of the researcher and the legitimacy of the research. In relation to the security to participate in the research and in relation to the integrity of the research, this is often only guaranteed when the consent document is shown to the interviewee in which the purpose of the research is made evident and how it will be used, safeguarding the integrity, security, and participant privacy. But the problem is that all these processes take place later, when people agree to participate in the research. In addition, researchers have to find ways to negotiate all this through the internet, through social networks. It is in this part that we should ask ourselves how the process of authentication of the researcher takes place within social networks. Being considered authentic and not a fraud within social networks in a universe of fake news, bots and haters can be a difficult task. Because asking people to interact with me and tell me the details of their personal lives being just an "avatar" in the world of social media is something that hardly generates trust. Even more, how to negotiate all this with research subjects who in Italian society may be in a situation of vulnerability due to issues of legality and citizenship, discrimination, and prejudice? Proof of

this was an episode that took place in this field experience on social networks. In one of the groups, I joined to publicize my research and invite people to participate, a young man responded to my post questioning my research and seeking to know the legitimacy of the future use of the data that would be obtained. The young man, who was Muslim, made it very clear that he suspected that my research could be a "ruse" used by the government to criticize Islam and its teachings. This young man's suspicion was that my research could be used by state agencies to monitor immigrants.

Research with young people who experience situations of institutional discrimination often becomes tricky at the time of negotiating research participation. On the internet, where interaction does not take place in person, but in a virtual way, "distrust" and "risk" can be greater, given the possibility of fraud or false identities, making the researcher to be considered a state informant. As Hine's (2013) states, just as objects when social relations were digitized, they lost not their symbolic content, rather their material content, which is the presence of one or more people in the process. Thus, the loss of materiality of social relationships will somehow impact people's sense of security and trust in relation to those with whom they communicate on social networks. How to bring materiality and how to bring trust in spaces where you can defraud, you can pretend, you can have a false identity? What can be said is that the levels of insecurity or mistrust increase in the face of the immateriality of social processes, which in this situation are the socialization and negotiation of research. The unknown being behind the screen and his intentions become questionable. One way found to make mediation through social networks between the researcher and the researched was bringing traces of "similarity" or "approximation" between these two subjects. This is because, in a real-virtual situation typical of social networks, a minimum of materiality in social relations can be achieved from the identity approximation between these two subjects. So, when I informed the group that I was a foreign student and that I was doing this research for my doctoral study, some degree of proximity was generated, causing distrust in my research to decrease.

Collecting information and understanding lives: the data collection

After many attempts in many groups, I managed to get in touch with approximately 50 people, of which only 15 became effective participants. The process of approaching the groups, dialogue with the people who responded to the publications should last approximately 4 months (from October 2020 to January 2021). The decrease in contacts occurred for many reasons: some young people were not part of the desired age group, others started contact but then did not interact anymore, and some others, approached me with the intention of harassment. So, in my first interview wave I managed to get a group of 15 young respondents. Among these, 5 were selected by contacting people I knew from my personal network in Italy, and 10 were random people approached within Facebook groups that I had no proximity to.

The data collection instrument used in this research was the semi-narrative interview. In this way, a type of interview called "semi-narrative" (Gambardella, et al., 2021) was used in the research, which consists of the organization of central thematic axes, to be developed during the conversation with the participants. Unlike the structured interview, this type of data collection instrument will allow greater freedom in the speech of the research subject, making the project's themes adequately addressed in relation to the participant's experience. The

interviewees make their own narration in relation to the themes, giving greater autonomy to the interviewee's speech. This process is accompanied by the researcher, who tries to create a certain linearity in the narration, taking care not to completely deviate from the themes proposed in the research. Therefore, the use of this data collection instrument aims to provide flexibility and deepening of the topics covered in this research. Narrative interviews have the potential to bring people's construction about themselves, about the events of their lives and about the way they position themselves in these narratives (Worth, 2009). Thus, people's narratives about themselves enable us to understand their place in the world, the construction of their personal identities and the way in which she/he/they relates to other people (Worth, 2009). Furthermore, against stories about ourselves – in the case of the interviewees – it gives meaning to what was experienced and reveals the way we represent and interpret this to other people (Kamra, 2014).

The use of this type of interview aims to analyze the biography of these individuals as a way of understanding their life paths. This type of sample collection is a new methodological tool (developed in the research project "Italian lives" by the researchers involved), and its main purpose is to give more voice and freedom to participants to draw their own narratives about the elements raised. Thus, it was possible to investigate the content of the interviews taking into account their own life experiences.

'Both in the first wave of interviews and in the second wave of interviews, the same dimensions were investigated, with the variation of the answers between the first and the second wave being the object of analysis of this project. Two waves of interviews were carried out, differing by time of approximately one year. In addition to the 15 young people, I personally interviewed in this research, interviews with 7 other young people from the "Italian Lives" project were added in the realization of this thesis. Those 7 interviews from the "Italian Lives" project were carried out between October 2019 and June 2020. Given the emergence of COVID-19, these 7 interviews were also conducted using the internet (using videoconferencing apps). All interviews require the interviewee's authorization to record and use the collected data.

'Of the interviews carried out in the Italian Lives project, one was done in 2019, and two were made specifically before the beginning of the Pandemic. Contemplating the importance of this temporality, the construction of the sample of analyzed interviews was based on the following data collected:

Interviews	First Wave	Second Wave	Third Wave
Italian Lives	Oct.2019- Jun.2020	Oct.2020- Jun.2021	Oct.2021- Jun 2022

Thesis   Oct.2020- Feb.2021   Oct.2021- Feb.2022   X

When analyzing the timeline of the project and my thesis, temporally, the second and third waves of the project coincide with the first and second waves of my interviews. Specifically, the interviews that I will use in the first wave were collected in the months of October (01), February (01), March (02) and June (03). To respect this timeline, I will deeply analyse the second and third waves of interviews from the Ita. Li project, the first wave of interviews to be used for the initial knowledge of the participants (profile, location, age, activities conducted). Thus, in the first phase of the research, a total of 21 interviews were examined.

All the interviews I collected were carried out using digital platforms such as Skype, Zoom, Google Meet and WhatsApp. Face-to-face interaction recognized as one of the advantages of qualitative interviews was completely unfeasible with the advance of the COVID-19 Pandemic. The possibility of using digital communication platforms brought other elements to qualitative research. One of the first is that the meeting between the research participants – interviewer and interviewee – is now mediated by screens. In addition to the lack of knowledge between two people, the introduction is mediated by screens and technologies (Lobe et al., 2020). A second element that emerges is that, just like the face-to-face interview, there are certain rituals to be followed in an online interview. Registration is one of them. For example, some platforms: such as Skype, WhatsApp or Google Meet do not have the option to perform the direct record, therefore, a second software is needed to work and record the interview records. Unlike the face-to-face interview, in which a recorder or mobile phone would normally be used to record, platforms and recording software are elements that are present but "invisible", they are not objects that can be viewed by the interviewee during the interview. From this, another issue arises, that of authorization: as they did not see the place where the recordings were recorded, it was important at the beginning and end of the interview to make it clear that the conversation at that moment was being recorded or not. In addition, it is important to note that many of the video call platforms use the option to record the video call and/or the voice. In this another question arises: many young people, when they started recording, questioned whether the recording would be just the voice.

The third point is that online research changes the space-time dynamics of interviews. Before, the interviews were conducted respecting social times: days of the week, times that were not inconvenient for the interviewees. Online research enables another notion of temporality, especially during the Pandemic in which the months of lockdown suspended many activities that regulated temporality. So many interviews were done during the weekends, or late at night. The freedom given by the online interview made other interview schedules possible.

In addition to time, the space also changed with the use of the online platform. The face-to-face interviews have a delimited space: depending on the type of research – whether more ethnographic or not – the interviews were carried out in open, public spaces, with many people

or in neutral and safe spaces for the interviewee. If a public place was chosen – such as a cafe, a square or a bookstore – the travel time of individuals to the agreed place, the noise around and other interruptions that could compromise this phase of the research should still be counted. The dimension of spatiality gains another dimension with online interviews. There is an immersion of the interviewer within the young people's private space. In fact, with the advancement of the Pandemic and with that the advancement of the use of communication technologies in various spheres of life, the separation between private and public was blurred. In the interviews, this was no different since all the people during the interviews were inside their homes, with their family members or friends. This element brings a new dynamic to the interviewer-interviewee relationship as the interviewer, this unknown being, enters the private reality of each of the interviewees. Some episodes during the research are proof of this: while talking to a woman interviewed about her family (who they were, where they lived, etc.), the young woman took her cell phone camera and started showing photographs hanging on her wall, showing family photos, wedding, and other details of her life. In another episodes, the interviews were either interrupted or ended depending on the people who were living with the interviewees: a door that opens with a mother offering tea; a child who cries and asks for attention to play; a husband who arrives and sees the interview and who also starts to participate or speak; a flatmate who arrives and wants to talk. All these situations made me, in a way, part of that everyday moment, made me enter, even if temporally, into that dynamic.

In the first wave, the themes of semi-narrative interviews focus on different areas of the interviewees' lives. Topics were raised on the paths of work and education, family, interpersonal and intergenerational relationships, housing situations, identification processes, citizenship issues, perceptions of discrimination and prejudice, relations with politics, religion, perspectives for the personal and collective future and in the individual well-being etc. On average, the interviews lasted from 45 minutes to 70 minutes, thirteen were carried out in Italian and two were carried out in Portuguese. The table 1 shows the main data from the interviews in the first wave, along with the chronology.

The second wave of interviews were carried out respecting the time of approximately one year of difference. From the 15 interviews I collected in the first wave, 13 participated also in the second wave. It is worth mentioning that there is a noticeable difference in openness and availability between the first wave and the second wave of interviews. once again, the impact of the Pandemic is shown as a differential of the dynamics that involve carrying out the research, contacting the research subjects, building the analysis, etc. During the interviews in the first wave, Italy, which had already gone through a severe lockdown, was experiencing a kind of new lockdown. I believe that because of this, the availability of time that the participants had was greater. The openness of young people in the first wave was evident. The second round of interviews was carried out between November 2021 and February 2022. It was possible to perceive in this experience a change in the attitude of the interviewees. Many claimed not to have so much time available, and others were not very interested in participating in the research. This is an important methodological data that must be considered considering that the historical and social context intersected with the individual context of each research subject, a process that influenced the adherence or not in the second round of interviews. In addition, the Pandemic temporality has altered the social and individual clocks of the participants. While in the first wave of interviews, social time was suspended, individual time made it possible for them to participate in my research. In the second wave, which takes place at a time of massive vaccination against COVID-19 when social activities were practically all "normal", individual

time becomes scarce and availability for participation would supposedly be low. Another hypothesis that emerges from this research experience is that, due to the constant mediation of social media and technologies during the most intense moments of the Pandemic, perhaps young people no longer felt impelled to participate in an online conversation in the face of the possibilities coming from the slackness of the pandemic restrictions.

It is important to emphasize that the two participants who could not be in the second wave of our interviews were both located in the southern region of the country, and both were parents. This loss was very important for our research and its longitudinal character, however, as can be seen, in many of the chapters these young people appear even if they only participated in the year 2020. This choice is so much due to the representative character that these two young people have in being parents and living in the south of Italy, as well as having been equally responsible for the reflections placed in this thesis.

As we can see in appendix A (table 1 and 2), the participants of this research were women (11) and men (11), aged between 22 and 30 years, distributed in different macro-regions of Italy. From the tables it is possible that, in relation to place of birth, most young people (16) were born and lived most of their lives in Italy. Those born outside of Italy (6), arrived before the age of 9. Regarding the level of education, it can be observed that in the first wave most of the interviewees have some kind of Secondary School Diploma (12), followed by Graduation Degree (7) and "Master's degree" (3). As you can see, the educational level also changes after a year of interviews: Secondary School Diploma (7), followed by Graduation Degree (10) and "Master's degree" (4).

As you can also see in the occupational status table in appendix A table 5, 9 of the young people interviewed were out of work at the time of the first wave of the interview, two were just studying and the rest were working. As can be seen, this status also changes after a year of the Pandemic and after the first interview: now sixteen of the young people have some kind of occupation, one was only educated and five were without a job. Most young people were young singles and did not have children (19). In addition to this variability, your parents' origins also vary. Interviews were conducted with young people from the following origins: Brazil, Tunisia, Morocco, Cape Verde, Bengal, Colombia, Egypt, Palestine, Uzbekistan, Congo, Albania, and Senegal. The only specification is that the young people chosen to have at least one foreign parent and that they were born in Italy or have spent most of their lives in Italy. The choice to focus only on these groups of young people is justified by the fact that these young people were socialized and spent their entire lives or most of their lives studying in Italy. If there are differences in relation to the generation of young people, these will be considered in view of the construction of different biographical trajectories and elements related to possible legal and social situations.

5.4. Type of analysis: life course and longitudinal approach

This research used the life course approach based on a longitudinal survey that will interview the same people for three consecutive years Using the life course, as mentioned earlier, can give us a detailed view of people's experience and how that experience relates to macro-social

aspects. Using the life course approach will provide an understanding of the interactions between structure and action, considering how macrosocial transformations affect individuals' experiences (de Valk, 2011). In addition, using this approach will provide a temporal dimension view of individuals' lives.

Studying the phenomenon in a longitudinal way allows us to observe the trajectory of some referred social process. Events, transitions, and experiences can, when observed in a temporal perspective, help us to understand the processes of mutation and continuation of social reality (Hermanowicz, 2016). This type of research offers a way by which to study people's perspectives on the varieties of situations that characterize their movement in time (Hermanowicz, 2016: 491). In addition, longitudinal research in a biographical perspective also allows us to observe various domains of life, giving us the opportunity to have a more holistic view of social processes (Blossfeld, 2009).

In my analysis, I observe the social processes experienced by young people during two years of their lives. This type of observation allows us to understand how the lives of young people and their trajectories are constructed, enabled, or restricted in time, based on both biography and social structures. The biography, which would be the personal relationships and the individual issues of the participants (culture, values, behaviors, personality) and the structural processes that would be related to the historical, cultural, political, and economic context, with the structures of class, race, gender, and that would be related to geography. In addition, carrying out a longitudinal study of the life course of young people descending from immigrants will allow one to observe how the phenomenon of immigration is experienced over time and between generations (Schittenhelm and, Schmidtke, 2011).

Therefore, in this work temporality matters because it is from the analysis of biographies in time that we can understand how trajectories change and how these changes can be related to structural factors, institutions, and agency. From a longitudinal analysis in which two waves of interviews were carried out with the interviewees with a difference of approximately one year, it is possible to understand how these transitions take their way, what the paths of these young people are like and how visualizing this makes us apprehend a little of the social reality and its dynamics.

A peculiarity of the longitudinal analysis of the biography of young people is the possibility of better understanding the relationships that exist with what is understood as past, present, and future. From the analysis of the life course of these young people, it becomes possible to understand how the current context in which they live is crossed by issues of the past and how these two elements, past and present, interconnect with future perspectives. As Neale (2011) points out, it is in the present that one has the notion of where one came from and where one can go. Looking back and remembering these people helps us understand how they live today, how they interpret today and how they envision the future. Looking at the future

desired by these young people helps us to understand the paths they are still taking in the present (Neale, 2011.

Therefore, biographical analysis in a longitudinal dimension in this research was essential to understand the dynamics of permanence and transformations in the lives of individuals. The course of life observed over time helps us to understand how individuals' life opportunities and restrictions are given, how macrosocial elements - Pandemic, socioeconomic and cultural structure - and microsocial - family relationships, affective relationships, peer relationships - affect their lives. lives in different spheres and how they act in the face of these social conditions. Understanding how these young people moved in the time of one year helped to understand the paths that these young people take in education, work, affective relationships, family relationships. In addition, the life course perspective and longitudinal analysis become methodological tools to understand the processes themselves that shape the condition of being young or being an adult today.

Time is therefore a significant dimension in this work as it helps us to understand how individuals, social structures and groups of people change and how they connect with individuals, social structures, and groups of people in the past. The specificity of longitudinal studies is in connecting and bringing out the relationship between time and social life. Longitudinal qualitative research looks at the various relationships between time, social change, and social life (Weller, 2011). Because it is an analysis that takes time into account, the nature of longitudinal research involves continuous reflection (Weller, 2011).

5.7. Analysis and management of collected data

The collected interviews were transcribed, anonymized, and analysed in MAXQDA. With the use of the software, it will be possible to carry out a progressive analysis in which a first thematic codification of the contents presented in the interviews will be carried out. Then, a more systematic coding will be carried out according to the research questions. The encoding process is being carried out in two parts. In the first part, together with the research team, a file with common codes has been created. From the creation of the general codes, the first thematic analysis of all the interviews will be carried out. Later, I will individually carry out a more detailed analysis based on a coding that specifically involves the themes of my research. After coding the interviews, an analysis of the generated content will be carried out in more depth for the realization of the doctoral thesis resulting from this project.

After coding, all sensitive research data went through an anonymization process. As you will be able to see throughout the research, all the interviewees' names are fictitious names to replace their real names. In addition, some other information was anonymized according to the risk of revealing the identity of the participants. Thus, names of cities, regions, specific countries, names of companies or places where they worked/work were replaced. As will be observed throughout the thesis, the names when anonymized were indicated with "<anonymized information>". Given the content of the research, it was necessary that some

information remain: origin, age, type of work and educational level. Another important issue is that during the exposition of the data, the lines will be indicated as: I: interviewee; R: researcher.

Part 2: Data Analysis

Chapter 6
Where does work start? Rethinking work trajectories in a biographical perspective

"You discover over time that throwing yourself into the world of work is like throwing yourself into the sea".
Mario, 25 years old.

Going through life, living in time and in the social world is learning from certain dynamics that existed before us and that often do not depend on us to exist. Mario, when telling us about his work trajectory, starts our dialogue that it was with the passage of time that he better understood what it meant to enter the job market. The young man who has been working since he was eighteen points us with a comparison of how his work trajectory has been for him: a true leap into the unknown. The sea has this ability to put us into the unknown, the immensity, where we have nowhere to put our feet firmly on the ground. As we will see below, it is precisely these characteristics that could define the work path of many young people in this research: the feeling of never being able to "land" on safe ground, where over swimming is the only possible alternative.

I begin the chapters of analysis starting from the work trajectories of young people. More than the idea of "school to work" transitions, this chapter will focus on experiences of young people who: i. finished secondary school and have already entered the job market or already worked even before completing basic education. ii. of young people who entered the job market while still in the process of university education. iii. young people who graduated from university to enter the job market. These conformations, as already mentioned by other authors (Tittoni, Andreazza and Spohr, 2009; Silva, 2013; Witeeven, 2018) point to a high variability of paths to be followed.

As stated in the theoretical chapter on the flexibility of work, the increasingly deregulated labor market with few institutional intervention policies has become the rule in several western countries where Italy does not escape the exception. (Tittoni, Andreazza and Spohr, 2009; Loustaunau et al., 2021).   This resulted in a transformation in the way young people enter the job market and trace their professional paths in the western world. As previously pointed out, today young people enter the labor market in an increasingly unregulated, precarious, uncertain way in which often the work performed does not match their professional training or what they wanted for their careers (Pastore, Quintano and Rocca, 2020; Lopez-Andreu and Verd, 2020; Bertolini e Goglio, 2019; Reyneri, 2017; Fullin, 2005; Cuzzocrea, 2015; Murgia, 2006). Many young people find themselves in a situation where, despite working, they do not manage to achieve complete economic autonomy, or simply

cannot keep the same job for a long time. It is in the face of the transformations already widely outlined in the literature that the question arises in this chapter to what extent it is possible to consider the transition from school to a stable and satisfying job as one of the transition milestones to adult life (Cuervo, 2020). The extension of education along with unemployment and precarious working conditions have often hindered the financial and subjective independence of young people (Bucx, 2009).

In addition, another element comes into question regarding the subjects of this research: considering that this research deals with young people descending from immigrants, it is necessary to consider a series of aspects that exclusively affect the lives of these young people and that do not touch the lives of young people considered Italians. The status of citizenship, racism, xenophobia, islamophobia, intersection of gender, race, and class, are some of the elements that can make a difference in the trajectories of these young people. As we saw in the theoretical chapters, the work trajectories of these young people are influenced by their identities: the experience of racialization, the persistence of discrimination in the labor market against people considered foreigners (De Cuyper, Havermans, Vandermeerschen, 2018; Aslam, 2016, Andall, 2002); in addition, there is the legal obstacles such as citizenship, strongly interfere with these trajectories. Furthermore, the social and economic capital acquired through the family (Bourdieu, 2002), as well as the social resources made available to these young people, will influence their trajectories at work. The relationship with family values, proximity to the culture and country of origin of the parents (Orupabo et al., 2020), are also differentiating elements in their trajectories.

The context of precariousness in the labor market joins an economic crisis that comes from two historical moments: the economic crisis of 2008 and the economic crisis resulting from the COVID-19 Pandemic in 2020. Contrary to the idea of suspension, the Pandemic should be understood as a time when people continue to develop and plan their lives, albeit in a scenario that is likely to bring more obstacles. In this way, if the condition of young people in the Italian context was a condition of precariousness and uncertainty, we must ask ourselves how the Pandemic affected and still affects the lives of these young people in relation to their professional and work paths. On the other hand, the pandemic, despite being considered an exceptional state, exposes especially young men and women to a constant state of economic and social crisis that we have been experiencing in the last years (Colombo and Rebughini, 2021; Gambardella et al, 2021; Cuervo, 2020; Santos, 2020).

With this understanding, beyond the immediate health issues caused by the virus, the pandemic has had repercussions on mental health, family relationships, interpersonal relationships, educational and work trajectories, perceptions and projections of the future, and life planning (Naidoo et al., 2021; Arpino e Pasqualini, 2021; Arpino and Pasqualini, 2020; Gambardella et al, 2021, Churchill, 2021). Understanding the COVID-19 Pandemic from a life course perspective makes us able to perceive how individuals experience situations of precariousness, risk, and vulnerability differently, depending on their social positions, and how these situations of today will reverberate in the future of these people (Settersten Jr. et al, 2020). Although young people statistically do not belong to the groups that are at greater risk of

COVID infection, they are the ones that are likely to face the accumulation of disadvantages in relation to the incipient path of work (Settersten Jr. Et al, 2020). In the Italian context, the COVID-19 Pandemic also worsened the already precarious economic and labor scenario of temporary, low-quality jobs and little protection by the State (Arpino and Pasqualini, 2021; Bonizzoni and Dotsey, 2021; Breakwell e Jaspal, 2021; Gambardella et al, 2021; Arpino, Pasqualini and Bordone, 2020; Churchill, 2020).

As we saw in the previous chapters about the transformations that occurred in the labor market and the transitions that young people make from school to work, in this chapter we will focus on the dynamics that involve these trajectories. It is in this context that I propose an investigation that focuses on the different processes that link school to work and not just the exact moment of transition between leaving training and entering the job market. From the approach of the life course undertaken in this research, it is understood that the stages, events, and transitions experienced by individuals in the social fabric give meanings and possibilities to their biographies. The transitions will be analyzed here trying to show how these events generated transformations in their identities and in their lives. When the events will occur and in what context the transitions will occur in this case matter. In this way, the life course when explored in its trajectory and extension over time becomes more interesting (Worth, 2009).

Moving away from an observation that seeks to find the moment of transition from school to work as a specific moment in life, in this chapter I seek to understand how young people live their work experiences from a set of circumstances that involve structural aspects and agency. As we will see in the results below, the assumption of a direct relationship between education and work typical in the approaches to studies of transitions to adulthood (Wyn et al., 2017) are challenged by the biography of the young people interviewed. As Wyn et al (2017) claim, focusing on the idea of transitions from education to work ends up generating a series of methodological and theoretical determinants that can make you lose sight of: other dimensions of life that may be related to work trajectories; the diversity of trajectories that exist and that are related to the biographies of young people; the cultural and structural dimensions of these trajectories (Wyn et al., 2017).

Therefore, instead of trying to find a single transition (a turning point) from education to work, it becomes more fruitful to understand how young people's trajectories are in relation to work (Witeeven, 2018). Focusing not on the specific transition, but on the trajectories in time helps us to understand how some young Italian men and women construct their biographical path. If before the transitions in life in relation to work were thought of in a three-phase conception: educational formation, entry into the labor market and then retirement, what has been perceived in the last 30 years is a transformation of these dynamics in which stratification in the labor market is the new dynamics of contracts and career building make this simple sequential model questionable (Witteveen, 2018). The "connection between educational preparation and work life outcomes it is much better understood as a (complex) life course *trajectory* rather than simple one-time transition from school to the labor force" (Witteveen, 2018: 132). Once again, an analysis from a life course perspective allows us to consider social context, geographic location, and agency in the analysis. For example, being a young

descendant of immigrants living in Southern Europe, more specifically in Italy, brings a series of socioeconomic and cultural circumstances.

The analysis of the work trajectory of these young people helps us to understand how the individual plan - the available resources, and the agency - are interconnected to the structural context (geographic location, Welfare State, gender, race, class, religion) that these individuals live (Gambardella et al., 2021). In addition, life course analysis will enable us to understand how the subjective perception of these individuals about their own experiences connects with the broader social landscape. Understanding these trajectories and connections helps us understand how pathways to adulthood are formed.

6.1. A time analysis of working conditions

It is useful to begin the analysis with a summary of the young people work paths who participated in this research in the years 2020 and 2021. This overview will help us to understand how the trajectories of these individuals are constructed in different life circumstances and how these trajectories connect social structures with subjectivities and agency.

The trajectories of individuals are very heterogeneous and vary also in time. Starting from the comparison between the interviewees, it is possible to list some profiles (see appendix A table 5): studying and working (4); just working – full time (5); just working – part-time (3); unemployed (5); only studying (5). As can be seen, their trajectories are varied and diverse, but they have some similarities. All young people, if they weren't working, would like to work. In addition, when we look at the temporal analysis, some of these trajectories also change over time, also due to the COVID-19 Pandemic. As we will see below, the pandemic was a moment when, for some, the conclusion of university studies occurred; for others it was a moment of uncertainty as they were removed from their jobs.

In the research, most young people have non-linear work paths in which there are constant changes in employment, in which educational training is often not related to the function-position performed at work. What the analysis of two years shows is that most young people change their working conditions within a year of difference. With few exceptions (four in total), all young people had their occupational status changed. The substantial change took place mainly among young people who in the first wave only studied but who in the second wave also started to have some occupation and young people who were previously unemployed and who now had some work activity, most with low qualification jobs[33]. Another characteristic of this group is that diversity also refers to the coexistence of school and university paths with work activities. The types of work developed, however, present a similarity: most young people work on temporary or informal contracts in the service sector. It is interesting to note however

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[33] To see the details of these data, see table 5 in appendix A

how these settings change over the course of a year. Some young people who in the first wave only study or who lost their jobs during COVID in the second wave had their life paths changed. Some other young people, despite being working, are not satisfied with their position at work or with the type of work they are doing.

6.2. A path to be taken? Different initiations in the job market

In this part of the chapter, I present the work trajectories of two groups of young people: young people who do not have an educational background in higher education (8 of 23) and young people who are in the process of higher education, finishing the first cycle of university studies or the second cycle of university studies (4 of 23).

6.2.1. Need to work: the impact of education level, family support and institutional dimension

The first biographies brought here are from different young people who experienced work in a diverse way with regard to situations of precariousness and contingency. A first point to highlight is that the work trajectory for most of these young people starts at a very young age, some even before starting their university career:

R. Um ... I got to graduate in <course name> ... then I haven't, I couldn't continue my studies because I had to work, precisely my mother being the only one to support me and she couldn't ... we couldn't afford it. So anyway, I started working immediately at eighteen, I was lucky enough to find a job immediately [...]. [Faviola, 29, Colombian origin, big city in northern Italy, secondary education, first wave]

So I, I have worked since I was a child, that is, as a child, for about ten years, and…., I tried different jobs, and ... there would be a topic on the world of work to open now, and, which is a lot, yes is transformed into, a lot ... there are many commercial jobs here, this is the thing a little ... a little annoying, it turns out over time and between throwing yourself into the world of work, it's like jumping into the sea, and so I tried at the beginning of the jobs that I didn't like, and, then I ... around 2013, I worked in a call center and I was happy because it was a job where there was a good pay, a decent pay, it allowed me to keep my studies, and, and it was not too tiring being a part-time, I still managed, to have a life here. And, and therefore I have always worked in the call center, until the last ... the last job I started in August, this summer, working in the laboratory. [Mario, 28, Moroccan parents, big city in northern Italy, secondary education, first wave].

Although in this chapter we take into account that the transition from school to work can no longer be considered as a single event, but rather a process that takes different lines depending on structural elements, initiation into the labor market is still an important factor (Belfi et al., 2022), as it informs us about the conditions under which young people made this choice. Faviola and Mario trajectories points to something commonly found in other interviews: some young people have been working since the age of 18, a process that often "delays" entry into university or makes it impossible to enter higher education.

Faviola, who was born in Colombia but has lived in Italy since she was 8 years old, demonstrates that not graduating from higher education and directly entering the job market at 18 was not simply a choice, but an economic necessity. This young woman who comes from a lower-class family does not have financial support from her mother, who was a first-generation immigrant and who was experiencing financial difficulties.

Faviola left home at the age of 18, and together with previous economic difficult in her household after she leaves her mother house, it was necessary to find a job immediately a process what made her abandon the idea of university. The need and search for financial independence and to pursue some activity that can bring a return, even if immediate, causes many young people to "delay" or not carry out their training in higher education.

What these young people show and confirm is that the idea of flexible paths and experimentation that has been discussed in literature (Settersten, 2002; Heinz, 2009; Bois-Reymond, 2009; McDonald et al, 2001; Hardgrove et al., 2014).) actually refers to a very specific social group in the societies studied: as stated by Silva (2013) among young working class men and women more than the right to freedom and flexibility, it is the absence of choice that characterizes the decisions of these individuals. Silva (2013) points out, this type of reading of reality does not consider many young people who do not have financial, temporal, subjective resources and who do not have class, race and gender privileges that allow multiple choices. It makes invisible the ambivalence that being forced to choose brings with it. Thus, the diversification of trajectories from school to work often involves needs for adaptation, survival, search for autonomy and well-being.

What Mario brings us is a life trajectory marked to a certain extent by intermittence: in addition to having started working very young, at about 17-18 years of age, the entrances and exits in different types of work demonstrate the precariousness and the frustration of this young man with the conditions in the jobs he found. The young man from northern Italy, despite having had no problems finding a job, has struggled to find a stable job that gave him good financial gains. Finding and staying in a job was not a mere choice of taste or experimentation, but a conformation of the Italian labor market, which is characterized by types of temporary, fixed-term contracts.

The sequence of events in Mário's working life demonstrates that the work paths for some young people begin as a precondition for the achievement of higher education. Another problem that Mario's reveals is that many of the young people who need to work to support themselves economically need to find jobs that are compatible with their other activities, including education. Young people who do not have the financial support of their parents have

to deal with the dual dynamics of working to provide for themselves, to build an educational background and thereby create better career prospects. According to Juliette, a young female worker without a tertiary education, wait for a better job opportunity causes anguish and never seems to arrive:

> So, my name is <name>, I live in <big city in central Italy> and I am a receptionist, but now I've been home since February, because of COVID, and nothing, for now ... I am just waiting and you ... and seeing how the situation will go. However, I still have many different projects and goals, in case I have already started, so ... I take advantage of the moment at home. The first lockdown was hard, from February to May we were in lockdown. It was really hard, because three months without knowing how the situation was, what would happen, more than anything else it was the money that did not enter, because in other countries, layoffs arrive, here they do not. I got it ... the day before yesterday, the layoffs in June ... so, I do not know when the rest will arrive, so for now I'm doing some extra jobs, luckily ... I manage a little 'with English and French, so I do repetitions ... [Juliette, 28, Cape Verdean parents, big city in central Italy, secondary education, first wave]

Waiting can be a constant in the face of the precariousness in which some find themselves. Being in limbo, waiting for better opportunities can be a reality. Being on standby (Tejerina, 2019) can be a source of suffering, uncertainty and precariousness that hampers the economic, housing, and mental health spheres. Juliette's work has always been intermittent. Due to cultural conflicts with her family of origin, this young Afro-descendant woman, who leaves home very early (when compared to the Italian average), had to take on the responsibility of providing for herself. The importance of family care in the life course of young people reported by literature (Crul et al., 2017; Schnell and Fibbi, 2015) is present in the data found here: for both Juliette and Faviola, the little family support, and the existing conflicts (family and cultural) with the family caused the leaving from the household at the age of 18. In sync with leaving home, finding a job was a necessity, and entering the job market at age 18 was more a consequence of having left home than a precondition. The lack of family support that some young people may have experienced, as we see, impacts their work trajectories.

For young people who are not in university training and who already live the world of work, it can be noticed that the precariousness and uncertainty is a mark. As Silva (2016: 239) points out "young working-class men and women bounce from one insecure job to the next, fearing the day when an economic shock like an illness will erode what little stability they have. They feel bewildered and betrayed by social institutions and learn to depend only on themselves for survival".

On the other hand, what we saw are also survival strategies: given the impossibility of have a constant income, teach languages was the way found by Juliette to deal with this indeterminate time in her work trajectory. Using different skills (Crul et al., 2017) are important in an uncertainty moment, as we see in Juliette's case. Faced with uncertain circumstances, the

young woman seems to try to adapt using the possible means to deal with the uncertain process, which takes place from a micro perspective of personal accountability (van Lanen, 2021). During our second conversation, Juliette tells us what happened in her career path. As we see the situation of always entering between jobs remains:

[when asked what happened in the year 2021]
I. I must say I'm happy, despite the bad things that happen, that's okay. Because. Slowly, slowly, it really all takes time, but yes, I'm doing it. I started a social media marketing course and let's see how it goes. In the meantime, I have done many other jobs. Because of the pandemic I was at home. I did, I worked in a pizzeria, I worked ... now in a hotel, but to go to the breakfasts, I do everything possible. And that… where I was working in theory that I was at home they fired me, because, unfortunately, they cannot do it. After a year like this, obviously there was no work and they sent us home. So now I am looking for work in the meantime. I work a little, but a little. [Juliette, 29 years old, Cape Verdean parents, big city in central Italy, secondary education, second wave]

[when asked about future plans regarding work and life]
R. But do you think about staying in Italy or going outside Italy? To live, for example.
I. No, I think I will go out. In fact, lately I go to work, I do things, but it is as if it existed like standby. I am already thinking that I won't be here for long. I am working, I am resisting. Even doing jobs I don't like, because I'm saving up the money to go out. In fact, in the new house only the kitchen and the bedroom are furnished, because I know he doesn't want to be here. And he didn't have to take the money to furnish the whole house, make it beautiful, beautiful because I intend to go away. [Juliette, 29 years old, Cape Verdean parents, big city in central Italy, secondary education, second wave]

Other questions are also posed in Juliette's narration: the impact of COVID and how they react to the circumstances they experience. Both in the first wave and in the second wave Juliette is directly affected by the restriction measures arising from the COVID-19 Pandemic. As we can see, this young woman who lives alone and who depends entirely on the income she earns from work, finds herself in a situation of uncertainty and precariousness in the face of the impossibility of returning to work and the delay of "unemployment insurance" in the first lockdown in Italy. In the second wave, this young woman can only find temporary jobs, with no prospects of continuation.

Not getting a job that you like and even more not getting a regular job after your resignation during COVID-19 puts you in a context of diverse difficulties. The interviewee who has plans to work with languages or cultural diversity sees it as a way out, as an option to leave Italy to have more job opportunities.

Has Marchetti et al., (2021) points out desires for mobility outside the country can be seen to escape unemployment and labor instability found in Italy. It is in the face of the lack of institutional and family support that the search for individual answers arrives: go to another country is considered a strategy to reduce unpredictability and is proposed to be a way of trying to control the future (Leccardi, 2020).

As we will discuss in later sections of this chapter, COVID-19 has had a unique impact on young people, women, and immigrant descendants in their work trajectories (Jackson, 2020; Nunes et al., 2021; Economic Observatory, 2021). The loss of jobs, even these irregular ones, and the loss of income intensified situations of previously existing vulnerabilities (Fiaschi and Tealdi, 2022).

As we can see in the three examples above, the uncertainty of young people here is at a different level: with little or no support from their families of origin, together with little institutional support, their work trajectories are marked by uncertainty and various types of constraints (Silva, 2016). Next, I will bring another group of young people who, when pursuing a university course, seem to have greater possibilities for work, even in a context of job instability.

6.2.2. Experimentation in work trajectories

However, among the other young people who studied and worked, the relationship with work can be differentiated, in view of the centrality that it occupies in their life trajectories. For some, work can be an important source of economic and self-fulfilment, but it is not necessarily the main objective or goal to be developed. Many young people who work and study have as their focus the construction of a professional career related to educational training, and this goal can often be hampered by the hours spent at work:

> This was tiring me a lot because I, I didn't know, but like, not on a conscious level, but inside me I knew that I was wasting time, thus wasting time, that I was delaying something. So, what I did, had a much greater weight because of that. So, for me five years ago was one of several years I don't know, that I confuse. For me from my 20's to my 24/25's, I do not really know what I did, like that. So that's it, it was a very turbulent period of running around, of getting little sleep, of working with organization here in <big city in central Italy> too until two in the morning, waking up at noon and living a whole deregulated, crazy life, working until late at night and studying, managing to take one or two tests every X time, which here is different from the system in Brazil. Then I studied to take these tests with great difficulty, very slowly, with a lot of weariness [Maria, 29, Brazilian mother, big city in central Italy, tertiary education first wave].

Maria is a young woman who, like the other interviewees, has always worked and studied in her career. Her two jobs, which are not directly related to her university education (but were related to her Brazilian origin[34]), help her to have a relatively independent life, despite still living with her parents and depending to some extent on her parents' financial support

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[34] All the paid and contracted jobs she performed at the time of the interviews were not related to her direct academic training, but somehow related to her origins in Brazil. This association between work trajectory and origin will be discussed later in another section of this chapter.

(especially during the first wave interview). The interviewee, who has two jobs at the same time – one as a dancer and the other as a volleyball instructor – sees her working hours and her daily life altered by the new restriction measures that emerged with the COVID-19 Pandemic.

Time, or more precisely time management, is a crucial factor in the diagnosis of precariousness of life (Leccardi, 2008; Leccardi, 2020). As stated in the literature family (Tsianos and Papadopoulos, 2006; Woodman, 2013; Batchelor et al., 2020), the work trajectories of many young people impact their free time to carry out other activities, their educational background, psychological well-being and social life as a whole (relationship with friends, partners). Maria's words above demonstrate that, although work has been a choice for her since she was very young, this choice had consequences on her "timing" of life and also on her organization of daily life. In other parts of her interview, when I asked about her free time, the young woman found it difficult to list a time when she was enjoying other activities that were not related to work or university. For Maria, her time was conceived as an investment that should not be wasted in the face of the multiple activities.

Moreover, Maria's work trajectory involves the development of hobbies, the possibility of traveling and saving money. This demonstrates that work as a way of earning money can be just one of the motivations that young people have in following their paths. Other gains related to experimentation, greater freedom and autonomy can involve the world of work. Maria's example can be understood as a way of building a work trajectory in which the culture of experimentation (Arnett, 2000; Cook and Furstenberg, 2002; Kaya and Barmark, 2019) is put into practice.

Despite the satisfaction that Maria's narration entails, (enjoying experiences in other countries, with different people and cultures, or working in the field of sports) this young woman once again shows her dissatisfaction with the temporal dimension. When reporting her work experiences until the age of 24/25, Maria demonstrates the feeling of wasting time to reconcile a job she liked to do (self-fulfilment as a dancer, as a volleyball professor) and the need for educational training. The interviewee feels a difficulty in reconciling what would only be a temporary job, but which gave her pleasure, financial and personal returns, and the academic training that would serve to build a stable professional career in the future.

From what has been exposed, there is a difficulty in reconciling work and study, in a temporal precariousness in which work times and educational training times overlap. The experience of being a student and a worker can be physically and mentally exhausting given the different rhythms of the multiple activities conducted. (Taylor, 2022). In this intense process, the time you are not working is the time you are studying and vice versa.

In the conception of Tsianos and Papadopoulos (2006), in precarious contemporary working conditions, non-working time is also used since the impacts of exploitation, and precariousness spreads to other spheres of life. Precariousness would be the process in which there is the exploitation of everyday life, with time being one of the affected dimensions (Tsianos and Papadopoulos, 2006). Prior to that, Harvey (1998) when talking about the conditions in postmodern life, pays attention to the subordination of bodily rhythms and personal time to the production dynamics of the capitalist system. The blurring or the difficulty

of separating work and study time (Taylor, 2022) would demonstrate the precariousness added to the daily life of these young people.

The amount of activities Maria has affects how she will experience other activities, causing her to feel a sense of temporal poverty. This way of experiencing time and dealing with different activities can generate a feeling of discomfort in the face of the impossibility of reconciling all activities (Batchelor et al, 2020).

Besides, the dissociation between what is lived in the now and what is desired for the future can be felt by many young people who, despite having jobs in the present, are not the ones desired for the future. The future seems to be reserved for the situation of financial and labor stability. Unlike the future, the present seems to be directed towards experimentation, but also towards the construction of that future. As Taylor (2022) points out, many students who work accept such inadequate working conditions, such as the issue of temporal poverty included, because they believe that this situation of precariousness would only be a temporary stage in their trajectories. It seems that for some young people to experience these contradictions of the world of work while still studying would be the necessary path to achieve financial stability and the desired professional career.

In addition, what her account demonstrates is the feeling of "temporal poverty" and the loss of time, something that is often felt by young people who still rely on life scripts in which they feel they are "delaying" some time in their lives. life course. Despite the diversity that young people can live and experience, the feeling of being "delaying" some stage of life - which in this case was training in higher education - can also happen. Maria's discomfort of having "delayed" her life path reveals to us the extent to which young people, despite following less traditional paths, reflect on their conditions and measure their trajectories. As we can see, to be delayed is directly connected to a perspective based on the "right time/ age" for event our transition in life.

Unlike Mario from the previously section, who work is a prerequisite to educational training, for Maria e some others, work can be an obstacle and not a prerequisite. Among young people who work and study there were those in which work was a necessity and a condition for carrying out their studies and there were those for whom work is more a personal achievement, an experimentation in different ways or a way to earn and save money. Depending on the financial context in which they live - work as a financial need and work as experimentation - very different material and subjective needs will be exposed.

Work seems as an important moment of transition and maturation, as a way of self-support, but at the same time it is exhausting when this is done concomitantly with the study. This phenomenon of precarious conditions of life, work and the way of spending time constitutes the general framework of precariousness (Taylor, 2022; Stanging, 2011). It is in the process of precariousness that the need to survive the labor market strongly contributes to mental and physical exhaustion (Stanging, 2011).

Maria's initiation into various jobs that brought personal self-fulfilment and economic fruits began to be no longer sufficient in view of the need to increase her study time and in the face of the precariousness that began to appear in one of her jobs during the COVID-19

Pandemic. The student who in both the first and second waves of interview was striving to finish her master's degree decides to leave the job that gave the greatest economic gains and focuses on just one job. Changing jobs - leaving one job, reducing the workload of another, and starting a new job brought, according to Maria, greater possibilities to enjoy time:

> [when asked about free time]
> I. for example, today I worked from home, and I really enjoy what I'm doing. because the work I'm doing with the lawyer, because I have total flexibility and total trust on part of him and his wife, who are my two bosses. I can decide when I go to work in the office. I can decide when I work from home. I have an amount of hours I have to do per week, and I decide how to do it. If I, for example, on Wednesday, I messed up, there was no problem, I work on Sunday, I work on Saturday. I turn around, understand? The important thing is that I complete that number of hours. [Maria, 30, Brazilian mother, big city in central Italy, tertiary education, second wave].

Maria, who voluntarily works in her area of training finds a new job after being referred by an contact. An important fact – which is highlighted by literature (De Cuyper, Havermans, Vandermeerschen, 2018; Aslam, 2016; Nijhoff, 2013) - is the social capital the social capital translated into the possibility of having personal contacts in your social network helps in finding a (minimally satisfactory) job (Lassibille et al., 2001). As pointed out in literature, therefore, the importance of social capital, the types of contacts one has in social groups around individuals, will also influence the possibility of finding jobs. In addition, what Maria's trajectory points out is how the precariousness of the job market that emerged in the Pandemic, together with the awareness of her own temporal condition, brought her to find something that was better in terms of earnings and in terms of Temporal organization.

Maria feels satisfied with her work despite not having a job in the training area. The ability to continue training is also related to the minimum family support found (in the second wave Maria's housing situation also changes, also changing her financial condition). In the second wave she loses part of the financial support given by her father (because he no longer lives with her and her mother). When, in the second wave, asked about their possibilities and future work plans, the difficulty of finding a job in their area becomes evident:

> Because there were already several options for me to work with … several occasions, but I ended up turning them down because our market is a little complex. There's not much of that: "Oh, no, it's a beginner so you charge less". Because if you are a beginner, you charge less, you end up changing the market price even for those at the top. So, I have to be careful what I accept as a fare and...yeah, it works well by recommendation. So "ah, talk to such-and-such, she works well, she charges the right price, she respects the ethics of our profession, the code of... deontology", in short, it's a lot. So sometimes, at the beginning, because of the desire to work, wanting to work, wanting to do things, we end up throwing ourselves and accepting anything. I am holding back a lot not to do

this, I'm not doing it, right. I am suffering because I see colleagues who are working more than me, but accepting the tariff that is not the one. And here in Italy the market for Portuguese is not so broad, there are not many people who do it, and especially there are no people who do it being natives of two languages, which is my case. So, I have to a little... I am having to refuse a lot of things. I am working as a volunteer when something comes up... that I find interesting, something... that fits my values, right? And then I do... but anyway... so it is being, this is the master's degree now. Let's see if a very good job comes up, I'll have to postpone it to March, but I want to focus on closing now in December. [Maria, 30, Brazilian mother, big city in central Italy, tertiary education, second wave]

Maria's description of her own labor market is a horizon that young people can encounter: the difficulty of finding jobs related to educational training makes many young people accept jobs – most of them temporary – with low or lower pay. This is in line with what Rostan and Stan (2017) point out about the conformation of the job market for graduates in Italy. According to these authors, there is a large proportion of graduates in Italy who have a precarious and fragmented start of their careers, with low pay "indicating an inconsistency between educational levels and jobs" (Rostan and Stan, 2017, p. 38).

The choice between entering the job market even if in an unplanned way is better than not being able to enter the job market may be one of the paths taken, but not for Maria. Instead of entering the job market in a precarious way, this young woman prefers to continue with her office work, even if not completely related to her academic training. The reasons given by Maria for not accepting precarious jobs are on one side the awareness that she should be valued more and on the other her values as a professional. This example demonstrates that the choices made by these young women may often not be based only on the economic issue (which in this case would be the need to work even if in a precarious way), involving other ethical values and that are related to class expectations (Bourdieu, 1983; 2004; 2007). Different class positions along with differences in social, economic, and cultural capital accumulated over a lifetime generate different expectations for individuals. Thus, many young people from the middle class, with complete higher education, may have different professional expectations from young people from the lower class with low education (Yeboah, Crossouard and Flynn, 2021).

The young woman was raised in a context in which both parents have higher education degrees, the father being a retired University Professor and the mother a psychologist who, after the experience of motherhood, becomes a housewife. The family context that Maria lives in may have influenced her perception of valuing work, in addition to giving her chances to prolong her university studies and continue in a job outside her field of study until she finds the ideal job (after building experience in the field of work). The choice and preference to do voluntary work in your professional area is also related to the resources (economic, social, and cultural) available to be able to "wait" for the right moment to enter the job market.

In this research other interviewees also had their initial trajectories in the third sector as a way of improving their work experiences with the possibility of improving the chances of building career. Maria is not the only one who chooses this option. Danusa, who in the first wave is in the process of educational training, also chooses to work in an NGO:

> And... yes, in the sense that... so, I've always worked ... in the social sphere, that is, in recent years I have worked ... before I did other jobs, but in recent years I worked in the social field, and in the social field and ... my language has always been a lot, that is the Arabic language has always been very important because... often the ... families who are in difficulties, they are foreign families, and... and so, uhm currently I am doing a job, always for the same cooperative I worked for, in which ... um, I translate and mean for a family and... Moroccan and... of the social workers or the teachers, or the educator, are the bridge between the Moroccan lady... and the Italian institutions. [Danusa, 25, Palestinian parents, big city in northern Italy, secondary education, first wave]

Danusa criticizes the third sector and sees her position as temporary between her educational training and her arrival in the job market.. For some young people, NGOs or voluntary work serve as a temporary moment or as a "springboard" (Walther, 2006) in their professional careers. The interviewee who completed her university education the following year was still working in the third sector. However, with the desire to create professional experience, the young woman wants to work in the third sector, but this time outside Italy. For the young woman, engagement in the third sector is a contradiction because: it places her in an exhibition with a precarious reality, a reality that is close to her because it involves immigrant people; at the same time, it is a way to create professional experience related to the area of study, together with the possibility of having an experience abroad.

6.2.3. Location as a differentiator

The possibility of volunteering for other interviewees can be a means of escape from a precarious work situation. Erick, a young man from the south of Italy without a higher education degree, describes the job market in the south and demonstrates the desire to join the Italian Social Service, a kind of volunteering that the State offers for Italians to do social work in various parts of the world.

As already pointed out above from Juliette's trajectory, for young people with low schooling, intermittence, uncertainty and the suspension of time and life are constant (Marks, 2005). For many young people, there is a continuous movement between unemployment and part-time and poorly paid jobs, in which the prospect of finding a stable job becomes an increasingly distant horizon (Marks, 2005). Erick summarizes the situation of young people in the flexible and inconstant labor market:

I: ok. I've always... since I finished school, 18 years ago, I've always worked in companies. I changed jobs a lot because, you know how... I don't know if you know, but here in southern Italy finding work is very difficult. When you find it, you always get a 1-month, 2-month contract. So, you work, and then all of a sudden you can be fired. I changed jobs a lot. The longest was 2 years. The more… the more?
R: the longest?
I: the longest, that. Always like that, a month, two months. this work is also like that, a month, two months. Yeah... I am also studying to take the police exam. Because it is a little sad to say this, but in southern Italy, the way to find a good job is to try to get into public work. Because..., companies are not good. You do not have many rights. For example, here I do not get all the rights that a guy who does the same job in northern Italy, I can't miss work, they'll complain. I occasionally work hours longer and I do not earn as much as Northern Italy. Another, there's another project too, for my work. Last year I already asked to do social service, for civil service, I don't know if you know. [Erick, 26, Brazilian mother, big city in southern Italy, secondary education, first wave].

Erick points out three main elements that will be discussed: the instability of work; the specificity of the south and the difference in relation to the northern region of Italy; the lack of good financial prospects within the labor market.

Starting from his work trajectory, Erick starts to work after the end of his secondary school at the age of 18. His work trajectory is an intermittent, inconstant trajectory marked by an evident exploitation and precariousness in the work environment. The young man who lives with his family and helps with the household expenses has difficulty finding a satisfactory job in a long-term. Fixed-term contracts in Italy are quite common, and this type of contract is a cause of insecurity and uncertainty for many (Pastore, Quintano and Rocca, 2020; Lopez-Andreu and Verd, 2020). Usually, these types of contracts do not provide any guarantee for this young person in terms of minimum income, benefits, durability, and provisions para o future (Loustaunau et al., 2021).

Secondly, location is a relevant factor in your experience in the world of work. As pointed out by literature (Hall et al., 2009; Camozzi et al., 2021; Gambardella et al, 2021), the territory is an important dimension in the construction of young people's lives, and the fact of living in southern Italy is a reality that configures the construction of the adult life of these individuals. Young people lives and young people transitions in life are strongly connect to their relationship with locality, place, and territorial origins (Hall er al., 2009; Camozzi et al., 2021).

The south of Italy is known in the literature (Gambardella et al., 2021; Spanò e Domecka, 2021) as a place where there are few job opportunities, where many young people feel compelled to migrate either north or outside the country in search of better working and living conditions (Camozzi et al., 2021; Marchetti et al., 2021; Gambardella et al, 2021; Spanò and Domecka, 2021). The Italian context is often characterized by a duality of data (Spanò and Domecka, 2021) and social configurations: if the Italian context is generally marked by unemployment and instability, in southern Italy job opportunities are even more scarce, with a lack of structure and an inefficient pension system (Spanò and Domecka, 2021). This precarious

condition is acutely experienced by young people in the South, which, compared to the North, has lower employment rates (Spanò and Domecka, 2021). An example of this is that, according to ISTAT[35], in regions such as Calabria and Campania, unemployment rates in 2021 among young people aged 15 to 24 reach more than 44.8% and 47% respectively, with this rate in regions such as Lombardy and Piedmont from 20, 2% and 21.2%. When looking at young people between 24 and 34 years old, the same situation of disparity is observed: among young people in the regions of Calabria and Campania, the data show unemployment rates of 27.3% and 26.7% respectively. In comparison, unemployment data for Lombardy and Piedmont for the same age group is 8.4% and 9.2% respectively. The unemployment rate data in the first quarter of 2022 for the macro regions in Italy show that the unemployment rate among young people aged 15 to 24 between the North, Center and South regions is 18.1%, 26.2 % and 39% and 6.9%, 9.4% and 24.4% among young people aged between 24 and 34. Another important piece of information from these data is that there is also a difference in gender and origin: unemployment rates are higher for women in all regions and also higher among young people who do not have Italian citizenship.

In addition to the influence of the social and territorial context in which he lives, it is worth noting that individual choices in the educational path also matter when we investigate the trajectory of these young people. Erick tells us that, unlike him, his brother decided to take a university course and now lives in the United States. This process, according to Erick, is a point of differentiation in his and his brother's chances in relation to work which precisely indicates the impact of mobility and educational training in differentiating these trajectories.

Looking to the unemployment rate data among young people with a university degree and without a university degree, both in the north, in the center and in the south, the difference in unemployment rates between young people with a degree and young people with higher education training is almost 10% among 15–24-years-old. This significant difference can be explained in part because the majority of young people at this age are still in the process of education. However, when we look at the data by region and by level of schooling, the differences between young people aged 25 to 34 are not so striking. Among young people with secondary education, the unemployment rate is 7.7%, 13.5% and 22.9% respectively in the northern, central, and southern regions. On the other hand, for young people with higher education (graduate and master's) the percentages in the northern, central, and south regions are 5.9%, 9.5%, and 19.8% respectively. This demonstrates that, among young people aged 25 to 34, having or not having a higher education degree does not indicate a meaningful change in the chances of employment in all regions. However, the explanation for this minor difference may be related to the fact that young people who graduate cannot find jobs that match their educational background, or that young people with low qualifications, despite finding jobs, always find precarious jobs.

As Eichhorst and Neder (2014) point out, the difference between the human capital generated in secondary education in relation to the demands of the labor market may be one of the explanations for these data. Even though the statistical data do not show big differences in

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[35]Data compiled at: http://dati.istat.it/index.aspx?queryid=20744#

relation to employment rates, the literature nevertheless argues that young people who have completed secondary education are in worse situations compared to young people with higher education especially in the south (Lassibille et al., 1999; Eichhorst and Neder, 2014).

What the data show and what Erick's life trajectory tells us is that leaving the country can be one of the ways that young people find to improve their chances in the job market that similarly penalize young people who also have university studies. When asked if to migrate to the north of the country was an option, this young man says he does not feel like going to the North, highlighting his subjective attachment to the territory. Life opportunities, existing working conditions in the territory along with individual choices (Gambardella et al, 2021; Cuzzocrea and Mandic, 2015; Mandic, 2018) are important elements that explain the specific circumstances of the interviewees. The choice not to move north can be seen as an action towards interests other than purely economic ones:

> I can't stand being far from the sea. I already tried, but I don't know if you know my city, but I live 3 minutes by car from the sea. Sometimes when the weather is very good, from my window you can see the sea. I ride my bike near the sea then. That's it, I don't know if it's laziness or something, I don't know, but it's complicated to live far away. I can't imagine the cold of the north. [Erick, 26, Brazilian mother, big city in southern Italy, secondary education, first wave].

Thinking about the work trajectories of young people is to consider how young people make their choices in relation to their work paths based also on subjective and identity elements. There is a tendency to consider mobility as something essential in precarious life trajectories in which mobility gains a dominant social value would characterize a cosmopolitan, enterprising, mobile, inconstant life as opposed to an immobile, fixed, sedentary city (Harris and Raffaetà, 2020). However, mobility, which despite being an imperative for many who try to deal with economic and labor precariousness (Hall et al., 2009; Camozzi et al., 2021; Gambardella et al, 2021) can also be crossed by other subjective factors and identity. Attachment to their region, and more specifically to their locality (Barwick and Beaman, 2019; Camozzi et al., 2021) demonstrates that there is an internal conflict between what might be necessary – leaving the south – and what would be their identities - a strong territorial connection. Faced with a number of experiences in various intermittent jobs and which attest to his condition of precariousness and uncertainty, Erick tries to resort to other possibilities: either looking for a job in the public sector, or trying the "civil service" outside Italy:

> R. got it. and the work of... the current work, how do you see it, do you have any, do you see yourself recognized in this work? Is there any feeling of frustration?
> I. So, I always tell my mother that with this job I'm only happy on the day I earn money, which is the 20th. It's the only good day to go to work because it's a bit heavy. I work from 4 am until 2:30 pm It's heavy, heavy because it's the work of always doing the same thing. I must, I'm...
> R. what would it be like, your wish? you talked a little about trying the contest, there is this

issue of social work...

I. my wish about work?

R. yes.

I. I don't even know. My head is very confused. So, I have two dreams. one would become a policeman, but he's not a policeman, he's the one from... as a civil guard. So, for me to have stability, for me to be able to raise my family, for me to be able to fulfil myself and live alone, to have autonomy. Another would be to be able to work in poor areas of the world. I... worked 6 months in a favela with nuns. [Erick, 26, Brazilian mother, big city in southern Italy, secondary education, first wave].

It is therefore important to state that the choice of young people in relation to their work paths involves considerations other than just economic gain. The subjective attachment to the territory mobilizes this young person to look for other perspectives of work within their territory or from some work that gives some personal satisfaction even though they were outside Italy. Again, to deal with unequal access to resources, mobility outside Italy is seen as the possibility of creating opportunities and paths to success (Harris and Raffaetà, 2021). As stated, mobility aspirations are restricted by not only economic factor but also social and psychological factors (Harris and Raffaetà, 2020; Camozzi et al., 2021). In this case, there is a resentment of having to go to the north of the country (Camozzi et al., 2021).

Thus, the decision to stay or go - and in this case where to go - launches new interpretations of the issue of mobility and work trajectories. As we see in the case of Erick, mobility happens, but not towards the north of Italy as expected (Camozzi et al., 2021). The awareness of not having opportunities in the south does not necessarily make Erick want to go north. The young man who is between two attitudes: stay or go, chooses a third path which is to go to Brazil, his mother's country of origin. In the context of Erick, namely in the south, voluntary work or in the third sector is considered one of the opportunities that young people in this region must enter the labor market (Walther, 2006).

In fact, Erick's interest in going abroad had more to do with his connection with his mother's country of origin and with his desire to pursue his interests with social work for the Church. The precept of connected lives makes sense in the analysis of the life course of descendants of immigrants who, even though they have not immigrated, have their lives impacted by this event. Mobility connects individuals' lives intergenerationally across time and space (Harris and Raffaetà, 2020). The future of descendants of immigrants is marked by the space and time in which they live, and this includes their parents' immigration destination. This means, according to the author, that the agency of these individuals in relation to the present and the future is, even if in a minimal way, conditioned to these circumstances, that is, to the parents' choice of immigration and everything that comes from it.

In this way, given the few effective possibilities found in the Italian labor market, designing work based on other interests can be considered a good action strategy. The possibility of mobility would "widen" this young man's options in relation to work and in relation to his other transitions in adult life (Camozzi, 2022; Harris and Raffaetà, 2021). This young man tells me that he tried Italian social service for Brazil, but that due to the COVID-19

Pandemic he cannot go ahead with his plans:

> I worked in Italy, I took the exam for the universal civil service for Brazil, and I should go to Brazil. So, like, in August, it's the state... the department, the department that managed it... if I didn't... it has banned some countries, including Brazil. This in August. And my initial project was to go in September. On September 20th, the association that I was selected for the civil service called me and proposed to do in <city in South America>, <country in South America> and gave me two days to decide. To accept or not. After two sleepless nights and with a lot of anxiety... I've been here for almost two months. […] and I like this job. I mean, who am I working with, and why am I doing it. But I didn't have a great impact from <city in South America> because after two weeks I was here, my cell phone and the money were stolen. They punched me hard in the eyes. And then like, three weeks ago the ATM to withdraw money ate my credit card and I'm still without a credit card. Then a week ago I got COVID [laughs]. So... yes, it's a bit like that. It's... I don't let myself be broken; I live almost always with a smile. So, yeah... I mean, I see more positive sides... I'm meeting a lot of people, I'm having a lot of fun... [Erick, 27, Brazilian mother, big city in southern Italy, secondary education, second wave].

Although the initial plan was changed because of the COVID-19 Pandemic, Erick's quick decision to go abroad points to the great desire to carry out this type of work in another country. The possibility of living in another country for the young man, - a country he had never visited, and which has another language and another culture - seemed to Erick as more interesting than staying in Italy. This choice suggests that his working condition and his prospects in his place of origin might not be what he wanted. While internal mobility was denied, mobility outside the country was imagined and put into practice. This denotes that for some young people leaving Italy is a way to experience the transitions to adult life (Cuzzocrea and Mandich, 2016; Marchetti et al., 2021; Camozzi, 2022). In Erick's case, mobility was his way of dealing with unemployment, with the uncertainty found in his own territory, and with his connection with the Church. When young people find structural constraints to reach an independent adult life, mobility can be a valid subterfuge (Thompson and Taylor, 2005; Marchetti et al., 2021; Camozzi, 2022)

The subjective dimensions are once again important to be considered: in addition to the objective condition of job uncertainty that marks the work trajectory of this young person, the feeling of uncertainty and dissatisfaction are also important. For many young people, employment is the main source of savings, but it does not necessarily bring personal realization. There is a subjective character of personal fulfilment that should not be overlooked: as Gambardella et al (2021) point out that work trajectories are essential in building the lives of individuals, who seek work not only for an economic meaning, but also for subjective satisfaction. This young man's words show that work is the main element of life organization (Gambardella et al, 2021), since from a stable and well-paid job other spheres of life could be built: autonomy, stability and leaving home from parents.

6.2.4. From school to work: the ideal type of transition

The focus now goes on the experience of young people who have at least post-secondary degree and who are not in educational training. The purpose of this part of the chapter is to understand how the construction of work trajectories takes place after completing higher education. As we will see the experiences of these young people in the world of work can be characterized as complex and diverse considering that, although some young people have done it in a "traditional" way the transition from educational training to work, the subjective dimension of how young people face this transition can be diverse.

These young people could be framed as with the "linear" type of transition: training in higher education and entry into the labor market in a stable job. This type of transition is seen today as a minoritarian transition in the face of both the difficulties encountered by young people, and the new ways that young people want to experience diverse paths and different trajectories. As we will see below, the trajectory of the more "traditional" type involves different attitudes and subjectivities. If, on the one hand, we have diversified trajectories in which studying and working do not happen sequentially, other interviewees bring reports of a more "traditional" transition between the world of education and the world of work:

> I did, among other things, I did not ask any questions, they were looking for me that is, , the <company name> through the employment agency they made me in short, I came to work with them, in the end they took me, thanks to God. Five years that I work, right? Now that is a few years now, so by now I am used to postal work and to relate precisely to the public and, and to, also to use, in quotation marks, what my studies have been, that is the linguistic ones, those of, of the approach with people, precisely in the communication. [Alice, 29, Tunisian parents, small city in southern Italy, tertiary education, First wave]

Alice is 29-year-old women who, after graduating from the master's degree ("*laurea magistrale*"), feels grateful to have gotten a job that gave her financial stability in the city where she lives. The young woman who lives in the south of Italy managed to reach, in an almost successive way, the school to work transition. In the same way, some other young people report this same trajectory: from the first or second wave from the 23 respondents, a total of five have stable employment and got the job after high education training. Among these young people, the feeling of having a stable job related to their training can change completely. For some, stable work was an important step towards building autonomy, mainly economic. On the other hand, for other interviewees, financial stability is not enough to be satisfied with the job they find. As we will discuss below, the achievement of a stable job, with the possibility of a career can generate different levels of satisfaction that could be related to class expectations. Class expectations would mainly relate to the social position of individuals in their life trajectory and to the cultural, economic, and social capital that these individuals possess (Bourdieu, 1983;

2004; 2007). In other words, the dispositions acquired during certain life experiences (such as experiences arising from family background, school, and professional background) influence the expectations that young people come to have in relation to their own work trajectories. These expectations can come from several orders: subjective, economic, cultural (Bourdieu, 1983; 2004; 2007; Yeboah, Crossouard and Flynn, 2021).

In view of the different expectations generated by young people in their trajectories in relation to the best professional path, or the "dream" career, we can visualize positions of class, gender, race, and ethnicity (Silva, 2013). Usually, young people from a low-income family background can embrace more normative ideals about their transitions (Silva, 2016) specially related to work where to have a stable job can be a differentiator related to their family economic and social capital.

Alice's context is not just about class: location and gender also matter in her trajectory and professional expectations. As Walther (2006) and others point out (Spanò and Domecka, 2021) gender differences in southern Italy are essential in the chances of employment and unemployment. Women tend to have higher unemployment rates (Walther, 2006) than men in southern Italy. The possibility of finding a fixed and stable job and with it the possibility of independence is for Alice a positive gain in view of the context in which she lives. Alice when asked about her psychophysical well-being from five years ago points out the importance of economic independency:

> Yes, economically certainly, economically certainly, because first one euro for me and now twenty euro, that is, understood? To say, my monetary value has also changed, because now, that is economically I am fine, I mean, what I want I can buy, now it is not that I am a spendthrift, because I am also for saving, among other things I work with savings, so I know what that means. But yes I am, I sincerely improved economically, I was a bit poorer, because I remember I went to middle school, everyone had the original shoes and I didn't have them, no, and I told my dad: "I want the original shoes", the my dad wasn't that he could afford them, because in the end he worked at the restaurant, it's not that he was earning who knows what. Now I can buy it and I don't care anymore! I mean, I wanted them in middle school. [Alice, 29, Tunisian parents, small city in southern Italy, tertiary education, first wave]

Being economically stable for her is a valuable resource to be well mentally as well. What Alice's experience shows us is that the financial stability that comes from her job and the satisfaction of being able to work in her own field of study are essential for her in the face of her life trajectory and the clear economic difficulties she experienced when she was younger. with your family. The family with an immigrant and working-class background (the father working in the restaurant industry and the mother a stay-at-home spouse) and the fact of living in southern Italy shaped the life of this young woman in which job and financial stability are necessary components for her well-being.

On the other hand, as I said above, for some of these young people, job stability alone is not enough to give them a feeling of personal satisfaction. It is particularly important to understand how the subjectivities presented here are related to the life course of these young

people, with the social structures in which they were inserted and with the opportunities and restrictions they experienced. For some young people, having a stable job with good economic prospects and in accordance with their educational training may not be enough in the face of the high expectations that they may have in this area of life. While for other young people who start from more precarious contexts - whether due to class, gender or race deprivileged - getting a stable job becomes a great achievement.

The following young man is from a very particular case. His grandmother is Italian but immigrates to the United States and her son, born in the States migrates back to Italy and marries an Italian woman. Alex is the result of a set of migratory flows. The case of Alex becomes interesting to note the extent to which the problem that revolves around the so-called "second" generation is even related to the fact of migrating or appearing to be an immigrant, of being racialized and thus not being considered Italian. Alex is a middle-class young man, his parents are intellectuals and after his university education he is automatically hired by a company. Both in 2020 and 2021, Alex demonstrates his dissatisfaction with having a monotonous, office-type job, with exhausting hours of work.

> So, my relationship with the world of work is very particular, in the sense that everyone's relationship, in fact, is always very desolate in some aspects, because it is very oppressive. I ended up not doing work that I'm passionate about in any way, because I deal with documentation anyway, so it's data entry work, often very monotonous, and it's an activity that takes 10 hours a day anyway, which in any case, they are enough, that is, they are a lot, 8 hours are too much for me in general, it would be nice to have a 6-hour workday, but apparently it is still not possible, I have not yet achieved this victory [smiles]. And so, that is, I live with stress, a lot, I was hoping, let's say, that this world would be a little less stressful, that is, that the world of work would stress me a little less than that, whereas at first I thought it was simply having to learn to stay within it, whereas now I've been doing it here for a year anyway, and I realize that it's not staying there, it's the deadlines, expectations, pressures, seeing too, especially in my environment and in the my agency, which also has little chance of growth in some aspects, at a professional level, so even there you have little incentive. So, let's say that my work experience, since I stopped studying, is not encouraging, here, and afterwards, I didn't even know what to do, good or bad. [Alex, 25, father from the United States, big city in northern Italy, tertiary education, first wave].

Alex's dissatisfaction comes from a monotonous job, with exhausting hours of work and with, according to him, little possibility of professional growth. The participant feels "oppressed" within the workspace. As stated earlier, class and origin expectations are different for Alice and Alex. While for Alice, who lives in southern Italy, with immigrant and working-class parents, having a stable job is a positive point because it gives solidity, for Alex, who lives in northern Italy, with a father who migrates from the United States to Italy and with a middle-class family, the expectations of work are different, which involves, as he says, the insertion in some type of more "dynamic" work:

That is, I believe that a find ... that I can find a job that I am passionate about, I find it very difficult, partly because I like to change the things I do, I don't like getting gangrened in an activity too much, especially because all the working activities what good or bad do I know, what I see other people doing, except for those who are perhaps inside the communities with the kids, that in any case that there is a dynamic job, which changes constantly because you are always in relationship with people who are growing up, and so your way of relating to them is different, or even at school, at school it is another job that is super dynamic, because it is a relationship with kids who grow up, who maybe you see them grow up. While, on the other hand, always having very stagnant relationships with other people, in my environment it is not even encouraging that aspect there, you always find yourself repeating yourself, always doing the same things. [Alex, 25, father from the United States, big city in northern Italy, tertiary education, first wave].

For some young people, a more "traditional" path (i.e., educational training plus entry into the labor market in stable employment) can generates a strong sense of frustration. In this specific case Alex lacks a lack of motivations in which he feels the need for a more dynamic work. The expression he uses of feeling "gangrenated" at work demonstrates the feeling of prison, of something that is rotting, corrupting itself. If the dynamics of contemporary capitalism require new qualities and aptitudes from individuals in the labor market, we must ponder how the ideal worker also internalizes subjectivities from a neoliberal perspective (Ferrer-Wreder et al, 2021; Kaya and Barmak, 2018; Arnett, 2000). Alex's desire for mobility, freedom, innovation, dynamics, and flexibility also permeates a process of subjectivation and internalization of cultural practices arising from the new dynamics of capital and reproduction of the workforce (Lima and Pires, 2017). What Alex experiences is perhaps a collision between subjectivities based on a neoliberal ideology within a workspace with a Fordist ideology. If in the Fordist model we would have a linear, stable career, in which normally people would remain in the same type of job for most of their lives, in flexible capitalism we would have a framework of intense social mobility with flexible and non-linear work dynamics (Sennett, 2009). In Alex's case, she feels frustrated at not being able to experience these more flexible dynamics. Is possible that the "cultural values have an impact on the factors that influence the career choices of youths" (Akosah-Twumasi et al. 2018: 2). In this sense, a more individualistic cultural framework can lead individuals to a more independent, self-reliance attitudes in which individual satisfaction attitudes. Job satisfaction then involves factors other than purely economic ones.

It is appropriate to bring the metaphors of youth mobilities (Cuzzocrea, 2020; Benasso and Magaraggia, 2019) from studies that point out the need that many young people today feel to navigate or find jobs that give greater autonomy, freedom, and dynamism in their daily lives. In this case, the mindset of a fixed job with fixed hours is not enough. The idea of a more dynamic work, which can bring challenges and personal and professional growth, which can bring more interesting interpersonal contacts comes from the construction of a new type of "modus operandi" based on the logic of flexible capitalism. The construction of an ideological

framework and mindset after the 1970 crisis and especially after the strengthening of neoliberalism and the flexible capitalism (Sennet, 2009; Boltanski and Chiapello, 2009), place the ideas of "autonomy, freedom, risk, mobility, flexibility, entrepreneurship and innovation" (Lima and Pires, 2017: 774) as the main discourses for building a professional career. It is very important to keep in mind that capitalism and neoliberalism as economic and political practices exist from the affirmation of ways of thinking and values in society that are subjectivized by individuals, becoming dispositions, actions, tastes (Lima and Pires, 2017) and forms of self-regulation. The word "flexible" that accompanies the transformation of capitalism therefore involves other dimensions that are not purely economic and institutional, but also the conduct that these individuals are expected to have and the performance that they themselves internalize: the end of an institutionalized minimum wage, discontinuities in working hours, greater diversification in the activities developed, need for greater creativity and interpersonal contact, deregulation of the work environment based on smarting working (Lima and Pires, 2017).

Alex's subjective need for a more dynamic type of job reveals the current conditions of his work. His dissatisfaction with work also reveals the working condition that many young people are obliged to deal with: overtime, poor communication and in the specific case during the COVID-19 Pandemic, the impact of smart working. Dissatisfaction with their work is shown even after a year, in the second wave of interviews:

> on the big part the work is always the same, it is always stressful, indeed it has become more so, because now the smart work is not the smart work of a month, when we met, but it has become the smart work of a year, therefore with periods in which you come back to the office, do a week of work there, then they send you home, then, as always, no? That is, I am not the guy who has a house in the open countryside, who if it's sunny, beautiful, goes out. I live in 50 square meters; I was with my mother the last time we did the interview. And there is always the stuff of never wanting to mix too much work with the intimate part, with the social part of one's life, so being in smart work even for periods that last up to 3 months, on the work that based on 8 working hours, it means that you spend a lot of that time in the house and when I rented this house the plan was: it is small but it is functional and still working 8 hours in the office and then having many other commitments outside of my work, it means that the house is a place of passage for me; while, on the other hand, from being a place of passage as my initial plan was, it has become a hard core of my whole daily life. [Alex, 26, father from the United States, big city in northern Italy, tertiary education, second wave].

Being in a stable job does not necessarily mean less precarious conditions within the workspace in the face of work dynamics. What we have seen so far is that young people, who come from different socioeconomic backgrounds, have quite different expectations and job prospects. Young people who are middle class – like Maria and Alex – and young people who come from the working class have different expectations and different positions in relation to their jobs. While for the former, work becomes an obstacle and a precarious situation that hinders their

experience in other parts of life, for working class young people, even if the work is tiring, exploitative, inconstant, and temporary, work is the only way of guaranteeing economic independence and fulfilling other desires (leaving home, having a degree in higher education). Working conditions and work expectations generate different reactions and horizons for these young people, something that will be discussed in our last session.

6.3. The impact of origin in the school to work trajectories construction

Within the biographical narrations of the young people interviewed, having parents of foreign origin impacts on three different levels: first, there is the impact of the migratory background and how this background is translated and given meaning in the lives of these young people in Italian society; second, there is the construction of the identity of these young people and how this impacts their work trajectories. and thirdly, there is also the impact of obtaining citizenship as a differentiator in their trajectories.

6.3.1. Choosing their own path: how identity and heritage shapes educational and professional choices

Institutional discrimination and agency

The first element to be highlighted in this analysis is the influence of origin on school careers, whether in secondary education or in higher education. As we will see below, origin and cultural heritage are important elements to be considered in the educational paths. For many respondents, there is often a need to connect with their origins, or to work in areas where involves their ethnic-racial identities. It is worth noting that this possibility of succeeding in these trajectories is also related to the available economic resources, the educational trajectory and to the cultural, social, and economic capital inherited from the parents. As we will see below, the origin is also a determinant, positively or negatively, in the educational and professional careers of young people.

Moving first to the negative dynamics regarding the paths taken by young people in this research, it was possible to perceive in some narratives that the fact of being from an immigrant background restricts opportunities in relation to educational and professional paths. Rafaella demonstrates that school experiences and the family context guided her to choices that she now considers "wrong":

I had been waiting for him for some time, that is, in the sense it was at least the last two years of high school that I thought I should have gone to university, I really wanted to get away from school because I didn't like it anymore. I was wrong, among other things, also in choosing high school, that is, I was wrong... as much as one can be wrong at 13, 14, in short. [smiles]. I made the choice, even a little pushed by middle school teachers who direct you, so I chose the <course name>. Which, however, considering that you live on the <touristic region in the north>…And therefore, I don't know, the Tourist Expert is the solution to all your problems. It's a technical course, so come on maybe it made it easier for you if you wanted to go to university, there was this... it was something in between. So, I chose this thing, but a very bad experience at school.
R Did you regret because you would have preferred a Classic?
I. Yes, but when I dared... that is, because I have Albanian origins, that is...
R. That your name is…
I. In short, I was born in Italy, but my parents are Albanian so I'm Albanian, in short. I didn't know the school system very well, for the classical high school it was the high school, where a little bit of everything was done, I didn't think they were like that...
A. Yes, they directed you.
I. They addressed me, yes. Only when I tried to say it: "No, it's very difficult". My classmates already knew that it was… "No, not scientific high school, then you have to go to university," so… my parents have never been… they never pushed me to do what they wanted. I couldn't wait to leave. University, go to school [Rafaella, 23, Albanian parents, big city in northern Italy, secondary education, first wave]

It is important to make clear for this part of the research the differences between the distinct types of educational training in the Italian school system. Young people in Italy from the age of 13 are directed to three possible types of school: technical, vocational or lyceums (Mariani et al., 2021). The difference between these three schools lies in what they prepare students for: vocational schools are work-oriented while lyceums are more academic and are aimed at young people who want to go to university. On the other hand, technical schools would be a middle path in which students receive both training above (Mariani et al., 2021).

As we see in Rafaella's reasoning, the expectation of entering university was crossed by a school trajectory in which her colleagues and teachers discouraged her from following the university path. She makes it clear that in view of her origin, "daring" to go to university would contradict the expectations generated by teachers in relation to her destiny. The lack of information needed to make choices related to their future was also an impact element, something that has also been reported in the literature (Maher, 2009; Belfi et al., 2022). This type of situation can be considered as institutional racism, which would be the probability of someone receiving a different service due to their race, ethnicity, or origin (López, 2012)

The school path is an important element in the processes of integration and insertion of young people descended from immigrants in society (Baert et al., 2016) and what is observed are obstacles in Rafaella's trajectory. The differentiation of destinations between descendants of immigrants and natives is constituted as educational disadvantages, a phenomenon that leads to a "structural inequality that in turn translates into, or reinforces, phenomena of social injustice" (Dusi e González-Falcón, 2021: 65). Educational outcomes are also related to the selection methods for secondary-level schools and this process is essential for the outcomes for second-generation youth in society (Dusi e González-Falcón, 2021). Situations of rejection, exclusion, or suspicion of the ability of young people can make young people not allow

themselves to explore their real potential or that "more concretely, prevent them from delaying entry to, and exit from, university" (Kaya e Barmark, 2019: 893).

As we will see in another example, Gabriel's educational trajectory from the moment he arrived in Italy was marked by a set of discriminatory practices:

> And okay, at school I wasn't doing well, that is, the first five years I was a mess, that is, I didn't understand anything, I didn't even study, and that's why I always went after school ... that there was pensioners who gave extra classes to foreign children, and I went there, even in high school my path was... tumultuous... because I wasn't a first and second, that is, I always had all three, four, five, but in eighth grade I was like, "No, let's go!" since there, in Italy, there are... exams in the eighth grade, right? That is, there is an exam in eight years, which is the one in the eighth grade, and... practically... there I committed myself and, I also left with the eight, and the teachers didn't even expect that! In fact, they advised me not to go to a technical institute because that school is considered a bit difficult here, and they told me to go to a three-year vocational institute, which you will work. In my opinion this thing in Italy is wrong, that they advise you to go to school, it's really bullshit because... that is, in the sense... you already kill someone's dreams in the sense, just because even that point, he behaved that way, they said "You can't do anything!" when maybe you have another fifty years to... change your life, you understand! Well, okay, I didn't listen to the teachers, I did my own thing and applied where I wanted... [Gabriel, 22, parents from Bangladesh, small town in central Italy, secondary education, first wave]

It is in the school process that young people find the first moment of socialization and confrontation outside the family environment (Bertani, 2009). The school trajectory is an important element in the construction of paths of opportunities, of being able to participate in a more democratic way (Bertani, 2009) in other areas of life, such as the professional trajectory. Gabriel tells us that given a school career with little yield in good grades, the teachers do not suggest that he go for a more difficult training. If the paths of both young people are marked by choices of destinations based on preconceived ideas about their capabilities, then it is to be expected that different results, other than inclusion, can happen. In fact, the example of Rafaella and Gabriel confirms the probability of second-generation young people being enrolled less in lyceums and more in vocational schools (Bertolini et al., 2015; Dusi e González-Falcón, 2021; Chiappelli, 2021). In the educational guidance process there is a disproportionately greater tendency to direct young people of foreign origin to technical schools and not to universities Dusi e González-Falcón, 2021; Chiappelli, 2021). This situation reveals two phenomena: the first is how migration will affect the process of integrating young people into society, a process that has consequences for their school performance; the second issue is the "choice" of destinations by the teachers for these young people. In this case, school is often a space of differentiation and reproduction of social inequalities (Maher, 2009; Pásztor, 2016).

Prior to that, Bourdieu (2002) already pointed to the school as a space for the reproduction of existing inequalities in societies: the social, cultural, and financial capital

inherited from the family would be elements of individuals differentiation within the school space. It is possible to state in this way that origin as a differentiating element between young people considered foreigners and young people considered natives can be included as an element of social capital. In this sense, the mark of origin, inherited by the family as social capital, ends up generating situations of inequality. More than that, the cultural capital, and the level of education of the parents can also influence the school trajectories of young people descended from immigrants who are discouraged within the school institution from going to university.

Although we cannot consider what the teachers did to Gabriel as institutional discrimination, we can consider that this act alone gives us an indication of how the inequalities that young immigrants may experience in adult life are repercussions of a long process of attempts at inclusion and adaptability which as we see above are not easy.

It is important to emphasize, however, that Gabriel's agency in relation to this "destiny" given by the teachers is a way of confronting this common tendency. As a result, the young man ends up continuing his studies and entering a university. It is noteworthy to consider here that despite coming from a family of low-income origin, Gabriel persists in his university career in which in the second wave he found himself working and continuing his states in the master's degree. Gabriel, by refusing and going against the fate chosen by her teachers, evidences her agency and demonstrates "how the second-generation has learned to overcome experiences with exclusion and low support at a young age" (Orupabo et al., 2020: 933). The at the same time resilient and combative way that he acts would point to an ability to deal with restrictions encountered in the path of his paths (Crul et al., 2017). As we will see in the second wave, Gabriel, who finishes his university degree, enters the master's course and, concomitantly, also starts to work:

> It's very positive because, that is, I've been working for only three months and it's a very dynamic job in the sense that I'll travel a lot and... I'm the one with the least experience, but my colleagues often go to South America, North America, the United States. They go to Thailand, all over the world.... A kind of job like this where you travel all over the world. And I like this because I like being nomadic, not always being in the same place. R. But so you want to do this job for what to do like…. a little experience, even for travelling?
> I. Yes! Exactly. To travel, to get to know new realities and not only work normally to bring home a salary, but also gain life experience […] I'm doing a master's degree, but as a worker. I'll do less exams, but I'll do some exams, come on.
> A. You have chosen this trajectory...
> I. Yes because.... that is, experiences, that is, in the sense that I do a job where there are also many magistrates. My colleagues have almost all done masters and I'm more or less doing the same job, but oh well, I'm still continuing to study because I'm studying something a little different from my three-year course. That is, the triennial did in mechatronics. Now I'm doing control systems which is always that field, but it's a little more theoretical, let's say. And... nothing, come on. That is, six, for now I feel good like this and then in any case it must be said even if it had been a little more well-off, I would have studied directly, I would not have worked.

R. And why did you make this choice to work now?

I. And... to help the family too, financially. [Gabriel, 23, parents from Bangladesh, small town in central Italy, tertiary education, second wave]

Gabriel manages to finish his first-degree university studies and successfully find a job in his field. When asked about his parents' profession, he tells me that his mother is a housewife and takes care of his grandmother and his father works in a factory. The young man also tells us that for a long time his father, being a foreigner, went through a series of jobs with extensive workload and low wages due to his origin. In this context, economic help within immigrant families is very important, due to the possibility of improving household incomes (Angel and Tienda, 1982; Roberts, 2013; Berrington and Falkingham, 2014). Despite the low financial capital, and despite a scholastic course marked by discrimination between peers and institutional discrimination, the young man manages to start his career satisfactorily. This trajectory would, to a certain extent, confirm what is already pointed out in part of the literature (Ball et al., 2002; Orupabo et al., 2020) that there is a process of positive social mobility of young people descendants of immigrants - when compared to the generation of your parents.

Different cultural and social capital and career choices

Betting on positive dynamics, that is, on the positive impact of origin as a resource to be explored that some young people directed their educational and professional paths. Of the interviewees in our research, a portion of them (Alice, Hannah Mario, Danusa, Jean, Maria, Gloria) chose higher education paths related to language, intercultural communication, international relations. In addition, it was common to find research or dissertation topics that also involved the culture inherited from their parents. As we will see below, for Jean his doctoral research is related to his father's background. Some young people look for a place in their work paths to connect with their origins:

> Ahm ... as regards the relationship between me and my research and ... the research is also linked to my origins, so I'm trying right now to investigate what are the commercial relations between the European Union and, the African states. And ... and I'm trying to understand how free trade then impacts on the er African democracies, er in terms of human rights always this. and ... and so let's say that momentarily at ... I wrote the first chapter of my thesis ... and... thanks. [Jean, 26, Congolese father, big city in central Italy, tertiary education, first wave]

Jean, a 28-year-old young man who is carrying out his doctoral studies, explicitly demonstrates the association of his research and work interests with his origin. Jean is a middle-class young

man, his parents were doctors, his mother Italian, and his father Congolese. It is important to emphasize that socioeconomic resources and the cultural capital acquired within the family (Shenell and Fibbi, 2015) have strong influences on Jean's trajectory. In his case, the cultural references, strongly shared with Jean, made him interested in Congolese culture and society. Elsewhere in our research, Jean demonstrates a strong attachment to her father's cultural heritage:

> So... uhm I think it's important, relevant to say it even now, because it happened now, um... and then it's important because in any case my father passed on to me many of the values of the... place where he came from, therefore of the Congo. So, I also speak a little bit of Lingala thanks to him, I also speak French thanks to him, um ... let's say he passed on to me many of those cultural elements that come from, from his region, therefore from the equator, from <city name>. Um… I also have a huge family in <city name>, more than two hundred cousins, uh… a huge number of uncles, uh nephews never mind, so that is. And... no, no, ... I think it was important to explore this aspect here because, and in any case my father was an important person for me, for many other people, and above all also in the things I do today um, I think... his presence is always, he's always here. [Jean, 26, Congolese father, big city in central Italy, tertiary education, first wave]

For Jean the father is a point of reference, a person who gave the interviewee experience and learning about the father's country of origin, the culture, and the family. The transmission of values and aspirations, as well as the transmission of language and cultural traditions (Shenell and Fibbi, 2015) have a positive impact on the career building of young people. As Jean shows us, learning more than the Italian language becomes an important resource in his life trajectory (the young man in the second wave moves, for example, to Belgium). How we see the origin together with the type of cultural and social capital acquired and with good communication and family cohesion are resources (Shenell and Fibbi, 2015) that strongly influence Jean's educational and professional trajectory.

While Rafaella and Gabriel's parents were both low-income immigrants, Jean's parents, an Italian and foreigner, both doctors. do not seem to have differed so much in the matter of choosing to do university studies or not. In addition, it is important to emphasize the possibility of racialization that these young people may have suffered. Having both foreign parents and having an Italian mother and a foreign parent can create differences. Hence, in the school and work aspirations, elements such as ethnicity, racial identity and discrimination appear as stronger explanatory factors than class (Modood, 2004). With this, we can say that the cultural resources made available to these young people within the family in relation to values and attitudes and interaction with the culture of origin (Orupabo et al., 2020) and socialization in Italian society may have influenced their choices.

In this sense, it can be said that origin becomes a resource, it becomes a form of career creation. Danusa, who in the first wave was studying international relations because, among

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other things, she was interested in getting closer to her parents' origin, in the second wave she shows her choice to work, even if precariously, in the homeland parents:

> R. And in this choice of going outside Italy to work, do they understand this? What do your parents think?
> I. So, let's say that in .... that is, it is not very easy to understand, to understand at times, is it? For ... because they're so to say, go away from that place and I'm going back to that place, right? But obviously I have a .... let's say a different privilege than theirs, right? And so, I come back, that I have a different condition even just having an Italian passport is a different condition. And ... therefore, I'm going to live a life a little different from the one they lived there. And they understood this and of course they also understood that this experience is .... it is for my future. That is because I want to work in this area, because I would like to gain experience to continue growing in this area. And so, they understood it. [Danusa, 26, Palestinian parents, big city in northern Italy, tertiary education, second wave]

In addition to the desire to work on something that relates to the origin of the interview, the parents' expectations regarding their daughter's wishes are also noted here. For parents, first-generation immigrants, and working-class people, returning to their home country could sounds odd. Here we can see the differences in expectations and opportunities between the two generations, which puts Danusa in a more privileged situation. Returning to the parents' country of origin is seen as a personal experience and as a possibility for professional experience. This possibility of experimentation in the homeland parents is, for her, a way of joining the "useful with the pleasant", that is, of pursuing an educational/professional training together with the desire to get closer to the culture heritage.

6.3.2. Identity misfortunes: the negative impact of migratory background on work trajectories

Citizenship

In studies on descendants of immigrants, citizenship is one of the key elements for thinking about the life chances and trajectories of young people (Alassino et al., 2005; Colombo et al., 2011; Gathmann and Garbers, 2022). As already discussed by Elliot (2009), the right to citizenship can been seen as an institutional apparatus that "produces and reproduces systems

of inequalities". As we will see during my conversation with Mario in the second wave the interruptions in his work were due to the bureaucracy faced by those who do not have Italian citizenship:

> [when asked about the impact of not having citizenship]
> I. [...] and then a whole other series of difficulties, for example all the calls that are only for Italian citizens, to give you an example I cannot participate in many calls that maybe due to the requirements I could very well do it, but lacking the Italian citizenship I cannot even participate. [Mario, 28, Moroccan parents, big city in northern Italy, secondary education, first wave].

The difficulties encountered by Mario reveal the impact of not having citizenship within the labour market: from an analysis of the life course, in relation to transitions to adult life, transitions in relation to education and work for these young people are influenced by obtaining a document proving their citizenship in Italy. This process is already discussed by the literature (Fellini and Guetto, 2020; Chiappelli, 2021; Bozzetti, 2018; Bonifazi, 2017; D'Agostino et al, 2018; Corluy, Marx and Verbist, 2011; Eulaws et al. 2010) who point out the impact of the acquisition of citizenship on people's occupation. What the interviewee reports are difficulties that interfere in his choices and, therefore, in his biography. Being a citizen involves the participation of individuals in different life spheres, one of which is inclusion in the labor market. The lack of access to Italian citizenship blocks the construction of the work project itself, which does not happen in the same terms for young people who have citizenship. The young man, who in the first wave worked part time and studied, found himself after a year in a situation where the lack of access to Italian citizenship had a direct impact on his life:

> I. Now fortunately I started working in the hospital again and .... however, I had problems with my documents around May, because I had a residence permit for study reasons, and I could not work more than one thousand forty hours a year… the law in Italy that if you have a residence permit for study reasons, you have a limit of hours, of hours that you can do in a year. It is ... quite discriminatory as a law because an Italian can work and study as much as he wants, you can also work all day, even 24 hours a day, there is no such limit, instead for foreigners there is a working time limit. Okay, I found out on my skin. It is ... so once I found out that I could no longer work, I tried to convert my residence permit to convert it, I had to finish my course of studies, or give up my studies. So, I found myself in the situation of having to decide whether to leave university to continue working. So, in the end I quit my job for two months, and then that was July, ... July I quit my job and in September I graduated luckily. then graduating…. By graduating I was able to convert my residence permit and return to work. this is, let's say, the heaviest thing of this year, here [Mario, 29, Moroccan parents, big city in northern Italy, tertiary education, second wave].

As Mario pointed out, the status of foreign citizen holding a residence permit for study, limits on the number of hours he can work. The impossibility of conducting full-time work means that he has to choose between dropping out of the course and changing the type of residence permit, accelerating the course, losing his job, and then changing his residence permit. The denial of citizenship has repercussions not only on the legal aspect, but also on other issues such as employment possibilities. In addition to the possibilities of being employed or not and the type of job/position acquired, the lack of Italian citizenship prevents young people from reconciling different activities such as working and studying at the same time; being able to travel to other countries outside the European Union, etc. This experience can be considered as institutional discrimination that has a direct impact on the life possibilities of young people - (Alassino et al., 2005; Colombo et al., 2011; Gathmann and Garbers, 2022; D'Agostino et al., 2018) – type of job, higher degree training – and the possibilities of agency and strategies to deal with precariousness. When the ability to alternate between work and study is undermined, strategies to deal with precariousness and accumulate human/educational capital are also undermined.

The paradox of Mario's question is that: for him to continue having permission to stay in Italy, he needs to continue working, but his condition as a foreigner makes it impossible for his work activities and his educational training to take place simultaneously. The lack of citizenship introduce additional barriers and institutional discrimination, so that one must comply with laws regulating foreign residence and work/study activity. Thus, Italian citizenship is a way for these young people to enjoy symbolic and material benefits. Policies related to foreigners, and in this case to the children of immigrants, "create corridors to those who fit the requirements while erecting barriers to others" (Bailey and Mulder, 2017: 2696). Institutional policies and guidelines in relation to migration establish the conditions at the macro level (Bailey and Mulder, 2017) to build the lives of people who are institutionally considered foreigners, and it is at the micro level that these repercussions appear.

However, despite the difficulty encountered by Mario and despite the discomfort of having felt discriminated institutionally, the young man also comments that having been unemployed (receiving unemployment insurance) made it possible for him to accelerate the end of his studies. The capacity for resilience with the right he had as a worker to receive supplies makes him go through this situation in a less dramatic way.

In the example below we see that the non-acquisition of citizenship at the age of eighteen for Ben was a turning point, it was a process that regulated the path of the young man:

A, All right. I don't remember if you already told me, do you have Italian citizenship or not?
I. Yes, I received... I received it in two thousand and nineteen.
R. How was the experience of acquiring Italian citizenship?
I. I was a little unlucky in... in citizenship because my wish was... erm, if I couldn't be a dentist, it would be to be in the military, be a policeman, be in the army. Yeah... and yes, they came to school, I took the... the test, and he says: "Look... it's okay. You have the height; you have the physicality. Obviously, you have Italian citizenship?". Me:

"No. No, I don't have it.", and he says: "But then you can't enter!". Then, bad luck, as I was about to tell you, my father received citizenship in 2010, a month after I turned eighteen. Too bad a thing because anyway if I'd gotten it first, from uh... from... eighteen, I might as well have it automatically. And okay, it didn't work. And in the end, I made the request when I started working, I made the request and then after two and a half, three years, I received it, then my mother also received it... a month ago, not even.
[Ben, 26, Moroccan origin, small city in southern Italy, secondary education, first wave]

As it was for Mario, obtaining citizenship becomes a path setter: it is a way of directing young people to certain paths trodden either in education or at work. Not getting citizenship before the age of 18 for Ben meant that he had to put aside projects related to his work trajectorie. Being from an immigrant family means having to deal with the repercussions of family situations where legal status is one of them. Due to the delay in his father's documentation, the young man was only able to obtain citizenship at the age of 18, a process that prevented him from joining the army.

In other examples during our research, it was possible to perceive to what extent the related dynamics within the family and the working conditions of young people together will have a collateral impact on the acquisition of citizenship. Faviola, when talking about her trajectory when leaving home, tells us that her initial plan, at the age of 18, was to go to England to work. However, as we will see below, not having Italian citizenship affects these plans. When the young woman tells us how this experience was, she reveals a series of events in her life that, in the context of not having Italian citizenship, end up intensifying the situation of precariousness:

I. I had asked my mum if I could go my friend's house for a few days.... and she [her mother] had said yes, at her home in London, and she had said yes. I had stupidly bought the tickets, when... that is, all immature things that now come to mind and I laugh, but I couldn't go to England because I had to apply for a visa!
A. Yes! And you only had Colombian citizenship?
I. Yes. Yes, yes. I had to ask... even now I must ask for a visa to go to England. And I took it very badly because... that is, I wanted to go and I wasn't afraid to go there alone because I had already done it, understand? And I was very disappointed because I wanted to study, I wanted to go up and down, but I couldn't do anything, and just like... still today. For better or worse, let's say that this problem of, of not, of not having Italian citizenship yes... I thought it... I've always carried it with me, and I still have it because I'm not married. Um...
R. Do you have Italian citizenship now?
I. No, because I'm not married ... then, I'll explain[...]
I have never been able to apply for citizenship because since I went to live um away from home.... and in any case... and out... that is, outside my family unit, therefore my mother's, I where... . to apply for citizenship, I had to prove a stable job... and I haven't yet had a permanent contract... So I still can't... that is, if I apply for citizenship, in five years me... um, if <partner's name> makes a move to ask me to marry me! But you know what? One thing that burns me a lot because, that makes me so angry because

there are so many foreign women who come to Italy and take men to get married, to get citizenship and that's it, understand? [...] And instead, still here , I've always worked legally, I've always paid taxes and everything, my son is Italian, ahem.... That is, when these moments come, I get angry because I don't want to deal with the police headquarters because they treat you like a moron, as if you don't speak Italian, as if you don't understand anything you're saying, and for me this is really argh! In fact,... ah! okay, hot topic! [Faviola, 29, Colombian origin, big city in northern Italy, secondary education, first wave]

The overlapping of biographical events in Faviola's life made the acquisition of citizenship a difficult process. The young woman who, at 18 years of age, is sent away from her mother's house has not managed to gain citizenship until the moment of our interview. Leaving home for her represented: not being able to continue her university studies because she had to work; find jobs that no one offers a long-term contract. This overlapping of situations: difficult family relationship, leaving home, financial need and not getting a steady job makes citizenship just a horizon. As for Mario, citizenship cannot be achieved because many times young people have experienced situations that are beyond their control: the institutional dynamics that dictate the requirements for citizenship do not consider living conditions that deviate from a specific standard. In addition to the legal impact, Faviola demonstrates a sense of incapacity, non-recognition, and invisibility of her belonging in Italy. Although she has a son who is considered Italian, she herself cannot legally claim this status.

Laura, despite already having Italian citizenship, says that for her obtaining citizenship has switched her chances regarding the possibilities of entering the labor market:

R. Has having dual citizenship changed anything in your life?
I. Yes, actually yes, because with the jobs I want to do, maybe even just public competitions, I can't do public competitions as I don't have Italian citizenship and public competitions could be useful to me, then in my opinion it also does on the ... curriculum, that is, because my name is written in any case... particular with epsilon and cape which are unusual, aren't they? And since you however read that citizenship is Italian, it is already a different effect in my opinion, on those who look at even just the curriculum, because in any case I know that people look at these things, because since they see a foreign name, maybe they think : "But this one won't speak... she'll speak with who knows what accent, who knows what she's doing!". And… so, in my opinion... it reassures me in some way…. mentally. [Laura, 28, Uzbekistan origin, big city in the central Italy, tertiary education, first wave].

What we also see in Laura's account is nothing new than what has already been pointed out in the literature: the guarantee of citizenship gives the right to a series of possibilities, one of which being the possibility of running for positions in the state apparatus (Gathmann and Garbers, 2022). Laura shows us something different though: how people can treat you differently depending on the type of document you present. This type of situation, as she herself indicates,

affects her chances of being hired. From this we can say that the institutional and bureaucratic dynamics of citizenship that already prevent access to certain resources to those considered immigrants, generate side effects that is the fact that other individuals can behave differently with those who are not considered citizens. The subjective and symbolic dimensions of having citizenship must therefore be considered (Mitterhofer,2023). Citizenship should in this sense be understood as a mechanism not only for the production and reproduction of inequalities, but also as a mechanism for social differentiation (Cherubini, 2010).

Furthermore, there is consideration for the racial dimension of this experience: for Laura, citizenship would guarantee a better relationship when confronting people, even if she had a surname considered "unusual". This could indicate that the combination of physical appearance with the acquisition of documents could be a much greater differential for young people who are considered white than for young people who are considered non-white: for the latter, citizenship often does not guarantee the possibility of belonging or equal treatment as an individual considered native (Colombo et al., 2011).

Discrimination

Apart from citizenship, other obstacles found in the research relate to episodes of discrimination that young people feel when looking for a job or even within the work environment. In fact, the literature already points to the impact of origin on experiences of discrimination in the labor market. (Schittenhelm and , 2011; Aslam, 2016; Roulleau-Berger, 2009; Kisfalusi et al., 2020). Below we have the situation of Joseph, a young Afro-descendant, without higher education, who works in the field of restoration and who also has a precarious work path. Despite his father having been a diplomat in Italy, the young man who leaves home early builds his life independently with the dream of becoming an artist. This choice to go their own way also results in temporary, intermittent and low-paying jobs. Joseph demonstrates that the precariousness of being a worker goes beyond the objective condition of work (working hours, type of contract), but also permeates situations of discrimination or prejudice in the work environment:

> R. How was your experience in the restaurant business?
>
> I. So, initially ... they always have a little ... they look at me a little weird huh! Because maybe they think: "Oh my God, who is this?" then when they see that you speak well anyway, then ... they always ask you the question: "Oh my God! You speak well! ... how, how is it possible? Have you studied?" They still don't have the mentality, that in any case there are other generations, there are families who have been here in Italy for a long time and have done ... and, and have a life here for years, and ... again yes, yes astound! [Joseph, 26, Congolese parents, big city in the central Italy, secondary education, first wave]

The precariousness of being a worker goes beyond the objective condition of work (working hours, type of contract), but also permeates situations of discrimination or prejudice in the work environment. In the same way as pointed out by the literature in the theoretical chapters (Ambrosini et al., 2004; Alassino et al., 2005; Bertani, 2009; Schittenhelm and Schmidtke, 2011) even with the same linguistic skills, these young people are discriminated against for appearing to be foreigners. Joseph reveals to us a dynamic that may be common within not only the Italian context, but the European context in general: the territorialization of race.

As Kilomba (2019) points out in her work, the way in which white people question the presence of non-white people in European territory is often a way of naturalizing the view that Europeans are white. In the case of Joseph, the situation experienced in the work environment questions the existence of that individual in that space, but not only: it questions the possibility of an Afro-descendant person speaking "native" Italian. The questioning and surprise of people with Joseph's identity and his "Italianity" in the work environment is how Kilomba (2019) points out a form of control and an exercise of power. The questioning of people towards the young person becomes a relationship of power as far as the idea that an Afro-descendant person cannot speak Italian so well is naturalized since he or she would not be Italian. The amazement people have with Joseph is the racist perspective of trying to reconcile race with territory and language. The "strangeness" that Joseph causes is nothing more than the racial grammar of whiteness that does not conceive or accept Joseph's *Italiannes*s. In the second wave, when commenting on his relationship with Italy, Joseph's reveals the everyday nature of racism in his life and specifically at work:

> R. And your relationship with Italy? How did it go?
> I. Quite normal. I'm used to it by now so.... I'm honest I've never had so many episodes of discrimination, racism. I've had it but not really.... violent acts, those others you say: ok, they targeted me. Even if there is always, you know. Because... even at work. There is always that sort of priority of others towards you, because.... they always see you as inferior. Willing or not wanting. Maybe if they make a case they do: "wow, you can do it too! God!". So, it's really... I say unfortunately, eh, because... in 2022 there's still this... mentality here in Italy. [Joseph, 27, Congolese parents, big city in the central Italy, secondary education, second wave]

The repercussions of discriminatory and racist dynamics in the work environment reverberate both subjectively and objectively. According to Joseph's experience, there is a tendency to stereotype young people as less capable of carrying out work activities. These young people often need to be "approved" or "recognized" as capable by the gaze of those considered natives. As Dusi and González-Fálcon (2021) put it, young people seem to have to gain positive recognition from other people and specifically in the job market. The astonishment of the natives when they saw Joseph speaking good Italian and performing "normally" at work, is the process of dissociation of stereotypes, of imagined places: it is the discomfort of whiteness between the social place, the social performance, and the imagined identity of one side and what it really is on the other side. In addition, when this young person is recognized, it always

in a place of "surprise" which demonstrates the existence of a racist imaginary about who these young people are in the world in the Italian context and more precisely in the labor market. The lack of recognition or denial of recognition as a capable person (Honneth, 2003; Dusi and González-Falcón, 2021) can be considered as a reproducer of inequalities within the labor market. Essed (2004) observes that when black women achieve good educational and professional results, they are seen as an exception since they would be conquering attributes and spaces associated only with whites. Josephs' situation can be seen in a similar way to what is pointed out by the author, since the astonishment and surprise of the linguistic and work performance would confirm the assumption of certain types of performances imagined only for the white group.

Therefore, it is important to highlight the weight of whiteness and racial ideologies that involve this process: considering that whiteness as an ideology demarcates a series of privileges that reproduce racial prejudice and racial discrimination (Cardoso, 2010), the "approval" of Joseph's skills in the labor market would be an example of maintaining power and reproducing inequality. In other words, it would be an attempt to demarcate Joseph's place within the labor market. The association between ethnic-racial identity, ability and work experience denotes the stereotypes directed at young people who associate their ethnic-racial identity with their work capabilities, with the type of work they would be able to do. If in the first wave there is suspicion regarding his mastery of the Italian language, in the second wave there is suspicion of his qualities as a worker. It can be said that the construction of paths in the work dimension for young people racialized in Italy permeates a white collective imaginary and white approval, a process that reproduces the status of privilege (Bento, 2002) of people considered native.

In this way, to what extent do these episodes shape the possibilities of employment and career path of these young people? To what extent does the discomfort felt by these young people also imply in precarious work trajectories? As we have seen and as we will see below, perceived discrimination can generate precarious and violent relationships in the work environment, even if this violence is symbolic.

Regarding young people who have higher education and work in positions related to their education training, prejudice, also appear: it seems that independently of their occupational status and education level, discrimination can exist:

> when I went to work, the clients looked at me a little: "But who is this Tunisian woman who comes to work here?", but then when they met me, because it is not knowing that brings fear, that is, brings the.. the detachment from, from other cultures. That they didn't know me before, customers to say or even colleagues, but then slowly getting to know me, now they also greet me, that is, understood, things have changed. [Alice, 29, Tunisian parents, small city in southern Italy, tertiary school, First wave].

From all the interviews it is possible to observe that the experiences in the workplace the appearance, or "looking" like a foreigner, seems to be a more important characteristic in the

field of work. If we consider individuals with the same qualifications, with the same educational level, people who "look like foreigners" (Alassino et al., 2005) appear at a disadvantage compared to those who do not look like foreigners. Differences in physical traits such as eye color, skin color, hair type, accent – the lack of which, among other elements, are fundamental in the process of differentiation (Dusi and Gonzáles-Fálcon, 2021) and separation from those considered 'others" and those considered native.

Gender, race, and work trajectories:

As we will see below, Hannah, who despite having higher education and having worked in her training area, had many episodes of racism and discrimination daily and in her work career. Because Hannah is Muslim and wears a veil, her visual identity cannot be removed, which makes it impossible for her to appear to be a native according to the Italian imaginary. This phenomenon of "passing" (Mallon, 2004) occurs when people, depending on their appearance and physical aspects, are more or less accepted depending on their approximation to the racial ideal constructed in a given society. Everyday racism (Essed, 1991) is not easy to detect because it is linked to a set of practices, discourses, gestures, looks, actions (Kilomba, 2019) that place racialized subjects as the "other", the different, the suspect, the risk. As already pointed out in the theoretical chapter, the literature that deals with the experiences of discrimination in the work environment in relation to immigrants and descendants of immigrants (Naseem, 2016; Weichselbaumer, 2016; Torrekens et al., 2021; Schuster and Weichselbaumer, 2021; Chapman, 2016) point out the difficulties encountered by young people descending from immigrants – especially those racialized – when it comes to being hired and also in the job positions they occupy.

Hannah's experience a young mother who, after moving to a small town, cannot find a job. When talking about her experiences of discrimination in previous work environments, Hannah relates the difficulty she had to be seen as a reliable person for her clients:

R. In your career path, have you had desires, recognitions, or frustrations? What were your feelings?
I. But then, luckily, I've never had major problems in the workplace, in the sense that anyway, even if I wear the veil, because I'm a Muslim, but luckily it hasn't... it's always gone well for me, maybe Sometimes I am sorry that I hear my friends like this, that they tell me: "But they won't hire me because I wear the veil." I always tell them: "It's not the veil." In my opinion it's not so much the veil, it's also the way you pose yourself, your experiences, your curriculum, etc. etc. But luckily, I've never had...! I'm telling you the truth, I haven't ... I've never had problems with my colleagues, I've had more problems with people who came to me, for help, right? with the language, at times ... there have also been, for example, episodes in which maybe there were men who saw you as a woman, then they didn't want to be helped by a woman, or there were women who... my colleagues came up and said: "Madam, do you need a hand? That there is my

colleague who speaks Arabic "and they got angry:" But who told you I don't speak Italian "in short, these things have happened to me. Then episodes, let's say in so to say of racism, intorr…, intolerance, someone but really ... if there are two or three.

R. Have you already experienced situations of discrimination outside the working environment?

I. Uhm... yes, every now and then it happened to me on public transport, to hear some little phrase, like "terrorist", these things here, but very light things, in the sense that maybe then I answered them and they were, then they were silent, you know people a bit like that... they talk, they talk, but... not really... serious episodes of violence, not that, but at the <workplace>, with this, with this person yes, it was enough. .. quite violent in the way of speaking, but I... I..., when my boss heard these, these things, he immediately intervened and invited him to, either go out or never come back, and then yeah, that was it, and then it never happened again[Hannah, 28, Moroccan parents, small city in northern Italy, tertiary education, first wave].

In general, Hannah seems to face everyday situations of racism in public transport, on the street and in the workplace. What the examples that Hannah brings are everyday manifestations of systemic inequality (Essed, 1991) based on her ethnic-racial identity. It is in everyday life, and this includes the work environment, that we can perceive how relationships and social situations add institutional and interactional characteristics to racism, since it is in everyday life that it becomes possible to understand systemic oppression dynamics (Essed, 1991).

As the literature points out (Naseen, 2016; Chapman, 2016; Frisina and Hawthorne, 2018; Schuster and Weichselbaumer, 2021; Lindemann and Stolz, 2021; Torrekens et al., 2021; Rizzo, 2020), the veil within the Western context has been one of the greatest symbols of Islam and especially the most radical Islam. Islam is one of the religions that have the most negative associations in the European context and is often considered a "threat" to European values (Torrekens et al., 2021). In this context, women who expose their religious identity by wearing veils are facially identified with Islam (Naseem, 2017) and more than that with stereotypes directed at religion and the position of women.

Hannah considers that her friends' experiences of discrimination in the job market would not be associated with the headscarf. The young woman seems to deal with the situations experienced in such a way as to avoid calling these situations discriminatory practices due to her origin or her religious affiliation. The visual identity when looking for a job is a key element in the possibilities of being selected or not. It is commonly assumed that Muslim women do not have the right qualifications either because of their educational level or lack of experience or dedication, these elements being what would place these women in unfavorable positions in the labor market. (Weichselbaumer, 2016). However, even with the same qualifications as a woman without an immigrant background, veiled women are the ones who suffer the most in relation to women with the same qualification and in relation to men of the same religion. (Weichselbaumer, 2016).

Regarding action strategies in the face of disadvantageous situations and experiences of discrimination, many women seem to "avoid" the use of headscarves in specific employment

circumstances, an action that can be understood as a way of "improving" their chances in the job market and looking for a place to live. In this case we face strategis to make the "passing" (Mallon, 2004) process

Another strategy that is demonstrated is the refusal to adopt the practice of avoidance, directly facing the possible situations of discrimination with the use of the headscarf. The way she acts, imposing herself, putting herself in a reactive way, trying to naturalize the veil and placing it as one of the possible elements in the visual identity of some people is shown as strategies of action in relation to the prejudice that she lives. The way Hannah observes these situations leads to the understanding that, in the interviewee's view, discrimination in the work environment for religious and gender reasons comes more from a personal/individual problem than from a structural one.

In the case of Hannah, she says that it was not necessarily with co-workers that she had a problem with, but with the clients she assisted, something that is also brought in the second wave. This young woman tells us about episodes of discrimination within the workplace:

> And yes! But then look at this year ... just a little. In the sense that however, as long as you behave well, you speak well you hardly suffer discrimination, right? The problem, however, is that, in fact, at the tax office I had more problems with foreigners than with Italians. Because anyway it's .... It's like they don't trust 100%, right? They always want to talk to the Italian official, because he is the one who works there, you are just the mediator. So, it's not like you can help me that much. And so, I had those problems with foreigners actually. [...] However, it's not that ... that is, maybe I don't want to talk about discrimination, or I look bad, or .... I haven't received any insults, in the sense that no one has allowed himself to tell me something. And .... and then oh well for the census, as I told you, I didn't take insults, but there was a family in particular that didn't…. he spoke to me in a rude, rude way and yet I always said: I'm doing my job, if not, don't trust me don't believe me I'll leave you my manager's number, talk to them. […]. [Hannah, 29, Moroccan parents, small city in northern Italy, tertiary education, second wave]

Being in a world of white people, being in the world of Italians, requires a double effort: to get a job and to behave well during the job. For not white people or for people not considered Italian there is a social etiquette that must be followed. There is a need to "behave" well to be respected, so that there are no "problems". What Hannah exposes is the impact of racialization, prejudice, sexism, and discrimination on the dynamics of these individuals' lives that shape their behaviors and indicate which behaviors are expected. If Hannah talks about a social etiquette that must be followed, it is assumed that there is also a social etiquette attached to people who are not considered Italian: not knowing how to speak the language, not behaving well.

This type of strategy she uses is conceptualized in studies on school careers with young black people as "acting white" (Ogbu, 2003), which would be the appropriate conduct for young people to do well in school. Similarly, it seems that for Hannah an appropriate conduct would

be passing to reduce the chances of being racialized and therefore being discriminated against. This strategy can be considered as a "passing" strategy or as an attempt to "camouflage" among others considered natives.

Like Joseph, Hannah shows us that there is an association between non-white people and non-Italian people; between black/brown people with people who cannot speak Italian and has misconduct. To be minimally accepted in society it is necessary to behave well, speak well. It is necessary to "blend in" or try to be like one of them, or not become visible with discrepant attitudes. Behaving well for Hannah is the best way to not suffer discrimination, to get some kind of reward or to avoid social punishment (Pereira, 2015). One of the facets of racism is to associate certain attitudes and moralities with physical or cultural characteristics.

Furthermore, it is important to point out that Hannah's work dynamic has also changed which may influence her more acute experiences of racism. In the reports of the first wave, she tells us about more stable work experiences and in the second wave Hannah found herself without a stable job. This could also indicate that young people who experience more precarious work contracts, or more precarious working conditions tend to experience situations of discrimination and racism more acutely than young people who have a stable career or who have long-term work contracts. That is, perhaps the place where the person positions himself in the labor market influences the possibility of experiencing racism and the way in which this racism will be exposed. In the workplace, discrimination can happen from other employees and from customers who do not consider that person reliable to pass on information or to help with something. In other words, they don't consider her "Italian". Another example found in the research is the association between ethnic-racial identity and level of education or level of training/expertise:

> Yes, right here, as a receptionist, since I was a foreigner, that is, a foreigner, in any case "mulatto" and young, because when I started I was young, because first they taught me the job, then... right, and they thought that I didn't, I didn't... let's say I didn't do it, not the experience, but no, that I couldn't, I couldn't... for that. But then I put my foot down when... I showed him my resume, the languages I knew and the availability I gave, but I also worked nights, worked shifts until midnight and yeah, but it's dangerous then to go out at five in the morning, but I really got involved and showed them that it doesn't matter if I was twenty-two and a foreigner, according to them and... that I could do the job and even better, they actually wanted to give me the manager job, however, I didn't take it because I had to live... in that hotel, while I still had many things on my mind. [Juliette, 28, Cape Verdean parents, big city in central Italy, secondary education, first wave].

> The woman, especially the fact that, the woman, more foreign, [...] is a very difficult topic, because they always think that the fact that you are a foreigner, and that you are a woman, that you came just to work or do these jobs a little more shall we say, ugly. And it's something that always bothered me, uhm... why no, I didn't understand more than anything because just the fact that we were foreigners. I don't just say mulattos, also and Russians or others.
> Just the fact that we are foreigners means that no, we don't want to study. They almost always... gave it, that is, they said it like that, it was something that always bothered me, and that's why I followed this area a lot too. And however, even here we are a little late. It's just that a few months ago people started... started talking seriously about the fact and discrimination against

black or foreign women. [Juliette, 28, Cape Verdean parents, big city in central Italy, secondary education, first wave].

The need to make a double effort to show competence, the exclusive dedication to work as a way of "compensating" (Crul. Et al. 2017) for the way people saw her in the work environment, exposes the prejudice within the labor market in relation to young Black people. What Juliette points out is the difficulty of employability related to the fact that she is young and of foreign origin. Young people need to make greater efforts to face the job market and ethnic-racial discrimination in this space. She demonstrates awareness that extra efforts are needed (Crul et al., 2017) but that often may not be rewarded or sufficient in the face of stereotypes directed at her.

The experiences that Joseph, Hannah and Juliette point out can be summarized with the idea of being out of place (Puwar, 2004; Kilomba, 2019): it is not recognized that those bodies may be capable of performing certain functions, activities, or job positions. The discomfort, mistrust, discrimination, and micro-violence directed at these bodies demonstrate in contrast how "privileged positions have historically been "reserved" for specific kinds of bodies" (Puwar, 2004, 144). In societies that want to reinforce the idea of equality in the labor market, inequality and racial ideologies are tacitly reproduced. This process is recognized in the literature as colour-blindness (Bonilla-Silva, 2002; Richeson and Nussbaum, 2004; Bonilla-Silva et al., 2004; Lewis, 2004; Douglas et al., 2015; Doane, 2017) in which breed it would not be an assumption used by people in their actions and social relationships. Thus, young people considered to have immigrant origins are commonly stigmatized because negative stereotypes are directed at them, such as being less developed, less modern, or simply inferior. (Kaya e Barmark, 2019).

Ethnic-racial identity, gender and age are the assumptions used in the way Juliette will be read and treated in the workplace. In her case, there is suspicion that her skills and competences make her body – marked by raciality, gendered and agism – to be placed in approval of being pressured to work harder or show above-average competences to be considered (Puwar, 2004). Thus, it is possible to state that individuals who are racialized and gendered "bear a burden of representation, as well as a burden of doubt within professional spaces" (Pedwell, 2007: 116). In this case, origin, age, and gender make up a discrimination framework that can lead to disadvantaged situations in which a redoubled effort is required. As Essed (1991) states, black and ethnic minority women are commonly associated with low-scholarship jobs or low-paid positions in the labor market.

It is possible to observe two dimensions, one symbolic and the other objective. The symbolic dimension concerns the experience of being considered displaced and the effort it takes to show that you are a good worker, and that you deserve this job. The second dimension, which would be more objective, would be precisely the consequences of her identity: race, gender and age inform Juliette's position as out of place and make jobs accessible to young people and young foreigners in particular to be marked by bad/ tiring working conditions (e.g., night shifts). In this context of disadvantage, insecurity and discrimination, however, Juliette

puts coping mechanisms into practice. The double effort she makes to have the same level of recognition is the attempt to overcome exclusion and discrimination in her work experience. (Crul et al., 2017).

In face of discrimination experiences, there is a capacity for reaction in which coping strategies are put into practice that go beyond overcompensation: while the interviewee demonstrates the existing obstacles in the labor market for women considered foreigners, she looks for ways to circumvent this experience. As we saw in other parts of this chapter Juliete aims to work with marketing and social media helping other people who have had the same experiences as her. Work and self-realization appear as horizons related to her life trajectory as a racialized woman. As we saw in other interview reports in this chapter, the young woman wants to work with digital marketing and even wants to work in areas that touch her own experience as a young black woman:

> R. when I talk about Juliette in five years, what do you think of this Juliette? What will happen to this Juliette?
> I. Five years.... [laughter] In 5 years I hope to be a career woman. [laugh]. Being fulfilled and above all, not because I don't want to not have a boss, but maybe with the possibility and seeing that I can do it. And... maybe.... I don't know, there are so many ideas. Maybe it will also come out to open an association for those women who are unable to, to pull themselves out. If, if I should succeed well that's one thing included in that of social media, because it's easier to reach people. For what I have with this course. Welfare of us, not only women, also of human beings. It doesn't just come from... feeling good psychologically a bit of everything, right? A bit of everything together. And... one thing that is rarely talked about that I would like to see..., they talk more about it at school, about self-love. One thing that doesn't exist. What I think [sound problem] complain because if it's not there that can't do anything. [Juliette, 29, Cape Verdean parents, big city in central Italy, secondary education, second wave].

In the second wave, Juliette, who begins to take a digital marketing course, also puts her social skills into practice (Crul et al., 2017) as a way of envisioning a job horizon. Faced with the need for constant adaptation in different uncertain and discriminatory circumstances, attitudes of adaptability and innovation related to one's own trajectory can become assets in the midst of precarious circumstances. The constant need to adapt to different work scenarios can be a differential in their trajectories for some young people.

A professional career marked by instability and recently deteriorated by the economic crisis resulting from the restriction measures of the COVID-19 Pandemic marks a trajectory of fatigue and labor vulnerability. Below is another example of the convergence of origin and gender in the workplace:

> As friends, I have never had so many problems, that is, I have always integrated very well, more than anything else, I have suffered from it in an older age. I'll give you an example, last time I went ... there is a friend of my mom who works with social workers, and she said look there is a lady who is looking for a babysitter and I said, okay if it's a few hours a day I can propose myself, eh no, but they want it Italian and I said, but look, I'm Italian… no, no, they want it 100% Italian. [Marianna, 28, Albanian Origin, small city in central Italy, secondary education, first wave].

In Marianna's account, we see how her origin makes her lose an opportunity for employability. Employment opportunities in both the first and second waves remain non-existent. After a year, Marianna was still unemployed and reports that prejudice due to origin, age, and the fact of being a mother (something we will discuss in the next session) are often the main obstacles to her return to the job market. We are faced with a situation in which it is necessary to ask ourselves: what would it mean to be 100% Italian? What are the features that allow people to differentiate between an Italian person and a non-Italian person? What can be observed in Marianna's trajectory is a difficulty in finding a job that is associated with a certain "essentialization" of Italianity. At the same time, there is also the idealization and stereotyping of working women based on representations of gender and race (Hennebry et. al, 2017). The phenomenon of stereotyping commonly focuses only on one characteristic – usually physical or ethnic – and associates this characteristic with a set of skills, actions and behaviors that would be homogeneous to all who share the aforementioned characteristics (Rydgren, 2004. There is in this case an association between women with an immigrant background with low levels of education and that perform functions such as housework and childcare (Midtbøen, 2014; Hennebry Et. al, 2017). Still in this sense, it is important to emphasize that the stereotypes shared by employers both in Marianna's case, as in Julitte's case, "reflect preferences for or against different groups and/or varying estimates, or stereotypical beliefs, about the average and/or distribution of productivity for different groups" (Arai et al., 2016: 387).

Until this moment of analysis, issues involving young descendants of immigrants such as legal impediments and discrimination converge in situations of precariousness and uncertainty even more so in a context of deregulation and precariousness of the Italian labor market, of the labor market. As Iriad (2016) states, the insertion in a precarious job market and with high levels of unemployment can be especially felt by young people of immigrant descent who directly feel discrimination (from racism, religious intolerance, for example) and who, due to class issues or low school education, find it difficult to access good work positions. The coexistence and interaction (Iriad, 2016) of variables such as educational level, class, discrimination, and institutional impediments generate processes of exclusion and the construction of uncertain and precarious biographies.

The circumstance of being under construction can facilitate the process of changing plans and trajectories in several areas of life caused by the pandemic (Settersten Jr. et al, 2020). What can be seen is that the change in trajectory, the change of job or work trajectory due to the Pandemic is seen positively because these changes had a positive impact on the lives of these young people, either objectively – or financially, whether in a subjective way – in the way of experiencing time, in the formulation of future desires.

6.4. The covid-19 pandemic and work trajectories: an opportunity for those who have opportunity.

In this section we will analyse how the COVID-19 Pandemic has impacted the employment trajectories of young people interviewed, contemplating how the pandemic has exacerbated specific circumstances of vulnerability and inequality. As Settersten Jr. et al (2020) stress, job loss or loss of livelihoods during the pandemic can have lasting and long-term consequences. The disadvantages that young people can experience today can have lasting consequences on their life trajectories, economic stability, and their careers. The economic and social effects of the pandemic can intensify the already existing vulnerabilities in relation to young people in their work trajectories in the face of the possibility of job loss or loss of income. (Fiaschi and Tealdi, 2022). In fact, some surveys tend to show that it is young people, women and non-natives who have suffered the most economic and labor instability during the pandemic. (Jackson, 2020; Nunes et al., 2021; Economic Observatory, 2021).

The analysis of the work trajectory during the COVID-19 pandemic in a microscale can show an intersection between the individual plan – the available resources, and the agency – and the structural context that these individuals live in (Gambardella et al., 2021; Fiaschi and Tealdi, 2022). Making a general analysis of the impact of the pandemic on the work for young people, it could be seen that the pandemic brings a context of reduction of working hours, layoffs, or changes in work. What is evident is that most young people are affected by the pandemic to some extent when it comes to their professional trajectory, but the type of impact will be related to the individual and structural plan mentioned above.

The two lines below are from two young women who study and work and have their experiences modified by the pandemic. According to the interviews, working hours were reduced and jobs were suspended in the face of restrictive government measures in relation to the advancement of the pandemic:

> No, the dancing stopped, it's stopped, because of the last DPCM[36], the last one... so with volleyball I'm continuing, but like, I work 3 hours instead of working those that would be 9 hours a week. It's a little thing, but it's something. So today these are those ne. studying at home because they also closed college as of yesterday and working at the sports center, because it is still possible to do physical activities outdoors and that's what I'm doing now [Maria, 29, Brazilian mother, big city in central Italy, tertiary education, first wave].

Maria, who in the first wave had two jobs at the same time, sees her work schedule and her daily life changed by the new restriction measures. The decrease in work also reduces their monthly income, something already reported in the literature. (Arpino et al., 2020; Jackson,

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[36] DPCM are ministerial decrees of the Italian government that in the specific context updated the conditions of the COVID-19 Pandemic as well as the rules in force for social mobility, economic and educational activities, etc.

2020; Fiaschi and Tealdi, 2022). Moments of recession in general have strongly impacted the most vulnerable groups in society such as people with low education, young workers, and young back people (Hoynes and Schaller, 2012).

The reduction in working hours and the suspension of work may in fact have generated financial and work instability for Maria, but at no point in the interview did the participant show financial difficulties due to the pandemic. After talking about changes in working hours, the interviewee mentions the possibility of going to Brazil, given the possibility of being without work again. Faced with the possibilities of new restrictions and a possible new lockdown, going to Brazil would be an alternative, a "plan B", in relation to the event in the Italian context. One year after the interview, both Maria tells us about the ambivalent impact of COVID on their lives:

> The Pandemic, as incredible as it may seem, ended up being a help, kind of a help for me. Because it allowed me to focus on university. It's... I, after three years, had done it in seven, because of work, and... instead I'm completing it in two, thank God. So, this pandemic helped to.... slowed down, yeah...I feel like I'm in a much better life, a much better quality of life than before. because it used to be a lot, it ends up being... thrown....running from one side of <big city in central Italy> to the other like a crazy person...well. And I think I have a much higher quality of life these days. I work at one place, and I teach once a week. Yeah... I gave up... the other time I just sent my partner, my colleague, because there were few people, so it didn't pay me to work with two people because there weren't many people. [Maria, 30, Brazilian mother, big city in central Italy, tertiary education, second wave].

The transformation of temporality due to the social distancing policies implemented in the Italian context, allowed Maria to also change the way they live her daily life, especially regarding studies, work, and leisure (Magaraggia, Cherubini, Gambardella 2021; Panarese and Azzarita, 2021; Morse et al., 2021). The pandemic can be understood as a vulnerability catalyzer (Santos, 2021; Jackson, 2020; Nunes et al., 2021; Economic Observatory, 2021; Settersten et al., 2020), but it can also be experienced as a moment of pause and readjustment of daily life. The temporality of the labor dynamics that took another step during the Pandemic became an asset for this young woman. It is worth noting that the pandemic was experienced as an opportunity given the support, she could have within the family space and the social and economic resources she had available. In this sense, despite the fact that the literature points out that women and non-Italian citizens have been the most affected with regard to the loss of jobs and the decrease in income, when we look at the micro data, it is clear that this fact – the loss of employment, for example – is felt differently by young people depending on social resources and their position in society. The fact that Maria is a young woman with higher education, from a middle class, from a metropolitan region and who has dual citizenship (her Brazilian mother and Italian father) certainly influenced the way she lived the first two years of the COVID-19 Pandemic.

As we will see in the report below, for other young people, the suspension of activities during the Pandemic was an opportune break:

> R. But now, with the COVID situation, are you working?
> I. I worked this summer for two and a half months, then they sent us all on layoffs again, in fact ... that is, practically all my family works in, in tourism, in fact we are all at

home.

R. How did you react to having to stay home?

I. But look, in truth it was very convenient for me because I took the exams, so I took advantage of it, I didn't have days when I was too bored, that is, I didn't know what to do, I was always busy, I was always back, I'm still behind, that is, already now that I'm wasting time, I'm there: "Oh, my god, I should write the thesis". So, in truth I didn't suffer from being at home, on the contrary, let's say that it helped me a lot to take so many exams that maybe I wouldn't have done otherwise. And this summer, however, it was very comfortable because as long as we could move, I went to <big city in central Italy>, I had aperitifs, in short there was, there was more life ... so it's a little uglier but at least I'll do the thesis, understood. If, if I had nothing to do maybe it would be much more complicated … and…. but keeping, keeping me busy, that is, it's not a big deal. [Laura, 28, Uzbekistan origin, big city in the central Italy, tertiary education, first wave]

As with Maria, Laura loses her job during the pandemic and thanks to the government subsidy along with the time available with the suspension of work, she saw the pandemic as an opportunity for her to focus only on completing her studies. Although she, her mother and her boyfriend depend exclusively on the tourist market for work, the situation of living together seems to allow this young woman to stay away from work, focusing mainly on her studies. In addition, government aid also seems to help in this choice of staying at home to study. Here, it is necessary to emphasize the role of institutions and public policies in relation to the impact of the Pandemic on the economy and the labor market. According to Settersten Jr. et al (2020), moderation on the part of the States is essential to help reduce the effects of the pandemic on the labor market and on people's lives. The intertwining of social, economic and temporal resources available to these young people generate the opportunity to enjoy other experiences during the Pandemic.

I worked a little last summer in the reception then everything stopped again and so I was always on layoffs, basically. So, I didn't work, I just studied. And luckily, I was just studying because in this way it was possible to graduate, and then as soon as I had this interview as soon as I passed, I accepted the [job] proposal. [Laura, 29, Uzbekistan origin, big city in the central Italy, tertiary education, second wave]

The consequences of the Pandemic in this specific case were seen as a moment of pause that gave the opportunity to pay attention to the other activities that the interviewees had. It is possible to detect a transformation of temporality in the lives of young women and how this had a positive impact. If the Pandemic of COVID-19 can be considered as an unforeseen event, it is clear that even with the unpredictability, the young women would be able to reframe the event and focus on other goals that did not directly involve work. This capacity for resilience and adaptation to unexpected events (Leccardi, 2008) can be seen as an indication of a greater capacity to deal with unexpected situations in such a way that they end up becoming opportunities and not necessarily restrictions. The COVID-19 Pandemic puts into even more acute motion the uncertainty and speed of social transformations, making young people also must adapt to these circumstances (Leccardi, 2020).

The frozen time in the examples above is transformed into productive time (Ruse et al., 2022) which brings important outcomes for both interviewees in the individual and work spheres. Thanks to the time suspended from the Pandemic both young women were able to

carry out other activities related to educational training and work that were important to them. Despite not being a job directly related to her educational background, after her master's degree Laura gets a job in the data engineering area which, according to her, is better because the income is higher, is remote and also gives greater chances in the business market. Leaving a job in the tourism sector (uncertain and inconstant) for a specialized job demonstrates the improvement in her working condition.

The ability that some young people in this research had to dynamically deal with uncertainty and the suspension of time is related to the resources that young people must do so (Hardgrove et al., 2015; McDonald, 2008; Brannen and Nilsen, 2005). The suspension of time, when seen as positive, may be related to a sense of resilience and reaction that, to a certain extent, is influenced by available economic and social resources. However, the loss of work, the suspension of time and the change in temporality caused by the COVID-19 Pandemic may not be experienced as an opportunity, but as a restriction.

Finally, what Laura also indicates is that having had the study to "fill in" the time that was no longer being used for work or for other daily activities demonstrates the attempt to "rebuild a normality" as a way of "neutralizing the threat of suspended time" (Ruse et al., 2022: 250). The study in Laura's case or the trip to Brazil, in Maria's case, served as resources to deal with the suspension of time and the suspension of work activities.

In other examples, it was evident that having economic and psychological support from the family member was essential for some young people:

> In fact, we all find ourselves with nothing. This was a turnaround on the Coronavirus which was hard for me, but I didn't... crush anything. It was hard, but not that hard in the end. Because for little... I spend very little. So, in any case, in the small things I can still count on my parents, who will never say no to me if they can. And then, anyway, I did a series of jobs that allowed me to put aside [Gloria, 24, Senegalese father, big city in southern Italy, tertiary education, first wave]

Gloria demonstrates that the support given by her family, together with the money she had saved from her work, allowed her to live this moment more peacefully. Family support is a differential element for young people who lose work and income (Hardgrove et al., 2015; Christie and Swingewood, 2022). Family assistance, which is essential in work trajectories (Hardgrove et al., 2015), can help resolve situations of uncertainty or feelings of instability. Emotional, family, and affective support were also key elements to understand how young people interpreted the suspension of their work trajectories:

> How do you live and how have you experienced this set of circumstances? The arrival of the covid, the loss of your job, staying at home with your young son.
> I. So, personally... I'm lucky enough to have a partner who has a stable job. He works for a family business, and let's say that fortunately we are not, we are not in a bind and, and no, we don't lack for anything economically. And so I am, I feel lucky for this reason, otherwise I wouldn't know how I would be an... That is, even beyond my son that is, I don't know how I would have managed, because I realize that it's a bad situation

for, for everyone! Also socially speaking, because I, that is, I have, I have my son, I have my husband um... And I rely on them, I don't know if I had been... Young, single, how I would have lived it. Surely it would have been more difficult, so I feel lucky also from an emotional point of view, the fact that I have one, a family... [Faviola, 29, Colombian origin, big city in northern Italy, secondary education, first wave]

The two examples above demonstrate in different ways how the social support system was a differential in the way young people went through the moments of the COVID-19 Pandemic. Social and family ties (Cohen-Scali and Erby, 2021) impact both objectively, with financial support, but also subjectively, with psychological support. Faviola is aware that her position as a woman, mother and with a partner who worked during the Pandemic is completely opposite to that of a woman, mother, single and without any family or institutional support. In both examples the support of pare and the family are "crucial for young people′s economic and personal sense of security" (Christie and Swingewood, 2022: 8). Emotional support is also an important element to be considered when young people face a radical change in their work trajectories. In Faviola's case, the overlapping of events: motherhood and COVID-19 made emotional support important. The way in which young people will have external support and the way in which they will act in the face of uncertain circumstances can strengthen the feeling of minimal control and well-being, which makes these young people better deal with uncertainty, contingency and frustrations during the Pandemic (Naidoo, 2021).

In a different way, we saw that for some young people emotional support came from sources other than family or friends. For Joseph, music was his main point of support:

So, for now... no. However, up until recently, a few months ago yes, I was working... and… in the catering sector, then with the fact of COVID and everything, they closed... the restaurants, so... there was a bit '... that is, if it weren't for the music, in fact this is also important I think... that if you have a passion that gives you, it gives you a lot, you also succeed, the bad moments, the moments where you are thoughtful, to let off steam in that way, and maybe to take different paths which, which make you feel good. [Joseph, 26, Congolese parents, big city in the central Italy, secondary education, first wave]

As already pointed out in studies (But et al., 2020; Morse et al., 2021), hobbies related to reading, music or sports during the pandemic will reduce the feeling of depression and anxiety, even improving the feeling of optimism and satisfaction with life. Even among young people with little family support and with few social and economic resources, resistance appear, which impacts positively mental well-being.

However, as we saw in the previous session for Juliette and for other young people in the survey, the Pandemic is accompanied by precariousness and job uncertainty. In this way, the possibility of choosing not to work and focus on studies or on a trip to the country of origin of the parents, however, is not experienced by all individuals. As we will see in the next lines, the loss of work during the pandemic negatively and profoundly impacts the lives of some young people, causing them to lose their main livelihood and the main economic activity that they developed:

My dream was to become a dentist. I had tried to take the medicine test twice, I was unable to enter because the ranking, as you well know, exists, there are very few places reserved for medicine, unfortunately I was unable to enter. I had done engineering, civil engineering, I had enrolled, then one of my classmates had told me that... there was a friend of his father who had the laboratory as a dental technician and if... that, that he had left on guy who worked, who wanted... and was looking for a person, so he, he, introduced me to this person who then hired me and I worked there for, for three years. I had worked and with COVID it had blocked, it had left me on layoffs since March. So there, anyway when, let's go back to the subject, when you have a family, you can't... you can't wait... wait at home, you still have to work. And, and so I had found work transporting and assembling furniture with <company name>. Completely different from what I studied, completely on time... I work with difficulty, completely... a whole other world, but anyway you are of... you are of the opinion that you have to bring your salary into the house.

R. Has the COVID situation brought about any changes in your work?

I. Ah, it transformed me, it completed me... it really changed me... very much. It found me, it... blocked me, I had... I worked, I had the schedule, I had my holidays already planned, I had to go to Morocco, I had already paid for the ticket. And then... there comes a moment when I no longer had a job, when I was on layoffs, and I had to leave, there was a week to go, no... then in the end I had found this job and therefore I had given up on the ticket. I had spent almost two thousand euros on a ticket to go to Morocco, also because I had made a round trip, everything was organized, but unfortunately no... we couldn't go, then there was the... I had also found a job, so I had given up... to go there [Ben, 26, Moroccan origin, small city in southern Italy, secondary school, first wave].

Ben, a young man of Moroccan origin, 26 years old father who lives in southern Italy. What this interviewee brings is the experience of a work path that was not only interrupted, but also changed in the face of the transformations that occurred in the labor market with COVID. The impossibility of remaining without work stems from a need to maintain himself and his family, thus making him opt for another work path that would not be in line with his studies. The interruptions of her professional plans have a direct impact on her personal life, in which this turnaround can be considered a "career shock" (Cohen-Scali and Erby, 2021). It is possible to state that the COVID-19 Pandemic is a disturbing event that is beyond the control of the interviewee and that some individuals are forced to reconsider their educational and professional horizons (Cohen-Scali and Erby, 2021). In Ben's case, due to unemployment and due to the Pandemic, all other plans had to be rethought and/or cancelled, causing a domino effect in the overlapping of negative circumstances in his life.

From a life course perspective, the Pandemic is a remarkable event in all respondents' work trajectories, and the "career shock" (Cohen-Scali and Erby, 2020) can be experienced positively or negatively depending on the resources available. As already taken as a hypothesis by the literature (Jackson, 2020; Settersten Jr. Et al, 2020; Fiaschi and Tealdi, 2022), the pandemic could be dramatically experienced by specific groups in society, considering the moment these individuals would be living in life and considering their positions in social structure (class, gender, race, origin). Young people, the main participants in low-skilled or unskilled labor and in "part-time" jobs with temporary contracts, are in a particularly vulnerable

situation in the face of the perishing of the labor market. Although we have no way of placing them as explanatory variables, Ben is a descendant of migrant, do not have higher education and lives in the south region of Italy. These characteristics must be considered when observing the different transformations in the work trajectories of young people. The loss of income, unemployment, and experiences of shock and transformation of plans can generate even more intense feelings of insecurity, uncertainty, and instability (Ranta and Wilska, 2020).

If, on the one hand, the Pandemic becomes a time when other plans can be put into practice - as is the case of "plan B" – to be without a job is not an option for many young people who are pressured to find other work alternatives even if this new job is more precarious and poorly paid. The limitation of work options during the Pandemic, together with financial need and unemployment, leads some young people to take a worse job (Christie and Swingewood, 2022) than they had or imagined/desired.

Making a general analysis of the impact of the pandemic in the world of work for the young participants of the research, it was possible to perceive that the pandemic brings along changes that can't be labelled all as negative. The experiences of young people in the circumstances of the pandemic show the possibilities of agency and the capacity for resilience, but also show the differentiated weight that the pandemic brings in the lives of individuals in view of mainly resources available for these individuals, as well as in the specific case of family support that they can count on. As can be seen from the interviews, young people who did not have direct family support - through financial resources, or housing - or indirect - through inherited social, economic, and cultural capital-, had a greater difficulty in becoming autonomous economically and professionally during the pandemic. The precept of connected lives makes sense in this analysis, considering that depending on who individuals relate to and depending on the human and economic resources provided by these relationships - especially family ones - the possibilities of agency and autonomy can be greater or lesser. The lack of educational credentials, available resources, and lack of family support, together with institutional support, can be considered determining factors in how they will experience their work trajectories during the pandemic.

In addition, we must consider that in the face of the pandemic, the change in professional trajectory or unemployment can for some be just a moment of suspension, for others the beginning of a long trajectory of precariousness and unemployment or of a new life plan. The socioeconomic status of individuals, their families, or the people they live with will bring different ways of adapting to the circumstances arising from the Pandemic, with those with low social and economic resources being forced to enter the "survival" mode (as is the case of Ben). On the other hand, those with higher socioeconomic status will be able to adjust to the circumstances of the Pandemic by postponing or adjusting their different life projects according to the uncertain of situations (Settersten et al, 2020; Leccardi, 2008).

6.5. Final considerations

Having said all that, we asked ourselves how to identify whether youth made the transition to adulthood or what the transition to the world of work would consist of. Based on the data, I suggest that work trajectories should not be thought of as "incomplete" or unfinished, in which young people are in transition to a moment when they will have reached the "ideal" point in the world of work.

From young people narrations, the diversification of biographical trajectories about work trajectories was once again confirmed. What can be observed is that the diversification of trajectories demonstrates that the preconceived phases that formulate the idea of transition to adult life are experienced by young people in quite different ways. Work, which was previously considered a condition for leaving the family of origin, for marriage and starting a family (Zucca, 2017), today takes on other directions and meanings. Although young people can mobilize in search of linearity in their path to adulthood, and give meaning to their lives from these stages, the conditions of the labor market with the agency of these individuals denote greater diversification. The instability with which many live, the extension of studies and the reversibility of moments in life (such as returning to university after entering the job market) were some of the characteristics found.

In addition, it was possible to observe that although most young people are not satisfied with their work in the sense that it is not linked to their university education, a good work environment that brings advantages or is related to their personal values is very important for them. Work must also be an expression of their desires, values, and dreams even in such uncertain contexts. This "search for oneself" also through work is a tactic so that the uncertain path at least makes sense to oneself. This means that for these young people it is not enough just to have a job, but that this work brings a minimum of personal satisfaction, either because of the harmony with their values, or because of other benefits (financial, type of work, subjective, personal relationships) that these works can offer (Akosah-Twumasi et al., 2018). Among young people who are geographically located in southern Italy, it was noticed that: job opportunities are few and therefore working conditions are also precarious. In this sense, educational background and the possibility of mobility become a strong differential in the chances of getting a job inside and outside the country. Location is a strong element that determines how trajectories are carried out in the world of work.

Normally, when the literature talks about transition, it is usually associated with the passage from one state to another. In the case of young people, it is assumed that the transition to work is the transition from being a student (generally in higher education) to being a stable worker. However, the biographies of young people suggest that this exit from one situation to another does not exist: many young people experience work and education concomitantly; moreover, many young people do not continue their university studies and do not have this as a horizon or as a tactic to enter the job market. Although the metaphor of transitions is widespread and widely studied in life course approaches, what the data suggest is that it may no longer make sense to talk about transitions from school to work or transition to work. Perhaps it is more useful to understand young people's work trajectories as life trajectories within a society.

Like Wyn Et. Al (2017): the metaphor of transitions that dominates public policies, institutions and academia focuses mainly on individuals and their navigation between education and work; they seek to quantify or categorize these trajectories as delayed, in time or out of time; to continue to make a direct connection between education and work is to ignore that education and work are autonomous spaces with their own dynamics. In fact, education is only linked to work when it is seen as necessary for the reproduction of the workforce in the capitalist system. If it weren't for this lens, education and educational training involve other elements of society. In the same way, it is work that, seen from the utilitarian point of view, can only be understood as a dynamic of reproduction of the workforce. However, as we have seen, work for young people goes far beyond inserting themselves into society and obtaining economic gains from it. Working in an acute context of uncertainty is an element that involves subjectivity, values, family relationships, the place where you live. Even among those whose situation is precarious, work becomes one of the elements that are part of their lives, this element being a path of conquest, but not only. The co-occurrence of activities that these young people carry out demonstrates this: both the need for these young people to feel represented in what they do in society, and the inability of the labor market - with its current dynamics - to deal with subjectivities, desires and desires of a young person who, to belong to this world, wants economic gains, but not only. As we will see in the next chapters, the construction of belonging in society takes place through other paths and other spheres of life.

Migration is an important element that impacts the generation of immigrants and future generations: as can be seen, being considered an outsider had an impact on making careers for these young people. The "destination" selected for these young people can make situations of social mobility difficult or even impossible. On the other hand, the construction of a diverse identity with elements of belonging and identification with other social realities led some young people to choose to pursue educational and work careers based on their parents' cultural heritage.

The diversification of trajectories in the world of work is also influenced by other factors that do not affect young Italians with Italian parents. I highlight here the impact of citizenship and the experiences of discrimination, prejudice and racism that make work trajectories sometimes limited (whether they have citizenship or not), sometimes difficult and precarious. There is a need for some young people to make a redoubled effort when hiring and in the work environment. The experience of this double effort was observed mainly among young people of more racial origin and with low levels of education.

Understanding that work trajectories involve an objective (being employed) and subjective (personal satisfaction) character, precariousness for these young people is also placed on the subjective plane when we talk about discrimination. In addition to discrimination concretely affecting relationships in the workplace and their chances in the job market, it will also affect the well-being of these individuals in these trajectories.

Chapter 7
Reframing family transition studies: analysis of intimacy relationship and parenting experiences

In view of what has already been discussed in the theoretical chapters in this analytical chapter I analyze the life stories of the interviewees from two main focuses: initially I bring the main opinions, projections and desires in relation to the affective side of their lives, that is, their love relationships. In the second part of the chapter, I focus on the opinion of the experience of parenting from young men and women, having this experience been lived or thought/imagined. From the interviews it was perceive that when talking about parenting, love issues often arise, which makes possible the interpretation that young people still associate the possibility of being a parent with the construction of a relationship.

As we saw in the theoretical chapter, little is known about the romantic relational conformations and parenting preferences of young people descended from immigrants in the Italian context. It is in view of this that in this chapter we will understand how love relationships and parenting are pointed out as trends of cultural continuity with the family or rupture. Let us observe how an intermediation between different cultural elements in the Italian economic and social context can give rise to very specific experiences in relation to these trajectories.

7.1. Heterogeneous experiences and imaginaries about love relationships

In this part of the research, I summarize data related to the relationship status of respondents. Considering what has been said about the transformation in the average age of marriage, it is a fact that our data follow this European and, in particular, Italian trend. The following is a detailed table of the relationship statuses of young people. To build this table, I used five categories that could explain the universe of respondents: single, married, cohabiting, dating. As can be seen in the methodological chapter and in appendix A table 6 only two young people interviewed were officially married in the first wave of interviews. This number remains the same in the second wave due to the non-participation of two people and due to the legal marriage of one of the participants. Another important fact is that some of the young people are in a relationship and cohabit with their partners, despite being the minority, six young people experienced in 2020, 2021 or both years the experience of living with their partners. Most as we can see are young singles and young people who had in the 2020s or 2021s love relationship.

7.1.1.Individualization as a main characteristic

After this summary, in this part of the work I point out the main dynamics that involve young people's love relationships, seeking to understand the horizons they create and want for them in relation to this part of life. Confirming data from the literature (Smeha and Oliveira, 2013) many young people in my interview do not directly put marriage as a horizon, more than that, what appears is the desire for self-construction and self-fulfillment:

> I. I must be honest, now I don't really expect romantic relationships, [laughs] now, I just want to think about myself, [laughs]
> A. Why?
> I. Because I want to focus on my goals, that I realized that every time I was with someone, and I tended to... think more about the other person, I'm a bit like that, and so in the end I forgot about myself and of my projects. But since I started this YouTube and self-esteem thing because I had to work on that too and... I have priorities... that is, now I prefer to think more about myself, because in the end unfortunately, that is, I realized that 'true love in the end is always only the first, so... we talk about it, we adapt, [laughs]. [Juliette, 28, Cape Verdean parents, big city in central Italy, secondary education, first wave]

Juliette after a long relationship tells us about her desire to focus on her self-self-realization and on her professional projects. The young woman echoes other women interviewed in this research who demonstrated the need for self-affirmation before thinking about the relationship. Likewise, she also demonstrates that different from the idealization of romantic love – which can exist – there is also the search for oneself and the pursuit for selfcare.

What Juliette also shows us is the difficulty that some young women can find in the balance between relationships and other spheres of life, specifically her personal life. Juliette, who lives in a precarious job situation, prioritizes the construction of work alternatives, with love relationships being less irrelevant in her plans. This way of planning in relation to different spheres of life indicates a more individualized way of thinking about present and future projects (Leccardi, 2020,2007; Woodman, 2010). In this scenario, romantic relationships, as much as they are desired, do not become an immediate priority or a projection of the future. As we will see below, Juliette also ends up understanding that her old relationship involved situations of abuse and violence, something that once again strengthens the desire for self-fulfillment and self-care:

> R. E what about a couple relationship? I remember last year you didn't have anyone, but you have... you have a long relationship, how was this year so far?
> I. Even, I'm not with anyone. I'm focusing on, shall we say, solving those problems from the past that... also following psychological therapy. I'm focusing on that a little bit, because until I'm okay, I can't be okay with someone else. Also, no one is to blame for what happened to me, so I have to sort things out. And for now I'm not with anyone.
> R. But... you have, you have plans for that part of your life and expectations, I don't know...
> I. I would love it if that happens. But no, I'm not looking for that. For now I focus on feeling good, on my career. Try to do the work... And then, if it happens, it's ok.[Juliette, 29, Cape Verdean parents, big city in central Italy, secondary education, second wave]

Juliette after a year remains with the same ideal and with the same desire, but this second

interview shows us that there is a need for self-accomplishment along with a search for the construction of psychological well-being. This search for psychological well-being to relate to other people strengthens the interpretation that young people today are very focused on the processes of self-reflection, and construction of themselves and their individualities. The young woman shows us that the possibilities of a relationship are open, but that, given the need to find a stable job and to follow a profession, entering into a romantic relationship is still not a priority. The focus on one's own psychological well-being can be understood as narratives of individualization in which self-care becomes a primary task for dealing with negative situations in life (van Lanen, 2021). Faced with situations of subjective precariousness in the affective sphere, the prioritization of subjective and existential dimensions became his strategy.

The insecurity arising from a situation of gender violence makes self-care a valid strategy. As pointed out in the literature (Bandeira and Almeida, 2015; Sousa and Silva, 2019) women who suffer gender violence strongly influence the quality of life of women and their psychological well-being. The "cognitive, emotional and behavioural effects create limits to development, preventing women from actively participating" (Sousa and Silva, 2019: 155) since they are the ones that suffer the most from the vulnerabilities.

Another explanation that emerges is the impact of women in the labor market in prioritizing the construction of their careers to the detriment of following a more traditional model of life in which marriage or a stable relationship are the horizon. The historical process that massively placed women in the job market has contributed in part to this non-prioritization of directing plans and projects based on relationships or the non-prioritization of having a partner. Following we have Paola who, both in the first wave and in the second wave, makes her priorities very explicit:

> I. I mean, I don't think so now... I need to have someone on my side, no, not if... I mean, I like uhm... I mean, I have to understand myself what I want in my life... and I know that now I want to study and find, let's say, a job similar to my study path... [Paola, 24, Chinese parents, small city in northern Italy, tertiary education, first wave]
>
> .... I follow .... If the opportunity arises, yes, but the priority now is to finish your studies, get a good job and plant roots. Growing economically, mainly, and doing something I like without having… other thoughts. Or... I don't know..., there's no time at the moment to think about... My focus is quite different.[Paola, 25, Chinese parents, small city in northern Italy, tertiary education, second wave]

Paola is in the process of educational formation, in her master's studies. The young woman left Italy to get better opportunities for study and work. There is a rational choice not to focus efforts towards a love-type relationship, making your priorities clear in relation to building a career and financial stability. For Paola there is no "time to think" about this part of her life. The priority, it seems, for these women is the guarantee of autonomy, it is the construction of life passages in such a way that they reflect their desires and guarantee them greater financial and work stability. Paola indicates a feeling of temporal poverty when she says "that there is no time to think" in the face of the overload of her academic and professional activities. Faced with

the feeling of an increasingly accelerated reality, choices need to be made and certain spheres of life need to be prioritized.

Even if the young women are in a long and lasting relationship, educational and professional training are also central and even more important. It was notable that for young women in affective relationships, the organization of their life trajectories is more marked by the need to build a career and search for a job and financial stability. Maria tells us about her relationship with a young man from Brazil and demonstrates that there are doubts in the way of following a long-distance relationship in which individuals can follow different individual trajectories:

> I always say this to my boyfriend, I talk to him: look, yeah.... he's looking for an internship and if he finds a good job tomorrow it will be difficult, we'll be in a good dispute because if I find it a good job here too, it's going to be a dispute. Let's see... it will be, like this... let's see who thinks the work is better first. And... I know it wouldn't be easy for him here. Because you have to recognize the diploma, and I don't know if it would be devalued here. because his curriculum, his course exists only in an experimental way at the polytechnic in <big city in northern Italy>. <name of the discipline> doesn't exist, it's not such a normal thing. There is mechanical engineering, management of…. I don't know what, but we'll see. He constantly proves that he's willing to take a chance and try, to see what it's like. So, let's see how it goes. If I think... if I start working in Brussels, that's where... When I show you how the situation of covid is, I say: mother, my house, my country! And... so, I saw myself a lot in Brazil, nowadays I see myself more with difficulty, I don't know what the future will be like. One of the many things that was once a certainty and today is a question mark. Let's see where life will take me. I also don't want to do the math with: aah, I'm going there for love, I'm going back to Brazil for love and soon the relationship doesn't work, because things can stop working and I'm there without.... like I'm building one based here, in a way. [Maria, 29, Brazilian mother, big city in central Italy, tertiary education, first wave].

For Maria, the uncertainty of joint projects within the relationship demonstrates an objective difficulty in reconciling a love relationship with a professional career. This difficulty, however, does not lead her to prioritize the relationship, on the contrary. There is an understanding that relationships may not last forever, but building their careers is long-lasting and takes time. For Maria to organize her life and her trajectory around a relationship - and even more at a distance - it would be a mistake in face of the professional possibilities that both have in the different territories of residence. This dialogue reinforces once again the need that all young women - regardless of educational level and social class - have to prioritize their study and work trajectories.

The way of dealing with love relationships increasingly in an individualized way and which seeks to deal with the uncertainty or with the possibility of termination aligns with the idea of a "liquid" love (Bauman, 2003) in which the strategies thought of in love relationships resemble to some extent the neoliberal logic. Seen as an investment that could go wrong - because it depends on other people - focusing on personal achievements and less on love projects seems to make more sense. The liquefaction of social relationships (Bauman, 2001) also affects love relationships, a phenomenon that leads to individualization strategies in these spheres as well.

In a similar way, some men in the research also expressed the same opinion about the cultivation of relationships. As we see below, Felipe who is in a relationship in the first wave of interview, shows us that the couple's expectations are always managed with a view to personal goals. and individual of each:

> I. Compared to a relationship, look, I see the relationship right now as simply a place, an environment, within which to grow, that's it. Why...yes, grow up. It's more of a training ground for growth, that's all. I share some time with my girlfriend, we are very well together, but we realize that nowadays it is very difficult for n reasons, work, personal stress, performance anxiety to be able to assert itself in the university context, in the workplace. So, here we do it, but knowing that it is difficult. Expectations, what are the expectations? I don't have high expectations in terms of being okay with my girlfriend, but we understand that we have needs as individuals. Study abroad, doctorate at another university, in another city and, finally, personal things that are a little distant from the couple and the relationship, which we are not willing to give up. Let's say that so far it is proving a lasting relationship, precisely because we both recognize the needs of the other and are able to make them coincide and correspond to the needs of the couple. But expectations, shall we say, I have none. The relationship is lived daily and planned as little as possible precisely because we both realize that planning, at this point in our lives, is practically impossible and useless.
> A. By planning do you mean long-term projects of various kinds?
> I. Yes, moving in together, a family and things like that in short. We know that first we have personal goals to achieve, then we can talk about everything, but along with personal goals there is also the growth of the individual, the: am I happy? If you really are the person I want by my side? In short, these are questions that, despite being together for almost three years, we continue to ask. [Felipe, 29, Tunisian father, big city in central Italy, tertiary education, first wave]

What is at stake for Felipe is the construction of a relationship in which there is growth as a couple and growth as separate individuals. What Felipe tells us summarizes the typical conduct pointed out by the literature (Chaves, 2010; Brandão, Saraiva and Matos, 2012; Milani, 2012; Smeha and Oliveira, 2013) about the way young people would be living their life trajectories: a predilection for individuality, for autonomy in relation to collective or community obligations. This type of identity conformation can also be associated with the way young people live romantic relationships today: they are relationships that are more self-centered in the sense that the individual (and more specifically the individual's fulfilment) becomes the primacy of relationship building. Furthermore, there is also the need to reconcile joint plans and individual plans, the latter never being left out. Another characteristic that Felipe exposes to us is the constant process of evaluation and reflection on the relationship itself. This demonstrates that the relationship leaves the normative framework of obligatoriness and becomes something more self-reflective that gives primacy to the well-being of the people involved.

Finally, there is the difficulty for young people to plan for the long term. Faced with Felipe's planning in relation to his life and in the face of his partner's plans in relation to her professional and life projects, long-term planning becomes impossible and more than that, it becomes unwanted and unnecessary (Leccardi, 2008).The circumstance that he tells us that the relationship needs to be experienced in everyday life and with as little planning as possible demonstrates a new form of constitution of relationship not based on normative social clocks

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or in linear plans (Pultz and Pernille, 2016). The conduct of young people is increasingly self-centered, more reflective, and more concerned with dealing with the uncertain circumstances they live in the present:

> We talked about living together, we talked about many things, but I realized, objectively, that talking about living together in this historic moment [**refers to the Covid Pandemic**] would be silly, because I have no salary, I can't take care of myself, that is, , What assumptions do we have to live with?
> A. Of course it is, so it's something that could still exist but in the future not quite...?
> I. Exactly, also because she was taken for her doctorate, she did her doctorate in < median city in northern Italy>, it's four hours away, now she's doing it at a distance from <big city in central Italy>, her research is <big city in central Italy>, but there is a doctorate. As soon as I graduate, I would also like to present a doctoral project to some university, so I also don't know if I will really stay in <big city in central Italy>, besides all that I have part of my family that is Tunisian, I would like to go down some months after you graduate. So, speaking, in practice, how much we can love each other, how much we can feel good, etc., talking about living together at this moment seems to me, both for me and for her, an exaggeration. At the base there has always been a... the will to "question oneself", to not take anything for granted, to face all these issues inherent to the relationship, but never, shall we say, side by side, in the sense, never with will and with the objective that should be like this because in general it is like this, no, but day after day we try to evaluate together how to take everything forward, here it is [Felipe, 30, Tunisian father, big city in central Italy, tertiary education, second wave]

It is in the face of the uncertainty of separate futures that Felipe tells us about the difficulty of thinking about the next step in the relationship, that is, thinking about the possibility of cohabitation. The uncertainty regarding the possible displacements between cities and the professional future (in the second wave he was unemployed receiving a redundancy fund) make long-term planning impossible, in Felipe's view. The fact that all this is being lived in the context of the COVID-19 Pandemic also exacerbates the feeling of uncertainty. On the other hand, it is knowing this reality that Felipe demonstrates the ability to rationalize his own condition in search of a sensible alternative. Uncertainty in relation not only to the present, but also to the future in trajectories compromises the capacity for long-term planning (Leccardi, 2014) and at the same time creates alternatives to unpredictability. Thus, life projects are constructed and imagined in a way that the uncertainty of everyday life is deemed, and the projects are created and evaluated daily. The presentification of the future already pointed out by the literature (Pultz and Pernille, 2016; Carabelli and Lyon, 2016; Worth, 2009; Leccardi, 2008, 2015, 2020; Elliott and Lemer, 2006; Giddens, 2001) lies not only in planning the individual future, but also in love relationships. Faced with increasingly individualized life paths, betting on a joint plan for the future would be risky.

This process of thinking and designing "one thing at a time" and on a daily basis means that there is also the possibility of changing these plans. Faced with unpredictability, the planning of adult life becomes more uncertain, varied and even unnecessary (Leccardi, 2008) and the biographical construction is made in accordance with the changes that occur each day. This ability to adapt to circumstances that are always changing that young people, despite not

having a crystalline future, young people create mechanisms to have a minimum of control over what may happen, and the daily evaluation of plans is a way that Felipe found.

Among other young people who were in relationships, it was possible to find situations of cohabitation with partners. This process, however, does not seem to be associated with marriage as a horizon. In Laura's trajectory, the young woman in the first wave was cohabiting with her mother and her boyfriend. This process, as we will see below, is also marked by the presentification (Milani, 2012) and by the construction of horizons organized more in the present moment. Below, she tells us how this choice came about:

> Everything is fine. You would tell me better about your relationship as a couple. You said you've known your boyfriend for eight years, right?
> I. Yes, yes, yes, eight and a half years, and no... it's an experience where... I think we both grew up, because anyway we were both young, me nineteen and he twenty-one. four when we met. And therefore, I didn't have great experiences of relationships, that is, I had little things in short, nothing special. And…. and let's say it started as something without great expectations for the future, that is, it was not a long-term thing at all, it was something more... a month, a day, that is, there was no big plans for the future, having animals together, none of that. But... of course it evolved on its own, but without major complications and without much logic behind it, that is, we never think about the consequences of moving in together, that is, do we want to be together? And then let's live together! So, calmly, without... many, all this with your hands "Oh my God, are you guys moving in together?", "Yes, why?", "Aaahh!", That's ah![Laura, 28, Uzbekistan origin, big city in central Italy, tertiary education, first wave]

Laura tells us about the process of building her relationship and what it was like afterwards to start living with her boyfriend along with her mother. In the first wave, the three lived together in the same house and what she tells us is that the decision to move in together was not something planned but that it ended up happening. This presentification of relationships (Milani, 2012) demonstrates what is already supported by the literature (Leccardi, 2008, Leccardi, 2014; Pultz and Pernille, 2016; Carabelli and Lyon, 2016) that young people have become masters of living and thinking much more in the current moment without looking to a planned future. The acceleration of social processes weakens social relationships (Bauman, 2001; 2004; Rosa, 2013) make the presentification of relationships a guarantee of dealing with uncertainties and a way of not having to plan something in the context of chaos in which other parts of life are still being built.

What these stories tell us is that love relationships are thought both in terms of greater reflexivity and individuality and in terms of presentification. Laura's trajectory shows us that in the construction of these eight years of relationship life projects were also built daily: living together, then having a dog, then placing motherhood as a close horizon. That is, even though the choice to move in together was made in a way that many would consider abrupt, there is, on the other hand, the construction over time as a couple. As Laura points out, there was a daily construction of plans in which each step of the couple's evolution happened over time. The organization of the couple's plans over time indicates once more that young people did not

follow a specific and standardized timing. On the contrary, things happened over the days, months, and years, as if it were a natural order built by the two of them.

As we'll see next, Laura's life changes completely in the second wave as her eight-year relationship ends. What she shows us what she expects in relation to this sphere of life:

> So now I don't feel like… risking it because since you decide to have a relationship, it puts you at risk, at least I put myself at risk. Because it's not like I'm playing with who's stronger, who's more or less involved. I get involved, I live it. Now I don't feel like trying things that might be too much, too much, too strong and so I feel, I need more time to be quiet, be calm and be happy as I am. [Laura, 29, Uzbekistan origin, big city in central Italy, tertiary education, second wave]

Laura, after having gone through a stressful situation at the end of a relationship, tells us that although at this moment she is focused on her individuality, in her reconstruction process it shows that, for her, love relationships are lived in a "full" way. The expression she uses of "putting herself in the game" demonstrates that for her, relationships continue to be a place where identities and subjectivities are built.

7.1.2. Imagined traditional steps and its disruptions

The horizon of a long-term relationship towards cohabitation or towards marriage may be thinking differently for some people in the survey. Some young people idealize the right time to enter into a lasting relationship, which points to the chronologization of life stages that must be followed. As we will see below, Gabriel believes that to think about having a relationship, there must first be elements for it:

> Ok... It's not ok, I mean, the last thing let's say it was four years ago and... come on, that's in the sense... so anyway... I didn't want to because... machine, you have to have it, you it has to be independent otherwise it's a mess, that is, in the sense, I want to have all these things there first, then I'll start looking. [Gabriel, 22, parents from Bangladesh, small town in central Italy, secondary education, first wave].

Gabriel tells us in our first interview that he would have a desire in the future to find the right person to marry and thus form a family. His opinion suggests a more traditional view of how things should happen in this field: for him to have a relationship, it would involve previous steps to make it possible. However, one year after our interview, the young man demonstrates that his opinion has changed in relation to this perspective. Gabriel is much more pessimistic when it comes to relationships:

> R. Let's talk about... we also talked about the relationship last year. How was that? I remember thinking that in the future you wanted to meet someone... a person. And how do you think about it now?
> I. Yes... It does, in the sense... I don't... so, I mean, I think in a relationship only the first few months are beautiful, maybe the first few years. then it becomes... something else.

> So, I don't have a very good idea of the relationship, you know? That is, for me almost always everything a little temporary. From this point of view and maybe I have changed a little since last year. I also had many indirect experiences with friends, family, acquaintances... [Gabriel, 23, parents from Bangladesh, small town in central Italy, tertiary education, second wave]

The breakdown of expectations in relation to this phase of life demonstrates once again the perception that some young people may have in relation to the ephemerality of life and of relationships. The ability to live in the present that many young people have is added to the fact that young people may perceive social relationships in such a way that ties are made in a more contingent and ephemeral way (Brannen and Nilsen, 2002; Leccardi, 2008; Peoul and Zinn, 2015).

It also shows us that the opinions of young people in relation to these spheres of life are subject to change over time. The ability to change opinions is also associated with having to continually deal with the changes that society imposes and with the experiences they have throughout their lives (Ahmend, 2006). The speed of social transformations (Leccardi, 2008) in these young people's lives from one wave to another in terms of relationship conformations or relationship ideals is a measure of what it's like for them to live at the speed of today's world. It is in view of the awareness of the rapid transformations that may arise that young people look for ways to get used to the new dynamics that arrive in their lives (du Bois-Reymond, 1998).

Another element to be highlighted is the impact of location within the relationship projections of young people. Erick's description of the way relationships is thought of in his city demonstrates that the geographical context defines social expectations of relationships:

> In my city... it's a little sad to say that, but at my age it's not just dating just to date, it's dating with your head, knowing that you can be the woman of your life. Because now you've reached maturity, you're not just for passion, it's for finding like-minded people, to improve together in life, to grow, build, so it's not just: "ah, she's beautiful, I like her so that's it, let's try". It's a lot so for that I go very slowly, sometimes very slowly. So sometimes I don't even get to date and I'm done because I have to have no doubts. and this is complicated, because I am full of doubts. So, I do not know. Also about relationships, I don't know... if you came to do this interview 10 years ago I would already think about getting married, having children, a house, everything. [Erick, 26, Brazilian mother, big city in southern Italy, secondary education, first wave]

The social pressure Erick describes demonstrates that there is an association between age and the type of relationship you must have and need to deal with. The young man who lives in a small town in southern Italy shows a certain frustration in having to keep up with this social rhythm that dictates how relationships should be lived. While Erick internally recognizes the desire to find an ideal partner, marry and form a family, he feels the pressure of having to adapt to these social expectations. For Erick to get into a relationship at his age would involve committing to a more stable and serious way of relationship. For this, according to what the young man describes, it would also be necessary to build a more stable life at work and

economically, something that has not been possible for him until now. In our second meeting, Erick was already in Erick working for the Italian "*Servizo Civile*[37]". This is what he tells us about how the experience in this sphere of life was for him:

> I.So, let's say that at the beginning of the year there was still a problem with COVID. Then, when he was released, he knew that he should go to Brazil. So, I didn't want to... I mean, create a relationship because.... I didn't want to leave with.... It's kind of bad to say this, but in the end I'm 27 years old, I know what.... I know how the things happen. Leaving with a relationship…It's like, like starting a relationship in Italy, not in... I mean, I didn't feel like it. I've had relationships so to say, but they didn't last very long. [Erick, 27, Brazilian mother, big city in southern Italy, secondary education, second wave]

Erick continues to demonstrate that the way in which love relationships are thought of in his context is still marked by strong chronologization. The young man has in mind that building relationships at his age and the circumstances he was in – about to leave for Brazil – would be irresponsible. Although the young man had few relationships, most of which were of short duration, what the two interviews suggest is that the social configurations of his context shaped for him certain relationship models that are accompanied by the chronologization of life. Unlike what we have seen in other examples, there are rules in this experience that must be followed in the world of love relationships.

The discrepancy between what is desired and what he experiences points to the typical ambivalence of current relationships (Guedes, 2005). Young people faced with the instability of their own social contexts, prefer not to engage in lasting relationships. This process, already discussed by Bauman when calling such a relational phenomenon as "liquid love," demonstrates that in the face of scenarios of uncertainty and precariousness in various spheres of life, relationships become less durable (Bauman, 2003). In a society configured as increasingly fragile, ephemeral, and unstable (Bauman, 2001; Basílio, 2007) relationships between individuals are increasingly superficial. In this case, even when there is a desire for deep relationships with a view to marriage, the concrete impossibility, in the face of economic and labor uncertainties, makes young people also postpone this plan, placing them only on the horizon. The liquidity of relationships and the intense process of individualization that we see in most of the examples above would be a symptom of an unstable and unpredictable society (Basílio, 2007). Long-term commitments are therefore avoided (Bauman, 2003), or when desired, one is fully convinced of the structural impossibilities that stand in the way of creating more lasting bonds.

At the same time, building relationships in a fast-paced and liquid society can also impact young people's decisions in the opposite direction. For some young people, the desire to live in a stable relationship, and to have a family can be made in accordance with the speed of current times. Experiencing cohabitation can happen spontaneously without relying on social clocks that indicate the "right" moments to experience certain events:

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[37] Type of social work in which people are recruited to work in vulnerable areas in various parts of the world

At the moment I'm single and I don't even go out with anyone and I have to say I'm fine now, when I told you about that year of depression, it was also due to the breakup of a relationship that was very complicated, now I had enough time to process that breakup, no both the breakup, but the relationship itself, now I have to say that I am very calm in this current single state. What do I hope for the future? I would like to find someone, I would like to meet someone, I would like to find someone stable, seriously: I underline the word stable because it seems obvious, but it is not so obvious that there is stability, but I would like to meet someone and start planning a future together.
I go step by step, first of all I would like to get job satisfaction results, wherever that is, I want to be satisfied with myself, then I would like to meet someone at the same time and start planning for a future. [Diana, 27, father from Ivory Coast, big city in northern Italy, secondary education, first wave].

It was all unexpectedly very fast, with a person I'd known for a lifetime and therefore... <anon> boyfriend name </anon> and I have known each other for 7 years, actually this year 8, and it's always been there, but I've always been too blind to notice. [...] And nothing, after a while we started dating in other words precisely, and then for four months we moved in together, because more than anything there was the risk of another... that is, there was a new red zone and therefore there would be an impediment to seeing us more than anything else, because he is not from <big city in northern Italy>. So we said, okay, so at the moment I was always living here at home alone, at my mother's house, so we took advantage of it and since then everything has been going well, it's a very good relationship, it's the relationship, the right [smiles].[Diana, 28, father from Ivory Coast, big city in northern Italy, secondary education, second wave]

Diana's account in the first wave demonstrates the desire to have a partner, to build a life together. A year after the interview, the young woman describes the process of cohabitation with her new boyfriend. The way she brings this narrative demonstrates that despite projecting a relationship and building a life for two, there is no concern in following "rituals" related to this process. As she says herself, the process happened quickly, and a lot happened due to the Pandemic restriction measures. Other important thing about this history is to point out the concomitance of distinct relationship patterns. If on the one hand there is a desire to have a stable relationship and a future together, the way her new relationship develops in the second wave demonstrates a disinterest in following a linear and traditional construction of the relationship. The imposition of the dichotomy to understand complex social processes (Hockey, 2009) does not help to understand how in fact the two processes of individualization and standardization of transitions can coexist given that individuals can act differently in areas of life.

7.2. An imagined transition: motherhood and the life course of young people

7.2.1.Individualization and reflective awareness of motherhood

Motherhood, seen as an element of a private order (Gonzaga and Mayorga, 2019), is understood here as an element that intertwines personal life, social life and power relations. Being a mother in many societies means completing a supposedly "natural" cycle of individual, biological and social life. From a life course perspective, women's lives in Western societies have related the intertwining of the individual, the social and the biological from motherhood as a mandatory stage in women's lives. Although motherhood is no longer considered a "natural" experience, it does not mean that gender expectations embedded in societies still do not transmit, strengthen, and perpetuate the ideals of gender roles in society, as the opening quite stresses. Existing social models are related to inherited gender and parenting expectations (Magaraggia, 2012; Vissing, 2017; Carreri, 2017; Pessin and Arpino, 2018) with compulsory motherhood being one of the inherited and reminiscent social models in today's societies. Motherhood is often placed in a mandatory-compulsory way at a specific moment in a woman's life, which is after marriage. The association between marriage and the arrival of a child only strengthens the idea that life transitions must happen in a successive and linear way:

> Everyone asks me this question, and now the question is starting to bother me a little, not the one you asked me. But people don't.... people stop me and ask, this is... also, but imagine? That is, that is, if I... that is, if I want to have a child (...), everyone asking me: " Do you have a child 'do you?', 'I don't have'. 'No, no , you don't have it!?', and they ask me: 'but you don't want a child? But why not? But are you pregnant? I mean… you know? [Alice, 29, Tunisian parents, small city in southern Italy, tertiary school, First wave]

The interviewee Alice, a 29 year old women, reacts to these 'expectational' burdens with a certain intolerance in relation to the insistence on motherhood. This young woman who had recently married is bothered by frequent questions about why she is not pregnant, questioning/astonishing why she would not like to be a mom. Although it may not be considered as psychological violence, what the young woman experiences is a normative inscription in her life trajectory as a woman. Motherhood has historically served as a form of control and surveillance (Gonzaga and Mayorga, 2019) of women's lives and bodies, with the insistence on the question being a way to frame Alice in acceptable typical performance. Being a woman and being married and not having children raises the question of why she is not pregnant yet, even questioning why she would not want to have children.

This example indicates that the association between marriage and procreation may still be very strong. From a life course perspective, one can see how the inscriptions of linearity for women's lives place themselves in their lives. Despite the changes that have taken place in gender relations involving family and work, many elements of linearity still presuppose "right" or "wrong" moments for the occurrence of certain transitions.

Going through other perceptions of women who do not have children, it is almost unanimous that motherhood as a project will only materialize after a moment of self-construction. The construction of one's own identity, of one's professional and financial independence is a condition for thinking about having a child. When looking at Maria's experience, for example, the experience of past generations- in this case her mother-, it is seen as an example of the difficulty of raising children and of life for her own. When justifying the choice not to have a child at this point in her life, Maria says:

> Yes, its own identity. Let's say, I'm aware that, in a way, there are women who managed to have their own identity, to graduate, to be someone. having one... not depending 100% not only on the man, on the family. Because that's what my mother taught me. My mother graduated in Brazil, came here graduated, had to recognize her title. They translated wrong, had to redo the last year of college, including the final thesis. And it ended basically when we were little, me and my sister, we were little. Wow, it was a hell of a rush. She said she put us to bed and studied. And I imagine it wasn't easy. It's what I had said too is that I feel like I've exhausted, so to speak, my quota of wasted time. I feel this pressure a little bit. I'm approaching thirty and I think it's important for me to start chasing my job. But not for any reason, it's something I like, you know. It's something that I, that I, that I make a point of [Maria, 29, Brazilian mother, big city in central Italy, tertiary education, first wave].

Two elements emerge from Maria's story: the first concerns the change in gender roles and how women's identities are created. The generational confrontation between what was experienced by the mother and what one wants to live demonstrates a change in the ways of thinking and living the gender roles and how motherhood fits there. Maria, looking at her mother's example, sees the difficulty of reconciling maternal activities, domestic activities, and professional activities. As the family is the first social environment with which individuals interact, it should be considered that the parenting experiences that their parents had will certainly reflect on the desire or lack thereof regarding raising a child (Sahni and Setin, 2022). Mothers can be recognized as significant role models for their daughters in relation to motherhood (Ex and Janssens, 2000). It is by looking at her own mother's experience that Maria brings her image of motherhood.

Furthermore, Maria expresses the need for self-construction, showing that today the processes of singularization and individualization also fall on maternity projects, making maternity seen external to itself. As pointed out by Serracant (2012) and others (Matos and Magalhães, 2018; Berngruber and Bethmann, 2022) the debate within life course studies points to the construction of increasingly individualized trajectories in which previous social models related to adult life - which involve motherhood - lose strength. In this specific case, being a mother or father permeates the idea of choice and desire, no longer seen as something automatic, acquired.

The individualization processes along with the transformations of gender roles (Machado, 2001; Tanturri and Mancarini, 2008; Mauceri and Valentini, 2011; Magaraggia,

2012; Bottinelli, 2016; Bozzon, 2021) fail to place motherhood as an essential milestone realization and transition to adulthood. Motherhood in this sense permeates a more reflective construction in which young women point to the great responsibility of having a child (Lee, 2018). Building an identity prior to the possibility of being a mother demonstrates that for her, motherhood is an obstacle in the construction of an identity separate from this dimension. The construction of her individuality based on her educational and professional achievements would be ways of guaranteeing this identity not only focused on motherhood and the family. When she says that she wants to form her identity first, finish her studies and create her professional career, she points out the obstacles that many women in societies have in living the different spheres of life (student, working, financially autonomous) when they are mothers (Gerson, 2010, 2015; Hochschild 1989). Achieving professional, affective, and financial stability strengthens the idea of the centrality of individual goals to the detriment of motherhood: looking for the self to the detriment of reproduction (Matos and Magalhães, 2018).

There is also an association between age and stages of life to be lived. The feeling of "pressure" in relation to other stages of life – especially in relation to her career – makes her prefer to focus on studies and building work path. Maria's story strengthens the studies that point to the influence of the extension of studies on the trajectories of young people and the postponement of motherhood (Nicoletti and Tanturri, 2008; Mauceri and Valentini, 2010). For young people who have invested heavily in education, prolonging this stage, having a professional career is a priority.

This temporal "exhaustion" narrated also shows us the introjection of social expectations related to her biological age. In this and other moments of our conversation, she indicates concerns about her "timing" in relation to the stages in education, work and in motherhood. It is noticed that despite a strong reflexivity about motherhood in which individuality is in vogue, Maria at the same time is based on age (Settersten, 2002) as a self-regulator of expectations in her biographical construction. Motherhood as a transitional element has the power to connect culture and biology in which moments considered "right" or "ideal" are associated to carry out some transition or event in Western culture (Elder at Al, 2002; Settersten e Kruger, 2002; Matos and Magalhães, 2014).

Finally, Maria demonstrates that having a child is a possibility and a "choice" in life. This strengthens what the literature points out as the "culture of choice" (Naldini, 2015; Micheli, 2021) in the understandings of motherhood and fatherhood. Although the interviewee shows this greater "freedom" in conceiving motherhood, for Maria's this process is not based only on an individual choice, but in conformity with the pressure of first developing her professional career. The persistence of the chronologization of life is visible in the pressure she feels to be reaching the age of 30 without having yet achieved a stable professional career. The feeling of being "late" in relation to a path makes Maria create action strategies around her, with the "delay" of motherhood being one of these action strategies.

A year after our first interview, when confronted with the same theme, Maria points out that the decision to have a child involves not only the individual choice but also the existence of a partner, the possibility of affective and financial security:

> So, we grow and mature, and thank God that's it. We will see. I would like to have a child, anyway, it has not changed. The worry, the worries are the same. I think it depends a lot on what we find. If I find a person on my side who gives me security, that we can build, right? I think I start today, two years from now, if I could, I would have a child. Let's say that I think that up to 35 today you can have your first child, thirty-six....more than that. Then there will only be one, or none. [Maria, 30, Brazilian mother, big city in central Italy, tertiary education, second wave]

Maria demonstrates the same concerns or the same conditions for thinking about motherhood. However, in addition to building her professional career, she also indicates that motherhood is thought of in conjugal terms, in the sense that motherhood would be an experience lived by two, a couple's project. For this young woman, affective security would also be a determinant for this choice. Furthermore, as in the first interview, the chronologized perception of her life falls once again on motherhood, and this time it appears as a relationship between time, age, and biology.

It is also important to contemplate the impact of different structural conditions to understand how these individuals react and project their actions towards motherhood. As we will see maternity projects are often postponed or unwanted due to the scenario of uncertainty and economic precariousness in which we live:

> Yes ... actually we ... maybe we had already done it, but we are not sure about the economics ... so ... whatever it is, it is something that is already being discussed, it is something that if you want, it's something that... and…it is, but we have to wait for a contract that is not a contract that will expire now, you know? Why, what else can you do? It's not like there are so many benefits for those becoming parents now, if you don't have a home that's your own, if you don't have... er, specifically... facilities in a way, it's very complicated how to... that is, it might be very irresponsible to decide to do it this way. [Laura, 28, Uzbekistan origin, big city in central Italy, tertiary education, first wave]

If, on the one hand, we can say that today women have greater possibilities of choices in relation to motherhood, on the other hand, we must recognize the role of precariousness and economic uncertainty that conditions motherhood projects. There is a persistence of objective restrictions (Serracant, 2012; Neale, 2011; Sironi, 2015; Pastore, Quintano and Rocca, 2020) in the construction of the life course, even if this construction is now found in a more individualized way. In fact, if, on the one hand, the individualization process gives the possibility of choosing from cultural norms and standards, on the other hand, a series of obligations and responsibilities that were previously delegated to institutions and the State become individual responsibility. As Naldini (2015) points out, given the consideration that the child is seen as a private good, as an individual experience and not a matter for society, what we have are coercive regulations in thinking about and living parenthood.

The case above provides a clear contextualization of the Italian case already pointed out in the literature (Naldini, 2015, Murgia, 2006, Spanò and Domeka, 2021). The employment relationships of young people and especially young women are precarious and temporary. In

addition to this, there is an institutional vacuum that does not guarantee public policies to remedy the situations of vulnerability experienced by these groups. When they find themselves in this situation, many young women who want to have children are unable to do so due to lack of social support. As Tanturri and Mencarini (2008) point out, the choice not to have a child can often involve situations that are beyond the control of the women themselves. What can be seen is that "the experience of unstable and discontinuous professional careers has an impact on the present and future projects of the work journey" (Murgia, 2006, p. 52) and maternity of these women.

The intensification of precarious conditions for maintaining life, the realization of long-term life projects are either postponed or prevented. The feeling of constant contingency for many young people can generate disharmony between transitional expectations and a context of constant change (Severson and Collins, 2019). A year after our first meeting, Laura finds herself in a completely different situation.

R. How was that idea this year [about have a child]?
I. But look, this year was very close to becoming a reality at some point, so this whole idea fell apart and fell apart when I became single, and it currently seems to me... far away because I have no one to do it with and it's still a wish I have. I mean, I want to become a mother at some point, and I hope it's not too far off. Now I'm going to take some time to get it right and heal some wounds and then yes and then I'm going to find someone, that is... [laughs] [Laura, 29, Uzbekistan origin, big city in central Italy, tertiary education, second wave]

Laura had ended a long relationship and had consequently stopped living with her partner. In this one-year Laura finishes her master's studies and enters another profession as researcher in a company. Although it is not yet the job desired by the young woman, the financial advantages and job stability were discussed in our interview. These transformations indicate that, on the one hand, the young woman benefits from greater autonomy and financial security, but on the other - as explained in the excerpt above - she loses the horizon of motherhood. Despite this, the young woman highlights the continuity of the desire to experience motherhood and to put it for a future. For her motherhood is also explicit as a project lived as a couple. What these two women point out is that although fertility rates have fallen in the European context in general and specifically in the Italian context, this is not necessarily linked to the decrease in motherhood desires (Faraoni, Maitino and Ravagli, 2017).

The distance between *wanting* to have a child and being *able to* have a child is something that is also informed by other interviewees who, in the face of the scenario of uncertainty, motherhood goes from something desired to something that scares. The responsibility of bearing a child is seen as impossible, and the desire for motherhood is limited, hindered by some women. What the trajectories of childless women show us is that the deliberate choice of not having children or postponing it (Tanturi and Mencarini, 2008) is the result of both the search for personal fulfilment, the individualization of trajectories -through studies or work- as is also the result of the context of labor and financial instability in which these people find themselves. In addition to demonstrating the need to build an identity and

independence to then think about motherhood as a project, what these women indicate is a level of reflexivity in relation to the responsibilities involved in having a child in terms of uncertainty.

As can be seen, motherhood in the life history of these women is thought of in terms that point to an awareness that being a mother in this society would mean, above all, a process of abdication of oneself, where studies or a professional career would be affected. Furthermore, what the young women point out is that: in their imaginations, having a child is necessarily linked to having a partner; in addition, having a child would necessarily imply arriving at a time of greater emotional, economic, and professional stability.

This means that motherhood as a project is thought of in terms of "conditions for such". In other words, it is only after carrying out certain stages of life (namely professional and educational training, economic autonomy, and formation of a couple) that motherhood can be seen as a possibility. Basically what these women indicate is that in the face of an uncertain, fragile and individualized society (Mitchel and Green, 2002), dealing with risks involves an organization of steps that can be followed in which professional and educational achievement would be priorities. Also, there is a socially constructed paradox of motherhood (which the girls seem to embody: on the one hand, the search for autonomy, independence, and the pursuit of their professional careers, on the other, the awareness of the need for care and responsibility and intense dedication Ex and Janssens, 2000). This demonstrates that, even without having children, young women tend to view motherhood as an intensive motherhood process that opposes a more individualized lifestyle.

7.2.2. Men and imagined fatherhood

As we will see in the statements below, the scenario of uncertainty and the feeling of fear is also intensely exposed by men. In several interviewees, it is evident that having a child would mean an "irreversible" stage in which an investment of time, money and responsibility would need to be invested:

> I think it's a very beautiful thing and... and that... despite the economic difficulties, stability and….and the generally very fluid situation of how we live society now, which is everything very, unstable here, everything can change quickly and, therefore, being able to create stability. If, if you think about it from an economic point of view, it is complex to imagine being a parent. So actually, from a life point of view... yeah, it's really cool. [Mario, 28, Moroccan parents, big city in northern Italy, secondary education, first wave]

What other interviews show is that in the context of uncertainty, it is not just the economic issue that conditions the possibility of having children. The very configuration of society, which is "fluid and fast" (Rosa, 2013), pointed out by the interviewees, also competes within this project. The acceleration of social transformations (Rosa, 2013; Leccardi, 2008) makes having stability an essential element. For both men and women, it is evident that the scenario of social uncertainty that we find ourselves in makes the idea of having a child something imagined for

the future. It is not that the idea is just postponed, it's that the desire to have a child is also postponed, it is imagined at a later moment of greater stability.

As can be seen, being a parent involves the reflection that having a child requires responsibility and stability not only structural, but also emotional, thus pointing to a greater reflexivity in relation to the construction of their biographies. As Matos and Magalhães (2014) points out, having a child can be considered a great investment in which, in the face of unstable conditions, young people may prefer financial consolidation. The young man shows a conduct of rejecting or postponing this project in view of the economic and temporal costs and the disadvantages of having children (O'Laughlin and Anderson, 2001). Most young people, as we saw in this research, portray insecurity and instability at work and in the labor market, which makes them more likely to postpone long-term commitments, parenthood being one of them (Bozzon, 2021).

In the second year of interviewing Mario, when confronted with the same question, he is silent on the subject and just stresses the growing responsibility that parenting implies. Mario's non-pronunciation of this aspect of life does not necessarily mean a lack of interest in this topic. It is not believed in this research that this result occurs because women naturally have a natural extinct of motherhood and that is why they think and reflect more deeply on the process of becoming a mother. Quite the contrary, it is believed here that the socialized gender roles in the trajectories of these women always place motherhood as a question that they must answer; this socialization implies that women must think about parenting more than men. As indicated by previous research, they show that women more than men seem to measure more the weight of parenthood (Belsky et al., 1986). Furthermore, in a context in which women are aware of this unequal division between men and women in caring, reflection on motherhood becomes a central and essential axis in the construction of their lives (O'Laughlin and Anderson, 2001).

A further finding that confirms the reflexivity regarding parenthood is the opinion that young man shares that having a child requires investment and greater responsibility. Reflecting on what it would mean to be a father, Erick points out that having a child would be different from raising a child and having a family:

> I. So I do not know. Also, about relationships, I don't know... if you came to do this interview 10 years ago, I would already think about getting married, having children, a house, everything. So now that I'm like this, almost nothing has changed, you know? What am I doing so far? It's a bit like that....
> R: So, in case you… would you want to have children?
> I: Yes, yes, I would like to raise a family. But...making a child is easy, raising a family that is different.
> R: What's the difference?
> I: Which is... having kids you can do in 2 minutes. Raising a child, you have to find the right woman, build something with her first. Build a foundation. Foundation is Portuguese? A foundation to raise their children, and for them not to lack anything. There is no lack of love, there is no lack of need for them. [Erick, 26, Brazilian mother, big city in southern Italy, secondary education, first wave]

For Erick, having a child is easy, but "raising" a child and generate a family is different. The idea that these two processes are different refers to what has already been stated in the literature about the increasing process of reflexivity that possible fathers and mothers go through today. This complexity in thinking about experiences or opinions about motherhood-fatherhood is what Naldini (2015) named as the "new culture" of parenting in which an intensity is needed in living this experience. This awareness of the need to "dive deep" into the experience of parenting is seen in some interviewees. What is demonstrated in these statements is the reflection that many young people make that being a father requires dedication and responsibility to be "a good parent" (Naldini, 2015). As Natoli et al., (2016) point out, parenting is now understood as a complex phenomenon that involves a set of functions related to having responsibility and commitment to this experience.

Before, parenting for men was understood in its purely biological process (Natoli, et al., 2016) in which the father, was released from the responsibilities of care, attention, education. The type of attention that young men pay to this topic permeates the reproduction of the model of the man as a provider. At the same time, what can be seen is that this new "provider" also understands that it is necessary to provide for both the structural and subjective needs of a possible child. In this sense, to the tasks traditionally assigned to men in parenting, such as supporting the family, other functions such as affective approximation are added (Braga and Lima, 2020).

In societies, gender identities and parenting identities, despite being distinct, are associated since there is an association between ideas of female and male performance with the way of thinking and living parenting (Magaraggia, 2012; Colombo, Bertola and Rollero, 2017). This would explain some differences in expectations about parenthood among men and women. For women, it is still a central and important theme of self-definition: being a mother would be a responsibility, an event that would imply a complete change of self, of daily life and activities. The intensive reflection that the young women showed in their interviewees above show that, for them, being a mother would bring impediments in their professions, in their time, etc.

It was unanimous that, for young men, being a father would mean having responsibilities in relation to another being, responsibilities related to economic constraints, for example. What the young people showed is that being a parent in a certain sense would mean a burden, a great responsibility. However, it is not necessarily that there is a negative perception, but that young people indicate the individual, social and economic costs of having a child, a reflective process that will depend on the social context in which these young people are inserted (Sahin and Setin, 2022). For men, what the interviews show is that parenting is something more external, involving dedication of time and a differentiated investment in which the "steps" to having a child were taken into account (i.e., educational training, job stability and finding a person).

Furthermore, while women are concerned with internal, subjectivities, identity and individual dimensions, men are concerned with external and structural dimensions. Concern "with the environment, with physical, financial and family security is a traditionally male concern - the guarantee of security and provision - (Matos and Magalhães, 2014: 86)". This differentiation exposes different gender role patterns in relation to parenting. The difference in the dimensions on how this theme is reflected, - for example, the lack of concern about how the theme would impact their personal life, their plans -indicates a pattern of differentiation by gender. For men, the idea of the provider seems to prevail, as the one who will provide the foundation for the formation of a family. This process does not appear in their narratives as interfering with their individual trajectory or their professional career. They also do not seem to be concerned about the "timing" of having a child, which adds to the fact that age-old social expectations regarding parenting are strongly gendered. In this sense is possible to affirm that, although young people indicate uncertainty and fear of the responsibilities of having a family (Bozzon, 2021), the assumptions are different between men and women in their perceptions of parenting.

For Erick and other participants to have a child is necessary to have a partner and more specifically, create a family. Thus, to experience fatherhood would involve building a family, a process that would require finding a person, building a relationship with that person, and building an economic base, emotional and economic stability. Here again is the stage ideal of transitions that a person must go through before having a child. For the young man from the south of Italy and with a strong religious attachment, creating a family for him is something important, even if it is not possible now. Erick exemplifies an ideal projection on family formation (marriage and the generation of a child) even living in a context contrary to this. The reality that Erick experienced in his life trajectory directs him to this more traditional pattern. It is precisely because he lives in an irregular context in which children are born out of marriages that Erick longs for greater normativity. This hypothesis is confirmed in our second meeting, after a year of interview:

> No... it's always the same. I mean, I would like to have children. I think I will, but... well, I don't know, maybe three or four years from now. I expect. If I find the right woman. I mean, that I settle in... I mean, I don't want to do it just for the sake of doing it. I want to be able to give... I'm also seeing what I work with. That is, children made without responsibility and then abandoned. I know I would never do that. But I wish my kids had the opportunities, all the opportunities... that I had and that... In fact, more than I had. [Erick, 27, Brazilian mother, big city in southern Italy, secondary education, second wave].

In a context where young adults need to meet multiple transitional demands (Matos and Magalhães, 2014), such as economic autonomy and building a professional career, postponing fatherhood becomes necessary. Erick again points out the "prerequisites" he considers for having a child: financial stability and finding a partner to have a child. His work experience in

Erick makes Erick strengthen his predilection for responsible and organized parenting in traditional ways. It is interesting to note, however, that despite the desire for this traditional path, young people are unable to maintain long-term relationships and find it difficult to build stability and autonomy. For these young people, having a child presupposes the construction of lasting ties in a context of unstable emotional ties (Matos and Magalhães, 2014; Bauman, 2004). Labor instability, affective-sexual instability takes the desire for parenthood to the place of a projection always in the future.

For Jean, there is a similar need to have a partner to have a child. However, what the young man adds as information is the way he reflects on the position of women in this process:

> No, I want ... I want to do them. I would like to have children. Um ... uhm ... my story is not easy to find a partner, uhm ... who wants the same thing, also because uhm I believe that one of the evolutions of industrialized society is that there is a better awareness of all people, even of the female sex. So, it is absolutely evident that if a woman does not want to have a child is her choice, and it is right that I do not impose this choice on my partner anyway. Um, in my ideal future there should be children, however I realize that this does not depend only on me, also because I am a man and I do not have children. [laughs] [Jean, 28, Congolese father, big city central Italy, tertiary education, first wave]

The idea of being a father permeates the reflection of the change in gender roles and the woman's individuality and agency. The interviewee would like to have a child, sees a future in this regard, but believes that it is primarily a woman's choice. Jean was the only one who brought as a condition for having a child the desire of a possible partner to do the same. This shows us that parenting is also related to consent, with agreements that need to be made. The young man portrays that the difficulty of finding someone to have a child is part of the reality that women today can choose if and when to have children. In the second year of our conversation, Jean once again points out to us the need for a partner, but unlike other young people, he does not include marriage as a necessary step in the experience of being a father:

> But as the person I'm dating right now, I have the idea that, right now, I don't even know why she represents this. So... I'm not saying that from today or tomorrow I'm going to have a family, I'm going to have kids and all. I have no idea. However, here I do not exclude that if things go very well with the person I am currently with, in any case, at some point we will probably have the question. While in marriage I am already more, more resistant, because I also see it as a... contractual way of... binding something that is actually a feeling and in my opinion there is no contract with a feeling […] nothing . Making a family is perhaps something more... in short, probably more beautiful. So... for... why not? I don't know when, but why not? [Jean, 29, Congolese father, big city central Italy, tertiary education, second wave]

Finding the "right" person to do this experience for those young men seems important. However, and similarly to Erick, Jean views the relationship as a maybe, indicating the possibility of an end to the relationship. This porosity in sexual-affective relationships indicated by Jean also indicates the difficulty of long-term planning. Despite wanting a partner, the young man seems to be aware that this relationship may not last (Matos and Magalhães, 2014) and that marriage is not a necessary step for the transition to parenthood. For Jean a family can exist without necessarily requiring the existence of marriage. The young man criticizes marriage as a legal and institutional support for questions that would be subjective and of a private nature. Jean points out to us, an innovation in the way of thinking about paternity and that involves family arrangements that do not go through the traditional western model of marriage and procreation. As already stated by (Sciolla and Torrioni, 2018) it is increasingly common that contemporary parenting experiences are not necessarily accompanied by formal marriage.

What all these young people shows is that agency and the choice to be a father become more conscious and reflective. To have a child, economic and professional stability would be essential. It is possible to perceive that, in the men's view, there is the establishment of previous stages that must be lived to have a child, one of them being the finding of a stable and to a certain extent "ideal" partner. The denial of not turning the feeling into a contract would indicate a need for autonomy and individuality would be at stake. In any case, the idealization of the parental project always appears as a great emotional achievement, which indicates an affective dimension valued in the interviewees. (Matos and Magalhães, 2014).

7.2.3. To Be a parent and much more: overlapping identities and experiences

When we focus on the interviewees who have gone through the experience of motherhood/fatherhood, the discussion about restrictions arising from structural conditions becomes more evident. The first issue that emerges from the characterization of people who have children in this interview is occupational status. Of those interviewed, 3 women and 1 man in the first wave had recently experienced the arrival of their first child, and only women were in the first wave with no or almost no paid work activity. This data directly demonstrates that, despite the inclusion of women in the labor market, the arrival of a child interrupts, even temporarily, the lives of these women interviewed here. If we compare with the second wave, the scenario remains almost the same: among the three women who had gone through the maternity experience, two were out of work and one was working in temporary jobs. The only parent who participated in our interview was unfortunately not available to participate in the second wave. Therefore, in this part of the analysis I bring the experience of this man interviewed in a more punctual way.

Co-participation in childcare and co-participation in the job market appear in these cases as something difficult to achieve. When talking about their working situations, the three interviewees indirectly expose the impact of the motherhood experience, but also other factors such as: the difficulty of finding a job in general in the Italian context and in the context of

COVID; prejudice within the labor market for having a "non-Italian" origin. These already give us indications that the intersection of gender identities and origin-nationality in a pandemic context circumscribes the lives of these women in a very specific way. These identities are equally important in the lives of these women, with motherhood being one of the identities within their life trajectories. As we will see in the statements below, motherhood brings a complete change in time, in work possibilities, in the relationship with friends. When asked about her friendships and about the interviewee, she responds:

> Let's say that after <son's name> I only stayed in contact with three friends in particular ... an Argentine, a Colombian and a Bra ... and a Venezuelan. Er, now they too have become mothers er [...] Since he was born, however, I have always attended many Italian mothers here, they are not friends but they are acquaintances, I have always attended many groups of mothers at the clinic, in the various courses that I did for, of course preparation, course after childbirth, massage course, all these things here. I was very active before I had ... uh, uh, uh, children's reading associations. And that was enough for me, let's say as a mom you have little time outside. [Faviola, 29, Colombian origin, big city in northern Italy, secondary education, first wave].

> Let's say that once you become a mother or start taking a slightly different path, entering the world of work a little more, that is, the world of adults, they change. Because it is normal for them to go to the disco, the outings on Saturdays, the "*aperitivo*[38]". But when you take a different path, you distance yourself a little from other friends, because you no longer have the time [Audio problems] to talk with them, because between one thing and another no, the little girl no, work. So once you take the road, as an adult, let's say that for a while the relationships stop, until you find a stability and then, who knows.[Marianna, 28, Albanian Origin, small city in central Italy, secondary education, first wave].

Faviola and Marinna show how after motherhood, friendships changed, essentially changing daily life and free time, which is now filled almost entirely with activities related to the baby. If the relationship between professional career and motherhood is widely debated in sociology, we must also pay attention to the impact of motherhood in other equally important spheres of life. The organization of free time and interpersonal relationships are "run over" by motherhood. The experience of being a mother is the main point that the interviewees will weave all their relationship networks, their organization of free time and their professional career. The experience today of an intensive maternity in which the woman invests a large part of her daily life in the care of the child, becoming her main priority (Naldini, 2015; Lee, 2018). Despite the social transformations towards gender equality in different social spheres (Falcinelli and Magaraggia, 2013), the culture of intensive motherhood (Lee, 2018) makes women experience parenting in an "exclusive" way. As Lee (2018) points out, being a good mother entails intense and exhausting care work.

In addition to redirecting priorities in relation to time, the arrival of a child redirects the interests of these women, making them approach, for example, other mothers, or other friends who have also had children and who can share the experience of maternity. It seems to me that

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[38] Aperitivo in Italy is a cultural ritual where people usually go out after work to meet up for pre-dinner drinks.

the reorganization of social life is related both to the exclusive dedication to the child, as well as to the search for support from peers and professionals (books for example) who can help in this experience. As Furedi (2001) points out, intensive motherhood and child-centeredness also generated needs for mothers to accompany the child's development process by listening to other people, particularly specialists.

Motherhood is a *turning point* in the lives of many women, a moment when a decisive change takes place, a change with no return that impacts all other spheres of life. This *turning point* is demonstrated in the transformation of daily life, of "priorities" and of friendship relationships, in the face of the "scarcity" of time due to domestic work and maternal care activities. For Mariana, in fact, being a mother was the main reference for entering adulthood. The logic engendered in the process of caring for a child led to a complete change in the way she manages time, daily activities, relationships maintenance, which for her meant reaching adulthood. As stated in the second narrative and as pointed out in the literature (Naldini, 2015), the transition to parenthood is seen as a path of no return, different from what can happen with other transitions in adult life: employment, education, cohabitation, leaving the parents' house, marriage. As we will see below, dedication to her son becomes Faviola's main activity:

> I don't... I, now, practically... me, my friendships, my walks, so I'm always with other mothers, with other children. Also because the friends I had, became mothers. And nothing, I organize, ... In other words, my outings are going to the park or going... I don't know, going to other children's homes. Always, also precisely because < son's name> I can't leave him there. [laughs]. R. Exactly. [laughs]
> I. So [laughs]. In other words, my only free time is when I go... on Saturdays and Sundays I go to the course and I'm alone, actually. Fortunately, I have these two days. There will be <partner name> and my mother-in-law with the baby. This is my time for me. [Faviola, 30, Colombian origin, big city in northern Italy, secondary education, second wave]

The simultaneous transition to the motherhood of other friends, together with the fact that she wants this construction of the family and wants to work as a doula, make Faviola experience the world of motherhood in an intense way. In fact, her identity as mother and wife overrides all other possible identification processes. Faviola organizes her time and daily life with a view to taking care of her son and family and maintaining the house. As she herself points out, there is a difficulty in adding other activities to her daily life that are not related to home and family care. It seems that Faviola lives the exclusive motherhood in which the 'child-centered' education and care absorbs the mother's maximum time (Lee, 2018). The experience of an intensive motherhood in which childcare and housework are central to her life "absorbs the personality of the mother, and to this end culture holds out the promise of child-centered mothering as a uniquely rich source of personal fulfilment" (Lee, 2018: 469).

At one point in the interview, she tell us that even when they are sick, it is often difficult to manage the care of the child, given that the husband spends the day away from home working. As she herself said: "When you are a mother you cannot even feel bad. I mean, you must keep going." Unlike Faviola, Marianna feels a greater need to organize her life based on issues other

than just motherhood:

> R. Ok. Now you can have some free time for yourself, or...?
> I. I learned to cut it. Anyway, before being 100% a mother, I felt guilty just going for coffee, but now I realize that if I'm calm, so is she. So, in any case, I must not forget that I am a woman, in short, that I also need my space, so that, in any case, thanks to my brother's help too, because he takes such care of the child, I can still carve out my moments, if I want to go get my hair done or if I want to have a coffee even alone, I already find a few moments. [Marianna, 29, Albanian Origin, small city in central Italy, secondary education, second wave]

The way she expresses this is to say that before being a mother she is also a woman, which shows that for some women motherhood is just one of the possible identifications. However, this relationship between being a "mother" and being a "woman" is not lived peacefully. The guilt that Marianna feels for not fully dedicating herself to motherhood suggests that in our society, when a woman becomes a mother, she must direct all her care and attention to the care of the child. The ideological bases that build ideals of motherhood often associate the ideal of motherhood with the exclusivity of time and dedication that women must give to the care of children (Badinter, 2011, 2012; Magaraggia, 2012; Ottaviano, 2015). In this process, not dealing with all the tasks of motherhood it can be seen as a sign of being a bad mother, a process that can generate feelings of guilt (Badinter, 2012). Motherhood here is questioned in its idealization from the way in which Marianna evokes her identity as a woman as separate from the identity of being a mother.

The need to enjoy other elements of her life demonstrates that although motherhood is a turning point, this event does not necessarily define a subject or a life status. The coexistence of other experiences outside of motherhood points to the need to understand that becoming a mother is one more facet of these women's lives. Women who are mothers have difficulties in enjoying free time with themselves and, as we will see below, in reconciling work-related needs. In fact, one of the most discussed elements in the literature on the experience of motherhood for women is the impact it has on the course of work (Murgia, 2006; Falcinelli and Magaraggia, 2013; Naldini, 2015; Faraoni, Maitino and Ravagli, 2017). In addition to the impact of everyday life, the experience of being a mother was also a decisive point in the possibilities of work, as shown below:

> Then, for about a year and a half that... I'm married, with my husband, and I couldn't find a job because I lived in <big city in northern Italy>, then when we met, I had to move here, and then I stayed at home for a few months and then I got pregnant, my daughter was born in September... this year 2000... [Hannah, 28, Moroccan parents, small city in northern Italy, tertiary education, first wave].
> And let's say I'm at home at the moment, because I've decided on the path, let's say, to be a mother. I have a one-year-old daughter, so work opportunities are few, I only work 3 hours a day, just to help my husband. We've been back for about 1 year, 1 year and a half, from England. [Marianna, 28, Albanian Origin, small city in central Italy, secondary education, first wave]

Cultural transformations in relation to gender performances point out that today women must experience motherhood in co-existence with work (Badinter, 2011, 2012; Naldini, 2015). However, the succession of events, or the overlapping of situations, seems to matter in the lives of women who, after becoming mothers, find it difficult to find work. If in the first situation we see a series of events that made her out of work, the final event of motherhood makes the possibilities of employment more restricted. As Faraoni, Maitino and Ravagli (2017) show, motherhood becomes the biggest obstacle to staying in the job market, making it difficult to build a professional career or even redirecting the work path. As well as relying on the literature, that the educational level and working conditions will also impact on the greater or lesser ease of reintegration into the labor market and the organization of the professional path (Faraoni, Maitino and Ravagli, 2017). But when analysed what weighs the most is the experience of motherhood. From what has been said, we cannot say that men participate less in childcare, but the difficulty of reconciling childcare with work and the difficulty of reintegrating into the labor market can strengthen this idea.

As we saw in chapter three, Eurostat data [39] on childcare in Europe show that in Italy it is still women who delegate most of their time to caring for children and the home. According to this data, this is much more due to the low participation of women in the labor market than to an ideological or cultural issue (Bonizzoni et al., 2014). The fact is that women want to return to the job market, but they seem to find structural difficulties in doing so. The literature points out that, in the Italian context, the balance between motherhood-fatherhood and the labor market has been disadvantageous for women who are penalized for performing domestic and childcare activities (Mauceri and Valentini, 2010; Falcinelli and Magaraggia, 2013). Additionally, Marianna demonstrates the impact of the culture of her parents or country of origin in the construction of her life, in her daily life, in family relationships and especially in motherhood experiences:

> R. No, first I ask how was the relationship with your brother, since we were talking about relationships with other people.
> I. Well, very well, we are... we always bonded even more with him, we never had a very affective relationship, but lately we bonded a lot, that is, since I left, so he doesn't have me by his side, but even around me I see him, what I like about him is that he respects me only as a woman and as a mother. It went really well with him this year, yes.
> R. And you say that before it was a little more difficult? That is, you didn't see this respect as a woman on her part?
> I. No, because we, however, being Albanians, he had a very closed mentality, that is, if he saw me around with a boy he was very jealous, we have a culture that a woman must be very low in any case. Now, however, I saw that when I, for example, put the child to bed, since we were at home all day, I started to clean so that in the morning I could rest a little more: that is, he would get up, he helped me give the 'vacuum cleaner, did the dishes; however, I can see that he also appreciated what I did at home, when instead he said "let's go, but you're a woman, you have to do it". Now, on the other hand, he really does, because he had to stay with us for a year, so he saw that it's not that easy.

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[39] https://www.istat.it/donne-uomini/bloc-3d.html?lang=it

R. So also... do you somehow say the fact that he also had to see what it means to take care of a house, to take care of others?

I do.

R. And I wanted to ask you, from that point of view, with your husband, how is the distribution of roles now at home? How…?

I. At that time, we were convinced that the house belongs to both of us, so we both have to take care of it. He also took care of the child, the house, but lately you know... being that he works at night, he gets up in the morning at 2:00, he comes back... now he has changed, he comes back at 2:30-3:00 in the afternoon, then he eats and goes to bed. That is, during the week we say that it is not that he helps me a lot, but I also understand, on Saturdays and Sundays he is at home and then yes, on Saturdays and Sundays he helps me a lot, he goes out with the child, or if I want to rest he cooks, he also helps me with the chores, but during the week I don't even feel like saying "help me".[Marianna, 29, Albanian Origin, small city in central Italy, secondary education, second wave]

R. And is your mother working at the same place where she worked last year? Which was from that lady you told me about.

I. Yes, I also still work with that lady, I did some interviews, some interviews for some work, but always the fact of age, they reiterate that you are very old, at 29 years old, and always because of the fact that anyway with the girl, it's not that you have all that freedom of time, i.e. you have to be a bit regular, and they want continuous hours, 8 hours if not more, so the quest is a little difficult.

R. What interviews have you had? Would you like to tell me?

I. I interviewed for a contract here, always in these areas, but figuring they are a little more part-time. I had the interview... I have one here close to home, one at Coop as a salesperson and such, but still saying that I have an advantage because I know some languages anyway, I like to be in contact with people and everything, but when they know there's a child in the middle and then, "let's warn, let's see", they don't care anymore, let's say.

R. So the biggest obstacle is being able to talk freely about motherhood during job interviews?

I. Yes. Marianna, 29, Albanian Origin, small city in central Italy, secondary education, second wave]

The "forced" coexistence because of the Pandemic transformed the relationship that the interviewee had with her brother. Cohabitation space allowed reviewing gender roles already shaped within the family from the culture of origin. For Marianna, this experience was important for the construction of her identity as a woman and as a mother. I claim that being an adult and building oneself in adult life also permeates the negotiation and construction of individuals' own identities. In this specific case we are talking about an identity related to gender and the fact that she is a mother.

Beliefs and values related to gender roles from different cultural backgrounds influence the way of thinking about parenting and experiencing parenting (Bulanda, 2004; Bonizzoni et al., 2014). When we think about this in the context of cohabitation with other family members, the reproduction of gender roles with childcare and home care also seem to have been renegotiated, especially during the pandemic. Furthermore, what Marianna demonstrates is that gender roles are also negotiated with her husband in relation to household tasks. However, the fact that she does not work and stay at home while her husband works, makes her feel pressured to carry out household activities more intensively. In other words, what we see here is that not finding a job influences the division of household responsibilities. The fact that Marianna

performs them more often ends up reaffirming or continuing the disparity in those activities. This reality can often be shared by other women who, by not finding a job, end up indirectly affirming the woman's position as a housewife and caregiver.

In other words, there is a situation in which gender roles, although questioned and criticized, are often reproduced in face of real circumstances. There is a conflict between the roles performed by Marianna because: while she wants to work, not finding a job unintentionally affirms the housewife and breadwinner model. This conflictive situation, as can be seen, marks the trajectory of the young woman's life and, in a way, gives continuity to a transition more based on the housewife model. Whether due to the structural situation - not finding a job – (Bonizzoni et al.,2014) or the desire to create a family and support her husband - Marianna ends up reproducing the gender roles transmitted by her mother. The tendency of segregation by gender and origin in the Italian labor market (Bonizzoni et al., 2014) makes it even more difficult for many women to re-enter the labor market in a satisfactory manner.

Therefore, the reality is much more complex than the polarization between the denial or affirmation of traditional gender roles in adult life. On the contrary, what is seen are different responses to different circumstances: although Marianna individually criticizes the woman's place in the house and despite feeling overwhelmed with the care of the house and the care of her daughter, structurally she is prevented from doing different (Bonizzoni et al., 2014). There is a conflicting relationship between continuities and changes in gender roles (Kitterød and Nadim, 2020) in the course of this young woman's life and how these changes are related to the transition she makes to motherhood. It's possible to detect the interconnection of two processes: the first is the intergenerational transmission of gender roles from the culture of origin and the culture in which one lives; the second is how this intergenerational transmission is associated with changes in the life course and transitions of women. This transformation indicates to what extent the gender roles transmitted within the immigrant family can generate conflict and can also be absorbed at different moments in life from the transitions that people make.

Hannah, who also had difficulties in finding a job, found a solution that reconciles her activities as a mother and as a worker:

And anyway, working with children is also difficult. That is, even if I go to work with the children, it is always a little difficult. Because anyway, maybe they'll call you at day-care, that you have to come get her, because she's not well. So maybe your boss, or your boss, isn't happy and says no. So, over time, you may be at risk of leaving home. Instead, having your own business... you get a lot more peace of mind. In fact, we are also calmer about it. Because anyway, at least if there, you know that something happens that you have to get away from work, at least it's yours and you organize yourself, there's no one on top... because unfortunately it's difficult with children. Here in Italy, it is very difficult. In other words, it is not something that only I talk about, but many, many mothers. That is, there is not much support: they give more money than support, right? In the sense: ok, the money is there too, for God's sake. But I don't just need money, I also need someone to take care of my daughter, is that I don't have the thought all the time, so take it now with the coronavirus, in day-care they are also afraid. So as soon as they have a little cough, a cold, they call you: "Oh, let your daughter come, then, you know? That's also why we decided to open it because she also has her son, she's two and a half years old. And that's also why we thought about opening something of our own, also to be more relaxed.... So, let's hope that everything goes well... with time, here, here it is for sure. [Hannah,

29, Moroccan parents, small city in northern Italy, tertiary education, second wave]

Regarding Hannah's trajectory, it is observed that in 2021 the young woman returns to working in small temporary jobs: she starts to develop several temporary jobs in the process of returning to professional activities, all related to her educational background. The intermittent work process, which at the same time brings job and financial insecurity, gives the possibility of reconciling with maternal care. The young woman decides to open a company with another colleague – also a mother – so that it would be possible to reconcile motherhood with her career. Along with the difficulty of establishing a career and a steady income, Hannah also tells us that her husband was unemployed in 2021 and that unemployment insurance has helped them to maintain themselves. However, the way Hannah reacts to these circumstances is resilient: she tells me that despite everything she was fine and looking forward for the company's project.

Hannah, in addition to pointing out the difficulties encountered in the daily life of a mother, denounces the lack of support on the part of the State in relation to the care of her daughter. For her, the state should offer other forms of help that are not just of economic order. When a society places only the care of the children on the fathers and especially on the mothers, it does not provide other guarantees of assistance for these children and for these parents. This way of managing the phenomenon of parenthood by the State demonstrates both a neoliberal and individualist policy on the care of individuals in society, as well as partly explains why motherhood and fatherhood are thought of in the same way by society: in general it is thought of as a phenomenon or individual experience of fathers and mothers and not as a phenomenon that encompasses and interferes in the whole of society.

Based on a temporal analysis of the interviewees, the three women have quite different profiles and that structural elements and agency elements come together. Thus, although motherhood had a direct impact on the trajectories of the three women mothers, these impacts are differentiated in view of: educational level, location, and agency. These three elements are also interconnected with the issue of gender. It is the genre that defines parenting experiences, and this experience is crossed by other issues such as those mentioned above.

While for Faviola, a mother, with no higher education training, but living in a big Italian city, job possibilities emerged in the second wave of interviews, she decides, based also on her husband's choice, not to work and focus on her son's education and the reformulation of the newly purchased house. It is evident here that the economic security coming from the husband's work gives her the opportunity to be able to stay out of work. Furthermore, it is evident that for Faviola the formation of the family is a personal value.

On the other hand, Hannah, who has a higher education in the first wave, cannot find jobs as a newcomer to a small town in northern Italy. The location became in Hannah's trajectory an obstacle in her work trajectory: not knowing anyone in the new city was one of the reasons for her to find a stable work position. However, in the second wave of interviews, she returns to the job market in a precarious way: the young woman mostly finds temporary

jobs and wants to open her own company so that she has a constant livelihood and can also reconcile her work time with motherhood. In addition to the prejudice revealed, the young woman demonstrates the difficulty of reconciling working time and maternity time in a State that does not share the responsibility for the care of her child. Finally, Marianna is a mother with no higher education training who, in both the first and second waves, cannot find work. Apart from temporary caregiving jobs, the young woman feels the prejudice of motherhood and age in job interviews. Marianna's family support was also essential in this regard: the young woman lives with her husband and daughter at her mother's house, while her husband works. It is also worth noting that the young woman lives in a small town, which probably reduces the opportunities for low-skilled jobs.

In addition, - and as can be seen in the interviews - the persistence of care work for women and their non-insertion into the job market or precarious insertion strengthens the economic dependence of these women in relation to their partners. As we will see below, this model is also the reality of Ben, the only father of our research. Despite having followed only one year of his trajectory, Ben tells us how having a family changed his perspectives on life and even work:

R. What has changed in your life since you knew you were going to be a dad?
I. Changed because you have responsibility. Yes, you have to be, you become... you're a father, you're not a boy any more than... you're a father, so you've got to set a good example, you've got to... and then uhm... you fight harder and you want to give your best, the things that I don't do, that I haven't been able to do. I want my daughter... to get there. What's the idea of leaving, going to Belgium, getting a good education, giving uhm... A better future, things you were missing, things you missed, you see in your son or daughter, this is mine thought. [Ben, 26, Moroccan origin, small city in southern Italy, secondary school, first wave]

[when asked about the impact of COVID on their work]
and with the COVID they had blocked, they had left me in layoffs since March. So there, anyway when, back to the subject, when you have a family, you can't ... you can't wait ... wait at home, you still must work. [Ben, 26, Moroccan origin, small city in southern Italy, secondary school, first wave]

In the first part of Ben's story, he shows us the transitional milestone that it was for him to have a daughter: becoming a father meant for him becoming an adult. As Marinna also points out, for Ben, becoming a parent was an important transition point into adulthood. The idea that he is no longer a boy is accompanied by the feeling he has of "duty" and of responsibility towards his daughter and towards the family in general, something that we can see in the second patch. The young man who is married, has a daughter is unemployed during the Pandemic. As we saw in the work trajectories chapter this situation of uncertainty forces him to go to another type of work, because faced with the responsibility of financially supporting his family, he cannot stop working. There is, in a way, in Ben's trajectory, the reaffirmation of the model of man as the main provider of his family (Murgia, 2006; Magaraggia, 2012; Naldini, 2015; Kitterød and Nadim, 2020; Braga and Lima, 2020; Matos and Magalhães, 2014).

It is worth mentioning that the reproduction of this role is also because his wife, despite having higher education, cannot find a job. According to Ben, she suffers from discrimination for wearing the veil and not wanting to take off the veil. As a result, the strengthening of the classic model of the type of care that fathers end up being strengthened by racism, islamophobia and gender bias that *Ben 's wife* experiences in the job market.

The complexity of this data revolves around understanding that when men reproduce hegemonic models of paternity, they often end up doing so in the face of the impossibility of their partners, to find a stable job (Bonizzoni et al., 2014). In view of all the narratives, in fact, the "breadwinner" model ends up being reaffirmed for two reasons: the first reason is given in the example of Ben in which his wife, who cannot find a job due to prejudice related to gender and ethnic origin strengthens (Naseen, 2016; Chapman, 2016; Frisina and Hawthorne, 2018; Schuster and Weichselbaumer, 2021; Lindemann and Stolz, 2021) the perpetuation of more traditional models of parenting between the genders. Despite the argument that there is an erosion of the breadwinner male model in the face of the precariousness and flexibility of the world of work (Ex and Jansenns, 2000), within this research universe, other elements such as discrimination and racism can make the opposite movement of reinforce this model unintentionally. The second reason is the choice, which is the case of Faviola, who encouraged by her husband, voluntarily refuses to work outside home to focus solely on taking care of the child and the house. It is evident that in the family and work balance, she tends to prefer the standardized path, without, however, ceasing to plan career as a doula.

It was possible to detect that the unequal distribution of caregiving roles in parenting involves men and women within the family, but not only: it involves the State when, knowing these inequalities, it does not create effective policies to help in the care of children; it involves the labor market that does not welcome individuals who are responsible for the care of a child or who create mechanisms of prejudice and discrimination either on the basis of gender or on the basis of other identity issues. Therefore, the way parenting is lived and how it is based on the ideological construction of gender differences has penalized and impacted life trajectories differently for men and women.

7.3. Making gender, making race: other dimensions to think about intimate relationships and parenting

In this part of the chapter, I look at how the issues that have been discussed so far, namely the universe of loving relationships and the universe of parenting, are crossed by two specific questions: by gender and by ethnic-racial identity.

In this narration from Joseph an afro-descendent man, the impact of racial dimensions in relation in their love experiences is significant:

> I. So, and... with the first one, she was... but born here in <big city in central Italy>, of African origin, very well! We spent four years together, with the other I also spent two

years, a lot... ups and downs, a little like that, but... anyway, it's okay, too... that we have to come back... on this subject that when you're with an Italian, there's always that aspect that they look at you in a way... a little... a little suspicious, a little strange, and that happened to us because, when we travelled, we I would go abroad, I see people who look at you happy, not surprised, they are used to it, while here... there's always that, that joke that comes out... things that... . that now they become normal when I think no, this is not normal. [Joseph, 26, Congolese parents, big city in the central Italy, secondary education, first wave]

There are social expectations that define ideal partners and unwanted partners in romantic relationships (Azevedo, 1996). The strangeness that some people felt about him, an afro-descendent man related to an Italian woman (who would most likely be considered white) leads us to understand that there is a breach of social expectations on the part of people around him. This expectation refers to the fact that Joseph once again should not be there, or that he shouldn't be with that person. People's surprise actually comes from what has already been commented on in previous chapters about the process of racialization of some young people and how this process presupposes behind it the ideology of whiteness as the main mode of interpretation of certain events. Whiteness is an ideology that constitutes the construction of imaginaries of identity and positions of racialized individuals (Bento, 2002). Young blacks, for example, are seen as foreigners, aliens, and "others". This constitution of the right place (Kizomba, 2019) that Joseph should occupy that people feel strange about being with an Italian woman is allocated. The reactions about Joseph demonstrate the difficulty of living in a social context in which there is association between compatible or not compatible peers. Being out of the country differentiates the types of reactions that people will have with Joseph and a partner, which once again reaffirms the difficulty of acceptance, on the part of Italians, of an ethnic-racial diversity. The look, the words and the gestures in this case dictate a racial grammar that try to define once again the social place that Joseph should be.

The ideals of beauty built in the Italian context that date back to fascism, but also to more recent moments in the 60s and 70s, place the ideal of the beauty of the Italian woman as white to the detriment of the black body, the latter sexualized, placed as a risky body that is "swallowed" in maintaining the power of whiteness (Giuliani, 2015). In addition, as the author points out, there is a taboo on miscegenation, a process that is central to the construction of an Italian identity that vehemently wants to expel any association of miscegenation with the African continent. The strangeness that many felt when seeing Joseph with an Italian woman would probably come from the affirmation of this imaginary in practices of everyday racism. This union is considered abject because it threatens the imagined ideal of nationality and threatens the idea of purity in the possibility of the emergence of hybrid/mestizo individuals (Giuliani, 2015; Stoler, 1992) who are also undesirable in Italian racial grammar because they carry in themselves other than whiteness. Being with a girlfriend of African origin does not cause surprise, but with an Italian one does, which demonstrates that love relationships have, in the Italian imaginary, racial lines of separation from what could or could not be "approved" in the face of the ideal of whiteness. What Joseph's relations are doing is blurring the distinctions between colonizer and colonized (Yeoh et al., 2020: 1882) is also crossing the abyssal line between white and black, between existing and non-existent, a process that

questions "the distinctions of difference which maintained the neat boundaries of colonial rule" (Stoler, 1992: 514).

Once again, understanding the dynamics that revolve around the transitions of young descendants of immigrants in Italy involves understanding the impact of their origins in the most varied areas of life. In addition to the general dynamics that mark the types of romantic relationships that young people have, seek and project, what can be seen is that for young people of foreign origin, their ethnic-racial identities are also elements in the construction of meanings, horizons, and subjectivities. Below Danusa, tells us about her romantic experiences:

> So, no, I mean, they're really good, in the sense that I'm... I'm with an Italian, I'm dating an Italian, and... I always had... stable relationships with Italian guys, and it's always been very, until then, difficult because..... you're with a person who often doesn't know, doesn't know a lot about you, you know you don't have your culture, your origins, and the religion you belong to, and.. and my relationship as... as a girl who considers herself Arab, an Italian man has always been very difficult. And... and that's why it was always a little difficult, but at the same time I also always had a hard time relating to Arab men, so [laughs], at least that...
>
> A. Why?
>
> I. Because... the people I have, that is, the men I've met, often have a very different mindset than mine, ahem... and I rarely... man in general all over the world, but willing to, to be a little more elastic mentally, right? There are even more categories in the Arab world than in the West.
>
> A. Oh, yes? What do you mean?
>
> I. In the sense that, uhm... unfortunately the... religious question has become very closely linked to civil society, hasn't it? And then... a lot of occasions if a boy is... he's Muslim, and he believes… a girl who doesn't wear a veil... she's seen in a different perspective than a girl who wears a veil. And so in that category, I'm not saying that all men are like that, no! I've met several others, but unfortunately most are still linked to these categories... here. [Danusa, 25, Palestinian parents, big city in northern Italy, secondary education, first wave]

As we see, Danusa demonstrates the paradox she encountered in her relationships with her identity on the frontiers (Lugones, 1992). The fact that young Italians do not understand certain cultural dynamics in which Danusa participates and the fact that young Arab men have rigid gender expectations and do not understand her construction of her identity as an Arab woman in Italy makes her experience situations of contradiction and discomfort in both groups of men. There is nothing more defining of being between one thing and another (Elliot, 2009; Ince-Beqo and Ambrosini, 2022; Harris e Raffaetà, 2020), of being in a third place (Lugones, 1992), than the process of resignification that Danusa makes between two distinct cultural references. This third place in a way becomes the arena of her gender performativity and her romantic relationships.

When talking about her love relationships, Hannah shows us how the culture in which they were socialized in Italy can be an obstacle in the construction of love relationships. Hannah tells us about the impact of cultural differences between her, a woman who grew up in Italy and her husband who recently arrived in Italy from Marocco:

> Because he was born there, he grew up there, so I was a little afraid of the mentality, and I was also afraid that he would not accept my mentality, right? Me... the fact that I'm independent, that I work, that I have my salary, my car, right? so I was kind of worried, but not because ...

but because I felt these things, right? you know, listen, they say to you: "Oh, but no, but... those who were born in Morocco look, be careful because it's a different mentality" right? they make you a little... [laughs] , instead of him... every now and then I say to him: "But were you born here?" [laughs] ... I... no, no, lucky for me, because okay, besides being married and divorced, my ex-husband was also Moroccan and had come here... he too... he was in Italy for about three or four years and we studied together at the university, we knew each other at the university, and ... instead he was just, different mentality, more closed, more... how to say uhm..., I mean , in the sense it wasn't the one who told me: "No, don't go out", "No, don't work" no. But maybe in some things it was a little closed, so in the end it didn't happen anymore, and we got divorced, then after... a few years I met my husband, but now... I must say that for now things are going well, [laughs].[Hannah, 28, Moroccan parents, small city in northern Italy, tertiary education, first wave]

A. How did your relationship with your husband go this year?
I. Good! Very well. Yes, yes, yes. You do not... we come to the end, right? Which is to say who ... came to meet on both sides, huh? In the sense not only on my side, but yes, yes .... it supports me, that is it. So, this is already an important thing. [laugh]. [Hannah, 29, Moroccan parents, second wave]

[When talking about her husband who is unemployed]
I. We did the opposite. When I was home, he used to work, [laughter] now that he's home ... [laughter]. We help each other a bit, right? Because if there is no help, no, you cannot do anything with him, especially with the child it's difficult... [Hannah, 29, Moroccan parents, small city in northern Italy, tertiary education, second wave]

Having married people who have recently migrated also involves building transnational relationships. Her relationship with her current husband demonstrates that living with transnational relationships based on loving relationships has implications for her experience as an Italian Muslim woman. As we saw above, gender expectations in the culture of origin (Blau, 2015) interfered with Hannah's expectations regarding her love relationships.

Dealing with transnational belongings is also dealing with expectations of different gender roles (Blau, 2015). If, on the one hand, we have gender and race stereotypes being reproduced, impacting their lives in the Italian context, on the other hand, gender ideologies coming from other cultural repertoires can also impact the lives of these women(Pessin and Arpino, 2018).

The fear that Hannah felt could be related to this difference in socialization in different gender ideologies that she will have to deal with. In this sense, more emancipated visions of being women in an occidental context are confronted with more rigid and less gender equal mentalities of men who have arrived in Italy for fewer years (Pessin and Arpino, 2018). Tensions between husband and wife related to gender roles (Goldscheider et al., 2008) in this case gain an additional dimension because they can be based on diverse cultural references that demand different gender performances. The importance that Hannah gives to her autonomy and

her financial and professional independence demonstrates that her socialization in Italy also influenced the formation of her identity and her life path. Despite appearing to have married at young age compared to the Italian data (in the first wave she was 28 years old and in her second marriage), the expectations she has within the relationship demonstrate the desire for an active professional and individual life. Another important element that she shows is that in front of the financial difficulty that her husband starts to take responsibility of childcare.

Laura also informs us about the influence of family cultural background. As will see, this background influences women's reflections, desires, and aspirations in relation to motherhood:

> So it's a whole different system, but it's also a system where... where there's the concept of... female happiness... which always made me puke as an idea, because... It is very distant, that is, they see the man a lot like... the one who goes in search, the one who will make money, the woman who takes care of the comfort of the family, right? So the one who passes, washes, everything at home, then goes to work, and then what else do you want? And... and female happiness would be getting married and having kids... and, there's always the concept of... the day, that is, like, like in American movies, right? "The most beautiful day of my life is my wedding", which for me is a really mind-blowing thing, that is, but what a sadness of life you made if one day... that is, what a bummer! and... so... yeah, let's just say it's a very different world, so I'm something in between [...] [Laura, 28,Uzbekistan origin, big city in central Italy, tertiary education, first wave]

> … my family that reports the values and still makes me understand that it is a different culture both in relation to the role of women, within the family, which is very old-fashioned, it's a big question, so to say. In the sense that there is the vision of the man who works and brings the bread, there is the woman who must know how to cook, iron, wake up early to make breakfast. And that is, it's the mother and here's the role... and the beautiful moment is the wedding and you have to get married at 20 you have to have a daughter 22, 21 and otherwise you're old, otherwise you have problems. That it's a society like that... in which... that's mentally from this point of view, it seems to me that it's quite closed. [Laura, 29, Uzbekistan origin, big city in central Italy, tertiary education, second wave]

Exposure to different cultural beliefs and values influences the formation of attitudes and identity of individuals throughout adult life (Pessin and Arpino, 2018), with gender roles included in this phenomenon. Laura looks with a critical eye at the performances of conjugality and parenting in her home country. The idea of the "*male breadwinner model*" she speaks about, present also in Italy even in a less central way (Murgia, 2006; Magaraggia, 2012; Naldini, 2015; Kitterød and Nadim, 2020), is predominant in the Uzbek expectations she talks about. In this model of gender relations, the woman is the one that need to develop the role of caring for the family and the house. In this scenario man are responsible to provide for the family; he is the one who goes outside the house to work.

When Paola tells us about her opinion about motherhood, the interference of the family in this imaginary is also evident:

> So, I don't even know how, I mean, it's, let's say it's a subject that I never talked about with my parents, more with my sisters, but being like that, as I think, I don't want to have children, but... for my parents they think, that is, for how pe... I mean, I think my parents want to give their point of view [Paola, 24, Chinese parents, small city in northern Italy, tertiary education, first wave].
>
> But more than anything else they are waiting for it right now....their hearts are a little at peace. I mean, it's not something we talk about often, but it's also not like you can force my older sisters to give birth. We are in other times, they understand and know that we are fine as we are. And even though my other two sisters have dated, there's no rush. In other words, they are not in a hurry to have children like they used to, they understand too.... I said: mother, if you want a grandchild, get it... [Paola, 25, Chinese parents, small city in northern Italy, tertiary education, second wave].

Gender expectations cultivated in the family of origin (Carreri, 2017) can generate different expectations in relation to the paths chosen by Paola. For Paola, having a child is not a project, but she realizes that there are negotiations within her family between what the parents want and what they respect as the interviewee's individuality.

In view of the examples above, the impact of the culture received in the family or in the family's country of origin and socialization within Italy is noticeable. The type of struggle or questioning that these young women have in their journeys as women demonstrate that they have "they have access to cultural understandings of gender and family other than those communicated by immediate family, as well as to markedly different institutional opportunity structures than their parents had (Kitterød and Nadim, 2020: 413). It is in the socialization in different ideals of gender and motherhood that generate different agencies in relation to these spheres (Kitterød and Nadim, 2020).

It's possible to say the ideals of motherhood that exist in the life path of the women interviewed are often experienced from two experienced cultural models: a western model and the model of the country of origin. Between these two models, it can be said, there will be similarities and differences regarding the right moment expected for marriage, motherhood, association of gender roles related to parenting, etc. We will see this interweaving of cultural universes next in the history of Danusa in our first and second meeting. As we will see, it is necessary to consider how the cultural background of the family influences the desires about motherhood. At the same time, the Italian cultural context can also bring other elements:

> So, basically yes, that is, I already thought about having children in the future, but because I am... and, I don't know, maybe coming from an Arab family, and... I always saw, I was always surrounded by so many cousins, so many aunts with children and.. mainly in Palestine, right? And so I always... somehow dreamed of being able to replicate what... what I saw.... with the question of paternity, I think this is a bit, the dream of being able to replicate a... a family somehow, even a big one. [Danusa, 25, Palestinian parents, big city in northern Italy, secondary education, first wave]
>
> R. What do you imagine about the future?
> I. And... so I hope, travel, hope, continue doing politics, I hope... I hope to somehow grow and gain a lot of personal-professional experience. But that is, but now I have no other ambitions.

In other words, I do not dream about the life of the "Mulino Bianco", with a family... and everything. I mean, I'm a little more realistic... [laughs] now I think about the next 5 years and then we have to think […] so I don't .... I work a lot with children and that is why I like being with children and that's why the idea of .... being a mother, if I understand the question, one day, no, no... that is, it does not scare me, that is, I would like to be a mother one day. But no, it's not... I don't know. It's…no, I don't see how, an experience that makes you a woman, or a thing that makes you a superhero. That is, it is a normal thing that is part of our life. There are women who have this sense of motherhood, others who don't. Some want to be mothers, some don't. I mean, I don't think that defines you. I get with the kids a lot, having a good relationship with them that I would love to one day. But now [laughs] I can tell you when, how, where, [laughs]. [Danusa, 26, Palestinian parents, big city in northern Italy, tertiary education, second wave]

The "*famiglia Mulino Bianco*" is a strong and recurrent advertisement in the Italian context of a food brand that always shows in its advertisements a white family formed by the husband, wife, and children. Danusa recognizes that her expectations regarding motherhood are influenced by her origins, without, however, ceasing to think about other horizons for her life.

It is possible to observe a distancing of their attitudes towards their mothers and their families in their parents' country of origin (Kitterød and Nadim, 2020). In the generational confrontation between culture of origin and interlocutors, the permanence and cultural transformation of motherhood is clearly perceived. As can be seen, like the gender roles in the previous session, the ideals of motherhood embrace two cultural backgrounds. However, these cultural traditions are not, as Nadim (2014: 1) points out, "merely transmitted to the second generation; instead, they are challenged and reinterpreted". The construction of female trajectories that break with normative gender representations coming from parents' expectations and coming from a different cultural background indicates how rupture and permanence happen. As can be seen, Danusa demonstrates the desire for individual and professional self-fulfillment. The process of socialization in Italy, together with training in higher education, were drivers of horizon diversification. Women, in view of their cultural heritage, demonstrate attitudes opposite to the imaginary of motherhood. The legacy of the culture of origin also falls on men's ideas of parenting:

Ah ok, ok, maybe here I have a ... I have a very different idea from the Italian boys of my age, maybe because I have been contaminated by, by, by ... by my culture, that is in the sense for me to have children is not a bad thing, I have spoken with, even an Italian friend of mine who is very close, and she hates weddings, hates children, hates you ... that is, in the sense, she does not want anything of these things here, and ... okay I tell her: "But you are strange!" that is in the sense ... what do you want to do in life? In the sense, that is, these are also beautiful things, of course ... it's not that if you are a woman you have to have a child that is, it's not this! But in the sense, you say no right away, understand? In the sense, she doesn't even know what it is, but she says no! But in the sense, I am not against this thing, I would like ... in the future. [Gabriel, 22, parents from Bangladesh, small town in central Italy, secondary education, first wave]

Gabriel points us directly to the impact of his origins in the idealization of the formation of a family and the experience of fatherhood. For this young man there is a difference between him

and his Italian friend. For Gabriel, having a child would be a meaningful life experience. The way in which his Italian friend rejects the idea of parenting for him would be unthinkable, which demonstrates a feeling of discomfort between what he learned at home and what he experiences in the interpersonal context with other friends. Another point to note is that, unlike women in which the assimilation of the parents' culture in relation to parenting is normally seen in a combative way, here it is perceived that the young man positively assimilates this value of family formation and parenthood. This phenomenon indicates that the process of assimilation of the culture of origin by young people regarding parenting can have gender difference.

However, as we will see below, in the second wave Gabriel changes his mind about this event in someone's life:

R. And I also remember that on the matter of being a father he also said that in the future... you wanted to start a family... be parents. Have these ideas changed this year?

I. A bit, yes. It's changing now. [laughs].

R. Why? [laughs]

I. Yes... There... it is very demanding to have a family....

R. Tell me about it.

I. Because maybe when I talked about family last year I was only thinking about good things. While now that I also see that my sister had a girl ~~everything~~, man up close or how much do you need to be present, how much sacrifice do you need to make. You just have to make sacrifices. These things here scared me a little, made me change my mind in my statements. [Gabriel, 23, parents from Bangladesh, small town in central Italy, tertiary education, second wave]

The change of opinion after a year demonstrates how the passage of time and the experiences lived in time are important for the redefinition of identities, opinions and values. When he looks closely at his sister's experience as a mother, Gabriel realizes the commitment that one must have as a parent. More than that, the young man says he is scared when he realizes the intensity of what it means to be a parent and how necessary abdication and sacrifices are necessary for the care of a new individual. What Gabriel saw only as ideal from the point of view of a child has changed since he has seen up close the experience of a parent – and more specifically of a mother – in the care processes. The conflict between the imaginary brought by the family cultural background and the sister's reality brings Gabriel a different perception about the formation of a family. The idealization of parenting for men seems to be stronger than for women, who seem to highlight more the impact of this decision on their daily lives, in spheres of work and education and in their time. As we saw above with other examples, there are distinct gender patterns when thinking about parenting (O'Laughlin and Anderson, 2001).

What can finally be seen is a transition in behavior between the projection of values considered more traditional to marry and have children and individual responsibility for what fatherhood would involve. The transition of mentality can be understood as a transition of

identity towards adulthood as it leaves a more impulsive and imagined behavior and becomes an issue to be reflected, thought through carefully and responsibly.

7.4. Final considerations

From what was exposed, it is evident that the patterns of past relationships that established finding a partner, getting married and starting a family as ideals still exist in the imagination of many young people, but they exist in a quite different way. The differences found in this research in relation to this more traditional imaginary are related to two aspects: firstly, with the cultural changes related to the phenomenon of individualization, the increasingly reflected processes, and the changes in gender roles and identities of individuals. Secondly, the role of social transformations at the economic level must be considered, which in this case concerns the possibilities that young people have today of having financial autonomy and being able to project different elements in life, including love relationships and parenting.

The discussion presented showed that young people are at different timings regarding the formation of a relationship with a partner. It was possible to notice that among those who were not in a relationship or among those who were dating, there is a prioritization of other spheres of life such as a professional career and the search for financial stability. The pursuit of personal projects in which academic training and the search for professional and economic stability are prioritized (Chaves, 20210; Smeha and Oliveira, 2013) indicate the remodeling of these young people's priorities. The expectations of young people are so allocated in the construction of their own life trajectories, being the beginning of a relationship or the meeting with a partner something that can occasionally happen, but that is not necessary for the current self-accomplishment. The fact of prioritizing career or educational background demonstrates that the relationship is to some extent seen as an extra commitment or responsibility (Chaves, 2010) that could hinder other spheres of life that would be more important. As we saw in the previous chapter, most young people are in the process of building their professional trajectories and denounce the uncertain circumstances that surround them. This feeling of uncertainty in other spheres can cause other aspects of life to be prioritized, such as the issue of economic autonomy. The centrality given to the professional career in their lives can, to a certain extent, blur the interest of these young people in a romantic relationship. In this way, affective relationships are seen more as an opportunity, as something that can happen, but that will not necessarily happen through efforts aimed at it.

Another characteristic is the way young people live these relationships with a more self-centered view: in the interviews, a need for psychological well-being and self-care was presented, especially among the women interviewed. The transformation of recognizing these situations can, in a way, change the way women live romantic relationships, no longer making these relationships the main objective in life. Women who had passed in their recent past or during the time of the interviews by a breakup demonstrated the need to prioritize self-care and

self-fulfillment over the search for an ideal partner. Although they do not deny the desire of a partner in the future, there is no desire to prioritize this element in life. The cultural changes in relation to gender issues make these women recognize their past trajectories and how they involved episodes of gender violence. As a result, not prioritizing this sphere of life becomes a strategy in search of self-care and well-being.

Furthermore, the priority of self-care indicates the influence of the phenomenon of individualization that can also be found in the space of romantic relationships and parenting. As stated by some authors (Giddens, 1991; Bauman, 2000) the individualization process reduces investment in collective processes. In this sense constituting a family may not be in the interest of these young people, as having a family would mean creating responsibilities never cultivated. In addition, the dimensions of instability in other spheres of life reinforce actions and projections about romantic relationships and parenting in a more individualized way. It is in this context that we can finally state that it is not necessarily that young people seek more individualized perspectives just for a personal taste, but often because they feel unable to reconcile different unfinished, incomplete and contingent stages of their lives with an experience of motherhood that it would need to be intense. Thus, explanations that show the extension of the study, changes in gender roles, transformations in the family model and intensification of intensity are insufficient without considering the structural and institutional transformations (Bozzon, 2021) that prevent women and men from following in their trajectories towards a minimal economic and individual emancipation.

In addition to young people who do not see marriage as a horizon, it was possible to perceive that "finding a partner" or being a parent is still a project for some of the young people. It was possible to perceive that finding a partner could be related to the construction of certain elements in life: to get married or have a stable relationship, it would first be necessary to achieve a greater degree of freedom and financial autonomy. For others, being in a relationship would mean having to follow the chronologization of life stages: dating, getting married, having children. The ideals of relationships that individuals may have "is related to a set of ideas, fantasies, images and discourses to which he has access, in which he is inserted through his family, the media, and the social group(s) to which he/she belongs" (Chaves, 2010: 30). This is particularly sensitive for young people whose experiences are geographically situated in which cultural patterns of traditional family formation and parenting associate entering a relationship with the need to build a family (marriage and children). What all the experiences have shown is that, in fact, the conception of love relationships is built from cultural and historical contexts in which relationship expectations are generated and learned. Still in relation to young people who indicate the desire to have someone with whom to share their lives, for some of them this does not necessarily involve marriage, but other forms of relationship, such as cohabitation. It was possible to observe that these cohabitation dynamics also fall under the same argument of the individualization process, of greater reflexivity.

Finally, there is the phenomenon of presentification and the difficulty that most young people have in projecting horizons. The ephemerality of the contemporary world can for some create a feeling of discouragement and for others it can generate immediate responses. The

speed of social transformations can make it difficult for many young people to make "a long-term investment" (Chaves, 2010) and immediacy is the best way to deal with an increasingly nebulous future. In this way, there is a more realistic way of thinking about projections that involve affective relationships or parenting in which the projects are built in the short term and that can even be modified over time.

As can be seen, the transition to parenthood is seen by all as a decisive experience in life. Among those who do not have children, the experience is thought from the impact of this event on life and how parenthood involves the need for conditions that are not only economic, but also subjective. As already argued, the culture of individualism places parenting as a non-fatalistic project, but one of choice. At the same time, the context of economic instability and the lack of welfare policies on the part of the State make the experience of economic motherhood to be postponed, this postponement being a choice, but a choice based and driven by existing structural conditions. The strong culture of parental responsibility common in contemporary times (Naldini, 2015) which puts pressure on individuals to know how to responsibly perform the role of father or mother makes parenting projects much more reflective. These aspects of intensive parenting and the drive towards individualization are confronted with different cultural contexts and cultural expectations about motherhood and fatherhood. Tensions that your respondents have to resolve on their own. In this sense, we can open space to imagine that even in loving and parental relationships there are gender negotiations in the third social space that combine values, gender roles and ideals of parenting from different cultural backgrounds.

Among the few interviewees who have had the experience of being a parent, women demonstrate a heavy burden of caring for children. In fact, being a parent is a "non-reversible transition" (Naldini, 2015), which transforms interpersonal relationships, daily management, free time, and professional life. Motherhood as a biographical transition is a potential interrupting factor in other life course processes mainly in financial stability and professional path. Although all have been impacted by motherhood, economic conditions and the level of education differentiate the possibilities of agency. There is often still a lack of balance between the way in which care activities are experienced between men and women. As a result, "the gender models implicit in the particular forms of attribution of family roles are, in fact, relevant both for male and female life paths, as well as for the way in which the labor market and the career system are organized" (Murgia, 2006: 55).

Chapter 8
Residential trajectories towards new standards

I see my friends, they are my age, some still live with their parents, even if they have been engaged for years, they can't find stability in life, being adults. [Marianna]

As we saw in the theoretical chapters on the residential trajectories of young people in Italy, we noticed that it is often delayed, or limited by a series of economic, institutional, and cultural factors. Residential trajectories in Italy are tortuous paths for many young people in the face of economic and labor restrictions and the conformities of the residential market, causing many to prolong their stay at their parents' home. In this thesis we saw, for example, that the working and economic conditions of young people can be configured as unstable and precarious trajectories to housing possibilities (Mínguez, 2016; Spanò and Domecka, 2021; Siri, 201; Bertolini et al, 2021; Bertolini and Goglio, 2019). The results in the work trajectories chapter, confirms the scenario already reported in the literature, and would mean to have to lead to a decreasing propensity for young people to leave their parents' house and face the responsibility of a new home. After all, moving out of your parents' house would supposedly mean having to deal with all the budgets of a household and having to completely provide for yourself.

What Marianna tells us perhaps represents the drama that many young Italians are experiencing today in relation to residential independence. As Marianna points out, there seems to be a difficulty for her friends to have a stable life to the point that the extension in their parents' house is something general. Marianna's strangeness in relation to this reality, however, indicates a little of what will be seen in this chapter. As we will see below, the residential trajectories of young people in this research, influenced by the migratory background, will bring a series of new conformations to those we find in the Italian scenario. In addition to the extension at the parents' house, we will also observe the motivations for this extension are related to class issues and different family-young people support. We will also observe something common among many interviewees: leaving home coincides with the arrival of majority or with entering the job market.

As was also pointed out in the theoretical chapter, little attention has been paid in the context of southern Europe, and more precisely in Europe, to the residential trajectories of young people descended from immigrants. Given this gap in the literature, in this chapter I seek to explain the residential patterns found here. From a more holistic perspective in which it seeks to understand not only the event of leaving home per se, but also trying to understand the dynamics that go along with the residential transitions of young people. First I discuss four main trends from my research: the first trend (as can be seen in the table below) relates to how the majority of young people interviewed leave home earlier compared to the Italian average; the second trend looks at the situations of permanence in the house and how this permanence is linked to the Italian context, but innovates by bringing other elements of family relationships

built in cohabitation; the third trend looks at the residential patterns of young people who live in intermediate situations in which, despite having left home, they still have dependency ties with family members. The fourth element found in this research involves the boomerang experience, which consists of the experience of leaving home and at some point, returning to the household. Finally, I also bring the impact of social restrictions caused by the Pandemic.

The patterns among the young people in this research can be an example of the Italian context but with different perspective. In fact, as we will see in appendix A table 7, it is possible to perceive a variability of housing situations among the young people in this research. This diversity imposes the need for a new look at these patterns that young people bring and how these patterns can be related to different issues in their lives: family relationships, cultural background, class issues.

It is important to emphasize that the analysis carried out here take into account the moment of the interviews and the housing conditions of the young people at the time of the research. Therefore, as much as the past trajectory of young people in relation to their transitions appears, the categorization process took place contemplating the current condition of their residential status.

A first interesting fact among the participants is that some of the young people had what the literature calls the boomerang effect (Stone, Berrington and Falkingham, 2014; Arundel and Lennartz, 2017; Cooper and Luendo-Prado, 2018; Olofsson et. al., 2020). Some young people in our research left home and then had to return to their parents' home at some point of their life's trajectories. In this process of returning home, the consequences on the relationships between children and parents are questioned, in addition to the implications of identity construction and spaces of autonomy (Olofsson et al., 2020). In general, before giving space to the interviews it has to be stressed that this process will relate both to economic precariousness and to structural issues (e.g. renovating the house).

A second interesting fact that emerged in this research is that two young people who had a stable relationship and children, lived with their family of origin. In relation to the other young people who did not live with their parents, as we will see, there is a variation of forms of cohabitation: most live with friends and two live with boyfriends/girlfriends. Of those who were households, three were married or in a stable relationship and two lived alone. There is also little variability in relation to residential status in the two waves of research. However, as we will see below, the unalterable picture of residential conformation does not necessarily mean a stagnation in the relationships developed in residential conditions. The social relationships (family, friends, romantic) within these spaces have changed a lot when taking a longitudinal perspective affecting the residential conditions of these young people. These changes, as we will analyse shortly, impact the way young people will experience their life transitions not only in relation to housing, but also to other elements of life such as: employment, stability and financial autonomy and psychological well-being.

8.1. Going against the Italian residential pattern: young people who leave home "early"

One of the most interesting data found in my research is early departure from their parents' home. As we will see, there are different motivations that young people give for leaving their family of origin: the beginning of university studies, the need to leave home for financial reasons, the desire to have greater autonomy. Amongst the young people who are no longer living with their family, most of them point out that they left home when they were 18/19 years old. This data is very important because it reveals a radical difference with the data found in most studies on young people in Italy and their transitional patterns.

Another important aspect is that leaving the parents' house was a decision that, for some young people, was not directly related to entering university. Literature shows that leaving at the age of 18/19 usually happens when young people need to move to another city in even to another country so that they can start their university studies (Cook and Cuervo, 2020; Camozzi, 2022; Marchetti et al., 2022). However, most of the young people in this research leave their family home and go directly to their first job. Among these young people, few reach higher education and, when they do, this process is carried out concomitantly with employment. Faviola below tells us about the experience of leaving her mother's house:

> Eh, everything... so, at first, I was facilitated by the fact that I had my colleague who, uhm... who lived alone too, even though she was eighteen, because her parents were separated... and that's how we lived together for six, seven months. In the meantime, I saved money and then I went to... practically sharing an apartment with... I switched many times, with some friends. And the beginning was not so difficult, one because... I had soon found a job there in <anon> workplace </anon>... and for two years I worked permanently there, and two years because I had this support from this friend, and then from then it was never easy because obviously not... it was kind of crazy, that is, without it, it was me, me and me and that's it, I was thinking about myself. So, when I was twenty-four, I met <partner's name>, who is <son's name> father [Faviola, 29, Colombian origin, big city in northern Italy, secondary education, first wave]

Faviola briefly tells us that leaving home was not so difficult due to the support given by friends, as well as the ease of finding a job. The young woman shows us that interpersonal relationships were an important support when leaving home. Although she tells us about this support, Faviola does not fail to show that in the almost seven years that she lived with other friends, this process was always intermittent in which there were many changes of house. Furthermore, what she shows us is that being able to leave the house was only possible because she got a job that she worked for two years.

While literature (Roberts, 2013; Bertolini et al, 2021; Bertolini and Goglio, 2019) point out that economic independence is seen as one of the preconditions indicated by young people to leave home, which is seen in the case of many participants in this research is that leaving home and finding a job and financial independence from their parents are concurrent. As we will see, in the following, Faviola tells us that, faced with a life path with little financial support

and with little subjective support, the residential transition was a precondition that allowed her to have better living conditions. In this way, leaving home becomes a necessity in the face of the vulnerable situations that many young people can live in.:

> R. Yes, I understand. You said that you arrived in Italy when you were seven years old, what was your life trajectory, what were your experiences since you arrived there?
> I. So... so, at the beginning it was quite trauma... ugly, because I, in Colombia, lived with my grandmother, and I lived in one, another context, that is, I lived in a social environment at home and there were my friends, where I had everything in hand, that is, emotionally speaking. Instead, there was no one here, no, I didn't know the language, but I must say that in a short time I learned the language very quickly, for a year, I already spoke Italian, I didn't need the support teacher anymore. And then let's say the difficulty of growing up until then I went to live alone, I was always within... within the economic limits that my mother had. I don't know, my friends went on vacation and I didn't, my friends had it and I didn't, so it was hard! No? It was difficult to live... with these social differences, because I... then, over time, I realized that my mother always gave me the best she could, but obviously she was a person who didn't... pay rent, staying with a little girl, staying with the house alone, so it wasn't easy [Faviola, 29, Colombian origin, big city in northern Italy, secondary education, first wave].

The history about her mother's migratory path and later hers demonstrate how different elements of class, gender, migration, and family relationships interconnect in her trajectory. The financial difficulties that the mother as a woman and immigrant had also ended up impacting her trajectory as a child who migrated. Faviola's mother financial difficulties meant for her exclusion from the social environment in which she lived. The difficulties of paying rent and being alone with a daughter portray a context of precariousness that many immigrant women may experience. In the first wave, Faviola does not explicitly indicate any experience of violence or marginality, but in the second wave this changes. Faviola, whose main family nucleus was her mother (and later other siblings from her mother's other marriage), tells us in other parts of the second wave of the research that she lived in a context of economic precarity and in a context of relationship conflicts with her mother. In this process, leaving home becomes a necessity, almost an imperative. In the second wave of interviews, Faviola tells us about her migration and how the difficult experience she had with her mother led her to leave home at age 18:

> Then she brought me here to Italy with the hope of being able to pull, that is, to get a new life, to do a job, but she always treated me to me as an economic commitment, "I have to feed you" and so it was until I was 18 that he kicked me out of the house. In all this time, especially in adolescence, I have always asked her "but why don't you love me?". She never hugged me, kissed me. She has never been kind to me. [Faviola, 30, Colombian origin, big city in northern Italy, secondary education, second wave].

Longitudinal analysis often makes it possible fill in the gaps in the narratives between the first interview and the second interview. What she tells us in the second interview is that she was

actually kicked out of the house. This possibility of shaping the paths of young people from the narration of their stories over time demonstrates that Faviola's departure from home took place in the face of a conflicting relationship with her mother and due to the economic conditions, she lived in. As Mitchell, Wister and Gee (2004) point out, the quality of family relationships and the financial support given by them, influence young people leaving home.

She also tells us that, even before being forced to leave herm mothers home she tried to go to England to get a better job and find study opportunities, however, as she did not have Italian citizenship, this event never happened. As we have seen, the intersection of different elements: conflicting family relationships, social class, immigrant origin and not having citizenship lead Faviola to follow a path in which: the young woman leaves home and therefore needs to find a job to support herself; as a result, she is unable to continue her education at the university. It is from this context of conflict and precariousness that Faviola seeks in her relationship with her partner and with her son the construction of a family. The importance she gives to the family – something that was seen in her narratives about her professional choices and about her experience as a mother – demonstrate that her life trajectory is completely marked by the previous circumstances she lived in childhood and adolescence.

An analysis of the life course of these young people makes it possible to understand that both family relationships and the resources available at the time of residential transition (Mitchell, Wister, and Gee, 2004; Zorlu and Mulder, 2011; Flake, 2012; Hochstenbach and Boterman, 2017) and throughout life are strong. However, different from what some studies suggest (Mitchell, Wister, and Gee, 2004; Hochstenbach and Boterman, 2017), financial difficulty appears to be a driver of residential transition. In addition to the issue of social class and the lack of financial and subjective support from the family, another element that was found that justifies young people's leaving home in an "early" way compared to young Italians without a migratory background is the cultural issue. The cultural heritage of the family of origin, as we will see below – and in other parts of this chapter – was one of the key points in explaining the tendencies that young people have in relation to the choice to stay or leave the family home.

> R. I don't remember if you told me you live with your parents or not.
> I. No, no, I was... at twenty-one, twenty-two I... let's say I started to walk a path... a little bit more of, like a mature boy, I tried to... see , let's say what it was like to live alone, and then with time I couldn't go back... live with them. And I think it's also thanks to the mentality that they gave me, that strength to do the things that I took before others... and, let's say, some things that maybe a twenty-year-old boy, who lives here in Italy, that maybe he's used to having all the comforts, a situation a little more affluent, isn't he?... let's say that here in Italy, at thirty, at thirty-two, at thirty-five, you start to say: "I want to go there... live alone!" While he [the father] always told me that, he started... when he was eighteen, nineteen years old, doing everything by himself, but then there were many brothers, then also being older, in any case he had to... give to everyone. .. support of ... of the older brother. So, always listening to their speeches, let us just say I've become like that too, so I'm saying I appreciate the mentality more... that they have, than the one that's here... otherwise I would have gone away in thirty' years. [Joseph, 26, Congolese parents, big city in the central Italy, secondary education, first wave]

For Joseph, leaving home was seen as a transitional milestone towards a path with more maturity. Joseph realizes that his trajectory is different from that of other young people of his age and context: while he leaves at 21 years of age, he realizes that most young people in Italy extend their stay in residence until they are 30 years old or more. The young man is aware that his cultural background and the values that were passed on to him within the family are very different from the values of young Italians. According to him, young Italians tend to stay in the family's home for a longer period to take advantage of a comfort situation.

Therefore, the experience of a residential transition at an early age compared to the Italian average is also related to the cultural background concerning family and residential patterns. Joseph says that his father's trajectory and the cultural values passed on in his family were the examples he used to choose this path. As Joseph tells us, his father leaves home at 18 to support his family and younger siblings. In the face of an extended family, the attributions/burdens would be passed from the father to the eldest son, who must manage all the other siblings. The appreciation of an advanced transition in which, from an early age, the man assumes certain tasks as a way of becoming a "mature boy" would be a legacy of what the father lived through.

Young people interviewed differentiate themselves from Italian youth by giving intergenerational continuity to the cultural patterns of the family of origin, which in this case are not the Italian type. They are young people who learn to understand the transitions to adulthood from cultural references that transit between the culture of origin, the Italian culture and the western globalized culture. What can be seen, however, is that in the face of this confluence of cultural frameworks, they are able to create their own trajectories and meanings of these trajectories.

Another fact that was found is that the residential transition transforms the relationships within the family. This demonstrates that, in a certain sense, leaving home is still an important milestone in building more autonomous and less hierarchical relationships with parents. As we will see below, leaving home appears as the moment when the social roles of family members are redefined:

R. And how was the experience of leaving your parents' house?
I. So they initially... they didn't take it very well, you know they think, "Okay, he's twenty, now he will be back!" Instead with the….,slowly, slowly… because then we were also a little distant in terms of relationships. And after... more or less, almost... five, six months, we started to build a relationship a little more mature, because being the youngest, they see you as... the one who should be protected, you're the little one. ... and instead, now he's built a slightly more mature relationship with them, and I see that they respect my decisions, respect the choices I've made with music as well, respect... and let's just say they understand that... I made decisions... important, whereas before they were a little more... disagreed... about going it alone, the music you... situations that... that so now instead, I really see that they are calling me, they say to me, "Well, how are you? How do you go home? "... it took a while, right? [Joseph, 26, Congolese parents, big city in the central Italy, secondary education, first wave]

It can be said that leaving home is considered by both children and parents as a rite of passage in which there is a change in the relationships between generations (Hochstenbach and Boterman, 2017). Leave the household can for some young people be considered a transitional milestone also for parents: it is the moment when parents realize the limits of their authority in attempts to direct the choice of children. In Joseph's case, his departure was considered anticipated and momentary by the parents. parents, and staying away from their parents' house ended up affirming their position as an independent, responsible and autonomous being that can make their own choices for their family.

Joseph briefly tells us that the relationship with his family was not good when he left home, and that little by little, with the passage of time outside the family, the relationship between them is regenerated. For some young people who have family conflicts, leaving home provides a re-signification of family relationships, in which parents and children to renegotiate positions within the family. Joseph's family did not agree with his choice to live alone and pursue a musical career. However, leaving home seems to have been a determining factor in his life trajectory, as it was from there that the young man managed to make his own biographical choices more respected by his family. This process, as we will see below, is also experienced by other young people in the research:

> R. How is your relationship with your family today [after you left home], would you like to tell me a little?
> I. Aa, I must say well now, since they see that I'm fine, that I'm responsible, we have a good relationship now, but before it was a little, a little difficult, let's say [laughs].
> R. Have you had any conflicts with them?
> I. Yes... because... as I said, my father is very... very old school, very old in the head, I had to think only about Cape Verde, be alone with the Cape Verdeans, and then the thing a little, and it bothered me, but now he understands... much better. [Juliette, 28, Cape Verdean parents, big city in central Italy, secondary education, first wave]

Leaving home is a milestone in the transformation of young people and the family in which relationships of dependence and hierarchy are now marked by greater horizontality and dialogue. It seems that the generational differences and the differences in expectations that parents may have with their children come up against how far the wall of the family's house goes. It is by crossing this home wall that young people renegotiate the forms of relationship with their parents, which emphasizes the idea that leaving home is still an important step in relation to the achievement of autonomy, of free-will, and self-determination.

Among the young people who left home early to work, it was also possible to find a diversity of trajectories. As we will see the non-linearity and reversibility of the residential transition demonstrated in their life trajectories point to a much greater complexity than just a "delayed", "advance" or in time transition. In fact, what the life course of these young people does is to question precisely the transitional paradigm – as well as the milestones of adulthood:

> R. Could you tell me about when you first moved out of your parents' house? How was this

situation?

I. Good. I left for the first time in 2015, because I started working at the <workplace>, with them in <big city in northern Italy>, and then I had to move, I could not take the bus [laughs]. But no, they never said anything about it, because my other sister doesn't live anymore, my other sister isn't married, but she goes to university, in <big city in northern Italy>, and she always, always lived at ... practically on university campus. But no, they... in fact, they always encouraged it, so after the Expo, I went back to live with them for a while, and then with the university and work... because they, we live a little outside of <big city in northern Italy>, so the university was always in <big city in northern Italy2>, the work in <big city in northern Italy> and such... I preferred to move to <big city in northern Italy2>, because it is not that far, eh, I'm an hour and a half away with public transportation, but... a bit of a shock [laughs], with the cold, the snow, the rain! That is, so I would rather live here in <big city in northern Italy2>. Then I came back... after <big city in northern Italy>, I found another job in <big city in northern Italy2> and then, I moved to <big city in northern Italy2> again, met my husband, and then we came to <small city in northern Italy>, that's a little bit that's the summary of my experience. [Hannah, 28, Moroccan parents, small city in northern Italy, tertiary education, first wave]

Looking at the past of young people and seeing how their housing conditions change over time strengthens the idea that the residential dynamics of young people can be fluid and normally accompany the needs related to the trajectory of education and work. As can be seen from what Hannah tells us, her first departure from home takes place at the age of twenty-three, the main reason being a job in another city. Hanna's experience is another example of the boomerang experience in which young people faced with unemployment end up returning to their parents' homes, even if only momentarily. Returning to her parents' home takes place in a period when she was neither working nor studying, something that is quickly transformed when the young woman decides to study and work. It is perceived that returning to the parents' house is a movement of security, perhaps an emergency way out of situations in which economic restrictions appear. It seems that Hannah's boomerang experience is experienced in a temporary way, in which the return to the family home is seen as a natural step towards the continuity of her trajectory. What her trajectory also tells us is that leaving home can sometimes be an event with multiple non-definitive comings and goings from the parents' house.

As we spoke in 2020, Hannah was 28 years old, in her second marriage, had a daughter and was living with her husband. Her trajectory demonstrates that her transitions in relation to work, housing, romantic relationships and the formation of a family happen in anticipated way in relation to what is considered the Italian national average. The studies by Zorlu and Mulder (2011) and Valk (2011) who deal with groups of Moroccan immigrants in other European countries suggest that the departure of young people from this origin is associated with marriage, especially among women. Perhaps the trajectory of Hannah and her sisters is an exception to this rule, since the initial departure from home is related to work or education. Hannah and her three other sisters had the possibility to go university outside the city of origin and the departure of the house did not happen in conjunction with the marriage.

It is important to emphasize that a common fact in all the residential trajectories of these young people is that they did not leave home for marriage or family formation. Probably due to their age and to the incipient paths they started in the world of work or in educational training, these young men and women leave home in search of autonomy in order to continue their educational trajectories or to introduce themselves in the world of work. The concept of class expectations returns in this analysis as it makes it clear that young people who move "in advance" out of the house usually have as their main motivation the need for work or educational training without financial support of their parents. In these cases, leaving home may be prior to entering the job market. In addition, the culture of the family, whether it is more based on an Italian family culture or not, can also influence. As we will see below, young people who are still at home with their parents and are more socialized in the Italian model tends to stay with their parents.

8.2. Specificity of young people with only one foreign parent: reasons to stay reasons to leave

Among young people who had a foreign parent and an Italian parent, it was possible to observe a residential configuration favorable to what is discussed in the literature (Bertolini et al, 2021; Bertolini and Goglio, 2019; Mínguez, 2016) on the conditions of staying in the house of the family in Italy. This finding indicates that perhaps having one Italian parent differentiates the trajectory of these young people. As we will see below, Felipe's trajectory demonstrates that leaving home only happened when the economic conditions permit it:

> R. But leaving home when was it, how was it?
> I. The exit from home took place two years ago. It was a fairly quiet outing, quite serene, yes. We got there not with a tear, but simply because I was now working, the job gave me a salary that allowed me to pay for university, to pay my interest, to pay for my house, just to pay for myself totally and so I said now it's the moment…
> R. You share the house ...
> I. And I went out.
> R. Do you share the house with other people?
> I. Yes, I live in a house, as I said in the interview, the rent is in black because the owners are the parents of a friend of mine; therefore the rent in "cash in hand" means that the price is particularly affordable, 400 euros all included. Relationships with roommates are normal, let's say they are not the people with whom I would ever share a house, if I had to go and choose the person. [Felipe, 29, Tunisian father, big city in central Italy, tertiary education, first wave]

Felipe is a young man with an Italian mother and a Tunisian father. As we see, the precondition for him to have left home involves his financial independence. As already pointed out in the literature (Bertolini et al, 2021; Magaraggia, Cherubini and Gambardella, 2021; Spanò and Domecka, 2021; Bertolini and Goglio, 2019; Brandão, Saraiva and Matos, 2012; Sciolla and

Torrioni, 2018) that studies the context Italian, leaving home among young Italians is often only thought of when they have the economic possibilities to do so. Is interesting to notice that his new residential condition is a cohabitation with multiple roommates, without a legal rent. In the second wave, when talking about his living situation and the possibility of moving in with his girlfriend, it is observed that leaving home to enter cohabitation with a partner may not be seen as an "obvious" path:

> [When talking about how the relationship with the girlfriend was]
> We talked about living together, we talked about many things, but I realized, objectively, that talking about living together in this historical moment would be bullshit, because I'm without a salary, I can't take care of myself, that is, with what assumptions we put ourselves to live together?
> A. Of course, yes, so it is something that could still exist but in the future not yet well ...?
> I. Exactly, also because she was taken to the doctorate, she won a doctorate in <median city in northern Italy>, it's 4 hours, now she is doing it at a distance from <big city in central Italy>, her research is <big city in central Italy>, however there is a doctorate. As soon as I graduate, I would also like to present a doctoral project to some university, so I also don't know if I will actually stay in <big city in central Italy>, besides all I have part of my family who is Tunisian, I would like to go down a few months once you graduate. So, speaking, in practice, as much as we can love each other, as much as we can feel good, etc., talking about living together at this moment seems to me, both to me and to her, a stretch. At the base there has always been a ... the desire to "question oneself", not to take anything for granted, to address all these issues inherent in the relationship, but never, let's say, by side, that is in the sense, never with the desire and the goal that must be like this because in general it is like this, no, but day after day we try to evaluate together how to carry it all forward, that's it.[Felipe, 30, Tunisian father, big city in central Italy, tertiary education, second wave].

Living together would involve financial security, impossible for Felipe at that time. In addition to the difficult financial situation, Felipe demonstrates that individual life plans are not compatible with a possible idea of cohabitation with his girlfriend. From this it can be said that economic constraints, together with the planning of individual lives make cohabitation unnecessary or impossible. The young man points to the need for "one step at a time" without clinging to social scripts of how things should be.

Focusing on the context of southern Europe, Erick's trajectory shows us how precarious working and financial conditions are key elements when thinking about housing conditions. Erick, as we already saw in chapter 6, is a young man who lives in southern Italy and faces great uncertainty and precariousness in his work situation. When asked how he imagines the leaving home process, Erick tells us that it is in the face of financial instability and the uncertainty of his employment trajectory that staying at home with his family is a necessity:

> R. Yeah, what do you want, how do you expect it, when do you expect it [about leaving the household]?
> I. I think this will be when I pass the public tender, because then you have to go to another city

to take the course to become a police officer, so I'm definitely going to live alone. So, I'm doing the public tender, I'm waiting for that. Or also when I do the year of civil service... then I hope to be able to be independent in a year or two. Because it's... with the money I earn now, I can't live alone, to create, because... for example, my contract ends on February 20th. They tell me on the 19th of February if I'm going to stay or if I have to leave. So how can I plan to live alone? Also if I'm saving money, how can I think of living alone if I don't know what I'm going to do on February 21st? Yeah, I want to live alone because.... I know how to get by. I have lived a little alone. Once, when I worked, when I worked out for two months, I lived alone. With the nuns I lived alone so I wish I could do that because I also know I'm 26 and I have to live my life. It's ok, I love my family, but I was supposed to be out of the house, but it's... how do I manage? Here in my city, you leave the house only if you leave a woman pregnant. Because if you expire (?) work is complicated. Very few young people my age have secure, secure work. [Erick, 26, Brazilian mother, big city in southern Italy, secondary education, first wave]

Economic autonomy and job stability are essential for Erick to think about leaving home. Economic issues here do not become a driving force for leaving home but becomes the main reason for staying (Bertolini et al, 2021; Bertolini and Goglio, 2019, Minguez, 2016). Therefore, it can be said that the economic condition, despite being an important factor for leaving or staying in the family's home, acts differently among individuals. As Erick already tells us in his work trajectory, there is a difficulty of stable insertion in the job market, which in turn puts only on the horizon and the possibility of going to live alone. For young people not knowing what will happen later, when the work contract ends, makes any form of planning impossible. It is important to point out, however, that if, in previous reports, the economic difficulty with the family context impels them to leave home, here the economic difficulty with the family context also provides the opposite direction. As a result, it cannot be assumed that financial difficulties directly drive the stay at home.

This insecurity prevents projections, interrupts dreams and paralyzes young people to the point of affecting their psychological well-being. He also tells us that he sometimes loses sleep because he can't integrate stably into a job. He tells us that not knowing what will happen in the future leaves him "always with something heavy on his soul". What Erick reveals us once again is the anxiety that comes with realizing that advancing age is not accompanied by transition at various stages of life. The young man believes that at his age he should have been living away from home, but that, until now, this has not become possible. It is therefore possible to interpret that the young person already feels that, due to his age, leaving home is more urgent. Leaving home is a step that would indicate the arrival of autonomy and, despite being desired, it has not yet been achieved. Staying in the parents' home is therefore experienced with regret as it is associated with a situation of dependence and uncertainty. That is, despite having life courses considered non-linear, here it appears that young people aim a linearity and are aware of the chronologization[40] of life stages. This awareness of transitions that need to be lived can even be a reason for anxiety. Many young people can feel stuck in certain stages of life because

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[40] By chronologizing life stages, I mean the process in which individuals and society associate age with entering different stages of life. This process commonly associates right or wrong times to make a transition in life and may also believe that transitions are happening late, in time or early according to a person's age.

the existing structural conditions – in this case, job uncertainty – do not allow freedom to carry out these transitions, let alone to plan these transitions. Erick's experience joins what literature (Andrade, 2010; Bertolini and Goglio, 2019; Spanò and Domecka, 2021) already points out about the scenario of young Italians: the feeling of uncertainty is allocated because they feel at a crossroads (Pastore, Quintano and Rocca, 2020) in a place of lack of predictability and precariousness.

Once again, the geographical aspect matter: given the precariousness that affects many young people in the context – young people in southern Italy without higher education– leaving home only exists and happens when it is obliged, when it depends on an unplanned pregnancy. That is, in addition to the economic difficulty in carrying out the residential transition, Erick tells us that leaving home can be compulsory for someone who may experience an unplanned pregnancy. Hence, it is assumed that there is a much greater normativity in how young people should follow their trajectories in relation to transitions: according to Erick, in his social context, a unplanned pregnancy marriage may be directly compulsory.

In the second wave, Erick manages to fulfil one of his job desires, which is to work in the "*Servizo Civile*" abroad. The young man who moves to another country in south America starts living in a shared house with other program interns. It is important to point out that for Erick, leaving home also happens when he leaves the country. When he tells us how this experience is going, he says he is incredibly happy, although there is a great attachment to the existing family context:

> R. Now that you are two months away from home, what is that experience like? Can you imagine going back to your mother's house?
> I. Actually... I share the house with five anyway. Let us just say maybe I'd rather stay home because it's a mess here. everyone has their own idea, having... that is, each one is... has their own habits. It's difficult to merge and find a deal. Especially in these ten days of quarantine. There is a little tension in the air. But I... I mean, I think I can resurrect one adapted to everything. Like, when I was in Brazil with the nuns, when it was still a completely different experience or when I was in... six months to study, from home... but it's... any situation. I haven't tried living on my own completely on my own yet, but I'd love to. As here I am learning to cook. Why....yes at home I can't get close to the kitchen. [laughs]. At home... at home I can find everything ready, anytime. So, you don't need to cook. Here instead I cooked yesterday, I'm cooking. [Erick, 27, Brazilian mother, big city in southern Italy, secondary education, second wave]

Cohabitation for Erick with five other people has been a very difficult experience. It is understood from what he says that living with other people in a more individualized life is felt by him with many difficulties. The departure from a more collective and familiar space to a more individualized space is felt by Erick, who reveals his desire to return to live with his family. Analyzing the two waves, the departure from home imagined by Erick is not simply leaving the family home to live with other people, but rather leaving home to live alone or with a partner, something that still has not happened. The structure he finds outside the house is

different from the one he found inside the house also in relation to household chores: if before he did not participate in household chores, in this new residential circumstance he begins to take on basic caring activities such as cooking. This demonstrates that leaving home in Erick's experience was a way out of a situation of dependence on household chores to a situation of having to deal with these tasks. This negative experience confirms that Italian cultural values of strong family ties influence their trajectories (Andrade, 2010; Bertolini and Goglio, 2019; Spanò and Domecka, 2021).

Another example of staying in the parents' house is Maria's. Maria is 29 years old and as we know she is finishing her master's degree and at the same time she is on the first wave of research working as a volleyball instructor and dance teacher. Maria, who remains at her parents' house, tells us what it means to be at home for her. The young woman recognizes, to a certain extent, a place of privilege in the face of the economic and social resources that have been passed on to her:

> So, I can say that in a way, despite all the difficulties, what I always felt is... a great feeling of gratitude, you know? Because even with the difficulties that I'm having to face now, because unfortunately my father's problem is a problem that has existed for many years, right. he has a disorder that unfortunately recurs. And then [silence] there are different phases of this... of this disturbance that he has, which also lead to a series of consequences in the system of the house, right, because it is a small biome, so to speak. Where one leaves, the other has to adjust, right? So what I always felt for myself is that I always had a good life, I was always lucky. I never lacked health, food, anything, none of that. And I think this is fundamental [Maria, 29, Brazilian mother, big city in central Italy, tertiary education, first wave]

Maria comes from a family that can be considered middle class in Italy. The father is a engineer who works as a researcher at the university; her mother has a degree in psychology in Brazil, but after becoming a mother, she preferred to stay at home and focus exclusively on caring for her daughters. Maria tells us that the comfortable economic context of the family allowed her mother to have this possibility of choice. This contextualization of the family environment is essential because it allows us to understand the motivations for staying in the parents' house.

Maria however tells us that the family atmosphere is not always pleasant due to her father's mental health condition. The characterization of your family nucleus as a biome can refer to the idea of a stable collective in which adaptations are necessary. Despite recognizing that in her life at home these adaptation processes were due to her father's mental health condition, Maria recognizes that she always had support to carry out her life trajectories, being in the family home one of these. What can be seen is that despite the discomfort and conflict with her father, Maria chooses to remain at home. As we will see in the second wave, this choice of staying at the parents' house even in a situation of conflict or discomfort is justified by a duality:

R. I understand, in this case, you are now living with your mother and have the prospect of

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staying there or do you want, I don't know... that was something I didn't ask, can you imagine, leave the house, your mother's house at some point?

I. Ah... anyway... Let's say: my life plans, right? Because I'm one of those who was 17 years old, I'd already drawn my whole life. I already had all the plans there. Then the chopsticks were moving in a slightly different way, anyway [laughs]. Yes... I would really like to leave the house if I were to live with my partner, with my boyfriend. I really wish it were like that. But let's see, right? Me at this current moment, they... at work, you know, they want to increase working hours, they want to increase my salary, anyway. Let's say, I'm comfortable here, right? I am in my mom's house. Not that she helps me.... So, it's like two people are living together. because I cook my food. Sometimes I ask if she wants something. She cooks, she does the laundry and I iron the clothes. After all, it's a collaboration, right? No, there isn't... I'm not here and she cooks for me and does everything for me. Got some help. I don't know, we, for example, we had created one, a tradition that has remained until today, that every Friday I make "pizza day". It's the day we have dinner together. [...] Yes. And then I make a pizza, which is a pizza that I usually make with tapioca flour, or with flour...let's say with tapioca flour because it's my favorite. It could also be manioca... yeah...as long as it's gluten-free, or low-gluten. And then I make my pizza, and my mom makes hers, because hers is traditional. Then there are times when she is dead, tired, passed out on the couch and I'll roll out the dough, prepare the pizza, anyway. So, it's a nice collaboration, you know? It's not...nah it's: oh I'm living with my mother and... well. I am 29 years old, I'll be 30 in April, right? So... as much as I would have liked to be living with someone already. In the case with a companion, with someone. Because this condition doesn't exist, right, at this specific moment, I'm here, I'm fine. To anyone who might think, "ah, comfortable situation." It sure is, right? Because it's my mother, not a strange person. We fight, we understand each other, we disagree. But with the increase in my work, which they are wanting to move me from part time to full time, who knows, maybe that doesn't give me a bigger margin, right, and I can evaluate. But seriously, I wouldn't want to leave the house and leave my mother alone to go live with someone, with an acquaintance. Or with a stranger, you know? So, it's a little... I'm going to graduate, let's see how it evolves with the work. But... yeah, I have a hard time imagining leaving here and living with three people I suddenly don't know. [Maria, 30, Brazilian mother, big city in central Italy, tertiary education, second wave]

In our second meeting, Maria tells us that her father left the house where they lived all together. First, the previous planning that Maria had for her life is perceived as slowly fading away. Desires for a more linear path related leaving home to cohabiting with a partner, a process that does not fit in with the reality she lives. For Maria, it does not make sense to stop living with her family to live with other people. This opinion of Maria reveals that, to a certain extent, there is continuity in the thought that leaving home only makes sense if it is accompanied by the formation of a couple, of a life together. Maria even reveals the desire to be cohabiting with a partner and when commenting on this she once again indicates the weight of the chronologization of transitions in the lives of individuals. If this stage of life is not fulfilled for her, there is no sense in going out. Unlike other young people here the family culture is more similar to the Italian family culture type in which cohabitation with the family is not seen as a problem until a stable union or marriage takes place.

The generational difference pointed out by Rumbaut (2004) traces differences in the way of conceiving the family space and cohabitation with the family. Maybe young people with

at least one Italian parent tend to absorb Italian cultural traditions more strongly on the issue of residence. The socialization in Italian culture may have been much stronger for Maria (just like it was for Erick and Felipe) since she has an Italian father. The association between leaving home and economic comfort and leaving home to start a family, despite not being the majority, demonstrates a more normative view of transitions (Bertolini et. al, 2021). In addition, young people can follow the Italian trend of having the family as their main support space (Andrade, 2010; Bertolini and Goglio, 2019; Spanò and Domecka, 2021).

For Maria continuing to live with her mother is not a problem because for her is like living with a housemate. This would indicate a transformation in the relationship that parents and young people may have in their family contexts. The details of daily life with the mother point to a different construction from more traditional family relationships: there is an organization of life based not on collective but on individual timing. The dynamics that occur in the living space show a relationship of independence in the family residential environment. Despite still living with her mother, she is an active agent in the dynamics that involve the house in which her individuality and her way of constructing time are also respected. Maria insists on stating that "despite recognizing her comfort situation", the way in which her relationships with her mother are managed and the way in which the house is managed indicate she is an independent woman.

Young people who often live at home with their parents seem to be in an intermediate process in which some spaces of autonomy and individuality are created while still living with the family. This phenomenon is considered as an "intermediate" or "ambiguous" living arrangement in which traces of independence and dependence are found in the conditions of residence of young people (Gil-Solsona, 2022). In the light of interpretations by Magaraggia, et al., (2021) the young woman sees herself as an autonomous individual in which relationships within the domestic space are woven in a less hierarchical way.

Young people, as we can see, create strategies to deal with this situation. For Erick, staying in the first wave was a strategy that avoids social exclusion in a context of precarious work (Andrade, 2010; Bertolini and Goglio, 2019). In the second wave, leaving home was only possible because there were working and living conditions that allowed such a transition. On the other hand, for Maria, the more individualistic (individual schedules) and collaborative (in relation to household chores) coexistence means that living with her mother is not perceived as a situation of dependence. Staying at home is not a negative thing as for her it would be a way to be able to live comfortably and at the same time "take care" of her mother. However, regardless of the structural and biographical conditions, the strong element that emerges is the association of leaving home with the formation of a marriage or stable union, this transition being perceived as "delayed" by both young people. For Erick, the economic situation is the condition of leaving home so that they can also think about marriage. In Felipe's case, his agency in relation to the housing issue is always the objective in which he tries to deal with financial constraints. In the second wave he became unemployed and the possibility of going

to live with his girlfriend is not seen as an obvious path given the precariousness of work and the individual aspirations of him and his girlfriend. For Maria, who has relative financial independence, finding a partner would be a prerequisite to leave the household. In line with the data found by Zorlu and Mulder (2011) in other contexts, the difference in the generation of immigrants seems to count in this case: the young people who most resembled the Italian pattern of residential conformation were young people who have a foreign parent and the other Italian. A "mixed" background seems to bring these young people closer to the national standard (Zorlu and Mulder, 2011).

8.3. The migratory background as a differentiating element in staying at home

As we saw in the table at the beginning of this chapter, there are few young people interviewed who continue to cohabit with the family unit and there are even fewer who have never had any experience of having lived outside the family home, not even for a short time. I will analyse young people who still live with their parents trying to show how this is influenced by the migratory background. As we will see below, Marianna, a young man who has a partner with whom she has a daughter, tells us that she had to return to her mother's house due to the restructuring of her own house. Before returning to live with her mother, Marianna says that her first departure from home was a bit dramatic because this event in her life was also marked by her culture of origin:

> R. Okay. How did it go when you chose to leave home? You lived with your mum and then you went to live, you said, also in England. How was leaving the house?
> I. Drama,
> R. [Smiles]. Do you want to tell?
> I. The first moments, then and there you feel a liberation, because you come from another culture that is a bit fanatical, so the woman must get married soon and all these things. The fact that they let me go and live alone in a state, I was a little surprised.
> R. [Smiles].
> I. But from what I later understood, that my family members knew very well who I was and they had faith. There and then it was bad to greet everyone, but the fact of going to a country alone, of trying to make it on your own, without asking for help, was stimulating, it really raised me as a person. Even though I later returned to my family, it helped me a lot. [Marianna, 28, Albanian Origin, small city in central Italy, secondary education, first wave]

Leaving home can be a dramatic moment in the lives of some young people, especially if their cultural background imposes norms on how to make this transition. Emancipation from the parental home therefore has a double effect, emancipating also the relationships between young people and parents that are allocated in a more traditional sphere of parental relationships. For her, leaving home was a transitional milestone and a break with the cultural expectations of the family that associated leaving home with marriage. As we can see, leaving the family home has gendered and cultural specifications (Zorlu and Mulder, 2011; Bernhardt et al, 2009), and it

requires intergenerational negotiations amongst families. This perception in the way of carrying out the residential transition strengthens the thesis that young people in this research are challenged by different cultural references regarding transitional milestones to adulthood.

As we will see in other examples, the family is an important reference in the way young people will carry out their residential trajectories. In Marianna's case, leaving home is marked by strong social ties in which social expectations are validated by the family or the social group in which one is inserted (Zorlu et al. Mulder, 2011; Windizio, 2011). The events of an individual's life are surrounded by strong social norms and values, (Windizio, 2011; Billari and Liefbroer, 2007), that tend to control the moment and the way of carrying out these events. From the concept of linked lives (Elder et al, 2002; Elder and Giele, 2009) it is understood that the events and transitions of young people is relate to the people with whom they relate. In this sense, the family nucleus and the community in which one lives become strong spaces for validation of how events can happen. Marianna's family's reaction to the event of leaving home without being married demonstrates how social values and norms connect these events (Windizio, 2011) and demonstrate how social norms dictate the "correct" or better way to make the transitions. (Billari and Liefbroer, 2007).

This departure from home, however, takes place at a time prior to our research. During the first and second wave, Marianna returns to her mother's house. Faced with the restructuring of her house, she decides to return to her mother's house, a moment that coincides with the moment of the pandemic:

R. Last year, if I'm not mistaken, when we talked you were living at home with your mother, because you were renovating the house, correct?

I. The same, we are still at home with my mother, because it is always due to the pandemic that we delay and block the work in the house, then the 100% bonus law came out, and now we are waiting to do it through one, which on the one hand was favorable, on the other hand not because we are still here.

R. Ok, that is, you say favorable because of the bonus.

I. Yes, let's at least save a little on that.

R. Of course. And from the point of view of family management, how was this year at the house of... with your mother?

I. [sighs] A little weak. I see her too, but she's happy to have us at home and all, but it's normal for her to come home working all day and would like her peace of mind, let's say, and with a small girl, then with five people at home, it is not that we have so much tranquility.

R. Excuse me, there are five of you because you are at home, is your brother... is your brother also at home?

I. Yes, but currently my brother's girlfriend also came, so we are 6, so it's a little... but no, it was... let's say when we were forced to stay at home, it was also ok because we had found that one harmony of the past, of old families, just to say "what are we going to do at night? Let's play cards, watch some movies"; you know when you have freedom, don't you? One goes out, the other goes out to eat, like that. So it was a little rediscovered, but after 2 months it got frustrating too, but no, let's just say we did well.

A. But you said it's a weak point, because maybe your mother wanted some...

I. Yes, so she, like, if we complain to the child that he doesn't want to, we fight a little with these things, then he gets obsessed with order, with cleanliness, so much so that even when I see a toy

out of place, she just takes it badly, and there's also a discussion about it. [Marianna, 29, Albanian Origin, small city in central Italy, secondary education, second wave]

Marinna's return can be considered as one of the examples of the boomerang experience. As we see, the return home does not happen with the end of the relationship, but with the need to restructure the new home. For individuals who marry (or have a stable union), have children and leave home, the propensity to return to live with relatives is very low (van Hook and Glick, 2007). However, this situation can happen in the trajectories of young people who are divorced, who are unemployed or in financial difficulties (van Hook and Glick, 2007; Olofsson et. al., 2020). In Marianna's case, the main reason for her return to the family home is the restructuring of the house. In the second wave, she tells us that the Pandemic has slowed down restructuring. The prolonged and forced stay during Pandemics made Marianna and her family adapt to this new reality. The return to the mother's house became "a necessary solution for an unwanted situation" (Olofsson et al. 2020: 920). The relational dynamics within the family space, as we can see, have been altered, in which the dynamics of authority and independence are called into question (Sassler, Ciambrone and Benway, 2008). Conflicts with the mother over the organization of the house and child care point to tensions in this process of "forced" cohabitation. Returning to the mother's house at this point in life can be conflicting, because they imply re-signifying positions of authority and autonomy within the living space. For Marianna return to living with family members, even if it temporarily impacts both her relationship with her mother, as well as the dynamics of her relationship:

> R. What do you expect from the house you are imagining together?
>
> I. Peace, because we are two people... it's ugly to say monotonous, but we like our intimacy, our things, our rhythm. When you live with other people you also have to follow their rhythm, wake up anyway more or less all at the same time, if you want to eat we have to eat all together. We, being that we already tried to live together in England, and we found ourselves as a couple, that is, we had our own rhythms, so a little bit to our old life, with our rhythm, with peace, because my husband is a super quiet, he doesn't like to scream around the house, instead with my mother and so, she is more fiery, screaming louder inside the house. [Marianna, 29, Albanian Origin, small city in central Italy, secondary education, second wave]

The different dynamics of organizing a house and the different timings between Marianna's family nucleus (she, her partner and daughter) and the extended family nucleus (Marianna, Marianna's mother, partner, daughter, brother, and brother's boyfriend) transform the space habitation and the relationships that are inserted there. There is a difficulty in reconciling different life timings, different ways of organizing daily life. This would demonstrate that returning home after the formation of a family can often be conflicting as it involves the need to reconcile diverse ways of living the residential space. Faced with a need, intergenerational coexistence, although provisional, generates impacts on the construction of this woman's life.

As stated by Zorlu and Mulder (2011), be in the family household or do the residential transition affects the housing situation and family relationships.

Research (Mitchell, Wister and Gee, 2004; Van Hook and Glick, 2007; Zorlu and Mulder, 2011; Flake, 2012) has already observed that among immigrants and their descendants, there is the constitution of intergenerational residential arrangements in which different family nuclei of the same family cohabit. According to Flake (2012) multigenerational cohabitation can be generated by two aspects: multigenerational cohabitation as a choice due to a cultural preference; the forced cohabitation generated by an economic constraint. In the specific case of immigrant families, another element that appears to explain this pattern is that forced cohabitation is influenced by the consequences of the migration process (van Hook and Glick, 2007). As we can see, there are several dynamics that involve choosing to stay in the parents' house, and for Marianna, the return is for a structure issue. Although she tells us that leaving home was indeed marked by the cultural element, her return would be temporary.

Another example of multigenerational cohabitation is that of Ben. Ben is a young married man who has a daughter and continues to live in his parents' house. Though we met only once in first wave of interviews, the young man tells us about his residential condition:

> R. Do your parents live in Italy today?
> I. Yes, yes. My parents...
> R. Do you live with them?
> I. Yes, I live with them, with my wife and daughter.
> R. What relationship do you have with your family?
> I. Er no, it's good... very good but uhm, er... my problem is just that and... I'm an only child, so I always had that attention, that concern, always... so many things that ... what I wanted to do I got, I couldn't because anyway I always felt a little bit so to say.
> R. Would you like to move out of your parents' house?
> I. No, the... no uhm, not that! That's the truth, no!
> R. All right.
> I. Because anyway, the relationship with my parents, with my family is very close.
> R. I understand. How is the relationship between your parents and your family?
> I. Um, um, yeah, yeah, all right, yummy. The only thing is that anyway... uh being anyway, my wife is Moroccan anyway... ... er and so we are, we are Muslims. [Ben, 26, Moroccan origin, small city in southern Italy, secondary school, first wave]

It is not a problem for Ben to continue living with his family of origin, even after a family formation. On the contrary, he tells us that until that moment he had no desire to leave his parents' house. Although we are not able to use culture to justify staying in his parents' house, what can be seen is that even after two transitions considered essential for adult life, Ben remains in his parents' house. His experience also demonstrates that the linear sequence of leaving home, getting married and having children cannot be generalized. As we will see, the

family is the main space of subjective support. When asked if loneliness would be an issue for him, Ben demonstrates the value he places on his family:

> R. I understand. Is loneliness a problem for you?
> I. Like uhm... like I said before, I was lucky that my family is here, but I know a lot of people that loneliness really hurt them, because having... um, having a family, having. . . ... not having anyone, having everything on the other side, blocks you a lot, hurts you a lot. I only see, I have my parents here, I have my wife, I have my daughter, but when we hear, for example, from a relative, from a person who didn't make it and you can't be there... you can't being there... it really hurts you. No, no, you don't change them, no, it's not that you bring it back to earthly life, but it's still there. [Ben, 26, Moroccan origin, small city in southern Italy, secondary school, first wave]

Bolt 's investigation (2002), points to a pattern of Moroccan and Turkish couples cohabiting with the family in the first few years after marriage. Bolt (2002) proves that cultural values along with structural dimensions (economic status of the couple and the family, real estate market conditions) influence the choice to stay with relatives even after they are already married. Also, according to the author, traditionally in the life course of individuals of Moroccan origin, it is common for individuals to continue to live in the home of their husband's parents after marriage. This cultural tendency perhaps explains why it is not a problem for Ben to stay in his family's home and why he also has a strong bond with his parents. What we see in Ben's example is that staying in the family home is much more due to the strong intergenerational ties between him and his parents. For Ben, leaving the house is not a desire and staying doesn't seem to be a problem. Here the family is thought of in a broader way that involves not only the individual family nucleus (wife and daughter) but also involves their parents.

Following the question of the impact of culture on residential settings, the social inscriptions contained in the parents' reference culture can differ from the culture experienced in Italy. As we will see, there is a negotiation in the lives of young people between what they have witnessed in their parents' culture of origin and what they have seen in Italian culture. This can be seen in Laura's reflection on how, on the one hand, the life trajectories of young people are constructed in Russia (the country where the family lived) and how the life trajectories of young people are constructed in Italy.

> Ok, I... the Russians in theory also finish school early, so they don't have the university like... like here in Italy, there if... you fail an exam several times you are out of university so, if you start doing it, you do well, it lasts three years at most, then at most you have a master's degree, but with twenty-one, at most twenty-two, you are out of the school system and you are one person who immediately goes to work, who doesn't stay at their parents' house, goes to look for their own house... they all have children in their twenties, thirties, usually thirties and usually become grandparents around the age of fifty… and... so it's all a different system, but it's also a system where... where there's the concept of... female happiness... which always made me puke as an idea, because... I'm very separate, that is, they see the man a lot as... the one who seeks, who, who will win, the woman who takes care of the comfort of the family, right? So the one who passes, washes, everything at home, then goes to work, and then what else do you want?

And... and female happiness would be the fact of getting married and having children... and, there's always the concept of... the day, that is, like in American movies, right? "The most beautiful day of my life is my wedding", which for me is a really mind-blowing thing, I mean, but what a sadness of life you made if a... that is, what a bummer! And then I'm in the middle, I think in my opinion staying up to forty at your parents' house is not the thing to do. Yes, I'm at my mom's house, but I pay the mortgage, so it's not like I'm not doing anything, I mean, I've paid since I was eighteen and I keep paying, I always kept helping, and... without having the system of "I get my mother's thirties allowance to go play "*birrino*" with my friend", no, this for me is really mind-blowing, and... and above all you also see people who maybe.. . are grown up now, that they are... twenty-five years old, that they are... and they don't understand what money is worth, and they don't understand what it means to earn and pay bills and do things to... own responsibility, yours... yeah, for me this is mind-boggling, but yeah, it's full here. [Laura, 28, Uzbekistan origin, big city in central Italy, tertiary education, first wave]

Laura's words show how culture impacts the way she thinks about transitions in life. On the one hand, we would have the Russian cultural example where the life course is linear and rigid in which the passages from one condition of life to another are strongly chronologized by age. Finishing school, finding a job, leaving home to marry, and starting a family would be the sequential steps in building an early adult life in the Russian culture. On the other hand, we would have the Italian example in which young people have a greater dependence from the household and end up postponing leaving home. Laura recognizes in her reflection two normative forms that associate age with a right or "ideal" time to leave home (Billari and Liefbroer, 2007). Between these two universes, Laura realizes that both fit into patterns of traditionalism based on diverse cultural backgrounds. Laura recognizes that in addition to the transitions having different chronologies, the way of behaving and performing these transitions are also different.

Laura considers these two cultural universes as opposites and tries to negotiate her own space. She believes that despite living at her mother's house, she is an independent person since she has been working and contributing economically at home since she was 18 years old. The young woman reports that despite living with her mother, she considers herself different from other contemporaries who live in Italy. This way of facing these cultural realities demonstrates, to a certain extent, a more individualized agency that takes on these cultural frameworks and acts in them building a patchwork of cultural patterns found in these frameworks.

In our first conversation, in 2020, she told us she was living with her boyfriend and her mother in the same house. But before living with her mother and boyfriend together, she had her first experience of leaving home at the age of 19:

R. How was the experience of leaving your parents' house for the first time?

I. So good and bad in a sense. Well because... I had autonomy and I was looking, I had independence and I was looking, because before it was: "And until you go to work, you can't be right", I said: "Okay, I'm going to work", "Until you're eighteen, you can't be right," and what, what is that? "As long as you live under this roof, you can't be sure", I said, "So you know that? ... I'm right…". So, there was satisfaction on that side there, also because I was nineteen, so I

had the character a little uh! So... washing... the washing machine was more difficult than I expected... always shopping, organizing these things, anyway... it was more tiring than I thought, than I imagined, it was really nice in a way... because... anyway I lived in <big city in central Italy> so all my friends could visit me, while I usually always lived abroad... I always go somewhere, on the other hand when I lived downtown, everyone went home and I was happy.[Laura, 28,Uzbekistan origin, big city in central Italy, tertiary education, first wave].

In addition to reaffirming the pattern common to the people interviewed – that is, leaving home earlier in relation to young Italians – the young woman tells us how leaving home was an important transitional milestone not only for her, but also for her mother. According to what she says, leaving home and having financial autonomy was a transitional milestone that changes from a condition of obedience to a condition of autonomy and individuality. For Laura, leaving home led to an ambiguous experience: on the one hand, there was a big impact from the obligations she needed to have in relation to household chores. Leaving home meant a change in the way of organizing the routine of young people, in which, along with emancipation, there are also duties, commitments and responsibilities that must now be managed individually (Sassler, Ciambron and Benway, 2008; Roberts, 2013). On the other hand, leaving home implies greater freedom and autonomy.

After a year and a half of living with her boyfriend and other roommates Laura decide to live at her mother's house. This informs us that leaving home often may not be a definitive event and that it may be reversible in the lives of young people. Due to economic restrictions, returning home can be the solution to deal with the situation of uncertainty:

Then, he [the boyfriend] was managing a bar, but it didn't work out very well, so in the end... I proposed to him to come live... in this house, with... with my mother precisely [...] so in short, we've all lived together for... seven years, not six years, that is, it's ok in short, something like that, and... the relationship is... quite calm, that is, my mother is a very young mother ... as is normal, even in Brazil I think, in Italy it is not so normal, and she is 53, and..
[...] The mothers of all my friends are over sixty years old, that is, I know... For me they are almost grandmothers, for them they are mothers, so it's a slightly different concept. So, anyway, relationship is more serene because maybe you can change clothes, chat, look at the same thing... not listen to the same music, but in short, it's... quite easy in that sense. [Laura, 28,Uzbekistan origin, big city in central Italy, tertiary education, first wave]

In addition to the reversibility (a boomerang case) in Laura's experience, it is also possible to perceive an unusual fact: for a long time, she lived with her mother and her Italian boyfriend. This demonstrates that residential arrangements can be diverse and can change over time. In Laura's specific case, the boomerang experience seems to have been due to her boyfriend's economic conditions rather than her own. The returning process doesn't seems to be a problem to her and appears more like an occurrence that does not seem to harm her self-perception as an autonomous individual. Here, theories of the life course approach are combined with studies that try to explain the boomerang effect. If, on the one hand, it is stated in the literature (Stone, Berrington and Falkingham, 2014; Arundel and Lennartz, 2017; Cooper and Luendo-Prado,

2018; Olofsson et. al., 2020) that economic restrictions are the main factors for young people to return home, here it is clear that this phenomenon occurs more due to her boyfriend economic conditions. As we saw, Laura's agency took into account the economic difficulties faced by her boyfriend. This affirms the interconnection between agency and how it is embedded in relational contexts.

Another important element revealed is the intergenerational relationships. One of the justifications that Laura brings about a good relationship between her, her mother and her boyfriend is the generational justification. For Laura, the good coexistence among her and her mother is given by the possibility of her and her mother being able to share similar tastes, to be able to live other life experiences together. From Laura's example and Maria's example (mentioned in the previous paragraph) is possible to say that young people build and negotiate their adult identities even while cohabiting with their families. For Laura, economic independence, the assumption of responsibilities over the house and the generational proximity to the mother allow the construction of less subordinated family relationships. These ways of relating demonstrate that young people are "active agents" (Sassler, Ciambron and Benway, 2008; Magaraggia, Cherubini and Gambardella, 2021) within the domestic space, as they create their independence processes while still cohabiting with the family. The process of assuming responsibilities within the shared domestic space, a more independent relationship between households' members and economic support given by young people to the house maintenance (Sassler, Ciambron and Benway, 2008) appear as differentiating elements in the construction of autonomy and sense of adulthood. Returning and staying at home is not seen as a problem, as for her the biggest problem would be the financial and housing dependence that many young people would have in Italy. However, as we will see below, the end of Laura's relationship changes the entire dynamics of the house that transforms family relationships:

A. Let's talk about your family. I remember you live with your mother, right?
I. I do! I live with my mother, that's right. So after the breakup my mom was really offended by my ex... I mean, it seems like she's more offended than I am on this thing. He... he went back to work because he was laid off until a month ago or so. He started working again for about a month. But now it seems to me that I'm starting to suffer a lot from the fact that I work a lot and after work and I don't want to talk, at most I want to go out with someone and more. So, she feels very neglected. I think it's also because she doesn't have a social life, she doesn't go out, she's fine at home and so, I don't know, she seems to have demands on me. Until yesterday we fought, I didn't even understand why I asked her for a ticket to go to <big city in central Italy>, so I went with her card instead of paying and she stopped me: "where are you going?" In <big city in central Italy>. "Yeah, but if you have to treat me like a roommate, just say so." What happened? That is, that the problems… I didn't understand anything, but it seems to me that she feels so careless that she would like me more and I can't give more and that's why she gets stressed. Before when my ex was around it was easier because she would talk to him anyway, they spent time together so I was freer to mind my own business. And now this part he gave her has fallen on me… I don't know what to make of it.
A. But what do you work for?
I. She works as a maid and housekeeper at the hotel.

A. All right. And this is the job she's always done? If I remember, right?

I. In the last 20 years, yes. Previously, she was a military paratrooper and accountant.

R. Wow. And you think you're leaving, from your mother's house or not?

I. The problem is, I pay the mortgage here...

A. How is it?

I. I am paying the mortgage here. I mean, it's a little problematic, because the house is in the name of both of us.

A. Oh, okay.

I. Yes. And the part I am paying, she couldn't pay on her own. That is, I don't know how to... make her keep herself alone, it's impossible. So, I have this financial constraint and I can't get another house keeping the financial constraint. I mean, I don't have that much money, unfortunately maybe I would already be somewhere else, but then I'm forced to stay here and forced to lend a hand. And therefore, I will have my freedom from the moment we decide to sell this house, but it's still too early to sell it. I think it's at least 5 years to pay and have well.... the deposit for a new house. But even there I don't know how to do it because I would have to take two houses and I wouldn't know how to do it with the dog, because I can't physically alone with the dog. I don't have time to go out so often and .... So, I have that I somehow adapt to this situation. [Laura, 29, Uzbekistan origin, big city in central Italy, tertiary education, second wave]

The end of the relationship had consequences in her personal life, but also in her family dynamics. In the first wave, Laura saw her mother as a "roommate" in view of the similarities between the two generations, but in the second wave, the mother is bothered by this "roommate" treatment. It seems that the construction of individualized trajectories within the family clashes with the subjective needs of the family member who does not want to be seen only as a stranger. Laura's mother feels stressed by her daughter's absence from home, lack of communication and care. The organization of individual agendas and separate spaces caused, in Laura's case, a situation of conflict with her mother. The difficulty of dealing with the mother's needs in the face of her own individual needs indicates that staying in the family space can generate conflicts when young people seek to have a more individualized daily life (Magaraggia, Cherubini and Gambardella, 2021). In Laura's case, her way of managing her daily life – between work and social life – indicates a space of individualization that is strongly felt by the mother. This demonstrates that there are limits when thinking about building cohabitation relationships in which parents can be seen completely as equals.

When asked about the possibility of leaving home, the sense of dependence is in the opposite direction. She realizes that at this moment, even if she is employed, leave the household would be a risk given the financial commitments she has. The cohabitation with her mother involves the construction of independence in a context of duties.

The dependence that exists within the family - usually referring to the financial dependence of young people (Andrade, 2010; Scabini, 2000; Brandão, Saraiva and Matos, 2012; Berrington and Falkingham, 2014; Sciolla and Torrioni, 2018) - can occur not only from the child in relation to the parent, but from the parent in relation to the child. When young people become active beings in the maintenance of the house, co-dependency also arises

through the parents' bias. In other words, the picture that Laura presents us is that living in the parents' house does not always mean children's dependence on their parents, but the opposite can happen, when parents subjectively and financially depend on their children (Van Hook and Glick, 2007).

Another example that makes the difference in the dynamics found here is Gabriel's. Gabriel is a young man who in the first wave was 22 years old. The young man tells us that he does not feel prepared to leave the house because he still feels very dependent on the family space:

> R. Have you always lived with your family in your life?
> I. Yes, yes.
> R. What do you think it's like to leave your parents' house?
> I. Hmm... difficult because in the meantime I don't know how to cook! Just one thing! So, I'm not, at all, ordained, that is, I'm... I must say that I'm very dependent on the family not only for money, but also for the whole organization, everything. [Gabriel, 22, parents from Bangladesh, small town in central Italy, secondary education, first wave]

Gabriel is the youngest respondent in our research. He tells us that leaving home is not something he imagined yet, given the dependence he has on his family. Dependence on household chores, food, and cleaning are some of the elements that the literature points out as the difference between those who stay and those who leave the family home (Roberts, 2013; Berrington and Falkingham, 2014). In fact, leaving the family home means having to deal with commitments that involve their own economic maintenance and care, so the maintenance of the organization of the house and of oneself. In this sense, the subjective and material resources given by the family make Gabriel still feel very dependent on the family. It is interesting to note that in the interviews this type of dependence did not appear for women, which may indicate the gendered difference in the types of dependence that young people may have with household.

This dependence on everyday life and everyday care, as we will see, remains in the second wave. Gabriel, despite having found a job consistent with his educational background, tells us that staying at home is still a necessity:

> R. Now going back to the second... the second change you told me is the house. They bought a new house, so now you are living with your parents. Tell me a little bit about how this, this change happened.
> I. I. Well then. We've been renting for many years, so we decided to buy a house because... Yeah, okay, we're going to pay the mortgage, but he's going to need that mortgage to buy the house. While now the money we ask for is practically wasted because the house is not ours, understand? Therefore, it is cheaper to buy a house. And we're not working because when you buy a new house you always have a lot of things to do, furniture, paint walls[…]
> R. But that's okay. Yeah... in this new house project you're going to spend some time at your... your family's house, yes?
> I. I do.
> R. And do you have plans to go out, leave the house or not?

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I. Well! I mean... well, with the work I do, I'm going to spend not much time at home. Yes... I live more in the hotel than at home. Maybe I'll stay home for a week a month like this, you know? And maybe, we'll see later. When I change jobs, we see. In the sense... being, being there for my parents is also important because my parents don't speak very well. So, if they have to go to the doctor, I have to take them, or my sister mainly takes care of these things. But every now and then I must do that too. So, they also don't know how to go to the bank. I must accompany them. My mother to go to the bank... because they are not self-employed, I have to... that is, we have to do almost everything by ourselves. And so, if I leave, the problem isn't money, it's that you have to help with a lot of things besides money. So I feel embarrassed from that point of view. [Gabriel, 23, parents from Bangladesh, small town in central Italy, tertiary education, second wave]

Gabriel is not yet planning his residential transition away from home. He follows a more traditional path in which he associates leaving home with the formation of a family. What would partly explain the lack of concern about leaving home would be age: as pointed out by Bertolini et al. (2021: 200) among younger people "it seems that leaving their parents' home is often not perceived as an urgent need, but rather as an idea that they have translated into a more practical plan when involved in a stable relationship". Another fact that stands out once again is the influence of the migratory background in his trajectory. What Gabriel tells us in our second interview is that he also has duties and commitments in various domains of family organization. According to literature data collected by Bolt (2011) extended families are particularly prevalent in Bangladeshi migrants in the British context. Although we do not have many studies that delve into this theme in the Italian context, related to housing trajectories of this particular group, what we see is that there is an impact of the migration process on Gabriel's stay in his family's home. From what he tells us, the family is a point of support for all family members. The literature points to intergenerational support as important in all societies but based on different dynamics: in the West it is common for economic family support to come mostly from older generations towards younger generations (Andrade, 2010; Scabini, 2000; Brandão, Saraiva and Matos, 2012; Berrington and Falkingham, 2014; Sciolla and Torrioni, 2018). In the Western context between the countries of the North and the South, it is noticeable that family support is much stronger in the countries of the South, especially regarding economic aid and residential issues (Albertini and Kohli, 2013; Gal, 2010). In addition to the older generations becoming the main support, another source of support would be that given by agents between the youngest and the oldest, considered the "sandwich" generation [41](Albertini et al, 2022). Gabriel informs us that the purchase of a new house made it necessary to stay in the house with his parents. In the second wave, he stops being just a graduate student and starts to work and help with household expenses. Studies usually point to a one-way dependence of the children in relation to the parents (Andrade, 2010; Scabini, 2000; Brandão, Saraiva and Matos, 2012; Berrington and Falkingham, 2014; Sciolla and Torrioni, 2018), our data demonstrates that there

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[41] Faced with the increase in life expectancy today, the contemporary family format changes and with it the support dynamics as well. According to Albertini et al. (2022) the sandwich generation would be a group of individuals who are already middle-aged, who have older parents and who support their adult children.

may be a relationship of co-dependency in which the roles within the family space are implicated by the migration process. It is therefore important to understand how in families of immigrants where there may be economic and social vulnerability, staying at home can be an alternative that the family uses to increase the total family income (Angel and Tienda, 1982). As pointed out by Van Hook and Glick (2007) the types of family arrangements of immigrant families often arise from demands that involved the process of immigrating and not necessarily from cultural preferences. In addition, the propensity for cohabitation between adult children and family members is often due to the division of responsibilities within the home that may or may not involve family income (Glick and Van Hook, 2002).

Additionally, Gabriel is tasked with helping parents in other spheres of life that are not within the family space. Gabriel's parents are first-generation immigrants who arrived in Italy as adults. His parents, in addition to being on a low income (the mother is a housewife and the father worked illegally in a factory for a long time), have difficulties in inserting into Italian society due to language difficulties. The migration trajectory in Gabriel's parents' lives affects the entire family organization. Gabriel says he needs to stay at home to help his parents in everyday activities outside the home (i.e. paying bills, going to public offices, dealing with document issues). The challenges that parents face as first-generation immigrants can fall on their children depending on the adaptation they have had in the arrival society.

Hence, leaving home may not be a priority at this time, considering that the roles assigned to each family member lead to a relationship of co-dependency between the members. Understanding the household as a place for building bonds and relationships in which social and economic resources are shared (Landale, Thomas, and Van Hook, 2011) for all family members makes Gabriel an important element within his family. As we can see in Gabriel's example of the immigration phenomenon show that "families are not only a source of values conveyed across the generations but are also a resource for immigrants in their adaptation to their place of destination" (Bernhardt et al, 2009: 128). In this case, cohabitation exists not only when parents need to help their children, but also when children need to help their parents. The residential situation of the young person is therefore related to the degree of assimilation of the family and to the social and economic resources that the family may have (Landale, Thomas, and Van Hook, 2011). The greater or lesser degree of dependence of parents on their children in different aspects can generate residential patterns very different from those found in the Italian average. Studies carried out in the American context (Bolt, 2002), for example, show that family co-residence is a strategy used in which family members contribute more to the household. As we see here, both Laura and Gabriel contribute to the household in several spheres. In this sense, it is possible to question how the agency of these young people in the domestic space, in the sense of responsibility, can be considered a much stronger transitional milestone than leaving home itself (Magaraggia, Cherubini and Gambardella, 2021).

8.4. Intermediate situations: the complexification of residential patterns in Italy

Despite having been a minority in our research, it is possible to affirm that some young people follow more literary what is portrayed in the literature (Gil-Solsona, 2022; Billari et. Al, 2008) as being the intermediate pattern of residence in which the young people are not completely inside their parents' house and not completely independent living alone or with a partner. Within our research, it was possible to find intermediary situations in which young people, despite not living with their parents anymore, were still in a situation of relative dependence. This phenomenon is known as the intermediate residential pattern arrangement (Gil-Solsona, 2022; Arundel and Ronald, 2016; Billari et. Al, 2008) would involve an arrangement in which the young person no longer lives with their parents but is still socially and economically dependent. These are young people who are semi-autonomous in the sense that despite wanting to and having left home to study, this process takes place depending on the family. Despite this pattern of residence is commonly found in northern European countries (Gil-Solsona, 2022; Billari et. Al, 2008), it can be found also in the Italian institutional and cultural context with some peculiarities.

Rafaella's trajectory is an example of a young person who leaves home but who still has a relationship of dependence, mainly financial. Rafella tells us that she left home at the age of 17 due to her university studies in another city. This process, as reported below, was accompanied by cohabitation with her boyfriend:

R. With your parents, this leaving home, how was it?
I. Good.
R. It wasn't...
I. Summarizing, let's say on the one hand considering that obviously they were very scared, but on the one hand they were also happy because I was coming with my boyfriend, according to them, being also... […]
R. All right.
I. It was, in short, that they could feel safe with this thing... because I would never get involved in terrible things......
R. [Smiles] On this thing.
I. Yes, the fantasy... and so this thing here [referring to the relationship with her boyfriend] calmed them down a little bit, I don't know. It's sad to think like that, but it's true, it's the truth, so <anon>boyfriend's name</anon> is older than me, so just this thing that...
R. It made them feel calmer.
I. Yes.
R. And have your relationships changed?
I. No, we talk often too. My mom writes to me all the time, calls me all the time, then she only lives for an hour and a half, every weekend, anyway, sometimes we come back. So many... I still have my residency there, even my boyfriend, the doctors, all these things here [Rafaella, 23, Albanian parents, big city in northern Italy, secondary education, first wave]

Rafaella tells us that leaving the house for her was a step that she had wanted for some time and that her parents took it in a calm way. According to the literature (Bertolini and Goglio, 2019; Bertolini et al, 2021; Mínguez, 2016; Stone, Berrington and Falkingham, 2014; Murray and Gayle, 2012; Andrade, 2010), young people leave their parents' homes to be more independent and to be able to trace their own trajectories. However, in Rafaella's case, her autonomy is relative since there is a strong bond with the mother. Also, in her case "independence from the household" is sponsored by her parents. Despite the residential independence, there is a dependence, even if this dependence is on a subjective level. In the second wave of interviews she tell us that the delay in her studies ends up generating new high economic expenses which makes her start looking for a job. Rafella tells us how this situation was received within the family:

> R. Okay, why are you being held by your parents right now?
> I. Yes, especially from my parents. That is, apart from this contribution they gave me from the… it was always two thousand euros, so they were always useful to me for a few months. Yes, supported by my parents, I work for <anon> Name of person who works </anon> from time to time but it's just to get some extra expenses like this.
> R. Okay, for them, let's say, was that a problem? It was a cause of friction between you or me...
> I. No, I called them, crying because I was desperate and then he got mad because he has a little (...) money, that is, he thinks that money is useless; however, at a certain point, he says to me "look, for another thousand or two thousand euros we won't be poor or rich", as if to say that "damn"...
> R. Not to worry!
> I. Yes, that is, they are very afraid that I will be anxious because they know people who have children who are anxious, who (...) family nuclei for a person who committed suicide for this life, for (…), to capture the anxiety, he was always agitated, always like that and now he is...
> R. To the University?
> I. As?
> R. Was this person worried about the university?
> I. No, this person was bigger, just this thing, that life [smiles] (...). "You can graduate whenever you want", she reassured me a lot, my mother too, besides the fact that when I came back they said "you have to stop not looking at these things, you have to be more careful", and she is right because I always do, cheat, deadlines, I'm not very careful, I admit, and I have to start taking care of my own things, I admit. [Rafaella, 24, Albanian parents, big city in northern Italy, secondary education, second wave]

As we can see, there is a management of life that is mainly done through the family. Despite Rafaella living far from her parents and living with her boyfriend, economic dependence is still present. The way parents receive the delay in their academic trajectory leads us to understand that the family does not only have an economic management of young people lives, but also a psychological/subjective one. In this sense, although the transition away from home has been made and although a transition to cohabitation with a partner exists, this does not necessarily mean a more independent and autonomous life, both in a material and subjective sense. The support that parents give at this point in their lives demonstrates that the residential transition

as a milestone for adult life is relativized when more complex forms of dependence are encountered. For some young people there is a conditioned autonomy since, despite having made some transitions – in this case the housing transition- they are still studying, they are not in job market and they are financially dependent on their parents. This subordinate situation lead to conditioned transitions in which the dependent situation is a prerequisite to achieve other dimensions of autonomy. Although in Rafaella's case, the young woman did not return to her family's home, and only returns on holidays or vacations, it is possible to say that her case is what in the literature can be defined as "living apart and together" (LAT) with parents. As pointed out by Billari et. al (2008: 626) these young people "live part of the time with their parents and part of the time away from their parents" and normally have their official residence in their parents' house. The LAT condition with the parents can even be reinforced by the institutional dynamics related to the expansion of the duration of studies.

As we will see below, for Diego, leaving his parents' house was done because of university studies. Because of the Pandemic, the young man return to his parents' house, but he tells us how his experience of living abroad was:

> A. You have lived your student life to the fullest. What was it like leaving home, and what was it like coming home? Because now you're in <median city in central Italy>, right?
> I. Yes, I am in <median city in central Italy>. It was a really cool experience to live, because you completely disconnect from your family despite being an hour and a half away, not that much, but you become much more independent. Even if it's trivial, you don't have to ask if you can go out at night, you have to buy your own food, make your day, because you can't sleep all day, you have to want to wake up, study, go to lunch, create a routine. After staying a week or two you still miss home, and then comes the urge to go back.
> A. How often did you return home before lockdown?
> I. I happened to be there for two weeks, but I would say once a week, on the weekends I almost always went back, on Fridays, and maybe went out again on Sunday or Monday. [Diego, 23, Tunisian Parents, median city in central Italy, secondary education, first wave]

In the first part Diego points out that despite being close to home, he managed to create a relative autonomy from his parents in relation to daily life: being able to leave the house without having to ask for permission, organizing his own schedules according to his own needs. The experience of leaving the family, even if provisionally, makes him experience other dynamics in which autonomy and responsibility need to be put into practice. As we saw in Diego's example, leaving the house for him meant that there was greater freedom in relation to his routine and, at the same time, he spent more time with household tasks. Therefore, these momentary home experiences end up creating moments of "training" in which young people truly experience an autonomous life away from their parents.

However, there is an ambiguity in what he says: although he appreciates a more independent life outside the home, coming home brings him comfort. Despite living away from home, he continued to go constantly to the family home on weekends. It is suggested that Diego also lives an intermediary situation in which, despite living away from home, there is still an emotional dependence on his parents. As he states in another moment, the choice of his university course was partly because the university was not so far from his hometown. This

phenomenon is considered by Gil-Solsona (2022) as the experience of a double-residence that consists of living away from the parents' house during the week (mainly for study reasons) and returning to the family's house every weekend. As pointed out by Gil-Soldona (2022), one of the biggest reasons for living in double residence is to be carrying out university studies. In this condition of living away, but also living at home with their parents, many young people who still depend on their parents end up returning to their parents' home after finishing their education.

The condition of being in an intermediate situation often indicates that young people have not actually "left home" but are only temporarily living abroad (Gil-Solsona, 2022). This phenomenon in which young people leave home to study, but constantly return to the family home would be a demonstration that, despite experiencing leaving home, there is still an attachment to the family, whether this economic attachment or subjective.

Furthermore, betting on double residence can be considered a way of dealing with uncertainties and making the transition of housing happen in a smoother way in which young people slowly take on new commitments, but that parents can continue to offer financial or sentimental support. The economic dependence of the parents and the dependence on household chores and the burden of running a house can generate this situation of being between two models of living. As we will see in the second interview with Diego, the "multi-residence" framework in fact ceases to exist during the Pandemic. The young man tells us that due to the Pandemic he had to go back to his parents' house. He tells us in 2021 how after his extended stay at the family home he plans his next steps:

> R. …and listen, apart from, let's say, the lockdown, these things here, and apart from let's say, that you feel comfortable also like saying... you found the... a beautiful coexistence with... with the family. Have you ever thought or are you thinking that... in a little while you will want to leave the house, anyway, to get back "my apartment", have you thought about it in this period? I. Yes, that was a very strong thought, because it was put aside for a moment because we decided to buy the house that... that we use now, the house where we are, so I focused more precisely on getting things done for the house, buy this house here, and then, in the future, for sure, think a little about myself and go... go do something else and leave, also because I'm waiting, just to, that is, putting some money aside eh.. . and for now I continue anyway in this work here that is temporary, that is, I chose just to... occupy my days a bit, and since I don't live alone, the... the salary even if it is a little low, because obviously it's not that you do a job that you know is tiring or something... the salary isn't very high, but for me who live with my parents, I don't have a lot of responsibilities on... on my shoulders, to say that ...that's good enough to think of something better for the future. [Diego, 24, Tunisian Parents, median city in central Italy, secondary education, second wave]

Leaving home again is a desired plan for the future and not for the present. Returning to his parents' house after the Pandemic became his new residential conformation, which means that he also starts to have a boomerang-type experience. The emotional and financial dependence that was previously present is now undeniable. The reversibility of his trajectory points to an experience away from home that can be called a "test" experience since even before, being away from home was always temporary. In this process, facets of independence and dependence

are articulated and create a non-linear picture of these trajectories. Now, Diego goes sporadically to the city where he studies. Despite having lived a residential trend considered to be more individualized and less linear, he continues a certain Italian pattern: staying in his parents' house becomes a way to save money, a way to organize himself better. In this plan, the possibility of a permanent residential transition is reserved for the future.

The few responsibilities for Diego is a condition of comfort that allows him to think about leaving home without haste. Thus, it is noted that the extension of stay in the parents' house is a tactic for him and it is not seen as a problem, but more as an opportunity or something that he considers normal. Waiting for an ideal moment to make the transition follows the Italian trend that, when leaving home is imagined or when it happens, it usually comes together with economic security.

From another perspective, the situation of dual residence can be felt by other young people who experience co-dependency. As we see, for Paola, leaving home and coming back on weekends to help her parents at the restaurant was an important transitional moment in her life:

> R. Is this your first experience living outside your parents' house?
> I. No! No, when I was in Venice I had a house there, but I used to come back on the weekend to help.... that is, to help my parents at the restaurant, so I spent a year abroad.
> R. Oh yes, yes!
> I. ... so it has been practically since, it's been since... that is, practically for many years I've also lived alone or with other people.
> R. How were those experiences?
> I. E, very good! I understood a lot... from other people, from other traditions and I also understood a lot about myself, what I want to be... and also the fact that I'm here now, let's say it's a little more a time when I can think about me and not, the moment I have to do something is related... it's linked to my family or the fact that maybe I have to work in a restaurant or work shifts with my other sisters , so I don't know. It's a time when I can... dedicate to myself, to myself, to myself. [Paola, 24, Chinese parents, small city in northern Italy, tertiary education, first wave]

Unlike Diego, who is dependent on an emotional level, for Paola returning to her parents' home is more of an obligation, an activity that she needs to develop to help her family. These two different patterns of returning home may show that the LAT situation may also be related to the dependence of the parents, even if it is in the sense that the daughter has responsibilities within the family.

Paola tells us that leaving home, even if only during the week, to study in another city, made it possible for her to create autonomy in relation to her family members and in relation to the family business. She has lived away from her parents' house for a long time, but she always had to go on weekends to help with the family business. However, unlike the other young people mentioned above, Paola has a relationship of financial co-dependency: working with her parents means financial help for her and her family.

The dynamics of dual residence can therefore be the opportunity that young people have not only to "train" for an adult life of responsibilities and freedom but also to create an

independent space within family cultures that do not foresee this type of dynamic. The diversification in the ways of cohabiting ends up impacting the cultural heritage of the family of origin, as the young woman gains the opportunity to experience things other than those related to the family. As we can see, these residential conformations point to an "erosion of traditional biographical scripts" (Gil-Solsona, 2022: 4).

8.5. The lockdown effect on young people's residency conditions

Despite not being the central theme of this research, it is impossible not to talk about the impact of the pandemic on the housing conditions of the young people studied. The COVID-19 Pandemic has transformed several instances of life, including the housing condition. In the Italian context, due to the strong restriction measures, home became the main place of sociability and construction of everyday life. From inside the house, the main activities of study or work were carried out; it was within forced cohabitation that family or friend relationships were impacted; it was within a labor and therefore economic restriction that the guarantee of a home was questioned. The restrictions that the Pandemic brought were many and changed the way young people lived their daily lives at home. As we will see below, the pandemic has had an impact on relationships within the domestic space, on housing conditions and on the possibilities of independence in this sphere of life. The pandemic had the ability to bring two processes to the fore: the first process concerns the deepening of precarious situations and worsening of living conditions. For some young people, living conditions prior to the pandemic may have worsened. In this sense, we are talking about intensification of pre-existing conditions (Gouveia et al., 2021). The second process triggered by the Pandemic is that it can generate new circumstances, causing young people to have to reformulate their residential behaviors in the face of restrictive measures.

The domino effect of pandemic restrictions:

For young people who were already living outside their parents' house, the restrictive measures caused a "domino" effect in which the impact of the pandemic restrictions generated a change in the housing situations and in the quality of life of the interviewees. As we will see below for both middle-class and lower-class youth, the restrictions arising from the lockdown transformed housing configurations and, with it, psychological well-being, and material security:

> R. Do you live alone?
> I. I now live with a friend of mine.
> R. Oh, okay.
> I. Before alone, however... given the COVID, we couldn't afford the expenses, so we moved in together.

R. And how was this situation, the fact that you've been home since February?
I. The first lockdown was difficult, from February to May we were in confinement. It was very difficult, because three months without knowing how the situation was, what was going to happen, more than anything else it was the money that didn't come in, because in other countries, dismissal comes, it doesn't come in here. I received... the day before yesterday, the June layoffs...
[Juliette, 28, Cape Verdean parents, big city in central Italy, secondary education, first wave]

As we saw in the chapter on work trajectories, Juliette is jobless in the first wave of the Pandemic and after that she finds it difficult to return to the job market in a satisfactory way. Since the first lockdown, March 2020, she was no longer receiving a salary and the direct grant from the government for the month of June 2020 had only arrived for her in November 2020. Faced with financial difficulties and the uncertainty of what would happen in the lockdown, she decides to go live in a friend's house.

The idea of suspension of life caused by the Pandemic in 2020 gives us a false sense of immobilization. If on the one hand there was a standstill in work activities, transportation, and services, on the other hand people had to continue their lives in a world in suspension. For those who did not live with their parents and for those who did not have financial support from their parents, being unemployed became a risk of having nowhere to live. The uncertainty that the pandemic brings involves several aspects of life in a cascading effect: staying at home is having to stay out of work; to be without work is to be without income; to be without income is to have your independence condition suspended; given the lack of financial autonomy, other parts of life are affected and among them is housing. Despite having been a momentary circumstance of moving house, Juliette in the second interview explains to us what happened in the years 2020 and 2021 in relation to her housing situation:

R. That I wanted to ask you. You now live alone, yes?
I. Yes, yes.
R. Last year too or not?
I. Last year I was supported for a moment by a friend of mine. Because, because of the fact of the pandemic that we were in, we found ourselves in a situation a little... shall we say, that we didn't know where to go. Her aunt had a house, but she was... seeing the pandemic she stayed down there, I don't remember where she lives. And therefore, she had an empty house. She said "if you want to stay there in the meantime and until you find a place". And so much so that she had, let's say, the rug in the house... it was well maintained, clean. Someone who checked this too and so I stayed there for a few months.
R. Then how long have you been alone?
I. Of .... August, July, August. [Juliette, 29, Cape Verdean parents, big city in central Italy, secondary education, second wave]

After a year of our conversation, her living condition changes: she manages to find a place to live alone after spending almost a year and a half at her friend's house. At and manages to rent

a separate room in a house. Juliette's account helps us understand that the Pandemic was a moment of rupture in her trajectory in which the impact of being unemployed and the impact of having to stay at home interfered with her housing conditions and, to a certain extent, her future projections. Juliette's desire for the future is to leave the city where she lives and go live in a quieter place where she is more accepted. Juliette tells us that it is in view of the plan to leave the big city that she preferred at that second moment to rent only the bedroom and kitchen, so that she could save money.

Another example that demonstrates the transformation of the housing condition among young people who already lived outside the family home is Alex. Alex is a young man who in 2020 was 25 years old. He tells us that his departure from home took place between his 23-24 years of age. Due to a particular situation his parents divorce, Alex has the desire leave the household and at first begins to cohabit with other roommates. After that, the young man decides to go live alone in the historic center of his city. In the excerpt below, he tells us how his relationship with his parents changed after he left home:

> I. But in my opinion it has improved, it is more sincere, it is more on the same level, there is no longer necessarily that relationship that is established between parents and child, which in any case... we are people who can now talk about much more things, with much more sincerity, also about relationships, that maybe before at home it was much more difficult to talk about your personal relationships, both with your parents and with your children, whereas now if we have a coffee or lunch together, this thing here is very more natural because we are not connected by a thread that is shared abode, so you see me more rarely, but when you see me you are more willing to talk to me about how you really are.
> R. And does this apply to both your parents?
> I. Yes, yes, yes, yes, both, both, both. [Alex, 25, father from the United States, big city in northern Italy, tertiary education, first wave]

For Alex, leaving home was a milestone for the change in the type of relationship he had with his parents. Once again what appears is that leaving home is an important step in the redefinition of roles in the relationships between parents and young people (Stone, Berrington and Falkingham, 2014; Hochstenbach and Boterman, 2017). The search for autonomy and leaving home made the relationship between him and his mother and father more horizontal, in which dialogues that were previously unimaginable took place today in a more serene way.

However, the Pandemic completely transforms the condition of living alone. As we will see below, due to the restrictions of the Pandemic, the young man was led to work from home, and this transformation in the logistics of work was the key moment to understand how his home life developed in the years of the research:

> I. Now, though, in this little quarantine situation, living alone wasn't that feasible, in part because I didn't have the tools to work from home, so now, here, I'm back at my parents' house, so with my mom ...
> R. Okay, now you've been quarantined with your mom.
> I. Yes, because I needed a working internet line and I don't have one at my house, because I

haven't signed a contract yet, so I said okay, I'll do that before I get home, I have the tools and I'm not alone, because after the first 2 days of quarantine I said to myself "hey, this living alone thing can also be a little heavy", so I moved again [Alex, 25, father from the United States, big city in northern Italy, tertiary education, first wave].

Alex's boomerang experience - even if momentary - was largely caused by the pandemic. The young man tells us that the decision to live alone came about both from the desire to live alone and from the economic possibility of doing so. In 2020 due to the structural circumstances of work, he decides to return to his mother's house. The young man was struggling to continue teleworking in face of the bad internet quality at home. Furthermore, Alex also reveals to us that the other motivation to return was related to the repercussions on the psychological well-being of the lockdown. The pandemic creates moments of exceptionality in which young people, who were already experiencing sentimental and financial independence, return to the home of a family member due to personal needs. The Pandemic expands the sense of loneliness and makes the young man feel the need of not being alone in this case, the family becomes a space of safety and emotional support during the months of the lockdown.

Returning to his mother's house was a strategy he found to be able to resolve the social effects that the isolation of the pandemic brought. If, on the one hand, in Juliette's example, we see economic restrictions influencing housing conditions, on the other hand, mobility restrictions transformed Alex's housing condition. The desire to go live alone indicates a more individualized agency in relation to housing prospects that is undermined with the arrival of the Pandemic. The desire to live alone took other directions because of the pandemic as now the domestic space has become the only habitable space. In the second wave of interviews, Alex tells us that the situation of smart working, which was once momentary, became the new rule of her work even after the end of the restrictive measures. Alex then tells us what it was like for him to go back to living in his own house and at the same time having to work smart working:

> I. In other words, I'm not the guy who has a house in the open country, who if it's sunny, beautiful, he goes out. I live on 50 square meters; I was in the house of one of my parents the last time we did the interview.
> R. Yes, yes, from your mother yes.
> I. That there was a small terrace, so it's not right that I could still stay there now, so I already had an apartment for rent at that time... I set up an internet line, but it's a 50 square meters place, so there is no sun, no light and when you are closed at home, you are closed at home. In smart work even for periods that last up to 3 months, in work that is based on 8 hours of work, it means you spend a lot of time at home and when I rented this house the plan was: it is small but it is functional and in any case work 8 hours at the office and then having a lot of other commitments outside of my job means that home is a place of passage for me; while, on the other hand, from being a place of passage as was my initial plan, it became a hard core of all my daily life. [Alex, 26, father from the United States, big city in northern Italy, tertiary education, second wave]

In the second wave of interviews, Alex tells us that the housing situation and the teleworking condition that extends beyond the lockdown situation deteriorates the psychological condition and the housing condition: living in a small apartment and being that space to develop all spheres of life. life for him is exhausting. The seclusion in just 50 meters of apartment leaves him in a constant situation of stress and precariousness. In addition to the precarious condition brought about by COVID, in other passages of his interview he tells us how his housing condition changed during the pandemic: first he says that he went to his mother's house and spent a few weeks there, then he stayed for a few weeks. a few more weeks at a friend's house. For Alex returning to his mother's house it is not a big issue, it is not seen as an involution, a step back, but as a causality, as a structural necessity in the face of circumstances. But at the same time, he felt the need for independence, to be in his own place:

> R. Was there any conflict with your mother over this?
> I. No, no, I mean compared to my leaving home, or...
> R. No, regarding returning home to... precisely because of this issue also of work... which is having the internet connection, so, then returning there, that is, did it create conflict or was it...
> I. No, my mother and her partner were also happy for me to be there, happy. It was more my thing, that is, it was really coming back a little, which later won't come back, obviously, is having made a commitment done ok , I wanted to stay there, but it is not possible for me at the moment to do so, I have to go back because in any case work is work and then as soon as I can and I will have the tools and possibilities, I will return to my house and I'll do the work from there. It is just that, actually, working here at home is hard, that's all. [Alex, 26, father from the United States, big city in northern Italy, tertiary education, second wave]

For Alex, the problem of returning to her mother's house has much more to do with her sense of commitment that he made of living alone. The young person understands that, no matter how difficult it is to go back to living alone in a secluded space, he realizes that it is necessary to "honor" the commitments he made to himself.

His residential situation is precarious because he cannot live his life outside of his home, that is, he cannot live in the city, cannot be among friends and even cannot go to work in person. At another point, Alex tells us that: "so in the end, I don't regret the choice to be alone, I only regret the problem of the pandemic, so objectively I'm very alone at home." With the intensification of previously existing situations of vulnerability (Gouveia et al. 2021), Alex's case fits into a phenomenon in which the COVID-19 Pandemic creates new circumstances of residential and psychological precariousness. In studies on the impact of the COVID-19 Pandemic (Hiekel and Kühn, 2022) demonstrate that the levels of exhaustion and stress that individuals would feel in the pandemic can be treated as indicators of inequality and vulnerability. Work activities in the same space as a residence restricted in terms of size were for Alex the elements that contributed to his mental health condition.

From a comparison between Alex and Juliette, is possible to observe that young people from different social positions find solutions to the impasses they experienced during the pandemic: in the case of Juliette, in the absence of financial and family support, the help of friends were essential; in Alex's case, the family's help made the difference during the

lockdown. The mobilization of different resources demonstrates that young people, despite having suffered directly from the Pandemic regarding their housing configurations, find momentary solutions to their problems. Young people completely reconfigure their residential conditions to deal with mobility constraints, social and financial constraints (Gouveia et al. 2021).

Another example on the relationship between mental health and house conditions show us how interconnected lives during pandemic can intensify precarious situations. Maria, as we already know, in the first wave of the interview lived with her parents. She tells us that in her first lockdown, forced cohabitation with her father brought about a situation of precariousness in relationships and in her housing configuration:

> R. in case, who do you live with now? at that moment a little difficult.
> I. I live with my two parents. only that my father is not very well and let's say, he is not very well. it's hard to deal with.
> R. he... can you talk because he is not well? Is it a health issue in the case?
> I. [silence]... from the head right.
> R. Oh yes, I understand. I understood.
> I. mental health. Then it becomes difficult. [Maria, 29, Brazilian mother, big city in central Italy, tertiary education, first wave]

As we can see, in our first interview it is not clear exactly what Maria is going through with her family during the lockdown. However, she is uncomfortable with being in lockdown with her father. There is a greater discomfort in talking about this topic, something I tried to respect during our conversation. It is evident that in the first contact with the interviewees, not all topics will be discussed in depth in view of the lack of security that some people may have in sharing their personal lives, their trajectories, their problems and their traumas. Once again, longitudinal research becomes powerful because it gives us the possibility to delve into topics at other times when trust has been better established. As we will see below, Maria in our second meeting speaks more openly on the subject:

> R. Now I remember that last year you lived with your parents and... you said it was being a little difficult because your father had a problem. You didn't tell me what problem he had, but I wanted to know how this situation is. If you're still living with them, how's it going.
> I. So, yeah... I'm living in the same house.
> R. Yes....
> I. who moved was my father. [laughs]
> R. Aaah, ok.
> I. In March, April, anyway. I am living with my mother. Yes...my father comes here, he's calmer. Yes.... well, it's calmer, but certainly the fact that I can be at home... wow... last year I was locked in my room, 'I spent the entire year of the pandemic.... March until I travelled to Brazil locked in my room because of this situation I had at home, anyway. Yeah....so the fact that he left here and calmed down, certainly helps me to have a… a much more normal situation [laughs]. That too, so to speak. And... have an emotional stability that's definitely better. [Maria,

30, Brazilian mother, big city in central Italy, tertiary education, second wave]

In more detail Maria tells us that the housing situation during the pandemic was unstable and difficult because of her father's mental health in the context of the pandemic. The forced coexistence can make many young people have to deal with conflicting situations in their domestic spaces, it can make them have to face problems with family members, all of which can affect their wellbeing. Maria makes it clear that during the pandemic she was confined inside her own room to avoid contact with her father. Maria, also sought to change her housing condition, even if temporarily: in the first wave, she tells us that she was already packed to visit her boyfriend in Brazil. It is worth mentioning that in Brazil there was never in fact a restricted lockdown like the type that occurred in Italy, and this meant that the restrictive measures have not been strongly implemented and followed.

Maria's account shows how the principle of connected lives is crucial to understand that aspects of precariousness in the housing condition can come from the relationships that an individual will have with other members of the residential nucleus (Mari et al, 2020; Gouveia et al, 2021). During the pandemic, living in situations of violence or in situations where family members experience psychological problems, being indoors can be a risk factor and can generate a circumstance of fragility (Cano-Lozan, et al., 2021). Lips (2021) showed that among young teens the emotional and social environment of a home has a significant impact on how young people respond positively or negatively to the lockdown context. Feeling safe and well in one's own home proved to be an important factor in how the lockdown affects the lives of these young people (Lips, 2021). The forced coexistence with people with personal and psychological problems can lead to an erosion of the mental condition of many young people. It is interesting to note, however, that Maria at no time planned to leave the family home in this circumstance. In fact, her attempt to escape from this situation occurred when she is secluded inside her own room.

Redefining relationships during pandemic

It is important to emphasize, however, that in addition to situations of precariousness, uncertainty and loneliness that some young people experienced in the Pandemic, other young people who lived with their family or lived with other friends or roommates carried out the process of re-signifying cohabitation during the lockdown. They are young people who, in different residential arrangements, had to adapt either to the restrictions to social life, or to the return to living with their parents. As we will see below for Mario, the restrictions on his social life generated by the lockdown generated a reaction from him and the other roommates:

R. I remember that last year we did our interview in November and it was already the second wave of covid. How have you lived this month, from November to March with friends and friendships?

I. But I must say that my house is very lucky because we have always given little consideration to the anti-COVID regulations and therefore we always act as if nothing has happened. That was very positive. I mean, very positive... In the sense, on our part, it was very positive. So obviously talking and comparing with people outside the house I had a little bit of trouble because I couldn't say everything we did.
R. Oh, yes?
I. Parties, or we'll do it again... lunches, dinners. So, all together. A covid-free home. [Mario, 29, Moroccan parents, big city in northern Italy, tertiary education, second wave]

Mario's expose that for some young people, especially among those who lived with other friends or roommates, the pandemic was a moment to share daily life in a more intense way. For many young people, the space for sociability occurs mostly outside the domestic space (Lips, 2021). Therefore, it is to be expected that forced stay indoors affected individuals differently during the Pandemic. It is in this context that Mario and his other colleagues look for solutions to not stop experiencing situations of sociability, even if this process involves breaking the rules. We must consider that many individuals during the Pandemic did not believe in the solutions given by the government and did not mainly believe in the risk that the virus brought.

In addition to the pandemic having impacted the frequency and mode of socialization of young people, it was possible to perceive that it has had an impact on love relationships. Felipe tells us that living in separate houses during the lockdown was very positive for him and his girlfriend:

R. Did you lockdown there or did you do it with her?

I. Look, we were very lucky because my partner and I live very close, and between my house and his house there is the market, so with the excuse of going to the market we can go from house to house, leaving the quarantine together, but managing to have moments to be alone. Being alone but not because we didn't want to be with each other, simply because I, in my house, have my library, my drum, my things, that is, my life, I have my hinge, I'm a Buddhist, so I have to be indoors. She the same…, she was writing the PhD project, so she had to study and do some research, she needed her library, her desk, her silence, and her spaces; she had a vegetable garden under the house, so she also had to take care of the vegetable garden. So, we did... we usually did 2-3 days at my place, maybe 2 days... a couple of days off, and then again 2-3 days together, and we alternated this way of doing it pretty much throughout the whole period of quarantine. [Felipe, 30, Tunisian father, big city in central Italy, tertiary education, second wave]

Although his housing situation has not changed, Felipe tells us that the management of his time and his relationship was made in view of the restrictions of the pandemic that forced young people to live in the domestic space. As we can see, Felipe and his girlfriend managed to maintain a stable relationship despite the restrictions. The strategies the two used were to create a balance between visiting each other's homes and at the same time remaining spaces of individuality. As we can see, the way young people re-signify or give continuity to their relationships during the lockdown leads us to observe a high capacity for transformation and adaptation in relation to their living conditions:

> The first few weeks were a little frustrating, because you were used to going out with friends or breathing fresh air, the parents' concern is also right, which prevents them because in the end children are the most impulsive and they are the most mature, to say you can't leave. The first few weeks were a little frustrating because being at home all the time and doing nothing, maybe you study, but you get bored and can't be very productive. Then we got used to staying at home, so we worked as hard as we could, some watching movies, reading books, seeing this and that.
> [Diego, 23, Tunisian Parents, median city in central Italy, secondary education, first wave]

Returning to his parents' house after three years without living day-to-day with his family impacts Diego's life. As he points out, there is a radical change in his daily life: before he lived with friends at another city and – despite being economically dependent on his parents – he had autonomy and freedom to go out with friends; now Diego finds himself in a doubly contrary dynamic: he not only returns to live with his parents but is also restricted to only living with them during the restrictions imposed by the Italian government. What is observed is that there is a difficulty in reconciling the individual rhythm before the pandemic with the family rhythm in the first wave. Returning to their parents' house seems more like an impediment, an obstruction of the previous life (Scribano, Polidori and Tomasso ,2022).

In addition, respect for the rules of social distancing for Diego has a generational component: for him, his parents were able to deal better with this circumstance given the maturity they would have in accepting the circumstance. As it was for Mario and his friends, the pandemic restrictions may have been felt by some young people as an obstacle to their autonomy and their social life outside the residential space. Returning home means ruling a less autonomous life, more dependent on the rules made in the family (Scribano, Polidori and Tomasso, 2022). However, the resignification of the residential space, as done by Mario and his friends, was also done by Diego and his family. The difficulty encountered was gradually replaced by another experience:

> R…. And listen, how was it here in the family this year? With Mom and Dad and the sisters, the twins, so to speak? Do they still live at home too, or?
> I. Yes, yes, they stay at home and I would say we've been very close since our... our routine was... our parents go to work and my sisters go to school, maybe I'd go away to Ancona, therefore, we... we only saw each other on weekends or even when we were here at home, we only saw each other at night when they came back we had dinner together, and that's it, instead we... I would say that we also there was a lot of time together... all the time at home... at home and nothing, let's just say that we all rediscovered ourselves, because we spent a lot more... more time with the family and that... than ever before. […]
> R. Were there moments, shall we say, a little bit of conflict at times? Also, for the management of spaces, since as I can say anyway, (...) all narrow sometimes for a while or, here... how was it, let's say?
> I. No, in the end we have... in the beginning I have to say that maybe it was a little more difficult because we weren't used to being at home all the time... there... so until almost the end of the lockdown we stayed a little closer, because in the end we got more used to staying at home and we had to find a way to pass the time, so between a chat, to do this, play together everyone, and yes, it was precisely the... the first time that we distanced ourselves a little, that is, we did what we normally did, keeping everyone apart, which later, over time, we got used to it, in the

however, we are all together... all together and we spend a lot more time.[Diego, 24, Tunisian Parents, median city in central Italy, secondary education, second wave]

Changes in housing composition during the pandemic reconfigured social ties in existing family arrangements (Gouveia et al, 2021: 11). There is a reconfiguration in the housing conditions to deal with the subjective and material impacts of the lockdown. The confinement that brings social distance created the possibility of bringing together those who live in the same space. The closeness that Diego had with his parents and sisters allowed him to re-signify not only the relationships between them, but the way of living everyday life at home. As Scribano, Polidori and Tomasso (2022) point out, among young people who lived through the lockdown in Italy, the experience was seen as a possibility to share moments, develop activities together, that is, it generated the possibility of creating new bonds.

8.6. Final considerations

The division in the literature between a more individualistic northern European model where residential transitions occur earlier and a more familiar southern European model where residential transitions are imagined and made after the formation of a couple (Giuliano, 2007) or after achieving financial independence, finds an impasse here. As we have seen, the young people interviewed in this research demonstrate a third way full of residential possibilities. The literature points out that one of the differences in housing transitions between northern and southern Europe would be the structural conditions and cultural context in which young people would be inserted. Thus, an early departure from the parents' home would be supported not only by cultural values but by a favorable labor and housing market structure and a satisfactory welfare state (Bertolini et al, 2019). On the other hand, staying in the parental home would be associated with a strong family culture in a context of precarious labor and housing markets with the absence of effective public policies. Although the literature points this out as the explanatory pattern within transitional studies, what we saw in this chapter is that the trends experienced by the young people surveyed lead us to have to deal with other perspectives. Despite an unstable and precarious social, economic, work and housing context, there is a large part of the young people interviewed who leave the parental home so to say "prematurely". As we have seen, leaving home early for most young people was the very condition for achieving economic independence. Leaving home meant a necessity and was a precondition for other spheres of life - mainly educational training and entry into the job market - to be experienced.

There is, to a certain extent, a more individualizing dimension in the trajectory of these individuals and that does not mean less precarious experiences. Low family support, economic precarity together with the cultural context within families drive young people to leave home earlier. This is one of the main findings of this research as it shows that there are other factors that can drive young people to leave home that have found only a marginal attention in the

literature. Leaving home even in precarious conditions, without having completed higher education, unemployed or without being in a romantic relationship (or married) appears as one of the transitory patterns of young people in this research. It was possible to observe that young men and women leave home to conquer their adult lives. Thus, leaving home appears as the beginning of the transition to adulthood: it is from this moment that they construct their other trajectories, that they give new meaning to their family relationships, (Olofsson et al., 2020; Gouveia et al, 2021) and that they negotiate their identities as autonomous individuals.

Another aspect strengthened by the literature is that in Italy, although residential transitions occur late, they usually happen in a simpler and more linear way (Gil-Solsona, 2022) in which young people leave home to live with a partner. What we saw here are residential patterns that are very different from those pointed out in the literature. Young people live in different family arrangements: some live alone, others live with friends, others live with family members (like brothers, cousins) or partner, and some are married.

The role of family culture is also presented as an element that influences how residential conditions are thought of. For some young people, leaving home at the age of 18 is normal, and the family nucleus is no longer responsible for their life trajectory in other stages of life. This does not mean that young people cannot come to have strong ties with their family or that they do not value the family as a space for affection and sociability. It is simply thinking that the way young people and their families think about their transitions does not direct them to stay in their parents' home. Of course, as evidenced, in some cases, family conflict can be a trigger for leaving home, since leaving home would mean leaving an abusive relationship to seek better living conditions.

The role of family culture was also visualized among those still in the household. It's possible to observe the role of Rumbaut's (2004) generation approach can be seen in the patterns found here. For young people who have at least one Italian parent, leaving home is postponed and, when planned, is designed along the lines of Italian culture. Thus, to leave home, it would be necessary to have a minimum of financial stability in which the work being carried out was in accordance with the expectations that the young people had. In Felipe's example, it was evident that the precondition for leaving home was to have a minimum of economic stability, even if in a job outside his area of training. Furthermore, the examples of Erick and Maria demonstrate that leaving home is correlated to the existence of a romantic relationship. However, as can be seen these two young people demonstrate different patterns: for Erick, who lives in the south, the norms related to transitions are stronger where the family culture is stronger. Dealing with emancipation expectations and not being able to successfully complete them can make him feel in an in-between situation (Severson and Collins, 2020). In Maria's case, despite feeling pressure from age norms, she builds more horizontal relationships (Andrade, 2010) give rises to a more individualized and independent coexistence.

Among young people who stay at home with their parents, but who have both foreign parents, it was possible to perceive that the permanence is due to other factors. The literature that focuses on the Italian context (Scabini, 2000; Brandão, Saraiva and Matos, 2012) demonstrates that the family becomes the main support for young people in precarious

situations. Nonetheless, the permanence was more due to the dependence of the family on their children. Migration as a social process influences the life perspectives of immigrants and their descendants. In this sense, young people who were interviewed and who remain at their parents' house tell us that the economic and social structure of their family impels them to stay at home. Staying at home is a way of supporting other family members who need help, whether financially, subjectively, or structurally. The parents' precarious insertion in the world of work, the difficulty in adapting to the language or to the bureaucratic activities of daily life, in addition to the type of existing support network, influence the way in which parents may need their children at home.

The trajectories of these young people are very important to be observed and understood because they demonstrate completely different patterns from those found in the Italian and European context until then. The support given within the family context is not unilateral in this case, from parents to children, but also from children to parents. As a result, the interactions between a migration context, together with socioeconomic and cultural conditions, reveal patterns of permanence that are not related to the economic dependence of the family on the part of the children or waiting for an ideal moment to leave home. The diversity of residential arrangements in which these young people live shows that despite remaining in the household, other spheres of life can be developed, such as entering the job market and building financial autonomy. The responsibility they have in managing the house or in managing other family activities demonstrates that young people reframe the condition of adulthood based on their practices of care and responsibility in the family environment.

Hence, studies that tend to focus more on the one-sidedness of young adults' dependence on parents disregard their contributions to the families. The way of thinking about the transition away from home, as a leap to freedom and to the assumption of new duties, leaves aside experiences in which young people contribute in different ways to family dynamics (Wyn, Lantz and Harris, 2011). These dynamics in which there is an agency of individuals beyond the construction of their spaces of autonomy and individuality epistemologically reconfigure the theoretical field of transitions in adult life. This is because these experiences demonstrate that "adult" roles performed by these young people "in the family complicate young people's images of dependency and also reveal how young people are often socially and economically constrained by their considerable family responsibilities" (Wyn, Lantz and Harris, 2011: 10). However, it is worth noting that this perception does not want to affirm necessarily a postmodern condition as some authors want to claim (Wyn, Lantz and Harris, 2011; Du Bois-Reymond and Stauber, 2005; du Bois-Reymond and Blasco, 2003). The condition of being an immigrant and a cultural context other than Western implies configurations of residential patterns in which interdependence can arise.

Representations of what leaving home would mean gives us a basis for how young people understand this transition in their lives. As we have seen in several examples, leaving home was a milestone for their relationships with their family, it was a moment of building their own identities and an experience of assuming new responsibilities, having to deal with others and with the difference. Therefore, despite the resignifications brought by those who stay

at their parents' house, leaving home is still an important transforming element in the lives of young people.

Finally, the impact of the Pandemic on the residential experiences of these young people revealed vulnerable situations in which rapid readaptations were required. For those who lived alone, the pandemic brought different circumstances depending on social class: for young people with little financial stability, the loss of a job during the pandemic raises the risk of being homeless. Thus, the pandemic has a pragmatic and real effect of intensifying vulnerability in the face of the impossibility of employment and income; for other young people with greater financial and work stability, the impact of loneliness, the lack of social interaction and the agglutination of all activities in the same space generated a situation of stress and mental exhaustion. It was possible to observe also that the Pandemic intensified precarious family relationships and directly affected the psychological well-being of young people. Social isolation and the obligation to live within the domestic space changed the dynamics of sociability, thereby altering the housing experience. The degradation of psychological well-being, whether due to family conflicts or due to working conditions within the domestic space has resulted in situations of precariousness that can extend also after the pandemic. On the other hand, it is interesting to note the practices of adaptation of these young people to the existing scenario. If, on the one hand, there were situations of intensification of vulnerabilities, on the other, the suspended moment served to create new relational forms within the living space, whether with roommates or with the family. For those who were with the family, there was a need to reconfigure relationships within the domestic space. Thus, it was noticed how the principle of connected lives helps us to understand how the lives of these individuals are impacted by the behavior of other individuals.

Chapter 9
Looking at the future expectations

Exu killed a bird yesterday with a stone that he only threw today (Yorubá Proverb).

I begin this chapter by bringing other cosmovision and epistemology that understands time in a completely different way from that imagined, recreated and reinforced in Western culture. The proverb that opens this chapter comes from the *Yorubá* culture[42], a culture that comes from ancient people who have lived and still live in *the southwest of the African continent*. For the *Yorubá* culture, temporality is not like a line that unfolds and has a beginning, middle and end. According to their worldviews, time is something synchronous, which develops at the same time and in parallel (Prandi, 2001; *Akinsola, 2020)*. In the Yorubá tradition, time is a set of events that happen in parallel because the past would be intimately connected with the present of which the future is just the endless continuation of the present moment (Prandi, 2001). The future would be nothing more than the future of the present, and that's why "the idea of the future as a remote event disconnected from our immediate reality makes no sense" (Prandi, 2001: 48).The proverb above brings with it the reflection of how it is in the present that we can rethink and influence the past.

In fact, this culture and ancestral knowledge of the Yoruba appears recently in western studies about time in contemporary times. As Rosa (2013) states, in the face of the process of accelerating social dynamics, in the face of increasingly immediate interactions and a discontinuous and unpredictable context, the differences between the past and the future become increasingly problematic. As the author states, faced with the conviction of uncertainty, expectations and plans are at risk of being always altered or frustrated and embracing this dynamic would mean embracing another way of temporalizing. Just like Leccardi (2020: 174) also points out "the consequence of living in a high-speed society (Rosa and Scheurman, 2009) is that the future folds back into the present, it is absorbed within it and is consumed before it can really be conceived". This was all already thought and experienced by the Yoruba who perceive past, present, and future as simultaneous conceptions that exist in interconnected universes. In addition to an acceleration and complexity of time as a social category, another factor considered in this chapter is how the process of individualizing biographies influences the way of projecting and perceiving the future. From the point of view of the individualization of the life course, studies on the transition to adulthood have focused on "individuals' perceptions of their life schedule, intending to understand how individuals perceive their options and how they build their future plans, their lives" (Nico, 2011:26).

It is with this in mind that the reflections on the prospects and horizons of young people for the future begin. As pointed out by Hardgrove et al. (2015) the literature that investigates the transitions of young people points out how these transitions are related to the experience in the

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[42] To see more about the Yourùbá culture: Akinsola, Ifeoluwa Theophilus. 2020. Yorùbá Films in Time Perspective: Past, Present, and Future. Youruba Studies Review. Vol. 5 No. 1.2

present, but also with processes that deal with the past and the future. The idea of young people's imagined futures (Hardgrove et al., 2015) is a way of looking at how young people make their transitions towards the future. If it is true that most studies on youth and imagined futures focus mainly on how the present influences perception and action towards the future (Hardgrove et al., 2015; Viresh, 2017; Alm, 2011; Furlong and Biggart, 1999), blurring temporal boundaries to show how past, present and future interconnect can be an interesting task (Ansell et al., 2014). Carrying out this task implies conceiving that the present is made as much by the past as by the future.

It is from this analytical and social complexification of time that I bring this different perception of time by understanding that the interviews in this research indicate different ways of perceiving time and thinking about past, present and future. Looking at the future longitudinally allows us to understand how different individuals perceive the future over time and how these perceptions can change or can generate results in life (Alm, 2011). The notion of the future, very much based on the present, is presented as a notion of synchrony in which past, present and future happen in a concomitant way in life.

I return to the discussion carried out in the theoretical chapter on how agency within the life course can be understood in a way that subjective beliefs located in a social and temporal context will influence future outcomes in the life course of individuals (Hitlin and Elder, 2006). In this way, the future, or the future imagined, thought, projected, dimensioned, determines social action also in the present. If young people have difficulties thinking about the future, or if the future is a great place of uncertainty, then actions in the present will be influenced by these perceptions. This whole process of the future that influences the present ends up having a direct impact on "later trajectories and life course outcomes" (Hitlin and Know, 2016). Therefore, individuals act in the present based on beliefs, feelings and aspirations about the future process that has the potential to impact the life course (Hitlin and Know, 2016).

Moreover, what the interviews will show is that the way of thinking about the past and the present concurs in giving meaning to the actions of the present and possibilities for the future of these interviewees. It is in the perception of one's own past and in the idealization of the future that we can see how the present is constructed and with that how transitions are experienced. I add to this that it is also in this construction of the present in relation to the past that the future is also generated. Young people think abundantly about the future (Hargrove et al., 2015): what they will do after studying, what job they would like to have, individual and social well-being are present in their imaginations. However, although this is part of the imagination of young people, it does not mean that there is no difficulty in envisioning this future. Even with educational, professional, affective, and social desires and aspirations, some young people seem to find themselves in a hazy picture where the future is difficult to fully visualize.

Therefore, this chapter seeks to understand the meanings of the future of young people and how these perceptions are related to their own life trajectories and transitions. The way of planning and thinking about the future makes the past, present, and future all part of the same connected process. It is as if young people bend the imagined linear line between these three

times. It is worth remembering that all this research was carried out during the first two years of the COVID-19 Pandemic, a process that had an intense impact on these young people's perception of the future. During the first wave, the future was inevitably referenced in view of what young people were experiencing at that moment. In this sense, the experiences of social confinement, the feeling of uncertainty regarding the progression of the virus and the news of the increasing contamination strongly impacted the vision that young people had about the horizon.

9.1. Perceptions of the future and construction of the present

In this part of the chapter, I focus on how young people reflect on their individual futures. The first element that emerges from the analysis of the data is what has already been commented on by the literature (Leccardi, 2008, 2015; Rosa, 2013; Carabelli and Lyon, 2016) of the future as something constructed daily: in the face of precariousness and the unpredictability they experience, young people prefer to design short-term plans, make short and malleable plans that can change according to circumstances. Young people are aware that social dynamics are increasingly fluid and fast, and this is a way for them to live in this context, to carry out non-lasting or prolonged plans:

> I. For now, the first thing that comes to my mind, is Coronavirus, but [laughs] ...
> R. [laughs].
> I. ... no, I'm kidding. I, I, I imagine... finishing my studies and taking a trip to Morocco, and then, and then we'll see... and then we'll see. [Mario, 28, Moroccan parents, big city in northern Italy, secondary education, first wave].

For Mario, in the first wave, there was a future desire to get closer to his country of origin, a process that was suspended due to pandemic restrictions. It is important to note, however, that for young people their future is thought of in small steps, in which the near future becomes what can be imagined. In the second wave of interviews Mario has the same desire to get closer to his origins. In addition, it strengthens the idea that the future is something too far away to be imagined, making it more fruitful to build horizons and plans in the near future:

> R. What do you think about the future, about your personal future?
> I. What do I think? I hope it's a positive future, that's it.
> R. Do you have any projects? What do you think? Or do you have no plans?
> I. Yes, I would like to, when I conclude this work, I will make a nice trip to discover a little bit of my roots in Morocco, learn to read and write Arabic. I need to see some of the world, that's it. I've never been to South America. To do some travelling.
> R. I remember that.... I don't know if it's this, I also remember that one of the reasons you did international relations was to be able to travel and that you also wanted to go to Morocco because you wanted to learn Arabic, yes? how do you say? the Arabic. And this is also a work project or even a study one, isn't it?

I. No, sure, sure. Then what is born, you know how life is, don't you? Then when you find yourself in situations, new opportunities are created and therefore I can't tell you exactly, but that's the idea.

R. Do you still have the same idea today?

I. Yes, yes, yes.

R. To do a master's degree, right? Do you have a bachelor's degree....

I. Nooo, alright, but.... Actually, it's not so decided in the sense.... I don't have such a structured project. Let's say what comes... then we'll seize it, but the idea is to make this trip. [Mario, 29, Moroccan parents, big city in northern Italy, tertiary education, second wave]

As we see in what Mario tells us, his projects do not seem to be completely structured, as they would need to deal with the uncertainty of the possibilities for change in the middle of the course. Life for him is a place where, as new situations appear, new possibilities are created, which makes fixed projections in time impracticable. Faced with unpredictability, adult life planning becomes more uncertain, varied and even unnecessary (Leccardi, 2008; 2015).

It is also emphasized that mobility – the trip to the family's country of origin – does not change as a plan but is placed for a moment later in the future. This shows that young people outline certain projects, and that despite some misfortunes along the way, they either change these projects – the idea of an open future, but not without a minimum of planning – or they remain with the same ideas and adapt. these ideas according to the context in which they are living. It is as if there was a constant readaptation between that ideal of travel and how it becomes reality or becomes possible over time based on existing individual conditions. It can be said that mobility projects are undermined by a set of conditions that are both individual and social: in Mario's case, he had to deal with the very limitation of the Pandemic, but also with the fact of not having a passport/citizenship Italian and with that since he became unemployed and had to advance his educational training. It is in the face of all these mishaps that the young man has been dribbling and realizing the immediate reality and at the same time postponing his project which, despite this, is still on the horizon. It can be said that there is indeed a precariousness in the projection perspectives, and these projections are strongly shaken by the social condition of the young person as a descendant of an immigrant that intensifies with the pandemic immobility.

Other young people in our research also bring up the issue of (i)mobility more directly as a point of reflection on the future. In Danusa's words, when she tells us about her identification process between Italy and her parents' country, she considers mobility as a future plan after her graduation. As it was for Mario, some future projects are thought off as happening sometime after transition's life. This leads us to understand that young people can create ideal stages that need to be experienced/ passed to move on to the "next step". The future is thought of from school to work transitions in which work mobilizes horizon ideals:

R. other people I interviewed also spoke to me of the same feeling, that is, that when they are here in Italy, they are seen as foreigners and when they are in their parents' country of origin, they are seen as Italians. Does this situation lead to changes in your life? For example, in your future projects, where do you want to live?

I. And... right! Definitely I have some... it affects my ideas of, of future, but also of, of, present, of what I want to do after I finish university, uh... I don't know, I think that... ideally, my ideal job would be something between Palestine and Italy, right? [Danusa, 25, Palestinian parents, big city in northern Italy, secondary education, first wave]

A. If I say future, what image opens up for you, what do you think?
I. I think… first of all, I think of Bologna [smiles] because I think I'm going to stay here, I don't feel like going anywhere else and I really like it there. But studying... I mean, I don't know, I like studying [...] I don't know if... I mean, the things I like, of course, because I don't. BR
A. So, say, in a project idea that you have for your near future, what do you put into it? Priorities, things that are closest to your heart.
I. I study and then, in fact, maybe I do a good job[...] I like it, (...) I would like to teach... well, I don't have… [Rafaella, 23, Albanian parents, big city in northern Italy, secondary education, first wave]

There are three main elements that connect what Mario and Danusa tell us. The first element is the construction of identity and how they are connected to the process of belonging and imagined futures. Building a belonging is a way to connect with society and with others. The search for self-recognition (Harris et al, 2021) within society and outside it can make many young people mobilize their future towards the search for this identity that is allocated in different cultural and social repertoires. Belonging appears from two perspectives: involving their identities as descendants of immigrants and belonging to their identity as young people. It is in light of this that young people here also plan their future.

The second element concerns processes of (i)mobility. In different ways, thinking about the future is thinking about places, thinking about geographies, about displacements and about stays. As stated by Cuzzocrea and Mandich, "Imagined future mobilities" can be considered as a form of agency to deal with the circumstances in which young people find themselves. In Mario's case, as well as in Danusa's case, mobility as a place of experimentation, growth (Cuzzocrea and Mandich, 2020) and proximity to cultural heritage. As we can see, for them, projecting the future is not only related to closing cycles, that is, with a transitional process from educational training to professional careers, but is also related to the desired mobility. In the case of Danusa and Mario, mobility is related to the fulfilment of personal desires and the pursuit of professional possibilities, all of which are related to their origins.

On the other hand, permanence can be, for some, the horizon of the future. Rafaella had already gone through the process of leaving her hometown, of leaving her family home to live in another city (an even bigger one), with permanence being a future prospect. In other narratives, mobility becomes one of the main means by which young people outline their visions for the future.

The third element is the imagination of the near future. Inspired by the findings of Carabelli and Lyon (2016), it can be noted that young people have different ways of thinking about the future and that one of the differences found is in the "scope" of these futures. When young people think about their future prospects, they tend to think either in the near future or

in the more distant future. In the examples shown above, we realize that there is a visualization of a near future in which they were "extensive and tightly bound to the present" (Carabelli and Lyon, 2016: 5). Previously, Worth (2009) also observed this same tendency that some young people had in placing greater confidence and greater bets in the near future. The need to think about the future in an eminent way allows us to say that perhaps this is a way of dealing with the uncertainties of a distant future. In addition, this process can strengthen the idea that the future is something that is built in the present moment. What we see, therefore, is the process of presentification of the future in which existential objectives are made present (Elliott and Lemert, 2006).

The idea of an increasingly present future was linked in literature (Pultz and Pernille, 2016; Carabelli and Lyon, 2016; Worth, 2009; Leccardi, 2008, 2015, 2020; Elliott and Lemer, 2006; Giddens, 2001) to the levels of uncertainty that people may experience in their trajectories. This uncertainty can be linked to many issues, one of which is the precariousness of the social context in which we live. Some young people demonstrated that they were aware that their future depends on a series of current social circumstances:

> R. That is, let's already open the future discourse, how do you see the future?
> I. Yes. So, in my opinion, I certainly have an impact on how I see the future, but… On an even greater difficulty than what I saw before, of having planning in things, yes. I see this, the fact that there has been a highlight anyway, a widening of inequalities, of the excluded groups that are no longer excluded, I see this[...] [Gloria, 24, Senegalese father, big city in southern Italy, tertiary education, first wave]

> R. And if I tell you future instead? What comes to your mind?
> I. A question mark, because we create the future and then it also depends on what we have around us, therefore it depends on politics, on the difficult situation we have at the moment. I see it as a bit difficult, so I see that... for the children's children it will be a bit difficult... they make things more and more difficult, even the values are all declining... not thanks to these mobile phones and so values will fall, human relationships too, one day in my opinion it will no longer be possible to speak face to face, but only on the telephone. [Alice, 29, Tunisian parents, small city in southern Italy, tertiary school, first wave]

As in other examples, the future is envisioned not in terms of long projects, but in immediate projections, in the face of possible changes. The differentiating element of these narrations is that young people are aware that precarious contexts limit future projections. The rapid and abrupt transformations in society (Rosa, 2013) that place unpredictable situations in the lives of these young people make the future unpredictable or fatalistic. It is also noticed in the second interview that the situation of unpredictability and precariousness is experienced at the generational level: young people perceive that the current context implies a process of deterioration of existing living conditions, affecting the possibilities for future generations. As a result, for these young people, the future does not depend only on themselves, but on the context of society: the difficulty of planning is often due to the difficulties encountered in society and the precariousness of possibilities. It's ability to plan is related to the ability to deal

with these uncertainties (du Bois-Reymond, 1998). However, what we see in Gloria's and Alice's statements is that there is anguish in relation to that future, a difficulty in thinking about that future in the face of the social context they visualize.

However, even when it is impossible to count on the future as certain, young people do have key elements to think about the future:

R. Okay. And listen, however, if I tell you future, what comes to your mind?
I. Future… uncertain. Not… if I think about the future, anyway, I think it will be a nice future, however, if I tell myself where I'll be, or what job I'll have in the future, I don't know.
R. Tell me more about the idea you can have of your personal future. You told me it will be beautiful, but at the same time uncertain. Do you have plans, dreams, desires?
I. Yes. However, I would like to continue... that is, I would like to have a large family and I don't want to stop at just having one child. I have already embarked on the dream of having my own home, so we are working on it. The only thing, the real dream of opening a small business with my husband, a bar, or something, I would like. Yes, there is that dream. [Marianna, 28, Albanian Origin, small city in central Italy, secondary education, first wave]

R. What would that be like, your wish?
I. I don't even know. My head is very confused. So, I have two dreams. one would be to become a policeman, but he is not a policeman, he is the one...as a civil guard. So, for me to have stability, for me to be able to raise my family, for me to be able to fulfil myself and live alone, to have autonomy. Another would be to be able to work in deprived areas of the world. I... worked 6 months in a favela with nuns. [Erick, 26, Brazilian mother, big city in southern Italy, secondary education, first wave]

For both Marianna and Erick, the future is a space of complete uncertainty at a mainly professional and economic level. For young people who are in precarious situations, with low wages, unemployed or underemployed, long-term planning can be felt with great anguish (Brannen and Nilsen, 2002). But what we can see is that despite this uncertainty, the two young people project horizons for their personal achievements in relation to different areas of life. Thus, the future despite being uncertain, diffuse, confused and vague is still a place where projections of the more "traditional" type – based on linearity, stability, and transitional milestones such as marriage and parenthood- are included. A stable horizon is still strongly imagined for a few young people, especially among those with low education and low income. Faced with the degree of uncertainty that affects not only subjective but also material dimensions, holding on to these elements – stable job, marriage, family formation - or placing these issues as one of the core existential concerns can be strategies for dealing with uncertainty and precariousness. Pultz and Pernille (2016) had already discussed in an analogous way about the imagination of the future among unemployed young people. The authors demonstrated that imagining a better future becomes a fundamental resource for young people dealing with unemployment.

For these young people, the future is not something to be experienced or something to be planned in the short term in the present, although at the same time they know that they would not be able to do otherwise at this moment. Futures are designed based on an ideal balance

between professional achievements, family, and financial stability. In other words, the norms of social time are still imprinted even in a context in which traditional transitions to adult life appear blurred in today's world (Leccardi, 2020). Young people with few social and cultural resources (Leccardi, 2008) may suffer and feel more with the loss of a future based on traditional ways.

In the second wave future issues are placed in the same perspective, but with some changes in projections:

> R. So on this I ask you what you see if I say future.
> I. A lot of work, a lot of work on myself, but I don't know why, but when I look to the future I see happiness, just when I think about the future, really positive. I know that when I go home, I will have my moments, my rhythm, I will have happiness, I will also have the possibility of educating my daughter as I want, so that I really see a bright future.
> A. So one of the things that you see in the near future is the housing thing for your family?
> I. Yes.
> R. And are there any other projects that you see in the near future?
> I. I really hope for another pregnancy [smiles], we are planning the second pregnancy anyway, it is taking us a little longer than necessary, let's say, to come, but in any case, we would like to expand the family, yes, I like a little bigger family.
> A. So this is a project…
> I. At the beginning I always saw because of work "no, I try to find a decent job first, then I think about having more children", I see that in any case, that is, with a girl or two the story is always the same , so I prefer to concentrate more on my family, for the moment I will continue to do the work I do with the elderly and so on, but I also want to think about the family.[Marianna, 29, Albanian Origin, small city in central Italy, secondary education, second wave].

> R. What thing imagine of your future? What thing do you imagine, what desires do you have?
> I. Honestly, it's... as far as I'm concerned ten years from now always made me feel a little lost. Not sure, obviously. I'm looking to think about a year from now. That is, to limit the projection time, let us say. But think more about the future in brief terms. So, a year from now I want to be in Africa. I want to be done with this experience and be in Africa for a while. Then I have to stretch, I mean, as I already told you, I want to have a family, I want to find the right place for me in the world. [Erick, 27, Brazilian mother, big city in southern Italy, secondary education, second wave].

Marianna remains in the second wave without finding a job. It seems that this impossibility of satisfying her work makes her focus on other elements of her life. As Sennet (1998) points out, in an uncertain and deteriorated scenario with few possibilities for employment and economic achievement, the feeling of apprehension and risk increases since the past experiences of these young people do not seem to lead to a place of satisfaction. It is in front of this dissatisfaction that the strategies of other horizons can be reinforced. For the young woman who, in the first and second waves, was living at her mother's house due to the renovation of her own house, returning to her home and building her daily life around her family is the synonym of a happy horizon. Different from what she demonstrates in the first wave, after a year of interview Marianna decides not to focus on the elements that were causing her uncertainty – namely her

work trajectory and her condition of underemployment. This way of focusing on things that are desired and that are possible can be seen as strategies to build a future that has meaning and that has a real possibility of happening. The strategy used goes through understanding what is possible to do, what is desirable to happen and what actions can be put into practice to balance desires and real possibilities.

This strategy also appears in what Erick tells us: given the impossibility of projecting a distant future, the near future appears much easier to be malleable, to be constructed and to be structured. Limiting projection time and limiting projection plans are therefore strategies found by young people to deal with the strong feeling of incontinence and precariousness that they experience. Thus the "future is taken into the here and now. It loses its meaning, in the sense that people are unable to think about the long term much less plan for it" (Pultz and Pernille, 2016: 517)

In addition to Erick explaining his strategy for dealing with the feeling of being lost, he tells us about his brief projects and always puts in these projects the desire to build a family. For him to build a family is to have a right place in the world. From this, we can see that the horizon of young people, what they think for their future is associated with their ways of imagining their belonging, their ideals of belonging, of identification with the place, with society and with the world in general (Pultz and Pernille, 2016). This more traditional way of thinking about the horizons of both Marianna and Erick reinforces the idea already discussed by Peou and Zinn (2015) about reconciling projects for the future and reality. Young people who cling to more traditional ways of thinking about the future - professional stability, marriage, family formation-, the feeling of risk and precariousness can be stronger since the social structures in which they live do not allow these steps to be carried out in a linear way. Their perception of uncertainty can be connected, according to the authors, to a perspective of a closed future in which it is based on normative perceptions of the course of life but which is disconnected from the new structural conditions (Peou and Zinn, 2015).

It is in the understanding that the future is something that can change that, however, young people continue to plan and place in this ideal time-space the moment of satisfaction. In addition, and once again it is clear that the future is projected between the ideal and the possible:

> R. What would you like to do after university? What kind of work would you like to do in the future?
> I. So.... I tell you... the top, the top, top, top, would be if they took me to the European Central Bank, first to do the traineeship which... they pay well, they pay more than a thousand euros for the traineeship, when in Italy you get five hundred if that's all right... um, and then switch to short-term with them, because they pay about four thousand euros a month for short-term... which in Italy, no... you won't get never, maybe... so the great thing would be that. Alternatively, anything goes, as long as the company is decent and maybe even close to home there, it's just... fabulous... that I've always commuted, always by train, always. [Laura, 28,Uzbekistan origin, big city in central Italy, tertiary education, first wave]

As with the other young people above, for Laura the future is also partly linked to the professional issue. Laura demonstrates the need that many young people may have to reconcile

ideal expectations and the real possibilities of this happening. As we can see, the most important thing for her is to find financial and professional stability in a good company. However, knowing that this ideal plan cannot happen, Laura settles for other employment possibilities that also guarantee her a minimum of well-being. The existence of a backup plan tells us that young people, despite creating high expectations and an ideal scenario for their achievements, do always having a "plan B". Idealizations exist, but the most important thing would be job security (Hardgrove, Rootham and McDowell, 2015). The following year, planning an ideal professional future continues to exist, and once again, an emergency plan is also put into practice:

> I. So, in reality my aspiration at the moment is for the Bank of Italy comes out and I enter the Bank of Italy. Because then I don't have to work even two minutes of overtime. Because in Italy if you work in the public, you're fine. In the sense that they give you a permanent job, a good salary, you grow a lot, and... you do the right thing, from what they told me. And, above all, no free overtime, which is very important and so when the call comes out, I have .... with my friend with whom I did the master's degree and then we did the exams we have already agreed that even if we are dead after work we feel, we prepare and study, we give everything and we enter the Bank of Italy.
>
> R. So what do you think about the future?
>
> I. Ah, in the future I think I have to put my head in order and... [laughs] in general.... to avoid confusion and better understand some things perhaps about myself. And then look for a good person who loves me, who shows it to me, who makes me feel good and with whom I can create a family.
>
> R. But the future in general, what do you imagine for Laura?
>
> I. For Laura I imagine satisfactions in the workplace and satisfactions in the sentimental field. I hope. But always with the same friends as always, though. Because those are there my lifeline in all situations. [Laura, 29, Uzbekistan origin, big city in central Italy, tertiary education, second wave]

After finishing her master's degree, Laura found a job that, although it brought financial satisfaction, was still not what she wanted. The young woman informs us that her current job, despite bringing benefits, is still a contingency plan. This way of dealing with dreams and expectations concomitant with the urgency of everyday life demonstrates that for some young people, the future is not only something that is built in the present, but that is also built in parallel with other activities not linked to the projection of that future. Furthermore, what Laura indicates to us, both in the first wave and in the second wave, is the dream of financial and professional stability. For her, as well as for the other young people seen here, professional achievement and the arrival of a situation of stability are essential. In other words, despite still living in a moment of construction of professional paths and despite not having reached the ideal place, young people yearn for this ideal place. To a certain extent, these young people, when focusing on their educational and professional achievements, think of the future in a more self-centred way, and this dynamic does not exclude the perception of the future as the place of ideal-typical achievements. This would indicate that, in synchrony with a more self-focused

agency, there is the idealization of more traditional paths in which work becomes the main space for individual fulfilment. It is noticeable that young people are concerned with a minimum of stability, but that they accept and adopt the movement as an inherent part in building their lives.

The narrative of personal, professional, and financial self-realization reappears in other examples of our research. Laura, in fact, belongs to a group of young people who, despite having higher education, come from a working-class situation. This means that among young people who come from the lower class, those with higher education have different ways of thinking about the future. If before for Erick and Marianna the future is based on what is possible, for Laura it is also the same, but in a different way: she puts forward projects for herself that are also in line with her professional capacity. In this sense, the need that some young people must think about their future in terms of guaranteeing economic and professional achievements demonstrates that the primacy of these elements in their lives can be related to the idea that a good educational path can bring future professional and economic guarantees.

However, not all young people aim for this ideal balance between personal and professional life for the future. Or if they do, perhaps they don't see this place of building a family as a place for personal fulfilment and building a sense of belonging. For some of the interviewees to "sacrifice" the personal sphere of romantic relationships is considered something necessary in view of the priorities they have in building their paths for the future:

> He [the boyfriend] constantly proves that he is willing to take risks and try, to see how it is. So, let's see how it goes. If I find it... if I start working in Brussels, you know, that's where... When I show you how the situation is with Covid, I say: mother, my home, my country! And... so, I saw myself a lot in Brazil, nowadays I find myself with more difficulty, I don't know how the future will be, you know. One of the many things that used to be a certainty and today is a question mark. Let's see where life takes me. I also don't want to do the math with: aah, I'm going there for love, going back to Brazil for love and in a little while the relationship doesn't work, because things can stop working and I'm there without... like I'm building a base here, in a way, right? [Maria, 29, Brazilian mother, big city in central Italy, tertiary education, first wave].

For most young people, the way to reflect on the future is based on the projection of current educational and professional trajectories launched as possibilities for the future. Here, however, we find a differentiating element: for young people who have higher education or who follow the university path professional career is the main objective to be lived in the future. Maria, when talking about her long-distance relationship with a Brazilian man, tells us how the negotiation of shared future imagination between her and her partner takes place. The young woman tells us that these decisions would revolve around: staying in Italy, migrating to a European country, or migrating to Brazil. Despite the difficulty of projecting in the long term due to the situation of the COVID-19 Pandemic, she shows us that her horizons tend to be based once again on her own educational and professional paths.

From the focus that Maria gives to her professional life and the way in which she prioritizes this area of life in her future, it makes us question to what extent the way in which

young people desire and pursue educational and work paths is related to social and economic capital (Peoul and Zinn, 2015). The right to imagine this future that is more focused on oneself and on professional self-realization demarcates social positions that involve the past and the present. Young people with more social and economic resources tend to have a greater belief in the success of carrying out these steps and achieving personal fulfilment from it than young people who live in more precarious life situations.

As placed by Hardgrove, Rootham and McDowell (2015: 164): "desires for future education or economic possibility give us a glimpse of the perceived constraints within which young people live". A more flexible view, which admits change as inherent to the process of building the present and planning for the future, is a social resource that some young people will or will not have. Having or not this social resource has, as we can see, with the social capital (Peoul and Zinn, 2015) that these young people have and the context in which they live.

It is evident once again how movement and mobility is an inherent part of the interviewees' imagined scenarios. When talking about her image of a romantic relationship in the future Maria demonstrates that the relationship is circumstantiated by her and her boyfriend's mobility possibilities. She tells us, however, that this movement would not be that easy given both the scenario of uncertainty caused by the COVID-19 Pandemic and due to her educational and work trajectories. If, on the one hand, her boyfriend seems to be willing to risk a future outside Brazil, for Maria this decision does not seem to be a simple one. The direction towards a future where romantic relationships are less of a priority over other spheres of life also points to a strong gender and class component, compared to what we saw earlier from Marianna. For Marianna, young mother without university education, and from a small town, the resources to think about the future can be limited compared to Maria.

Thus, the relationship between the imagined future and structure, it can be said that the futures imagined by young people are based on the possibilities that they themselves see in their social reality. After all, "young people cannot work towards outcomes that they have no ability to imagine in the future, nor will they be motivated to direct their efforts towards imagined futures if there are no (perceived) viable routes to get to them" (Hardgrove, Rootham and McDowell, 2015: 169). If on the one hand for Marianna, from the lower class, with low education and with a precarious insertion in the labor market, the family becomes the main place on the horizon, for Maria, a young woman finishing her master's degree, from the middle class and with a Italian father, the focus is more on the professional path. That is, expectations for the future prove to be surrounded by general contextual dynamics that affect everyone – the pandemic, dynamics in the labor market – but which affect differently in the face of other important social characteristics: gender, class, education, and location.

There is still another element that stands out from what Maria tells us: for her, the question mark in the future strengthens once again the idea of uncertainty, of a future that is still open. However, as she herself puts it, this does not mean total lack of control. Quite the contrary, in the construction of possible horizons, following only her "heart" would be a mistake in the face of what she would be building professionally in Italy. On our second date Maria

informed me that their relationship was over. When I ask about her past mobility plans, she tells me that:

> R. We're already reaching the end, yeah... One thing I also remember was, was that you also spoke like that in relation to the future of employment, it was a matter of maybe leaving Italy. Does Tua still have that in mind, or do you prefer to stay in Italy for now?
> I. Ah...I live right here. I think that as much as there are, um...difficulties in Italy, which has these complexities, every country has them. It's illusion. My friend there, who went to live in Norway thought he wouldn't go "ah, everything works there!". He's there dealing with the bureaucracy. Because there's no way, there's no way, you know, we have to choose... Me, me, the bureaucracy here, no matter how difficult it is and anyway. I think, I always manage to find a solution[...] So I would live here... yeah... I would live in other parts of Europe, but in countries where I have the possibility of, of, of working with the language and then countries which I master the language or can master. So it would be like living in a country that speaks either English or French or Spanish or Portuguese. There is no other option. Of course, the future belongs to God, maybe I marry someone, I fall madly in love and it fits perfectly and he lives, I don't know, in Germany, which is a country that I... the language, wow, fuck, complicated. And we go to Germany....complicated. It's just...I like my life here so much, you know? Which sometimes makes me lazy to think: hey, if I had to live somewhere else, like, in a different language, which speaks a different language, which is cold. I do not know.... I live well here. For now, I do not intend to change, but.... life is made of choices and compromises, so who knows. [Maria, 30, Brazilian mother, big city in central Italy, tertiary education, second wave]

In the second wave of interviews, Maria shows us that her perception of the future remains very focused on building her professional career. However, this young woman demonstrates that the future, despite having her professional life as the main point, is also open to possibilities. She tells us that the "future belongs to God" and thus indicates that in her vision of horizons there is space and possibility for the unknown, for the unpredictable.

In other examples self-realization is an essential element to imagining the future. The most important thing for Paola is self-satisfaction regarding her life trajectory, in which her professional career is at the focus:

> R. And about your future instead? If I tell you "future", what comes to your mind?
> I. Future… Um… thought… future, satisfied with my choices. I can say…. I think... I hope the future is a little more... um... I do not know um... that I have work that conforms to what I have studied...and I hope in the northern countries because I feel really good, and ... future in which I too feel good about myself in all the choices I make. [Paola, 24, Chinese parents, small city in northern Italy, tertiary education, first wave]

Paola's desire perhaps joins to many others in the Italian context of being able to find a professional path that matches her educational background. In addition, Paola points out the desire for mobility, for permanence in a country in northern Europe. Once again, for the participants self-realization is organized around professional achievement, a process that is placed on the horizon of migration and mobility. Confirming the findings of Cuzzocrea and Mandich (2016), in Paola's case, mobility is a tool to deal with the Italian context of precariousness and uncertainty in farming. Leaving Italy is a tactic to have better educational and professional outcomes. As stated by the authors "mobility is first of all a possibility in the

transitions to adulthood" (Cuzzocrea and Mandich, 2016: 553). In other words, imagining and building a path outside of Italy is what would guarantee better chances in life for Paola and better chances in her professional career. As we can see in the second wave, Paola still organizes her future projections towards her professional path:

> R. What do you think about your future, what are your images?
> I. A.....To work a company that I like, that has a good system...a business. Eh, now I am trying to do like step by step. So, no... I am not saying in three years, but as early as next year I hope to work in a company that...where they offer internships. And so, after the internship I propose..."we like you, we want to hire you part time, full time". And in the meantime, finish the thesis. And then.... I hope to stay here in <Nordic country> and continue.... [Paola, 25, Chinese parents, small city in northern Italy, tertiary education, second wave].

Paola reaffirms the focus on her professional career, but more than that, she shows us how this path to the future is trodden. How well we can visualize the professional fulfilment placed in the future in the first wave is planned in a "step by step" process in which Paola projects a progressive vision of her trajectory of labor insertion and as an immigrant in another country.

Another interesting point in shaping the future is how these young people think about putting these images and projects into practice. Some interviewees interviewed bet on individual agency as the main provider of building the future they want. Thus, the agency is seen as the main means of creating possibilities for a good future for itself. They have a sense of agency as the main vector in the construction of projects, which are built considering unpredictability:

> R. And if I say "future", what comes to mind?
> I. On the other hand, I have a good relationship with the future […] because I, I imagine... I hope so many things... I hope first of all for my personal progress, that is, that I can obviously achieve my goals. Um... the future is a, it is a moment that never existed, so theoretically, if, if you can, you can shape it. Ahm, it is clear that there are a whole series of a… impediments or in any case environmental limits which perhaps do not allow you to be able to do things exactly as you want to do them, but if you put your commitment into it, it is clear that you can perhaps get close to, to those who are your dreams and your ambitions, and I hope to go let's say in that direction there. And… here… so this is personal progress. [Jean, 28, Congolese father, big city central Italy, tertiary education, first wave]

As it is possible to observe the future, it is a place or a moment to be made, with the agency being the main way of building possibilities for that future. For Jean, and as for other young people in the interview, the future, even as a projection, can be conquered by putting into practice individual action. The future is then shaped and not delivered; an open and non-fateful future. As we have seen in other examples, personal achievements are the key point for these young people and that, in addition to thinking about these dreams in an individual way, believe that individual agency is the main means of achieving their own goals. Jean recognizes that context can generate dispositions and restrict a certain degree of agency in relation to the future. However, for him, the given contextual limits could be overcome by commitment to his causes

and desires. This strengthens what Leccardi (2020; 2007) argues about the propensity for lives built in an increasingly individualized way in which individuals are, if not the only ones, the main ones responsible for this trajectory. In this process, the future as a horizon is also evaluated, pondered, projected from the point of view of individualization. In order to master the future, biographical solutions are needed in which the agency becomes the main organizational vector of that future. Thus, uncertain circumstances push for increasingly individual actions and the less young people have resources to deal with uncertainties and precariousness, the more the future ceases to be understood as a space of experimentation and starts to be seen as a place of the unknown (Woodman, 2010). In a context of increasing individualization to deal with issues of the present is experienced in different ways by young people in which, depending on the available social resources, they will be able to deal better with the constant changes in paths (Woodman, 2010). We noticed a strong agency of young people in relation to the future and their current conditions: either to reject the condition of precariousness and look for new paths, or to act in a way that accepts the current situation as provisional, all of these as valid strategies to deal with precarious situations.

9.2. Past and future builders of the present

In this part I analyse the future in relation to the perceptions of the past of the young people themselves. This way of looking at these two temporal dimensions helps us to understand how some young people's perceptions of the past and of future are interconnected. This process of understanding can be valuable for understanding that the present and the future are not one-dimensional or linear but are entangled with individuals' representations of their pasts (Pultz and Pernille, 2016). The images and enactments of individuals about how they were and what their past was like can give us glimpses of how the future is thought. In different perspective O'Rand (2013) informs that the future and the past are constrained by the immediate historical and structural circumstances of persons as actors" (O'Rand, 2013: 18). Or yet in the words, the dynamics subjective ways of understanding the temporal experiences helps to understand "how people anticipate or project their lives looking forward, and how they review, interpret, and evaluate their lives in the present and looking backward" (Settersten et al., 2020: 2). This way of analyzing the interviews can be a fruitful field to understand how these temporalities when connected create opinions, subjectivities and agencies in the present:

Past
R. Uhm, and what image do you have of your personal past?
I. Uhm... I must say that... since they were different times, it helped me to be stronger, the fact that I had these, let's say these... not problems, but these things about the... on discrimination, i.e. between... I think they helped me and prepared me…, to be stronger and to, even to think about changing things, because if everything had gone well... I wouldn't have done anything.

Future

R. What comes to your mind when it comes to the future?
I. Uhm, the future... let's say is, for now, very vague because, since I like to change, I have many, many things in my head and I would like to do all of them, [laughs] [...] so... no, not I would know, of... let's say that for now I'm trying and see what, life leads me... leads me to do, in short..

Juliette, 28, Cape Verdean parents, big city in central Italy, secondary education, first wave

Analyzing the images that Juliette brings us of her past and her future, we can see how they are connected. As can be seen both in the past and in the future, the idea of change and transformation appears as the main elements of their perceptions. In the past, the need for change and readaptation in difficult situations of discrimination made her feel like a stronger person in the present. This same type of reasoning, namely the need for change, appears in its projection of the future in a positive way. As a result, the trajectories that young people live, their difficulties and mishaps will create action strategies in the present towards the future. The way of facing adversities in the past made change the main means for her to put her agency into practice. The taste for change makes Juliette perceive the future as an open space for possibilities.

For her, the future is a vague destination, something that cannot be planned in the face of the multiple desires and projects she wants to carry out. This difficulty in thinking about the future and reaffirmed in the idea of "letting go with life" and seeing what will and can happen gives us a feeling of carelessness. Perhaps, given the possibility of projects, focusing on the present and waiting for what life can provide is a way to uncomplicate scenarios of uncertainty. When we recall Juliette's life trajectory – which is observed in the preceding chapters – her trajectories of housing, interpersonal relationships and work are strongly marked by a scenario of contingency and uncertainty. Given the above, it is also possible to state that the openness that Juliette has when talking about her future ownership is a result of her past trajectories that shape her actions in the present, but also that align her visions of the future. Therefore, the moment of uncertainty can be seen by the interviewee as a limitation of actions, but at the same time it can enhance the possibilities. More than that, the scenario of uncertainty makes the young woman incorporate the possibility of failure and uncertainty as an element inherent to her action and the movement of life. This preparation or this reaction to an unexpected future is already a condition that has been internalized by individuals in the new context of contemporary socialization (Leccardi, 2008).

The future is a place under construction in the present where it is being designed and decided according to the steps that are taken in the present, in the now. This way of thinking about the future is like what is discussed by Grosz (1989) (also see Worth, 2009) about time as an aspect always open to the future. Still based on Grosz's conceptions of time (1989), young people, when they place the future as an open space, as a space of possibilities, end up bringing the perspective in which time is seen as a duration that involves the present, the past and an open future. Between the dimensions of the present and the open future, there is the differentiation between what is real – the present that is made – and the future – which is open

to possibilities. The difference between these two moments in time is in fact due to the realization of projects or not, these that will become real or not. Worth (2009), who uses this perception of "open-future" by Grosz, states that understanding the future not as a fixed place, but as an open dimension helps us understand how young people make decisions in the present and look to the future with more or less predictable.

During our second conversation, the young woman once again tells us that, despite having some plans in mind, the future is still an open process:

Past
A. Ok, fine, thank you. And....about your past? Have you had time to rethink your past this year?
I. Yes. I also started a course of psychotherapy, for that very reason. Because I saw that it influenced my relationship with people so much and so I'm concentrating on, understanding it, healing the wounds or looking for those things that I also hide from myself to... that is, to be able to move forward, no ?
R. And what do you think of, of the past now?
I. Now I think that.... once I thought of, let's say that... it was always my fault, all things like that. Not now. It happened, it's me who now has to know how to react. That more how I react than the thing that happens to me. Because in the end I can't.... I can't predict what the other, the other person thinks, another person can do. It just happens and then I decide how to deal with other people. It's a bit tough, a bit tough because there's so much work to do. But slowly, slowly...

Future
R. Yes... yes, yes. And what you think about the future?
I. The future for now I am thinking about realizing myself. Because I have always put other people first. Now I'm thinking about what I want, and I try to make it happen. If I succeed, obviously better, if I don't succeed, well, it's an experience, but I have many... let's say I don't have a single plan. I have a bigger plan and, in the meantime, there are other things I can do in the meantime.
R. When I talk about Juliette in five years, what do you think of this Juliette? What will happen to this Juliette?
I. Five years.... [laughter] In 5 years I hope to be a career woman. [laugh]. Being fulfilled and above all, not because I don't want to not have a boss, but maybe with the possibility and seeing that I can do it. And... maybe.... I don't know, there are so many ideas. Maybe it will also come out to open an association for those women who are unable to, to pull themselves out. If I should succeed well that's one thing included in that of social media, because it's easier to reach people. For what I have with this course.
Juliette, 29, Cape Verdean parents, big city in central Italy, secondary education, second wave

In the second wave, it is once again perceived that the marks and traumas of Juliette's past make her create self-care strategies and deep reflection on her own processes. The way in which the interviewee focuses on her own needs to deal with situations that made her suffer demonstrates the culture of self-entrepreneurship as a form of care in which problems that are relational or even social are thought out and resolved individually. In this process, self-care is seen as a process in which the individual must take the reins of her/his/they destiny and manage his own feelings and reactions to adverse, conflicting, and violent situations, even if these situations occur at the most macro level. As van Lanen (2021) states, narratives that tend to bring

adaptation as a way of dealing with uncertainty fall under a neoliberal logic in which allocates hard work and personal accountability the construction of possible futures.

In this sense, and as stated by Foucault (2008), self-care is a biopolitics, a form of control over bodies and oneself, for the transformation of oneself. It is in this sense that we can say that given the value of neoliberal entrepreneurship in which individuals increasingly turn to themselves to solve social problems based on discipline and self-control and self-care, we can understand the practices of regulation undertaken by young people as also a form of biopolitics (Candiotto, 2011).

Looking to the future, what we see in the second wave is that in addition to reaffirming the multiplicity of plans, Juliette in the second wave demonstrates more self-self-interested life projections. In a similar way, both in the perception of the past and in the projection of the future, Juliette bets on more self-centered dynamics to understand painful processes. This young woman believes that the most important thing at this moment is a projection of the future in which her needs and desires are met.

In addition to this organization from the present to the future in a more individualized and self-centered way, failure in a project is not seen as something negative, but as a learning experience. Here again, the idea of self-care is strengthened based on a practice of entrepreneurship: we are masters of ourselves, and failure would be part of the process of self-construction. These practices of individualization even in the projection of the future end up fitting into dynamics that we can consider neoliberal. It is important to reaffirm that neoliberalism in this thesis is conceived in its not only economic dimension, but also political, social that influences the subjective sphere. In view of this, self-care, and care for life in the neoliberal context is "oriented towards the constitution of the individual only from the investment in her/him/they/self, thinking about the rational limits of the calculation between economic costs and benefits (Candiotto, 2011: 472). The most important thing, as you can see, is self-realization as the main goal to be achieved. This sense of self-fulfillment points to a more individualized and micro-scale perception of the future.

Another key interpretation provided by Leccardi is that, given the inability to plan due to the speed of social rhythms, subjective and existential priorities are thought from the same perspective in which biographical decisions are taken over time or "step by step" (Leccardi, 2008: 120). Therefore, not realizing a dream or a project is thought of in a resilient way, in which the failure to achieve a goal can be understood as a learning stage. This phenomenon of thinking about the open future and thinking about projects as experiences that may or may not prosper points to the perception of a much more fluid and dynamic future in which young people must deal with possible changes in their path, with possible failures and, of course, with the victories. For Elliot and Lemmert (2006) the individualization of these processes must be understood from the perspective in which individuals, faced with increasingly accelerated social dynamics, feel pressured to be constantly reinventing themselves. In this process, being able to reinvent yourself, being able to follow different projects and having to deal with the frustrations of plans that do not materialize becomes a way of dealing with the speed of times

(Leccardi, 2020). In this sense, long-term commitments are obstacles to being able to deal with the constant change in social dynamics (Leccardi, 2008).

Alex also strengthens the idea of an "open" future by conferring on herself the status of a young person, in which it is possible to experiment in the present moment:

Past
A. Rather, what image do you have of your past? I. My past? I think I'm getting better with time, that is, I started out as an extremely shy, insecure person, who could not communicate much with people, did not speak much […]Then, however, also changing my company, the people I attended, I was more encouraged to express myself, they asked me to express myself, they asked my opinion […] my shyness decreased, my intimacy also improved a lot, it passed a moment when I went to high school, which it was a bit the darkest moment, psychologically, because in 2 months my acne appeared, an incredible malaise, I couldn't look at myself in the mirror, I no longer greeted people, because I said "what the fuck is happening" so what it was a little crescendo, slowly .
Future
So, my personal future. I hope not to do this work for much longer, and therefore to find some time to reflect on what to do, that is, I don't even want to, in this way, in the wave of enthusiasm, take it out, close everything here and research. I mean, I want to have at least a little plan, right? That is, having my own idea, and that thing there, right? I plan for myself and I don't plan for others, like in relationships, but for me I must have an idea of what I want to do, because then it will depend on me, and I'll have to work on this one. I still don't know what, no way, I'm still at an age where I can totally change what I'm doing, from one moment to the next, and then it's not like that... I can't wait 20 years, to understand where I want to go, what I want to do. So I don't know, that is, yes, in addition to work, which I think I can change, I hope in a sense, always, not to lose strength and energy, to keep banging my head against all the stubborn people I meet out there and argue with everyone, because this is something that makes me switch off like a storm, but at the same time gives me so much energy. Then the future beyond I don't know, I think about family, I don't know, let's see what happens, let's see who I meet, you know.

Alex, 25, father from the United States, big city in northern Italy, tertiary education, first wave

Bringing a comparison between Alex's past and future, work appears in both temporal narratives as fundamental in the construction and transformation of his identity. If in the past it was work that transformed his way of behaving, in the future work becomes the main impediment to his projection of the future towards experimentation. When we look at these two times in perspective, we can see that the way in which self-perceptions changed along Alex's trajectory were related not only to her body in development, but also to her different transitions (from school to university, from university to work). It is possible to perceive how the construction of their own identity and self-perception permeates the type of experience in these transitions.

When we focus only on the future, what we see is the feeling he has of being able to follow different paths, of being able to even make mistakes in the paths taken. The idea of an open future (du Bois-Reymond, 1998; Leccardi, 2020) and of a future of experimentation (Ferrer-Wreder et al, 2021; Kaya and Barmak, 2018; Arnett, 2000) points to the idea of the

future as a field of "endless possibilities" in which individuals, based on rationalization, could dominate, and interfere.

In the two preceding narratives is that the open future is not necessarily seen as something negative, but to some extent it can mean a gift. Faced with the possibility that the dreamed projects are not completely realized, these same projects must be subject to transformations, adaptations or even abandonment in view of the circumstances in which they live (du Bois-Reymond, 1998). Both in the case of Juliette and in the case of Alex, pursuing personal projects in general, without building long-term and very specific plans, can be understood as strategies to neutralize "any unexpected things met with along the way" (Leccardi, 2008: 126). For young people, it seems to be more fruitful to think about the future based on personal goals, whether in relation to work, private life or self-care (Leccardi, 2008).

However, there is a class component that separates these two perspectives of the imagined future as an open future and a future of possibilities. The future in Juliette's case is open because she had to deal with the precariousness and uncertainty of life. In the second, the future is open by the desire to experimentation. The precariousness is allocated in the type of job, in the class frustration of wanting something better. In Juliette's case, precariousness invades several instances of life: subjective personal, labour, relational and identity.

Therefore, the ability to deal with dynamism and uncertainty are related also to the resources that young people have (Hargrove et al., 2015; McDonald, 2008; Brannen and Nilsen, 2005). Uncertainty has always accompanied the most marginalized individuals in a negative way and today this is often the case. Uncertainty, when seen as positive, may be related to the ability of individuals to deal with available resources (that is, here we have to deal with the individual's social position). To see uncertainty as a positive aspect can also come as a response to a survival strategy: that is, in the face of the impossibilities of life, precariousness and uncertainty are internalized as a daily element. In the second wave, Alex informs us that her frustration with work still remains a fact that makes us realize that after a year, there has been no change in her work configuration:

Past
I. Has your relationship with the past changed in this year in which you say: "Anyway, I've been alone a lot, eh…"? Is it your past, but also more that collective past, that memory in an even more historical and social sense?
R. I do not usually think so much about the past, that is, it's something that I now take for granted, right? That is what I did, my choices, my companions, my friends. In the pandemic maybe sometimes yes, but I always try to look a little at what I'm going to do next, because I don't like feeling sorry for myself [smiles].
Future
I. Since you told me: "I think more about the future", if I say future now what comes to your mind?
R. Now the problem is a bit bizarre and not so happy, so if I think about the short future, it's not exactly rosy, I'll have to face a couple of things, above all on a sentimental, emotional level, which they will weigh me down a bit; sooner or later I'll have to start thinking about work, I'll

have to try to improve this situation in some way, because otherwise then… that is, if I always have this piss about my job, even on a relational level I'm not a pleasant person and it's something that bothers me, that is, I like to be a person you can count on, a supportive person and in this last period I haven't been at all, in any way. And towards me, perhaps, a new house eventually, with a balcony somewhere, at least.

Alex, 26, father from the United States, big city in northern Italy, tertiary education, second wave

Analyzing the past and the future, we realize that for Alex, the past is a closed door where the paths taken have led him here, but which are allocated in yesterday. If compared with the first and second waves, there is a negativity towards the past and the future. If in the first wave the past was seen as a space for development and growth and the future also in the same perspective – with the possibility of experimentation and personal growth, in the second we realize that these elements fade away. It is important to emphasize here that the psychological distress in Alex's analyzed trajectory – which involves the dynamics of work, housing, and personal relationships during the Pandemic, perhaps end up influencing this negative perception of these temporal dimensions. However, the same issue remains on Alex's life horizon: her quality of life and how she relates to her work.

According to Leccardi (2020), the open future as being libertarian is now perceived as a future that imprisons due to its uncertainty and due to the precariousness of the present. The idea of an open future was, according to the author, for a long time understood as a synonym of freedom, a perception that would have changed with contemporaneity. As the author states, contemporary social and temporal transformations have generated more defensive positions. The way of living contemporary time sees the future more as a threat than as a possibility of agency (Leccardi, 2020). In the analysis made by the author the moment of uncertainty can be seen not as a limiting action, but as a potentiator of possibilities (Leccardi, 2008).

In other examples, some young people feel the difficulty of imagining the future, given the unpredictability of everyday life. Imagining a "solid" future for some young people becomes very difficult because the passage of time has altered their perceptions and desires for the future:

Past
R. I forgot to ask you a question, what image do you have of your past?
I. Ah! Ok, the image... uhm... wait a minute... the image... I tell you... in the field, in cultivation, because... there was demanding work... to come out as I have come out now! That is, in the sense, I like how I am! So, you must work in a field, you have to sow it, you have to give it water, you have to make sure that there are no insects and all this.
Future
R. What do you expect from your future? What are your expectations, aspirations, or desires?
I. Uhm... well, this is difficult because I've often changed my mind actually, that is in the sense…three years ago I wanted to be rich, now, now it's not that I want to be rich, that is, I would like to have the right money to live and... enjoy life! I mean, maybe, my... thought is maturing, understand? But I have actually discovered that, the future is a mess, that is, you don't have to expect anything, you have to take what comes, you have to make the best choice every day.

Gabriel, 22, parents from Bangladesh, small town in central Italy, secondary education, first wave

When analyzing past and future in perspectives, we realized that both are thought of by the interviewee as places under construction. The past is seen as a space in which Gabriel sees himself as a cultivator of himself. This way of thinking denotes the idea and a being under construction in which he built himself in his trajectories from daily cultivation to become what he is today. This, to a certain extent, is in line with his visions of the future insofar as for Gabriel the future, which is uncertain, can also be seen as a space for cultivating, for maturing ideas. The future for young people is seen as a place that can change because it can also change their aspirations and their projects. Thus, past, present, and future appear as an eternal field of sowing ideas, trajectories, perspectives, and possibilities.

Focusing only on the future, we realize that the transformation of oneself over time also changes its aspirations for the future. This transformation in his way of thinking was associated with the fact that he was maturing, that he might have realized that other elements were also important in his idealization of the future. What is observed in what he tells us is a plasticity with which some young people deal with the idea of the future. Having changed his mind many times about what this place would be like in time and space demonstrates a tendency versatility and malleability. The idea of a personal future that is related to the search for financial independence and the enjoyment of life, perhaps pointing to an idea of experimentation, but in a different way. Faced with the impossibility of planning, experimentation or living "today" becomes an imperative and a survival tactic.

Another interesting fact is that his self-perception about his own reflections on the future make him realize that the future is not a place, but a future that is built in the present. The idea that the future is a mess in which expectations should not be created demonstrates that, contrary to what is so much thought in the West of the future as a place to be reached, for him the future is the indefinite. Living the present moment would be his way to deal whit this perspective. As we know, the "presentification" of individuals' actions in the current context (Pultz and Pernille, 2016; Carabelli and Lyon, 2016; Worth, 2009; Leccardi, 2008, 2015, 2020; Elliott and Lemer, 2006; Giddens, 2001) manifest the strategies that individuals use to deal with the uncertainty of a place that does not exist, that is, the future. Thus, projections of the future would be influenced by the construction of the present and with the possibilities given by the present and by the course of the trajectory. During our second interview, Gabriel reinforces this perception of a future that cannot be planned. The young man cleverly plays with the temporal dimensions of present, past, and future:

Past

A. All right, now let's talk a bit about the past. Did you get to think back on your past this year?

I. That is... I am a person very tied to the past.... There is a lot tied to memories. Like many maybe have the goal of becoming rich in life, of buying a house, but my goal is to die with good memories. So, die having had a good past. This for me is the greatest wealth. And.... This is also very much linked to the work I do because, that is, they wouldn't tell you "You go away a lot, you can't get a life". But I don't want like a life where you go to work at 7 and come back at 8 and so on for 40 years, understand? I want, I want to collect good memories. I mean I like... I almost, I mean I, like… I don't know. Like I have a cap from a friend of mine, I kept it, understand? As I remember. Because I am very attached to the past. I have a part of me that lives in the past. [laugh].

A. But who imagines your past today when they think about your past? What comes into your head?

I. So... Let's say. Oh well, like everyone I would do everything I have done again, and I think I've had a good past. I mean, even in the midst of hardships I think I had a good past. I know people who have had a bad past and are still traumatized. Because the past marks you. If even if many say "no, no, live in the present" the past marks you. I think I have had a good past.

Future
A. All right, now let's talk a bit about the past. Did you get to think back on your past this year? I. That is... I am a person very tied to the past.... There is a lot tied to memories. Like many maybe have the goal of becoming rich in life, of buying a house, but my goal is to die with good memories. So, die having had a good past. This for me is the greatest wealth. And.... This is also very work related. R. And the future? What awaits Gabriel of the future this year? I. The future and.... I don't know. The future is still dark, but let's say that... So, when I was little I knew what to do in the future, I was convinced. But growing up it always became.... I don't see anything in the future anymore. It all became one.... The future is having a good past, this is my future. [laugh]. A. [laughter]. Nice this! But imagine in, in 5 years what do you want? Do you have desires, do you have expectations? I. I will tell you the truth, I no longer have such long-term expectations. A. Why? I. And... I don't know. Because.... I mean, I stopped planning, because maybe many things I had planned, I achieved them, and when I achieved them, I didn't have the satisfaction I thought I would have when I asked myself that thing. Understood? And so, I say... It's best not to have expectations in everything so it's almost always a surprise. Yes, ok, everyone has a minimum, a minimum of expectations like: that, ok, I'll work, or a minimum, but nothing in particular.
Gabriel, 23, parents from Bangladesh, small town in central Italy, tertiary education, second wave

To live in time is to rethink past, present, and future. It is interesting to note how Gabriel's transitions led to a transformation in the way he thinks about the future: the certainties he had when he was younger are now translated into great doubts. Not seeing anything and everything being dark can be translated as a feeling of uncertainty. However, the uncertainty is translated almost into poetry when he states that for him to have a future is actually to have a good past. This perspicacious way of thinking about this element of his life demonstrates that he stops the temporal notion of a future that is beyond and that will only happen when the past becomes effective. That is, it is by living in the present, which, when lived, becomes the past, that the future materializes. The idea of the future is an eternal future which, however, will only

be realized in the present and which immediately becomes part of the past. For young people, faced with the possibility of planning or having some future certainty, the greatest certainty is in building a good past.

Another piece of evidence of Gabriel's feeling of unpredictability is the way he projects this future: no long-term plans and expectations. In the face of constant changes in their own desires and in the face of a nebulous vision of the future, planning is done daily. Young people facing the "fluidity of individual life journeys in the spheres of work and family life (unemployment, divorce and bereavement, among others), are strikingly anticipated" (Neal, 2011: 5) by these young people who automatically create strategies to cope with these "whims" of reality. One of the strategies is not intense planning. It is in the face of past experiences, their self-perception of changes over time in desires, expectations, and the perception of a change in context that rigid planning does not make sense. The future in this way of thinking is built according to the trajectory, dependent on this trajectory that will change direction according to the paths chosen. Inspired by the questions of Ahmend (2006) who asks how individuals find their ways in a context in which new dynamics are generated as we walk. The transitions Gabriel went through demonstrate that the paths he followed are the ones that guide and reformulate visions of the future. Unlike a rationalist view of plans created to achieve goals in the future, plans and goals follow in time in a simultaneous way and that, depending on what happens, they can be reformulated.

Furthermore, what he also informs us is that even when certain projects were achieved, the imagined level of satisfaction was not generated, which for him frustrates the construction of ambitions on a large scale. In this context, not creating expectations and living in the moment was the solution he found, so that frustrations and unpleasant surprises do not occur. That is, not planning for the long term becomes a precautionary measure in the face of past experiences. This is important to emphasize, since the life course approach takes into account that the trajectory of individuals will influence their agency in the present and their perceptions of the future. It is in the set of frustrations of expectations and in the set of transformations in the way of thinking about the future that he creates strategies to prevent possible new disappointments (Neal, 2011). Precarious contexts make the future be thought of not in terms of long projects, but in immediate projections, in the face of possible changes. The rapid transformations in society and in the lives of these individuals place unpredictability as commonplace in the lives of these young people. The movement of self-reflection and past actions entail changes in direction and action for the future (Neal, 2011). With that, the past of young people is strongly highlighted here, and not only that, but how reflections on the past will influence the steps that these young people will take in the present with perspectives for the future.

As pointed out by Bernardi et al. (2019: 3) "actors are influenced in their choices by the more or less uncertain expectations about the consequences of a given action". In a context perceived as uncertain and contingent, planning is replaced by a feeling of hope and actions turn to the present, to resolve immediate situations (Peoul and Zinn (2015). Once again, young people take on the management of uncertainties generated in broad social contexts and that are often related to structural dynamics, which in this specific case is related to their work

trajectory. As in other examples, the agency is the main organizational vector for the future and for dealing with interrelationships aimed at that future.

9.3. Visions of a collective future

In this part of the chapter, I focus on understanding to what extent young people are concerned about the future and to what extent the way they think about this future is related to their own trajectories. The future when it is thought in the collective sphere is impacted by the set of social circumstances they were experiencing at the time of the research. In this sense, many times and especially in the first wave, the COVID-19 Pandemic was the great guiding element of horizons.

In this chapter I return to the idea of Anthropocene as a way of intensifying scenarios of uncertainty, contingency and feelings of risk, fear, and anxiety. The Anthropocene era can be summarized as the era in which human activity is the main driver of transformations across the planet (Rana et al., 2020; Spannring and Hawke, 2022). The frequency and intensity of disease outbreaks is also seen as one of the results of the Anthropocene in the world. Thus, the COVID-19 Pandemic is a response and a demonstration of the changes that have occurred due to predatory human actions. Both the pandemic situation and other issues involving the Anthropocene - the most general of which are climate change and all its side effects - end up calling into question the future of the planet as well as the future of humans. (Spannring and Hawke, 2022).

Italy was one of the countries in the world that had large measures of restrictions. In Italy, the first confirmed case of COVID-19 took place on January 30, 2020. After that, cases began to increase in the Lombardy region, initially culminating in a lockdown in the northern regions and after that, on March 10, in the complete lockdown of the whole country. After that, in May, when cases decreased, the government eased lockdown restrictions, but there were still restrictions on mobility and work and economic activities. During the summer of 2020, restrictions are significantly reduced, but between September and October, cases begin to increase again, which culminates in November in the second lockdown. There will be almost four months of restrictions on movement, social contacts, and economic activities. This summary demonstrates that the year 2020 and even part of the year 2021 was marked by a major change in the daily lives of many individuals in Italy.

In addition to the context of the Pandemic, the perception of the future was also affected by other issues: thinking about the future of society was a task that led them to think about the consequences of the Anthropocene. It was notable that the way young people think about the future of society is completely related to the constant feeling of uncertainty and unpredictability of the social context, which will be portrayed in the following sessions about the individual future. If the human future is not guaranteed, thinking about the individual future becomes a difficult task in the face of the fatality of events.

9.3.1. The Anthropocene: fears and visions of society and the world

One of the elements that stood out in this research was the fatalistic and catastrophic visions surrounding the perceptions of the future of the young people in this research. It was noticed that the Pandemic joined other previously existing elements – among them environmental and economic issues, consumption patterns, modes of governance – which together strengthened a sense of insecurity and the creation of an ontological fear. As we will see below, thinking about the future in 2020 seems like a bad plan:

> A. And if I say "future", what comes to mind?
> I. Look, in 2020 it is better not to ask at all!
> A. [laughs]
> I. I mean, [laughs], noo... I hope it's different from now! I hope for an improvement but, I'm a bit pessimistic because I don't know if an improvement will really happen, and... so, if you tell me "the future of society", in my opinion... after a few years, we all die out in a... somehow, because like this at this rate... it's not going anywhere... good... so. [Laura, 28, Uzbekistan origin, big city in central Italy, tertiary education, first wave]

In this session for most young people, even those who tried to be optimistic, the Pandemic ended up revealing or intensifying negative elements of society, be they inequality, the way of relating socially, environmental problems, production patterns and consumption. The Pandemic was seen as a strong element of the Anthropocene, with the dangers revealed by the COVID-19 outbreak thought of in its most critical way. What they tell us is something already found in the literature (Giuliani, 2021) that points out how today society creates and lives the fears produced by itself. In the second wave, she also makes her opinion explicit:

> R. Also this covid situation, do you think your image of the future has changed or not?
>
> I. Even more depressing than before because... [laughs] last year I hoped that the Covid situation would improve, that there would be progress, discoveries, that we would make progress. But here there are always new variants, i.e., we are getting worse and worse and are always on point anew. And with the vaccine, we're now down to three vaccines and who knows how many more we'll have to do because then the virus fines, so I don't know; I mean I don't see any improvements at this point, I don't see how it's possible, I don't see when it will happen. And I am truly convinced at this point that we will not go back to the normality that was before and that now when a stranger approaches me from too far away .... I have problems accepting .... that is, I need my space so such as to be sure maybe I'm not getting something, not getting the covid. I have more anxiety when I hear people coughing or sneezing on the street and not covering their mouths and now also when I watch movies where there are many people together without a mask....so it's.... no, I'm not optimistic. [Laura, 29, Uzbekistan origin, big city in central Italy, tertiary education, second wave]

What Laura shows us is the feeling of eternal crisis, of a feeling of prolonged uncertainty. After almost two years of the Pandemic, we realize that notions of normality have been suspended and that imagining a future without COVID and without the social, health and psychological consequences is impossible. The political, economic, social and sanitarian transformations caused by the advent of the COVID-19 Pandemic had a profound impact on feelings of anxiety, terror, and uncertainty (Paredes et al., 2021). As we see in other passages, the sensation is one of fear: fear of approaching, biological fear, fear of contact and contamination. This process can lead to increasingly individualized thoughts and agencies, something that is already felt by the young people interviewed here. For them, the situation either forced more individual behaviors of self-care and self-preservation or generated more individualized and selfish collective actions – something we will see later.

The scenario of the Pandemic that does not seem to be advancing in a positive way, is opposed to a possible reliability of science. Trust in science influences feelings of fear of COVID-19 (Breakwel and Jaspal, 2021), with the development of the disease itself a threat to building hope and reliability. It is noteworthy that in this case, we must consider both the messages from technical and scientific bodies to society, as well as the role of the media in exacerbating feelings of fear and insecurity (Chaiuk and Dunaievska, 2020; Breakwel and Jaspal, 2021). The impact of both science and the news published in the most diverse media may have also influenced the levels of fear, confusion, and uncertainty, which can lead to a situation of emotional exhaustion and anxiety about the future (Paredes et al, 2021).

The fact is that for these young people, the solutions found to deal with this fear are placed in the individual sphere - reducing contacts in order not to be contaminated -, in the self-control that has the fear as the activating principle. There is a feeling of atomization among young people, in which fear, and restrictive measures affect the reading of the future:

> R. Did you think the current situation of COVID, would you change your idea of the future?
> I. Of course it has changed a lot, even the psyche, that is, our own has changed, that is our way of seeing others too, now we are afraid even when you approach someone, that is, it is awful! A monster that has entered our lives... the Cold War! A silent war. The Cold War in 1962. [Alice, 29, Tunisian parents, small city in southern Italy, tertiary school, first wave].

Another time it is possible to observe the idea of fear, vigilance and chaos generated by the outbreak of the Pandemic. The imaginaries of terror and fear are accompanied, among other things, by the existence of pandemics and natural disasters, processes that are all very strengthened in the imaginary of Western culture (Giuliani, 2021). What Alice tells us is the construction and strengthening of horror narratives that place individuals as antagonists, while embodying risks to one another, expanding the concept that embodies are dangerous for each individual.

The emotions and sensations of fear, instability and uncertainty can be considered generators not only of mental states, but also of actions. That said, it is important to emphasize that the fears and visions of incontinence visualized by young people during the research

generate potential modes of agency in relation to the future. After all, how can young people come to act in the face of a future in which terror is found in contact with other people? how same states Breakwell and Jaspal (2021: 335) "the COVID-19 global pandemic created not only a great risk to physical health but also required reordering of work and family life, significant change in social behavior".

This pessimistic view of society, as we will also see below, is shared by other interviewees who, despite having at some point hoped for a better future with the Pandemic, also end up perceiving a fatalistic situation:

> I. At the level of humanity, society, I was really rooting for this pandemic to make us see the point we were getting there. The dead-end path where we were going, in terms of everything. The fact that there is an impressive drop in the level of pollution... I was very hopeful about the fact that we would be able to see other forms of life. Sustainability, renewable energies, abandoning a certain type of production, consumption, a system that is a sick system, that will not, cannot be sustainable for many years to come. But returning to the issue of the Pandemic, of the future, I really hoped that this could be a change, [...]. I see that we are returning to where we were. So I am, in general, I am an optimistic person, I am an optimistic person. I try to be realistic, but I have that hint of optimism that is always good. So, I was hoping this could be a change, I can see it's not going to be [Maria, 29, Brazilian mother, big city in central Italy, tertiary education, first wave]

The Pandemic, which for Maria could have been a moment of transformation, of building new horizons, turned out to be "more of the same". It is possible to affirm with these statements that young people are not satisfied with the society in which they live and that they perceived the moment of the Pandemic as a moment of intensification of the negative aspects that they already considered existing in society. Young people are aware of what Fiske et al. (2021) define as the "second pandemic" that would involve precisely the social and economic damage caused by the spread of the virus. Even with the attempt at a positive projection for society, these three young women demonstrate a critical reflection on where we are in society and how the event of a Pandemic reflected these findings on the world more intensely. In the second wave Maria once again shares with us her perception of the future and in relation to the Pandemic she points out that:

> I. [laughs]. Nothing has changed, huh. It doesn't change anything... I... yeah, it doesn't change anything. And I ended up creating an even more limited thought of the world, about certain aspects like that. In the sense that... well... the future of society... My society is the society I create around. Because thinking about society as a whole might even be good.... frustrating. It's like um.... frustrating, because you... are so broad and you're so small and can do so little that I almost end up thinking that it doesn't make soooo much sense to think on such a broad level. My society, my community, are the people I want to have by my side, that I, with whom I cultivate relationships, the people I have to deal with, with whom I want to deal, so. From this point of view, I realize that I am extremely selective, I always have been. And... so my community, my society is doing very well [laughs]. I am very happy with the choice I made, and I think this allows us to know even who we want on our side. [Maria, 30, Brazilian mother, big city in central Italy, tertiary education, second wave].

Maria's narrative is interesting because it demonstrates how the perceptions of fear, uncertainty and precariousness posed by all the interviewees so far can be transformed into ways of conceiving the world and, therefore, into modes of agency. The strategies used by her are to think about the future in its most micro scale, considering possible daily practices in the context in which her live. This difficulty in looking at macro-social aspects in a positive way makes many young women create strategies to deal with this difficulty in seeing the big picture. For Erick, the strategy of thinking in a more micro and individualized perspective of future becomes a way to alleviate the feeling of uncertainty:

> R. Now about the future. If I say "future" what comes to your mind?
> I. That. It is a big point of question bigger as 'Christ the Redeemer'. That's what I see in the future. No but, as I was saying, I don't know what's in my future. In my small context, I try to improve the future of my neighborhood, here as an educator. Because I really believe that to change where you live, you must change the little ones. You have to teach them that the most important thing is to study. Having tools to face reality. Because the problem of today's society is that many people don't have enough tools to cope. They are.... here we speak functional illiterate. So, we have to be people of the world who understand what happens to their own heads. I try to improve the future by teaching this to children. Not feeling... I know I have a lot of defects; I don't feel like the best person in the world to teach others, but I try to set an example. More or less. [Erick, 26, Brazilian mother, big city in southern Italy, secondary education, first wave]

It is in the face of the uncertainty of an individual future that the collective future, when thinking, is thinking about the possibility of change and individual action. Erick allocates the possibility of transformation to individual agency and on a community scale. This way of understanding the collective future may be explained by Erick's own social context: as we already know, the young people live in a region in southern Italy where young people lack opportunities in education and employment. For him, investing in education and providing tools for people to deal with reality is a strategy for social change. The most micro reasoning for thinking about the collective future becomes once again a strategy to deal with the impossibility of large-scale action.

Continuing with the perceptions of young people and uncertainties about the future in the context of the Pandemic, other examples try to directly demarcate how the Pandemic brought real repercussions on people's lives. For Gloria, the Pandemic exposed existing social inequalities even more incisively.

> I. Yes. So, in my opinion, I certainly have an impact on how I see the future, but… On an even greater difficulty than what I saw before, of having planning in things, yes. I see this, the fact that there has been a highlight anyway, a widening of inequalities, of excluded bands that are no longer excluded, I see this. That is, the other day we took a regional and right now there are only arrows and there is one regional a day. In our regional there were me, my partner, and only non-white people, besides her. That is, this is a very powerful aspect of this Coronavirus and of the gap that is created between one segment of the population and another. So, there is this and then, however, there is the whole question of borders, documents, policemen on the street and more policemen on the street. It's something that still doesn't stop, however, there are controls

everywhere and this worries me a lot. Even opening the documents makes me very agitated, but still... I have the feeling that I remain one of the types of targets they like.

r. You?

I. Yes, to those who do that job there. Even on normal days, I don't know, they feel very legitimate already making a lot of jokes about my tan, let's see how it goes in short. [...] because I already perceived the question of precariousness, it's not that clearly the Coronavirus has highlighted how long our world of work, the possibility of accessing work or not, is linked to precariousness. [Gloria, 24, Senegalese father, big city in southern Italy, tertiary education, first wave].

Gloria demonstrates a high critical sense when realizing that the Pandemic will intensify existing social inequalities. It is interesting to note that for her, it is not that new inequalities occur, but the overlapping of previously existing unequal situations that will bring more precariousness to specific groups in society. Thus, the COVID-19 pandemic was for Gloria an amplifier of inequalities, a catalyst for precariousness that already existed previously. Gloria's finding is not just at the individual level, since data dealing with the consequences of the Pandemic show that there was an increase of almost 105% of new poor people between March and May in the Italian context (Fiske et al., 2021).

The awareness that, in the context of the pandemic, individuals were not affected in the same way and to the same extent (Fiske et al., 2022) also demonstrates a concern with the collective and with issues that touch one's own identity. Cases of discrimination and exclusion already mentioned by some authors (He et al. 2020; Fisk et al., 2022) in relation to specific individuals during the Pandemic point to the racialization of these individuals and the impact of this on their lives.

The presence of non-white people outside the home, for her, demonstrated the extent to which these are the individuals who are precarious and suffering the risks of a Pandemic and who, in this case, do not have the privilege of staying at home. For Gloria, the pandemic has increased the gap between two social groups. The contribution of Santos (2007) in this scenario helps us to understand what Gloria's is telling us. The author states that in modern Western thought there is a line that divides social reality and that places individuals in different positions on that line. These lines, according to the author, would divide individuals between those who have the right to live and those who do not. The abyssal line, as the author states, separates individuals so much that on the other side of the line individuals disappear, are non-existent for society. This non-existence, explains the author, would make individuals irrelevant and, given the irrelevance of their existence, they are therefore excluded from the universe that is conceived, from the universe of things that exist and people that matter: "beyond the line there is only non-existence, invisibility and non-dialectical absence" (Santos, 2007: 71). What Gloria tells us is that the Pandemic has intensified and further cracked the lines that separate one layer of the population from the other line of the invisible, of those that surveillance is attentive, but that excludes the possibility of safeguarding oneself from the Pandemic.

It is considering this that for her the future becomes a place of uncertainty, because what we are experiencing now is the intensification of risk. In her case, she is seen as a risk, as a dangerous body that needs to be watched (Giuliani, 2020). The contradiction of this process is

that the separation between the visible - those who can live - and the invisible - those who can die, surveillance does not cease to exist. They are individuals who are considered as dangerous bodies that disturb the order of the visible.

The specific abyssal line she brings is that of colour/origin: for her it was noticeable that non-white people are the ones who are out of the house to, for example, work; these are the people who will be overlooked in document surveillance situations. In this case, she assumes this situation by placing herself on the other side of the abyssal line. The young woman with African descent also tells us that her body, according to her, was already preferred by police during raids. The pandemic as suspended time, but perhaps intense time, would further intensify this dangerous body place that needs to be watched. As Gloria tells us, the increase in inspection of documents, the increase in policing due to the Pandemic creates an even greater context of exclusion for people who were already excluded before. In this sense, it is possible to say that the interviewee perceives herself in an even greater situation of vulnerability. She tells us that before the Pandemic, her body was already a "preferred" target of police suspicions and when she thinks about her future in a pandemic context, she tends to think that these reactions will get worse. That is, before the pandemic, according to her, people already felt the legitimacy of being prejudiced or discriminating against someone. Faced with the context of the pandemic, the future is thinking in a context of greater possibility of control, greater possibility of discrimination and increased exclusion.

Finally, regarding work, the interviewee believes that the pandemic has intensified the precariousness in the world of work that already existed for young people. Getting a job or not is related to the current precarious condition they are in, and with the pandemic situation, according to the interviewee, this tended to get worse.

That is, what is evident from what the interviewee tells us is that her future and the future of society, when put into perspective in the context of the COVID-19 Pandemic, are perceived as crossed by lines of separation that violate, monitor and make certain people vulnerable. society groups. What happens is an intensification of already existing processes, which leads us to understand that the Pandemic for many of the young people in our research, despite having been a surprise element, has become for them one more key element in the observation of unequal dynamics of society. In the second wave, Gloria continues her criticism of the processes that took place during the Pandemic, but now in a way that she begins to perceive the already visible consequences of the restrictions implemented in the countries:

> R. Yes, also, how do you see it, how do you see the future.
> I. The fact that, if we remove the health aspect, from the point of view of self-depression, the limits, the ten kilometers from home, the curfew, which is the thing that I can least explain, because I think that a person who works, then must run; someone who finishes work in the office and has to run, to get there before the supermarket closes, I think that if I were an average consumer I would be very indignant about this thing they make me do [...] here we lack a much shorter future, for example I can do much less projects than I would like to do, how to do it, where to do it.
> R. Did you say that it makes you make fewer plans for yourself than you would like?
> I. Yes, definitely, that is, I manage to have a much more limited imagination, for example what

do we do in September? I don't know if I have to stay at (...) if not, if yes, that is, I feel that I have much less possibility of choosing, [...] therefore, this type of planning seems to me much more difficult to achieve. [Gloria, 24 years old, Senegalese father, second wave]. Gloria, 25, Senegalese father, big city in southern Italy, tertiary education, second wave]

Once again Gloria unmasks the contradictions of social impositions imposed by governments as a way to mitigate COVID-19 infections. Mobility restrictions can generate different impacts depending on the context in which someone is. Furthermore, given the uncertainty of the processes arising from the Pandemic, planning for a long-term future becomes unfeasible if not even the near future can be minimally organized. The Pandemic, it can be said, generates a limitation of imagining the future both near and distant. In a different way, other young people also demonstrated that the restrictions taken during the pandemic impacted the future projection:

> R. Do you think the pandemic has changed anything in relation to your future and the collective one?
>
> I. So... on a collective level a lot has changed! And... it is clear that we are reduced in all of our possibilities, it is clear that all governments have had to adopt measures to prevent the contagion from being particularly high[…] On the other hand, I tell you that we must be very careful because there have been several of my colleagues who have obviously spoken of a violation of individual freedoms. Now I don't want to go to that point and I don't want to say that… individual freedoms have been undermined by COVID, by the provisions regarding COVID, but no, it shouldn't be underestimated what may also be the psychological problems that people have in the staying indoors for too long, or too long at... without a job. Well, I think it's very selfish to mind your own business and say: "Ok, I have the money, I have the possibility of being able to stay at home.", I don't know, I also have, I don't know if you have a purse of study there at the university, ok. You and I can stay at home quite calmly because we get money continuously every month and we don't have the problem of having to bring money home, that's it. But I imagine that there are many people who maybe didn't even have any savings, who based their entire lives solely on the work they did every month. And this doesn't just apply to Italy, it applies to all the countries of the world and... and we can't be so selfish as to say: "Let's close everything and that's it.", without thinking of some solution for these people here. ". A solution that must be cheap, but which I hope next year with vaccines will also become a solution: "Let's go back to work. Let's go back to doing what we did before.", well, I too would like to go back to university for example. Um... so... well, I'd like to go back to seeing my friends often like I did before, well [Jean, 28, Congolese father, big city central Italy, tertiary education, first wave]

Jean denounces the restrictive measures adopted by the Italian government based on the same idea: how the pandemic restrictions had an impact not necessarily on freedom and locomotion, but the implications of the loss of locomotion in the most vulnerable groups in society. For him, the problem of pandemic restrictions is not about the loss of individual freedoms, which he perceives as a privileged perception of the process. In this sense, staying at home becomes a privilege in the face of the impossibilities that many have in complying with restrictions due to economic issues. As Gloria makes explicit, Jean vehemently denounces a set of measures that fail to think about less favored groups. Forbidding individuals to carry out their subsistence activities without providing subsidies for it was the main impact on the future of society.

In the second wave, young people, like other respondents, did not directly bring up the impact of COVID on their perceptions of the future. It was also interesting to note how, after a year of the Pandemic, the existence of the disease for a few interviewees no longer appeared to be a factor of instability or indifference, almost as if young people had incorporated that reality in the construction of their future horizons:

> I. I am always optimistic. Let's say what happened last year I metabolized and rationalized in my life and... understanding that it should be let's say, a situation that I could use to make what I've always been... that I've always seen for myself. So, certainly the end of my research period certainly […] I have very positive feelings about the future. I feel very peaceful. I must be sincere. Yes... the only element of non-tranquillity is precisely the finitude of life. At this point the problem has become... that let's say I'm interested. I am not afraid anymore... I don't even know, for example, before someone worried about work or for... all these issues like that... considered everything, in the end, a good curriculum and then... I'm not afraid from going, I don't know, to going for an interview. I've done so many times that no. I can say that having this important, precisely, doctoral scholarship, these are very, very simple things to deal with. So, for human things, let's say I'm calm. Due to facts outside of humanity, I am less calm. But that is another speech anyway. [Jean, 29, Congolese father, big city central Italy, tertiary education, second wave]

Jean 1allocates individuality as the main strategy for dealing with the consequences of COVID-19. Here, the narrative of adaptation and self-reconstruction to deal with the social changes that have taken place is reinforced (van Lanen, 2021). It is the individual who needs to overcome the situation, it is the individual who needs to internalize the changes and transform. Neoliberal subjectivity (van Lanen, 2021) allocates in the individual the need for constant adaptation in which individual effort is the main solution to the dilemmas encountered. However, Jean is also referring to the process of losing his father. For him, the issue of his father's death had an impact on his individual trajectory: it is not human things that he is concerned about - for that he has his agency and capacity for transformation - but those things that do not concern him. can control, including death. What we can perceive is the separation between what can be changed through our actions and what we cannot control. It is evident that Jean strongly believes in the action of individuals as a transformative principle, whether on an individual scale or on a social scale.

Finally, another discussion that appears in relation to the future and the impact of COVID-19 is in relation to the change in society because of covid and the idea of individual freedom. It is clear until now that when young people think about the future in the pandemics they think about the mobility and individuality privileges:

> R. Has the pandemic changed anything in relation to your life plans?
> I. No, it hasn't, it hasn't changed, I... my biggest regret is not being able... it's the limitation of freedom, you understand how important it is, how... how we are, we are lucky to be able to be free to go, do and undo. But from this point of view, the limitation of this freedom too made me understand certain things, how many people in the world don't have... don't have, no... probably not even twenty percent of the freedom I had before in being able to go hither and thither. Look, it makes you think that there are people who have never had this freedom to be able... to be able

to do so many things, right? Travelling, making, unpacking, right? Within, in the context that we call Western, is much simpler, isn't it? So, think, reflect on these things here, reflect; I told you last time, didn't I? Power, right? Of the Italian passport compared to... compared to other passports. Eh, we have to remember, these are fortunes that... have happened to you, it's not like you built them, right? From one point of view, maybe my parents built it because they decided to make choices and came here. I would call this a privilege, right? And others fall on you, and therefore COVID in my opinion... if, if it is taken in a reflexive way, and I hope that many do it in this way here, it leads to a consideration, that is, the consideration is that... we must, we must... we must fight um so that the freedom that we have known can be guaranteed for as many people as possible around the world, yes [Elijah, 29, Egyptian parents, big city in northern Italy, tertiary education, first wave]

Elijah, despite not focusing directly on future perspectives, ends up converging images of the present, past and future of his individual trajectory with images of the present, past and future of his family and also of society. For him, one of the main impacts of the Pandemic was the limitation of mobility and freedom that he had before the containment measures adopted by the Italian government. For Elijah, although his individual projects have not changed, this process made him reflect on the privileges that many individuals who live in the West and who have a European passport have in moving freely in different territories. By bringing this up, he also puts into perspective other individuals who are in other contexts and who never had the privilege of locomotion and mobility. Elijah's finding strengthens the idea of the role of modernity's high reflexivity in which individuals are constantly thinking and rethinking about their own living conditions, about their practices and possibilities for action. The way Elijah does this, however, is by evoking both the present and the past – of his family – to represent images of the future. The tools that young people have to think about the future are situated both in the images and narratives they have of the collective and individual past (his and his family) as well as the conditions of the present. It is strengthened again that the imagined future brings figures from the past and present, individual, and collective, and in this specific case, they bring the migratory history of the family. Once again, the principle of connected lives is of interest to us in this analysis, as it helps us to understand how the trajectories of individuals today are imbued with past and present choices made by family members. For young people, mobility and freedom is a value that denotes a position in society and demonstrates social privileges. The pandemic situation suspends these privileges, making him question the extent to which mobility possibilities were given to him by his parents.

There is a concern on the part of young people not only in relation to themselves but to society and especially to the most vulnerable within this society (Fiske et al 2021). In this way, experiencing the context of the Pandemic caused social positions and privileges to be reflected (Fiske et al 2021). in their daily lives. Not being able to get around, not being able to travel provided a reflection on the need to expand these processes to other individuals.

9.3.2. COVID-19 as a catalyst for uncertainty

For some subjects in this research, COVID was a turning point in social reality, in social relations, in temporality and in the individual and social perception of the future:

> R. Okay. And if I tell you future, what comes to your mind?
> I. What comes to mind…
> A. Future, yes.
> I. For now, the first thing that comes to mind is Coronavirus.
> [Mario, 28, Moroccan parents, big city in northern Italy, secondary education, first wave]

It is possible to imagine that during 2020 the Pandemic took the centrality of all these young people's imagination, including their perception of the future. In the narrative below, experiencing the Pandemic and having lived through months of lockdown brought different perspectives for young people in relation to their futures and the future of society. If for Mario looking to the future would mean thinking about the Coronavirus, Gabriel, facing the pandemic, observes the future in a fatalistic way:

> R. Do you think this pandemic situation will change anything in relation to your future and that of society?
> I. Surely... definitely yes! In the sense that... is, that is, there is no certainty of anything in reality. If, the only certainty is that you will just die. [Gabriel, 22, parents from Bangladesh, small town in central Italy, secondary education, first wave]

For Gabriel, the Covid brought a totally uncertain perception of the future, in which the only certainty would be fatality. Despite Gabriel putting the situation in fatalistic terms, the fact is that for many young people the horizon imagined for the future is completely transformed. If previously few certainties were placed on the horizon, the arrival of the Pandemic intensifies the feeling of uncertainty even more. As pointed out by Paredes et al. (2021) studies on unexpected events, catastrophes, such as pandemics or environmental disasters can generate negative thoughts about the future for individuals. The near future was being thought of based on a "generalized feeling of uncertainty" (Commodari and La Rosa, 2020:10). In addition to a negative perception of the future, given the suspension of time, activities, mobilities, and social relationships, plans need to be readjusted:

> I. Um, yes, a little yes! Let's say that the pandemic has influenced, it has influenced me a lot, because... if I thought before, well, there was work and there was, and maybe build me a future, put money aside, slowly. With the pandemic and everything... you know what, you really start thinking about yourself, right? and you say, ok! not now, because you start from scratch, so you say: "Now I have nothing left!"... so you retrace your steps, your passions, your things and try to give your 100%, give your 100 percent in that. And... therefore also the optics in the futu... of the future, has changed! Because now I'm much more…in quotation marks carefree, but more confident in what I want to do.
> R. And what do you want to do?
> I. And... music, I try to make music, I will always try, by now I have this fixed thought! Let's say the pandemic made me understand that there is this, and this... pushed me a little more, because before there was a little fear, because you were divided with work, you were divided with passion and you say... you never risk one hundred percent. [Joseph, 26, Congolese parents,

big city in the central Italy, secondary education, first wave]

Up to this point in the analysis, it has already been noticeable that the young people interviewed here are experiencing a moment of self-construction in which independence and job and financial stability are essential elements for them. Joseph exposes the suspension of life projects due to the pandemic. The young man who stopped working during the pandemic tells us that the few projects he had in relation to his financial life are undone with the arrival of COVID-19. With this, it is possible to state that covid transforms the perception of the future and organization/projection for the future. More than a suspension of time, Joseph feels like starting from nothing. Some young people with little material and social support reaches a level of total loss during the COVID-19 Pandemic. The Pandemic took away his possibility of work, also taking away the possibility of saving money and planning from that money.

At the same time – and perhaps this is the most interesting part of what he tells us – is that the Pandemic, when related to the future, appears as an impulse to create possibilities. As we see in the second part of his interview, he realizes that the present pandemic moment has taken away his present and future employment possibilities but has driven him to focus more intensely on his projects as an artist. The pandemic for Joseph served as a moment of reflection on his priorities and on his projects. Many young people trace their life trajectories trying to reconcile the need for survival with the personal plans and projects they want. Sometimes the need for survival cannot encompass the professional desires of young people, which causes many to develop unwanted work activities. Joseph makes it clear that in his attempt to reconcile work and financial stability with his artistic career – a path that had not yet given economic satisfaction – he ended up abandoning certain projects. Many young people do not risk following their passions, hobbies, and dreams for fear of not achieving stability in building these paths. The pandemic, however, proved to be a turning point that transforms ways of thinking, opinions, and future projects. As we will see below in our second wave, Joseph insists on following his dream as an artist and tells us that this horizon, although it is far away, is what he has for sure:

> So, I do this a lot... obviously I do this… a lot of dreams that I'm on stage, that I sing. So [laughs] my future is that. That's it. You know...it won't be today, or tomorrow, but I know I'm going to have to because it's...it's like it's meant to be. I feel it, I feel it. [Joseph, 27, Congolese parents, big city in the central Italy, secondary education, second wave]

Between the first and second wave of interviews, Joseph is going through a maturation of his initial idea of continuing his artistic career. Different from the first wave in which he has a change of priorities in life during the experience of the Pandemic, in the second wave it is indisputable for him that his future is allocated in his artistic life. However, despite the desire and feeling of certainty, this young man is unable to give a "certain date" for this event. It can be inferred that some young people, despite having clear some of their desires and plans, do not know very well at what point in their trajectories these plans will be realized. For Juliette the Pandemic also brought a change of perspective in which, like Joseph, the future becomes much more self-centered and self-reflective:

> I. Yes... before well, before I always and only thought, I want to start a family, while now I think I want to realize and then if it happens, I'll start a family. [Juliette, 28, Cape Verdean parents, big city in central Italy, secondary education, first wave]

For both Joseph and Juliette, the pandemic outbreak served to reorient the future based on other trajectories and possibilities. From this, it can be inferred, as we saw at the beginning of the chapter, that young people's capacity for resilience is placed not only in relation to the present, but also in relation to the imagined future. It is in the face of a change in the social context, and it is in the face of losses – of employment, of financial stability – that some young people feel compelled to change their life paths. As we can see in the two examples, for these young people the change of course takes place towards a more individualized, more self-reflective path in which actions regarding the future are now thought of in a capillary and self-fulfilling way. It is in the face of unexpected catastrophes that some young people can feel impelled to seek meaning in life from within themselves. Exists one perception of both young people who "individual choices become all the more important, and the choice biography takes over from the standard biography" (Brannen & Nilsen, 2002: 515). If the imagined future already had the purpose of catering more to individual choices, it is clear that the Pandemic could generate an even stronger movement towards these more individualized constructions in which the biographical choice becomes the main element.

As mentioned above, the outbreak that occurs in 2020 is intensely experienced by these young people, which brings transformations in their own conceptions and life values, pointing not only to the individualization of biographies but also to a change in attitudes and mindset in relation to the future:

> Aah... perhaps it has become a simpler image... that is, in truth... uhm... maybe before, I gave myself more thought, even on things... perhaps aesthetic, that is, now I realize that I have a different approach even just with clothes, because in any case always staying at home in pyjamas, I don't give a damn about having the matching blah, maybe when I go out, I'm left with the same attitude of 'it's not that important in the end', because maybe wasting a lot of time looking for things eh, nowadays it doesn't make much sense anymore. And you understand that maybe before you were losing a lot of money, and time, that is, not a lot, but anyway over the years I've seen that I have a closet full of stuff, I've used three things in the last month maybe, so it's all stuff that I really don't need as a basis, that is, it's not essential, they're not important things. And... and, on top of that maybe... before, I was more focused on... work, work, work, instead... um... I realize that it's not... there's only work, so the things that must then be cultivated will not only be work, and I will not have to focus only on being successful or anything like that, but simply in... family harmony in a certain sense, that is, if you are fine in yours, then you are at place, if, then, you manage to insert friendships and everything well, and you manage to take the warmth, um, of life, if, you're OK, then nothing else is needed, all the rest are, they are ornaments. [Laura, 28, Uzbekistan origin, big city in central Italy, tertiary education, first wave]

The shift that Laura has in her perception of the future is related to a redefinition of the values that she herself. The decentralization of work as the main point of achievement and the organization of life and values from a "simpler" perspective strengthens the idea of building

the future on the daily bases. As in past examples, there is a high capacity for resignation in those young people's trajectories in the face of the frustrations of precariousness and uncertainty. It may seem like little, but Laura, by valuing the "little ones", means to stop thinking about big life projects or big biographical narratives that place the profession and the financial issue as essential elements as points of self-fulfillment. This different way of looking at these issues demonstrates what the literature points to as decentralization of life trajectories from a less institutionalized perspective. The decentralization of work as the main point of self-realization and biographical construction demonstrates that young people feel a need to feel that they belong to society from other perspectives and from other spheres of life. If before, in the 50s and 60s, work was the main axis of existence and personal fulfilment, if work was the main way of thinking about the world and society and of feeling like you belonged to something, here it appears that other spheres are equally important. The Pandemic in this process offers a perspective that escapes the traditional one. An unexpected event causes changes to occur in the most micro sense, with prospects impacted.

9.4. Race, gender, parenting, location and family relationships in the construction of the possible

Within the set of data that were collected in this investigation, identity issues, as well as other aspects of young people's trajectories, influenced to some extent their perceptions and plans for the future. Below I bring three main elements and how these elements reconfigure young people's visions of the future.

I start first with the impact of parenthood on the planning and execution of future desires, plans in which the arrival of a child has total influence on:

> So, however, precisely because it was a moment of change and reflection, because I've had, let's say the work I've done so far, is above all[...] in fact I feel lucky even in that, no? Having, that is, not having a diploma or anything, I ended up being an administrative employee. I was doing a very important job with a good... good salary, I worked part time thirty hours where I was allowed, ask for time off, anyway, I had a good job... but I wasn't happy... as a person, I don't know. Now that I'm a mother, I've changed, I've understood so many things that... that make me feel good and one, one of these for example... is, is being inside myself... is being, is working with the children, being among children or mothers, helping mothers. So now, in January, I start taking a course to become a doula, I don't know if you know what it is. [Faviola, 29, Colombian origin, big city in northern Italy, secondary education, first wave]

In Faviola's case, motherhood redefined her identity and with it her professional horizons. Even though in the first and second wave of interviews Faviola was still not working, having even decided to stay at home, what is perceived is that the arrival of her son is an important turning point in her construction of the future. As we saw in the work chapters and parenting trajectories and in the theoretical chapters, the literature (Hochschild 1989; Coltrane, 2004, Gerson, 2010,

2015; Deming, 2022) already discusses the impact of motherhood especially regarding their trajectories in the labor market. In this passage of her interview, it is demonstrated how a turning point can generate future repercussions and can generate desires and projects for the future. The experience of being a mother, the experience of having lost a baby shortly after that, revealed a subjective and existential need for Faviola. Her identity redefinition, now as a mother, also appears in her images of the future in the world of work. If, on the one hand, work ceases to be the primary focus of her trajectory (Patterson and Forbes, 2012), she wants to pursue a career as a doula. When asked about the motivations for this choice, she tells us:

> R. Tell me a little about this, because I remember that last year she had this desire to take a doula course. How did this year go?
> I. Yes, exactly. Yes, yes. So, let's say that my desire to be a doula arises precisely from the moment .... when I became a mother and even now that I have lost this child .... in reality the desire arises from the fact that in Italy .... it's... I'm talking about Italy because I live here and, that is, I don't know how it is in Colombia, honestly. Because even though I was born in Colombia, I grew up here. She leaves me a lot ... that is, mothers when ... a woman is left alone when she becomes a mother ... That is, she is not accompanied in the right way because .... it is expected that ...
> Society has lost all that .... all that follow-up that should have and all that community. That is, the community that should be around a mother, a pregnant woman, a woman who has a child is not there and. Mothers are alone. Having to demonstrate that she can do everything by herself, when in reality she would always need someone or at least many people who can support her in the various situations she may find herself in. When I had [son's name] I was in the same situation: I was alone and the only one there was <partner's name> and... the help.... I mean no one.... but I'm not just talking about practical help, right? Even listening. I personally am very active, in the sense that I don't let myself fall down right away. I mean, if she was... I mean, it's easy to get depressed in a situation like this nowadays. Because we are left alone and since before the birth I had already contacted consultants to get information about meetings with other mothers and since the first week after the birth I was already there, even if I was unable to sit down and even if I was unable to walk among them. Because when... it's important to have mothers around you who understand you and who can support you without judging you or without wanting to decide or give you directions on how you should raise your child, no [Faviola, 30, Colombian origin, big city in northern Italy, secondary education, second wave]

Obstetric violence, understood here as a practice carried out by health professionals during pregnancy and childbirth, is understood as practices that reduce the autonomy of women's bodies, which subjugate women to situations of suffering and pain, physical or psychological (Curi et al., 2020). Obstetric violence can often go "unnoticed" because this practice is considered a norm, or standard within scientific discourse itself (Curi et al., 2020). As Diniz (2005) states, situations of loneliness, helplessness, and the way of inducing the pain of childbirth itself may be related to gender, class and race issues, issues that maintain power relations in society. Another important point to highlight is that the experience of pregnancy and childbirth and the loss of a pregnancy during the COVID-19 Pandemic could further

intensify the isolation and helplessness practices already carried out by the medical team, which can be used while justification for the health guidelines of the Pandemic.

What we see is that the intersection of identities acquired throughout her life as a woman, as an immigrant and now as a mother redefines her professional expectations. It is not the experience as a mother in general that redefines her career, but rather having spotted a weakness of the Italian sanitary system. Her analysis of real needs - on a personal level - makes her find a way to fill a need. The desired work starts to be thought from her own experience as a mother and as a woman. The intersectionality of the elements: origin, gender and motherhood make up Faviola's projections of horizons, which shows us that these identities together will influence their trajectories in the present and in the future.

The intersection of identities and social positions also occurred with other interviewees. For Ben being a father, being a descendant of an immigrant and being married to an immigrant descendant has impacts on his future projections:

> The future? I see my daughter. That is my future. My future I see my daughter see; I see it… I want something better, to see a generation, I will see one, I see something that is better than what... that I was, that I made, that... that for me it's the best do... the best thing that can happen to me... in the future. Then I always have the desire, personally you must have something, that I can do to help others, because it's the least, because... if you help... we help each other we improve a lot, we improve our planet, we improve between, between ours. [Ben, 26, Moroccan origin, small city in southern Italy, secondary school, first wave]

For Ben, the future is thinking about his daughter and what he can best offer to his own child. Here, the intersection of gender identity with parenting are assumed by Ben from his future projections. Ben's differential is that he also brings a collective perspective of that future. It is not just thinking about economic support, but also about other sources of well-being that pervade the social conditions of the world today. For him, thinking about his daughter's well-being in the future would imply the construction of future horizons within society.

In previous sessions it was possible to see that Ben's original plan was to leave Italy so that he and his family could have better job opportunities. What he tells us in this part of the interview is that his plans had to be readjusted due to the restrictions related to the COVID-19 Pandemic. The change of plans occurs both in the sense of changing priorities, projects and desires, as well as frustration in carrying out certain plans and desires. This last case happened to Ben, in which the pandemic meant the interruption of upcoming migration plans:

> R. Um, uh. Before your daughter or COVID arrived, did you have other wishes?
> I. And yes... yes from a point of view yes, because as I was telling you before, I have uhm... to help my wife... we would like to go to Belgium and have a future, but then with the COVID and... everything got stuck... we got stuck, because we didn't go anyway, we couldn't leave anymore and things changed there, everything is stuck, there's a crisis there too, so go to a place where you don't even have the possibility to... to move, to get high, to look for a job, to... And so yes, it has changed. [Ben, 26, Moroccan origin, small city in southern Italy, secondary school, first wave]

Ben's plans had to be changed due to the restrictions related to the COVID-19 Pandemic. The mobility that appears as one of the elements of the future imagined for some of the young people here is to some extent undermined due to the restrictions of mobility (Harris and Raffaetà, 2021). Mobility in this sense is an obligation and a coercion given the lack of professional prospects he finds (Harris and Raffaetà, 2021). According to Leccardi (2020), young Italians move to other countries in search of better job opportunities. In this context, going to other countries is a strategy to reduce unpredictability and take care of the future. In this case, the COVID-19 phenomenon that further intensified the degree of uncertainty, the impossibility of trying to migrate to another country to improve living conditions.

Some young people also have a future outside of Italy and this would also be related to their origin. If in the Italian context these would be mechanisms found by young people to have better life opportunities, for these young people too, but from another perspective. As we see in the previous chapters, Ben's desire to move abroad involves the search for better job opportunities for himself and his wife, who is unable to find a position in the labor market due to circumstances of gender and ethnic discrimination. Ben also points out at other times that he wants to leave Italy to live in more ethnically and racially diverse contexts in which his culture and identity are not always called into question. Therefore, when we analyze young people and their perspectives for the future in this research, we must think that the mobility of young people who have immigrant families falls in another way, as it tries to deal with phenomena that many times may not fall to those considered natives. This is because natives, when they leave Italy, seek better professional and economic prospects, while young people with an immigrant background also seek better professional and economic prospects, but based on other assumptions like discrimination in the labor market.

The elements that mobilize the idea of migration within an immigrant family can be related to situations of prejudice and discrimination that delimit their experiences and that hinder their satisfactory insertion in society and, in this case, in the labor market. The repercussions of this go beyond having a precarious job or one other than university education. Young people descending from immigrants may not have opportunities in the labor market and may feel excluded in society, making migration the only way out. The phenomenon of feeling compelled to migrate has strong implications for the way they see themselves and their generational trajectories. Young descendants of immigrants who inherit migration as an essential element in their trajectories in the past and in their projects for the future.

The mobility that appears as one of the elements of the future is, to a certain extent, undermined due to the restrictions of mobility. It is understood that he does not want his own daughter to experience what he experienced in her career, something that is confirmed in another passage of his about the future of society:

R. And instead what image do you have of the past and the future of society in general?
I. Of the past, with my, my, my memories, mainly uhm... a little intolerance... a little ignorance, you know we were... then where I lived they were, at the at the beginning there were few foreigners, mainly we were Moroccans, then Romanians and Chinese arrived, you know... so things have changed, but certainly what I remember most is this intolerance, a bit... you also

want to my name, which in any case they pronounced it to me in all the ways of the world, to then... be bullied a little. And in the future, I hope that this word no longer exists, that it will be erased from everyone's memory in the sense that I hope...
A. What word?
I. ... intolerance ... I hope there is no more in the future, I hope it is a more open world, more to, how to say uhm ... inclusive, respecting all, non-judgmental, etc., etc., I hope this. [Ben, 26, Moroccan origin, small city in southern Italy, secondary school, first wave]

It becomes clear that for Ben the imagined future, whether personal or collective, involves a social change in which the question of origin ends up being crossed. Combining the two passages of his interview, it is evident that for some of the people interviewed here, issues involving their ethnic-racial identities and their personal life trajectories are important elements when they project dreams for the future. His ethnic-racial identity as element of differentiation (Safi, 2020) generated situations in Ben's life trajectory that made him project a future outside of Italy. As already stated in other paragraphs, for some young people mobility is seen as the only option, and unlike what many young people of Italian descent may experience, leaving Italy is motivated by the intolerance they found and more generally by their ethnic-racial identities (Andall, 2002).

The immigration plan that Ben had before COVID-19 was mainly due to his and his family's need to live in a more diverse and more open space for foreigners (specifically because of the woman who has difficulties finding a job and to guarantee a better future for her daughter). Feelings of non-belonging and experiences of discrimination and exclusion (Marinaro and Walston, 2010; Jaskulowski and Pawlak, 2019) can trigger thoughts about the future outside of these experiences. This process can generate an agency strategy or generate feelings of hope.

Just as for Ben the origin has a direct impact on the perception of horizons and the future of society, for Joseph, thinking about the future of society is thinking about the social dynamics that involve his identity:

R. What do you think about the future of society?
I. So... that is, I see it from the perspective, if I have to be realistic, anyway... I see it very negative! But if I must be, let's say... positive... I hope... in second generation young people, I hope that in any case, that is, we, being a little more united, are able to change things. Because we must make ourselves heard, we have to make people understand that there are also people like us, who were born here... because often it seems that they don't, they don't perceive it, it almost seems that... these generations don't exist! And... I think it's up to us now, to change things. [Joseph, 26, Congolese parents, big city in the central Italy, secondary education, first wave]

Once again past and future are interconnected through the memory of discrimination on the one hand and the hope of a different world on the other. The life path of young people, those marked by discrimination, exclusion, and prejudice, influence their aspirations for the future. The future interconnects through time with memories of their trajectories and the construction of their

identities. Perceiving racism and feeling prejudice impacts on their identity constructions, on their processes of belonging to a place, to a society and in the way they will follow their life trajectory (Andall, 2002; Jaskulowski and Pawlak, 2019) and in the way how they will hope for the future.

By continuing Joseph's narrative, he also demonstrates that the future for him also implies generational issues, which demonstrates how the process of belonging as a young person and as a young person descended from an immigrant marked and marks his trajectory and the critical way of thinking about the future:

> R. Why do you also see a very negative future?
> I. Because... here, too... uhm, the moment we're going through, the way I grew up, always with this kind of policy that tries to cheat on others. And... I think this comes from the fact that there are always... in charge, older people, who have a mentality, a very ancient mentality, a lot about tradition, a lot about not changing, a lot about: "No, not this, not this!" And so, living this I say that... let's say it's negative, but looking at other generations, looking at me, looking at my friends, looking at... the future... I hope that... we can change things... even young people, because otherwise...the cycle always remains the same and never changes...so...I have a lot of faith in young people. I have a lot of faith in young people, and we hope that... that in short they will be able to... to change, I too try to give my best, a little with music, a little with... in my own way, I try to change things up a bit. [Joseph, 26, Congolese parents, big city in the central Italy, secondary education, first wave].

Joseph makes it clear that the negative perception of the future is related to the traditionalism he sees around him and around previous generations in politics and social reality. In the face of disbelief with the traditional policy that still exists. Likewise, other young people understand the weight of the generational aspect in their conceptions of the future. In the second wave, Joseph builds his perception of the future still pessimistic and still on the same generational argument:

> R. Che thinks about the future of society?
> I. Well, I think, anyway, the kids who are grew up in this generation have been penalized a lot and... so growing up the generation that after ours will have more difficulties right at the level how can you tell... can tell you... moving forward, not I know... it's stupid to say but it will be much worse for the boys who will come after. The future of society... there are people who don't know how to manage it, so I don't see it... I'm honest, I don't see a positive solution. Of this, I am sure. [Joseph, 27, Congolese parents, big city in the central Italy, secondary education, second wave]

The intersection between generations and ethno-racial identity for Joseph makes him think about the future also based on these terms. His hope lies in the possibility that future generations – it is not clear whether they are future generations of descendants of immigrants or just generations of young people – create new solutions and deal with society's issues. I return here to what Spanò and Domecka (2021) talk about young people and their intersectional transitions: to be young, to be a woman and to be a racialized subject is to be influenced by a set of social structures that make these young people in their transitions "live the intersectionality" (Spanò and Domecka, 2021). This experience, as stated by the authors, also generates actions that are understood here as "doing intersectionality". From this we can also affirm that young people

live and make intersectionality and that both processes impact on the construction of possible futures or desired futures

Regarding generational differences, we also have a different example of the example that Gloria shows us in relation to her own expectations for the future and the expectations for the future that her parents have for her:

> They, for different reasons, were very keen on us studying, so this was and remains the thing that matters most to them, if we talk about our future and my choices, so this period is very difficult for them and also for how we relate , because I'm not doing a specialist and I'm already 25 years old, and with all this potential that they see I could have done who knows what, I think they really don't have the perception of how the world of work and university is moving right now , there is the precariousness that exists, they bring it back very much to the fact that I choose not to do things or I choose to do things that are not always institutional, in addition to the choices I make not to a more general context, which can be very true in some cases, in others I don't think so. In my head there was this thing that for me it didn't make sense to study another two years, although I really like studying, but randomly, first it made sense to make a weighted choice at university […] [Gloria, 24, Senegalese father, big city in southern Italy, tertiary education, first wave]

Gloria demonstrates that there is a clear generational difference between the way she sees and how her parents see her professional and educational future. The parents' expectations regarding what he should be doing at the age she is now point to a strong chronologized perception of life that does not follow current social conformations. The generational perspective in which there was a clear life project with more linear and visible paths in which the necessary and available resources are adjusted in relation to the desired objectives (Santoro, 2006) clashes both with Gloria's expectations and with a reality that does not manages to give vent to these yearnings for the future.

Furthermore, while the parents believe that it is more that her path is more of a choice and willpower, the interviewee believes that there is a structural condition that does not allow her to follow the "traditional and linear" path. This demonstrates another differentiation of subjectivities: while that of the parents is allocated more to the type of neoliberal subjectivity (Candiotto, 2011), Gloria has a more critical look at these dynamics, which are not limited to an individual agency. The interviewee believes that the conditions in which she now lives are indeed related to her choices, with her agency, but there are also institutional/structural issues that would get out of control. According to her, parents would not have a realistic view of what is happening to young people today, focusing only on what they wanted to happen, on the expectations they have about the future of their children. Gloria gives us a perspective on how her choices do not necessarily go according to her parents' imagined future. The individual choices made in the present are not in line with the parents' expectations, which implies disagreements regarding future projects. For Gloria, the future unpredictability is seen as a generational and social problem and not an individual one. For the parents, the problem with Gloria's future lies in the lack of action and linearity in their daughter's choices.

9.5. Final considerations

From what was exposed in this chapter, it is possible to perceive that although young people have difficulties in thinking about the future, some narrative is still created in which "even those who had difficulty making long-term plans discussed their lives in a more immediacy of a future merged with the present." (Worth, 2009: 1058).

Today, the structure of a young person's life course, no longer marked by traditional frames, permeates the construction and reconstruction of meanings based on possible actions over time and the social context (Leccardi, 2008). Thus, risk and uncertainty being authors of the present social context, makes looking to the future uncertain. If the present becomes unpredictable and subject to constant change, the future itself becomes less controllable.

The temporal aspect of the future is not only in its obviousness that it is something in time that has not yet happened; it is also in the way some people can see the future: as something that is built not only from the present, but also and mainly, from what happened in the past. It is evident how what has already happened individually in a social structure will influence not only expectations and projections for the future, but the actions of individuals for that future. It can be said that in the contemporary moment of our society, together with the condition of youth, decision-making involves building the future despite the contingent situation in which we live.

When young people look to the horizon, most of them place self-realization either through their education and profession paths or through mobility. This element, as we have seen, has a strong relationship with their ethnic-racial identities and their origins. Mobility as a future horizon helped some to get closer to their roots and for others it served as a projection of professional improvement. It is evident that unlike young people considered native, for these young people mobility means also leaving situations of discrimination and exclusion. Thus, although mobility enters the repertoires of imagined futures, this mobility is related to its origins and not necessarily with what the literature has addressed about mobilities in the Italian context (Leccardi, 2020; Cuzzocrea and Mandich, 2020).

In addition, being young today involves an identity that joins others such as class, ethnicity, race, gender, place of birth and residence. As can be seen, the perception of an uncertain future, time limits action and time enhances possibilities (Leccardi, 2008), with the variation between these two means being completely influenced by the present context of young people and their life trajectories. As we have seen, despite having similar attitudes and generalized feelings of uncertainty, it is important to allocate how these feelings of uncertainty are constructed. Faced with a diffuse horizon, the need that some young people find in punctuating certain transitions for the future would be a strategy to deal with the incontinence. Young people in more precarious contexts – small towns, with low levels of education and precarious jobs – yearn for a future based on traditional frameworks: stable employment, marriage, and family formation. The yearning for these paths on the one hand and the difficulty of realizing them would mean a constant feeling of anguish in the face of a social structure that does not give satisfactory answers to these desires.

Although some part of the literature (Leccardi and Ruspini, 2006; Leccardi, 2008, 2015, 2020) has positively pointed out the idea of an open future in which young people would assimilate the imprecision of an open future in a positive way what remains is that how young people see the future takes place in a different way, with a minimum of control. It can be said that sudden changes during life, the precariousness of living conditions prepare young people to deal with a future that is seen as contingent. This preparation or this reaction to an unexpected future is already a condition that has been internalized by the individuals in the new context of contemporary socialization. The role of the family, economic and social crises, technologies, interpersonal relationships, and existential conditions are pondered as essential to internalize this subjectivity of uncertainty. There is an incorporation of ephemerality in subjectivities from a new contemporary life course (Leccardi, 2008) in which the individual appears as the main protagonist. The process of individualization in the biographical construction, is a strong element in the research, meaning presumably that there is an internalization of the values of contemporary neoliberal society.

As can also be seen, the pandemic was a milestone for changes in behavior, perspectives, projections for the future, and for building plans. Young people are aware of the impacts of the Anthropocene and there is a perceptible feeling of demotivation and impotence in the face of the changes that have occurred and especially in the face of the COVID-19 Pandemic. In addition to impotence, the feeling of anxiety, uncertainty, and risk that the Pandemic seems to have assumed even more in their imaginations of the future was also common. What some interviews showed in relation to perceptions of the future, whether individual or collective, is what can be defined with the concept of "future anxiety" (Duplaga and Grysztar, 2021). Future anxiety can be defined as the state of apprehension, fear, concern, and uncertainty in relation to a remote future. The strong feeling of future anxiety can even generate inertia among individuals in the face of the feeling of impossibility of achieving a desired situation (Duplaga and Grysztar, 2021). The research that was carried out during the first two years of the pandemic explains why young people also had more intense experiences in relation to feelings of fear, anxiety, and terror.

Inspired by the reflections of Spannring and Hawke (2022), thinking about futures means thinking about the Anthropocene and how the subjective and identity dimensions can influence the way of thinking about this Anthropocene. The difficulties of belonging to the world from different spheres of life: educational, work, and interpersonal, for example, end up impacting their interpretations of how we live in society today and how society will be in the future. Fatalistic views or views of uncertainty about the future are precisely the demonstration of how they feel rooted in the world in the present. Understanding the practices, beliefs and identities of young people can help us to understand the forces that drive the Anthropocene crises and can also help to understand the strategies against these crises (Spannring and Hawke, 2022). Perceiving the way they imagine the collective future and the individual future is to understand, to a certain extent, how they build their own process of identification and belonging in the world. Thus, if future planning is influenced by increasingly porous and embarrassing life trajectories, in a society seen as having social and environmental crises these experiences

end up "challenging an individual's ontological security derived from a sense of continuity regarding one's life events, which has implications for personal identity" (Shirani and Henwood, 2011.)

Finally, we cannot fail to consider the role of social identities in prospects. To think about the future is to think not only about how class crosses them, but how questions of gender, origin, ethnic-racial identity are mixed with their anxieties and also with their fears for the future. As can be seen, parenthood had a "gendered" impact on the young people interviewed. Being a father and being a mother redefines identities that can strengthen gender experiences, which in turn impact the perception of the future (Patterson, and Forbes, 2012). Another issue that we should not leave aside is the impact of origin, ethnic-racial identity on the planning of future projects and on perceptions of a future in society. Experiences of precariousness due to situations of discrimination bring new elements to think about the future of young people in societies. What are the possible futures for racialized young people and young people who suffer discrimination in society? Who has the right and possibility to dream of better futures? Lastly, and not least, the impact of intergenerational relationships on future expectations between parents and children was perceived. This strengthens the idea that while the imagined future is made by young protagonists of structural changes, their parents only manage to capture some elements of this reality (Santoro, 2006) and end up reinforcing more normative expectations for this imagined future. The difference between the imagined future between generations confirms how today's transitions fit into other dynamics than those found previously.

Chapter 10

Being an immigrant or appearing to be an immigrant? Belonging processes

I am a body
A being
A single body
It has color, it has a cut and the history of my place
I am my own vessel
I am my own luck
And Je suis ici, even if you don't want to
Je suis ici, even if I didn't want to anymore
Je suis ici now
Every street in this grey city is me
White eyes stare at me There is danger on the corners And I speak more than three languages
[Um corpo só, Luedji Luna[43],2017]

that is precisely, due to the relationship that we foreigners have with... with the Italian spirit, then, it is not easy... and that is, how can I explain to you, no, it is not easy to live as foreigners in a place, where they see you precisely foreigner, they will always look at you with that eye of curiosity, that evil eye, that eye very... that is, it's always a different eye with which they look at us, it's not that it's just one eye, there are several eyes. [Alice]

The first passage above is excerpted from a song by a Black Brazilian woman, Luedji Luna, who tells about the identity construction processes of black African diasporic bodies in Brazil. The singer tries in her composition to capture the feeling of individuals who occupy a space but do not identify with that place, and more than that, they are not seen as belonging to that place (Soares, 2021). The diasporas around the world caused by, among other things, migratory flows leave marks of belonging on bodies. They are bodies that are looked at with suspicion. Similarly, one of our research participants tells us about the relationship between foreigners and Italy. Alice, informs us about curiosity, and about the questioning that many looks do when looking at her. As she herself says, they are "evil" eyes that, to a certain extent, want to make her not feel like she belongs to that territory. The suspicious look is in fact a confirmation of "dominant fantasies about "race" and territoriality" (Kilomba, 2019: 111)

As we saw in the theoretical chapters, the process of belonging is an essential element to analyze when the theme is youth in general and when the theme is youth descendant of immigrants. The process of belonging develops in a complex interaction with the society in which one lives, with the assertion of rights and the exercise of duties and, above all, it is a process of self-identification with a culture, with places, within a group or a society (Harris et al, 2021). Feeling belonging or belonging means building subjective bonds with the group and society in which one lives (Harris et al, 2021) and this process can often involve experiences of

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[43] To listening to this song: https://open.spotify.com/track/2kEGhFlJxjVtXnIpudVLtI?si=6e034a8e2c6e45e0

inclusion and exclusion. Bearing in mind that until now we have been talking about the construction of young people's trajectories in the most varied spheres of life, it can be seen that the construction of belonging within society also permeated through these processes: work trajectories, residential standards, imaginaries of parenting and perceptions of the future were either strongly marked by the feeling of belonging or indicated how these young people are or are not feeling belonging to the society in which they live.

The concept of belonging within youth studies is used to understand how young people feel that they belong to the reality in which they live and how, within their life trajectories, practices of belonging are produced, generated, and managed. Belonging is connecting with the world you live in based on different practices: everyday practices in interpersonal relationships, in institutional environments, in political issues, in economic insertion, in the affective field, etc. Furthermore, as we saw earlier, practices of belonging involve the entire course of life, with the construction of adult life being one of these elements: the actions put into practice in the process of construction of adult life will be essential in the construction of paths of exclusion or inclusion, this is all clear, considering the structural dimensions that involve the action of individuals. Belonging therefore develops from daily performance practices (Butler, 2020): reinforcement of culture, language, values, lifestyle; in the work environment; in family relationships, in educational training.

From a life course perspective, it is understood that the construction of young people's process of belonging goes through the construction of ties with the society in which they live over time, with the construction of these ties being a complex process of interaction with the society in which one lives and with the origin of the parents. In this thesis, what was seen is that there is a strong relationship between the trajectories of young people in the field of work, housing, parenting with their identities as young people descended from immigrants. This last point, as we have seen, impacts their paths in education, in the professional sphere, in the performances of gender roles, in the imaginaries and experiences of parenting and in the horizons of the future. In these experiences, what we saw is that young people perform their multiple belongings within their transitions to adulthood, always bringing in some way the manifestation of their ethnic-racial identities, their relationships with the territory, the interaction with the culture(s) as well as society.

As previously discussed, the process of belonging of young people studied here may involve many specific elements that do not touch the reality of young people considered native: bond with the country of origin of the parents; construction of identities questioned by a foreign origin; perceptions of prejudice and discrimination; acquisition of residence and citizenship titles; language and cultural engagement. The process of belonging, as already discussed, involves a tangle of elements related to the national territory in which one lives and also other territories and geographic spaces (Paterson, 2015; Colombo, Leonini and Rebughini, 2009). If recent studies dealing with youth tend to delegitimize the territory as significant in view of globalization processes (Cook and Woodman, 2019), in the case of this research, the place is an important factor of presentation, identification and belonging. Place, space, and geography have material dimensions - objective conditions of life - and immaterial dimensions- (Cook and

Woodman, 2019): social relations, constructions of identity, perceptions of discrimination, processes that contribute to the feeling of belonging.

In this chapter, I seek to understand how some elements will impact the processes of belonging of the young people in this research. In trajectories strongly marked by the migratory background, how does the process of belonging and identifying oneself take place? How do they occur and what local, national, or transnational dynamics do they imply? What dimensions in the lives of young people are mobilized as a way of understanding themselves as belonging to a society? Faced with unstable lives, economic crises, unemployment, environmental crises, the speed of social relations and technologies, thinking about belonging to these dynamics involves understanding how they mean their reality in today's world. As we will see below, the process of belonging of these young people goes beyond the insertion of young people in the market, work and in education or how they will allocate themselves in these places. Belonging, as understood by Cuervo and Wyn (2017), is a performative and relational field; it is a field of practice and feeling that depends heavily on the materiality of the place. The place appears as essential, this place being filled with social relations, with social representations, with values, with individuals, with perceptions of the world, with ideologies.

10.1 Identifying belonging processes through life course

Observing the experiences of belonging of the young people who participate in this research, means to observe how the experience of being a young person descended from an immigrant profoundly marks their life trajectory, especially in their school path. As we will see below, the perception of being "different" and being considered "foreign" occurs in a prolonged process of social interactions in which identity is always called into question in the lives of young people. As we will see, when reporting situations of discrimination, young people show that these occur at various times, which indicates the importance of temporality in the analysis of the interviews:

> In terms of discrimination, it was a little difficult, when, up to maybe thirteen years old, uh... at that time there were few foreigners, so we weren't very well regarded, uhm... I felt Italian inside, but I always felt bad because at school, my classmates always reminded me, reminded me that I wasn't, and... I don't know why, just the fact that we were in another, let's say another culture, they treated us differently, certainly not all, but some they did. And then... let's just say it made me so angry, and... whatever they told me I was... let's say, I treated them badly, because... and, I couldn't stand the fact that they didn't accept that I was Italian. [Juliette, 28, Cape Verdean parents, big city in central Italy, secondary education, first wave]

It is evident that the process of discrimination that occurs with these individuals accompanies them in different stages of life. Combining the analysis of discrimination from a life course perspective helps us to understand how the socialization process in a context of

discrimination marks people's lives and how this socialization process varies during le life-course. Temporality (Elder et al 2002; Elder and Giele, 2009) as an analytical resource highlights the impact on this individual's biography of events that occurred in the past, but which still constitute her today. For Juliette, the feeling of not belonging came from outside, she was not allowed by her other classmates to be considered Italian.

Different phases of life reveal different perceptions of discrimination, either as a matter of perception or because of the life transitions that the interviewees go through.

> It actually happened to me in high school ... that I had companions who were a bit like this, a bit racist, who made me feel a bit like an outsider, a bit strange, a stranger, right? also because I was the only foreigner in that school, [...] and therefore that also had a lot of influence, then a little even in middle school, but in middle school a bit of bullying, but not really serious, it was just a little '... boys who made jokes, even of my classmates, but ... nothing ... serious, serious, serious let's say, right? ... But, over time, with high school, then with high school these mates of mine have stopped being a bit stupid, [laughs], and then face, I finished high school, with the university however you enter a world where there are many nationalities and therefore in the end they don't, they don't even do it anymore […]". [Hannah, 28, Moroccan parents, small city in northern Italy, tertiary education, first wave].

> R. Can you tell me a little more about your school trajectories in elementary school, since you told me it was the most difficult?
> I. Yes. Ok, well, elementary school here lasts five years: first, second, third, fourth, fifth... and there it was difficult because I arrived on the first day of school and I had a backpack for... a girl, I mean my parents bought it for me as a child because my dad didn't even notice, and there... there I was already marked, like your whole life depends on the first day of school. [Gabriel, 22, parents from Bangladesh, small town in central Italy, secondary education, first wave]

For Juliette, Hannah and Gabriel school appears as the first space for the socialization of difference. In this thesis, children and adolescents are understood as active subjects who, despite living in their own childhood world, also share signs, representations, and meanings of the adult world (Pires, 2010). In this sense, being a child and socializing with children is bringing into play repertoires learned and shared with adults in other spheres of life.

As we can see the process of becoming a foreigner involves the experiences of young people in the world outside the family environment. It is in the relationship with the other that one can discover alterity and one's own identity in this world. Studies (Portes and MacLeod, 1999; Portes and Zhou, 1993; Severiens and Wolff, 2008; Elliot, 2009; Mateus, 2019; Colombo and Santagati, 2021) that analyzed the situation of children of immigrants in schools focused mainly on achievements educational and language difficulties of young "immigrants". However, understanding the types of socialization that exist in the school space also becomes a strong thermometer to understand the dynamics of inclusion, exclusion, and senses of belonging are also important. As points Kisfalusi et al. (2020) differences in educational trajectories are one of the most important factors in creating disadvantages in adult life, with interpersonal relationships, the classroom, the student-teacher relationship, and friendships being important factors in this performance.

The difference can be reiterated from the first moments of socialization of young people in Italy, with the school being a privileged space for these events. In addition, the Italian social and political context that criminalizes and directs negative stereotypes to immigrants "contributed to interviewees' sense of (not) belonging and of being (seen as) different in other areas of their daily lives and this clearly emerged when talking about their experiences in Italian schools" (Elliot, 2009: 7).

The transitions in life are accompanied by discrimination processes: the transitions from school to work and housing where examples of that (as stressed in previous chapters). Like Mario states, it was in the development of stages of life, or rather, in the transitional milestones of life that perceptions of (non)belonging take place:

> So, I discovered it slowly, let's say, it wasn't that the understanding of this thing was immediate, because when you are a child you are, let's say, all the same, we have universal communication. Then growing up instead the schemes get in the way, the logics come in ... the logic of adults if you want to put it this way, right? In which there begin to be… god! differentiations, so ... I am like this, you are like this, my parents are like this, and then you begin to have, enter into patterns that are not necessarily yours, that's it. They are the social schemes" [Mario, 28, Moroccan parents, big city in northern Italy, secondary education, first wave].

In all the above examples, memories of complicated and negative relationships with other peers were revealed. It was in the interaction with other individuals in the life course that young people begin to have a sense of their identities and begin to trace their ways of belonging to the places where they live. Unfortunately, what we can see is that from childhood to adulthood, these young people's identification processes were permeated by negative experiences of prejudice and racialization. In this sense, negative feelings can generate a feeling of belonging nowhere (Ince-Benco and Ambrosini, 2012).

Feeling excluded in different social spheres throughout life causes the sense of belonging to be shaken, causing transitions to be experienced in different ways (Juvonen and Romakkaniemi, 2019). If young people experience exclusion in transitions throughout life and in adulthood, then the way in which they will carry out these transitions will be more precarious, more uncertain, more contingent. Therefore, thinking about belonging in the context of transitions is thinking about how the processes of belonging in transitional experiences subjectively impact young people and their agency in the social context. An example of this is the case of Danusa, who recognizes that the treatment she received from the teachers was essential for her good school career:

> So if I think about the past, the most important thing was obviously school, and.. and I was very lucky because uhm, my teachers always made me feel... and, in my comfortable in the classroom, that is, I have never suffered episodes of racism from the, the teachers or the teachers, uhm indeed that is, I often remember them as... almost as a model, that is, they always pushed me aa... to speak or to say things, or to think differently, and so I'm... I'm very happy to have had this experience but, but I realize that I'm... and I've been very lucky because instead many of my other friends who are foreigners and , this... this experience with the school didn't go very

well.[Danusa, 25, Palestinian parents, big city in northern Italy, secondary education, first wave]

She tells us here how her past in the school system was an important phase for her in building her self-esteem, her well-being in society and her success as a student. Unlike Hannah and Gabriel, and other young people in our research, Danusa experienced a friendly space within the classroom. She feels lucky to understand that this type of experience is an exception compared to other colleagues who seem to have had other experiences in the school space.

When we put the examples highlighted here in opposition, school transitions play a fundamental role in the integration process of these young people (Mateus, 2019). The experiences of discrimination and the types of relationships that young people will have as children are obstacles in the kind of trajectories they will take from then on, impacting their perceptions of belonging.

Gomes (2002) when analysing the school institution and the process of formation of social identities from the aesthetic construction of the individual shows that the school is a space of opening for the wider social life in which the contact is different from that established within the family and the nearest community. Aesthetics, as a way of appreciation and affection, can have a racist character (Gomes, 2002) insofar as it separates, judges, or discriminates against young people from other origins. As a result, different treatments based on racialization processes will also direct different views of "good" or "bad" students: racialized young people would tend to be treated more rigorously than whitened young people (Carvalho, 2005).

Continuing with the importance of the analysis of racialization the case of Diana shows that becoming black was a painful process for her, as it often meant associating themselves with something negative (Ferreira and Camargo, 2011) in which the very idea of identity had to be changed. She demonstrates that the process of discovering oneself as a black and "mixed" person was a process that happened over time and that it is a process still under constant construction. It also shows how identity, as constructed, develops over time and in a never-ending process:

I. Yes. I've been there but with mum. During this quarantine I had the opportunity to make many reflections, then I was right here at home alone, and I had the opportunity to reflect on my life in general and I also thought a lot about this culture which I feel I have in part, which I miss . I have Italian culture well rooted, I feel instead that African culture is a little more waning in strength, which I instead believe is a mixed girl, a *mulatto* person, even if it is a bad term. Do you know the etymology? Can I explain it to you?
R. If you want, yes. [smiles]
I. *Mulatta* is the term used to identify horse and mule puppies, it is like saying a little donkey, it's not very nice [Smiles], so we prefer the term mixed. I was saying, I believe that a mixed individual must bring both cultures to be complete, instead I up to now, and it is something I particularly felt during my childhood, I have always carried forward my Italian culture, as a child, having grown up only with my mother, blonde and with blue eyes [Smiles], you understand that the comparison is difficult, but I was convinced that I was completely Italian, until recently I continued with this battle that I am completely Italian: however from the outside eye I was not recognized like this, and I was seen as a black child. Paradoxically, the same thing

happened in Africa: I went to Africa, and being much "lighter", I was not recognized as French, because Ivory Coast was a former French colony and therefore there are many French, so I did not come recognized neither as a French white, then "nero" [black] and "bianco" [white] are other terms that I hate but that's a separate topic, nor as an African black, I was excluded there too. I grew up not understanding where I was going to go. During the quarantine I have elaborated this thing and I would also like to appropriate my African culture. […] [Diana, 27, father from Ivory Coast, big city in northern Italy, secondary education, first wave]

As Gomes (2002: 41) informs us, "the body talks about our being in the world, as our location in society takes place through its mediation in space and time". The body has a double character: it is at the same time natural/physical but also symbolic (Gomes, 2002). As can be seen, it is in the course of time and space that Diana's body is questioned by different interpretations about the location of this body in these places. It is also in this process that your body is read, identified, recognized as belonging to a socially imagined place, a place that associates race with a nation, with belonging.

Diana's black body marks her trajectory, the way she will be read in spaces and the way she will identify and create her own sense of belonging. In this sense, skin color becomes "a metaphor", a visual data used to demarcate differentiation between individuals based on race (Araújo, 1987). The "production of meanings associated with phenotypic characteristics" (Carvalho, 2005: 79) can generate discomfort in the lives of young people, making belonging to Italian identity to be questioned. Even though the young woman is the daughter of a "native" Italian and white woman, this information is not enough since the visual identity is what most marks her trajectory.

It is also worth highlighting the term she brings as a form of identification: "*mulatto*". Mulato in various national contexts (Ribeiro, 2012; Silva, 2018) point to the negative meaning that this term embodies as it means a "mestizo" being, of little value and inferior to those of "pure race". As Silva points out, the term mulatto linguistically means the animal that arises from the copulation of two animals of different races, with the mulatto being an analogy to this hybrid animal considered an inferior race because it does not have reproductive capabilities (Silva, 2018). As Diana herself indicates, her identity as "*mestizo*", although black phenotype, is a point of exclusion.

Specifically, the Italian imaginary concerning mixed people are constituted as threats to the national ideal of whiteness (Giuliani, 2005). As Giuliani (2015) points out in construction racial ideology in Italy the "mestizo" is an interdict because "it embodies both the evidence of the violation of racial hierarchies with a precise declination of whiteness at the top, and the degradation of the presumed purity of the latter through contact (sexual/biological) with blackness" (Giuliani, 2015: 173)

In the second wave, Diana shows us that in this process of recognition and identification throughout life, body posture is also used to having to deal with its own identities in places. In the next interview, we can see how young people "tame" their bodies to be pleasing to the outside world. As this process is done by her but also by her father, which denotes an "inheritance" in time and between generations:

R. And as regards whether there were some topics, let's say contemporary ones or… yes, contemporary topics that interested you or that you followed particularly.

I. Well, last year there was "Black Lives Matters", which really got me. Yes, I was... well, I'm very shocked, but maybe more since... in general, like last year, I don't quite support... that is, I support that speech for a good part, maybe not living in it for a while, as I said the last year, in America, I didn't see him get into the thick of that issue; but then on the other hand I made some reflections. I think that the thing that leaves me more and more disconcerted is precisely American politics, so if perhaps for years in my adolescence I said "I'm going to live in New York", now the idea of going to the United States is "perhaps yes, one week on vacation, but never live there", and then of course I drew a few parallels with Italy, also with a conversation I had with my dad when he met <anon> boyfriend name </anon>, who met only once, but that day I remember very well that he told him about when I was little, about when he arrived in Italy, so he said "because we blacks", he referred to, "in order to be able to demonstrate here we have to dress in a certain way", that is, he always goes around strutting around, always with a shirt, elegant shoes, everything in the latest fashion my dad, he likes to dress well, but one part is the fact that he likes it, the other part is the fact that in fact he said "if I had to dress in overalls to go around, I know people would look at me with another look", and it is true. Above all, I made this parallel with myself, because I said, "for example, I hate going around in sneakers, I often go around in boots, shoes with a little heel", because perhaps in fact I too … or maybe I made his conception my own without him ever telling me. So, I thought a lot about this, about how the stereotype, (…) of a culture, of someone, just looking at it, how much (…). And nothing, so maybe I stayed a little in that question. [Diana, 28, father from Ivory Coast, big city in northern Italy, secondary education, second wave]

When Diana informs us about the political issues that are important to her, she again brings the racial issue to the heart of the discussion. The body of her father (an immigrant) in the past passed through a series of constructions and performances based on the surveillance of external gazes, the gaze of whites on their identity and on their belonging to that community. Always dressing well, without being "sloppy" was the strategy that Diana's father used and still uses to deal with the process of body displacement due to racial identity. This way of behaving can be understood as a strategy to avoid racism. The avoidance strategy can be understood as a "passing" strategy, that is, trying to look more like the aesthetic/physical ideal type recognized as better, prettier and safer. But it is in the attempt to be more like "them" that problems can arise: the subjectivity of racialized people, and in this case Black people, goes through a difficult process when facing rejection that comes from outside. Souza (2021) demonstrates that there is suffering of Black people to be equal to whites or to be recognized in the world of whites. The attempt to be recognized as an equal, but not succeeding, can generate persistent feelings of uncertainty and non-belonging.

The generational issue appears as important also in other narratives presented here. In addition to the perception of their own life course, young people make a strong relationship between past, present, and future and how these times indicate and build perceptions of belonging and interpretations of what they live. It is interesting to note that this temporal perspective for analyzing the course of life makes it possible to understand both social change and the permanence of certain elements. It is during our lives that social representations about groups, individuals and ethnicities are being processed and socialized. The racialization process

is closely related to who we relate to, with the family being a privileged space for this socialization. The intergenerational transmission of racial identities in the literature (Flores et al., 2020) points to direct or indirect practices of resistance. In the case of Diana's father, we saw that his identity as a Black man questioned him in relation to his way of dressing in society, a process that was assimilated by Diana and that helped to build the notion of himself in the world. Although the intergenerational transmission between immigrant parents and their children occurs much more through stories, language, culture, and values (Flores et al., 2020), we can bet on clothing as an element of transmission of a certain way of being and a certain way to behave in a society that racializes bodies and reads them from specific lenses in which clothing interferes with this reading.

If Diana recognizes patterns of behavior inherited from her father in relation to her racial identity, in the next interviews we can observe how young people articulate their past and present in which they experience situations of suspension, suspicion, exclusion and discrimination. Joseph who shows us that in childhood interpersonal relationships with other peers, his belonging to groups was always called into question:

> R. All right. How is your relationship with Italy?
> I. ... good question!... Well, let's say that uhm... as I already told you, I have many second-generation friends, even friends who really come from, from outside... so... let's say that ... I have no differences from... Italian, or somewhere else... But the relationship has always been... positive, if I can say so, because it has become positive when they hear you talk, because otherwise at first they always look at you strangely, and I've seen this... here, when I was playing football... when I was little, maybe a boy from another... from another, from a another city, of a different origin and... it immediately went wild, it was set aside, small groups were created, there is no integration, there isn't... the mentality "oh my God it's different, let's try to put it , to do it... to feel that we are all the same, that we are all friends" no! There's always this sort of "You are different, we have our little group" then there is another little group, and these things... I've seen them little by little and always... unfortunately! [Joseph, 26, Congolese parents, big city in the central Italy, secondary education, first wave]

Joseph's memories of exclusion go back to his childhood and the experience he had with other peers of the same age. He tells a similar narrative with the youth above who allocate in childhood the memory of having felt different and excluded. However, in the second wave, he demonstrates that it was in the experience of exclusion that he found a space of belonging, which was with his friends. When telling us about his relationship with his friends, Joseph reveals that it was with other peers who felt excluded on the soccer team that he created a network of affections:

> Ah, they really are a family, a second family to me. OK? Having had the same... that we practically grew up together because we all lived outside of <big city in central Italy>. It's a historic, multi-ethnic group, in a small town let's say it's hard to relate to people from the small town because mentally they are really closed that they don't depend on them... well that's how they are. I mean, we did everything, we had played on the same football team in the same small town, in the same high school, but there came a point where they saw that we were all a multi-ethnic group. Cape Verdeans, Albanians....so we made this group from the square, we really became the boys from the square. And then I moved, and my friend also moved with his family

to <big city in central Italy> almost a year later. And, another best friend moved with his girlfriend to <big city in central Italy>, so... now we are still connected, we see each other often. Yes... this is also a beautiful experience because it's a good fate to have gathered here in <big city in central Italy>, so... they are like a family to me. [Joseph, 27, Congolese parents, big city in the central Italy, secondary education, second wave]

The importance of affective and interpersonal relationships in the construction of bonds of belonging that go beyond nationality and even more, it is in the construction of affective steels with people who have also gone through situations of exclusion that processes of belonging can be constructed.

One of the dimensions of belonging also involves meaningful interpersonal relationships (Baumeister and Leary, 1995). Although not necessarily focusing on the role of friendship for young people in their belonging processes, some studies point to the importance of interpersonal relationships in providing support in difficult situations (Baumeister and Leary, 1995; Hamm and Faircloth, 2005; Amati et al. 2015), allowing individuals to feel valued, represented and recognized (Hamm and Faircloth, 2005). For young people who feel socially excluded in various spheres of life, having support from peers seems to be essential. Friendships are recognized as a support for adaptive behaviors (Hamm and Faircloth, 2005) and the process of recognizing friends throughout life and in problematic situations of discrimination experienced in childhood and adolescence led Joseph to create his sense of belonging within these relationships. In another way of interpreting this phenomenon, we can also say that the social capital that young people develop in their life trajectories can create networks of affection and support (Amati et al., 2018).

10.2. Identity as a third road for belonging

Positive belongings: negotiating transnational identities

The process of identifying young people descendants of immigrants, as already pointed out in the literature, is one of the relevant factors when thinking about belonging (Dusi, et al., 2014; Camozzi, Cherubini and Rivetti, 2019; Barwick and Beaman, 2019; Creese, 2019; Ince-Beqo and Ambrosini, 2022). In this part of the chapter, I focus on how young people build their identities and how they are linked to their ties with Italy and their parents' country of origin. As we will see, many young people descending from immigrants often feel that they have a "hyphenated" identity and belonging (Dusi, Messetti and Falcón, 2014; Camozzi, Cherubini and Rivetti, 2019), in which the process of identification always permeates the relationship between two territories. The type of relationship that is built throughout life between the parents' country and the country where they live, influences the configuration of themselves, influences the choices and biography of these young people. From the self-perception of their identities, it is understood that the life history of these young people is marked by the origin

of their parents:

> [...] I came from a world that are two worlds, from a culture that is the Brazilian one that is multiracial, multi-all, multi....That thing, my family, my great-grandparents...no... yes, my great-grandparents were Lebanese, they moved to Brazil, they migrated to Brazil. So my grandmother is the daughter of Lebanese. My grandfather was a mixture of Portuguese and Indian. So like that, I am everything and nothing. I'm a mixture of a lot of things. [Maria, 29, Brazilian mother, big city in central Italy, tertiary education, first wave].

The idea of origin for Maria involves the mixture of generations of parents and grandparents. Based on the principle of connected lives, this passage shows that identity is constructed during life from a perception of oneself and one's past, which is related to the interconnection of this individual with elements of identification and origin of his/her/they contemporary family members and ancestors. In addition, placing oneself as "everything and nothing" brings the need to think about identity beyond the idea of one or two nations (Harris and Raffaetà, 2020; Colombo and Rebughini, 2012). What is seen is a mixture of elements, signs, and cultures in which the life trajectory is built, strengthening the idea of an identity construction during life connected with other reference individuals (Elder et al, 2002; Bucx, Raaijmakers and Van Well, 2010). Maria does not express a problem with having this multiplicity of influences and origins, quite the contrary: the mixture seems to be a positive element in her life trajectory and in her own identity conception. Even in the first wave, she demonstrates a strong feeling of belonging to Brazil and feels that she belongs to a dual nationality:

> So, I always defended my double entity, identity, my double being. When they call: "ah, you are....are". Because that's how it is, in Brazil I was the Italian, and in Italy I'm Brazilian and..... well... then I say: "no, I'm Italian-Brazilian". But I was more offended, it irritates me more to be called only Italian. I identify myself more with the Brazilian reality, with the way of being, of living, it is......with the feeling, with the way of facing difficulties, with the way of facing things. I have always defended my dual nationality, my dual identity. I have a double passport, I vote here and there, I assume my role as a citizen here and there. So, yes...but if I had to think. It's complicated because if I had to tell you that face to face, from the heart where is home for you? It's Brazil. But I know that Brazil has many difficulties, there are many... life there is not easy, life is not easy. You have to deal every day with the fact that you're leaving with some things in your bag and you don't know if you're going to come back with the same things, you don't know if you're going to be mugged, you don't know if... difficult. Nowadays I look at it like this and I think that I understand why my mother wanted us to grow up here. because the situation in Brazil is more difficult. So, I look at... when I was younger, I used to say: ah, I want to live in Brazil. But seeing how things are going I think: wow, living in Europe. [Maria, 30, Brazilian mother, big city in central Italy, tertiary education, second wave].

Still in the first wave, Maria informs us of her strong connection with her mother's country of origin. This young woman who even conducted our interview entirely in Portuguese demonstrates a strong interest in Brazil, Brazilian culture, and Brazilian society. This identification that she reports above can be seen in other elements of her life that were touched upon in our meetings: the young woman works with languages and the main language is

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Portuguese, in addition to that she works with dances with Brazilian and African music. Her transnational relationship with Brazil involves strong contact with past generations – in this case, her mother – and intense contact with Brazilian culture (Ince-Beqo and Ambrosini, 2022). The good relationship with the mother's country of origin, the constant visits to the country, and a connection with her family of Brazilian origin impact the feeling of belonging in both countries (Ince-Beqo and Ambrosini, 2022). In other words, there is a fundamental role for transnational relations in the construction of belonging and in young people's desire to return (Tezcan, 2019). As we will see, in a similar way Erick expresses this strong feeling with his mother's country of origin, but similarly to Maria points out the difficulties of thinking about the country:

> R. And how would you describe your relationship with Brazil?
> I. I feel Brazilian. I feel something that, for example, when I see the flag. The Brazilian flag, I feel it is something that is part of me. When I feel like… talking about Brazil, I feel like it's something that's part of me [...] I'd like to live in Brazil for a while, to understand better because when my mother talks about Brazil, she doesn't like it very much either. her city, but when she talks about Brazil, her eyes change. "*Saudade*," you know? "*Saudade*" hits her extremely hard. So when you see your mother talking about something, you understand that maybe it takes a while to understand. That's it. I think.... In Brazil...if here in the South of Italy it's complicated, I think that in Brazil it's even more complicated and that's what doesn't make me try.
> R. yes... I understand... and your relationship with Italy? how would you describe?
> I. I love my country so much; I hate it so much at the same time. Because it's a very... I was thinking about this today, you know? Because, I don't know if you know, yesterday the government fell here. Yes, I think our country has everything to be one of the best, but the Italians suck. Italians are crazy, I don't know. Because they change their minds like the wind [...] So, he is...many try to be smart, to be smarter than the next one, or trying to outsmart you. This is a little sad because if we understood how lucky we are to have everything our country has. [Erick, 26, Brazilian mother, big city in southern Italy, secondary education, first wave]

The strong feeling of belonging that Erick expresses in relation to Brazil makes the desire to go and live in that place even if this project is not put into practice. Unlike Maria, who has annual visits to the country and who has strong contact with her family of origin in Brazil, Erick has been to Brazil a few times and has, for example, difficulties in speaking Portuguese. However, transnational ties can occur even without ever having gone to the country of origin and this happens from the relationships that they can weave in Italy. Thus, the element of linked lives once again appears in the explanation of what happens in the lives of the interviewees. Being a descendant of an immigrant is to be connected to the feelings and sensations of your parents, the stories told, to the imaginaries generated from the image of homeland. Feelings of belonging can often be fueled by the images and nostalgia of parents for the country (Wessendorf, 2007). The term Erick uses is "*saudade*" which, despite not having a precise meaning in any other language, would mean something like "nostalgia" or "missing" in English. As Amoruso explains[44]in an article, the word "*saudade*", which has no exact translation into English, is a key word for the emotions of those who speak Portuguese: it would mean a feeling of nostalgia,

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[44]https://aeon.co/ideas/saudade-the-untranslateable-word-for-the-presence-of-absence

melancholy, the absence of something, someone, or a place. It is perhaps in this "*saudade*" that Erick also creates his identity and his belonging to Brazil. However, as he himself points out, the difficulties encountered in his mother's country of origin make the idea of going to Brazil transitory.

As we saw in the examples above, there is an intense sense of belonging to Brazil which, due to social issues, makes the desire to live in Brazil less persistent. Some young people may have the desire to return due to the good relations maintained throughout their journey with their country of origin, but as we will see in the second wave, Maria once again demonstrates why she stays:

> I. Well, I don't remember what I said, but I don't think anything has changed. I always defend my, my being two things like that, when... "ah but you were born in Italy, so you're Italian". I don't fit in, I even get irritated. I speak, no, I'm not Italian. My blood runs two things and it's not that I... I was not only born here, I've always kept in touch, I've always kept in touch with the family, with the language, with the land. Then....
> R. You go there every year, to Brazil, don't you? Is that it, basically?
> I. Once a year. Since always, since... I don't know, my pregnant mother and I went to Brazil with her when I was a year old. So I never....when: "ah, you were born in Italy, you are Italian". No my son, calm down, I'm Italian-Brazilian and that's what I always [...] So I don't think anything has changed. And... perhaps the only thing that has changed...I've become fully aware that it's very unlikely that I'm going to live in Brazil. This may have changed, because at the time I could be like this... let's see... because of the relationship too, but little by little I also understood that for me the reality we have in Brazil is very difficult.... that no, I don't think that's what I want, you know, like life. Because interpretation has to do with big events, with conferences, and being in a big city helps, even to travel to other cities eventually. And I don't want..., man, life in the big city in Brazil, we know how it is. It's that thing, it's security, it's... assault, it's... I can't do it. [...] Living in Brazil is you being, having to deal with the idea that in fact you can lose your material goods at any, at any second. And that causes me a lot, a lot of agony. Or the idea that you might have a family there, your child must go to school, and then he might be robbed. Or it could take a stray bullet. God forbids! I can't, I can't think about it, you know? [Maria, 30, Brazilian mother, big city in central Italy, tertiary education, second wave].

Creating transnational affections makes many young people think about returning to their parents' country of origin. As we saw above, Maria still had the thought of going to live in Brazil when she was having a romantic relationship with a Brazilian. For many young people the desire to migrate to their parents' homeland may remain constantly just on the horizon, not becoming a real movement at all (Gardener et al., 1985). After the end of the relationship, she insists on considering the "negative" issues in Brazil: security, the job market, quality of life are the elements raised by Maria that make her prefer to remain in Italy. For some young people, it is due to the circumstances of their parents' country of origin that staying in Italy is seen as the best choice. As we see in Maria's example, belonging to a place and the feeling of belonging are the main factors that condition the mobility of young people, encouraging or limiting it (Juvonen and Romakkaniemi, 2019). As we will see for Ben, there is a difficulty in feeling belonging to one of the two places, however, in a similar way, when reporting desires to return,

her points out the difficulties encountered in the country of his parents that lead him to prefer to remain in Italy:

> R. Do you feel more at home in Italy or in Morocco?
> I. Um...both. I can't choose a place! Um, culturally I can say... Morocco, and mentally I can say Italy.
> A. In relation to these two statements, have you ever changed your mind in your life?
> I. Yes, cam ... I was saying, I always had the desire that one day I could go back to Morocco. But when some familiar things happen, I'm a little… I've had uhm… a little bit of, I've thought about it more. and... especially when... my eighteen-year-old cousin... died not even a week ago, because he had to have a heart transplant and... in Morocco, however, health care uhm... you must have money! We always come back to the question... here in Italy... but especially, only in Italy, because in any case in France and Belgium this is not the case. Um, if a person is in trouble, if a person is sick, they don't go and ask you... who you are, who you are not, where s... first they take care of you [...] and then they ask you who you are. This is the thing that ... that makes me happy and I'm proud of Italy, for this yes ... for this situation (?). Many Italians complain about health care and Italy, but I tell you, if you have known other places you just have to thank God! [Ben, 26, Moroccan origin, small city in southern Italy, secondary school, first wave]

Similar to Erick and Maria, Ben points out that despite a possible desire to reside in the parents' country, this desire is undermined by what the parents themselves or other family members have experienced in the country of origin. As Wessendorf (2007) points out, it is common for young people who are descendants of immigrants to want to migrate to their parents' country of origin when they have been strongly socialized in their culture of origin. However, in the three examples we see that the objective conditions of the country – namely the social, economic and, in this specific case of Ben, health conditions – drive young people either to remain in Italy or to aspire to other countries as possible migration routes.

Outsiders inside and abroad

Despite the pride that some young people carry with them in the face of their dual belonging and their dual identity, for some young people being between two identities and being questioned by two social and cultural references can often be problematic. As we will see, some young people experience difficulties in their identity self-perceptions. Therefore, we must go beyond the obvious already portrayed by the literature that young people have a shared identity, or an uncertain and "hybrid' identity. It is necessary to understand how these processes are created. It is in the type of relationships that are built in the reference countries and in the way these young men and women are read in each society that we can understand why many of them find it difficult to identify themselves in this 'third' place.

As we will see, not all young people manage to find alternative ways to deal with this dual origin. For some young people, it is even difficult to fit in and define themselves based on two identities, often because they do not feel represented and identified in both places:

> [...] ok, I can talk to you about the issue that... it's always very difficult for me to define myself... in the sense that, of course I know. ... I mean, I have two citizenships, but and ... it's always very difficult to identify with only one citizenship, when I'm here I feel much more Palestinian, when I'm in Palestine I feel much more Italian. And….and this issue of coexistence between the two identities is...sometimes a little difficult to make...it fits in". [Danusa, 25, Palestinian parents, big city in northern Italy, secondary education, first wave]

When thinking about identity, many of these young people go along with the nation-state logic. An uncertain belonging, a difficulty in defining identity based on a unilateral or even binary/hyphenated logic of identifying oneself (Lugones, 1992). The difficulty reported by the interviewee in identifying only one nationality/identity, pointing to a difficulty in the identification process. Growing up between two worlds forces them to maintain dual frames of reference that are often difficult to reconcile (Dusi and Fálcon, 2015) in their subjectivities and identity constructions. The concept of frontier (Lugones, 1992) as an idea that summarizes the construction of these young people's identity. According to Lugones (1992), the frontier is a social place of contingency and uncertainty, where identities, experiences mix and hybridize. As reported in the study by Ince-Beqo and Ambrosini (2012), the experiences of young people when visiting their parental homeland are felt with estrangement: they are treated as foreigners or feel alienated on that occasion. According to the authors, they can be processes of frustration for not having any feeling of belonging in that place and at the same time not feeling belonging to the country in which one lives. Unlike a "romanticized" and positive perception of a hybridity of an "in-between" indentity (Elliot, 2009), it is perceived that this frontier in which young people live is a place of "real obstacles, constraints and pressures young second generation people face in their cultural productions and in the process of forming their identities" (Elliot, 2009: 4).

Gabriel, when talking about his identity and the relationship with Italy, makes it clear that his "divided" identity is built according with what he lived and experienced throughout his life inside Bangladeshi culture – experience a culture learned at home and in the community - and Italian culture; experienced in social relations outside the domestic/community space:

> R. How would you define your identity?
> I. I, I've always hated giving an identity, in the sense of saying "I'm Italian" or "I'm Bangladeshi" and I'm a mix, that is, understood? there is no zero and one, there are... zero point five, zero point seven, understand?
> R. And what is this experience of feeling like a mix, both Italian and... as you said, a person who has Bangladeshi origins is called.
> I. Exactly. And... well, that is, I have it, it's not that I accepted it, I lived it, understand? that is, let's say I lived it well, sometimes it was difficult, sometimes not, but I never suffered, that is, I suffered racism, let's say very little, I almost didn't suffer it let's say in, compared to other kids.

I mean maybe even, if initially someone... like saw me with that eye, but maybe after talking to me they changed their mind, understood? I mean... I don't know if you know anything about the political parties in Italy, Lega, there's the right wing which is a bit extremist, a bit racist so to say... then okay, I was in a class made of twenty-seven people, and alright…basically and... ah yes, in my high school class... that is, there were twenty-seven of us, and twenty, I think twenty-five were, that is, they supported the Lega! But no one has ever been racist to me, understand? That is, no one, everyone loved me, no one said to me: "Go to your country" all of them, that is, everyone treated me as if I were... that is, they did not see the difference, understood? so that makes me think that...how you pose...that changes that, not...who you really are.[Gabriel, 22, parents from Bangladesh, small town in central Italy, secondary education, first wave]

If in Maria's case, strong identification with Brazilian culture and society contributes to a less problematic and positive identity construction (Riso et al., 2020), here a negative dimension of this "shared" process of identification is perceived. What can be seen from the example of Danusa and Gabriel is that, in the face of different contexts, these young people seem to be asked to reconcile and negotiate different identities and internal representations of themselves (Dusi and Fálcon, 2015). Young immigrant descendants in their trajectories face other classifications and labelling of the groups to which they should belong in the country where they reside or in the country of origin of the parents (Dusi and Fálcon, 2015). The construction of belonging by these young people is complex, as it starts along lines of division and separation that is commonly done from the outside by other individuals (Dusi and Fálcon, 2015). The feeling of not having a place and an identity is related to the relationships he lives in his daily life and with the confrontation with people in his parents' country of origin. At the same time he informs us that inside of friends groups, especially at university he considered to be treated as equal.

As we will see in the second wave, Gabriel remains with his divided identity conception and reinforces it as this perception of himself and his belonging is related to the social contexts in which he lived:

R. Now let's talk about your relationship with Bangladesh in Italy. How did this relationship go?
I. And... Well, let's say I'm too Italian to be Bangladeshi but I'm also too Bangladeshi to be Italian, right? In the sense: where I live, there is a very Bangladeshi community... that is, there are many Bangladeshis. I get along with everyone, but I don't, I can't go out with them every day because I'm different from them, understand? I know everyone in the Bangladeshi community, they know me, but I can't always go out with them, because I'm very different from them. They have totally different interests […] they like to play cricket and I used to play football, understand? Or they 90% of the time speak "*bangla*", and I speak Bangladeshi 5% of the time maybe. While, for example, when I'm with Italians I'm not 100% Italian, do you understand? Maybe, they drink alcohol, I don't drink, understand? Everything... There are.... I have a ″ mix ″ inside my head . It's a… a lot of times it's a good thing, a lot of times it's a bad thing. Because for a child....there is a child should live in a uniform environment. That is, at school, at school it's an environment when he comes home it's the same environment. Not that when he goes to school… there are thoughts, like… I don't know, there are thoughts and when he comes home he has totally other thoughts. And that's the bad thing about growing up in a different place than where you were born, a different culture. But not where you were born, but where your parents are from, maybe**.** Which may have been born here, but it is in any case a

disaster.[Gabriel, 23, parents from Bangladesh, small town in central Italy, tertiary education, second wave]

As we can see, the feeling of being neither one nor the other is felt in a conflicting way by Gabriel. He does not feel completely "fit" in any of the cultures/communities and therefore he perceives a problem in his belonging. As Dusi and Fálcon. (2015) stress, some young people do not develop strong ties of belonging to the country where they live because they often feel like foreigners. In the case of Gabriel, he feels like a foreigner in two places of reference: the Bangladeshi community and the social cycle with Italian friends. There seem to be two distinct cultural frames of reference that are allocated between the domestic-community space and the outer space of interpersonal relationships at school, at work, etc. The idea of being both and not being completely neither can generate negative perceptions of not belonging and positive perceptions. When talking about this duality in other parts of the first wave Gabriel demonstrates how this duality is experienced among peers and how he manages to reconcile different processes of belonging there:

> R. How is the fact of having acquired two different cultures reflected in your daily life?
> I. So, practically... that is, since I am Bangladeshi, I don't drink and I don't smoke, that is, in the sense, I am Muslim first of all, and since, that is, I have de... you found me in that group there, "< group name >" so, surely I'm a Muslim. And... basically, okay , I don't smoke but it's never been a problem, I've never felt excluded for this, even when I went on a trip... to Genoa, with my companions and they all drank.. and it's not that they told me I was a loser or something like that, because in any case on other, other occasions I had already explained this thing that I didn't, I didn't drink by choice. And even though it was a class of all guys who maybe weren't serious, nobody ever made fun of me or that stuff here. They all accepted, indeed they respected me a lot for this thing.
> R. You said that you have friends of different nationalities, could you tell me a little about the relationship you have with them?
> I. Ok, so ... um, I have one (friend) close who is Moroccan, she is also Muslim, and then, other foreign friends it's that, it's like... foreign friends from what I see, feel an... they feel a greater sense of responsibility, compared to Italian friends, because perhaps they already have the house here that belongs to the parents, then maybe they don't have to… they don't have to help the family if they have to work, then... they don't have all these thoughts, understand? While those foreign friends have it! So, well... I've let's say... I have like four friends who are very important, it's four. And then for me, like, the others come and go, that is, in the sense that I don't want to, that is, in the sense... I'm never... that is, I'm only tied to those four and then I've been hurt by so many, sot to say, and there I understood that... that is, you need to have these relationships but, don't... that is, don't give your whole heart to a person... that's it! I mean now I, I'm actually very reserved and everything I have ta... I also have many friends, I'm not lonely. However, I'm not one who, as they say? I'm not one who can't be alone, understand? On the contrary, that is, most of the time I forget about the others and the others write to me: "Oh, what happened to you? Haven't seen you since…" bla, bla, bla. [Gabriel, 23, parents from Bangladesh, small town in central Italy, tertiary education, second wave]

What he is saying here is that he didn't feel excluded in the spaces of sociability with Italians, but he feels more at ease, he recognizes himself more with other friends. The spaces

where these young people belong exhibit other dynamics: with friends who share the same problems. As it was for Joseph, who demonstrated that belonging is very much related to his network of support coming from his interpersonal relationships, the same can be seen here. For young people, it is not just the support of friendships that matters, but the types of friends that are close to them, which are often substantial so that they can feel mirrored and represented in their anguishes and experiences as young people descended from immigrants. Continuing our conversation in the second wave, Gabriel informs us what positive resources he generated in the face of this dual experience:

> R. I have two questions about this.... which relates to what you talked about. The first is what are the positive and negative aspects of being like this between these two worlds. the other question is... what a situation has happened in your life's journey that you've heard this "hm...I'm not that Italian," at work? In the university, school?
>
> I. So, positive factors are that you are, let's say you are richer inside. I mean, it's a trivial example... Like, an Italian friend of mine, when I've finished listening to all the songs on the Italian playlist, has no more songs to listen to, while I've finished the Italian songs, I switch to the Bollywood ones, the famous ones, or I don't know, but they are, that is, I am quite international in everything. I listen.... or I watch films from my country, when I'm done, I don't know... Hollywood. Or, I can see, I can sense a larger reality, okay? And... and nothing. That is, I can have vision, a broader vision. Because like, we in Italy see it like this, and I see it like this, understand? E.... negative aspects is that for a child it is.... it is almost, that is, it is almost bad, harmful to grow up in an environment in which and.... in which maybe.... Wait, let's... as they say.... Maybe in the summer when you're a child maybe and goes to school and hears all his classmates say, "ah this summer we're going on holiday to Egypt" "holiday here, holiday there". But maybe I'll go home and maybe he's from a country where holidays don't take place, they don't exist. Because in many countries, holidays don't exist. That is, so how have you lived throughout the year, yes ... yes .... there are school holidays, stay at home, it's not like your parents take you around stuff like that. And so, at school, at school they put an idea for a vacation inside your head. You come home, you have another idea of vacation and this and this every day until yours.... until you become an adult... ok? So, it leaves you with some stuff, it leaves you with some psychological damage, you know? And nothing.... that's it. Or maybe even to tell you: like, when you go to high school, like the kids maybe on the weekend they can be very late, to go clubbing parties and stuff like that, right? and... And maybe there, inside your head, you have that fun is that thing there, that is, going to parties, being late at night, this stuff here. But maybe when you get home, on the weekend, that is the idea inside that... that idea you got maybe at school, in the environment, it's wrong when you get home. So you no longer know what it is... that is, you no longer have one... that is, you no longer know which path to choose, you have too many paths, you say this right this is wrong. You don't know what's right and what's wrong anymore, understand? You cannot have an opinion when you have… you live in a mixed environment. [Gabriel, 23, parents from Bangladesh, small town in central Italy, tertiary education, second wave]

What Gabriel tells us is that in the face of distinct cultural repertoires, he seems to have a different understanding of things than his contemporaries considered Italians. This would rectify once again the potential to be socialized in "a transnational social field" (Levitt, 2009: 1226). The various cultural references learned in his life path created positive resources. The possibility of dealing with diverse cultural repertoires can generate and influence social mobility experiences since learning to move in two worlds can provide the application of these

resources at school, at university, at work in interpersonal relationships and in other spheres of life (Levitt, 2009).

On the other hand, in this second part of the interview Gabriel makes it more evident from examples of how there is an internal difficulty for him to reconcile these two worlds. Gabriel, who comes from a Muslim and Bangladeshi family, has cultural practices that are often the opposite of those learned and taught in the Western context. It is perceived that there are often irreconcilable situations between what he experiences in the domestic world and what he experiences in the outside world (Dusi and Fálcon, 2015). It is in this context of two irreparable worlds that Gabriel weaves its own trajectory and sews his identity between these two worlds. It is possible claim that his identity "can be the fruit of a kind of mutual-cross fertilization between the two worlds where they have their roots" (Dusi and Fálcon, 2015: 566). Gabriel's example demonstrates that the cultural mix in which he is immersed involves: different social networks, types of socialization, bilingualism and religion behavior in his daily life. As Rizzo et al., (2020: 156) point out individuals who live in complex environments with distinct cultural heritages "had to strike a delicate balance between respect for traditions and participation in society".

Another element appeared in the identification-belonging process is how the relationships and socialization in Italy tend to make them feel like "foreigners" in their parents' country of origin. If the studies (Ince-Beqo and Ambrosini, 2022; Huang et al., 2016; Smith, 2006; Le Espiritu, 2003; Groenewold et al., 2014) demonstrate that experiences in the country of origin impact the feeling of belonging to this place (the more transnational experiences, the more likely to feel belonging), negative and everyday experiences in Italy can develop an emotional attachment to the country of origin of the parents. But what about when negative experiences in everyday life join negative experiences in the parents' homeland? What kind of relationship do you have with these places and what kind of identities are created and what kind of subjective connections can be generated in these processes? It is particularly important to point out that it is in the process of being "between two worlds" that young people do not seem to find a place for themselves, the process of belonging being much more complex and coming from other bonds, probably those that sentimental bonds are positives.

> I like it a lot... let us say in my ideal country, because it's always hot and the sea, so I like it a lot, but... I do not feel like home, no, at least being born here, I feel more comfortable here. [Juliette, 28, Cape Verdean parents, big city in central Italy, secondary education, first wave]

There is a diasporic experience of being in the middle (Walter, 2002) because when young people return to their parents' country of origin, their identities are questioned. The process of questioning identity occurs both in the country where they live and in the country of origin of the parents (Walter, 2002). The strong relationship and socialization in Italy often make them feel like "foreigners" in their parents' country of origin. Despite identifying themselves as "half from here" and "half from there," it is also possible to observe that the identification process of these young people is strongly related to the way they are seen in two different societies. This strengthens the idea that geographic location influences biographical construction and self-

perception, as this location will show us where the individual is culturally and socially immersed (Elder, Kirkpatrick & Crosnoe, 2002; Elder and Giele, 2009).

Identity formation is a process of creating a minimally coherent idea of oneself based on lifelong experiences (Ricucci and Olagnero, 2019). These experiences are related both to the context in which they live and to the meaning that people attribute to these experiences. Faced with diasporic experiences (Creese, 2019; Ince-Beqo and Ambrosini, 2022), the experiences lived in two countries in two reference cultures can often generate a feeling of not belonging to either of them. It is worth mentioning that this process permeates both the self-perception of people in these places and permeates the way these young people will be "read" in the places they went. As reported in the study by Ince-Beqo and Ambrosini (2022), the experiences of young people when visiting their parental homeland are felt with estrangement: they are treated as foreigners or feel alienated on that occasion. They can have feelings of frustration for not having any feeling of belonging in that place and at the same time not feeling belonging to the country in which one lives (Ince-Beqo and Ambrosini, 2022).

Identity is a dialogic process between the individual, the social context, and the people with whom he/she/they relate (Hall, 2011). In the case of the young people interviewed, the construction of identity, in addition to not being fixed, is also uncertain and contingent, as it depends on a set of factors from different societies. As we see in the second wave, Juliette's experience becomes more complex in the face of her life trajectory and in the face of explicit situations of discrimination:

> R. How was the relationship with Italy and Cape Verde this year?
> I. It's... let's say a little more or less the same. But I understood that in the end it's not a thing of, of the country but more mine, that I don't feel oh.... I don't feel like I belong to the group, let's say, right? I have…maybe a slightly different mentality and I don't have to be there. So, I got some relationships back with the Cape Verdeans because my dad organized.... my dad and my uncle organized some events, and I helped them run a little bit, worked there too and I realized, yes, I'm good with Cape Verdeans, they are fun, but I'm into it every now and then. They are not people with whom we have a dialogue to try to, shall we say, be understood. A dialogue between adults, let's say, right? It's just a party and that's it. There's the party then everyone on their own... With Italy it's...., unfortunately in the end I realize that I have travelled a lot this past year despite the COVID. In the last period I realized that perhaps I feel this way because I am, one can say, daughter of the world, I am neither Italian nor Cape Verdean. Maybe I'm a mix that you didn't know... That I simply don't have a place of my own that, let's say, defines my personality, or my origins. [Juliette, 29, Cape Verdean parents, big city in central Italy, secondary education, second wave]

In the second wave, when talking about her relationship with Cape Verde and Italy, this young woman demonstrates a difficulty in fully finding herself in these two spaces, which in this case are geographical, but also social and cultural. In one hand Cape Verde exists in Italy in the family relationships and in the limited social relationships. On the other hand, in Italy the relationship with the country is also delicate. The feeling you get from Juliette's story is that it is as if she doesn't have a place in the world.

It is in the face of displacement and it is in the face of not belonging somewhere that strategies are created and horizons imagined. For some young people, distancing from the territory becomes a resource to reach new horizons and new possibilities (Cook and Woodman, 2019). The act or desire to move can be considered a strategy to deal with frustrations in recognition processes. As we see above, given the impossibility of fitting in, the search for other places can be an alternative and this is one of the interviewee's wishes. The relationality (the lives that someone is connected with) of young people in the context in which they live, will lead or not to processes of belonging (Cook and Woodman, 2019; Elder et al., 2002).

Transnationalism can happen without necessarily going to the country of origin when contact with past generations of immigrants and specifically with culture is intense (Ince-Beqo and Ambrosini, 2022). In this process, however, contact with Cape Verdean culture makes her feel limited, makes her not feel fully represented. It is possible to state in this sense that belonging requires reciprocal acceptance (Dusi and Fálcon, 2015). The lack of reciprocity in both spaces of cultural and social contact - Italian society and Cape Verdean community - generates a lack of recognition in a group, a process that is an essential condition for feeling at home (Dusi and Fálcon, 2015). group or society.

Faced with this process, we can infer that there is uncertainty regarding the self-perception of these young people, uncertainty that comes from their experiences in the country where they were born - Italy, as well as in the country of origin of their parents. What we can see from the testimonies is that the identification process changes according to the place and context in which it is inserted, pointing to the importance of geographic location in the perception of oneself. The lives of individuals are embodied and shaped by the places where people live their biographies (Elder, Kirkpatrick and Crosnoe, 2002). Geographical location is where cultures and values end up influencing and shaping identities and self-perceptions.

Citizenship and dual belonging

When Mario tells us about his identity and his relationship with Italy and his parents' country of origin, he shows us that belonging often becomes suspended in the face of the impossibility of being considered as an Italian by the society:

> I. It's a very complex matter because... then let's start from the assumption that my parents didn't give me an influence, let's say... like that, Islamic or too tied to their roots of Moroccan origin and so on, therefore at home we have always spoken Italian, in fact I speak Italian correctly, a native speaker of Italian but I find it difficult to speak Arabic Moroccan, I understand it but I find it difficult to speak it. That's a bit of a deficit but… now let's say it's too late to, to blame the parents oh! Um, how did I experience it? It is a very complex matter, because ... on the one hand, you are immersed in a society which is the Italian one and you acquire all, all, its characteristics, no, you enter the culture for obvious reasons, in the sense of living there, you acquire that culture. On the other hand you are not fully recognized as Italian, for a simply physical matter,... this is something that has been changing a bit over the years, because this theme is emerging a bit, but still there it is this double absence, so, if we want to use it in sociological terms, that you are neither one nor, nor the other, therefore you are neither

Moroccan nor Italian. It can create…, it can create difficulties or it can be an asset there, it depends on the person like... how he reacts, here.

R. If we talk about "feeling at home", what comes to mind? Where do you feel at home?

I. Well, home for me is obviously Italy, even if then... I personally feel at home a little everywhere, then…, it's a bit, a bit complex, that is, whether it depends" home" what do we mean, if "home" as... as relationships, as roots, is obviously Italy, <big city in northern Italy>, <small city in northern Italy> and so on. If then it's like the sensation of feeling at home, it happens to me a little, a little everywhere, it depends on the environment, which people are next to me, which environment I have around me and so on. [Mario, 28, Moroccan parents, big city in northern Italy, secondary education, first wave]

In the same way as some young people above report, the perception of their own identity is conflicting because it involves an association between cultural aspects and physical aspects. For Mario, his identity is crossed by two dilemmas: on the one hand, he finds himself completely immersed in Italian culture, including Italian being his first language; on the other hand, his physical characteristics prevent him from being recognized as an Italian. Mario's "double essence" is questioned by his own gaze on himself and by the external look. It is this external gaze, however, that makes the difference. Therefore, it is not simply saying that these identities are hybrid because they navigate between two cultures but demarcating that this tendency to feel hybrid often permeates the way in which Italians read the bodies of these interviewees, the way in which their existences are identified as belonging outside from their own homes (Creese, 2019).

Another crucial element that Mario informs is that this feeling of double 'belonging' can often be understood as a resource. In this way, it is understood that, given the different feelings of belonging, young people also learn to deal with these identities in a way that they can be positive and that can change according to the context (Dusi et asl., 2015). Similar to Gabriel, he sees that living between two worlds and being perceived as having a dual belonging can often be negative, but also be positive. This demonstrates the ability that young people must reconcile these belongings or their own feeling of exclusion. Even minimal socialization between two worlds, two cultural references and two modes of sociability and identity can generate resources and can make young people use the different resources learned in the reference cultures based on the opportunities and challenges they face. (Levitt, 2009). Like Juliette who seems to be attached to a more "cosmopolitan" view about herself, Mario seems to prefer a broader identification note related to just one nation. Feeling at home for him refers to elements of recognition that go beyond the nation-state.

As seen in previous chapters, Mario is one of our interviewees who does not have Italian citizenship. In the second wave, although he does not speak directly about his processes of belonging and identification in relation to the two countries, he tells us that for the State he is not recognized either as Italian or as Moroccan:

A. I understand. So citizenship is a future project...?

I. It's...Yes....it's just that it's very complex, very complex.

R. What should you do at this moment?

I. Like, I have to do not much, let's say. It is the city hall that gives me and must give me indications on how to manage my case because I don't know if we perhaps already explained it last year. I have the bad luck of not being a Moroccan citizen nor an Italian citizen. So, it is a situation not regulated by law.

R. Ah... So, you're just...Go, go. Tell me.

I. So nothing, I'm waiting for a response from the city hall.

A. But you don't even have Italian or Moroccan citizenship.

I. Exactly.

A. So you don't have a passport, for example.

I. Exactly.

R. How do you travel?

I. The police station issues a travel document for foreigners with which I can travel. It is valid for one year.

A. Is this a problem for you or not?

I. Yes, yes, yes. Now I wanted to leave this summer to get out of Italy, the first appointment since August, for the travel document, they gave me in January.

R. Must this title be renewed every year?

I. Yes. [Mario, 29, Moroccan parents, big city in northern Italy, tertiary education, second wave]

The process of belonging also permeates citizenship. Faced with exclusionary legislation in which being born in the territory and living in the territory do not guarantee citizenship, many young people "are neither citizens, nor foreigners, but *atopos* subjects, without a place, out of place, unclassifiable, not only from a legislative standpoint but also from an identity standpoint" (Dusi and Fálcon, 2015: 566). This also demonstrates that ties and with it the constructions of belonging to the place(s) are influenced by external agents, such as the question of border control, of the acquisition of citizenship. In Mario's case, ties " are determined not only by the intentions of the migrants themselves, but also by the possibilities afforded to them, because their movements are dependent on external borders, which are subject to political control by states" (Ince-Beqo and Ambrosini, 2022: 5).

Citizenship inevitably separates the world into individuals who belong and those who are left out (Volpp, 2017). Here again we find the idea of living on the border in a third place where feelings of belonging are confused with bureaucratic and identity issues. Not being legally recognized can generate a strong feeling of not belonging, as Juliette tells us about her identity at another time:

[…] until the age of, until the age of eighteen, it was difficult because... I was neither Italian nor Cape Verdean, [laughs], so I didn't... I didn't know, let's say, how... how to feel... it was a bit difficult... because I went to Cape Verde and they said I was Italian, but when I'm here, I was here, they said I wasn't Italian, so... it was a bit... [laughs], it was a bit complicated.

R. Did you say up to eighteen for any specific reason related to documents?

I. Yes, because until I was eighteen, I didn't have an identity card... citizenship... citizenship.

R. Has the fact of having citizenship changed anything in your life?

I. Really... little has actually changed. Just the fact that I no longer have to go and renew every two and a half years for the residence permit has changed, and personally, the fact has changed that... aa... the way I have conquered the certainty that ok yes I'm Italian, even if... in the end I'm not one hundred percent, in short. [Juliette, 28, Cape Verdean parents, big city in central Italy, secondary education, first wave]

The acquisition of citizenship was an important moment in her life because for her until that moment (18 years old) it was difficult to identify because, while she did not feel Cape Verdean, she was not Italian either. As Elliot (2009) states, the issue of citizenship profoundly affects the dimensions of belonging and identity for young people of immigrant descent. Having or not having citizenship beyond the material and objective consequences also generates a feeling of identity imprecision: not having a document can generate a feeling of being different, unequal and separated from others (Elliot, 2009: 6) Intentionally or not, the society, the migration and citizenship policies in force in Italy end up creating lines of separation between these young people and the rest of society, abyssal lines (Santos, 2007) that end up reinforcing a place of externality to individuals who were born or spent most of their lives in Italy.

According to what she tells us, citizenship was acquired when she turned eighteen, a process that changed her perception of identity, of who she is, of how she recognized herself. With citizenship Juliette feels more Italian and because of this we must also consider the impact of citizenship on the construction of identity, especially throughout life. After all, can you imagine what it's like to be questioned about your identity for 18 years and never get a clear answer about it? As Slootman and Duyvendak (2015) state, citizenship as a legal perspective can be an entity in its purely assimilationist character but also in its perspective of emotionalization. That is, having a passport is not just having a document, a status of legality, a status of a citizen with rights and duties; having a citizenship of the country where you were born and lived your whole life can express feelings, identities and belonging. As we can see in both examples, citizenship generated feelings, of feeling at home, of belonging to that society.

Reframing feelings of belonging and creating new identities

As we will see bellow, for Alice – and for other young people in this research – there is a difficulty in defining an act that involves only one identity. For them, their processes of identification and belonging are confusing or "a mess" in view of the way they feel in the two places of reference. The difficulty of asserting a single identity and the difficulty of not being able to fully find oneself in these societies demonstrate that for some young people the types of ties between the two countries and the way they are seen in both societies impact their self-perceptions and feelings. of belonging. The sense of a hybrid identity is situational (Creese, 2019) often because young people do not feel entitled to feel Italian in Italy being considered Italian only when they are outside the country. Alice, however, found a way to identify herself based on references other than the Nation state, as we will see in another passage of our interview, she builds her own identity based on her individual experiences:

R. Can you tell me a little about your relationship with your family of origin?

> I. My dad has many brothers and sisters, and all my aunts are there in Tunisia, and when I go there... I'm the... "the Italian who came to Tunisia", and when I'm here, I'm Tunisian in Italy, there's practically a mess, or in any case it's an identity crisis, if I may, because you're Italian in Tunisia and Tunisian in Italy, it's a mess! "Because what do you feel?", I say: " Mi I feel… Mediterranean, somewhere in between", so… this is what I feel. And with my family yes, I'm always close, with my grandmother, with all my, yes, no... I have a good relationship, that is, we understand each other, we laugh, therefore… [Alice, 29, Tunisian parents, small city in southern Italy, tertiary school, first wave]

"*Mediterranetà*" expresses here an identity that is often not based on the geographical lines imagined by the nation state. Living in the south of Italy and descending from people who live at the tip of North Africa, makes Alice recognize other forms of border delimitation. Her experience between the two countries, her experience by the Mediterranean Sea indicates an identity linked to an affective geography that is different from that of the nation-state. A geography that deals with a different way of living these cultures; a geography of its own that encompasses different components in the same identity. It has already been stated in the literature (Glick, Nina and Christina, 1995; Ambrosini and Bonizzoni, 2014; Jong and Petra, 2018) that the belonging process of second-generation young people is not limited to an idealized and self-defined society based on the state- nation. As Noble and Poynting (2008) point out, the process of belonging permeates affective dimensions of social relationships and spaces. What we see here is how the affective dimensions that relate to the relationships generated in different places create an affective geography that goes beyond the imagined lines of the nation.

Alice has always been in close contact with the Tunisian community both in Italy and in Tunisia, which entails belonging not to the nation-state, but to the community. As Barwick and Beaman (2019) state, attachment to the place can often be due to non-national rationales. Individuals of minority ethnic or religious origin, the local level is more important for the processes of identification and belonging than the national state (Barwick and Beaman, 2019). In addition, the Mediterranean includes a long history of cultural and social exchanges between different people that make this region a tangle of cultural traditions often shared beyond the dividing lines between Europe/Africa. Alice's creation of a Mediterranean identity then appears as proof of this strong identity and cultural character that the peoples who live in that region can share. Faced with an increasingly connected world, with complex mobilities, with diverse identifications and with the current social and economic situation, it is impossible to conceptualize belonging, aspirations, opportunities and identities based on old schemes of assimilation and fixation of these young people (Harris and Raffaetà, 2020) based only on the nation-state. The relational ties that connect to the place therefore imply forms of identity (Cook and Woodman, 2019) and belonging built on other lines of division.

10.2. Racialization and belonging process

A deeper analysis is needed on the discriminations that the young men and women encountered. Many of them seem to allocate the main element of inequality to the ethnic-racial issue that makes them experience difficulties in the processes of belonging. It seems to me that the racialization they experience is essential to understand their processes of belonging. As we will see, the line that separates young people recognized as "foreigners" or not depends on the attributes that can be racialized: skin colour, religious symbols, accent and clothing are some visibly recognizable characteristics that can generate situations of discrimination and prejudice and that end up interfere with recognition processes.

The "color defect"

The title of this session "defect of colour ("*defeito de cor*" in the original)" refers to the title of one of the greatest works of contemporary Brazilian literature that tells the story of an African woman who was trafficked to Brazil, became a slave and later returned to Africa and in this process reconstructs and reflects all its processes of diaspora. The title of the book[45] refers to something common in Brazil at the time of slavery: the existence of a decree in the colonial period in which black people were prohibited from exercising certain positions in society and in the state apparatus, and those that still wanted to carry out such activities forced to ask for "renunciation of the color defect" (Silva, 2012) thus eluding the idea that they should apologize for their skin color (Rocha et al ., 2019). Although these allusions refer to a very specific context of Brazilian racial relations, what the idea of "color defect" brings with it is that skin color, phenotypic traits and racial identity in general are elements that some individuals seem to have to be excused for. In the specific Italian case, it seems that due to their racial identity, the process of belonging to Italy is denied. As we will see, this "defect" of not being white appears as the main point that many young man and women reveal when recounting their experiences of discrimination. As we will see below, being non-white, or being recognized as non-white, prohibits these young people from considering themselves Italian.

For most young people in this research, the process of racialization is an essential procedure in the construction of their identities and in the way they are seen in society. As we will see below, some young people feel that the issue of physical appearance is one of the great symbols that allows them to recognize who is or is not Italian:

> I have to tell the truth that um... I had, I had a strong character, so I always... I didn't, I never let um, put my feet up on my head. But I had, I had all friends, no, no, there wasn't, that is very few people you know, excuse the term... there are assholes everywhere. But sometimes, jokingly you talk, you talk and they forget... but why, they forget that you are a foreigner. And without

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[45]In the original "Um defeito de cor" by Ana Maria Gonlçaves (2009) 5ª edition.

doing it, without saying it... pay attention, they throw it away a few words, a few sentences that crush your heart a little, a little. Like I have friends who were talking, he says to me: "Ah, I like this, I would send these foreigners all away! Well, no! and, but not you, not you!". "No, but you are, now you're < referring to southern Italian origin>, you're Italian.", "Yes but I'm too... I'm Moroccan! and if you're not saying it for me, you're saying it also for my parents!", "Ah, no, no! I'm talking about those, those of colour who...", but even those of colour are people who work, who... there are... , I told him, he does... I always do same comparison, the hand, our hand, there are fingers, they are all different... and people are like that too! The middle, they are all different, it's when, it's like people! And so yes to a bit ... "Ah sorry, no, I didn't mean...", but this thing saddens you a bit. [Ben, 26, Moroccan origin, small city in southern Italy, secondary school, first wave]

The clash that Ben is experiencing makes it clear how racist speeches are often camouflaged by anti-immigration speeches. When reporting situations of discrimination with co-workers, Ben shows that there is an imaginary among his colleagues that associates immigration with blackness. Combating colleagues' ideas about migration, it becomes evident that being racist without talking about racism is possible as migration and immigrants become the main signs of transmission of the racial ideology being reproduced in the Italian context. Faced with the complexification of societies and the taboos engendered around the word "race" in the Italian context (Giuliani, 2019), racism often begins to present itself in other ways, usually disguised. What we see is the possibility of be racist without the word race being called into question.

On the other hand, the colleagues when questioned drew a difference between Ben and the "rest", "those of color" ones (according to Ben colleagues), it becomes evident the discomfort generated and felt by the colleagues (Kilomba, 2019) is a discomfort of the white person who does not want to face directly with the reality of racialized people. In other words, Ben's colleagues rephrase what they said in front of the conflict of their privilege position. By reformulating the discourse and stating that the problem is not immigrants, but black people, they end up reifying the idea of "how black people are fantasized as negative in the white collective unconscious" (Kilomba, 2019: 146). The colleagues' discomfort makes them return to the discourse and place Ben and her family as an exception, almost as if "it were a favour not to identify them with this "negative" identity that would be the black identity" (Kilomba, 2019: 146).

The racialized subject can only exist in relation to another white (Fanon, 2008) who is commonly seen as a neutral and non-racialized identity. However, whiteness would be precisely the process in which there is a naturalization of identity, the position of power and the ideas of the white person: whiteness as an ideological manifestation of being white naturalizes the position of the white person who, among others, always places themselves as "non-racists" or that does not discriminate (Cardoso, 2010). The attempt to mask prejudice in the example above is itself a maintenance of power and privilege.

As we will see with another example, when Joseph tells us about experiences of discrimination in the work environment, he visualizes that the difference in treatment is also due to racial issues:

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R. What about discrimination you've experienced in the workplace? It happened this year too, yes? Because I remember we talked a little bit about it.

I. Yes, yes. Look, this year too when I changed jobs, it was very difficult because... I tell you, you always start with 10 (points) less. Because to them you are...."ok", you are coloured, they see you black, immediately. Precisely, they say, you don't know how to do this, you don't know how to do that, you don't know how to do it. As soon as they see you can do it, ... maybe little things, eh, little episodes, I tell you. The dishwasher, the button lights up, it's "on" maybe there's another little button to turn it off, the colleague knows how to do it, but... he doesn't say it... because he knows that if you arrive, you're better than him. These little things happened that.... that I realized they were doing because he says: ok, they realized that maybe we are better doing a thousand other things, or they... In the end we are all on the same level. But they always say as if... if you know less. In fact, there was a story that... as soon as I got there after two months, there was a black guy who didn't speak the language, he only spoke English. So, he didn't know what you were talking about, and everyone ... I met him, I did: look at anything, you have to explain it and I'll help. It happened that, I went to take a break and when I came back, there was this colleague who has been working there for... four, five years, then... this guy comes in and you hear [onomatopoeia of insults] he made an insult. "Come on, you don't know how to do anything about...." Okay, that's fine, and it happens again: I said, look, he's not Italian, he doesn't speak the language well.... More or less aggressive states. Because it's normal that he can't do something... since even Italian boys can't do that. The thing continued... I went to the chef.... telling him about this whole situation and all of us and our successive days happened.... as he didn't talk anymore, he didn't talk to me anymore because.... he felt uncomfortable and she had worked there for many years, and no one had the courage to tell the chef that he was behaving like that. He made every person that arrives leave and then that boy unfortunately left. And now I still work at that place and with him the relationship has become a little... peaceful, but there are some behaviors, look, which unfortunately feels absurd. Especially at work, especially with the newly arrived foreigners. When I watch these episodes, I can't be away. I know things that I feel unhappy about and... and I think it's not just here. Because here there is still this mind that is a little... a little racist. I mean, like it or not, it still exists. [Joseph, 27, Congolese parents, big city in the central Italy, secondary education, second wave].

Whiteness would be a place where a series of privileges – objective and subjective – "collaborate for the social construction and reproduction of racial prejudice, "unfair" racial discrimination, and racism" (Cardoso, 2010: 611). Whiteness also includes the projection of fear of the racialized, a fear that is nourished by the fear of losing privilege and the condition of superiority (Bento, 2002), a process that would explain anti-migratory and racist attitudes as seen in the above reports. Whiteness is therefore constituted as a place of constitution of the subject, of privileges and imaginaries about racialized individuals. What we see in Joseph's example is that the imaginary of white people in relation to him and in relation to other racialized individuals is that they will never be equal or better than whites. More than that, when they show themselves to be the best, there is a white panic of losing privilege in the racial hierarchy.

It is in front of these imaginaries of immigrants and this repertoire of racialization of immigrants that young people descended from immigrants build their lives and their meanings of belonging. It is in the eyes of the other that self-consciousness is built (Fanon, 2008) and one recognizes one's place in the world:

R. How is your relationship with Italy today, compared to a time when you didn't feel you had an Italian identity?

I. I have to say much better now, because in any case the Italian people are also developing, because at the beginning they were very closed - minded, right? And since you're black you couldn't be Italian, while now... aa, I found myself what I often say... always used to not being there... I wasn't seen as Italian, I always say aa, I'm Cape Verdean, I have Italian origins, then they ask me: "How is Cape Verde?" and "Were you born there?", I say: "No, I was born here and I've only seen Cape Verde twice, so I don't know much", and they say: "Ah no, then you're Italian", while once I they said it...[Juliette, 28, Cape Verdean parents, big city in central Italy, secondary education, first wave]

As we see above, the physical aspects are the distinguishing mark between those who are considered "completely" Italian. Although young people often incorporate the culture, language, values of the society in which they live, it is possible that their identities and their existence in the territory are questioned (Creese, 2019). Faced with characteristics that cannot simply be "eliminated", here we are referring to cultural or physical characteristics, society can use as a differential of those who would be the true "Italians" and foreigners. Questioning the origin of these young people based on their physical characteristics strengthens the idea that the presence of a non-white body, the presence of a black body, is seen as displaced (Creese, 2019; Kilomba, 2019) in western societies.

The main Italian mindset – which would have changed – is to associate Italian identity with whiteness. Mario and Juliette expose again the association between nationality and race: being black is automatically not considered Italian, being white is automatically related to *Italianness*. The perception these young people have of themselves in Italian society directly interferes with the type of recognition they have in Italian society and with the sense of belonging they develop throughout their lives.

The processes of racialization of individuals involve the appreciation and interpretation of a process that impacts on the construction of subjectivities (Gans, 2017) and feelings of belonging. Racialization, in addition to building processes of belonging and exclusion, also creates dynamics of discrimination. As we will see below, faced with an explicit situation of violence, the feeling of not belonging becomes even more intense:

R. And....in Italy in question year also of mobility, travel, have you experienced a situation of discrimination or not?
I. Yes. There was... another bad period, let's say. They attacked me. And.... I also went to the hospital. So it is little harder to talk about it. And..... I was going to try out for this job. In fact, I had to postpone it and went there two, three days later, because they made me stay at home. It is still a little livid because unfortunately, now I'm a little weaker from the disease so, therefore, it's also difficult to recover.... .It's....also for what I want to go and they confirmed to me that, it's not here my place. Maybe also because it's too big a city and I've seen that it's like that in America too . So, I have to look for a small, quiet place, maybe. And go there. I've been to Malta; I had a good time. It's a city, it's a small island and I think it's at the top of the list, places I could go. Because it was small towns.
R. But, sorry, I'm sorry about this situation. It's... but when did this happen?
I. This, August 18. At <city name>. He was on his way to work; it was a train station. It happened

like this, for no reason. Because I hadn't said anything, I hadn't spoken to that person. I don't know if maybe he was crazy. Drank had not drunk. Because then the police asked me if he had been drinking, he said no. Because one understands it when one is drunk. Eh, maybe either he was mad at the world, and I walked by, I don't know, at the wrong time. I do not know. I mean, I was bad at first, but in the end, no, it's not my fault. I just found myself in the wrong place, let's say. And... nothing.

R. What did you feel at this moment? When didn't they say this for you?

I. Rage! Anger! Because I said, I really did, I also said and I did: it doesn't make sense that one can't feel safe, can't go around, because in the meantime it's normal for people to do this. In fact , it's not normal for people to chat about others for no reason. And he told me if it was racism. I did: I don't think it was racism. It was just…it was one that you could vent about, feel strong and go, it was like that.

R. So you think it wasn't a racist situation?

I. I think not. However, it can be as well. Because there was also a bit in the background, but it wasn't, let's say, the first reason. Why racist phrases, right?

R. Yes, that... because he didn't say anything.

I. So, she had some issues, take it out on me. [Juliette, 29, Cape Verdean parents, big city in central Italy, secondary education, second wave]

As we see here and in other parts of this thesis, Juliette is one of the young women who have suffered from the racial issue in Italy at various stages and spheres of her life. In our second wave, she tells us about a situation of explicit violence against her, a situation of violence that happened in public while she was waiting for the metro. Faced with relationships crossed by situations of discrimination, prejudice, and violence, how are identities constructed? How are processes of belonging to a community, to a society constructed?

It is also interesting to note that Juliette does not necessarily associate the episode of physical violence as an act of racism: she thinks that she was in the wrong place at the wrong time. For her it was an occasional occurrence, a misfortune. Perhaps for many young Italians of immigrant descent, the recognition of racism is difficult, both because of the taboo that exists in society about the topic. Also, the process of making the visible invisible (Kilomba, 2019) can be a strategy created with the aim of trying to appease or soften their own situations. Furthermore, experiences of racism may not be understood cognitively, attributing a rationalized meaning (Kilomba, 2019). What is not put into words or given another meaning, however, can be felt physically: "the agony of racism is, therefore, expressed through bodily sensations expelled to the outside and inscribed in the body. The language of trauma is, in this sense, physical, graphic, and visual, articulating the incomprehensible effect of pain" (Kilomba, 2019: 162). In this sense, self-blame can be a strategy to try to soften what was felt and what was experienced: being at the wrong time at the wrong time can be the explanation for what happened. As we have seen in other parts of this thesis, Juliette has a tendency to put herself and her subjectivity at the place of solving all her problems, which are often also social and structural.

The vision of the non-white body as an "alien" body as a foreign body is understood by these young people from their own experiences of racialization. As we will see below, the black body involves a political issue in Italian territory:

[…] 45 minutes by train to arrive at these possible meetings. Therefore, for this reason I made the approach ... that is, I think that, in any case, politics in a very pure way is part of my life, is part of my being, is part of how I am in the world, of how I relate to people. But whether it's from when I'm a waitress to when I discuss my degree thesis, I don't know, to an evening in a place x, really. I also think so because, I think that my body is very political also starting from the color and this thing for me is not simply an element x that is, it is an element that brings with it a series ... that is a story, a charge, like it is perceived by other people, a result that cannot be neutral and therefore I understand this as political. [Gloria, 24, Senegalese father, big city in southern Italy, tertiary education, first wave]

Considering Gloria's experience, the color of her skin has a series of meanings in the context in which she lives. Why does Gloria indicate to us that her body is not neutral, but political? What we see in this example and in all the reports above is the persistence of race, skin color and other phenotypic traits to differentiate, to separate, to judge and interpret the belonging of these young people. Gloria is aware that her body mediates external perceptions about her identity, about her possible origin and about her behaviour (Gomes, 2005). The symbolism of Gloria's body and the place it occupies in the world (Gomes, 2005) makes her understand its political.

It is from a political body that she finds an alternative to deal with these intermediations about her body in Italian territory. In fact, for Gloria, being a political body is imperative, it is something she has no option not to be in the face of the questions that her body receives in everyday life. It is in the face of the perception of a watched body, a body seen as external, that politics for Gloria becomes an essential part of her existence and her daily practice of life. Black bodies in white territories have the ability to redefine "although briefly, territories of ethnic-spatial segregation questioning, in a non-verbal way, the status quo" (Bispo and Lopes, 2022) of society.

In the second wave, she demonstrates her discomfort with erasing her black identity, a process in which one can see that when the black identity is erased, it is often done so that the discomfort of the white person does not exist. More than that, when she reinforces her dual identity as a black woman, she states that the things that touch her in Italian reality and in interpersonal relationships and political life, touch her in a different way:

R. We were talking about the fact that you say that, however, you have double, or multiple references, and it makes you feel that your life experience is not always the same as that of your friends and that you don't like it, it is assumed that you have exactly the same stuff, here was exactly what you were saying. I wanted to ask you about this, about having references, I don't know if it's okay to say double, but you said it was important to you, so if you wanted to tell me more about it.
I. Surely the people I relate to are mostly white people, they are people who do, in any way, some kind of thing related to politics from bridges to feminism, I don't know, I find some people who, actually, for they never say it, they come from a very wealthy class and therefore they speak, in my opinion, only by condition of cause, therefore they speak to me, as if they were speaking to a white person, but I'm not white so I don't have the same type of experience that a type of white person can have, especially since a white person ends up from a small country and, the first wave of migration of people from Africa (…), because my father arrived in Italy

in the middle of the 80s, so there was really another era than now, so, in my opinion, very often this experience of invisibility, about this theory they say a lot of blab blab blab, then in practice I don't feel very often, i.e. who are united in discussion, even when it comes to (…), in reality, despite the fact that I relate to this type of people, these are themes that cross me on a daily basis, from comments on the bus, in general on Italian (…) to a whole series of things, all 'hyper sexualization because I'm Latino - American, I'm a Cuban that people can't wait to fuck, in short, various things that I have to take into account, that I like to talk about because I think they are important; last year it happened that I had a friend who told me, that she came from Trentino, (…), however we were entering <big city in southern Italy> and she said to me "but how do you feel as a Nordic to stay in <big city in southern Italy>? How did you live this experience as a Nordic descending to <big city in southern Italy>?" But that, clearly, was her experience, because I'm black in <median city in northern Italy> and I'm also black in <big city in southern Italy>, so my Nordic experience going down to <big city in southern Italy>, I sorry, but my experience works very differently from your experience, and the fact that for you this thing didn't exist, you had compared our experiences to me, however losing important elements that I don't accept being lost, because I'm not the person X who I never talk to, well it got me thinking how maybe I need to remind people of these things. [Gloria, 25, Senegalese father, big city in southern Italy, tertiary education, second wave]

Being in the world as a Black woman constitutes a different socialization and a different reality, and Gloria is aware of this. Being black and being a woman are conditions that affect every location, from the north to the south of Italy. It is not your territorial experience in northern Italy that makes your experience in the south different. On the contrary, it is her experience as a Black woman in these territories that for her is the most important differential. There are different levels of belonging that can often overlap in the same identity: between being a black woman and coming from the North, for her the most pulsating identity and the one that most informs her place in the world is her racial and gender identity. Gender and race merge in unique experiences in which race is gendered and gender is racialized (Browne and Misra, 2003). Gloria's process of belonging goes through an experience of racism and sexism combined (Crenshaw, 1989) where regional differences strike her very differently than they do her white friends. As a result, within the geographic cultural differences found in Italy and in the long debate about the processes of racialization of people from the south in relation to people from the north, (Giuliani, 2015) an intersectional approach is necessary.

The condition of being treated as white or the attempt to appease the racial difference runs through what Kilomba speaks of the attempt to "make invisible the visible". In an attempt to not be considered racist, white people try not to address these issues or simply try "not to see colors or races" in anyone. This type of situation is widely discussed in the North American literature (Bonilla-Silva, 2002; Richeson and Nussbaum, 2004; Bonilla-Silva et al., 2004; Lewis, 2004; Douglas et al., 2015; Doane, 2017) in which a position of "color-blindness" of society strengthens the idea that race no longer matters to understand the dynamics of reproduction of inequality in society (Doane, 2017). Color-blind theory has in fact become an ideological tool for reproducing the racist order without, however, blaming whites for racism. It is in the idea that "I don't see races" and "we are all the same" that racism is established, and privilege is reproduced.

To deny difference is to strengthen and reproduce existing racial hierarchies that are often based on the idea that "there are no differences because we are all the same". Color-blind theory has become a kit of ideological tools that are used for the maintenance of racial order in which the main means of continuation is the denial of racism, or racial identities or even racial inequalities (Doane, 2017). If the assumption is that there is no race, then there will be no racism or racists. As discussed in the chapter 4, it is in avoiding the use of racial terms (Bonilla-Silva et al., 2004) or in trying to treat white people and non-white people as equals that racist ideology reproduces itself, since it ends up denying those differences which are above all structural and social.

However, what emerges again is that the racial issue is one of the main points in the process of belonging for young people, a process that in fact involves an association between body, race, and country. The association between *Italianness* and whiteness causes these young people to be perceived outside their territories or at least as not being "real" Italians. It is in this identity construction of belonging that many young people may feel the need to "Italianize" or "whitening". As we will see below, the process of "Italianization" goes through a process of assimilation of Italian culture, but the visual characteristics do not fail to deny a foreign origin, reinforcing once again that in the process of construction of belonging of young people to the territory in which they live, the visual identity prevents them from being seen completely as Italian. Skin color, for example, is an identity mark that cannot be removed even with the process of cultural assimilation in the society in which one lives (Nyemba, 2021):

> [...] There were some kids of my age, who were a little detached from their origins, and maybe they tended to become one hundred percent Italian to say, right? Only the foreign name remained here or the eyebrows or the attires, because then people here think that dark, it means that it is Tunisian, instead the Tunisians are also blond, even that is it is all coloured like Sicily, but they believe that… dark it means, and in fact, since my skin is a little whiter, 'But you don't look Tunisian', in fact it is a statement that, it's not that I like it so much. [Alice, first wave, 29 years old, Tunisian parents]

As we see in Alice's example, racialization is such a pertinent and strong process in the lives of young people that even in the process of total cultural assimilation, the remnants of physical characteristics inform people of a foreign origin. This delimits once again that the process of belonging of young people permeates much more through the construction of racial lines than lines of national origin. In the end, origin or immigration are used as subterfuges to touch on sensitive themes without revealing them in the public sphere. Thus, and in this context, racial ideology is being reproduced without necessarily being made explicit in actions.

Based on the idea of "foreign origin", young people experience racialization in which their bodies are understood as dangerous bodies (Giuliani, 2019) that do not belong to that geography. In this sense, and as stated by Creese (2019: 1479) "bodies are read for signs of belonging here or as being out of place" and depending on the context, signs of non-belonging may include not only physical characteristics, but age, gender, religion and clothing(Creese, 2019). The process of belonging then pervades the way in which the idea of nation was constructed in Italian society, bearing in mind that it is in this construction of nation that images

of belonging and non-belonging bodies (Ahmed, 2000) are created, recreated, and strengthened in the social imaginary. Being immigrants or not, black people are seen from racializing discourses that go beyond geographies and nationalities (Creese, 2019) and are automatically taxed as immigrants, as foreigners. Black bodies are considered homogeneous, they are considered "the other" from the colonial and racial dynamics and ideology (Dei, 2017) and from the nation's imaginaries (Giuliani, 2019).

What we see is that immigration policies and more than that, anti-migration sentiments are mechanisms for maintaining and reproducing racial orders, racial structures of inequality in which color-blind theory is put into practice on a daily basis (Douglas, et al. 2015). In this process, these young people's feeling of non-belonging to the Italian context is proof precisely of the strengthening of the current racial order in Italy: a racial order in which whites are considered the true Italians, in which the idealized Western culture is seen in opposition to other cultures, cultures outside the Western European axis. As stated by Giuliani (2015: 172) "bodies that are too far from the national epidermal ideal are excluded from the category of being Italian". Dual belonging is actually often the impossibility these young people find themselves to feel welcomed in a society that has racial orders and rigid racial identification lines, however subtle and hidden under the cloak of the discourse of immigration and cultural incompatibility.

The passing of whiteness

It is in the process of racialization that some young people become aware of their "passing" as non-racialized young people. Thus, some young people recognize a certain privilege of being "confused" with Italian and, like the young people above, point to the mark of skin color as a line of separation and differentiation between them and other young people who are also descendants of immigrants:

> R. I understand, I understand. Speaking a little about this issue of immigration, that there is this discrimination against immigrants in a way. In your experience, have you ever experienced any situation of discrimination?
> I. Not because I don't look like it... it's... my mother is brown. Can you say that?
> R. Yes.
> I. My father was white when I was born, I... I never felt it, you know? I don't look like a "gringo" [foreigner], I'm not a gringo here [Erick, 26, Brazilian mother, big city in southern Italy, secondary education, first wave]

> I. Yes, then, let's say that I am ... however privileged, because ... I am not black, I do not wear a veil ... that is, no, physically I do not look very foreign, ... but my name is foreign, so when maybe on the phone, I call the services, the Municipality, the hospitals or other, there is always a way of answering that is different when they know that you are a foreigner, right? This is experienced everywhere, if they see your name first, it always is. [Danusa, 25, Palestinian parents, big city in northern Italy, secondary education, first wave]

R. Have you ever experienced situations of discrimination for having this dual identity, Italian and Congolese?
I. Look, I think it really depends a lot on the colour of the person's skin, and... I really had... bad luck for me, but luck for society... because um, since my father had him even an albino gene, my father's albino gene mixed with my mother's white and we are practically healthy carriers of albinism, me, my brother, and sister. And so we don't express very dark features, of the face, of everything, we have hair and practically. So also.... with great difficulty an Italian with, with black eyes, can come up to me and I don't know, insult me when I have blue eyes and I'm also very blonde. And that's uhm... on the one hand I said, I'm really sorry because actually I would like to have characteristics even closer, uhm, let's say, closer to my father's. Ahm, but it was... it was fortunate in other respects because I know many other uhm Italians who have origins... who are also from the Congo or other African countries, who always feel discriminated against. So, I think it also depends a lot on the city. [Jean, 28, Congolese father, big city central Italy, tertiary education, first wave]

In these narratives we can understand how there are elements that cannot be removed: physical aspects and the surname (Walter, 2002). Physical appearance becomes one of the main distinguishing marks reported by respondents. These statements are in line with studies on racism in Italy in which Italian identity is linked to whiteness (Andall, 2002; Frisina and Hawthorne, 2018).

In addition to the process of racialization, the "ethnicization" of young people also happens from the affirmation of identities and cultures essentialized and crystallized around social groups and their origins. As we will see below, Marianna, when talking about her identification process, exposes that society's perception of her group of origin makes her experience situations of discrimination:

Yes, because, despite being… I feel Italian, however I see, however, that in many things, when I talk to people, like this, during (…) they make me, ah, aren't you Italian? I say, yes, I'm Italian, but I have Albanian origins; ah, but you, you've seen more than anything else... the crime of the Albanians in Italy, I hear a lot about it, because it's putting everyone on an equal footing. Because there are people who sell drugs or thieves, they put me in the way too; so many times, I've heard myself say but it's better if you go back to your country, you stole our jobs. Let's say, I feel discriminated against many times, not so much involved, but discriminated against. [Marianna, 28, Albanian Origin, small city in central Italy, secondary education, first wave]

In Marianna's case there is an association of certain behavioral and cultural characteristics directed to a national origin. This type of conduct in which criminality is associated with a group of people who come from a certain nationality or ethnicity passes once again through the processes of racialization. Cultural racism already discussed in the theoretical chapter is defined as the process by which an ethnic group, or a group of people, is essentialized as having the same values, morals, behaviors (Douglas et al., 2015), most of which are placed as inferior, irremediable, or distant from the hegemonic culture.

In addition to realizing that skin color is a divider between those who are considered/identified as "foreigners" or not, what another white participant perceives is that

discrimination, when it happens, takes place through other practices such as differentiation due to name or last name. As we will see below, in the second wave, when talking about her experience of discrimination Marianna finds herself in a situation of suspicion of her identity and her legitimacy as the mother of her own daughter:

> R. […] You told me about discrimination in this regard, you kind of told me about a job in which you were told "you have to be 100% Italian" and you said "but I'm Italian" [smiles]. During this year, have you had the perception that that form of discrimination remained a bit, or…?
> I. It always remains, for life. That is, I tell you, apart from the workplace, it also happened to me when I had to enrol the child, at the registry office when I went to enrol her… No, sorry, at the ASL, to get her pediatrician, and she gave him all the documents, and on the documents it says that she is an Italian citizen and everything, but seeing my name and my husband's name, they had to call the municipality to verify if she was really an Italian citizen, that is, just from the name , so that it will remain for life, that is, in the end you have to live with it, you can't do anything about it. But it also depends a lot on the people, I'm a bit used to it, so I'm only even answering**.** [Marianna, 29, Albanian Origin, small city in central Italy, secondary education, second wave]

The surname appears as another element that cannot be removed and that can link this individual to a foreign origin, thus becoming a resource of discrimination (Walter, 2002). As Albanesi et al, (2020) point out, individuals' sense of belonging is related to aspects that often cannot be removed from their lives and bodies.

Marianna's strong feeling is that discrimination is something recurrent and perennial not only at work, but in other instances of her life. Here, in this case, her surname, that of her husband and consequently that of her daughter, are questioned for allegedly not being "sufficiently" Italian. The suspicion of the child's citizenship due to the last name considered foreign is a blatant essentialism. It is an expressive way of not making one belong at the institutional level that has subjective repercussions on individuals. If before the visual identity was the main point of identification and supposition, here the last name appears as an element of exclusion, of making one not belong.

Laura demonstrates that her visual suitability remedy situations of prejudice due to her name:

> R. And now let's talk about discrimination. I remember last year you told me that you haven't experienced so much discrimination...
> I. Actually, just for the name, I think. For the name and for the surname, because then since people see me and hear me speak there is no discrimination. There is since they don't see me. In fact, also, even here at work at a certain point he wrote to me... every now and then someone writes to me, writes to me in English, for no reason. But sorry why?... That is, if you want, we speak in English, no problem. But, perhaps, Italian is better. "Aaaah, no, sorry, is that..." Ah is what is that? That is... just because someone has a strange name and surname cannot speak Italian. I mean, maybe try first, right? Instead of starting with assumptions.
> R. But only in this situation?
> I. Yes, here only in these situations. [Laura, 29, Uzbekistan origin, big city in central Italy, tertiary education, second wave]

It shows how whiteness when exposed makes all the suspicion that they had about that individual fall to the ground. The processes of belonging that pervade the construction of visual meanings, but not only.

As we see in the case of Laura, the foreign name generates a suspicion of her identity, and direct contact, that is, visual information about her when confronted with other people, causes this suspicion to cease to exist. If, on the one hand, the foreign name would indicate non-belonging, on the other hand, her white body makes her included in the imagined community. Becoming black is a process of becoming and being recognized as a foreigner (Creese, 2019). In a similar and at the same time opposite way, being identified as white makes her a native so to speak. From symbols such as the last name, young people are recognized as immigrants and then, when perceived as white people are no longer considered immigrants or are seen differently.

Likewise, Maria, when talking about a discrimination process, reports once again how the surname can be placed as a differentiating element, although it is an element that is external to the visual identity of individuals:

> The only time I felt discriminated against because of my race, my ethnicity, my identity was when I went to the United Arab Emirates where I went through customs with my Italian passport. They saw that it had "Barros", my mother put "Barros" as a second name because here it is not possible to put the double last name. And then they said: "Barros, but what is that? I said: "that is,....ah, that's my second name." "But you're Italian?". I said: "I am, but I'm also Brazilian ". "Ah, these people like that shouldn't go through these customs no". As if only pure Italians could go there. Something like that... and it was the only time I truly felt discriminated against. For having dual citizenship. I said: wow, what a ridiculous thing... [Maria, 29, Brazilian mother, big city in central Italy, tertiary education, first wave]

Maria only perceives discrimination in very specific situations in which her body is only questioned when a foreign "last name" is presented. What can be seen so far is how the physical body is what contains the main elements of differentiation and discrimination among young people. The sense of belonging demonstrates a difference not only between first and second generations, but also between racial groups (Chariandy, 2007). Immigrants identified as white were more likely to identify as Canadian than second-ranked black individuals. This demonstrates the need to understand the identity and belonging processes of young people in Italy from racial lines, skin color lines, phenotypic traits and also characteristics considered "ethnic" (clothing, use of religious symbols; last name).

Belonging in an intersectional approach

Considering that the intersectional perspective proposes to understand constructions of identity from different matrices of inequality (Byng, 2017), it is necessary to bring elements not only of race, but also of gender, religion for this analysis. In this way, thinking about the processes of

belonging among young people descending from immigrants is thinking about how elements other than those of origin, race and gender combine to create experiences of identification and specific belonging. As we will see below, for many women in our research, it is in the intersectionality between race and gender that stereotypes are constructed and that delimit their ways of belonging in society:

> R. And on the issue of women what do you think?
> I. and the woman, especially the fact that, the woman, plus a foreigner, there and , it's a really hard area, because they always think that the fact that you are a foreigner, aa and that you are a woman, that you only came to work or to do those jobs a little more ugly, and it's something that has always bothered me, uhm... why not, I didn't understand what else because just the fact that we are foreigners, I don't mean only mulattos , also Russian or other eh. Just the fact that we are foreigners means that we don't, we don't want to study. Almost always... they gave, that is, they said so, it was something that always bothered me, and so I followed this area a lot too. And , however, even here we are a little behind. It's only been a few months since people have begun to... have begun to speak seriously about, and discrimination against, black women or foreign women.[Juliette, 28, Cape Verdean parents, big city in central Italy, secondary education, first wave]

As we saw in the chapter 6, Juliette points out that there is strong discrimination that racialized women suffer in Italy in which certain types of work are associated with women considered immigrants. Juliette informs us that being identified as a non-white woman creates a very specific and discriminatory external frame of reference: first, that women with this profile would not study or would not want to study, wanting to insinuate a low level of education for these women. This information, which has already been discussed in the chapter on work trajectories about the stereotypes of racialized women in the workplace (Essed, 1991). Second, the other stereotype associated with the first is that, given the low level of education, these women would not be "up to it" or would not be able to develop jobs considered more complex or more specialized.

When Juliette tells us about her opinion of the episode of violence she experienced in the second wave, she shows us that in her trajectory race and gender go hand in hand in her experience of discrimination, exclusion, and violence:

> Even the fact that we are already women is a problem for us, you know. You don't walk around. There's the one who whistles, or the one who looks at you, the one who has to say something and unfortunately there's a lot here! This is a lot, because here the woman is always the same, she has to stay at home, with, with the baby, thinking only about these things, you know? And then I feel a little [...] The fact of not being, of not being white they think they have to shut up and put up with it. It's something that... there's a lot here. Yes, in fact I have already participated in some events and demonstrations about this fact, haven't I? And I have heard other girls, other boys that it's always the same thing, they say. Which unfortunately... it's like we can't talk. We have to stay, endure and that's it. But it's not like that. Perhaps slavery used to be like that, but not now. But [audio issue] make it clear why, I think they finally realized we have potential too, don't they? And that makes them feel less, therefore they defend themselves by attacking. So, it's a mixture of racism and insecurity, I think. And as a woman.... until then, they like to have that, that power or see the woman only as an object. And we can't do it. We just must accept the man that the man is more. Even professionally speaking. The fact that men earn more than men

have more job offers and we don't. [Juliette, 29, Cape Verdean parents, big city in central Italy, secondary education, second wave]

National identity schemes also reveal imaginaries that blend gender and race (Collins, 2000; Giuliani, 2019) in such a way that specific groups are subordinated to discriminatory practices and hierarchical ideologies based on these identities. As Byng (2017: 131) states, "categories of inclusion and exclusion are just as informed by nationality as they are by other identities". From an intersectional perspective on oppression and on the nation-state and on nationality, the intersection of forms of oppression and hierarchization of individuals (Kilomba, 2019) specifically produces a feeling of exclusion.

There are two images that Juliette brings us and that jointly approach images of race and gender in an intersectional way: the first is the image of the woman and in this case the Black woman as a caregiver, in the private space. A submissive black body that is there to serve, to accept and to obey. The other image she informs us of is that of female sexuality, the one who is there to satisfy men's sexual fantasies. The images illustrated by Juliette are, as stated by Kilomba, forms of race, gender, and sexuality control. These representations would indicate the imaginary of whiteness in relation to these individuals: on the one hand, a subservient black woman, and black sexuality for white male desire (Kilomba, 2019). These imagery repertoires remote from the colonial heritage (Kilomba, 2019; Giuliani, 2019) that locate these bodies outside the white western territory and idealize these bodies from sexualized and racist perceptions built in the colonial imaginary. In this process there is a construction of fear and of desire (Kilomba, 2019; Hall, 1992), both of which always denote the white gaze on the "other" seen as external, exotic, and also dangerous (Giuliani, 2019). The hyphenation of identity and belonging also exists in the experience of racialized women, but which also includes other issues: the hyphenated situation places her on the border of difference (Cortês, 2021), her difference from the white man, and from the white woman.

In other examples of our research, it is evident that the process of belonging to women's society goes through a constant process of intersection between gender identity and cultural issues such as religion:

R. Is there a social or cultural issue in which you feel called into question? Is there any social or cultural topic that you like or dislike to talk about??
I. Well, the Arab woman is not, it is believed that the Arab woman is submissive, it is not! I will always come across this thing, yes, there are situations, it's true, I can't deny the whole thing, but the Arab woman is a really strong woman… and, she gets to where a western woman thinks an Arab woman can't. it can arrive, that is, in politics, and especially in Tunisia it cannot, because in 1950, with Bourguiba, women gave her... total rights, didn't they? It's that the Tunisian woman is a strong woman in general, I'm talking like this for general culture, I don't like that Arab women are thought to be submissive, it's not like that. Or at least not quite so, I don't mean one hundred percent (audio problem) this submission, but not as you think, this is my idea, I'll come across this. Come on... on women's rights in general, because women are very strong in my opinion, but men always believe they are superior, if you go to the mechanic, bring your car, they look at you like this, even here in Italy instead if you go there with your husband it's different.[Alice, 29, Tunisian parents, small city in southern Italy, tertiary school, first wave]

When Alice refers to Bourguiba, she is referring to a political leader in Tunisia who, during his time in power, promoted strong gender equality policies, which placed the country as one of the most advanced Muslim countries in terms of gender equality (Daniele, 2014; Robinson, 2020). As we can see in the two examples, being identified as an Arab woman, a black woman and an immigrant woman delineate these women's experiences of belonging: it is in the external perception of this double belonging (to a gender identity and to a national/racial/religious identity) that women are read.

In this process, situating two identities, or being seen as composing two identities, means that these women do not belong to *Italianness* or are at least seen as different from the rest of women in Italy. From this, it is reaffirmed that racial and gender oppression are unique experiences of racialized women. Gendered racism (Essed, 1991) involves the experience of oppression and exclusion that individuals may have due to being questioned by "racist perceptions of gender roles" (Kilomba, 2019). As Hall (1992: 445) points out, racism "operates by constructing impassable symbolic boundaries between racially constitute categories, and its typically binary system of representation constantly marks and attempts to fix and naturalize the difference between belongness and otherness". In the specific case of women, racialization will always permeate gender issues as well; they will therefore be gendered racial identifications of otherness.

10.3. Final considerations

In this chapter, we try to understand the complex process of belonging of young people here, studying in view of the construction of their identities, the experiences of discrimination, prejudice, and exclusion. What these young people evoke as belonging is related to an experience, even if inherited, an experience that marks their identities and therefore their life trajectories.

By focusing on the constructions of belonging in a temporal perspective, the analysis of the life course enhanced the understanding of the processes described here. It was in the trajectory of life at different times and in different spheres that little by little the sense of self and the sense of belonging were built. As some authors point out (Cook and Woodman, 2019; Juvonen and Romakkaniemi, 2019; Farrugia et al., 2014) although much importance has been given to the processes of globalization and mobility, the process of belonging for some young people still takes place on a micro-social scale in the local scope. The place must be understood as embedded with constructions of identification and belonging in which everyday activities, subjective experiences and people's social position influence these phenomena (Juvonen and Romakkaniemi, 2019).

When young people report their experiences of identification, their experiences of belonging, it is common for them to distance themselves from spaces such as school, university, friends, family, or the closest community. Even among those who allocate a strong feeling for

the parent's homeland, they do so from elements of the micro scale: a cultural aspect such as religion, the family of the parents who stayed there, music, language. In the same way that a hegemonic youth culture does not exist (Woodman and Wyn, 2016), thinking about the culture of young people descended from immigrants is thinking beyond the imagined national communities and beyond the crystallization/essentialization of cultures that they may come from to have contact.

As pointed out by the literature, it is possible to affirm that there is in some aspect a double belonging, a hyphenated, hybrid identity, constructed by a set of elements: transnational relationships, attachment to the culture of the family of origin, identification with the country of origin of the parents, citizenship and processes of discrimination and racialization. Belonging to a place can often not apply to these young people who see their sense of belonging scattered in so many representations outside the territory where they live or in none of the representations of Italy and the country of origin of the parents.

"Hybrid" belongings have been translated in the literature as a conflicting identity (Glick, Nina and Christina, 1995; Jong and Petra, 2018), or as an identity with insurmountable cultural dilemmas. In fact, some young people felt the difficulty of embracing some cultural characteristics that could be antagonistic in their experiences. However, the interpretation that this would result in a less Italian identity is a relatively problematic interpretation that does not point to other ways of interpreting the processes of identification and belonging that young people experience. For example, young people inserted in globalized or North Americanized cultures (with North American influences in language, culture, music, cinema and cuisine) are not seen as less Italian or are not seen as living a cultural dilemma. On the contrary, when young people expand into these horizons they are seen as cosmopolitan, as integrated into global dynamics. Here it appears that the problem is not the multiplicity of cultural frameworks that young people can come to have and build their sense of belonging, but much more what kind of cultural frameworks are considered legitimate or authorized to be attached to the national culture of reference. In this sense, it is possible to say that the construction of young people 's identity in this research must be theorized as "something relational, something that is constructed and elaborated in continual "conversation" with a myriad of people, discourses, experiences and, especially in the case of children of immigrants living in Italy, legal policies" (Elliot, 2009:3).

It can be seen from this chapter that the process of belonging goes beyond the insertion of young people in the labor market, and in education or how they will allocate themselves in these spheres of life. As Cuervo and Wyn (2017) understand, belonging is a performative and relational field: belonging could thus be understood as a field of practice and feeling that strongly depend on the materiality of the place (Cook and Woodman, 2019). The place here then appears as essential, this place being filled with social relations, with social representations, with values, with individuals, with perceptions of the world, with ideologies.

While the place is important for informing the existing cultural, social, and institutional repertoires for the process of belonging, on the other hand, what has been seen is that often the people's gaze pushes these young people to an imagined place: the look of from the white

people says that these young people should belong. It is almost a mark that cannot be removed: whether in a more subtle way like an accent or the last name, or in an unmistakable way like the skin color or the clothing of religious symbols. It was possible to perceive a difficulty in establishing the identity as completely Italian because many times their individual trajectories indicate insurmountable impasses for this identification.

For many young people, there is no place for them and this dual essence, instead of being romanticized based on multicultural belonging, must be problematized, since the nuances of dual belonging also hide processes of exclusion and discrimination, particularly among those young back people. As can be seen, young people are in a third place, a place of incontinence, uncertainty, imprecision that even the question "where do you come from" or "where do you feel you belong" on my part as a researcher are part of a repertoire of symbolic violence practices that they must deal with daily.

We must look critically at these processes of hybridization or hyphenation since, as it was possible to observe, this process is often more due to the impossibility given to pose as being an Italian Muslim or an Italian of African descent. Here I return to Du-Bois' reflection on dual identification (2021):

> It's a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at oneself through the eyes of others, of measuring a feeling against the metric of a world that regards it with amused contempt and pity." It's always feeling the duplicity - being American, being black; Two souls, two thoughts, two irreconcilable clashes, two conflicting ideals, in a black body, impeded, only by an obstinate effort, to split (du-Bois, 2021:39)

The double awareness and the need to "bipartite" is, in the case of the interviewees here, the awareness that it is not possible to merge two identities that often, from the outside look, are seen as antagonistic. The fact that they are considered an outsider, the fact that they are not considered white, for example, makes them different from other Italians. Young people always see themselves in this process as equals, but different (Du-Bois, 2021) in the face of these indelible marks.

If in traditional societies belonging to a group is mostly a right acquired at birth, in contemporary societies marked by multiethnicity, rapid changes and uncertainties, the feeling of belonging becomes increasingly tenuous and hybrid by nature (Dusi and Fálcon, 2015: 563). As we saw from what the young people told us, being born in a territory is not a guarantee of belonging and this happens both in the legal issue of citizenship (which encompasses institutional racism) and also from the dynamics of racialization. The imaginaries related to territory, blood and race draw a line of those who may or may not be considered Italian in the institutional, political, social, cultural and media spheres. Thus, the acceptance of these young people in society never seems to be complete because brand prejudice (based on physical

characteristics) and prejudice of origin (based on ancestry) [46]are still seen as insurmountable differences (Dusi and Fálcon, 2015).

The identity of these young people transcends national schemes: it is an identity that does not enter the traditional nationalist logic in which certain physical and cultural characteristics are associated. National identities were historically constructed with a view to building images of peoples that would embody a set of behavioral, physical, and cultural characteristics. What these young people bring is the opposite, it is the transgression of the essentialization of identities based on conservative and racialized nationalist ideas and ideals.

As points Dusi and Fálcon. (2015) in their reflections on young people descendants of immigrants and their processes of belonging, young people learn to transit through different identities and belongings that escape the logic of the nation-state. However, the problem is often due to the lack of recognition that they come to feel in the territory where they live. These young people are not fully recognized as Italians; however they are recognized as not being true Italians or "one hundred percent" Italians. There seems to be no problem in recognizing oneself as belonging to two identities (Dusi and Fálcon, 2015), but there seems to be a problem in recognizing oneself in these territories precisely because of the lack of a social and political context that support this dual belonging as an Italian way of being. In this process, freedom of identity and belonging seems to be just an ideal, brought to the table by social policies and legislative norms. Young people born in Italy, seen only as diverse subjects, semi-beings, sociocultural hybrids, are not recognized as people with inherent rights (Dusi and Fálcon, 2015) equal to those of their contemporaries born in the same places: they are not born with the right to be citizens of their country of origin. Their motivation and strength in feeling and realizing their own sense of belonging is not supported by the political and social context in which they live.

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[46] In a valuable study for understanding Brazilian racial dynamics Oracy Nogueira (1998) conceptually demarcates the idea of mark prejudice and origin prejudice. According to the author: mark prejudice is the one in which physical appearance is taken as an element to racially discriminate against someone; on the other hand, prejudice of origin would be based on the assumption that an individual descends from a certain ethnic group (Nogueira, 2007).

Conclusions
It still makes sense to talk about transitions to adulthood?

Youth, which has historically been a concept to designate a group of people at a certain stage of life, is often characterized by a moment of transition between childhood and adulthood (Furlong, 2005). This idea of transition that marks the idea of youth, imagines that individuals leave a condition of youth to an adult condition, a phase that is marked by a set of family, financial, and subjective characteristics and conformations that signify stability, maturity, and completeness. development (Furlong, 2005). This perception has served and still serves as a backdrop for public policies, for the State and other institutions. However, in view of what has been discussed so far, it is worth asking: what is being an adult today and what would the transition to adulthood indicate? The idea of transitions to adulthood that "measure biographies" in linear or delayed transitions in relation to extremely specific milestones (graduation in higher education and entry into the labor market, financial and housing independence, marriage, and formation of a family unit) were therefore questioned in this thesis.

For Bynner (2005), for example, the idea of life stages, which must be completed to reach adulthood, is wrong for several reasons. First, this type of conceptualization does not consider life as a theoretical and analytical perspective, but as a normative one (something that is also discussed by Cuzzocrea, 2020). Second, before talking about an emerging adult life, it is necessary to reflect on the diversity of young people who have different experiences of adult life in face of different institutional structures (school, professional, market opportunities, origin, religion, gender). In other words, the level of human capital of young people can influence the process of reaching emerging adulthood, which will happen more often in industrialized societies. The more traditional forms of adult life are still applicable to people with fewer advantages (the poor continue to marry, looking for their first job at an early age) (Silva, 2013), but people from the upper classes or from more developed countries now have a network of possibilities that are more closely linked to the non-traditional (Bynner, 2005). Furthermore, young people in modern, industrialized societies often do not reach what is commonly considered adulthood because they delay or fail to make transitional milestones.

In this thesis, we aimed to look at some classic transitional landmarks in youth and adult studies along with other elements such as perceptions of the future and belonging. What we have seen is that, in fact, the transitional milestones that young people are experiencing today are marked by multiple factors and that give a diversity of paths followed, all of which are marked to some extent by precariousness and uncertainty. We had in this thesis the aim of understanding how a specific group of young people manage to carry out their transitions in different spheres: professional, loving, family, residential. In addition, it was also our objective

to observe how these dimensions are experienced and how belonging is constructed and how these dimensions were also imagined in the present and in the future.

Regarding the chapter on trajectories from school to work, it was first possible to observe how the impact of origin can be positive or negative in their transitions. The choice of destinations at school, the type of university education can be influenced by how young people will be read - as foreigners or not - and also by the social and economic capital of the parents. We noticed that racialization plus capital inherited from parents makes a difference in these processes.

When we look at work trajectories, we can see similar processes: young people with less schooling and coming from families with little social and economic capital tend to live in a constant state of precariousness, and they are also the most affected by processes of racialization and discrimination in the work environment. work. There are young people in the Italian context who experience constant uncertainty at work in which the transition to a stable moment may never be achieved (Silva, 2013). Those who have few resources but who are not racialized and who have higher education are also more likely to be socially mobile. It is important to point out that most young people, to some extent, portray the situation of precariousness, but from very different experiences. Subjective precariousness is in this sense another important element to be highlighted. The dimensions of precariousness affect both the objective aspects (loss of a job, unemployment, constant temporary and intermittent opposites, little or no income) and the subjective aspects (feeling of temporary poverty, stress, mental overload, constant feeling of uncertainty) (Hirata 2009; Druck, 2011;). The work trajectory of young people of foreign origin is different from young people considered native due to "ethnic, racial, religious and gender discrimination; lower wages; inadequate classification in terms of qualifications; longer and more uncomfortable working hours; non-recognition of academic qualifications; lack of citizenship rights" (D'Agostino et al., 2018: 19).

It is also important to highlight the role of institutions in this trajectory outline. As I see it, school as an institution and as a universe of sociability has the capacity to create a series of barriers for these young people even before starting their careers in the labor market. The choice of destinations by institutions that put in place previous selection processes, together with discriminatory practices within the school space, can generate cumulative inequalities throughout life. Another institutional factor that is also specific in the lives of young people is obtaining citizenship. As we can see in several chapters, citizenship is a key element for the achievement of certain rights in society. It was interesting to note how citizenship impacts the course of their lives, whether in the sense of belonging, in the possibility of mobility outside the country, or in educational and work possibilities. As a result, carrying out life transitions without citizenship can generate, over time, the accumulation of inequalities or simply different opportunities. When citizenship becomes an impediment to taking paths at work, it ends up placing barriers in the potential, desires and agency of these young people.

The economic and social family background that influence their trajectories and the type of support given in different transitions. When we look mainly at work trajectories and residential trajectories, we can see that the type of support given to young people – financial, subjective, structural – will impact their trajectories. What we saw, for example, was that young people with little family support tend to start in the job market at an early age and make the transition to residential autonomy. What we have seen, however, is that this process also takes place in a context of precariousness, in which there is always the uncertainty of economic autonomy to continue the paths of an adult life.

In the chapter on intimate relationships and perceptions on parenting and marriage, it was possible to notice intensely the immersion in different cultural repertoires of young people. Just as in the broader western context the idea of an independent, autonomous, and free woman appears, many young women in this research, especially among those with higher education and who did not have children, brought this same imaginary. Love relationships and motherhood appeared as a horizon that would have repercussions in their personal and professional lives, which were seen as priorities. On the other hand, for men, fatherhood is an experience that requires more "responsibility" and commitment, as if fatherhood were something external and not intertwined with them. In relation to individuals who already had children, this difference in parenting performances between the female and male models can also be seen. This gender difference in relation to this universe highlights that even though the meanings of motherhood and fatherhood are being updated based on new dynamics considered less hierarchical, what is perceived is the persistence of differences between men and women when imagining or living the experience of being a parent.

The origin also marked all the reports of these young people. Parenthood and gender are made, in this sense, in a "third place" (Lugones, 1992). Young people, especially women, were socialized in different cultural universes in which different representations of gender and motherhood are presented. There is, on the one hand, the denial of gender patterns prior to them, coming from the cultural heritage and representations of their mothers. On the other hand, there is a negotiation of expectations directed towards these women coming from the culture of the family of origin.

Perhaps one of the most interesting and different findings in our research was the early leaving of the parents' house among many. The existence of a more individualist or more familistic dichotomy in the transitions to adult life loses its meaning here, because even though some attitude may be seen as individualistic, it can be completely based on an objective need and not on a cultural value.

The tendency of many young people to leave home "early" had nothing to do with a more individualistic culture and with a job market favorable to this transition: what we saw is that leaving home is linked to the need to meet financial demands or distance yourself from complicated family relationships. In a context of job insecurity and little family support, some

young people leave home as a solution in their transitions to autonomy. What we saw is an autonomy that exists and that can often be precarious. The independence of the home from the family does not necessarily include satisfaction regarding work, income and family formation. Leaving home in this sense is a condition for carrying out other transitions. In these examples, transitions to adult life as sequential phases based on: school to work, financial independence, leaving home, marriage and family formation weaken.

On the other hand, staying at their parents' house, although for some it was accompanied by the possibility of support given by the family, for others it meant the opposite: it meant the support of young people towards the family. This research highlighted the weight of migration in the lives of young people. The permanence that brings so much the typical Italian model: for the educational formation or for economic reasons of the children in which the family becomes the main support. The children also become the support of their parents in the face of questions specific to immigration: parents who, faced with little social mobility, need financial help to buy a house; or else the support to give in the face of a less accentuated integration in the parents, first generation migrants than when compared with the greater integration of the children, young people of the second generation. Thus, second-generation young people, because they are more integrated, are possible support for the first generation, with staying at home one of these means.

The individual and collective visions about the future perhaps allow us to say about generalized uncertainty or also about the new way of confronting and dealing with time. In fact, what can be observed is that time as a conception is being changed based on the experiences of young people. Precisely by changing the way of living and reflecting on temporality, young people end up radically transforming the way they construct their biography.

It is important, once again, to emphasize that for young people with more precarious social and economic resources, the future can be seen with greater anguish and not just as a navigation in the possible. Faced with life trajectories that are already starting in precarious conditions, not seeing a future can be distressing. The resilience and transformative capacity that individuals find to deal with the uncertain future are strongly connected with the resources that these young people have to be able to carry out these individual maneuvers in time and space, the temporal precariousness and the open future, it can be seen that the present and the past become the imperative times in the trajectories of these young people. It is by weaving the present with a view to what has been experienced that young people build some idea of the future, even if this future as a solidified place in time and space no longer exists. When young people make the future present, when they anticipate the future for the now, they end up acting with a view to dealing with uncertainties, but they also end up re-dimensioning the temporalities of Western society.

In this sense and in the face of loss of a standardized trajectory for adult life, biographical continuity comes from the ability of young people to always be building and rebuilding new horizons (Leccardi, 2008). Young people with greater social resources – economic, cultural, educational – and in a context with greater diversity – big cities - seemed

to embrace the idea of uncertainty more "easily" as a future of possibilities. What we have seen is that those whose place change as a driving element of their future are able to see their horizons in a less catastrophic way. Despite not fully seeing what is going to happen, this "blurred" vision does not put them in a situation of existential crisis. As we have seen, this capacity for greater or lesser resilience is related to issues of class and schooling, but also to the past trajectories of young people. The resilience capacity can be related to the available resources that they have and with a life construction in which changing plans has become a habit. Young people who seem to have gone through difficult circumstances in their lives in relation to various aspects can even create resilience by having already experienced similar episodes of contingency and precariousness throughout their lives. It was possible to observe that the agency has become one of the main engines of possible transformation even on a small scale. It is in the face of uncertain lives, lives that are often constituted on the margins and borders that young people create strategies to deal with constantly intermittent processes that are individual and social at the same time.

Regarding belonging, what can be seen is that this belonging is strongly related to their identities built in a long and continuous process of interaction with people, places, and cultural references. The location, territory and geography were "places" where these feelings of (dis)belonging settled. At school, at the football club, in the city or outside it, at sea and beyond the sea, in other lived or imagined territories, young people bring a sense of belonging that breaks with nationalist idealizations and that claim an Italian way of being in the world. An Italian who experienced other cultures, other references, other values.

However, the feeling of being a foreigner was always brought by the gaze of others. The look that racializes, the look that locates those bodies as not belonging to the white, European, and western territory. In this context, it is possible to bet on the idea of "precarious" identities (Giuliani, 2011) in which there is a continuous transit of identities - between foreigner and Italian. for young people this continuous transit between being Italian and being from another place.

It is noted that the transit between these identities is easier for some than for others in view of the possibility of racial "passing". Those who manage to navigate more fluidly between these identities create positive resources of belonging. However, for those who are more racialized, the identity construction between these two "poles" is often impracticable and even impossible. Feeling not belonging involves the impossibility of recognizing oneself as equal to others in the context in which one lives. In this way, some young people do not seem to find a place to embrace their identities, therefore making their process of belonging precarious and uncertain.

Young people find ways of appropriating these processes of precarious identity to build action strategies. As bearers of precarious identities, these young people recreate their existences, turning their identities into social resources. It can be said that as soon as the precariousness of being divided between two poles builds identities that are at the same time more flexible. Just as there is flexibility in life transitions, young people have more flexible identity and belonging processes. It is flexible identity and how this identity should not be

erased and assimilated under a large umbrella of nationality. The ability to represent and strengthen an identity "through a flexible geometry that includes different planes on which it is represented" (Giuliani, 2011) can be the way to overcome this precariousness.

It is in the face of this precarious identity thar can also bring a precarious life that, however, becomes flexible in the face of a need to deal with complex processes of belonging and identification that I begin to reflect on the weight of categories in youth studies. The construction and affirmation of "umbrella" categories has the capacity for synthesis, but it also has the dangerous capacity for generalization.

In this research, it was possible to perceive that the perception of a life project based on well-defined phases is impossible to carry out. More than that, it was noticed that these phase-based definitions of life: education, gainful employment, and retirement, or childhood (in the family of origin), adulthood (with one's own nuclear family), and old age (after the kids have moved out), are sociocultural constructions that cannot in anyway claim universal validity and definitely show signs of eroding in contemporary society (Rosa, 2013: 10). I would add that not only do we see signs of erosion, but we must also question how this representation was not based on specific groups in society, socially and historically, culturally situated.

After all, when talking about youth we need to be more specifically: who are the young people living today in modern and industrialized societies? What groups of young people are included in the category "youth"? Conceptualizations made about increasingly deregulated adult life transitions as a new phenomenon probably did not contemplate deregulation and precariousness as a defining feature in contexts outside the Western axis (such as Latin America), or simply did not take into account some young people who can experience risk and vulnerability even within the western axis: racialized young people, immigrants, LGBTQIA+, young people with disabilities, etc. As Wagaman et al., (2014) point out when dealing with LGBTQIA+ youth, transitions to adult life have been hegemonically constructed from a heteronormative and cisnormativity perception. With that, we can add that the transitions to adult life and their transitional landmarks have always been landmarks of a population that is not only heteronormative and cisnormativity, but also white and western.

In this work it is argued that the transitional approach often loses sight of the changes that have taken place in society and often disregards the repercussion of structural elements in the life and agency of individuals. It is stated here that all life inscriptions considered as passages to adulthood are based on cultural, political and economic schemes situated in a social and geographical time and space. From studies such as those by Wyn et. Al (2017), I argue that the assumptions of the transitional approach lead to: often placing and almost naturalized relationship of trajectories, such as the idea that the trajectory of education is always and directly related to the trajectory of work; or, for example, thinking that achieving financial independence is the necessary step or prior to leaving the family nucleus. Furthermore, there is a risk of losing sight of the influence of social structures on the agency and on the way in which individuals will live their trajectories in education, work and family relationships. Furthermore,

it must be considered that the central ideas of transition and adulthood are all situated in modern Western societies.

Paying attention to other "dissident" practices in western territories is also an interesting way to investigate the concepts of adulthood and the conceptual framework of transitions to adulthood. Understanding other ways of constructing biographies that escape the hegemonic modern western social and cultural context can be one of the keys to understanding the social meanings attributed to adult life and what young people should or should not do to consider themselves (and be considered) adults. Furthermore, studying other transitional practices and other identities and meanings of being an adult helps us to understand how societies are configured today and how individuals react to these configurations.

The association between these trajectories loses focus on other dimensions (class, gender, race, location, subjectivities) of life that can influence these trajectories. In addition, and as well stated by the authors, focusing on transition markers overshadows so many other experiences that influence the trajectories of young people. use and focus only in the transitional approach "contribute to a reifying of the idea of transition so that it takes on the appearance of a 'real' space (i.e. a 'pathway')" (Wyn et. Al, 2017: 494). In this sense, the transitional approach becomes meaningless, given the changes that have taken place in people's lives and in society, and in the face of the structural components that these people experience.

This leads us to understand that, while many sociologists bet on the idea of life stages that are "blurred" and "porous" (Furlong et al., 2011), in fact what is perceived is that being a child, young person or adult is more related to the social context in which one lives than to transitional milestones frozen in time. The ways of living at each stage of life in societies are related to time, to the structural conditions in which one lives and to the culture in which one is inserted. Being an adult or being young are identities constructed in society and not something formatted and immutable. In this way, life trajectories are marked by structural issues (class, gender, race), but also by cultural and subjective issues.

It is with this view that we also understand that many individuals live and trace their life plans from expectations and life course organization schemes that may or may not be based on modern-western transitional ideals. Even with changes in the social structure, which allows for other formats and passages, many young people continue to internalize life trajectories or chronologize their biographies (Severson and Collins, 2020) based on traditional adult life milestones (i.e. steady employment, leaving home, marry and have children).

In this work, the transitional approach to adult life is understood as a product of the social environment, cultural values and institutions that are or are not introjected, validated, experienced and put into practice through the agency of individuals. It is important as an observation tool to understand the limits and implications of this approach in people's lives. As stated earlier, the temporalization of life by age and the association of a particular one with a

stage of life is a social meaning and is therefore shaped by social conditions. A generational approach (Furlong Et. Al, 2011) allows us to understand that: contemporary economic, social, and political conditions influence the lives of individuals and at the same time that the subjectivities and the agency generated therein inaugurate social change, allow us to understand society in change.

Affirmations about an extension of a juvenile condition, making the life course less normative, less linear, and more diverse in which biographies would be increasingly individualized (Brandão, Saraiva and Matos, 2012) are questioned when realizing the importance of the structural conditions of the individuals. It is, therefore, interesting to situate these positions and conceptualizations in view of the cultural and contextual aspects that make certain individuals, inserted in specific social contexts, capable of having greater freedom or versatility in their way of living (Markstrom, Mathew and Amick, 2015; Brandão, Saraiva and Matos, 2012).

Therefore, despite considering that there is a new way of experiencing life course transitions in "post-industrial" societies (Heinz, 2009), one must understand how these individuals reflect and make transitions. Social position is an important element in a person's life path and in the ways in which they act in their life path: the greater or lesser freedom/flexibility related to traditional models of life path involves the restrictions that young people may encounter in its social context. In other words, many young people, for example, will not be able to choose more flexible paths in the face of the social networks that surround them.

The autonomy to navigate between alternative paths, postponing social roles related to adult life (having children, finding the first job) is influenced by social institutions and by the possibility of individuals pursuing their life goals willingly (du Bois-Reymond, 2009). Moreover, regarding the existence of a more uncertain life course, it is necessary to consider the spheres (supranational, national, local) and social structures that co-determine the perspectives of young people (du Bois-Reymond, 2009). Therefore, when talking about flexibility or the process of individualization of transitions and the life course of young people, it is necessary to consider the vulnerabilities that these young people face in society because they are considered "extra-community". (McDonald et al., 2001; Hardgrove et al., 2014).

Furthermore, the concepts of "emerging adulthood" or more individualized biographies may not apply to individuals who, given their social conditions, do not have enough time or resources to "experiment" paths (Markstrom, Mathew and Amick, 2015). The idea of greater individuality in life paths will also be influenced by cultural and social values that young people have developed in contact with the territory in which they live and in contact with their immigrant families. As Markstrom, Mathew and Amick (2015) point out, in the vast majority of studies on transitions to adulthood, transitions to adulthood are based on Western cultures.

The biographies that are generated in the context of this specific research can bring diversified definitions of what it is to be young and what it is to be an adult. The paths and biographies that are generated in the experience of the second generation will give us an important framework for new concepts of adult life and transitions to adult life. We must therefore pay attention to different ways of conceiving, doing, and belonging to adult life and the transitions to this, bearing in mind that adulthood is a product of the social life and therefore contextual. Faced with studies that seek to conceptualize adult life and its transitions, it is necessary to consider the diversity of groups that have life trajectories marked by other transitional milestones and by other ways of living life based on cultural, social, identity, economic aspects. Thus, the second part of the literature review of this thesis specifically addresses the life course of young people from an immigrant background.

What we saw is that the young people in this research, to some extent, live in a precarious situation, but that must be differentiated. Here I use Butler (2004) who brings the difference between "precariousness" and precariaty". As the author points out, "precariousness" would be a vulnerability common to all humans even before existence; while "precariaty" would be the social process, political and economic context in which some people suffer and are differentially more exposed to "injuries, violence and death" (Butler, 2004; Cho, 2022). The author wants to differentiate between bodies, lives and individuals that differ in relation to their vulnerable place in the world:

> Certain lives will be highly protected, and the abrogation of their claims to sanctity will be sufficient to mobilize the forces of war. Other lives will not find such fast and furious support and will not even qualify as "grievable".[Butler, 2004: 32]

It is within this universe that I emphasize that when we tend to talk about uncertainty, risk, and vulnerability of young people in the European context and more precisely in the Italian context, we must ponder which are the lives that are called to be evidenced as vulnerable. We must therefore pay attention to the different distribution of precariousness (Butler, 2004). This research cannot simply say who suffers more in relation to transitions in life and in relation to the context of precariousness and uncertainty. But it is safe to say that racialized bodies or bodies that suffer violence either by the state or society, whether based on their gender identity, their origin, their citizenship status, their skin color, or another physical and aesthetic attribute they experience precariousness differentiated by being bodies that are targets of violence and power relations and hierarchy. Finally, I propose that there be a decentralization of the presuppositions existing in studies of adult transitions (Wagaman, et al., 2014) and also of the meanings given to the precariousness and uncertainty established in the western context.

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Appendix A

Table 1: Main characteristics of the participants

Name*	Age at 1rst Wave	Location (macroregions)
Maria	29	Centre
Alice	29	South
Paola	24	Abroad
Mario	28	North
Juliette	28	Centre
Gabriel	22	North
Faviola	29	North
Elijah	29	North
Danusa	25	North
Laura	28	Centre
Jean	28	Centre
Joseph	26	Centre
Erick	26	South
Hannah	28	North
Ben	26	South
Felipe	29	Centre
Alex	25	North
Marianna	28	Centre
Gloria	24	South
Diego	23	Centre
Rafella	23	North
Diana	27	North

All names in this research are fantasy names and therefore do not show the real names of respondents

Table 2: Gender identification, marital status, parenting and region

Sample characterization		
	First wave	Second wave
Gender identification		
Women	11	10
Men	11	10
Marital Status		
Single	18	18
Married	4	3
Parenting		
With at least one child	4	3
Without child	18	17
Region that Live		
North	10	9
Center	8	7
South and island	4	0
Abroad	1	4

Table 3: Nationality status and Citizenship status

	Birthplace	**Citizenship status**	**Parents' birthplace**
Maria	Italy	Italian	Brazilian mother
Alice	Italy	Italian	Tunisia
Paola	Italy	doppia	China
Mario	Italy	Non Italian	Morocco
Juliette	Italy	Italian	Cape Verde
Omar	Bangladesh/ chegou com 7 anos	Italian	Bangladesh
Faviola	Colombia	Italian	Colombia
Elijah	Italy	Italian	Egypt
Danusa	Italy	Italian	Palestina
Laura	Uzbekistan	Italian	Uzbekistan
Jean	Italy	Italian	Congolese father
Joseph	Italy	Italian	Republic of Congo
Erick	Italy	Italian	Brazilian Mother
Hannah	Italy	Italian	Morocco
Ben	Morocco	Italian	Morocco
Felipe	Italy	Italian	Tunisian father
Alex	Italy	Italian	North American father
Marianna	Albania	Italian	Albania
Gloria	Italy	Italian	Senegalese father
Diego	Albania	Italian	Albania
Rafella	Italy	Non Italian	Albania
Diana	Italy	Italian	Ivory Coast Father

Table 4: Educational level

Participants	Education level - First wave	Education level - Second wave
Maria	2. Degree	2. Degree
Alice	3. Master's Degree	3. Master's Degree
Paola	2. Degree	2. Degree
Mario	1. Secondary School Diploma	2. Degree
Juliette	1. Secondary School Diploma	1. Secondary School Diploma
Omar	1. Secondary School Diploma	2. Degree
Faviola	1. Secondary School Diploma	1. Secondary School Diploma
Elijah	2. Degree	2. Degree
Danusa	1. Secondary School Diploma	2. Degree
Laura	2. Degree	3. Master's Degree
Jean	3. Master's Degree	3. Master's Degree
Joseph	1. Secondary School Diploma	1. Secondary School Diploma
Erick	1. Secondary School Diploma	1. Secondary School Diploma
Hannah	2. Degree	2. Degree
Ben	1. Professional qualification	X
Felipe	3. Master's Degree	3. Master's Degree
Alex	2. Degree	2. Degree
Marianna	1. Secondary School Diploma	1. Secondary School Diploma
Gloria	2. Degree	2. Degree
Diego	1. Professional qualification	1. Professional qualification
Raffaella	1. Professional qualification	2. Degree
Diana	1. Secondary School Diploma	1. Secondary School Diploma

Table 5: Occupational status

	Occupational status - First wave	Occupational status - Second wave	*COVID	**WRT
Maria	Student-worker (Stopped working because of COVID)	Student-worker	Yes	No
Alice	Stable and satisfactory job (self-employed or dependent)	X	No	Yes
Paola	Student (looking for a job)	Student-worker	Yes	No
Mario	Student- worker	Unstable and satisfactory job	No	No
Juliette	Unemployed (Stopped working because of COVID)	Unstable and unsatisfactory job (want to change jobs)	Yes	X
Omar	Student (looking for a job)	Student-worker	No	Yes
Faviola	Unemployed	Unemployed	No	No
Elijah	Stable and satisfactory job (self-employed or dependent)	Stable and satisfactory job(self-employed or dependent)	No	Yes
Danusa	Student-Worker	Unstable and unsatisfactory job (want to change jobs)	No	Yes
Laura	Student-Worker (stopped working because of COVID)	Stable and unsatisfactory job (wants to change jobs)	Yes	No
Jean	Student	Student	No	X
Joseph	Unemployed (stopped working because of COVID)	Unstable and unsatisfactory job (wants to change jobs)	Yes	X
Erick	Unstable and unsatisfactory job (want to change jobs)	Work unstable and soggy	Yes	X
Hannah	Unemployed	Unstable and unsatisfactory job (wants to change jobs)	No	Yes
Ben	Unstable and unsatisfactory job (wants to change jobs)	X	Yes	No
Felipe	Stable and satisfying work	Stable and unsatisfactory work	Yes	No

Alex	Stable and unsatisfactory job (wants to change jobs)	Stable and unsatisfactory job (wants to change jobs)	Yes	Yes
Marianna	Unemployed (looking for a job)	Unemployed (looking for a job)	No	X
Gloria	Unstable and unsatisfactory job (wants to change jobs)	Unstable and unsatisfactory job (wants to change jobs)	No	Yes
Diego	Stable and satisfactory job(self-employed or dependent)	Unemployed	Yes	No
Rafaella	Student (looking for a job)	Unemployed (looking for a job)	No	X
Diana	Stable and unsatisfactory job (wants to change jobs)	Stable and unsatisfactory job (wants to change jobs)	No	X

*COVID Effects
**WRT = Work related to training

Table 6: Marital Status

	Status 1 W	**Status 2 W**	**It has children 1 W**	**It has children 2 W**
Maria	In a relationship	single	No	No
Alice	married	X	No	x
Paola	single	single	No	No
Mario	In a relationship	In a relationship	No	No
Juliette	single	single	No	No
Gabriel	single	single	No	No
Faviola	cohabitation	married	Yea	yes
Elijah	cohabitation	cohabitation	No	No
Danusa	In a relationship	In a relationship	No	No
Laura	cohabitation	single	No	No
Jean	single	single	No	No
Joseph	single	single	No	No
Erick	single	single	No	No
Hannah	married	married	yes	No
Ben	married	x	yes	x
Felipe	In a relationship	In a relationship	No	No
Alex	single	single	No	No
Marianna	cohabitation	cohabitation	yes	x
Gloria	In a relationship	In a relationship	No	No
Diego	single	In a relationship	No	No
Rafaella	cohabitation	cohabitation	No	No

Diana	Single	cohabitation	No	No

Table 7: Housing situation

Participants	Residential Situation 1W	Residential Situation 2W	Boomerang experience
Mario	Cohabitation whit friends	Cohabitation whit friends	No
Maria	Living with parents	Living with mother	No
Alice	Household	X	Yes - To study
Juliette	Cohabitation whit friends	Living alone	No
Danusa	Living with parents	Living with parents	No
Paola	Cohabitation	Cohabitation	Yes
Faviola	Unmarried cohabitation	Household	No
Ben	Household/Living with parents	X	No
Elijah	Cohabitation girlfriend	Cohabitation girlfriend	No
Gabriel	Living with parents	Living with parents	No
Jean	Cohabitation with brother	Cohabitation whit friends	No
Joseph	Cohabitation whit friends	Cohabitation whit friends	No
Laura	Cohabitation boyfriend and mother	Cohabitation boyfriend and mother	Yes
Erick	Living with parents	Cohabitation	Yes
Hannah	Household	Household	Yes
Rafaella	Unmarried cohabitation	Unmarried cohabitation	Yes
Michele	Household- Living with mom during COVID	Household	Yes
Marianna	Unmarried cohabitation/Living with parents	Household/Living with parents	Yes

Diana	Household - Living alone	Unmarried cohabitation	Yes
Gloria	Cohabitation whit friends	Cohabitation whit friends	No
Diego	Living with parents because of COVID	Living with parents	Yes
Felipe	Cohabitation whit friends	Cohabitation whit friends	No