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DOES ENTRANCE WITH FAMILY INFLUENCE THE WAY MINORS LEAVE A REFUGEE CENTRE?

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Does entrance with family influence the way minors leave a refugee centre?

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Abstract: This paper investigates the trajectories of young migrants arriving in Italy by sea by means of unique data from a centre for reception of refugees and asylum seekers located in the southern region of Calabria during the period 2009-2014. We focus on the influence of family relationships at entry. We find that the length of stay is nearly five times higher for minors who entered in the centre with family than for those arrived alone. More than one-half of minors choose to leave the centre voluntarily and around a quarter are transferred to other places. A multivariate analysis shows that family status is very influential when explaining time spent in the centre. There is substantial heterogeneity in exit motives depending on the minors' country of origin. Overall, our results raise the issue of the effectiveness of the whole asylum system in Europe since the massive early departures of minors from the centre may suggest that Italy is not their intended destination.

Keywords: migrants, minors, refugees, refugee centre, administrative data, Italy

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1. Introduction

The number of forced migrants around the world, escaping from persecution, war and conflicts in their own countries, is increasing dramatically year by year, exceeding 65 million in 2016 (UNHCR, 2017). Among these, 2.8 million were asylum seekers, 22.5 million were refugees and the remaining 40.3 were internally displaced persons (UNHCR, 2017). The Mediterranean Sea has always been one of most important gateways for migrants to enter Europe in the pursuit of better living conditions. Within the countries affected by these flows, Italy has always played a central role, especially because of its relative proximity to the coasts of North Africa.

Over half of the world's refugees are children under 18 (UNHCR, 2017). Many of these, after having witnessed or experienced violence, persecution, war, and sometimes the death of relatives and friends in their home countries, will spend their entire childhood (and probably their entire life) away from home, in many cases separated from their families. As documented by the media and field researches (REACH, 2017), during their migration, minors are at the concrete risk of abuse, neglect, violence, exploitation, trafficking or military recruitment[1]. For all these reasons, the topic of minor migrants has become an increasingly important issue on the political agenda and academic debates.

Our data refer to the years between 2009 and 2014. During this period, Italy experienced a sharp growth in the inflows before the temporary drop in 2015, followed by a reprise in 2016. The number of arrivals in Europe via the Mediterranean route in 2014 (170,100) was 17 times higher than in 2009 (9,573). In 2014, Italy received overall 78.7% of total inflows in the Mediterranean Sea, while the share was 17% in 2009 (ISMU, 2016a)[2]. Among these migrants arriving on the European shores across the Mediterranean, a large share is children below the age of 18. Almost one third of total refugees and migrants arrived in Europe in 2016 were children (over 100,000) and among them, more than 33,800 were unaccompanied or separated (34%) (UNICEF, 2017). In Italy, the percentage of minors

[1] See, for instance, https://www.opendemocracy.net/5050/nando-sigona-and-jennifer-allsopp/mind-gap-why-are-unaccompanied-children-disappearing-in-thous, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jan/30/fears-for-missing-child-refugees and https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jan/30/fears-for-missing-child-refugees. But it is sufficient to type the keywords "missing migrant children" or "missing refugee children" on any search engine to access hundreds of journalistic reports or inquires that provide witness to the problems of migrant minors.

[2] In 2015, the total number of migrants crossing the Mediterranean reached the number of 1,015,078 individuals, with a shift of the roots. The Eastern Mediterranean, through Italy, has become secondary (15% of total inflows) while the Balkan root, through Greece, saw the major number of flows (84%). In 2016, 181,426 migrants arrived in Italy by sea, while in 2017 the total landings amounted to 119,369.

among total migrants was 15.4% in 2014 (ISMU, 2016a), with 50.1% being accompanied and the remaining 49.9% unaccompanied[3].

Our data have been collected in a centre for refugees and asylum seekers (named Sant'Anna centre) located in Crotone, a city in the region of Calabria in the South of Italy. Due to its geographical position, Calabria is one of the most important points of entry to Italy and Europe for migrants, but at the same time the region is not really attractive as a place to settle. In this region, the proportion of foreigners over the entire population is 5.2%, which is much lower than the national value (8.3%) (Istat, 2018a and 2018b). The reason for this (from an immigrant's point of view) is that Calabria is actually the poorest region of Italy, with the lowest GDP per capita (15,309.5 euros against 25,586.4 euros in 2015 in Italy as a whole), the highest incidence of poverty at household level (26.9% against 10.4% in Italy in 2015) and the highest total unemployment rate (19.4% against 11.7% in Italy in 2016)[4]. Thus the region is used as a gateway to Italy and Europe, but is not often considered as a good place to live since it offers very few employment opportunities to the migrants.

The centre that we consider hosts displaced persons who have entered Italy without any legal papers, and who apply to receive the status of refugee or some other form of international protection. In what follows, we will refer to them as "displaced persons" or "migrants", because it is not sure that their claim for refugee status will be accepted. After application, if their request is accepted, then they will acquire the status of refugees, otherwise they will receive notification of repatriation, thereby becoming formally illegal. Overall, our sample includes 20,965 entries of migrants to the centre over the period under consideration. Among these, 1,619 were minors, corresponding to 7.7% of the total. Our analysis focuses more closely on the existing differences between unaccompanied minors and minors arriving with one or more family members, in terms of length of stay in the centre and motivation.

Turning to the data, we begin with a description of the dynamics of entries of minors to the centre. Then we account for their family situation by looking at whether they have entered the Sant'Anna centre alone or with family members. The existence of family links largely depends on individual characteristics such as gender, age and origin country. We find that

[3]In 2015, the share of minors among migrants arriving in Italy was 10.7% (75.01% of whom unaccompanied), while in 2016 it was 15.6%, almost all unaccompanied (91.58%). The number of minors landing in Italy continued to rise thereafter, with still an high share of unaccompanied ones, who were over 90% in 2017.

[4]All data are taken from Istat (2017).

the length of stay is nearly five times higher for minors who entered in the centre with family than for those arriving alone. More than one-half of minors choose to leave the centre voluntarily and around a quarter were transferred to other places. Results from an econometric analysis show that the family status is very influential when explaining time spent in the centre. When they enter in Sant'Anna with other family members, minors leave the centre for another destination sooner, but the situation is very heterogeneous depending on their country of origin.

Beside shedding light on the trajectories of the young migrants, our results raise the issue of the effectiveness of the whole asylum system in Europe, currently administered under the so called Dublin System, which consists of the Dublin Regulation (Regulation No. 604/2013) and the EURODAC Regulation[5]. According to this regulation, migrants are obliged to stay in the country where they first apply, but if this first country is not their desired destination, they will probably move on after having landed in Italy (possibly before applying for international protection). Italy is one of the main gates of entry to Europe but as shown by numerous journalistic inquires, most of the migrants do not really intend to stay in Italy and, if they are not able to continue their journey immediately after the landing, they will leave the reception centres as soon as possible[6]. Official data underestimate this phenomenon, because calculations are based on the number of untraceable over the total number of asylum applications, while many migrants abscond even before submitting their application[7]. According to Hatton (2017), the recent asylum crisis has highlighted the inadequacies of European asylum policies: existing asylum system, which encourages migrants to make hazardous maritime or overland crossings to gain access to an uncertain prospect of obtaining refugee status, is inefficient, poorly targeted and lacks public support.

[5] The Dublin Regulation is a European Union law that determines which EU Member State is responsible for processing the application of refugees seeking international protection under the Geneva Convention and the EU Qualification Directive, within the European Union.

[6] It is sufficient to type the sentences "*refugees don't want to stay in Italy"* or "*problems with the Dublin system"* or any similar search key on a search engine to find thousands of articles which document individual histories and report interviews with refugees and illegal migrants claiming that they do not want to stay in Italy. A recent inquiry titled "Terra di Transito" (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5gJB27raA-I) has documented the sad condition of many asylum seekers "locked" in Italy where they actually do not want to stay.

[7] According to data from Commissione Nazionale per il diritto di asilo (2016), the share of untraceable migrants in the centres in 3% in 2014 the share was and 10% in 2013. These estimations are based on the number of those who produced requests for international protection at the end of the year (meaning that they left after their asylum application, but before knowing the result).

One potential caveat when interpreting our results is that our study is based on information collected in only one reception centre located in one specific region in Italy. Clearly, the characteristics of minors, as well as the dynamics of entry and exit depending on the family arrangements, may be different for the rest of Italy. Nevertheless, our data offer a unique source of information at the micro level on the trajectories of young migrants, from their entry into a centre to their departure, focusing on the differences between accompanied and unaccompanied minors. To the best of our knowledge, there has been no contribution on this topic so far in the literature. Our paper is a case study providing evidence on the timing of the decision of young migrants to leave, with reference to their family set-up on arrival in Italy and on their underlying motivation, over quite a long time horizon of six years, based on administrative data from one refugee centre.

The remainder of our paper is organized as follows. In the next Section, we briefly review the literature, the specific legal measures for the protection of minors in the Italian asylum system and provide data on recent flows of minors into the country. In Section 3, we concentrate on the analysis of inflows and on the characteristics of the minor population within the selected centre. In Section 4, we describe the pattern of family relationships and finally we introduce a competing risks framework in Section 5. Section 6 concludes.

2. Background

2.1. Review of the literature

Despite the growing interest in the topic of refugees and asylum seekers, what we actually know about underage/young migrants is based essentially on aggregate statistics from different sources. While some contributions are based on individual data about migrants' characteristics as well as their intentions and trajectories, especially in ethnographic and geographic research (Bloch *et al.*, 2011, Valenta *et al.*, 2015, Stranges and Wolff 2018), literature on minors is mainly concentrated on the medical and psychological aspects[8], such mental health (Jakobsen, 2018; Jakobsen *et al.*, 2017), the stress related to migration or to separation from the family (see Thommessen *et al.*, 2103, about Italy; Beana *et al.*, 2007, about the Netherlands; Montgomery and Foldspang, 2005, about Denmark), the

[8] See Curtis et al. (2018) for a systematic review of the literature which explores what is known about children's own perspectives on their experiences, focusing on children and young people who have migrated to, and within, Europe.

acculturation (Keles *et al.*, 2018). Some other papers focus on legal issues such as the assessment of the real age of minors (see Focardi *et al.*, 2014, about Italy).

Crea *et al.* (2017) using an exploratory design on 256 children entering the USA, examine the placement stability of unaccompanied youth while in long term foster care from 2012 to 2015, and how pre-migration, transit, and post-placement risk factors are each associated with placement changes of these children. Results show that experiencing violence in home countries, and significantly acting out while in care, were associated with a higher likelihood of changing placements. Fear of returning to home countries, and suffering trauma unrelated to migration, were associated with a lower likelihood of changing placements (as migration-related trauma, but the coefficient was not significant).

Surprisingly, almost all of these papers focus only on the share of unaccompanied minors (obviously the most fragile), while nothing is said about the minors arriving in Europe with either one or both parents or other relatives. Recently, REACH (in partnership with UNICEF) conducted an assessment between December 2016 and May 2017 to provide key information on the profiles and experiences of children who arrived in Italy and Greece in 2016 and 2017 (REACH, 2017)[9]. Despite these contributions, to date the existing literature lacks specific research into the trajectories of children when they arrive in a reception centre or any other structure, which is a very important issue considering the growing number of those who become untraceable once they have reached Europe.

In this paper, we propose an empirical contribution about this specific topic, by using a unique data set collected directly from a reception centre for refugees and asylum seekers located along the east coast of Calabria. As emphasized earlier, Italy plays a central role as point of entry for refugees, asylum seekers and displaced persons, but there are large regional differences depending on geographic position. Historically, Sicily has always been the Italian region most affected by the inflows, followed by Calabria which is the most southern region of the Italian peninsular.

[9] REACH is a joint initiative of two international non-governmental organizations - ACTED and IMPACT Initiatives - and the UN Operational Satellite Applications Programme (UNOSAT). In particular, the research to uncover the motivation for leaving home, the risks children encountered on their journey and their life once in Europe. In Italy, the analysis was conducted through interviews of 720 unaccompanied and separated children in 72 reception facilities in Sicily and outside reception facilities in the key transit sites of Rome, Milan, Ventimiglia and Como. In Greece, a consolidated secondary data analysis was carried out, supplemented by interviews with 40 parents and 30 service providers, as well as 17 Focus Group Discussions with a total of 130 children, 70 of whom unaccompanied and/or separated (REACH, 2017).

2.2. The protection of minors in Italian law and the asylum system in Italy

In Italy, primary assistance of refugees and asylum seekers takes place in the reception centres. At the time our data refer to, the system of shelters and detention for migrants in Italy consisted of four different types: CSPA (Centri di Soccorso e Prima Assistenza, Centres for Aid and First Reception), CDA (Centri di Accoglienza, Centres of Hospitality), CARA (Centri di Accoglienza per richiedenti asilo, Reception Centres for Asylum Seekers) and CIE (Centri di Identificazione ed Espulsione, Centres for Identification and Expulsion). All these structures are managed by different types of private entities (cooperatives, religious organizations, associations, etc.) under the supervision of the Italian Government, which provides the economic support.

The asylum system in Italy is completed by the so-called "second reception", the SPRAR, established by Law n°189/2002 (Bossi-Fini). SPRAR is the network of all the local institutions that implement reception projects for forced migrants, and aims to promote socioeconomic inclusion and integration of the refugee in the territory after the initial assistance, carried out mainly in the reception centres. The whole system is overseen by the Ministry of the Interior and local authorities in collaboration with the humanitarian organizations and the tertiary sector.

In recent years, as the number of immigrants has increased, as an alternative to the Sprar, also the Extraordinary Reception Centres (CAS) have spread, which nowadays constitute the ordinary reception method hosting more than 72% of the refugees entering the country. These centres are entrusted to private companies, cooperatives, hotels and residences that stipulate contracts directly with the prefectures.

According to Italian legislation (art. 2, D.Lgs. n. 142/2015 and art. 2, L. n. 47/2017), "unaccompanied foreign minors" are young people who do not have Italian citizenship or that of any other European Union State, and who, not having applied for political asylum, find themselves for any reason in the territory of the State without assistance and representation by parents or other adults legally responsible for them according to the laws in force in the Italian legal system[10]. In addition to minors who are completely alone,

[10] A more comprehensive list of laws related to children can be found on the website of the Italian Parliament (http://www.camera.it/leg17/465?tema=minori_stranieri_non_accompagnati). Additionally, a list of laws, policy actions and operational material can be found here http://www.refworld.org/children.html.

children who live with adults other than their parents (including relatives to the fourth remove) who are not guardians or advisors on the basis of a formal provision are also included in this definition, as these children are nonetheless without legal representation according to Italian law (ANCI, 2012).

Only recently has Italy implemented specific legal measures on refugees and illegal migrants (Ambrosetti and Cela, 2015). The condition of unaccompanied foreign minors has been treated marginally in Community law until the early 2000s. The topic has been addressed only in one Community legal instrument, albeit non-binding, i.e. the Council Resolution of 26 June 1997 (ANCI, 2012). The remaining binding rules, such as Directives and Regulations on Immigration and Asylum, have so far been limited to adapting and slightly mitigating the restrictive rules governing the rights of asylum seekers and foreign adults, considering the more vulnerable condition of unaccompanied minors[11].

As an effect of the huge increase in the number of migrants landing in Italy in 2014 (four times higher than the previous year) and the growing presence of children, the Italian government decided to define other legal measures, approving a national plan in a unified conference on July 10 of the same year. Through this agreement, a new approach for the reception of unaccompanied foreign minors was inaugurated, assigning to the Ministry of the Interior responsibility for their reception, overcoming the previous regime that distinguished unaccompanied minors seeking asylum from non-asylum seekers. This new structure was subsequently confirmed by Legislative Decree No. 142/2015, in which the phases of reception are comprehensively described, highlighting in detail the role of the different actors involved (Giovannetti, 2016).

Another step forward came with the approval of Law n. 47/2017, specifically concerning measures for the protection of unaccompanied foreign minors[12]. Currently, unaccompanied minors who have applied for asylum or refugee status have a specific path, followed by the National Asylum Commission for the matter of the request and by the Protection System for

[11]Among non-binding documents in May 2010, the communication from the European Commission to the Parliament and the Council called the "Action Plan on Unaccompanied Minors (2010 -2014)" constitutes a first positive step of the European decision-making bodies towards a more complete discussion of the phenomenon. However, the text of the European Commission still reflects the contradictions and ambiguities usually present in the discussion of this issue, which are linked, on the one hand, to the obligation of the European States to take into account the postulates of the International Law of Human Rights to which they are committed to and, secondly, to the manifest and unequivocal will to control the flows migration (ANCI, 2012).

[12] In particular, the Parliament introduced a series of amendments to the legislation in force in order to strengthen the protection guaranteed by law in favour of foreign minors.

Asylum Seekers and Refugees (SPRAR) for the reception and assistance (ANCI, 2012). The National Asylum Commission is the institution that in Italy has dealt with the procedure of eligibility and the recognition of the "refugee status" since 1952. It is responsible for addressing and coordinating the territorial commissions, training and updating the components of the commissions, collecting statistical data. It has the decision-making powers in terms of revocation and termination of the status granted (ANCI, 2012).

In recent months, under the country's new hard-right government, the parameters for asylum have been considerably narrowed, accompanied by a shrinking of state support for the refugee and migrant reception system. This new orientation has crystallized most clearly in Decree-Law on "Immigration and Security" (n° 113 of 4th October 2018) — also called the Salvini Decree after interior minister Matteo Salvini — passed by means of a confidence vote at the end of November 2018, and immediately turned into law.

Crucially, the legislation makes it much more difficult to obtain international protection, eliminating most forms of humanitarian protection — a two-year permit of stay — and requiring nearly all migrants to hold a valid work contract in order to renew their documents. Through the Decree, the SPRAR network has been almost completely dismantled and many projects were terminated.

These restrictive measures will also have negative effects on the life of minor refugees. Youths under the age of 18 live in reception centres but must leave once they turn 18. Ideally, they should enter the SPRAR, where they have access to more opportunities for education, training, and work. But, under the new government and Salvini's Decree, migrants with humanitarian permits will no longer be permitted to enter SPRAR and the SPRAR itself has been dismantled. Instead, it will be limited to those who obtain the much more onerous refugee status (very few migrants). Those with other forms of international protection will have no subsidised accommodation. That means they will be forced into private or church-run hostels, homeless shelters, or onto the street. At the present time, there is a lack of information about the effect of the Salvini's Decree, but our work can help shed light on the trajectories of minors and the dangers they may be exposed to, especially as a large proportion of them abscond from the centres.

2.3. Aggregate data on minors' inflows to Italy

Since our analysis is based on data collected in the Sant'Anna centre in the period between 2009 and 2014, aggregate data on minors' inflows to Italy presented in this paragraph will mainly refer to year 2014, in order to allow a comparison between national and our local data. In addition, more recent data will be presented in order to give updated information (see Table 1).

In 2014, 170,100 migrants landed in Italy, 26,122 of whom were minors (15.4%), in equal measure unaccompanied (13,026) and accompanied (13,096). As shown in Table 1, the share of unaccompanied minors overs the period 2011-2017 has constantly been higher than the share of minors coming with family, except for the year 2014 when they were both around 50%. In the period under consideration, both the absolute number of minors and its relative value over total fluctuated somewhat due to the variation in the total inflows. In 2015, the number of minors fell to 16,478 (10.71% over 153,842 migrants) but it rose again in 2016 (28,223, 15.56% over 181,436 migrants). In 2017, 17,337 minors landed in Italy (14.52% over 119,369 migrants). The most striking figure is related to the share of unaccompanied minors which, after a temporary decrease in 2014, rose again to 75.01% in 2015 and has stabilised at around 91% in the last two years.

Table 1 about here

Calabria has played a central role in receiving migrants, both adults and minors. According to the latest available data (ISMU, 2016b), in 2014 it was the second receiving region in Italy after Sicily, hosting 22,673 migrants landed by sea (13.3% of total). Among these, 852 were minors (10.9% of 7,831 minors landed in Italy) (Italian Ministry of Work and Social Politics, 2014). In 2015, the region had an inflow of 29,437 migrants arriving by boat (19.1 of total inflows in Italy) (ISMU, 2016b), among which 1,126 were minors (9.5% of 11,921 total inflows of minors) (Italian Ministry of Work and Social Politics, 2014). According to the latest available data, the number of minors in the region was 1,418 in 2016, a share of 8.2% of total inflows of minors in the country (17,373) (Save the Children, 2017).

It is worth noting that these last figures refer only to minors recorded and present in the centres, but it must be considered that there is a significant percentage of minors who abscond from these structures and become formally untraceable. After arriving in Italy, in fact, many minors disappear from the centres and the other structures where they are

placed. Most of them try to reach their desired destination country, where they probably have relatives or contacts[13]. As previously mentioned, according to the Dublin regulation, migrants are obliged to stay in the country where they first apply. Although Italy is one of the main gates of entry to Europe because of its geographical position in the Mediterranean, the country may not be the desired final destination. So many migrants move on immediately after landing in Italy, very often even before applying for international protection[14].

In 2014, untraceable minors were estimated at 3,707, equal to the 26% of the total number of arrivals in Italy in the year (present plus untraceable). This number grew to 6,135 in 2015 and 6,561 in 2016, equal to 34% and 27,4% of the total minors in the country, respectively (Save the Children, 2017). As with adults, minors often do not intend to stay in Italy, as demonstrated also by the very low percentage of those who apply for asylum over the total inflows[15]. Moreover, available official figures refer only to the share of unaccompanied minors (obviously the most fragile) who voluntarily leave the host structures, but nothing is said about the trajectories of those who leave the reception centres with their family or relatives. In this paper, we focus on the pattern of exit motives from the centre according to the family situation of minors when they arrive to the centre (i.e. accompanied or unaccompanied), an issue that has not been documented so far.

3. The minor population in the Sant'Anna centre

We study the situation of minors using a unique data set collected from a centre for refugees and asylum seekers located in the South of Italy (the largest reception centre in Europe at that time). The Sant'Anna centre is a CDA-CARA. The centre run by the religious brotherhood Misericordia under the supervision of the Italian government; currently, after legal problems, it has been placed under a management commission. Based in an old military airport, it is 15 kilometres away from Crotone, which is a port city located in the east

[13] This possibility is also well documented by many journalistic inquires. See for instance :
https://www.osservatoriodiritti.it/2017/04/05/minori-non-accompagnati-cercansi/
https://www.osservatoriodiritti.it/2017/05/11/minori-stranieri-in-cerca-di-protezione/
https://www.osservatoriodiritti.it/2017/05/15/sbarchi-record-di-minori-stranieri-non-accompagnati/
http://www.repubblica.it/solidarieta/immigrazione/2017/03/06/news/minori_stranieri_non_accompagnati_un_orfanotrofio_a_cielo_aperto-159897001/

[14] This is the reason why official statistics underestimate the phenomenon.

[15] For instance, in 2014, the number of unaccompanied minors in Italy was 10,536. Among these, only 2,557 (24.3%) applied for asylum (Italian Ministry of Work and Social Politics, 2014).

of Calabria on the Ionian Sea. One of the main features of this centre is its strategic location. On the one hand, Crotone faces the West coast of Greece from where many migrants from Middle Eastern countries enter Italy by boat. On the other hand, Crotone is very close to Sicily the most important point of entry for African migrants, many of whom landing the Island of Lampedusa, off the Sicilian coast.

The Sant'Anna centre started hosting in 1998. It can officially accommodate 1,252 migrants, but this is often exceeded. When migrants enter the centre for the first time, they are interviewed by the Police, from whom they receive a card with an identification number. Then, they gain access to some form of accommodation shared with other migrants and undergo an interview with social workers who seek to identify migrants in need of special assistance and offer a presentation of legal information concerning their rights as well as the services available inside the centre. As the centre hosts refugees and is not a detention structure, migrants can come and go whenever they want each day between 8am and 8pm.

Administrative registers with data on both entries and exists of migrants are kept by officers working in the Sant'Anna centre. This information is very important for local authorities as migrants will have to be transferred to other Italian centres when the Sant'Anna is overcrowded. Our paper provides an empirical investigation of these registers[16]. Our dataset corresponds to the exhaustive list of entries of migrants in the Sant'Anna centre. It includes the three following types of information:

- date of entry in the centre (each day of the calendar) and date of exit, from which we deduce the number of days spent in the centre, as well as the reason for departure decision (if any);
- individual characteristics with gender, date of birth (from which we calculate age at entry) and country of origin[17];
- family links to find out whether the minor enters the centre alone or with family members: in the latter case, it is then possible to calculate the number of family members having migrated together as well as the nature of those family relationships (with two parents, with mother only, etc.).

[16] Special permission was given to us by the Italian Ministry of Interior to use the administrative data from Sant'Anna centre for research purposes only.

[17] Socio-economic variables are available only for a few years and for a very small part of the sample, so they cannot be used in our empirical analysis.

While the complete dataset covers the period from January 1st, 2008 till December 31st, 2014, we exclude the first year as there is no information on family links – the central outcome in our research question – in the 2008 register. Overall, our samples include 20,965 entries of migrants of all ages in the Sant'Anna centre between 2009 and 2014 (N=2,610 in 2009, N=2,448 in 2010, N=6,546 in 2011, N=1,697 in 2012, N=3,242 in 2013 and N=4,422 in 2014).

We provide a description of the entries in Table 2, with a distinction between minors and adults. Over the entire period, the number of minors entering the Sant'Anna centre is 1,619 corresponding to 7.7% of the total population of migrants. More than 7 minors over 10 are boys, the proportion of males being much higher among adults (91.1%). The average age of migrants is 25.2 years, 10.2 for minors and 26.5 for adults, respectively.

Table 2 around here

A detailed description of the age distribution is presented in Figure 1. The age pyramid highlights the large asymmetry by gender, especially among the 18-26 age group. Concerning the minors, 20.2% of them are less than 4 years old. Obviously, those very young children are expected to have left their home country with adults. Conversely, about-one half of minors is at least 12 or above and their number strongly increases with age (for instance 50 minors aged 13, 101 aged 14, 136 aged 15 and 228 aged 16). There is a high concentration of minors from particular countries in the Sant'Anna centre since 83.1% of them come from six countries only. Afghanistan (30.5%) and Syria (20.4%) contribute to one-half of the total entries of minors, followed by Egypt (10.1%), Palestine (7.9%), Eritrea (7.9%) and Iraq (6.2%). As percentage of the total migrant populations in terms of nationality, minors are over-represented in Egypt (39.1%), Syria (21.4%), Palestine (21.1%) and Afghanistan (15.9%).

Figure 1 around here

Minors have very different characteristics depending on their home country. For instance, Egyptian minors are predominantly boys (92.7%) and adolescents with an average age of 14.7 years. Conversely, the proportion of girls is much higher for minors from countries affected by wars (59.5% from Syria and 63.4% from Iraq, but also 55.5% from Eritrea), and the girls are much younger on average (with an average age of 7.7 years from Syria, 7.4 from

Iraq and 6.5 from Eritrea). This different composition may also be related to the distance between the country of origin and Italy. It is much easier for young males from relatively nearby countries (such as Egypt) to face the difficulties of a voyage to Italy all alone than for very young children (especially girls and, generally, children aged less than 10) from more distant lands. These children are then more likely to move with all or part of the family.

Since the recorded data include information on both entry and exit times, we calculate the total number of migrants residing in the centre at each week of the period. The number of minors in Sant'Anna ranges between 13 (June 2010) and 233 (August 2014), with a monthly average of 47. There are more than 50 minors in around one week over three. There are also substantial variations in the number of adult refugees, from 658 (September 2010) to 2,923 (March 2011) with an average of 1,354. The total number of minors and adults is equal to 1,401 on average, with a standard deviation of 445.8. As the maximum capacity is 1,252, this means that the centre is very often over-crowded[18].

Figure 2 shows interesting differences in the time profile of minors' and adults' presence in the centre. The number of minors is high from the end of 2011 till the end of 2012 as well as at the end of the period. The peak observed for adults in March 2011 correspond to the crisis in Egypt and we note a rising trend in adult migrants from mid 2012. At a more detailed level, we find irregular peaks of entries of minors, essentially from Afghanistan and Syria, corresponding to entries of groups of families having left together their country due to conflicts and wars (see Figure 3).

Figure 2 around here

Figure 3 around here

4. The pattern of family relationships

We now analyse the family situation of minors by looking at whether they entered the Sant'Anna centre alone or with family members. In case of family links, we further study whether they were with either one or two parents. According to Table 3, among the 1,619 minors of the sample, 37.9% were alone when arriving in Sant'Anna. Hence, entry with at least one family member is more common. We find a slightly higher proportion of young

[18] The total number of migrants exceeds 1,300 in about 6 weeks over 10.

people with one parent only (59.8% among accompanied minors) than with two parents (39.5%), but there is no information on whether both the father and mother are still alive and on their current place of abode[19]. Minors entering with family were accompanied by 3.2 family members on average, with a standard deviation of 1.7.

Table 3 around here

The existence of family links is strongly affected by individual characteristics. While almost all girls entered in Sant'Anna with family members (in 9 cases over 10, most often with one parent), around one-half of boys correspond to single entries. One possible explanation could be that boys are much older on average than girls (11.5 compared to 6.9 years). Indeed, the proportion of children who came to the centre alone rises markedly with age. It ranges between 5% and 7% till 10 years, then increases to 27% for those between 10 and 14 and finally jumps to 79% for minors between 15 and 17. However, the gender gap in family links is not really due to age differences. Assuming that boys and girls remain characterized by their gender-specific probabilities of coming alone, considering the same age distribution (that of the whole sample) for both groups leads to the following proportions of minors coming alone: 40.1% for boys (instead of 49.0%) and 13.8% for girls (instead of 9.1%). Finally, we find contrasting family patterns depending on origin country. In particular, minors from Iraq, Syria, Palestine and Eritrea (all countries affected by war and conflicts) are very likely to enter in Sant'Anna with family members.

We investigate the role of family links at entry on time spent in the centre using the non-parametric Kaplan-Meier estimator. In Figure 4, we present survival curves obtained for minors and adults depending on whether they were alone or with family at entry, respectively[20]. Our results show three different profiles. First, minors who entered alone stay very little time in the Sant'Anna centre. Around 75% of them leave the centre after 10 days only and less than 5% are still in the centre after one month. Second, minors and adults entering with family have very similar profiles, suggesting that migrants entering as family are very likely to leave the centre as family. After two weeks, about one-half of migrants left

[19] Minors may also be accompanied by other family members like uncles, aunts or grandparents. Only 7 minors were not accompanied by either their father or their mother (or both).

[20] Migrants resident at the centre at the end of 2014 are treated as censored observations.

the centre. This proportion rises to 65% after one month and 75% after two months. Third, adults entering alone spend much more time in the centre. After two weeks, around one-third of adult migrants have left but then the survival curves decreases slowly[21].

Figure 4 around here

On average, a minor stays 36.6 days in the Sant'Anna centre with a standard deviation of 64.2, but the median value is only 8 days (censored observations are excluded from calculations). The length of stay is nearly five times longer for minors who entered the centre with family (52.1 days) than for those arriving alone (11.1 days). This difference may be due to the fact that unaccompanied minors are more likely to be assigned to other structures (the SPRAR network spread all over the region). For the six most numerous origin countries, we always find a much higher number of days in the centre for minors with family compared to those entering unaccompanied: 32.5 days against 11.0 for Afghanistan, 17.3 against 8.5 for Syria and 116.9 against 9.2 for Egypt, for instance. At the same time, there are substantial differences between countries with much shorter durations for minors from Middle Eastern countries (20.9 days for Afghanistan, 16.1 for Syria, 7.5 for Palestine, but 29.0 for Egypt and 71.2 for Eritrea) compared to other countries.

An explanation of these differences in length of stay may be the fact that migrants do not leave the Sant'Anna centre for the same reasons. The registers include information on the exit motive of migrants, for four main reasons: a voluntary departure (migrants leave on their own), a transfer decision (of authorities) to another centre, an international protection status (corresponding to either permit for subsidiary protection, temporary residence permit, humanitarian protection or political asylum), and finally other reasons including, denials of international protection as well as expulsions.

As shown in Table 4, more than one-half of minors choose to leave the centre voluntarily (56.8%). This proportion is 8.2 percentage points lower when considering adults (48.6%). In fact, minors and adults depart for very different motives. There are many more transfers to other places for minors (27.7% against 12.3%), while the international protection status is 2.7 times higher for adults (36.4% against 13.6%). These differences may be due to the fact

[21] The proportion of exits is 57.7% after one month, 49.9% after three months and 38.0% after six months.

that, as aforementioned, minors (especially unaccompanied ones) are often assigned to other structures of the SPRAR network spread over the territory.

Table 4 around here

Table 4 shows that the situation is very heterogeneous as regards origin countries. Both among minors and adults, the proportion of voluntary departures is extremely high among migrants from Syria (93.7% for minors, 95.4% for adults) and from Palestine (91.4% for minors, 83.7% for adults). This suggests that migrants from these two countries do not intend to stay in Italy. Minors from Egypt, and to a lesser extent Afghanistan, are characterized by high transfer rates (60.1% and 36.8%, respectively), while international protection is more frequent for Iraqi and Eritrean minors (56.4% and 32.0%, respectively). For a few countries, we observe significant differences in the pattern of exit motives between minors and adults. For instance, international protection is very infrequent for minors from Afghanistan while this status is observed for about one-half of adults from the same country. International protection is more frequent for adults from African countries.

Exit motives are expected to strongly influence time spent in the centre. Migrants intending to go elsewhere will presumably seek to leave the Sant'Anna centre as soon as possible. In the same vein, migrants transferred to another location due to space constraints will certainly remain very little time at the centre. Conversely, migrants who enter Italy in the hope of attaining international protection status will probably have to wait several months before obtaining official documents[22]. According to the register, much shorter durations are found for minors leaving the centre either because of voluntary departure (19.9 days) or transfer (12.0 days) than for international protection (158.9 days)[23]. In the following, we account for these competing motives to study the influence of family relationships on the exit patterns of minors.

5. A competing risks framework

[22] Territorial Commissions have 90 days to decide about the application, but this time is very often exceeded due to the very high number of applications.

[23] The average number of days in the centre is 13.9 for minors leaving for other reasons.

We consider a competing risks model (Fine and Gray, 1999) to study time spent with reference to exit motives in the Sant'Anna centre. The four competing events under consideration (mutually exclusive) are exits motivated by voluntary departure, transfer to another centre, international protection or other reasons. In this setting, the two main outcomes of interest are first the cause-specific hazard defined as the instantaneous risk of leaving the centre from a specific motive given that the minor is still in Sant'Anna at a particular date, and second the cumulative incidence function which is defined as the proportion of migrants who have left for a specific motive at a certain date in the follow-up period (Coviello and Boggess, 2004)[24].

We present in Figure 5 the cumulative incidence functions obtained for the four exit motives without any covariate. Voluntary departures and transfers are both characterized by a high exit rate in the first week after entry: for each motive, around 20% of minors left Sant'Anna during the first seven days. While the cumulative incidence quickly reaches its maximum in the case of transfers (the probability is 0.238 after two weeks and 0.265 after two months), voluntary departures are still very frequent in the first couple of weeks after entry and the curve becomes flat after about two months. Conversely, the cumulative incidence is very low for the international protection motive at three months. Afterwards, the proportion of minors leaving with this status increases slowly over time: 5.0% after 4 months, 9.2% after 6 months and 12.5% after 9 months.

Figure 5 around here

We introduce the role of family relationships in Figure 6[25]. Consider first the case of accompanied minors claiming international protection. The procedure requires some time so that minors are very unlikely to move away quickly: in fact, fewer than 10% had left the centre four months after entry. The situation is very different for voluntary departures, which occur very soon after arrival. However, one month after entry, the proportion of minors having left the centre on their own is about twice as high when they entered Italy

[24] The cumulative incidence function for each exit motive is a function of all cause-specific hazards. It is equal to zero at time zero and then increases to a limit, which is the probability that the exit will take place for a specific motive. It remains lower than one because of the competing events.

[25]The proportion of minors with family is 77.2% for voluntary departures, 13.6% for transfers and 97.3% for international protection so that we do not plot the curve for minors alone with this status due to the very small number of observations (N=6).

with family compared to when they came alone (about 65% against 33%). Conversely, transfers to other centres or structures are much more likely for minors entering alone than for minors with family. For the former group, transfers occur earlier with a probability exceeding 60% after one month.

Figure 6 around here

Next, we turn to an econometric analysis to assess the role of individual characteristics and family relationships at entry on time spent in the Sant'Anna centre. Our dependent variable is the length of stay in the centre for each motive and the various risks of exit are modelled using survival regressions. The motive-specific hazard for a minor depends on a baseline hazard specific to each exit motive and on motive-specific parameters estimated by means of a maximum likelihood method. We estimate the competing risks model for the four exit motives simultaneously with gender, age at entry (0-4, 5-9, 10-14, 15-17) and country of origin (six dummies for the most numerous nationalities and a residual category for the others) as explanatory variables. Also, we estimate two additional regressions with family relationships at entry for voluntary departures and transfers to other places, respectively. Results, reported as odd ratios, are presented in Table 5[26].

Table 5 around here

Our estimates show that the hazard ratio associated with voluntary departure is 22.7% higher for girls than for boys, meaning that girls leave the centre earlier (column 1A). The hazard ratio found for transfers is lower for girls than for boys (column 2A), but the gender gap in hazard ratio is positive (49.4%) when considering international protection (column 3A). We find contrasting results for age. Compared to the 0-4 age group, minors aged 15-17 stay longer in the centre before leaving on their own, minors aged 10 and more leave earlier in the case of transfers, and older minors spend much more time in Sant'Anna in the case of international protection since they have lower hazard rates. Finally, the exit time profile is strongly influenced by the country of origin. The hazard rate of minors from Syria or Palestine leaving on their own is at least 10 times higher compared to that of minors from

[26] The competing risk estimates obtained for other motives are not reported, as only 30 minors are concerned.

the reference group (column 1A), while minors from either Egypt or Iraq leaving with the international protection status stay fewer days in the Sant'Anna centre (column 3A).

As shown in columns (1B) and (2B) of Table 5, family status is very influential when explaining time spent in the centre. Net of the role of gender, age and origin country, the hazard ratio associated to voluntary departure is 91.3% higher for accompanied minors, but it is 85.9% lower in case of transfers to another centre. This contrasting pattern supports the following interpretation. On the one hand, minors coming with family members are followers in the sense that the joint migration decision has certainly been taken by their parents. When parents do not intend to stay in Italy, they leave the centre very quickly and will bring their children with them to reach their final destination. On the other hand, minors entering with family and transferred to another location spend more time in the centre. It is certainly easier to place unaccompanied minors in other structures specifically devoted to young migrants. Moreover, when the centre is overcrowded, the situation of minors will presumably be considered as a matter of priority[27].

We estimate several additional regressions (available upon request) to assess the robustness of our findings. First, we question whether entering the centre with only one parent rather than two parents has an influence on the length of stay. Compared to unaccompanied minors, the hazard rate for voluntary departures is 74.4% higher with one parent and 86.4% higher with two parents. For transfers, the hazard rates are 85.7% lower with one parent and 84.5% lower with two parents. However, in both cases, the difference between the one-parent and the two-parent cases is not significant. Second, we introduce both the existence of family links at entry and the number of such relationships to pick up a size effect. While the number of family members has no significant influence for voluntary departures, the sign of this covariate is negative for transfers[28]. As expected, it takes much more time to relocate large families (with some delay finding suitable places) rather than unaccompanied minors.

In a final step, we investigate possible differences in the motive-specific exit time of minors by country and family. We present in Figure 7 the cumulative incidence functions obtained

[27] Conversely, it is more difficult to transfer large families to other centres especially as those families tend to travel as groups with other families from the same country of origin. Furthermore, local authorities will be reluctant to separate parents from their children.

[28] The corresponding odds ratio for transfers is equal to 0.822, with a t-value equal to -2.23. The coefficient measuring family at entry remains negative and highly significant.

for voluntary departures for the most important countries of origin of minors[29]. Our results are twofold. First, we observe that the cumulative incidence function for minors with family exceeds that of unaccompanied minors for each country of origin. When they enter Sant'Anna with other family members, minors leave the centre earlier. Second, we note very distinct levels in the cumulative incidence. Voluntary exits are much more frequent for minors coming from Palestine and Syria (and to a lesser extent Afghanistan). Conversely, those coming from Egypt or Eritrea are less likely to leave on their own. In all situations, voluntary departures occur very soon after entrance in the Sant'Anna centre.

Figure 7 around here

6. Conclusion

The European Union is surely one of the most desired destinations for migrants coming from Africa, Asia and Eastern European countries outside the EU. Within these inflows, Italy has always played a central role, being one the most important gates of entry. A large share of those migrants is composed of children who endanger their own lives on unseaworthy boats and dinghies, very often without parents or any other relative. When dealing with the topic of forced migration, we cannot ignore the fate of unaccompanied minors who are an extremely vulnerable group: they are minors, they are foreign, they are not accompanied by parental figures and they are forced to project their possible future into a land of which they often don't even know the language, far from their roots (Bordi, 2014).

Despite the growing attention toward the issue of refugees and displaced persons in the academic and political debate, very little is known on the trajectories of minors who arrive in Europe. The aim of our paper is to fill this gap by providing an empirical analysis based on unique data collected in a centre for refugees and asylum seekers located in the south of Italy. Our analysis is based on data collected over a period of 6 years (from 2009 to 2014) in a refugee centre located in Crotone in the South of Italy. Specifically, we focus on the role of family at entry (i.e. accompanied or unaccompanied) on the length of stay in the centre and exit motive for a sample of minors.

[29] Calculations are made for male minors aged between 15 and 17. Predictions are restricted to a maximum follow-up time of six months.

Our analysis provides several interesting results. More than half of minors entering the centre in the six years under investigation chose to leave the centre voluntary, while around a quarter were transferred to other places. The length of stay in the centre is about five times longer for minors who entered with family than for those who arrived alone. Results from a competing risks model show that the family status is very influential when explaining time spent in the centre even after accounting for gender, age and origin country as control variables. The hazard ratio associated to voluntary departures is much higher for accompanied minors (they leave the centre earlier), while it is lower in case of transfers to another centre. Difficulties in transferring families rather than single individuals to other centres as well as the intention of families to migrate to other countries rather than stay in Italy may explain these results. Finally, we evidence substantial heterogeneity in the pattern of exit motives depending on the origin country of the minors.

When interpreting our results, the main shortcoming is that we have access to data about one refugee centre only. We acknowledge that our findings may differ from those in other centres in Italy. The Sant'Anna centre is usually the first structure for migrants landing in Italy or, at most, the second accommodation for those coming from Sicily, while the centres in other parts of Italy may well provide subsequent accommodation for migrants (except those located in regions which receive inflows by sea directly, such as Apulia). Furthermore, due to its specific location in the South of Italy, the centre is likely to attract migrants from particular areas, in particular from African countries. For these reasons, starting from the results in this paper, we cannot credibly discuss the overall trajectories of all minors migrating to Italy.

Despite this drawback and the local dimension of our results, this paper is a first attempt to provide evidence based on individual data of the trajectories of minors landing in Italy and the differences between those coming alone and those coming with family. It is also worth noting that our results about the number of minors who leave the centre voluntarily is more accurate than official statistics, which are based on the number of untraceable over the total number of asylum applications. In other words, they underestimate the phenomenon because many migrants abscond even before submitting their application. In particular, our results highlight the fact that minors who come with the family have a higher probability of absconding from the centre with all the family members.

Overall, our results raise the issue of the effectiveness of the asylum system in Europe, currently administered under the Dublin System. As is the case of adults, most minors who land in Italy do not intend to stay permanently there, even if they are obliged to stay in the country where they first apply. Very frequently, the first country of arrival is not the desired destination, which explains why a large proportion of migrants abscond after have landed in Italy (possibly even before applying for international protection) or leave the reception centres as soon as possible. Therefore, our findings have very important political implications since, as shown by available aggregate data, these migrants who leave the centre become formally untraceable. This poses serious ethical issues, especially for minors who can be more exposed than adults to danger. When the migrants leave the reception system, they can no longer be protected. Untraceable minors become “invisible” and at serious of risk of abuse, neglect, violence, exploitation, trafficking or military recruitment.

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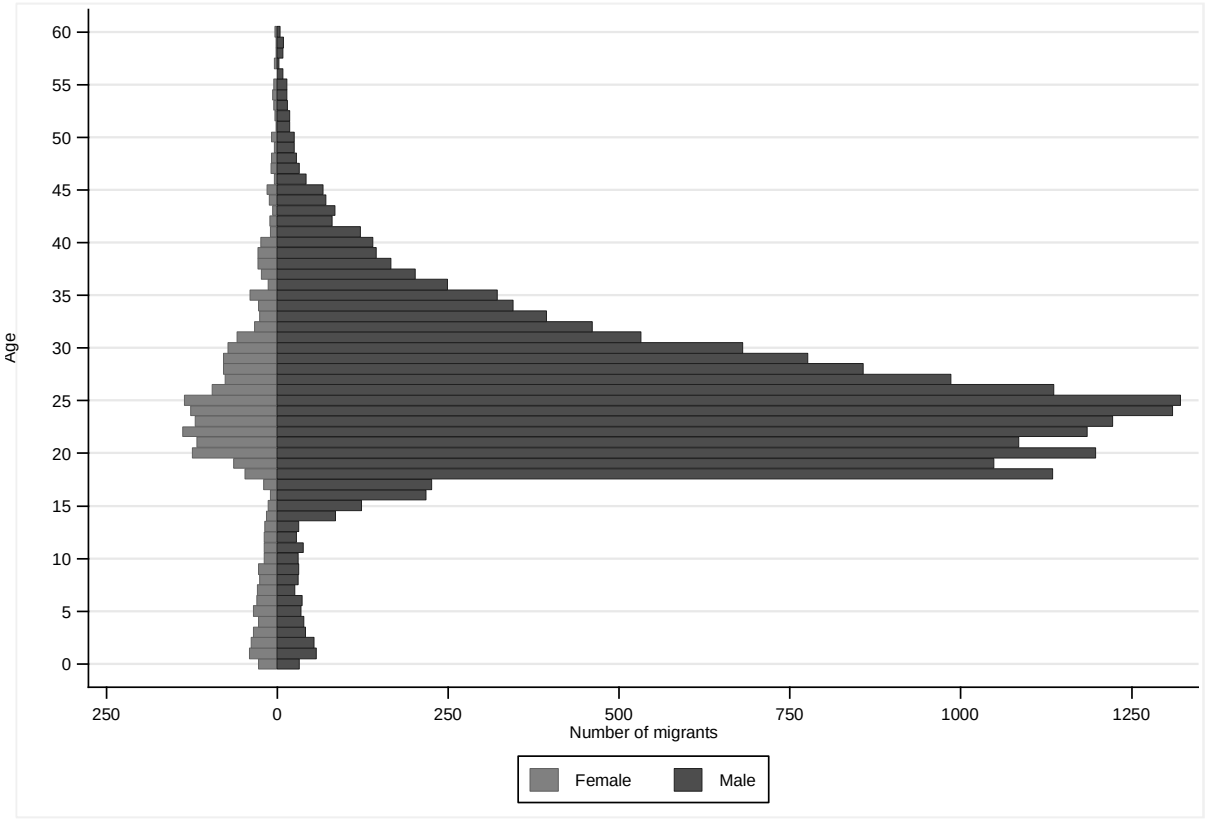
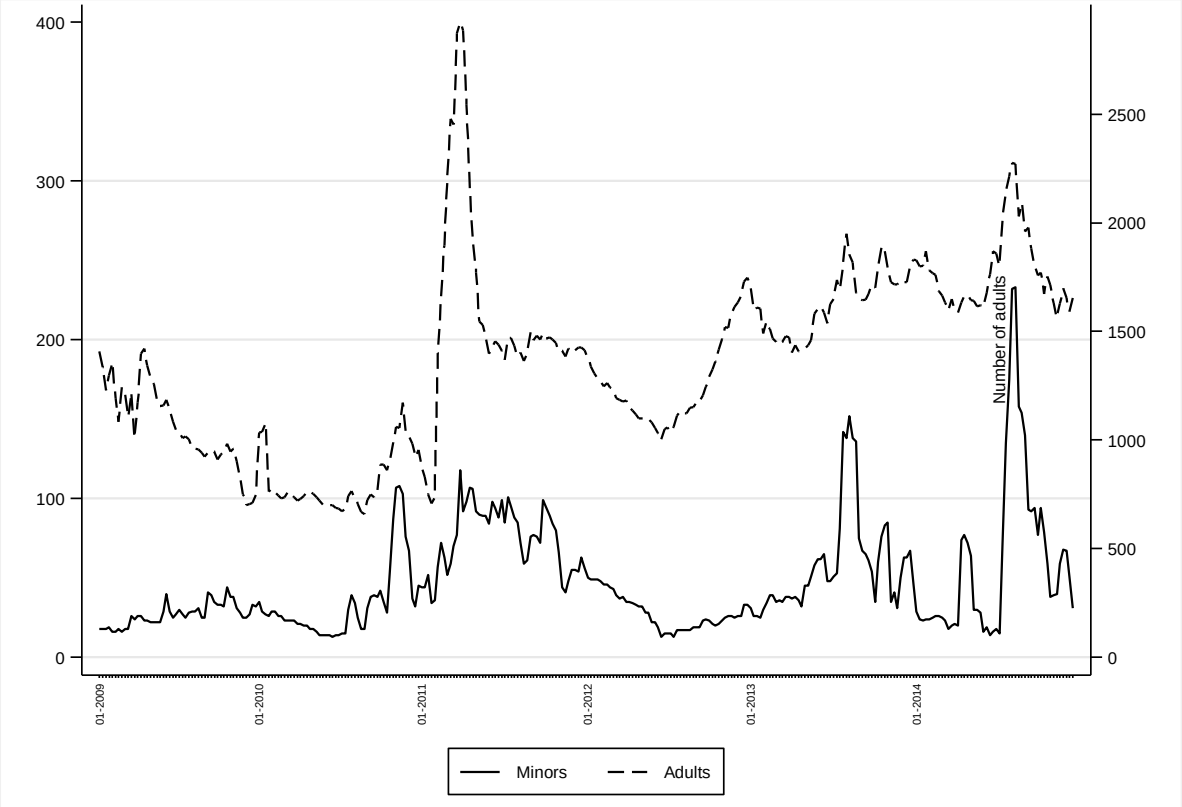
Figure 1. Age and sex distribution of migrants in Sant'Anna centre



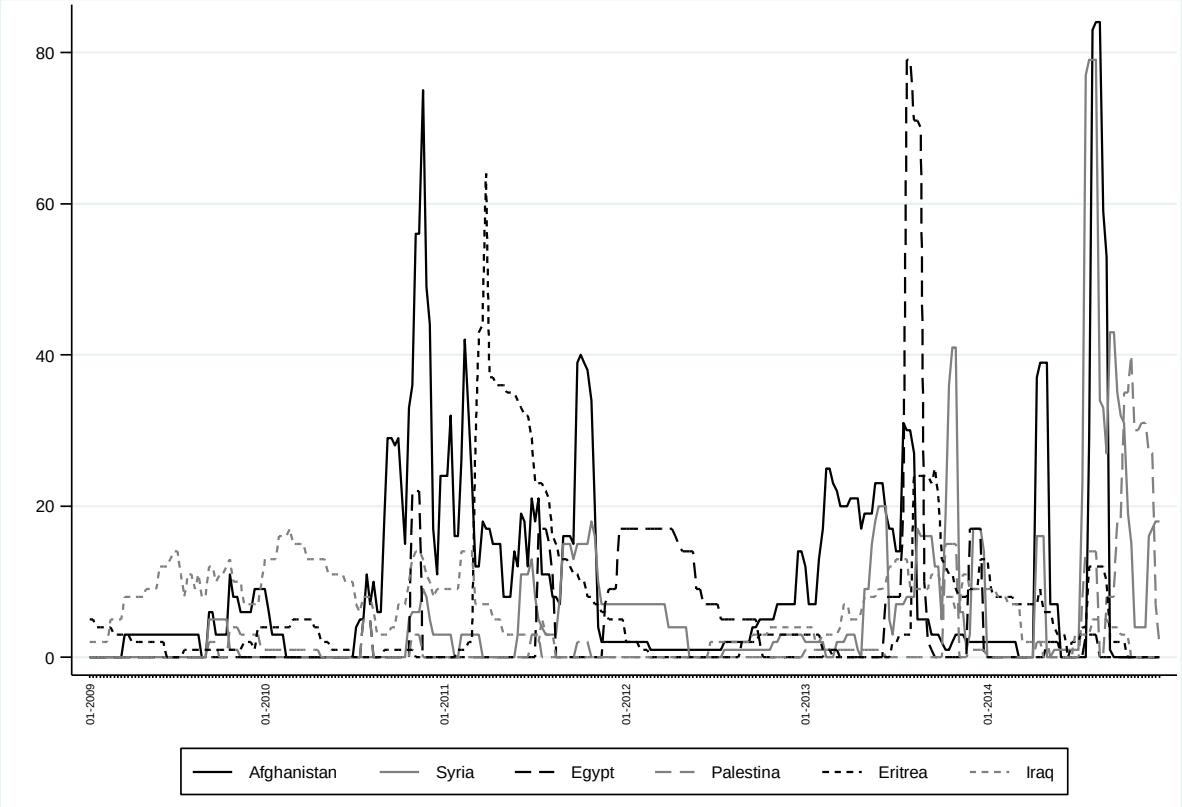
Source: data from Sant'Anna centre 2009-2014, authors' calculations.

Figure 2. Weekly number of minor and adults in Sant'Anna centre



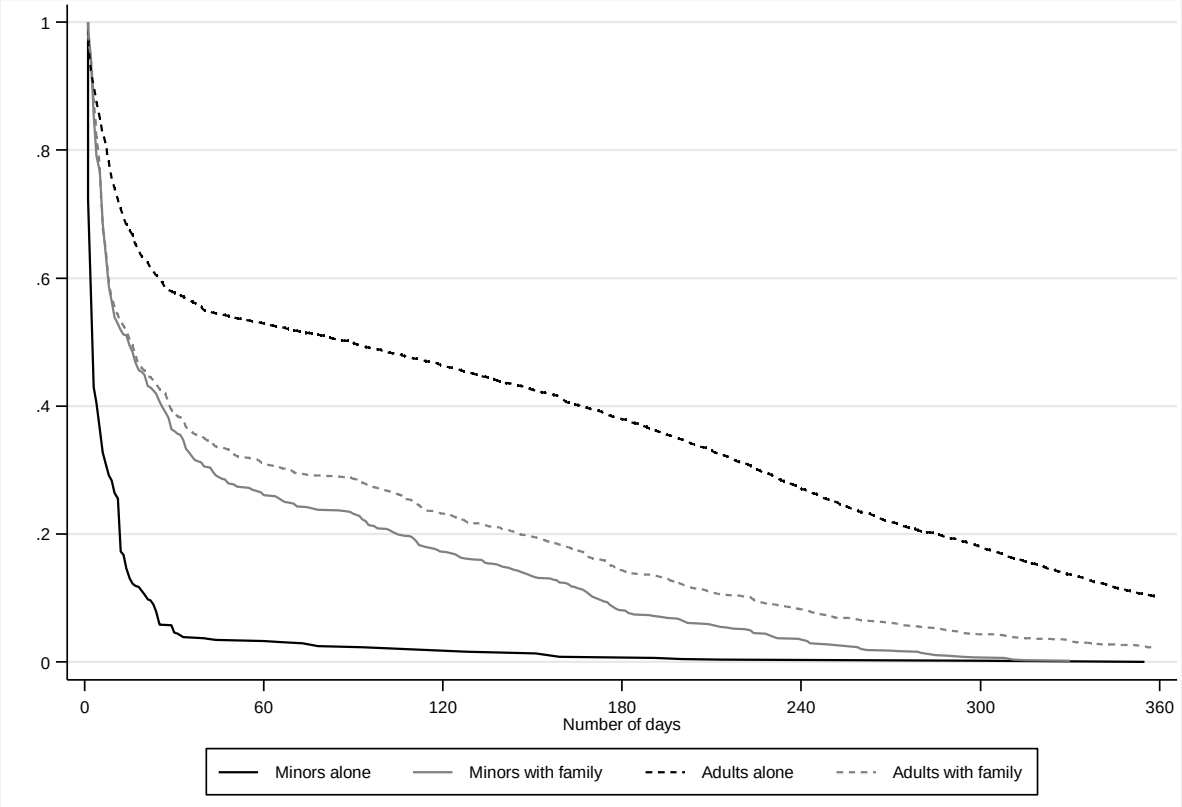
Source: data from Sant'Anna centre 2009-2014, authors' calculations.

Figure 3. Weekly number of minors in Sant'Anna centre by selected origin countries



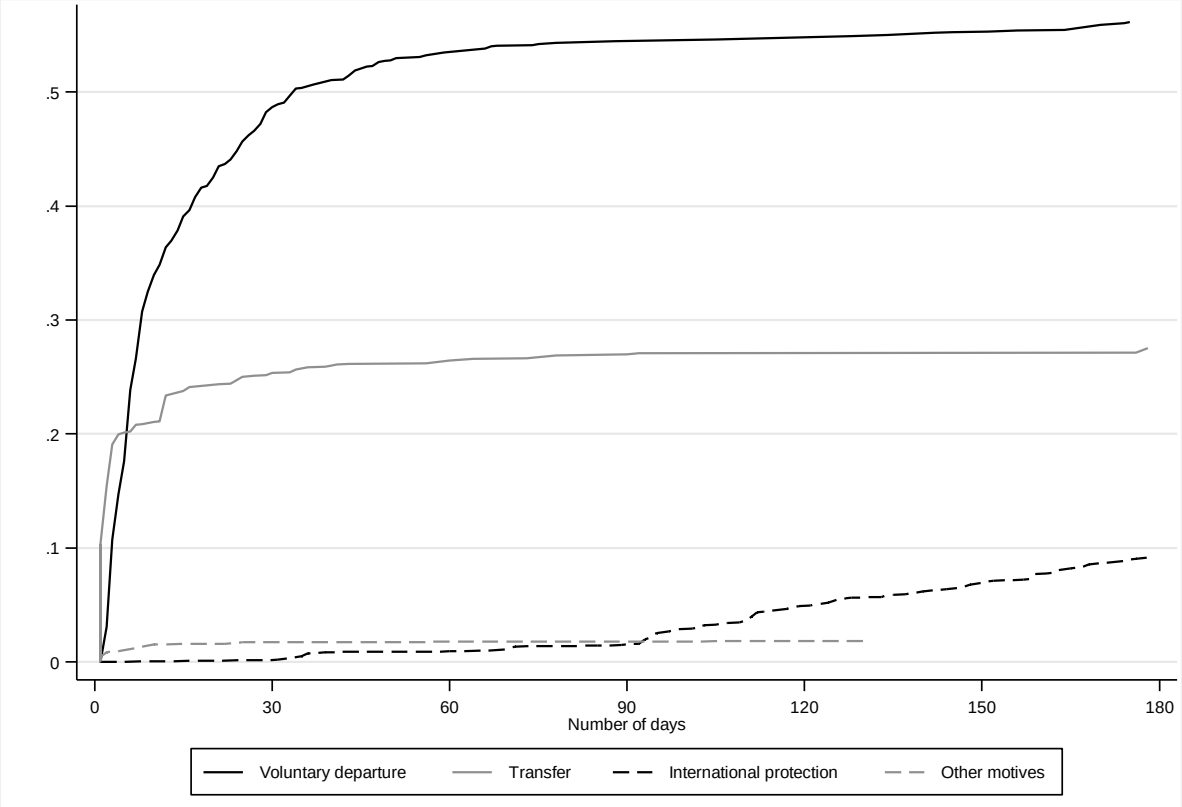
Source: data from Sant'Anna centre 2009-2014, authors' calculations.

Figure 4. Kaplan-Meier estimates of exit from Sant'Anna centre: minors versus adults



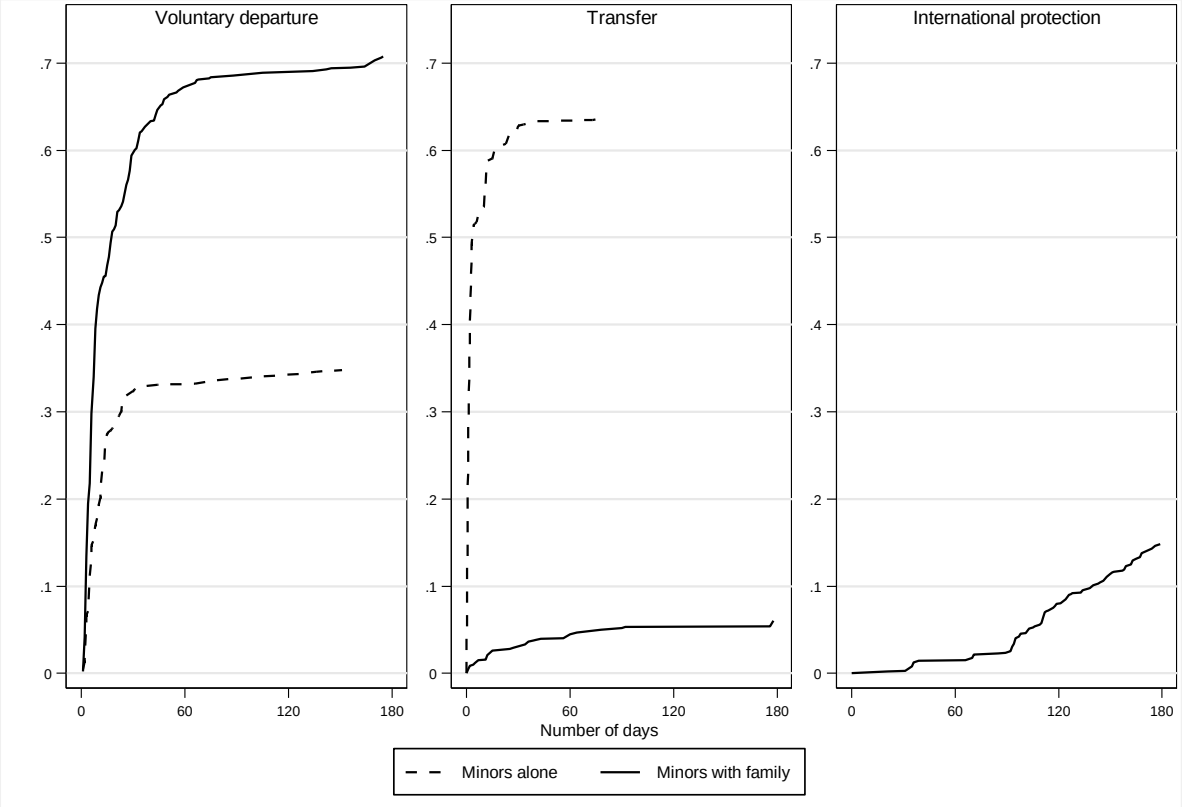
Source: data from Sant'Anna centre 2009-2014, authors' calculations.

Figure 5. Cumulative incidence functions by exit motives from Sant'Anna centre: situation of minors



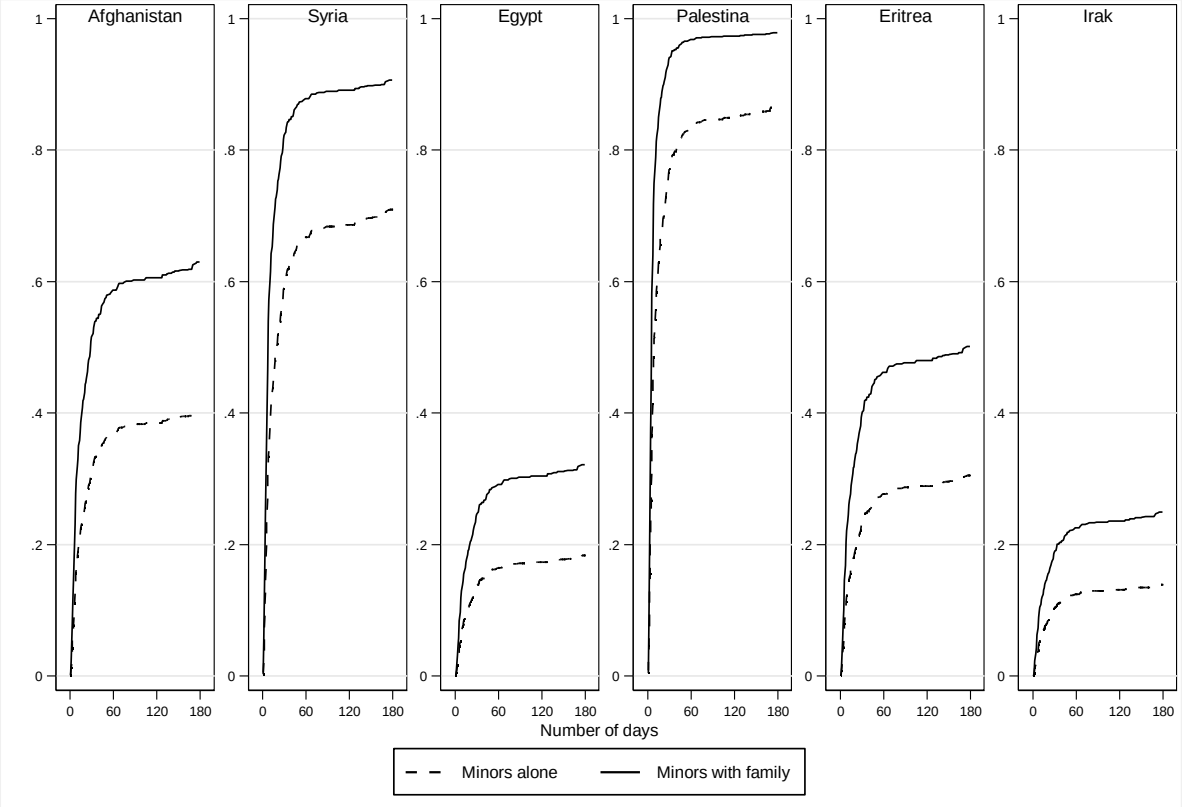
Source: data from Sant'Anna centre 2009-2014, authors' calculations.

Figure 6. Cumulative incidence functions by exit motives and family relationships at entry: situation of minors



Source: data from Sant'Anna centre 2009-2014, authors' calculations.

Figure 7. Cumulative incidence functions for voluntary departures by family relationships: situation of minors



Source: data from Sant'Anna centre 2009-2014, authors' calculations.
Note: The cumulative incidence functions are calculated for male migrants aged between 15 and 17.

Table 1. Arrivals of migrants by sea to Italy with indication of accompanied and unaccompanied minors

Year	Number of total migrants	Minors			Share of minors over the total number of migrants				
		Total	Accompanied	Unaccom-panied	Total	Accom-panied	Unaccom-panied.	% of accom-panied over total minors	% of unaccom-panied over total minors
2011	62,692	4,499	290	4,209	7.18	0.46	6.71	6.45	93.55
2012	13,267	2,279	280	1,999	17.18	2.11	15.07	12.29	87.71
2013	42,925	8,336	3,104	5,232	19.42	7.23	12.19	37.24	62.76
2014	170,100	26,122	13,096	13,026	15.36	7.70	7.66	50.13	49.87
2015	153,842	16,478	4,118	12,360	10.71	2.68	8.03	24.99	75.01
2016	181,436	28,223	2,377	25,846	15.56	1.31	14.25	8.42	91.58
2017	119,369	17,337	1,558	15,779	14.52	1.31	13.22	8.99	91.01

Source: for years 2011-2016, elaboration Save the Children, 2017, on data from Ministry of Interior, Department of Public safety for data; for year 2017, elaboration ISMU, 2018 on data Ministry of Interior and UNHCR; columns 6-10 are authors' calculations on these data.

Table 2. Descriptive statistics of entries in Sant'Anna centre: minors versus adults

Origin country	Minors				Adults				Prop. of minors (in %)
	Number	% of total migrants	Prop. of men (in %)	Age (mean)	Number	% of total migrants	Prop. of men (in %)	Age (mean)	
Afghanistan	494	30.5	79.4	12.5	2,616	13.5	95.9	23.9	15.9
Syria	331	20.4	59.5	7.7	1,219	6.3	81.6	30.9	21.4
Egypt	163	10.1	92.6	14.7	254	1.3	94.1	25.5	39.1
Palestine	128	7.9	71.9	9.7	480	2.5	81.0	30.9	21.1
Eritrea	128	7.9	55.5	6.5	1,462	7.6	80.4	26.1	8.1
Iraq	101	6.2	63.4	7.4	1,124	5.8	93.1	27.2	8.2
Nigeria	35	2.2	57.1	7.3	926	4.8	71.3	25.4	3.6
Somalia	34	2.1	70.6	6.3	1,309	6.8	73.5	24.6	2.5
Gambia	31	1.9	96.8	16.7	477	2.5	99.6	22.8	6.1
Pakistan	30	1.9	93.3	11.6	2,487	12.9	99.6	28.3	1.2
Turkey	24	1.5	87.5	9.5	319	1.6	96.6	27.4	7.0
Ethiopia	17	1.1	64.7	4.6	239	1.2	54.4	25.5	6.6
Senegal	14	0.9	100.0	16.6	299	1.5	99.3	24.2	4.5
Bangladesh	12	0.7	100.0	15.3	446	2.3	99.6	25.7	2.6
Mali	9	0.6	100.0	16.2	541	2.8	99.6	24.7	1.6
Iran	8	0.5	87.5	10.6	234	1.2	91.5	28.0	3.3
Ivory Coast	5	0.3	40.0	7.8	638	3.3	92.3	27.8	0.8
Tunisia	5	0.3	100.0	10.8	3,194	16.5	99.3	26.3	0.2
Ghana	3	0.2	33.3	1.7	276	1.4	97.8	27.4	1.1
Morocco	2	0.1	0.0	2.0	51	0.3	82.4	27.9	3.8
Sudan	2	0.1	50.0	5.0	174	0.9	97.7	26.4	1.1
Other countries	43	2.7	41.9	4.9	581	3.0	90.4	27.7	6.9
All countries	1,619	100.0	72.3	10.2	19,346	100.0	91.1	26.5	7.7

Source: data from Sant'Anna centre 2009-2014, authors' calculations.

Note: origin countries are sorted by decreasing number of minors.

Table 3. Family relationships at entry in Sant'Anna centre: situation of minors

Characteristics		Alone	Entered with family			Observations
			All	With one parent	With two parents	
Gender	Boy	49.0	51.0	28.7	22.0	1,170
	Girl	9.1	90.9	59.0	31.2	449
Age	0-4	6.9	93.1	61.4	31.2	394
	5-9	5.5	94.5	63.2	31.3	307
	10-14	27.4	72.6	38.4	33.6	307
	15-17	79.5	20.5	7.7	12.3	611
Country	Afghanistan	54.0	46.0	33.0	13.0	494
	Syria	13.0	87.0	60.4	26.3	331
	Egypt	81.6	18.4	14.7	3.7	163
	Palestine	20.3	79.7	28.9	48.4	128
	Eritrea	13.3	86.7	20.3	66.4	128
	Iraq	7.9	92.1	59.4	32.7	101
	Nigeria	45.7	54.3	17.1	31.4	35
	Somalia	29.4	70.6	23.5	47.1	34
	Gambia	96.8	3.2	3.2	0.0	31
	Pakistan	53.3	46.7	40.0	6.7	30
	Turkey	16.7	83.3	66.7	16.7	24
	Ethiopia	17.6	82.4	41.2	41.2	17
	Senegal	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	14
	Bangladesh	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	12
	Mali	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	9
	Iran	12.5	87.5	50.0	37.5	8
	Ivory Coast	20.0	80.0	80.0	0.0	5
	Tunisia	20.0	80.0	20.0	40.0	5
	Ghana	0.0	100.0	100.0	0.0	3
	Morocco	0.0	100.0	0.0	100.0	2
	Sudan	0.0	100.0	0.0	100.0	2
	Other countries	7.0	93.0	67.4	25.6	43
	All countries	37.9	62.1	37.1	24.5	1,619

Source: data from Sant'Anna centre 2009-2014, authors' calculations.
Note: origin countries are sorted by decreasing number of minors.

Table 4. Exit motives from Sant'Anna centre by country of origin: minors versus adults

Origin country	Minors				Adults			
	Voluntary departure	Transfer	Internat. protection	Other reasons	Voluntary departure	Transfer	Internat. protection	Other reasons
Afghanistan	57.7	36.8	2.4	3.0	30.7	14.1	51.9	3.3
Syria	93.7	2.7	3.0	0.6	95.4	0.5	3.6	0.5
Egypt	23.9	60.1	15.3	0.6	26.0	52.0	20.5	1.6
Palestine	91.4	7.0	1.6	0.0	83.7	11.5	2.9	1.9
Eritrea	59.4	7.0	32.0	1.6	61.2	11.9	26.5	0.3
Iraq	31.7	11.9	56.4	0.0	36.8	10.8	51.6	0.8
Nigeria	2.9	47.1	35.3	14.7	18.9	20.2	56.1	4.9
Somalia	23.5	44.1	29.4	2.9	42.0	14.3	43.6	0.2
Gambia	29.0	71.0	0.0	0.0	21.3	16.5	61.3	0.9
Pakistan	13.3	63.3	23.3	0.0	25.3	13.3	60.5	0.9
Turkey	66.7	16.7	16.7	0.0	38.2	9.4	49.2	3.1
Ethiopia	35.3	17.6	47.1	0.0	38.4	4.6	56.1	0.8
Senegal	0.0	92.9	7.1	0.0	10.4	12.6	74.7	2.2
Bangladesh	25.0	66.7	0.0	8.3	54.0	8.5	37.2	0.3
Mali	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	13.9	38.4	46.2	1.5
Iran	62.5	12.5	25.0	0.0	53.6	9.4	33.5	3.4
Ivory Coast	0.0	20.0	80.0	0.0	4.7	16.2	77.2	2.0
Tunisia	80.0	0.0	0.0	20.0	89.4	2.7	0.8	7.1
Ghana	33.3	66.7	0.0	0.0	11.8	43.7	38.7	5.9
Morocco	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	22.4	63.3	8.2	6.1
Sudan	50.0	0.0	50.0	0.0	60.0	6.7	32.1	1.2
Other countries	2.4	39.0	53.7	4.9	20.1	23.3	49.9	6.8
All countries	56.8	27.7	13.6	1.9	48.6	12.3	36.4	2.8

Source: data from Sant'Anna centre 2008-2014, authors' calculations.

Table 5. Estimates from a competing risk model explaining exit from Sant'Anna centre: situation of minors

Variables	Voluntary departure		Transfer		International protection
	(1A)	(1B)	(2A)	(2B)	(3A)
Girl	1.227***	1.139*	0.377***	0.557***	1.494***
	(2.89)	(1.84)	(-5.11)	(-3.05)	(2.65)
Age 5-9	1.003	1.002	0.354***	0.360***	1.066
(ref: Age 0-4)	(0.04)	(0.02)	(-2.72)	(-2.69)	(0.40)
Age 10-14	1.019	1.112	1.972***	1.105	0.605**
	(0.21)	(1.16)	(3.51)	(0.49)	(-2.30)
Age 15-17	0.597***	0.840	4.917***	1.339	0.050***
	(-5.09)	(-1.64)	(10.14)	(1.50)	(-7.99)
Afghanistan	3.695***	3.896***	0.660***	0.670***	0.090***
(ref: other countries)	(8.73)	(9.13)	(-3.86)	(-3.61)	(-7.69)
Syria	10.061***	9.288***	0.083***	0.125***	0.059***
	(15.44)	(14.78)	(-7.16)	(-5.80)	(-8.44)
Egypt	1.375	1.521*	0.779**	0.671***	1.773**
	(1.48)	(1.91)	(-2.15)	(-3.31)	(2.46)
Palestine	16.070***	15.150***	0.150***	0.248***	0.037***
	(15.51)	(15.20)	(-5.49)	(-4.05)	(-4.56)
Eritrea	2.912***	2.733***	0.220***	0.268***	0.694*
	(6.17)	(5.78)	(-4.37)	(-3.66)	(-1.83)
Iraq	1.237	1.125	0.471**	0.802	1.648***
	(0.99)	(0.55)	(-2.50)	(-0.75)	(2.69)
With family at entry		1.913***		0.141***	
		(5.95)		(-11.90)	
Number of observations	1619	1619	1619	1619	1619
Log pseudolikelihood	-6101.5	-6082.1	-2932.9	-2866.0	-1362.8

Source: data from Sant'Anna centre 2009-2014, authors' calculations.

Note: estimates from competing risk models obtained by a maximum likelihood method, with robust standard errors. Significance levels are 1% (***), 5% (**) and 10% (*).