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Italian Citizenship Now! The 5W+1H of Second-Generation Activism

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Abstract

The general aim of this article is to give a broad outline of the migrant descendant associations in Italy and the reasons for their protests, with a view to understanding their status in society and the reasons behind their decision to mobilize as a movement. In order to describe the events, behaviour and reasons underlying the movement process, the protests will be examined by borrowing techniques from other practices, such as journalism (the 5W's+1H model), that will be helpful in describing and preparing the ground for understanding collective actions. Several key features will emerge in this analysis, which offers a broad definition of the movement itself and the articulated network on which it relies on in accordance with the recent social movement theories.

Keywords: Association; movement; citizenship law; identity; culture

Introduction

In Italy, second-generation youths still face legal and cultural obstacles which hinder their full inclusion into Italian society. The second generation suffers “differential access to educational and socio-economic resources”, as they have lower access to educational opportunities than their native peers and often have to deal with difficulties that arise from the poor training of teachers in managing multicultural and multireligious classes (Santagati, 2015; Azzolini et al., 2019; Daher et al., 2019). They also experience “differential migration-related characteristics” (Pilati, 2018: 3; Riniolo and Ortensi, 2021: 926-927). This means that second-generation youths are not very attached to the traditions of their countries of origin and have grown up within the educational system of their country of destination; they are able to speak the new language fluently and possess the same aspirations as their native peers, with whom they share the same social context, as well as exposure to similar opportunities. They aim, therefore, to have the same rights and duties as their native peers.

From a juridical viewpoint, the current citizenship law 91/1992 makes it very difficult for second-generation members to obtain Italian citizenship (Riniolo, 2019; Dusi and González-Falcón, 2021: 12). Second-generation youths who have lived their whole lives in Italy encounter significant obstacles in obtaining Italian citizenship due to the uncritical application of the principle of *ius sanguinis*. The citizenship laws are traditionally contested policy domains because they define the way in which the status of a citizen is acquired and lost. Such

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^{3*} Although this article is the result of a common reflection among the authors, Liana M. Daher wrote the following sections: 1. Introduction; 3. Methodological note; and 6. Conclusion; Davide Nicolosi wrote section 2. Second-generation youth's claims in the public arena: theoretical frame; 4. The 5W+1H of the #ItalianiSenzaCittadinanza movement: the analysis; and 5. Discussion.

mechanisms of inclusion/exclusion and related discourses are usually strictly connected to personal beliefs and identities (Tintori, 2018: 435).

Among the consequences of the above issues and limitations of the law, we can see the rise in the number of second-generation associations that were set up to resolve cultural and juridical issues and to implement a real social, cultural and political change in Italian society. The reasons for their protests are basically the lack of recognition of equal opportunity in the eyes of the law, and their exclusion from social and political participation. Second-generation youths feel they are Italians like their peers, but they are formally foreigners like their parents. The fact that they are different involves the risk of them becoming ‘second-class citizens’, making their situation twice as precarious – as they are young and non-citizens – and marking them out as different from their native peers, with limited access to public positions and rights. Indeed, the social position of these young people could be seen as a contradictory consequence of migration.

They express themselves as *identities in protest* (Stalker and Wood, 2021). Personal, social and collective identities are not just organized around the confines of “us” and “them” (that are never well defined), nor on the relationships within and across the boundary, but on the personal stories and desires of “who we are” and “what we want” (Polletta and Jasper, 2001; Polletta, 2002; Tilly, 2015). As our narrative data demonstrate, biographical reasons strongly influenced the choice to participate in the associations. Second-generation youths’ collective actions incorporate multiple identities, experiences and political subjectivities entailing multiple assembled identities: they have common goals, but their reasons are differentiated in several nuanced identities and desires.

The expression “citizenship from below” (Ambrosini, 2016, 2020) fully denotes the processes and practices through which second-generation youths attempt to achieve active roles, rights and voice, and gain access to services and social benefits, despite political obstacles and regulations. These practices include political participation through associations with an active role in the public arena and can be seen as a “process of creation of rights” (Balibar, 2004; Owen, 2018), in which the concept of citizenship is actively built. Second-generation youths act at a national level aiming at influencing the political debate/choices in the host society, promoting their rights and interests, expressing “acts of citizenship” (Nyers, 2006, 2008; Isin and Nielsen, 2008), and producing “radical social innovations” (Apostolopoulou et al., 2022; Törnberg, 2018)⁴. They act in a socially and politically pluralistic environment and try to contribute to decision-making processes in a direct and formal way as an “association on the move”: no longer an association, but not a social movement yet.

Second-generation members self-represent themselves in the public arena as a social movement expressing the principal reasons for their claims through several collective strategies taken from social movement repertoires. The reasons and strategies will be analysed below with particular focus on the transformation of the movement still in progress. In order

⁴ The concept of acts of citizenship, i.e. “acts that produce actors that did not exist before the acts”, and citizenship from below (Ambrosini, 2016, 2020) highlights “creative breaks” that oppose the given order, practice or habitus creating a new form of prefigurative politics (Isin and Nielsen, 2008: 36-39). These acts can also be seen as *radical social innovations*, i.e. “concerted, counterhegemonic social and political action, in which differently positioned participants come together to challenge dominant systems of authority in order to promote and enact alternative imaginaries” (Apostolopoulou et al., 2022: 146). The radical social innovations lie at “the outskirts of dominant institutionalized fields and often provide a bottom-up challenge to the hegemonic structures of the established regime in the form of how societal needs are addressed, and the processes that are required to arrive at them” (Törnberg, 2018: 390).



to describe the events, behaviours and reasons underlying the movement process, the protests will be examined borrowing techniques from other practices, such as journalism (the 5Ws+1H model), that will be helpful in describing and preparing the ground for understanding the *new movement's* collective actions aiming also at answering the following research questions:

- (1) How did the #ItalianiSenzaCittadinanza social movement take shape? Do the reasons for the protests lie in the collective or personal identity? What are the interconnections with other minority groups and social movements? (Who+What)
- (2) Do the objectives of the #Italianisenzacittadinanza social movement highlight cases of radical social innovations? Could it be considered a *single-issue* reform movement⁵? (What+Why)
- (3) To what extent has the Internet modified the #ItalianiSenzaCittadinanza organization and protest events in their spaces, times, and types of collective action? (When+Where)
- (4) How does public participation in protest events give the new actor (the movement) the opportunity to achieve its goals? Are the logics suitable for the goals and are they successful? (How).

The above questions provide answers that will describe the #ItalianiSenzaCittadinanza social movement and point out critical items of their collective action in order to obtain in-depth understanding of the protests and their consequences which formally began twenty years ago but have not yet achieved their main objective: reform of the Italian Citizenship law n° 91/1992.

Second-generation youth's claims in the public arena: theoretical frame

A vast literature has developed around the concept of youth activism (Briggs, 2017; Earl et al., 2017; Pitti, 2019; Genova, 2020), shedding light on the reasons why more youths feel the need to become socially engaged. Studies on social movements have analysed the biographical paths that lead youths to become activists while considering the spaces of “civic development” that allow youths to discover themselves as active citizens capable of exercising their rights, and to define themselves through collective identities with shared values and beliefs related to a larger social and cultural scenario. The above issues and the collective/individual reasons also underlie the socio-political mobilization of young people of migrant descent, the so-called second generation, who have taken their first steps towards becoming politically active individuals over the past decade. Scholarly attention to such forms of activism has grown exponentially, although the topic has rarely been analysed from a social movement studies angle (Milan, 2022), as has been done in this paper.

In recent times, the new group #ItalianiSenzaCittadinanza, which has self-represented itself as a social movement, has attracted diverse individuals and groups united in the struggle for the reform of the Italian citizenship law. Thanks to Facebook, this movement has been presenting itself on the social and political scene for some years to give voice, within the public debate, to the social category of second-generation youth, and to groups connected to it, such

⁵ The single-issue vocation is evident in today's mobilizations focused on a single claim, hence committed to the defence of single subjects or issues. In these cases, the collective actor is not constructed on ideological, generational or class lines of division, but on the appeal to universal values (e.g. the students' movement or the feminist, peace and ecology movements) (Pellizzoni, 2014: 10-12; Egorov, 2015).

as minorities who find themselves in a condition of marginality and social segregation (Chimienti et al., 2019). Thus, social networks influence youths' own active socialization by exposing them to the political process through facilitating conversations, guiding their experience with the political process, and teaching them how the political system operates (Earl, 2017).

The reasons underlying the mobilization can be divided into three aspects: social and political, cultural, and those related to personal and social identity.

The first and the most relevant issues concern the social and political inclusion of the second generation. The Italian citizenship law caused the current disparity between second-generation members and Italian natives regarding access to citizenship rights and various educational, cultural and political opportunities (Tintori, 2018). Socio-economic characteristics are the primary determinant of any participatory gap affecting second-generation members. For instance, employment opportunities are often limited to the secondary labour market or low-skilled service jobs. Furthermore, most second-generation members have substantially lower access to educational opportunities than their native peers (Pilati, 2018). These factors seem to influence their chances of taking part in forms of unconventional and unstructured political participation that foster the development of shared solidarities and trust relationships connected to the protest (Melucci, 1996; Diani, 2015). Consequently, when established social structures and institutions prove unable to provide satisfactory solutions to problems of high social relevance, challenges from below have been useful in bringing about changes in a particular social aspect or the society itself (Apostolopoulou et al., 2022; Törnberg, 2018; Ambrosini, 2016, 2020; Isin and Nielsen, 2008).

In Italy, the acquisition of Italian citizenship also emerges as a cultural and identity issue (Riniolo and Ortensi, 2021). Contemporary European societies, where cultural challenges have gained momentum, are often described as being ethnically segregated, but they also feature convivial multicultural mingling and everyday interactions (Wise and Noble, 2016). Migration studies highlight how the second-generation members have to deal with cultural diversity as an inherent feature of their daily lives. They undergo a process of multiple cultural transmissions: they are socialized within their heritage cultures at home by their families, and with local cultures at school through their peers and teachers. Combining different cultural orientations is not easy, and multicultural identity development is a complex process that may cause "cross-cultural discomfort" (Sarli and Phillimore, 2022). Moreover, the identity development of second-generation members may be influenced by experiences of exclusion, discrimination or racism, making them feel that they are not fully accepted by the host society (Chimienti et al., 2019). This is a concerning issue for the young people in question who feel they belong to the society in which they were born and bred. Indeed, within the Italian school system they receive the same socialization as their peers and come into contact with the Italian language, values and codes of behaviour that they feel are their own (Chiappelli, 2021; Dusi and González-Falcón, 2021). With everyday experiences featuring continuous adjustment to different cultural expectations, second-generation members may find it hard to develop a coherent identity. This aspect is also emphasized by their condition as "citizens-in-waiting", which derives from the lack of recognized Italian citizenship status (Hawthorne, 2021: 170). The main issue concerns identity, as the lack of citizenship provokes an identity crisis that stems from experiences of discrimination in terms of access to legal rights which often exacerbates an already precarious situation (Milan, 2022). Living the condition of "citizens-in-



waiting” reinforces cohesion among activists. The opposition and resistance of political institutions with regard to citizenship issues – and indeed their refusal to discuss the matter – seem to strengthen their collective identity as groups and identities in protest, enabling them to implement much more effective protest strategies and better outline their common cultural identity (Yates, 2021). This supports them to respond more effectively to the questions “who we are” and “what we want” collectively.

Methodological note

The fieldwork was based on a campaign of non-directive interviews with the activists of #ItalianiSenzaCittadinanza and the members of some Italian pro second-generation associations to achieve a more complex and comprehensive outline of the motives and collective actions of the movement. The two sample groups, selected through a purposive sampling method, were composed respectively of ten activists of the #ItalianiSenzaCittadinanza movement and ten spokespersons belonging to the executive board of some of the most important Italian pro second-generation associations⁶. The ratio of selection followed criteria dictated by the context: the activists and members of associations who could provide direct testimony to the strategies and mobilizations of the movement and the political and cultural problems currently experienced by second generations in Italy. The aim was also to provide different perspectives of the issues and protest strategies.

The analysis made use of the descriptive-interpretive strategy of the 5W+1H model (who, what, where, when, why + how) (Chakma and Das, 2018; Hamborg et al., 2019). This means that the processes and narratives of the social movement were carefully outlined through a parallel two-step procedure considering both the event process and the narratives of the participants, in order to obtain a complete description of the whole event process, along with personal narrations and perspectives. To this end, two operational steps were taken. The first step involved processing the interview transcripts, from which the most recurrent words in the interviewees’ answers were identified. The results of this extraction were placed in relation to the six 5W+1H axes and represented through word-clouds, as shown in Fig. 1, implementing a *summative content analysis* that “starts with identifying and quantifying certain words or content in text with the purpose of understanding the contextual use of the words or content” (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005: 1283) and offering a visual representation by word-clouds. This preliminary phase made it possible to operationally define each of these axes in order to examine the structure and processes implemented by the various subjectivities from different angles: the individual and collective actors who take part in the political and cultural issues of the second-generations (Who?); the definition and composition of pro second generation movements/associations, as well as the type of collective action and/or associative group (What?); the claims and objectives of movements/associations (Why?); the dates and significant events (When?); the places (also virtual) where the protests take place (Where?); and the forms of protest (How?). Through an analysis of the most used words, we were able to identify, as a second operational step, the most relevant interview sections, and thus proceed to a hermeneutical analysis of them⁷.

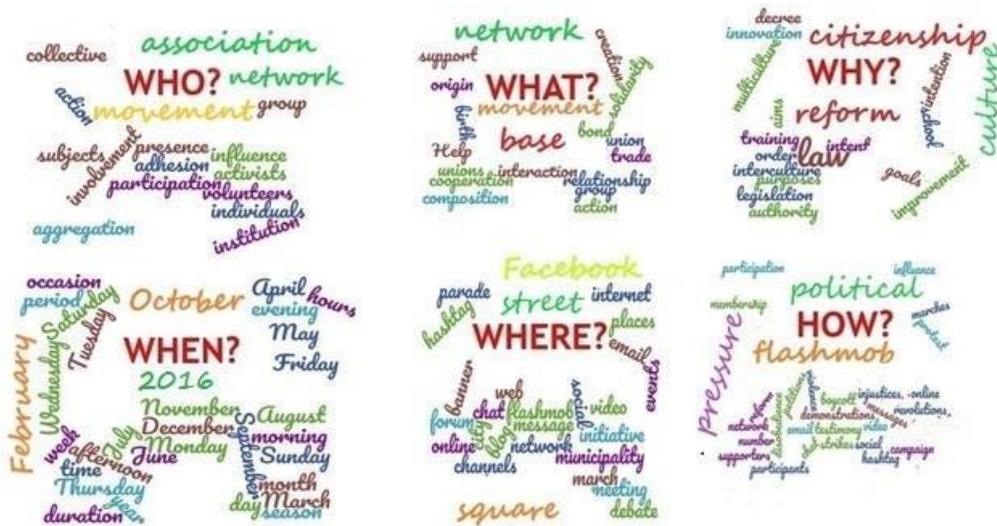
⁶ The associations selected were: CoNNGI, AFI, Arising Africans, Ipartecipate, Casa Africa Onlus Roma, Roots Evolution, QuestaèRoma, Italeya, Multietnica Genova and NIBI. Almost all had already participated in the media campaign ‘L’Italia sono anch’io’ (I am Italy, too), that ran in 2012, and with larger aims concerning not just second-generation rights, but more generally the human and civil rights of minorities (mainly migrants).

⁷ For both steps, the Nvivo program was used.

In the analysis, the 5W+1H model was used as a *frame* to classify and understand events, and it was deemed to be particularly suitable to analyse the organization and mobilization of protest events carried out by the #ItalianiSenzaCittadinanza movement. The 5W+1H model offers a multi-dimensional taxonomy (Ikeda et al., 2002) useful for the extraction of narrative strings and words, producing a six-dimension classification, which is instrumental in the analysis. The idea was to create a link between narratives and events in order to develop a *comprehensive reportage* of the movement.

As highlighted above, the 5W+1H model oriented the content analysis of the interviews – *classical* (Lasswell, 1968) and *summative* – and hermeneutical analysis. The 5W+1H frame worked as a system description to address the aims of analysis and research questions; in fact, the six-dimension classification acted as a set of research questions in the analysis phase.

Figure 1. The relevant word-clouds obtained through the word search



The 5W+1H of the #ItalianiSenzaCittadinanza movement: the analysis

Who. The movement seems to have begun with an informal group, as mentioned by one spokesperson of CoNNGI: *...was created by all those individuals who do not have citizenship*. A very important aspect to be considered is the link between the previous associative network and the more recently constituted movement, given that, as witnessed by a member of #ItalianiSenzaCittadinanza: *the members of 'Rete G2' [2G network] became the founders of #ItalianiSenzaCittadinanza*⁸.

What. Associationism seems to be the prerequisite for the social movement, including previous and different individual and collective subjectivities who voluntarily decide to pursue shared goals, highlighting the presence of a real and strong associative network. This can be

⁸ On the *Who* axes we find the words *movement* (recurring 97 times in the transcribed interviews), *association* (recurring 90 times) and *network* (recurring 22 times).



seen by the claims for a common social and juridical condition. As one member of #ItalianiSenzaCittadinanza explained: *in our movement we call ourselves “Italians” and added “without citizenship” because our rights are not recognized by political institutions.* The importance of a strong associative network is also witnessed by the personal stories and desires of “who we are” and “what we want”, or as another member of #ItalianiSenzaCittadinanza put it: *at the basis of #ItalianiSenzaCittadinanza, there is a sentiment that unites us, that is, young people like me who are very committed to fighting for the reform of the citizenship law.* Moreover, it is based on spaces of “civic development”, as illustrated by another member of ItalianiSenzaCittadinanza:

Our commitment is both practical and ideological. In a practical sense we want to be citizens to have rights such as voting or being elected. Instead, ideologically, we want to create a more equitable and inclusive society, like our movement, which always originates from something personal because of our different backgrounds, but where the only constant is to believe in the values we bring forward⁹.

Why. For the activists of the movement, the most important objective is, of course, to obtain the reform of the citizenship law, that seems to emerge as a case of “radical social innovations” with the “single-issue vocation of #ItalianiSenzaCittadinanza”. A member of #ItalianiSenzaCittadinanza explained: *our movement was born precisely with the goal to obtain the reform of the citizenship law.* However, the reform is also seen as the basis of a general cultural change and turning point to achieve a more intercultural society. The activists believe that it is equally important that their “dual cultural belonging and identity” be accepted and recognized by the Italian society. As expressed by another member of #ItalianiSenzaCittadinanza: *our movement is also acting for cultural goals, that is, not to be recognized only by Italian law, but also by the people themselves. People have to understand that we are Italians. Let’s go beyond the juridical aspect¹⁰.*

When. Among the events organised by the movement, the protest ‘Fantasmi per legge’ (Ghosts by Law) seems to be very meaningful to stress the double message of the *Why* question and to connect different associative worlds in several Italian cities, as a spokesperson from Arising Africans recounted: *on October 13, 2016, we formed a flashmob and went down together with the movement in the square with sheets on which it was written that we are Fantasmi per legge. We are children of Italy, but Italy does not see us as its children¹¹.*

Where. The activities of the movement start and take place mainly on the Internet. Activists provide detailed information about the time and place of the event through social networks, trying to make people aware of the political and cultural issues relevant to them; they not only disseminate the actions promoted by the activists, but also allow communication among the movement members themselves, so they can effectively discuss the events to be organised (Chimienti et al., 2019; Earl et al., 2017). In this regard, a member of #ItalianiSenzaCittadinanza stated: *the Internet is often used by movement members in order to create nationwide initiatives.* Moreover, the virtual network allows activists to create new communication channels and form social networks, thus increasing the possibility of arranging shared activities, as evidenced by another member of #ItalianiSenzaCittadinanza: *we talked to each other in Facebook groups, and soon after we organised demonstrations, and everyone was taking action in their own town where they were born or raised, involving associations or others who are*

⁹ In *What*, we can see again the words *movement* and *network*, and the term *base* (recurring 15 times).

¹⁰ Indeed, the summative content analysis shows that the words emerging with more relevance are *law* (recurring 42 times in the transcribed interviews), *culture* (recurring 40 times), *citizenship* (recurring 39 times) and *reform* (recurring 23 times).

¹¹ In *When* we find the words *October* (recurring 42 times in the transcribed interviews), *2016* (recurring 21 times) and *February* (recurring 15 times).

interested in the cause¹². The Internet is also the virtual space where activists and supporters share news and opinions regarding the main subjects of the protest and the protest itself.

How. The main protest strategy of the #ItalianiSenzaCittadinanza movement has been the “logic of numbers”¹³. In the past, the movement focused on the mobilization and participation of a large number of supporters who interrupt the routine and normal course of daily political life, demonstrating the social power of the group (Mosca, 2007: 194-195). This logic is intrinsic to forms of protest such as demonstrations, marches, flashmobs and petitions. A member of #ItalianiSenzaCittadinanza explained: *activists demonstrate directly in front of the Senate, and, in this way, we received attention from many newspapers such as Repubblica and also attention from TV.* Along with the above main strategy, as testified by the ‘Fantasmi per legge’ protest and other events (#Cittadinanzaday; #GirotondodiCittadinanza), a particular aspect emerging from the fieldwork is the *creative* implementation of the logic of bearing witness, making use of collective actions that are real artistic performances¹⁴, in order to effectively draw the attention of Italian citizens and political institutions and, in particular, cultural issues related to citizenship reform. As a member of #ItalianiSenzaCittadinanza recounted: *so many of us in the movement have participated in many initiatives, such as the “Festival Mediterraneo Downtown”, the “Festa dei Popoli” in Turin, and the “Carnevale della Cittadinanza”, where children of immigrant background went to parade in the Senate.* Finally, it should be noted how the members of the movement increasingly use conventional methods typical of pressure groups in order to assert their opinions, as another member of #ItalianiSenzaCittadinanza told us: *we tried to lobby politicians and senators and we also had an opportunity to talk to them to try to understand their intentions regarding the reform of the law¹⁵.*

Discussion

(1) The #ItalianiSenzaCittadinanza movement comprises an informal network of individual and collective subjects who share similar goals. Previous experiences, such as the media campaign for the rights of citizenship called ‘L’Italia sono anch’io’ (I am Italy, too), that ran in 2012, have created relationships among different associations and groups united under the same goal, and have fostered identification and belonging among different realities. An evident superimposition among social movements and associationism emerged from the research results: the involvement of associations in collective actions aiming at defending the rights of second-generation youngsters blends with the importance of associative groups in establishing an egalitarian and supportive society, and at the same time encouraging the

¹² The double presence (physical and virtual) of the movement in the public and political arena is confirmed by the summative content analysis: in *Where*, the most used words are *Facebook* (recurring 20 times in the transcribed interviews), *square* (recurring 18 times) and *street* (recurring 16 times).

¹³ della Porta and Diani (2006) recall that protest can follow three logics: *numbers* (e.g. a show of strength by the movement to express the size of its support, like a mass demonstration, which also creates an effective form of disruption); *damage* (e.g. causing damage by committing acts of violence against property or persons, or inflicting economic damage on an employer through a strike, creating a material and symbolic effect); and *bearing witness* (e.g. carrying out acts that show a moral commitment to a cause, like civil disobedience, or ethical consumerism).

¹⁴ The creative logic of protest includes cultural expressions, strongly linked to the socio-historical moment as in the case of the hippie movement of the 1970s. This logic is understood as a way to visually express themes, arguments, slogans and images that recall relevant issues, such as the “theatrical” performance of the Greenpeace movement at the 2017 G20 in Taormina where climate activists played the roles of leaders of the most prominent G20 partner countries symbolically eating the planet represented as a bowl of spaghetti (Daher et al., 2022).

¹⁵ In *How*, we can note a greater use of the words *political* (recurring 34 times in the transcribed interviews), *flashmob* (recurring 18 times) and *pressure* (recurring 15 times). These terms indicate the strong presence of the logic of numbers and the logic of bearing witness in the actions of movement.



production of new proposals and actions in the public arena. Within the movement, the main purpose of collective actors is not only to support the movement, but also the alliance between different subjectivities, giving life to a *combined* but strong collective identity of the #ItalianiSenzaCittadinanza. Therefore, solidarity and identification among the members of the movement (a new collective identity composed of different souls) blends with the common reasons to claim something that one does not have, and to which one thinks one is entitled, such as the resolution of social, political, cultural and identity issues, as in part already highlighted in the literature (Milan, 2022; Pilati, 2018; Riniolo and Ortensi, 2021; Sarli and Phillimore, 2022).

(2) As already highlighted in the analysis, the #ItalianiSenzaCittadinanza social movement arose with the goal of obtaining the reform of the Italian citizenship law as it does not allow youths with a migrant background to access certain socio-economic and educational resources (Pilati, 2018), underlining its public role as *single-issue reform movement* (Pellizzoni, 2014; Egorov, 2015). The research highlights the importance of changing this law but also of achieving a general cultural change (Milan, 2022; Riniolo and Ortensi, 2021; Sarli and Phillimore, 2022). The movement's collective actions and relative outcomes could, therefore, be seen as acts of "citizenship from below" (Ambrosini, 2016, 2020): the #ItalianiSenzaCittadinanza activists claim and press for institutional decisions following their own interests, acting rationally and expressing mobilization in matters in which the State has failed to intervene. These acts could also be denoted as "radical social innovations" (Apostolopoulou et al., 2022: 146; Törnberg, 2018: 390) because they are aimed at achieving not only the change of a specific aspect of society (i.e. the Italian citizenship law), but a transformation at its very foundations, in particular incentivizing social inclusiveness and parity.

(3) The movement arose on the Internet, on Facebook first, where it is still active, and later organized its protest also on the streets. The analysis shows how many social networks have played a key role and to what extent: they have allowed the interconnection and involvement of different realities and actors in different Italian cities and given them the opportunity to offer detailed information about events in order to raise Italian citizens' awareness on issues related to second-generations and social inclusion. Social networks have become an important resource that #ItalianiSenzaCittadinanza exploits to create new communication channels in order to establish associative networks, promote mobilization and encourage cultural change, confirming the tendency of today's social movements and protests to make use of the Internet to communicate and create *e-mobilization* (Earl and Kimport, 2010; Crick, 2020). In this sense, #ItalianiSenzaCittadinanza could be seen as a movement of the present.

(4) As highlighted in the analysis, the form of protest most used by the #ItalianiSenzaCittadinanza movement is the "logic of numbers" through which the movement aims both to mobilize large numbers of supporters and demonstrate strong social power capable of influencing political decisions. In this regard, it is possible to note that the members of the movement are also increasingly using conventional methods typical of pressure groups to contact politicians, senators and lawmakers in order to push the discussion of new proposals of the Italian Citizenship law. Also, the "logic of bearing witness" is considered useful in the promotion of cultural and identity issues: it is used as an imaginative tool in order to express the wish for national belonging through "acts of cultural performance" (Hawthorne, 2021: 189), such as artistic performances. The creativity of young people in collective actions has an extraordinary nature: it aims to produce elements of

surprise through unexpected cultural and material configurations (Godart et al. 2020; Hasse and Nyfeler, 2021). The creativity of #ItalianiSenzaCittadinanza is ascribed to the products, processes and people involved in the action (Hasse and Nyfeler, 2021) and concerns the creation of messages to be expressed to wider communities as a symbol of identity and crucial issues of dissent (Daher et al., 2022).

Even if effective and well-rooted strategies have been used, #ItalianiSenzaCittadinanza has only partly achieved its goals: it has not yet achieved the reform of the Italian citizenship law; nevertheless, through organizing events and communicating intercultural thinking by means of the Internet, activists continue to create cross-cultural dialogue and disseminate intercultural principles.

Conclusion

In the light of the 5W+1H narratives, the #ItalianiSenzaCittadinanza movement shows specific characteristics that are closely linked to its principal goal: changing the Italian citizenship law. The research results show how the movement action goes beyond this key purpose, describing an extremely multifaceted associative scenario with several aims that are sometimes controversial.

As highlighted by the above discussion, the movement and its most recent protests find their origin in previous associations and groups interested in the change of the law and defending migrants' rights. The connection between the original groups and the new movement can clearly be seen through the analysis, that gives evidence of the importance of associations in participative democracies (Biorcio, 2008) and the fundamental role of the associative scene in the constitution of social movements (Daher, 2012: 64-67). The enlargement and new composition of the associative network have expanded and generalized second-generation claims and goals in the public arena: the initial second-generation associations have got in touch with other pluralistic realities that share the same idea of changing society in the multicultural-intercultural sense, not all focused at the same level on the citizenship issue, but all focusing on and cultivating the principles of social inclusion and equality with the aim of implementing the common dream of a real intercultural society. This general objective, widely supported by all the groups that comprise the #ItalianiSenzaCittadinanza movement, make it difficult to clearly distinguish the cultural components from the political ones in the participation and collective actions of the movement.

The presence of different souls in the #ItalianiSenzaCittadinanza movement poses some questions related to one of the fundamental issues in social movement studies: the collective identity. The #ItalianiSenzaCittadinanza groups build affinity areas on common issues and goals but preserving different languages, strategies and organizational structure. Moreover, the #ItalianiSenzaCittadinanza movement has a multifaceted identity that allows it to keep the diverse collective actors together. The network is extremely important for the members of the movement; the result is a non-homogeneous collective identity that finds consensus on



common issues. The collective identity seems therefore to be continuously negotiated; both individuals and groups participate, and social identity has a central role in the movement¹⁶.

The analysis also recalls one of the main issues in recent social movement research that is closely related to the protest strategies. Protest has traditionally distinguished social movements from other kinds of collective action, such as political parties or pressure groups. In such cases where the movement proposes a political-institutional change, like the one in question, it happens more and more often that the movement acts from within and not against the institutions, through pressure groups, lobbies or political parties that try to influence the institutional decision-making process¹⁷. This seems to have happened also to the #ItalianiSenzaCittadinanza movement, which, as highlighted above, has often made use of this latter form of bargaining, alongside classical protests, logics, strategies and repertoires of social movements. This is the reason why the boundaries of “us” and “them” sometimes seem not well defined: institutions and government are not defined as opponents of the movement once and for all; the position and the definition of ‘us’ and ‘them’ is defined according to circumstances and transient liaisons.

The #ItalianiSenzaCittadinanza is a social movement of the present times. It shows most of the main features of the contemporary movements and specific features related to its goals and its membership. Even if, as already stated, the transformation into social movement is still in progress, the different associative groups involved represent themselves as a movement focusing on strategies and goals not only related to the change of the Italian citizenship law but proposing broader and long-term changes in culture and attitudes. In this aim, the movement can also count on the participation of the Italian people and associations that can only support the achievement of its goals. It expresses its project on the Web, attracting more and more people and groups.

The analysis highlights how the #ItalianiSenzaCittadinanza movement makes “acts of citizenship”, aiming at reshaping from below relationships between social exclusion and inclusion. These acts break habits, create new possibilities, claim rights and impose obligations, also through emotional expressions; they put forward demands in creative ways, creating change in practices and the status quo (Isin and Nielsen, 2008: 18-36).

Even though the movement was not always recognized as a *political subject*, it took a place in the public arena as an *active subject* that participated in the citizenship debate. Although the pandemic¹⁸ has restricted the movement’s street demonstrations, the #ItalianiSenzaCittadinanza movement is still very active on Facebook and Instagram, not forgetting to demonstrate for the occasion of 30 years of the citizenship law¹⁹, and seems to be continuing its action as a pressure group. The Italian citizenship issues occasionally come to prominence by representatives of parties and the mass media, even if the bills have not

¹⁶ It can be seen, through the summative content analysis, that the term ‘identity’ never appears, nor is it mentioned by the interviewees on the *Who* axis, where, as already highlighted, the most cited words are ‘movement’, followed by ‘network’ and ‘participation’: useful expressions to represent themselves, and their aim of building a new group and consolidating the protest terrain. The strong recurrence of the terms ‘movement’, ‘association’ and ‘network’ is noted also on the *What* axis, stressing the phase of transition that the original group (the 2G network) is going through, and the focus on the construction of the movement as a means to reinforce their own collective subjectivity.

¹⁷ Some examples of this strategy are the Italian environmentalist social movements (della Porta and Diani, 2004) and the European Women’s Lobby (Helfferich and Kolb, 2001) action within Italian and European political institutions.

¹⁸ The fieldwork was finalized before the pandemic onset.

¹⁹ Please see pictures and information at this link <https://www.facebook.com/italianisenzacittadinanza/> (last access September 17, 2022).

been discussed in Parliament and no new drafts have been submitted. The results of the pressing action and *light* mobilization will perhaps be seen in the long-term but have yet to bear measurable fruit.

In conclusion, this study has highlighted the specific features of the movement and stressed the distinctive characteristics and processes that, albeit sometimes common to other associative and protest groups, are specific to a path of transition that is typical of second-generation activism and dissent related to the context of migration. The reasons and intersections of the commitment of this category of subjects were examined through a multi-perspective and multi-dimensional perspective that, in addition to highlighting the characteristic features of the movement in the strict sense, underlined the internal and external transformative character of the broader network focusing not only on the issue of citizenship but on wider issues, highlighting specific aspects and relevant problems.

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