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## ‘Granted’ and ‘claimed’ spaces of participation: The political activism of young immigrant descendants

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### **Abstract**

*This article – drawing on data collected during 39 semi-structured interviews with young immigrant descendant activists and other institutional and non-institutional stakeholders between 2017 and 2019 – aims to explore the spaces in which young immigrant descendants in Italy voice their concerns, ideas, and claims. Youth activism is conceptualised in terms of ‘granted’ and ‘claimed’ spaces of participation which enables the multiple manifestations of their activism and their relationships with other stakeholders to be captured. The analysis shows that processes of mobilisation from below (‘claimed’ spaces) strongly integrate with processes of top-down activation (‘granted’ spaces). These spaces are experienced by young immigrant descendants’ activists not as alternative ways of participation but as a pragmatic strategy to reach their objectives, both independently and through cooperation with different institutional and civil society stakeholders. Moreover, young immigrant descendant activists do not engage as ‘children of immigrants’: they express their claims first as young people and their activism is not restricted by their migrant origins, especially in those places – ‘claimed’ spaces – created and shaped by themselves.*

**Keywords:** *Young immigrant descendants; political activism; ‘granted’ spaces; ‘claimed’ spaces; participation*

### **Introduction**

In the last decade, the mobilisation and struggles of young immigrant descendants, specifically, but not exclusively, around the issue of the acquisition of citizenship, have gained an increasing amount of attention in public debate in Italy (Codini and Riniolo 2019; Macaluso et al. 2020; Ricucci 2018; Riniolo 2019; Zinn 2011). In Italy, the significant presence of native-born youth with immigrant parents – whose number has quadrupled over the last decade (OECD/EU 2018) – calls for a deep understanding of their ways of being citizens, particularly in light of the dynamics of exclusion and discrimination affecting them (FRA 2017, 2018; OECD/EU 2018). Previous research shows that immigrant descendants are not apathetic, and they are interested in politics (Sime and Behrens 2022). Moreover, the migrant background does not negatively affect youth participation or involvement in politics. In Italy youth with a migrant background show higher political engagement than natives and, when dealing with the most time-consuming acts (such as demonstrations, participation in a political association, etc.) immigrant descendant youth participate in the political field as much as their native peers (Riniolo and Ortensi 2021).

In order to expand the existing literature on youth political participation, the present article analyses the channels through which young immigrant descendants in Italy voice their claims and navigate their relationships with other public/third-sector stakeholders using the specific

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lens of spaces of participation. Spaces of participation – both in their symbolic and physical dimensions – are a crucial constituent part of the strategies of young immigrant descendants to reach their objectives. Their appropriation and creation of spaces is a practice of claiming rights. For the purposes of the present article, I will distinguish between ‘granted’ spaces (forms of participation activated from above) and ‘claimed’ spaces (initiatives created by young immigrant descendent activists themselves from below). This analytical distinction enables the multiple and complex forms of youth activism beyond the static dichotomy of conventional/unconventional participation to be grasped. Indeed, in the study of youth participation, some scholars highlight the reinvention of the forms and meanings of politics (Pirni and Raffini 2022) and empirically overcome this dichotomy introducing different classifications of political participation (see for example Andretta and Bracciale 2021). As Alteri and colleagues effectively state, “unconventional participation [...] has somehow become mainstream politics itself, given that traditionally unconventional participation activities are more widespread than conventional ones, today. Is there any sense in describing those activities, which are particularly common among the young people, as ‘unconventional’, in a sociological perspective?” (Alteri et al. 2016: 723). Moreover, newer forms of activism, such as online political participation, may also represent a call for new analytical tools in order to understand the different repertoires of activism.

The distinction between ‘granted’ spaces and ‘claimed’ spaces also sheds light on the interplay between various political initiatives activists engage in, often simultaneously in different spaces. Furthermore, this approach enables an analysis of – in the framework of their participation – the relationship of young activists with both institutional and civil society actors. Overall, this distinction allows a wider understanding of youth political activism, reconceptualising the interplay between agency – which is crucial in the creation of spaces from below – and opportunities offered in spaces of participation promoted by institutional actors, taking into consideration the central role of the Political Opportunity Structure on first and second generation activism (Mezzetti and Ricucci 2019).

In the light of this, the present research tries to contribute by answering two questions. First, in which spaces of participation do young immigrant descendants channel their political demands? Second, how do young immigrant descendants use these different spaces to make their voices heard? In the first section, I offer a conceptual clarification of ‘granted’ and ‘claimed’ spaces based on previous literature. Then, after a methodological section, I present the results of the analysis of the interviews conducted with young activists and key stakeholders. Finally, I conclude with a discussion of the main results emerging from the fieldwork and implications for future research.

### **‘Granted’ and ‘claimed’ spaces of participation: a conceptual clarification**

Many scholars have noted that younger generations have moved away from the traditional forms of participation to a series of destructured, informal, and horizontal actions (Alteri et al. 2016; Batsleer et al. 2017; Briggs 2017; Harris et al. 2010; Juris and Pleyers 2009; Loader et al. 2014; Pickard and Bessant 2018; Pirni and Raffini 2022; Pitti 2018). However, an exclusive focus on the new forms of participation risks underestimating traditional political channels, which are still crucial to the experiences of young adults in Italy and in Europe more broadly (Bennett 2012; Eurobarometer 2018). The situation is even more complex regarding immigrant descendants who are also engaged in new forms of diaspora activism (Toivanen



2021; Toivanen and Baser 2020). The concept of participatory spaces offers an alternative analytical tool to capture, in a more nuanced and comprehensive way, both the traditional and innovative forms of youth political activism.

The concept of participatory spaces has been widely used in the analysis of community development (Cornwall 2000; Gaventa and Tandon 2010) and citizens' struggles (Miraftab 2006, 2009), especially in developing countries, in relation both to governance arrangements and participatory spaces offered by a spectrum of institutions (from local government bodies to international organisations) to empower citizens and to give them a chance to influence and take greater control over the decisions that may directly affect their lives. Referring to these participatory spaces, academics and researchers often distinguish between 'claimed' and 'granted' spaces. 'Claimed' spaces – also called 'autonomous spaces' (Brock et al. 2001) – originate from below, from the direct actions of citizens. These spaces are political arenas chosen, constructed and shaped by activists for themselves, often in opposition to dominant narratives. As Cornwall and colleagues state, "these are sites in which a very different culture of politics may prevail, one that is at once more familiar and more empowering for those who engage" (Cornwall et al. 2011: 22). Besides 'claimed' spaces, there are also arenas of public engagement that stem from interconnections with institutions and other public and private stakeholders. These spaces – labelled 'granted' spaces – are spaces made available by the 'powerful' to marginalised groups. They are offered by public representatives of institutions and other relevant stakeholders to open spaces for dialogue and participation to some categories of citizens (e.g., the 'poor').

Similarly, Miraftab (2006) conceptualises citizenship practices in terms of 'invited' and 'invented' spaces, a conceptual structure closely related to that of 'granted' and 'claimed' spaces. In her study of citizenship practices, she argues that 'invited' spaces – spaces which are legitimised by donors or government interventions – interact and work co-constitutively with 'invented' spaces to collectively and directly confront the authorities to challenge the status quo. In her ethnographic work, she found a constant and constructive relationship across a varied range of political spaces (Miraftab 2006, 2009). Invented practices, in some cases, may activate 'invited' spaces, and in 'invited' spaces, while complex demands are controlled, activists may still seek to push forward their objectives, beyond the limitations they are subjected to (ibid.).

Several scholars have expressed critical concerns regarding 'granted' spaces which can turn citizens' participation into mere pretence (Arnstein 1969; Cornwall 2008; Cornwall et al. 2011; Moini 2012). These scholars stress the risk in these spaces offered by the 'powerful' of reproducing existing power relations through the legitimisation of decisions already made in order to maintain the structure of the power; in addition to this, participation in these spaces enables new and subtle forms of controls. Nonetheless, despite acknowledging these risks, Cornwall (2002) states that 'granted' spaces can still provide new opportunities for citizens' voices to be heard, offering channels for those unheard. Those who participate may still effectively engage politically by modifying their roles, providing alternative visions, and giving rise to new collective action (ibid.).

## Methodology

This paper builds on 39 interviews conducted in Italy between January 2017 and April 2019<sup>2</sup>. Specifically, 28 in-depth interviews were conducted with immigrant descendants aged 20-35 belonging to youth associations and movements or active in mobilisations and initiatives at local or national level.<sup>3</sup> Several respondents were identified and contacted through their associations; other activists were recruited through a snowball technique starting from previous contacted activists. The reality of associations and movements in Italy is quite vast and fragmented: the research project does not aim to be exhaustive of all the initiatives and mobilisations in which young immigrant descendants are involved. The in-depth interviews explored the biographical paths of the young activists, with a specific reference to their experiences of mobilisation, the social contexts where their activities developed, and their relationships with institutional and third-sector stakeholders. Moreover, in order to explore the relations between activists and other institutional and non-institutional players (in terms of spaces offered by public or private stakeholders and support to mobilisation), 11 semi-structured interviews were conducted with key informants who have, in different ways, supported young activists' claims, motions and mobilisation (trade unions, proponents of the third sector and international organizations, and public officials).<sup>4</sup>

In order to 'fill' the variability of the possible testimonies (Bertaux 2003), the interviews were conducted with youths from different migrant backgrounds (Asia, Africa and South America), operating in different fields (civil rights, reform of the citizenship law, right to housing, right to education, etc.) and active in different cities across Italy (Milan, Como, Bergamo, Padua, Genoa, Reggio Emilia, Bologna, Rome, Palermo, Trapani). The choice to consider experiences of activism in different cities (rather than focusing on a specific local context) is due to different reasons. First, several initiatives in which young immigrant descendants are involved have a national dimension (for instance, the National Coordination of New Generations and the online movement #italianisenzacittadinanza). Second, many issues in which youths are engaged have a national impact and relevance (for example, the reform of the Italian citizenship law). Moreover, there are strong (online and offline) interconnections between activists and their associations in the entire Italian territory, which calls for a broader understanding of youth activism in Italy. Due to this decision, the research does not focus on the impact of local context on youth participation which, as shown in previous research (Mezzetti and Ricucci 2019), undoubtedly plays a crucial role.

It is important to note that the research started when struggles for the reform of Italian citizenship law were at their climax and young activists were at the centre of the media attention. They received symbolic and concrete support from several third-sector representatives that were involved in this research as key informants. The fieldwork continued

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<sup>2</sup> All the interviews have been recorded and transcribed in full. All names of the respondents and other details are omitted to guarantee the anonymity of the informants.

<sup>3</sup> Interviews were realized with youth activists belonging to: National Coordination of New Italian Generations (CONNGI), #italianisenzacittadinanza, Non Una Di Meno, Anolf Giovani Bergamo, Arising Africans, Associazione Next Generation Italy, Associazione Filo Diretto Genova, Giovani Musulmani d'Italia (GMI), Fondazione Mondinsieme, Comunità Italo-Peruana, Associazione ASPIL Retoño Andino Latinoamericano, I-Square, Talé, Tunit, QuestaèRoma, G2 network and other small associations at local level.

<sup>4</sup> The delegates of the following institutions/organizations/foundations/associations have been interviewed: Ministry of Labour and Social Policies (Immigration Department); the Municipality of Milan; International Organization for Migration (IOM); CGIL; Anolf Giovani di Bergamo; Fondazione Mondinsieme; Comunità di Sant'Egidio; Arci.



after the failed reform of the citizenship law, which had necessarily led to an inevitable change in the perspective and objectives common to all the activists mobilised for the citizenship issue.

### Multiple and interconnected spaces of political participation

The overall analysis of the material collected highlights an abundance of initiatives that resulted from top-down activation ('granted' spaces) or bottom-up initiatives ('claimed' spaces). Among the former ('granted' spaces), there are: the National Coordination of New Italian Generations (CONNGI), born from the initiative of the Minister of Labour and Social Policies,<sup>5</sup> the *Afroitalian Power Initiative*, conceived by the Euro-MP Cécile Kyenge; Tunit, an initiative of the Tunisian embassy; ANOLF, an association promoted by one of the main Italian trade unions, which gathers immigrants and their descendants for the promotion of inclusion and intercultural dialogue;<sup>6</sup> the participation of some members of CONNGI on institutional boards;<sup>7</sup> the campaign *I'm Italy too*, organised by third sector organisations and trade unions, with the participation of the G2 network; the blog "La città nuova" (The new city), an intercultural column dedicated by the main Italian national newspaper – Corriere della Sera – to give voice to the 'new' faces of the city, most of whom have a migrant background. This list of initiatives<sup>8</sup> highlights the increasing interest by public and private actors toward young immigrant descendants that now represent, as already outlined, a significant proportion of Italian society.

Other initiatives, which often involved the same activists participating in the above-mentioned activities as emerged during interviews, were instead creatively activated by immigrant descendants from below ('claimed' spaces). Examples of such initiatives are: the online movement #italianisenzacittadinanza; flash mobs organised in the main squares of different Italian cities; Cartoline Cittadine;<sup>9</sup> the organisation of anti-eviction picket lines; the creation of association for the protection of the rights of asylum seekers and refugees; anti-racist mobilisations; informal discussion groups (e.g., Gruppo identità); podcasts on the everyday racism with which youth with migrant background have to deal;<sup>10</sup> and political debates and initiatives promoted in social centres.

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<sup>5</sup> CONNGI is a network of associations born in October 2016 that groups together immigrant descendants' associations in Italy. This experience dates back to 2014, after a public call of the Directorate General of immigration and integration policies of the Minister of Labour and Social Policies. The initiative, called "Direct Line with the second generations", was meant to create a platform of information, debate and exchange with the young adult children of immigrants.

<sup>6</sup> <https://www.anolf.it/>

<sup>7</sup> Some delegates from CONNGI participate in the thematic working group Migrations and Development of the National Council for Development Cooperation, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the International Cooperation, and in the National Observatory for the integration of foreign students and inter-cultural Education operating at the Ministry of Education.

<sup>8</sup> This list of initiatives is not meant to be exhaustive, but it presents the main spaces of participation in which the interviewees (activists, public officials, and civil society actors) were engaged.

<sup>9</sup> 'Cartoline Cittadine' is a campaign created by youth to show their participation in Italian society through brief and evocative descriptions of their childhoods. They have been promoted through social media, but they were also published in the first page of one of the main Italian national newspapers.

<sup>10</sup> Podcast 'Sulla razza' (<https://www.sullarazza.it/>).

*'Granted' spaces*

A common trait in youth activation strategies is the importance and centrality attributed to collaboration with other institutional and non-institutional actors, such as third-sector associations, trade unions, and international organisations. Several activists consider this relationship instrumental to legitimising their actions, as it enables them to create a network with key stakeholders and a central space where to take forward their claims, and avoiding a situation in which others speak on their behalf. This theme was common to several interviews.

In institutional policies and in all the ministerial fields of intervention, they often talk about second generations, [...] they share ISTAT [Italian National Institute of Statistics] statistics as if they were holy papers to contemplate. So, the analysis of the life of millions of Italians is limited to the statistics, without taking into consideration their realities and their experiences and how they live in Italy, how they live their relationships with the institutions at any level. And how they live their 'Italianness'. Having the possibility to eventually become protagonists and having the capability to describe our realities in the first person, to be finally representative. Having this opportunity to sit on the ministerial boards, on all ministerial boards, and voice our opinion about issues concerning us. Because so far, they have been making decisions without involving us. To represent us, university professors showed up with the latest ISTAT statistics saying that those are the Italian reality. So, having the possibility to say: "This is MY reality and I live it and I KNOW what I am talking about". The possibility to do this thing is thanks to CONNGI. So, this legitimisation from the institutions allows us to do a lot. To do a lot and make our voice heard (Activist, April 2017).

This privileged relationship with institutions is connected to a concrete need to speak in places where policies are designed, and laws approved. These initiatives open up new possibilities for recognition, influence, and voices. Despite being created from above, they offer a space for 'new' voices to be heard (Cornwall 2002).

In particular, parliament members, senators, and public officials are the central reference points for several young immigrant activists.

We have finally taken our voice where we wanted... sitting next to parliament members and making them feel responsible for the situation of citizens and young people born and raised in Italy. It has been something definitely cool. Ehm... I never even imagined I would get there. Because I thought that some channels were one-way, in some ways impossible to... it was almost impossible to get into those channels [...] As simple people, we have started to work as if we are political exponents, we have tried to get personal contact with the senators themselves and tried to convince them, step by step (Activist, June 2017).

The institutions are seen as a source of symbolic acknowledgment, and they represent crucial spaces where activists can make their voices heard. The relationship with institutions – in terms of dialogue– and the access to parties, institutional boards, city councils, or European spaces of representation have therefore become a strategic objective. Activists' relationships with the representatives of institutions is, on the one hand, a means of achieving goals and, on the other hand, may also be considered indicative of trust toward institutions among young



immigrant descendants. In addition to this, ‘granted’ spaces – initially activated from above – may be later left in the hands of youth, as a young activist participating in Tunit initiative suggested.

The embassy only gave the initial input for this initiative, but since then all the ideas and projects have been the results of the proposals of youth who are part of this network. [...] The majority of projects, let’s say all the projects, were born in our minds, and now we are implementing them (Activist, January 2019)

It is important to note that the dynamic underlying the relationship between young activists and institutional stakeholders is bidirectional: if, on the one hand, as already underlined, the activists consider the institutional channels mainly as opportunities for recognition and legitimation, then, on the other hand, the delegates of institutions, of civil society or international organisations, acknowledge the importance of collaborating with immigrant descendants in order to have trustworthy interlocutors (Mezzetti and Ricucci 2019) and in order to design and implement strategies and policies, as emerged from the words of a trade unionist.

We really wanted to take the beneficiaries of the law [immigrant descendants] to the events about the reform of the citizenship law. Because if someone from CGIL<sup>11</sup> talks about it, okay, they can explain it very well. There is the legal expert or the lawyer who explains it to you. But it is more effective if the people concerned are there. So, we looked for immigrant descendants (Trade unionist CGIL, July 2017).

#### *‘Claimed’ spaces*

At the same time, young immigrant descendants create their own spaces of participation from below for their political, cultural, and symbolic struggles and resistance against mainstream arguments. It is in these spaces that they define their own terms of engagement and solidarity, and a new network may emerge.

Once we organised a group [...]. It was an informal activity. The name of the initiative was ‘Gruppo identità’ (Identity group), that is, a space where people talk. That kind of space, that kind of freedom, gives you the opportunity to create relationships, trust, and to see your experience reflected in others, who you don't even know (Activist, March 2019)

Similarly, another activist based in Palermo emphasised the experience of Talè, an association created by youth to address transversal issues regarding young generations.

Since the beginning, we created spaces for discussion and political dialogue, we discussed the right to study, migration, welcoming refugees, participation, the improvement of our city, policies at the local level (Activist, January 2019)

Two main characteristics of ‘claimed’ spaces emerged from interviews. First, ‘claimed’ spaces are created mainly to resist the “reproduction of a static representation [by the majority of the society] according to which you are a foreigner, and you are doomed to remain a foreigner for

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<sup>11</sup> CGIL is the largest Italian trade union.

all your life".<sup>12</sup> Offering an alternative to the dominant narrative was, for example, one of the objectives of the online movement #italianisenzacittadinanza. Spaces created from below are counter-hegemonic and imaginative spaces of resistance in which alternative narrations find a place (as in the podcast 'Sulla razza').

The analysis also shows that, especially in spaces created by youth from below, the ideas, suggestions, and claims of immigrant descendant youth are not exclusively reflective of their migrant backgrounds. Immigrant descendant activists engage primarily as youth and on issues of general interest. They work at the intersection of different types of discrimination and fight for large and across-the-board issues, such as gender discrimination, LGBTQ rights, racism, right to housing, student rights and the rights of asylum seekers and refugees, thereby uniting many issues.

My commitment as activist – that is my social-political engagement – has never been exclusively about my origin. Thus, my participation is not linked to the need of bringing my ethnic specificity, but rather involves participating in a broader engagement and universal project (Activist, April 2019)

While in 'granted' spaces, being of migrant origin is often crucial – because such spaces are specifically offered to descendants of immigrants (as, for example, in the experience of CONNGI) – in 'claimed' spaces, youth with migrant background express claims and identities not necessarily linked to their label of being children of immigrants.

#### *Fluidity between 'granted' and 'claimed' spaces*

Another crucial aspect is that, while in some way distinguishable, the two spaces of participation are often experienced by activists as complementary. The simultaneous participation in different spaces was elicited during interviews by asking the activists their different forms of engagement. Strategic interest push activists to engage and collaborate with different stakeholders, integrating different initiatives.

During the last years, we organized ourselves, we did a lot of activities, lobbied, created political campaigns, participated in our campaigns or collaborated with campaigns organised by others, until almost reforming the law on citizenship, though without succeeding in that. My activism took several very different forms in the past years (Activist, March 2019)

An activist of the movement #italianisenzacittadinanza applied at the municipal elections in an Italian city, and as a result became a city council member. An activist of the movement #nonunadimeno applied for the European elections; a member of the Technical Committee of CONNGI was a candidate for mayor for an Italian city. As emerged during the interviews, several members of the online movement #Italianisenzacittadinanza also participate in the activity of CONNGI, promoted and supported by the Minister of Labour and Social Policies. The experiences of young immigrant descendants show that the different participatory spaces often coexist and interact, and activists move pragmatically and fluidly from one space to another. 'Claimed' spaced and 'granted' spaced, as emerged from the interviews, are not

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<sup>12</sup> Activist, April 2019





separable in the experiences of young activists: they both represent a strategic means to realise their objectives.

### **Concluding remarks**

This research analysed the political activism of young immigrant descendants in the Italian context through the lens of spaces of participation. The conceptualisation, in terms of ‘granted’ and ‘claimed’ spaces, has been revealed to be effective and offers a new analytical framework for empirically analysing the multiple dynamics – also in terms of relationships with other stakeholders – of youth political participation.

The research shows that young immigrant descendants engage both in spaces offered from above (‘granted’ spaces) and in spaces they create themselves (‘claimed’ spaces). These different spaces are not perceived as alternatives, contrasting or incompatible. Indeed, reflecting findings from previous studies on citizens’ struggles and practices (Cornwall et al. 2011; Miraftab 2009), activists move fluidly from ‘granted’ to ‘claimed’ spaces and occupy multiple spaces, often simultaneously, in a strategic and pragmatic attempt to reach their overall objectives.

Interestingly, although some scholars have pointed out the risks of participation in spaces created by the ‘powerful’, empirical evidence shows that ‘granted’ spaces may also become channels in which youth may express their alternative and critical visions. Additionally, they may pave the way for stable collaborations with institutions and international organisations (for example, with IOM). Young activists are aware of their opportunities to engage in ‘granted’ spaces, filling them with their narratives and objectives, as was clear from the experience of Tunit. ‘Claimed’ spaces – in the words of activists – have emerged as key channels in which the dominant narrative is resisted; in their multiple forms, they are independent, counter-hegemonic and creative places created to promote a new image of youth through an attempt to repossess the power of self-definition and independent interpretation.

In these places, the activists modify the prevailing static images in representations of Italian society by staking their claim to belong to it (for example, through the initiative ‘Cartoline Cittadine’ or the online movement #italianisenzacittadianza). ‘Claimed’ spaces were also found to be essential to create network and solidarity, as in the experience of Gruppo Identità. This is in line with previous research, which highlights that spaces created from below “can be essential for groups with little power or voice in society, as sites in which they can gain confidence and skills, develop their arguments and gain from solidarity and support that being part of a group can offer” (Cornwall 2008: 275).

In addition to this, I also find that immigrant descendants are not engaged only as ‘children of immigrants’ on issues exclusive to them, but as young generations actively involved in transversal issues. Even those struggles which apparently concern only immigrant descendants’ rights, such as the reform of the Citizenship Law, are considered by activists to belong to a long-term general project regarding society as a whole. In those spaces offered by institutions, they are often viewed as descendants of immigrants – and not, more generally, as young people – which risks labelling and confining them primarily to their migrant origin. Their effort to engage beyond their parents’ origin is clear, as emerged from interviews, in those spaces created by themselves.

To conclude, these findings suggest that we should pay greater attention to the multiple and interconnected manifestations of youth activism in different 'granted' and 'claimed' spaces, and to the relationships of activists with other institutional and non-institutional actors. This integrated approach also addresses the emphasis of previous researchers on "the importance of analysing different repertoires side by side" (Grasso and Giugni 2022: 34).

A limitation of the present research is not considering the role of contextual factors at city level in influencing the forms and spaces of activism. Accordingly, further analysis should take into consideration the different spaces of participation also in relation to the influence of diverse local contexts. Future research may also explore to what extent 'claimed' and 'granted' spaces are accessible to immigrant descendant youth with less socio-economic and cultural resources. In a country such as Italy, where the young generations are characterised by profound fractures and inequalities (Istat 2021; Istituto Toniolo 2020, 2022), the progressive reduction of the spaces for the most vulnerable people (Millefiorini 2002) appears as a crucial issue to be further addressed.

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