RE-CONSTRUCTING CITIZENSHIP ON THE GROUND: THE MIGRANT DESCENDANTS ASSOCIATIONS 'ON THE MOVE' IN ITALY

di

Liana M. Daher

Introduction

The effects of globalisation and the new forms of migrant stable settlements in the country have changed the idea of citizenship. Citizenship becomes one of the main areas of civic exchange, transmitting also demands for changing rules and managing public space and politics.

The new migration highlights incongruities among typical dimensions of the classical idea of citizenship. The principle to ensure inclusion and participation in civic life of those who live within the territory of the state, by excluding who is defined as 'foreign', openly clashes with the need of non-discrimination and social inclusion of foreign young people (coming to or born in Italy).

According to law 91/1992, the Italian State grants citizenship by giving prominence to *jus sanguinis*. In fact, Italy is one of the last European countries with more restrictive regulations on the subject. This gives rise to a gap between the law and rights, and several social consequences.

The ANCI-Cittalia statistical projections have stressed that in 2029 the foreign children in Italy could be around two million, one million and 770 of which were born in our country. But, only the 7% of them will become Italian citizens because of Italian law[1]. This could be a source of discrimination, not allowing the young to be 'recognised' by the socialising community and to actively experience common practices and values.

The migrant descendants associations are one of the consequences of the above restrictive regulation. Their main claims focus on the above issues asking for a redefinition of the law that takes into consideration the changed conditions of the country after migration flows.

'Rete G2' (*G2 Network*) has recently begun the media campaign for the rights of citizenship named 'L'Italia sono anch'io' (*I am Italy, too*), and pro-

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[1] *Da residenti a cittadini. Il diritto di cittadinanza alla prova delle seconde generazioni*, cur. M. Giovannetti, V. Nicotra, Roma, Cittalia-Anci, 2012.

duced a large number of petitions and proposals including ones for the above mentioned claims. In June 2012, the media campaign has also collected more than 200,000 signatures throughout Italy.

The reasons for their protests, which may explain their involvement in this special form of *associations on the move*, are basically the lack of recognition of equal opportunities, and exclusion from social and political participation. They feel Italians like their peers, but they are formally foreigners like their parents; their being different involves the risk of becoming 'second-class citizens', making their situation twice as precarious, and marking them out as different from their Italian peers. In fact, the social position of these young people could be seen as a fundamental contradiction/consequence of migration.

The paper aims to give a broad outline of second-generation migrant associations in Italy, and the reasons for their protests; it also aims to understand their status in society and the sources of the choice of their mobilisation as movements. This will be examined through direct and indirect narrations (website forums and focus groups), and analysed on a comparative basis. The objective is to stress the differences between the official voice of the movement and the opinions of young people not involved in the movements, and to highlight the different structural conditions of the north and the south and young people's opinions concerning the issue of citizenship, and the claims in order to examine the influences of these groups on social policies and to observe them as forms of 'active citizenship from below'.

The above protests will also be analysed as a challenge to the issue of 'national citizenship'. In this challenge citizenship does not represent only a juridical status, because deeply related to the construction of the modern welfare systems. Also, it is acted through belonging and concerns all the processes of socialisation of new generations, providing the younger people a sense of membership linked to a multicultural and/or intercultural idea of citizenship.

Italian law

As far as concerns the sons of migrants, Italian law establishes that the *children who are born in Italy* of regularly resident foreign parents can become Italian citizens if they have been regularly registered, and legally residing in Italy until the age of the majority. In this case, they must submit to the municipality their request before the age of 19. If they do not, they must regularly stay in Italy for at least three years, and then ask again.

Thus, the second-generation of migrants paradoxically see themselves as foreign until their coming of age, although culturally socialised and perfectly integrated in the host/Italian community.

Moreover, *children who are born in the origin countries* must follow the same procedure of their parents (e.g. by naturalisation or marriage with an Italian citizen); the law does not provide a privileged path taking into consideration that their social inclusion has already been made.

The sons of migrants can acquire citizenship if one parent gets it when they are still minors. This possibility is not well known among foreign parents; therefore, they usually acquire citizenship when children become adults, also because of bureaucratic delays.

Actually, citizenship is one of the problems that foreigners (legally or illegally present in our country, EU or non-EU) daily suffer due to the poor efficiency of the Italian public administration. Several delays affect the process of acquiring citizenship, such as the overlapping of responsibilities, conflicts among different offices and different administrative levels (Ministry of Interior, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Local Authority, Police, Prefecture).

Italian law results in a problematic model of integration of the migrants and their sons, if stressing the application of rights. Moreover, the need for revision acquires a symbolic/relational meaning because the citizenship status and social inclusion process overlap. Citizenship does not represent only a juridical status, but it is deeply related to the construction of the modern welfare systems in which members ask to take an active role in the institutional spaces[2].

Therefore, the second-generation migrants could be considered as a challenge to the issue of citizenship. This challenge is *juridical* if linked to the inclusion/exclusion process, *institutional* when observed through the needs of plan and construct new cultural and territorial spaces as social responses to the numerical dimension of the migratory phenomenon in Italy. Finally, it is *cultural* if acted through belonging, and concerns all the processes of socialisation, and new generations. This challenge cannot be faced by only the school, but it needs the cooperation of all the socialisation agencies and implies a more general reflection on the new generation's socialisation process, defining useful conditions avoiding mechanisms of marginalisation and exclusion, and also providing the younger generation with a meaning of membership built on a multicultural idea of citizenship[3].

The second-generation could also be considered the litmus test of the outcomes of the inclusion of foreign communities in the host society. In fact, the

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[2] More details about the Law n. 92/1992, and social consequences, can be found in L.M. Daher, *Immigrazione, relatività giuridico-culturale e cittadinanza. Proteste e proposte delle seconde generazioni in Italia*, in «Formazione Psichiatrica e Scienze Umane», 2-3 (2012), pp. 17-34.

[3] M.T. Consoli, *Seconde generazioni: una sfida culturale, giuridica e istituzionale al tema della cittadinanza*, in *"Migranti" di seconda generazione. Nuovi cittadini in cerca di un'identità*, cur. L.M. Daher, Roma, Aracne, 2012, pp. 45-60.

growth of the migrants' sons must involve several changes in the social composition of the receiving societies[4], and the rising of ethnic minorities groups that – sooner or later, directly or indirectly – will ask for equal treatment and social development as well as the recognition of their identity. In fact, most of the migrant descendants associations already ask for the above claims, asking also for spaces of autonomy and active social roles in the society of which they feel to be members.

The 'sons of immigration' claims and institutional answers

The claims of the Italian second-generation start from the above lacks of the law, and are played on the social inclusion/exclusion ground. The G2 Network, a 'non-partisan national organisation' established in Rome in 2005 by the children of migrants and/or refugees born or growing up in Italy, has led the campaign 'I am Italy, too', and presented a proposal of law to the attention of Parliament in March 2012, the examination of which has not yet begun.

If the first-generation fundamental problem is to reduce discrimination[5], the second-generation demands seem to be strongly linked to their identity path.

Nevertheless, the core issue remains discrimination[6], the fear of becoming 'second-class citizens'[7]: the lack of recognition of equal opportunities in the labour market, the exclusion from active participation in the political and social life of the country to which they feel they belong. The second-generation youth believe in having the same rights of social mobility of their native peers, but often remain anchored to the subordinate position of their parents; they do not feel like strangers but they are placed as such, at least from a juridical point of view.

Therefore, obtaining citizenship is an element of civic and legal stability[8]. Becoming citizens of the socialised country undoubtedly makes the difference:

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[4] S. Molina, *Sette tesi sul futuro delle seconde generazioni in Italia*, in *"Migranti" di seconda generazione* cit., pp. 33-44.

[5] E. Codini, *L'atteggiamento degli stranieri in ordine all'acquisizione della cittadinanza italiana*, in *Una nuova cittadinanza. Per una riforma della legge del 1992*, cur. E. Codini, M. D'Odorico, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2007, pp. 105-120.

[6] B. Riccio, M. Russo, *Ponti in costruzione tra de-territorializzazione e ri-territorializzazione. Cittadinanza e associazioni di "seconde generazioni" a Bologna*, in «Lares», 3 (2009), pp. 439-468.

[7] A. Granata, *Sono qui da una vita. Dialogo aperto con le seconde generazioni*, Roma, Carocci, 2011.

[8] R. Ricucci, *Italiani a metà. Giovani stranieri crescono*, Bologna, il Mulino, 2010.

it would allow plural belongings, marked by culturally hybrid behavioural patterns, but legally defined on the host society models[9].

As far as concerns the 'sons of migrants', the G2 Network proposed radical changes to the law 91/1992. The first statement proposed that *who born in Italy of at least one parent legally residing from one year is Italian*. This aims at introducing a 'pure' *jus soli*, according to which children born in Italy, who have at least one parent legally residing in Italy, are Italian, but only if one of the parents applying for citizenship is in their stead. Obviously, the sons of those who were born in Italy, because of the legal status of their parents, are Italians. This could change the paradoxical situations of the children born in Italy, a kind of stateless family reproducing an unjustified state of uncertainty.

The second statement concerned the *non-native children*, asking *jus soli for those children who attended the Italian schools*. Boys and girls born in Italy of parents without a residence permit, or who arrived in Italy by the 10th year of age, can become Italian if they have legally lived in Italy, applying for citizenship within two years of coming of age. Also, if parents apply for it, children who have attended schools can become Italian citizens before the age of the majority.

The G2 Network also demanded that in both the above cases, *within one year from the coming of age the subject can renounce the Italian citizenship, if he/she holds another citizenship*. Moreover, *if parents do not require citizenship for their children before their coming of age, the young person acquires the nationality of the new country, with no additional conditions, if he/her applies for citizenship within two years after coming of age*.

The 'I am Italy, too' proposal recognised the rights of foreign children who grow up and live in Italy as Italians, but actually are not, both from a formal and symbolic point of view. In some way, it can also be considered as a provocation to the institution.

Answering the above claims, in 2012 was established a Ministry for Integration that, in cooperation with the Ministry of the Interior, worked for a 'temperated' *jus soli*: children born and who grew up in Italy could become Italian, but only under certain conditions. These concerned the children's schooling, integration process of the parents and number of years of regular residence of the parents in the country.

The institutional objectives were to open a national debate, adapting the law to today's Italian society and complying with the other European countries.

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[9] For a deeper analysis of the concept and practices of cultural belonging and identity styles see L.M. Daher, *Identità plurali: immigrati di prima e di seconda generazione a confronto*, in *I giovani e le sfide del futuro*, cur. M. Ferrari Occhionero, Roma, Aracne, 2011, pp. 207-238.

The principal issues of debate concerned the *jus sanguinis*, whether to replace this criterion with the *jus soli*, even if tempered or not; and citizenship as a fundamental right, whether to consider it a right to recognise every individual or not; consequently the state must recognise citizenship to every person, except in particular cases (e.g. security). Finally, it concerns whether to link citizenship to the integration path in the host country or not.

The institutional proposal is still developing. Nowadays, Italy has no more a Ministry for Integration, and we are no longer talking about changing the law. The debate continues only more and more rarely on the websites, see table 1 and 2.

Second-generations 'on the move'

The goals of second-generation associative groups are above all oriented at achieving parity rights in the host society, and growing their individual and collective identity; actually these goals are closely linked.

The analysis of the websites (see Table 1) shows the power that associations give to the Net for concretely or symbolically debating the most significant issues concerning the social integration of migrants' sons. It also shows that these young people have chosen, and continue to choose, the Internet as a mass media platform to promote substantive issues, and discuss them (see Table 2).

Focussing on the citizenship and inequalities issues arising from the implementation of Law 91/1992 at different levels (social and juridical) and taking also care of the sons of migrants' existential and identity troubles, the many blogs and forums confirm the choice of the communication by the network as the ultimate popular expression and the choice of mass media (blogs, forums, web TV, educational format) as useful tools of illustrating, comparing and publishing their claims. The above acts are addressed to their peers, but also to social institutions.

As well as their peers, the second-generation of immigration is a *net generation*[10], using the potentials of the network, and new ways of communication, as the principal and manifest tool (and strategy) of their protests. Actually, the dissemination of ideas and values through the network is their principal contribution to social change.

The analysis of several websites confirms the above statements, also highlighting their collective action as *associations on the move* and 'active citizenship from below'.

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[10] D. Tapscott, *Growing Up Digital: The Rise of the Net Generation*, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1999.

Table 1. Second-generation Associations and Networks

NAME – WEBSITE / YEAR OF FOUNDATION	PURPOSES	GENERAL INFO/NEWS	STATEMENTS HISTORIES	JURIDICAL INFO	EVENTS PROJECTS	FORUM
GMI – Giovani Musulmani d'Italia www.giovanimusulmani.it 2001	• Promotion of the identity of "Italians and Europeans" young muslims; • Educational training aiming at increasing and analysing their faith; • Engaging at a local, National and European level in the defense of Justice, Peace and Human Right.	X			X	
Rete G2 – Seconde Generazioni www.secondegenerazioni.it 2005	• **Reform of the Italian citizenship law** • Cultural change of the Italian society Trade union: **CIGL**	X	X	X	X	X
Associna www.associna.com/it/ 2005	• Building meeting and exchange opportunities, promoting differences as cultural enrichment. • Activity on behalf of italo-chinese young • Developing positive synergies between the two societies (Italian and chinese).	X	X		X	X
Anolf Giovani di II Generazione www.anolf.it/2G/ 2007	• Giving voice, participation and mobilisation to the immigrants' sons; • **Realising the reform of Italian citizenship law (n. 91/1992), introducing "ius soil" principle** Trade union: **CISL**	X		X	X	
Cantieri di Giovani Italo – Marocchini (CGIM) http://www.cgim.it/ 2011	• Developing socio-cultural activities and exchanges among new generations • Promoting their skills • Promoting intercultural mediation and activity between Moroccan and Italian populations and institutions.	X		X	X	
Rete TogethER www.retetogether.it *no year of foundation*	• Fight to discrimination • Social participation of the young • Interculturality • Promotion of events	X			X	
Giovani donne di seconda generazione www.donnedisecondagenerazione.it/ 2014	• Reports, meetings and events of the working group *Second generation young women between citizenship and politics* (European Project)	X		X	X	
#italiani senza cittadinanza http://www.italianisenzacittadinanza.it/ 2017	• News on participation and mobilisation events of the immigrants' sons; • News on citizenship legislative processes	X				

Table 2. Second-generation Platforms/Blogs/Media formats

NAME – WEBSITE	DESCRIPTION AND PURPOSES	GENERAL INFO/NEWS	STATEMENTS HISTORIES	JURIDICAL INFO	EVENTS PROJECTS	FORUM
Italiani Più www.italianipiu.it/	• Point of reference, information and legal guidance, but mostly sharing; • Gives voice to and tell about immigrants' children.	X	X	X	X	
Yalla Italia www.yallaitalia.it/	• Second generation' meeting platform • Observing Italy and the world from the perspective of new citizens that simultaneously belong to two worlds.	X	X	X		
Nuovi Italiani http://nuovitaliani.blog.unita.it/	• Blog edited by *L'Unità* journal starting from the slogan "Real foreigners, factual Italian"; • Discussing about the issues connected to the second generation social inclusion.	X				
Cultural Shock www.culturalshock.org/	• Crossmedia educational format (radio/ web/ tv/mobile); • It shows the today's youth as active citizens and it focus on second generations.					
Lookout.tv www.lookout-tv.eu/	• First web tv edited by first andn second generation young immigrants; • Understanding cultural and social change.					
L'Italia sono anch'io www.litaliasonoanchio.it/	• National campaign platform nazionale promoted by 22 civic organizations organizzazioni della società civile. • The goal is the **reform of the Italian citizenship right**	X		X	X	
Forum Nuove Generazioni Musulmani d'Italia www.ajyalitalia.it/forum/forum.php/	• Forum reserved to the Islamic young generations • Not well identifiable because of the absence of the page "about us".					X

The G2 Network, as the principal promoter of the 'I am Italy, too' media campaign, seems to be very active in society and politics, organising and participating in events about citizenship, also for the protection of children (e.g. 'G2 Parlamenta' Project). The network members are also involved in several research projects, such as the 'Seconde generazioni lgbt' research-action, and the short film *Italy in a day* (G. Salvadores) that describes Italy today, portraying the country as multicultural.

The website contains very active forums that welcome young people's opinions on citizenship issues and provide information on what is socially happening about social inclusion of the migrants' children as well as recent institutional steps in legislative change. It also offers a national observatory monitoring second-generation problems and troubles, and an online legal desk. Very recently (December 2014) the group has published the dossier *Italiani 2.0/G2 chiama Italia: Cittadinanza rispondi!* (2.0 Italians/The G2 calls: Citizenship answer!).

The association 'Giovani musulmani d'Italia' (Young Muslims of Italy) works instead on a different field. Members are self-reflexives and religion oriented. In fact, the website shows several messages (or spots) about the search and sharing of faith, and on the social and religious identity of the members. The principal key words of these messages are: God, search, sense of life, choices, testimony, faith, essence of God and faith, fraternity, community and mutual recognition.

The last example, 'Associna', sees its member ironically actives in politics, as shown by Figure 1. This example testifies very successful paths of integration of Italian-Chinese youngsters in the province of Florence. The website also provides very useful forums that welcome the opinions of young people of every nationality and religion.

Source: www.associna.it

Figure 1 - The Italo-Chinese youngs running for Local Council Election (The Prato's Wedding).

As shown by the above examples, the G2 Network is the leader in the claim for the reform of the Italian citizenship law, giving voice to thousands second-generation children living in Italy. As far as concerns the above issue, the main relevant forum is «Citizenship: the Italy we would like to have» (2006-2011). Social demands and troubles emerge from the analysis of young statements and opinions, acting as substrates in the construction of the above proposal of law.

In fact, the forum contains several issues having inspired the 'I am Italy, too' campaign, such as:

– The need to define the meaning of the term 'citizen', giving a multicultural extension;
– The differences between young people and their parents (i.e. Italian/foreign);
– The link between citizenship and 'cultural belonging';
– The doubts about granting citizenship only by the birth place criterion;
– The need/call for a referendum about the above issues;
– The doubts on the evaluation of the criterion of 'social integration';
– The claims because of red tape/delays in the concession of citizenship.

The network has had great participation that cannot always be geographically identified. Therefore, it could be useful knowing the opinions of second-generation young people not involved in the protest, also highlighting if these opinions differ when the young live in the north or south of Italy.

Actually, in the north, those not involved in the protests of second-generation young people agree with the formal opinion of the movement. This is shown by a recent empirical research analysing several testimonies of young descendants of migrants, gathered in 10 cities of the north-east of Italy, answering the statement 'I want citizenship, because', and which summarises the following instances: getting out of subjection and legal uncertainty, removing dissonances and reducing the risks of social 'otherness', and stopping with useless questions such as: Italian or immigrant? Also, it observes that most of the respondents focussed on 'justice' and 'civic and political participation' issues[11].

However, in the south, young migrant descendants don't testify the same 'needs'[12]. The content analysis of focus groups stresses different structural and

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[11] M. Giovannetti, V. Nicotra, *Da residenti a cittadini. Il diritto di cittadinanza alla prova delle seconde generazioni* cit.

[12] The following statements are partial results of the research project 'Second generation asking for citizenship. The Italian G2 Network against the consequences of migration' (Department of Education, University of Catania). The research has the goals to know more about the opinion of the sons of migrants concerning citizenship and Italian law. Moreover, the research

personal issues. In fact, among the reasons why they would like to obtain citizenship are the difficulties and long waits to renew their residence permits, mistreatment, confusion and incompetence of policemen at the immigration bureau (structural/institutional issues). Moreover, they think that becoming an Italian citizen could help to get a good job and to freely move throughout the European and extra-European areas (personal issues).

The following statements highlight the strong difference of the opinions of the young who live in northern areas, and the official voice of the network.

Almost all the witnesses show a substantial disregard for citizenship, in particular as a means of active participation in local and national politics. *Voting is useless* is the emblematic thinking of one of the participants (Albania, M, 19 years old) in the focus groups.

Moreover, all the testimonies confirm the benefit of being Italian to get a better job: *All is simplest if you are Italian citizen, for example to enter a competition* (Mauritius, M, 26 years old), thinking also that Italian citizenship is useful for having greater geographical mobility: *Perhaps what is positive in achieving Italian citizenship is to be able to travel, to feel free* (Nigeria, F, 25 years old). Indeed, very few of the respondents know the campaign outlined above.

This way of thinking does not belong only to the young born in the country of origin, but also of those born in Italy. The analysis shows that very often the decision to become Italian does not start from identity needs, not explicitly at least, but depends on security reasons, lack of a job and geographical mobility.

Therefore, the features of the 'migrant' youth population should be assessed in relation to Sicily (and southern areas) where the problems of unemployment and social insecurity are much stronger than in northern Italy and where some of the basic demands of the second-generation associations seem to become less important.

The sons of migrants usually live a 'double insecurity' condition. Different than their native peers, they suffer both typical youth troubles (e.g. unemployment) and insecurity due to their social/juridical condition. The above structural and institutional differences contribute to provide a different and specific representation of this social category, and its needs, in the south of Italy.

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project aims at knowing more about their experiences in institutional (i.e. school) and non-institutional (i.e. association) contexts. As shown above, the descriptive and general step stressed the mapping of the migrant descendants association in Italy (see Tables 1 and 2), and analysed websites deeper. The second part focussed instead on the qualitative analysis of forums and focus groups hold with the sons of migrants who attend school and/or are involved in local migrant associations in Catania.

Conclusions

The second-generation issues stress the difficulties of advanced societies building new forms of social bonding and belonging, more flexible and inclusive but able to protect the core values of open and democratic societies. The migrant and his/her descendants become in fact the most eloquent symbol of new stable settlements that ask for social inclusion as well as for new cultural spaces.

Therefore, according to the above considerations a redefinition of the concept in relation to a model of multicultural citizenship characterised by the co-existence of universal polyethnic and human rights, and the fundamental principles of individual freedom and social justice[13] would be useful. The implementation of multicultural citizenship could be possible only if the above-mentioned cultural challenge will successfully end.

The associations are expressions of social pluralism, emancipation and of the extension of the right to social, cultural, political and economic participation to all the citizens of a democratic state. The common *interests* are the core of each association defining both the main purpose and some more general functions.

The fundamental goals of the migrant descendants associations concern the identity and citizenship issues; these may be means of inclusion/exclusion, and/or identification, of this social category as the minority group. However, these groups could also contribute to make the people aware of emergent issues, as well as being the vehicle of social participation and promotion of reforms (e.g. the citizenship law).

Therefore, if being a member of a group is the essential prerequisite for the existence of any social movement, and the communication through the network is recognised as typical of contemporary movements[14], even though we cannot explicitly speak of second-generation movements – mainly due to the lack of such self-denomination – by their very constitution (association form), way of communication and main function of promoting social change, these groups may be considered as *associations on the move*, also activating collective practices of 'citizenship from below'.

Several Italian studies on migrant associations[15] have shown the importance of the mediating function of these groups, focussing also on the issues of civic

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[13] W. Kymlinka, *The Multicultural Citizenship. A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights*, Oxford, UK, Oxford University Press, 1995.

[14] L.M. Daher, *Fare ricerca sui movimenti sociali in Italia. Passato, presente e futuro*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2012.

[15] T. Caponio, *Policy Networks and Immigrants' Associations in Italy: The Cases of Milan, Bologna and Naples*, in «Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies», 31 (2005), pp. 931-950; C. Mantovan, *Immigrazione e cittadinanza. Auto-organizzazione e partecipazione dei migranti in*

participation, and outlining an expanding reality in search of visibility. The migrant descendants associations are a good example, even though they are not migrant, representing instead one of the consequences of migration, and not really foreign, because they are already socialised to Italian culture[16].

The processes and practices through which migrants achieve active roles, rights and voice, access to services and social benefits, despite political obstacles and regulations, are summarised by the expression 'citizenship from below'[17]. The above practices primarily work in the local area, and commonly include political participation through associations having an active role in the public arena. Therefore, these may also be seen as a 'process of creation of rights'[18], where the concept of citizenship is actively built.

The descendants of migrants are acting at a national level by the above form of 'associations on the move', trying to influence the political debate/choices in the host society, and promoting their rights and interests. They are also supported by local and national organisations (e.g. trade unions) that, in the social and political pluralism environment, could more direct and formal contribute to decision-making processes.

Moving from the ideas to practices is very hard, also due to institutional and cultural resistance. Changes are still *in progress* as well as our conclusions.

ABSTRACT

Migrant descendants associations have recently become widespread in Italy principally because of the restrictive regulations of Italian citizenship law. Their main claims focus on this issue: a redefinition of the law that takes into consideration the changed conditions of the country after migration flows.

The reasons for their protests, which may explain their involvement in this special form of *associations on the move*, are basically the lack of recognition of equal opportunities, and exclusion from social and political participation.

The paper aims to give a broad outline of second generation migrant associations in Italy, and the reasons for their protests; it also aims to understand their status in soci-

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Italia, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2007; I. Camozzi, *Lo spazio del riconoscimento. Forme di associazionismo migratorio a Milano*, Bologna, il Mulino, 2008; M. Caselli, F. Grandi, *Volti e percorsi delle associazioni di immigrati in Lombardia. Rapporto 2010*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2011.

[16] L.M. Daher, *"Migranti" di seconda generazione. Un'introduzione*, in *"Migranti" di seconda generazione* cit., pp. 9-22.

[17] M. Ambrosini, *Migrazione e cittadinanza "dal basso"*, in «Famiglia Oggi», 4 (2013), pp. 55-61.

[18] E. Balibar, *Nous, citoyens d'Europe? Les frontières, l'État, le peuple*, Paris, La Découverte, 2001.

ety and the sources of the choice of their mobilisation as movements. This will be examined through direct and indirect narrations (website forums and focus groups) and analyzed on a comparative basis. The objective is to stress the differences between the official voice of the movement and the opinions of young people not involved in the movements, and to highlight the different structural conditions of North and South and young's opinions concerning the issue of citizenship and the claims in order to examine the influences of these groups on social policies and to observe them as forms of "active citizenship from below."

Le associazioni dei figli dei migranti si sono recentemente diffuse in Italia principalmente a causa delle norme restrittive della legge sulla cittadinanza italiana. Le loro principali affermazioni si concentrano sul seguente problema: la necessità di una ridefinizione della legge che tiene conto delle mutate condizioni del paese dopo i flussi migratori.

Le ragioni delle loro proteste, che possono spiegare il loro coinvolgimento in questa speciale forma di 'associazioni in movimento', sono fondamentalmente la mancanza di riconoscimento delle pari opportunità e la loro esclusione dalla partecipazione sociale e politica.

Il saggio mira a fornire una mappatura delle associazioni dei migranti di seconda generazione in Italia e i motivi delle loro proteste; mira anche a comprendere il loro status nella società e le fonti della scelta della loro mobilitazione come movimenti, esaminando tali posizioni attraverso narrazioni dirette e indirette (forum di siti Web e focus group) e analizzandole su base comparativa. L'obiettivo è anche sottolineare le differenze tra la voce ufficiale dei movimenti e le opinioni dei giovani non coinvolti nei movimenti, di evidenziare le diverse condizioni strutturali del Nord e del Sud e le opinioni dei giovani in merito alla questione della cittadinanza e alle rivendicazioni, al fine di esaminare le influenze di questi gruppi sulle politiche sociali e osservarle come forme di "cittadinanza attiva dal basso".