

‘This groundbreaking volume explores how citizenship is enacted and contested in the routines of everyday life. From parenting and migration to digital activism and urban space, it reveals how citizens resist, rework, and reimagine belonging and political agency in the face of neoliberalism, precarity, and rising authoritarianism.’

John Dixon, *Professor of Social Psychology,
The Open University, UK*

‘Studying the lived experiences of people in struggles over citizenship rights is crucial. This groundbreaking and highly anticipated contribution to the social psychology of citizenship examines how people are struggling for citizenship as a right to a socially and ecologically just society and reveals acts of citizenship as affective politics of the everyday.’

Engin Isin, *Professor Emeritus in International Politics,
Queen Mary University of London*

‘What constitutes citizenship has become a pressing issue all over the world as nation states increasingly tighten restrictions on who should belong. Unlike abstract theories of citizenship, this book examines this contested concept from the ground-up: from everyday understandings, experiences, and practices of citizens themselves. *The Social Psychology of Citizenship* provides a refreshing human dimension to the field of citizenship studies.’

Martha Augoustinos, *Professor Emerita at the
University of Adelaide, Australia*

‘*The Social Psychology of Citizenship* convincingly establishes social psychology’s potential to illuminate the subtle relational processes through which citizenship is experienced and enacted in the course of everyday life. Drawing from a range of interdisciplinary perspectives, the contributors to this edited collection address a wide range of contemporary issues, documenting the various ways in which citizens strategically handle competing demands of neoliberal ideology in the course of their mundane social activities. In so doing, the authors shed new light on the political agency and subversive potential inherent in routine social interactions. This exciting and thought-provoking book will be essential reading for all social and political scientists concerned with the processes through which the lived experiences of citizenship are being shaped and transformed in the first quarter of the twenty-first century.’

Susan Condor, *Professor Emeritus of Social Psychology,
Loughborough University, UK*



THE SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY OF CITIZENSHIP

This book develops a social psychology of citizenship, pushing the boundaries of the discipline to articulate a theoretically rich social psychological framework for the study of citizenship.

Featuring contributions from established and up-and-coming global researchers, this book draws attention to the micro-politics of everyday life. This volume is divided into four parts, considering different sites where citizenship is performed: governing, bordering, locating, and re-imaging citizenship. Each part considers a particular dynamic of citizenship, and the volume features trans-disciplinary commentaries from expert scholars in other social sciences and humanities. This book also revisits core social psychological topics such as prejudice, intergroup relations, and identities in new, productive ways that foreground the power dynamics and “battles of ideas” playing out in often implicit ways. It provides a systematic, state-of-the-art presentation of key theoretical and empirical work in the social psychology of citizenship and extends citizenship studies to include under-explored topics in the field – such as the environment and precarity – using a critical and decolonial lens.

Bringing together an innovative framework that advances a framework for future study in the field, this book will be highly relevant reading for postgraduate students and researchers in social psychology, political psychology, community psychology, sociology, and migration studies. It will also be of interest to advanced undergraduate students, activists, and policy makers interested in citizenship and societal challenges.

Eleni Andreouli is Professor of Social Psychology at the Open University, United Kingdom. She is the author of numerous publications exploring the links between politics and everyday life.

Lia Figgou is Professor of Social Psychology at the School of Psychology of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Greece. Her research interests lie in the field of immigration, citizenship, and intergroup relations. Influenced by the “turn to language” in social psychology, she employs rhetorical and discursive analysis to explore these topics in depth.

Irini Kadianaki is Associate Professor of Social Psychology at the University of Cyprus. Her research explores the interplay between social representations and identity among stigmatised groups – such as migrants, LGBT+ individuals, and people with mental illness.

THE SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY OF CITIZENSHIP

Critical Advances and
Interdisciplinary Insights

*Edited by Eleni Andreouli, Lia Figgou
and Irini Kadianaki*

 **Routledge**
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

Designed cover image: Getty images

First published 2026

by Routledge

4 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge

605 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10158

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2026 selection and editorial matter, Eleni Andreouli, Lia Figgou and Irini Kadianaki;
individual chapters, the contributors

The right of Eleni Andreouli, Lia Figgou and Irini Kadianaki to be identified as the author[s]
of the editorial material, and of the authors for their individual chapters, has been
asserted in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and
Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised
in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or
hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information
storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

For Product Safety Concerns and Information please contact our EU representative
GPSR@taylorandfrancis.com. Taylor & Francis Verlag GmbH, Kaufingerstraße 24,
80331 München, Germany

Trademark notice: Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks,
and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

A catalog record has been requested for this book

ISBN: 9781032847566 (hbk)

ISBN: 9781032847535 (pbk)

ISBN: 9781003514824 (ebk)

DOI: 10.4324/9781003514824

Typeset in Times New Roman
by Newgen Publishing UK

CONTENTS

<i>List of contributors</i>	<i>x</i>
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	<i>xiii</i>
1 Mapping the social psychology of citizenship: state of the art and ways forward <i>Lia Figgou, Irini Kadianaki, and Eleni Andreouli</i>	1
PART 1	
Governing citizenship	17
2 Mediocrity as method and resistance: sexual citizenship and the limits of deservingness and respectability <i>Francesca Romana Ammaturo</i>	19
3 The datafied citizen: debating the issue of privacy and participation <i>Emma Brice</i>	34

viii Contents

4	“Accidental parenting” and “responsible citizenship”: exploring advice around baby sleep from a critical health psychology perspective <i>Abigail Locke</i>	47
	Commentary	61
5	The global colonial politics of liberal democratic citizenship <i>Shona Hunter</i>	63
	PART 2	
	Bordering citizenship	71
6	Citizenship and immigration in social psychology: the discursive construction of cultural hierarchy <i>Nikos Bozatzis, Maria Xenitidou, and Antonis Sapountzis</i>	73
7	Conditional citizenship: how neoliberalism fuels the restriction of civil, social, and political rights of subordinate groups <i>Emanuele Politi, Lola Girerd, and Christian Staerklé</i>	88
8	Precarious migration and cultural nuance in re-articulations of active citizenship <i>Sarah A. Kapeli, Shiloh Groot, Eun-Hye Shin, Lisiua Havili, and Darrin Hodgetts</i>	105
	Commentary	121
9	Citizenship processes and migration phenomena in Europe <i>Francesco Della Puppa</i>	123
	PART 3	
	Locating citizenship: reflections on place and youth	131
10	Citizens in the making: exploring social psychological perspectives on youth citizenship <i>Debra Gray and Rachel Manning</i>	133

11	Citizenship, spatial (in)justice, and the social psychology of place dispossession <i>Cristina Pradillo-Caimari and Andrés Di Masso</i>	147
12	The “problem” of strengthening youth citizenship in Latin American countries in times of regression: the case of education in Brazil <i>Marina Valentim Brasil and Angelo Brandelli Costa</i>	162
	Commentary	175
13	Interdisciplinary approaches to the role of place and resistance in citizenship research <i>Bronwyn Wood</i>	177
	PART 4	
	Re-imagining citizenship	185
14	Energy citizenship as socio-ecological practice: towards a recognition of the socio-political and psychological relevance of energy <i>Susana Batel</i>	187
15	Cultural citizenship through radio-making: counter-storytelling and creating alternative narratives of identity and belonging within Brimbank LIVE <i>Roshani Janya Jayawardana and Christopher Sonn</i>	203
	Commentary	219
16	Citizenship reimagined: claiming the right to a future in a changing world <i>Eeva Puumala</i>	221
17	Rethinking citizenship: theoretical tenets and emerging directions in social psychology <i>Irini Kadianaki, Lia Figgou, and Eleni Andreouli</i>	228
	<i>Index</i>	238

CONTRIBUTORS

Francesca Romana Ammaturo

London Metropolitan University, United Kingdom

Eleni Andreouli

The Open University, United Kingdom

Susana Batel

University Institute of Lisbon, Portugal

Nikos Bozatzis

National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, Greece

Angelo Brandelli Costa

Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil

Marina Valentim Brasil

Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil

Emma Brice

The Open University, United Kingdom

Francesco Della Puppa

Università Ca' Foscari Venezia, Italy

Andrés Di Masso

University of Barcelona, Spain

Lia Figgou

Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Greece

Lola Girerd

Université Clermont Auvergne, France

Debra Gray

Kingston University, United Kingdom

Shiloh Groot

University of Auckland, New Zealand

Lisua Havili

University of Auckland, New Zealand

Darrin Hodgetts

Massey University, New Zealand

Shona Hunter

Leeds Beckett University, United Kingdom

Roshani Janya Jayawardana

Victoria University, Australia

Irini Kadianaki

University of Cyprus, Cyprus

Sarah A. Kapeli

University of Auckland, New Zealand

Abigail Locke

Keele University, United Kingdom

Rachel Manning

University of Buckingham, United Kingdom

Emanuele Politi

KU Leuven, Belgium & University of Lausanne, Switzerland

Cristina Pradillo-Caimari

University of Barcelona, Spain

xii List of contributors

Eeva Puumala

Tampere University, Finland

Antonis Sapountzis

Democritus University of Thrace, Greece

Eun-Hye Shin

Massey University, New Zealand

Christopher Sonn

Victoria University, Australia

Christian Staerklé

University of Lausanne, Switzerland

Bronwyn Wood

Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand

Maria Xenitidou

University of Western Macedonia, Greece

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We would like to express our sincere gratitude to the contributing authors whose scholarship and commitment have shaped this volume. Each chapter reflects a distinct voice, but together they form a compelling dialogue that advances the social psychology of citizenship.

Particular thanks are due to the commentators who engaged so thoughtfully with the social psychology of citizenship, critically evaluating its potential and contribution. Their interdisciplinary perspectives have enriched this volume, expanding the scope of dialogue in significant ways.

Many thanks

Eleni, Lia, Irini



Copyright Material – Provided by Taylor & Francis
Proof Review Only – Not For Distribution



9

CITIZENSHIP PROCESSES AND MIGRATION PHENOMENA IN EUROPE

Francesco Della Puppa

Introduction

The three chapters in this section consider some of the ways that citizenship borders are erected and with what implications. The chapters discuss the interrelated topics of immigration, welfare rights under neoliberalism, and precariousness, across three different contexts in the Global North and South. Below I draw out the chapters' key contributions and, taking them as a point of departure, I discuss, in the second section, four themes which illustrate the complex manners through which citizenship is managed, policed and “bordered” in relation to immigration. These issues are worthy of further interrogation in the interdisciplinary study of citizenship by social psychologists and other scholars in the field.

Discursive approaches to citizenship and cultural integration

Drawing on discursive psychology and qualitative interviews, the contribution by Bozatzis, Xenitidou, and Sapountzis focuses on the social construction of citizenship, particularly as it relates to national identity and its articulation around cultural determinants – often implicitly referencing ethno-racial elements without explicitly naming them. These representations serve as a legitimising foundation for the social exclusion of immigrants. The authors argue that legal discourses – concerned with status, rights, and inclusion criteria – often disregard the ways in which citizenship is enacted in everyday life or through specific acts of citizenship in the political sphere (Isin & Nielsen, 2008). Their chapter adopts a critical discursive perspective, diverging from essentialist and universalist notions of culture and citizenship. Rather than treating culture as a static set of values and practices “carried” by individuals, the authors conceptualise it as an ideological

DOI: 10.4324/9781003514824-13

124 The Social Psychology of Citizenship

and rhetorical resource constructed and negotiated through social interactions. This approach reveals how certain cultural representations – frequently imbued with implicit hierarchies – are mobilised to justify inclusion or exclusion and the granting or denial of rights within discourses on immigration and citizenship.

Their critique of the concept of culture within acculturation research is particularly significant. The authors challenge the idea of cultural identity as a measurable variable in quantitative models, instead proposing a dialogic and contextual understanding of culture, better suited to capture the ambivalences and contradictions that emerge in migratory contexts. Their empirical analysis shows how Greek participants use dualistic cultural representations (West vs East) to position themselves and to justify the inclusion or exclusion of immigrants. The authors discuss this work as paradigmatic in understanding how national identities are ideologically ambivalent – particularly in countries whose relationship to the West is historically contested.

Cultural nuance and active citizenship in precarious contexts

The chapter by Kapeli, Groot, Shin, Havili, and Hodgetts emphasises the material dimensions of immigrant life and their interplay with the cultural habitus of immigrant communities. These factors can facilitate, or hinder, forms of mutual aid and the emergence of individual and collective agency, often embedded in culturally shaped practices. On the one hand, such forms of community solidarity activate processes of “citizenisation” and responses to social exclusion; on the other, they do not compensate for the systemic denial of citizenship rights, as the very conditions of material hardship and social exclusion effectively negate entitlement. Through a comparative case study of a Tongan and a Korean family in New Zealand, the authors demonstrate that poverty and precariousness are not the result of individual shortcomings, but rather the outcomes of interwoven structural, cultural, and political processes. The conceptual core of their analysis draws on a relational approach to poverty, which shifts focus from individual attributes to the power dynamics and the social, economic, and cultural relations that (re) produce socioeconomic insecurity. Using the Gramscian concept of articulation, as reinterpreted by Stuart Hall, the authors illustrate how cultural practices and values (such as Tongan *Talanoa* or Korean hierarchical respect) are rearticulated to address conditions of insecurity. This rearticulation is not passive adaptation but an active and creative process of social identity negotiation. The critical value of this contribution lies in its ability to expose the shortcomings of neoliberal welfare systems, which tend to govern precarious subjects as “defective dependents” rather than acknowledging the structural vulnerabilities they face.

Conditional citizenship and the marginalisation of minority group

Politi, Girerd and Staerklé, finally, analyze the genealogy and near-unquestioned dominance of neoliberal ideology, which promotes competition among individuals

at the expense of social cohesion and equitable resource redistribution. In contrast, they advocate for a Marshallian conception of social citizenship, which aims at collective well-being, socio-material equality, and stronger integration of all societal members. Their critique is nuanced, framing neoliberalism not only as a set of economic policies but as a hegemonic ideology shaping values, social relations, and citizenship rights. Tracing neoliberalism's initial promises, they reveal its paradoxical role in generating new forms of oppression by systematically excluding minorities deemed "undeserving." Neoliberalism has undermined social citizenship, transforming rights into conditional rewards based on merit, thus fostering stigmatisation of vulnerable groups. Their analysis stands out for its attention to the psychological and cultural mechanisms that reproduce inequality, as well as its critique of academia's passive role in maintaining dominant ideologies.

Taken together, the three chapters of this section underscore that citizenship is not merely a legal status but a socially constructed and psychologically lived reality, negotiated through discourse, identity, and material conditions. The discursive constructions of national belonging, the "cultural" strategies enacted under precarity, and the ideological normalisation of conditional rights, all illustrate how citizenship is emotionally charged, ideologically framed, and deeply embedded in power relations. Building on these insights, the following section further explores how citizenship takes on multiple, intersecting meanings when observed through the lived experiences and coping strategies of immigrants navigating differentiated rights regimes.

The multiple articulations of citizenship

To observe and analyze the heterogeneous plurality of forms and practices of citizenship among immigrants and their families, it is necessary to consider several foundational conditions that shape their trajectories: the differentiated and stratified regime of rights they access; their dislocations in relation to ascribed identities (such as gender, class, "race," nationality, etc.); and the forms of substantive and material citizenship they are able to effectively exercise in everyday practices (Bimbi, 2014; Sredanovic, 2014).

Within a context of socio-material hardship – such as that described by Kapeli, Groot, Shin, Havili, and Hodgetts – substantive citizenship may be enacted through various strategies. These include leveraging mobility and/or settlement opportunities linked to formal citizenship status or specific types of residency permits within the EU; making strategic use of welfare protections (albeit increasingly eroded by neoliberal policies); relying on organised solidarity based on linguistic-national or religious affinities; and exploiting bureaucratic loopholes or the "instrumentally lax" functioning of administrative systems responsible for residency permit renewal.

Sredanovic (2014) notes that the notion of substantive citizenship lacks a clear and universally accepted definition within the academic literature and lends itself to a plurality of interpretations. The first meaning he identifies refers to political

and social *participation* (Mantovan, 2007): the ways in which individuals who are not formally part of a political or legal community – such as immigrants – can nevertheless engage in political and social life through a variety of practices, including contentious or conflictual ones (Isin & Nielsen, 2008). A second interpretation relates to the *fullness of rights* (Castles & Davidson, 2000), that is, the gap between the formal legal recognition of rights and their actual accessibility or enjoyment. A third meaning concerns *social recognition as members of the community*, which emphasises the extent to which immigrants are perceived and accepted as belonging to the social body. A fourth interpretation corresponds to *cultural citizenship* (Rosaldo, 1997), understood as the recognition of purported cultural identities and specificities.

These multiple articulations of citizenship reveal a fragmented and stratified reality, where access to rights and recognition is deeply shaped by structural inequalities and neoliberal governance. Rather than offering a unified or inclusive model, citizenship emerges as a contested and uneven terrain, negotiated through everyday strategies of survival and belonging.

Migration histories and citizenship policies in Europe

Even when adopting a strictly legal perspective, it is important to highlight that the various national laws governing the acquisition of formal citizenship are themselves the outcome of historically, socially, and partly economically determined relationships between nation-states and the migratory movements in which they have played shifting roles over the centuries. Southern European countries, for instance, were until relatively recently – up to the mid-1970s in the case of Italy, and into the late 1980s for Spain, Portugal, and Greece – primarily countries of emigration. In those years, the number of citizens leaving these countries annually exceeded the number of immigrant workers arriving. As a result, the nation-state was chiefly concerned with maintaining strong ties with its emigrant population and their descendants. This explains why citizenship laws in Mediterranean European countries have traditionally prioritised blood ties: the child – and even the grandchild – of an Italian, Spanish, or Portuguese citizen would retain the parent's nationality, in accordance with a form of *ius sanguinis*. In contrast, European countries with longer histories of immigration and distinct colonial legacies – such as France and the United Kingdom – have historically functioned as countries of immigration, with annual inflows of immigrant workers and families consistently exceeding outflows of emigrants. Consequently, these nation-states placed greater emphasis on territorial ties: although not automatically and often contingent upon economic resources (i.e., property or income requirements), individuals born in France or the UK could acquire citizenship through a form of *ius soli* logic.

Currently, however, nationalist and sovereigntist tendencies in Europe are challenging not only *ius soli*, but, arguably, *ius sanguinis* as well. For instance,

in Italy, there has been a tightening of the requirements for descendants of Italian emigrants abroad to obtain citizenship. In any case, the Southern European countries have undergone a significant transformation: from being primarily countries of emigration to becoming, above all, countries of immigration (Pugliese, 2002). Yet, they have retained—often alongside the introduction of new regulations—the historic model of citizenship acquisition, with the result that a considerable number of children of immigrants—born, raised, and socialised in Italy, Spain, or Portugal, with little or no knowledge of their parents’ country of origin—are denied citizenship in what is, in all respects, their country. Meanwhile, distant descendants of Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, or Greek emigrants—who may never have set foot in Europe—continue to benefit from privileged channels for acquiring *status civitatis*.

These historical trajectories of citizenship policies in Europe reveal how legal frameworks are deeply embedded in socio-economic transformations, colonial legacies, and shifting national imaginaries.

The multidimensionality of citizenship

International migration constitutes a strategic lens through which to observe the limits and transformations of the institution of citizenship on a global scale. On one hand, migratory flows prompt states and governments to *re-nationalise policies*, placing emphasis on the sovereign control of borders and frontiers; on the other, they are embedded within a broader context of the *transnationalisation of economic practices* and human rights frameworks.

The inclusion of immigrants within citizenship regimes is, however, contingent upon the interplay of this tripartite normative structure, which unfolds across national space and extends from the European level to local contexts, shaping decisions, organisational processes, and everyday practices (Ambrosini, 2012). To critically examine the fragmentation of immigrant citizenship, it is therefore necessary to account for the effects of supranational, national, and local policies which—although predominantly formalised at the national level—produce a multiplicity of socio-legal statuses through which immigrants are stratified (Joppke, 2010).

In Europe, the *stratification* of immigrant rights often takes shape even prior to individuals’ actual arrival in the host country and is constructed based on national origin (Shachar, 2009). A broader or narrower range of rights is recognised depending on whether a person is a citizen of an “EU member state,” a “new member state,” or a “third country.” Within the latter category, further distinctions are made depending on whether the country of origin is located in the *center* of the “world system” (Wallerstein, 1979) and the global market—such as Switzerland or the United States—in which case legislative restrictions may be minimal, or in the *periphery*—such as Bangladesh or Nigeria—whose citizens often face considerable obstacles in obtaining entry visas (Shachar, 2009).

This stratification of rights according to national origin mirrors and reinforces the ideological binary between “Global North” and “Global South,” often implicitly mapping cultural hierarchies onto legal categories (see also this section’s chapter by Bozatzis, Xenitidou, and Sapountzis).

Beyond the stratification stemming from differential access to formal citizenship statuses, there is a further institutionalised differentiation based on the type of residence permit (e.g., family reunification, subordinate employment, self-employment, seasonal work, education, job-seeking, political asylum, etc.) and the duration of stay, ranging from temporary permits (a few months to four years) to permanent ones, such as the long-term EU residence permit.

Finally, one must not overlook the informal – but tangible – stratification that operates along “ethno-racial” and “linguistic-cultural” lines. The integration of immigrants into the European labour market, particularly in Southern Europe, is marked by a strong “ethnisation of production processes”. This involves the ongoing selection of immigrant populations on the basis of presumed “natural aptitudes” or “cultural vocations,” as well as stereotypes and myths that assign specific job roles to particular nationalities. This is compounded by the segregation of immigrant labor into certain occupations, precarious working conditions, and significantly lower wages compared to native workers (Perocco, 2012). These dynamics produce an unequal distribution of resources and, consequently, of access to citizenship rights along racial, gendered, and ultimately class-based lines, shaping what can be described as a form of census-based or class-conditioned citizenship.

European migration policies and social citizenship

Migration policies represent a crucial test for assessing whether, in both the legal domain and the sphere of material and social life, the rights associated with the *status of citizenship* – as conceived by T.H. Marshall – are capable of reducing, if not eliminating, social inequalities – although it should be emphasised that Marshall overlooks the fact that, on one hand, the mitigating measures of inequality within the British welfare state are based on colonial exploitation, and, on the other hand, they are the result of struggles by the working classes to secure social rights (Basso, 2014). However, as various scholars have pointed out, since the post-World War II era, such policies have largely contributed to the reinforcement of inequalities rather than the universalisation of social rights (Basso, 2011, 2014; Basso and Perocco, 2003).

In fact, the multiple discriminations that the “former” colonised and racialised populations still suffer in European democracies, shows that securing formal citizenship does not protect immigrants from being “second-class citizens” in actual practice. Despite the great hype of British entrepreneurship in the 1980s and 1990s around “equal opportunities,” in the UK in particular, first and second immigrant

workers have encountered systematic discrimination in the labour market (Basso, 2011, 2014; Basso & Perocco, 2003; Brubaker, 1989; Miles, 1993).

More broadly in Western Europe, the first postwar period coincided with a phase of strong economic growth which allowed governments to expand social rights. However, the 1974–1975 crisis marked the beginning of a more uncertain era characterised by slower growth. Immigrant labor demand spread to Southern and Northern Europe, driven by demographic challenges and the need for cheap labour to compete in a globalising economy. This new international context gave rise to increasingly selective and repressive migration policies, leading to the notion of “Fortress Europe” – not a rejection of immigrants per se, but a demand for their strict regulation and alignment with “our” unquestionable economic priorities and needs, and with the least possible demands and rights. Within this context emerged a *variable-geometry social citizenship* (Basso, 2014), “civic stratification” (Lockwood, 1996) and “stratified rights,” a regime characterised by fragmented and localised rights that disproportionately affect immigrant populations, thereby exacerbating social inequalities. This has led to conditions of precarity and poverty for immigrant populations, as Kapeli, Groot, Shin, Havili, and Hodgetts emphasised.

A further contraction of immigrants’ social rights has taken place through legal mechanisms such as so-called “integration agreements,” which frequently violate both European and national legal standards and severely restrict access to citizenship (Della Puppa et al., 2020). The narrative of “welfare abuse” by immigrants (Perocco & Della Puppa, 2023) has fueled discriminatory policy approaches, as evidenced in a 2013 joint letter from the interior ministers of Germany, the Netherlands, the UK, and Austria, aimed at excluding not only impoverished EU citizens but also Roma populations from welfare protections (Ferrero & Perocco, 2011). Similar measures have been adopted in France, where political figures such as Valls and Ayrault initiated anti-Roma campaigns and increased scrutiny of immigrants receiving welfare benefits. Even in countries known for their universalist welfare traditions – such as Sweden, Norway, and Finland – there has been a noticeable rise in segregation, ethnic profiling, and the tightening of asylum policies (Quirico, 2013; Westin, 2006). In Norway, the 2011 racially motivated massacre committed by Anders Behring Breivik was downplayed in public discourse, while his former political party later influenced government policy with anti-immigration measures (Basso, 2011; Eriksen, 2013). In Finland, the implementation of differentiated identity documents for immigrants can be interpreted as yet another subtle but insidious form of ethnic profiling.

References

- Ambrosini, M. (2012). Separati in città. Le politiche locali di esclusione degli immigrati. *La Rivista delle Politiche Sociali*, 2, 83–99.
- Basso, P. (Ed.). (2011). *Razzismo di stato. Stati Uniti, Europa, Italia*. Franco Angeli.

130 The Social Psychology of Citizenship

- Basso, P. (2014). Cittadinanza sociale e politiche migratorie in Europa. In D. Costantini, F. Perocco, & L. Zagato (Eds.), *Trasformazioni e crisi della cittadinanza sociale in Europa*. Edizioni Ca' Foscari.
- Basso, P., & Perocco, F. (Eds.). (2003). *Gli immigrati in Europa. Diseguaglianze, razzismo, lotte*. Franco Angeli.
- Bimbi, F. (2014, July). Migrant women and their families in Italian urban contexts: Substantive citizenship, gender regimes, meanings of social spaces. Paper presented at the *XVIII ISA World Congress of Sociology*, Yokohama, Japan.
- Brubaker, R. (1989). *Immigration and the politics of citizenship in Europe and North America*. University Press of America.
- Castles, S., & Davidson, A. (2000). *Citizenship and migration: Globalization and the politics of belonging*. Macmillan.
- Della Puppa, F., Gargiulo, E., & Semperebon, M. (2020). Per una critica delle politiche migratorie italiane: fare ricerca, prendere posizione. In N. Martorano & M. Prearo (Eds.), *Politiche della vulnerabilità. Contesti di accoglienza e migranti LGBT* (pp. 183–199). ETS.
- Eriksen, T. H. (2013). *Immigration and national identity in Norway*. Migration Policy Institute.
- Ferrero, M., & Perocco, F. (Eds.). (n.d.). *Razzismo al lavoro*. FrancoAngeli.
- Isin, E. F., & Nielsen, G. M. (Eds.). (2008). *Acts of citizenship*. Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Joppke, C. (2010). *Citizenship and immigration*. Polity Press.
- Lockwood, D. (1996). Civic integration and class formation. *British Journal of Sociology*, 47(3), 531–550.
- Mantovan, C. (2007). *Immigrazione e cittadinanza. Auto-organizzazione e partecipazione dei migranti in Italia*. FrancoAngeli.
- Miles, R. (1993). *Racism*. Routledge.
- Perocco, F. (2012). *Trasformazioni globali e nuove diseguaglianze: Il caso italiano*. FrancoAngeli.
- Perocco, F., & Della Puppa, F. (2023). The racialized welfare discourse on refugees and asylum seekers: The example of 'scroungers' in Italy. *Social Sciences*, 12(1), 59.
- Pugliese, E. (2002). *L'Italia tra migrazioni internazionali e migrazioni interne*. Il Mulino.
- Quirico, M. (2013). L'immigrazione in Svezia: Tra apertura e fallimenti [online]. Available at: <http://fieri.it/2013-07-12/immigrazione-in-svezia-tra-aperture-e-fallimenti/>
- Rosaldo, R. (1997). Cultural citizenship, inequality, and multiculturalism. In W. V. Flores & R. Benmayor (Eds.), *Latino cultural citizenship: Claiming identity, space, and politics* (pp. 27–38). Beacon Press.
- Shachar, A. (2009). *The birthright lottery: Citizenship and global inequality*. Harvard University Press.
- Sredanovic, D. (2014). Culture or taxes? The conceptions of citizenship of migrants and local factory workers in Italy. *Citizenship Studies*, 18(6–7), 676–689.
- Wallerstein, I. (1979). *The capitalist world-economy*. Cambridge University Press.
- Westin, C. (2006). Sweden restrictive policy and multiculturalism [online]. Washington (DC): Migration Policy Institute. Available at: www.migrationpolicy.org/article/sweden-restrictive-immigration-policy-and-multiculturalism