



UNIVERSITY OF TRENTO  
DOCTORAL SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

DOCTORAL PROGRAMME IN SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

XXX CYCLE

# **(Dual) Citizenship in the Mirror**

---

**The everyday understanding of citizenship  
among Peruvian migrants in Italy and Spain**

Supervisor

Prof. **Paolo Boccagni**

Doctoral Thesis of

**Stefania Yapo**

FEBRUARY 2020

## **Doctoral Committee**

### **Prof. Francesca Decimo**

Università degli studi di Trento

### **Prof. Joaquin Eguren**

Universidad Pontificia Comillas, Madrid

### **Prof. Marta Bivand Erdal**

Peace Research Institute Oslo – PRIO, Oslo



## Acknowledgements

The writing of this thesis has been just the last step of a long and tortuous journey. While I will let the reader judge the content of this work, I must thank all the people that helped me along the way.

It goes without saying, that this entire project would have never been possible without the participation of all my respondents. I am really grateful for the precious time they dedicated to me and my set of questions. I had the unique opportunity to see a glimpse of their lives and I hope to have not misinterpreted any of their words. Special thanks goes also to all the sons and daughters, nephews, aunties and uncles, friends and spouses who helped me understanding the conditions of Peruvian migrants abroad simply by hosting me at their houses, parties and gatherings.

I would have hardly come so far without the instructions of my supervisor, Paolo Boccagni, who guided me since the very beginning. Similarly, I must appreciate the valuable support of Joaquin and the entire team of la Comillas that offered me *un buen ambiente de trabajo* during my six months of research in Madrid.

I cannot forget the help and friendship coming from Valentina, Laura, Jojo, Andrea, Alex and Olga who were like a second family during the long days away from home either in Milan or in Madrid.

The fieldwork would have been much harder if not impossible without the Spanish lessons of Rosa, Gabriel and Cristina.

Fortunately, as a PhD student I could share my doubts and perplexities with many patient colleagues like Gabriele Mari, Daniela Gnarini, Rizza Cases, Erica Raimondi, Eleonora Vlach, Nadya Bobova, Lada Zelezna, Sara Bonfanti, Daniela Giudici, Aurora Massa, Carlos Trelles, Natalya, Ezgi, and Sebastian.

I must praise the support of a close friend, Alessia Donà, who took me by hand and help me through the mist of inconsequential thoughts on citizenship with the terrifying question “and so what?”.

Finally, I must thank my family: my mom and Marta for listening to my infinite laments; my partner and friend Walter for being there despite the ups and downs of a never-ending thesis; and my gramma, Wandotta, for asking me about “the book” every now and then.

I take full responsibility for the content of the following pages.

## **Abstract**

This research investigates why people acquire dual citizenship. It focuses on the acquisition of dual citizenship through residency, with a processual lens and under conditions of “ordinariness” to tackle aspects that are usually overlooked. It builds on the differentiated access to dual citizenship granted to Peruvian migrants by the Italian and Spanish citizenship regimes. The 79 Peruvian migrants included in the study are either prospective dual citizens or actual dual citizens. The research builds on qualitative methods ranging from participant observation to in-depth semi-structured interviews. It investigates the motivations, expectations and contingences that bring migrants to the status acquisition. The analysis distinguishes between early and postponed acquisitions to highlight how practices of convenience and everyday forms of substantive commitment can coexist under the same national umbrella. Moreover it suggests that the availability and accessibility of the dual status cannot be conflated with a supposed desirability. Although nation-states design their citizenship and immigration regimes according to normative stances that should shape their ideal citizenry, individuals qua migrants manage to forge their own way into the host community while formally abiding the law. Thus, migrants’ pathways across statuses are the result of structural constraints as much as personal preferences and deliberate positioning vis-à-vis nation-states. The study shows how people navigate the laws through both legal and semi-legal means; how they cultivate constellations of belonging that do not necessarily match formal memberships; and how they invest citizenship with multiple meanings that can converge, collide, or simply bypass the state-led rhetoric on national membership.



## **Executive summary**

The research investigates how migrant people practice and understand dual citizenship on a daily basis. It states that the production of citizenship meanings has progressively shifted from the state to the individual despite the recent strengthening of structural constraints.

The steady growth of the phenomenon of dual citizenship is attracting scholarly interest that has mainly followed three directions so far. Firstly, the legal comparative approach that compares the breadth, depth and implications of provisions ruling the dual-citizen status across states. Secondly, the quantitative approach that relies on datasets on a global, regional or ad hoc level to get new insights about determinants, consequences, and current trends of the phenomenon. And thirdly, the qualitative case-based approach that analyses specific cases and brings evidence on the historical connections, instrumental uses or emotional considerations that move individuals towards the acquisition (or denial) of dual citizenship. The present study belongs to this third approach and uses everyday nationalism as its frame for the bottom up perspective on citizenship. It looks for correspondences between the normative assumptions of the state, i.e. either implicit or explicit in its citizenship regime, and the individual level narratives, practices and understandings of citizenship

This thesis builds on qualitative methods ranging from participant observation to in-depth semi-structured interviews. Throughout the fieldwork in two major European cities, Milan and Madrid, I collected 79 interviews between February 2016 and October 2017. The project design has taken into consideration an understudied aspect of dual citizenship among Latin Americans in the European Union. Italy and Spain have long been depicted as the backdoor of the EU for Latin American migrants due to their generous citizenship policy targeting explicitly the Italian and Spanish diaspora members and their descendants abroad. The research focuses on the acquisition of dual citizenship through actual residency in



the two countries. It selected Peruvian (prospective) dual citizens because Peruvian migration to Europe started already in the '80s. As a result, a number of Peruvians have an extended length of stay and can claim an unconditional access to dual citizenship in both countries. Moreover, given the differences between the two citizenship regimes and the differentiated access to dual citizenship, it allowed assessing whether these structural time variations would result in different ways of becoming and being dual citizens. The thesis is structured into eight chapters: an introduction, the theoretical background, methods and data, a presentation of the context of the research, three empirical chapters each embedding analysis of the data, and the conclusions.

The empirical parts move from the observation that temporal dimensions (either in their structural or biographical forms) can bring to the fore the creative capacity of people and, consequently, explain why the same normative construction of a citizenship regime cannot affect everybody in the same way. The temporal lens triggers a distinction between early and postponed acquisition of dual citizenship. The early acquisition suggests that, despite an apparent denationalization of the act of naturalization, the everyday experience of multiple citizenships still shapes individual identity and makes reference to the national. In particular, it explores the reflections on understandings of citizenship through a work-citizenship nexus. The postponed acquisition, instead, insists on the concept of denizenship seen as the status of long-term residents experiencing empowerment and restraint within the same condition. The postponement prompts considerations on the opposition formal/substantive citizenship and on the temporary irrelevance of citizenship itself for long-term residents.

This study shows how dual citizenship is progressively normalised into the everyday experiences of ordinary people. Indeed, there is an increasing demand for full or quasi membership rights across states that has a sizeable impact on national populations and leaves the door open

to a reconceptualization of citizenship. It outlines how the reconceptualization should acknowledge on the one side the limited capacity of nation-states to circumscribe the national and on the other the expanding possibilities for individuals to redefine the transnational through citizenship multiplication.

## Table of contents

|  |           |
|--|-----------|
| <b>Acknowledgements .....</b>  | <b>3</b>  |
| <b>Abstract.....</b>   | <b>5</b>  |
| <b>Executive summary .....</b>   | <b>7</b>  |
| <b>Table of contents .....</b>   | <b>10</b> |
| <b>List of abbreviations .....</b>   | <b>15</b> |
| <b>Dual citizenship in the mirror .....</b>  | <b>17</b> |
| <b>Introduction .....</b>  | <b>18</b> |
| i. The ordinariness of dual citizenship .....  | 18        |
| ii. The research questions .....   | 20        |
| iii. The research statement .....  | 22        |
| iv. Why looking at Peruvian migrants in Europe? .....  | 23        |
| v. Presenting the research process.....  | 26        |
| vi. Structure of the thesis .....  | 29        |
| <b>Chapter 1.....</b>  | <b>32</b> |
| <b>Theoretical framework .....</b>   | <b>32</b> |
| 1.1. Introducing (dual) citizenship: perimeter of the analysis   | 32        |
| 1.2. Studying citizenship today .....  | 34        |
| 1.3. National Citizenship: a state-centric discourse.....  | 41        |
| 1.4. Citizenship and migration: three models of citizenship and<br>their approach to dual citizenship..... | 42        |
| 1.5. (Dual) Citizenship from below .....   | 45        |
| 1.5.1. Searching for the national in everyday life of ordinary<br>people 46                                |           |
| 1.5.2. On dual citizenship: from a legal-comparative to a<br>subjective perspective .....                  | 49        |
| 1.5.3. Dual citizenship: a matter of immigration and<br>emigration .....                                   | 52        |
| 1.5.4. From foreigners to (dual) citizens: inside the process<br>and the legal/illegal divide.....         | 58        |
| 1.6. Dual citizenship in the mirror: locating the research.....  | 61        |
| <b>Chapter 2.....</b>  | <b>64</b> |

|  |            |
|--|------------|
| <b>Methods and Data Description .....</b>  | <b>64</b>  |
| 2.1. Project design .....  | 64         |
| 2.2. In-depth interviews .....   | 66         |
| 2.3. Participant observation.....  | 71         |
| 2.4. Access into the field: two sites, two tales .....   | 74         |
| 2.5. The iterative process of knowledge-production: my<br>understanding of dual citizenship from below ..... | 76         |
| 2.6. Re-Orienting the research through the sense of citizenship<br>80  |            |
| 2.7. Positioning myself .....  | 82         |
| 2.8. A few notes on my Peruvian respondents .....  | 84         |
| 2.9. Data description .....  | 85         |
| <b>Chapter 3.....</b>  | <b>89</b>  |
| <b>The Context .....</b>   | <b>89</b>  |
| 3.1. Introduction.....   | 89         |
| 3.2. Residence as a lens .....   | 90         |
| 3.3. Peruvian migrants in Italy and Spain nowadays.....  | 94         |
| 3.3.1. Between increasing migration outflows and increasing<br>citizenship acquisitions .....                | 96         |
| 3.4. Gaining access into the host country.....   | 99         |
| 3.4.1. Migrating lawfully and with a genuine job contract  | 100        |
| 3.4.2. Migrating lawfully but with a fictitious job contract   | 101        |
| 3.4.3. Migrating lawfully on a tourist visa .....  | 101        |
| 3.4.4. Migrating lawfully on family reunification .....  | 101        |
| 3.4.5. Migrating illegally through border crossing .....   | 102        |
| 3.4.6. Migrating across the EU in accordance with the free<br>movement principle.....                        | 102        |
| 3.5. “Lo hice para no estar renovando”: first impressions from<br>the fieldwork .....                        | 103        |
| <b>Chapter 4.....</b>  | <b>107</b> |
| <b>Temporalities of lived citizenship Where is time in (dual)<br/>citizenship? .....</b>                     | <b>107</b> |
| 4.1. Introduction.....   | 107        |

|  |            |
|--|------------|
| 4.2. Temporalities of citizenship .....  | 109        |
| 4.3. The rationale behind story selection .....                                    | 113        |
| 4.4. Migrating in early childhood and adolescence: some<br>observations .....      | 114        |
| 4.4.1. In Italy as a child: Dolores' story .....                                   | 116        |
| 4.4.2. In Spain as an adolescent: Eduardo's story .....                            | 122        |
| 4.5. Young adults in Italy and Spain .....   | 127        |
| 4.5.1. In Italy: Angeles' story .....  | 127        |
| 4.5.2. In Spain: Alejandra's story .....   | 134        |
| 4.6. Peruvians arrived in their 30s .....  | 139        |
| 4.6.1. In Spain: Pilar's story .....   | 140        |
| 4.6.2. In Italy: Manuel's story .....  | 145        |
| 4.7. Peruvians arrived in their 40s .....  | 149        |
| 4.7.1. In Italy: Josefa's story .....  | 150        |
| 4.7.2. In Spain: Patricia' story .....   | 154        |
| 4.8. Concluding reflections on the temporalities in context .                      | 158        |
| <b>Chapter 5.....</b>  | <b>171</b> |
| <b>Dealing with the same "national" umbrella .....</b>                             | <b>171</b> |
| 5.1. Introduction.....   | 171        |
| 5.2. The reproduction of nation(s).....  | 173        |
| 5.3. The "on time" acquisition of dual citizenship .....                           | 176        |
| 5.4. Formally good citizens: the motivational weakening of<br>naturalization ..... | 178        |
| 5.4.1. Avoiding bureaucratic burdens through <i>jus domicile</i><br>179            |            |
| 5.4.2. The legitimate convenience of <i>jus matrimony</i> .....                    | 183        |
| 5.5. How (prospective) citizenship re-activates the "national"<br>186              |            |
| 5.5.1. Naturalization and work: implications of a nexus... 187                     |            |
| 5.5.2. Narratives of (dual) citizenship: bringing back the<br>national .....       | 197        |
| 5.6. Contradictions of residence: de-nationalize to re-<br>nationalize .....       | 206        |

|   |            |
|---|------------|
| <b>Chapter 6.....</b>   | <b>212</b> |
| <b>Does dual citizenship really matter?.....</b>                                    | <b>212</b> |
| 6.1. Introduction.....  | 212        |
| 6.2. Theorizing the link between denizenship and dual citizenship .....             | 215        |
| 6.3. Working hypotheses .....   | 221        |
| 6.4. PDC - Request, Acquisition and Fruition: a general view<br>223                 |            |
| 6.5. Good reasons to delay naturalization .....                                     | 225        |
| 6.5.1. Postponement, not renunciation.....  | 228        |
| 6.5.2. It is not for me, I want a future for my child(ren) .                        | 231        |
| 6.5.3. Torn between delay and earned citizenship .....                              | 234        |
| 6.6. Denizenship as a limbo.....  | 237        |
| 6.7. Conclusion: from comfort to discomfort.....                                    | 241        |
| <b>Chapter 7.....</b>   | <b>245</b> |
| <b>Conclusion .....</b>   | <b>245</b> |
| 7.1. Introduction.....  | 245        |
| 7.2. The research in a nutshell.....  | 245        |
| 7.3. The everyday normality of multiple citizenship .....                           | 249        |
| 7.4. The triggering dimensions of the path towards and across dual citizenship..... | 253        |
| 7.4.1. Residence .....  | 254        |
| 7.4.2. Availability and desirability.....   | 255        |
| 7.4.3. Supra-nationality .....  | 257        |
| 7.5. What citizenship regimes cannot see.....                                       | 259        |
| 7.6. Dual citizenship: a potentially transnational choice .....                     | 260        |
| 7.7. Ways ahead.....  | 262        |
| <b>References.....</b>  | <b>264</b> |
| <b>Annex 1 List of Peruvian respondents in Milan, Italy .....</b>                   | <b>291</b> |
| <b>Annex 2 List of Peruvian respondents in Madrid, Spain</b>                        | <b>293</b> |
| <b>Annex 3 Semi-structured interview: Italian guidelines.</b>                       | <b>295</b> |
| <b>Annex 4 Semi-structured interview: Spanish guidelines</b>                        | <b>301</b> |



## **List of abbreviations**

*PDC*: Path towards and across dual citizenship; it is a three-stage process that takes dual citizenship as reference. It includes:

- the request stage: considers those migrants who have filed the request of naturalization;
- the acquisition stage: considers those migrants who have acquired dual citizenship in 2014 or after
- the fruition stage: considers those migrants who have acquired dual citizenship before 2014.

*EU*: European Union





# **Dual citizenship in the mirror**

**The everyday understanding of citizenship  
among Peruvian migrants in Italy and Spain**

for the Doctoral Degree (Ph.D.)  
in Sociology and Social Research

**Stefania Yapo**

February 2020

Academic Year 2018/2019

## **Introduction**

### **i. The ordinariness of dual citizenship**

This research project explores the reasons bringing people to acquire dual citizenship. It addresses the topic through the narratives of seventy-nine Peruvian migrants residing in two Southern European countries, Italy and Spain. It is based on an extended comparative fieldwork lasted one year and a half and provides new insights on the weight of dual citizenship in people's lives.

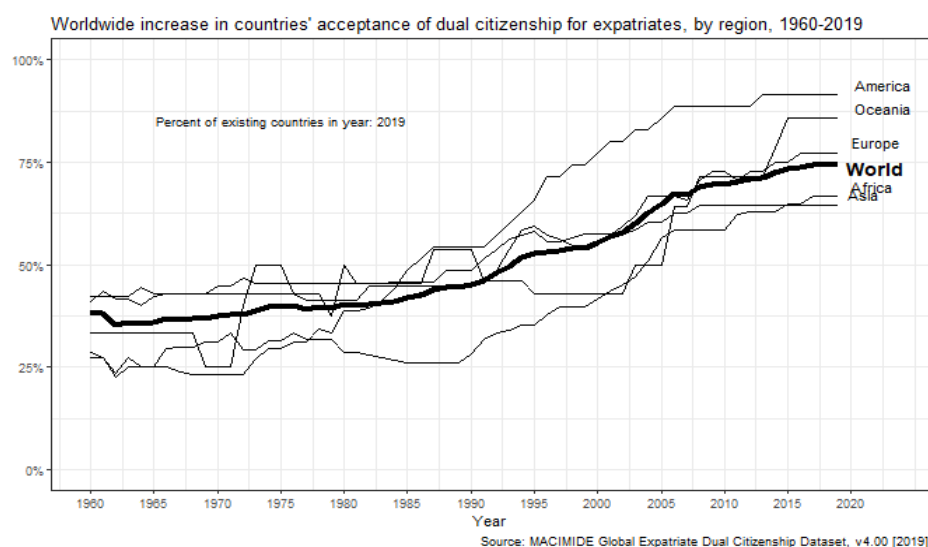
Dual citizenship, today, is a commonplace of globalization" (Spiro 2017: 622-623). The majority of states have come to tolerate dual citizenship and even actively embrace it. The same is true for individuals, who increasingly value dual citizenship for both sentimental and instrumental reasons. On a normative level instituting dual citizenship challenges equality norms and the stratification of life opportunities, thus questioning the core values on which liberal democracies rest.

Throughout the years dual citizenship has been harshly contested, and scholars have focused their attention to the points of friction dual citizenship unveiled (Spiro 2016). Hereafter I present three recent cases pointing at the exceptionality of dual citizenship. The first case regards the aftermath of 9/11. At the time, some Western states – i.e. the United States and the UK – have expressed the urgency to strip suspected terrorists of one of their citizenships as a way to preserve liberal values and the integrity of democracy (Joppke 2016, Bauböck 2018). A second case is the increasing availability of programmes that offer citizenship for sale. These programmes make the acquisition of multiple citizenships depend on money. Such a business advantages the coffers of states and the wealthiest strata of societies while it keeps the poorest at the mercy of lengthy processes for admission (Hidalgo 2014, Shachar and Bauböck 2014, Joppke 2019). The third case refers to the extension of citizenship to kin minorities in neighbouring countries. This is what happened, for

instance, with “the adoption of the ‘Act on Hungarians Living in Neighbouring Countries’ (generally referred to as the Status Law) by the Hungarian Parliament on 19 June 2001” (Iordachi 2004: 239, Knott 2019). The extension was celebrated by the Hungarian government as the final reaffirmation of an ethno-cultural nation unity but it practically made dual citizenship a problematic reality for the diplomatic relations between Hungary and Romania (Bauböck 2010). These three examples highlight how dual citizenship can raise strong contradictions and moral questions about the individuals’ right to citizenship and states’ right to autonomously design preferential ways of entry or exit to membership. In light of these extreme cases, dual citizenship turns into a means that might (be used to) prejudice the sovereignty of other states at large.

Yet, dual citizenship is more often a silent issue that matters mostly at the individual level. The fact that people usually acquire the status at birth, through marriage, or via naturalization explains how the phenomenon has expanded in the last decades. The following figure gives a visual representation of the acceptance of dual citizenship across countries in the last sixty years.

**Figure 1: The acceptance of dual citizenship worldwide**



As Macimide Centre reports, in 1960 the majority of countries across the world had the traditional negative approach towards dual citizenship that made automatic the loss of the citizenship of origin at naturalization in another country. By 2019, however, seventy-five percent of countries maintain a more tolerant approach allowing citizens to voluntarily acquire the citizenship of another country, without automatic repercussions for the citizenship of origin. While the trend is in a broadly similar direction across world regions, dual citizenship acceptance has progressed faster in the Americas and Oceania and slower in Africa and Asia (Macimide 2019).

This expansion has recently brought some states to questioning the multicultural turn of their societies (Gustafson 2002, Ceobanu and Escandell 2011). For instance, in the Swedish debate, which ended with the acceptance of dual citizenship in 2001, the pros and cons of each perspective were balanced against the others and, more generally, the symbolic importance of "national citizenship" in shaping the discussion became apparent (Gustafson 2002).

For individuals though, dual citizenship may be more the result of a "common sense move" (Aptekar 2015) after years of involvement and rootedness into an adoptive country. It is also true that, for the great majority of people, dual citizenship is not a matter of exceptionality, not even an element disruptive of societal foundations. There are indeed instances of ordinariness in dual citizenship capable of making it is such a taken for granted condition that is goes almost unnoticed.

## **ii. The research questions**

The comprehension of dual citizenship from below is still underexplored. For this reason I approached the fieldwork with very broad questions with the intention to refine them along the process.

My research project was built around the main question on “Why do people get dual citizenship?” and specified by two correlated questions on “does the citizenship regime of the host country influence how people understand their dual citizenship?” and “does time as residence requirement play a role?” . Although the scope of the thesis remained the same, I decided to explore in depth the emerging time-related issues and the differentiations in the meanings attached to citizenship acquisition. In particular, I concentrated on migrants’ time at naturalization and migrants’ understanding of dual citizenship.

Those questions evolved or become more specific throughout the research process and can be better articulated as follows:

- Does time matter for dual citizenship acquisition?
  - What are individuals’ temporal perspectives on residence?
  - How do temporal dimensions contribute to the formation of migrants’ sense of citizenship?
- Why do people naturalize on time? What are the implications?
  - What and where is the link between on time naturalization and dual citizenship acquisition?
  - How do people relate residence to their sense of citizenship?
- Why do people postpone naturalization? What are the implications?
  - What is the link between postponed naturalization and dual citizenship acquisition?
  - How does the postponement work in practice?
  - How does the postponement affect the sense of citizenship?

### **iii. The research statement**

The thesis states that the multiplication of citizenship is slowly empowering individuals to redefine citizenship and plural memberships on their own terms. It reaches this conclusion by delving into the motivations, expectations and contingences that bring migrants to the acquisition of dual citizenship.

Throughout the empirical chapters, it shows how people navigate the laws through both legal and semi-legal means; how they cultivate constellations of belonging that do not necessarily match formal memberships; and how they invest citizenship with multiple meanings that can converge, collide, or simply bypass the state-led rhetoric on national membership.

The study is based on a comparison between Italy and Spain, where residing Peruvian migrants may acquire (and usually do so) dual citizenship at naturalization. The crucial point being that respondents opted for the status acquisition by residence with different timings: the time at naturalization (and consequently at dual citizenship acquisition) did not follow the Italy-Spain opposition but emerged as transversal. I reframed this transversal tendency in terms of “on time” and “postponed” acquisition and analyse the implications of a mismatch between status availability and status desirability.

Hence, individuals’ migration processes as well as the paths towards and across dual citizenship are constrained but not pre-determined by the laws and citizenship regimes of nation-states. Moreover, a look from below at the individual-state nexus reveals how instances of de-nationalization or re-nationalization of citizenship can coexist while ultimately moving the definitory powers from states to individuals.

#### iv. Why looking at Peruvian migrants in Europe?

Besides the extreme cases reported above, the study of dual citizenship has mainly followed three directions so far. Firstly, the legal comparative approach that compares the breadth, depth and implications of provisions ruling the dual-citizen status across states. Secondly, the quantitative approach that relies on datasets on a global, regional or ad hoc level to get new insights about determinants, consequences, and current trends of the phenomenon. And thirdly, the qualitative case-based approach that analyses specific cases and brings evidence on the historical connections, instrumental uses or emotional considerations that move individuals towards the acquisition (or denial) of dual citizenship.

In this framework, Italy and Spain play a major role for the comprehension of dual citizenship in Europe. Indeed, for long years they have been depicted as the backdoor of the EU for Latin American migrants due to their generous citizenship policy targeting explicitly diaspora members and their descents (Peixoto 2012). The following table includes the acquisitions of citizenship by Latin American citizens in Europe: Spain and Italy have been consistently the major grantors of citizenship in the last decade.

**Table 1: Acquisition of citizenship in Europe by former citizenship: South America**

| Acquisition of citizenship by former citizenship: South America |        |        |        |        |         |         |        |        |        |
|---|--------|--------|--------|--------|---------|---------|--------|--------|--------|
|   | 2009   | 2010   | 2011   | 2012   | 2013    | 2014    | 2015   | 2016   | 2017   |
| <b>Belgium</b>  | 795    | 690    | 594    | 753    | 777     | 386     | 680    | 1.103  | 1.252  |
| <b>Bulgaria</b>   | 0      | 0      | 1      | 2      | 1       | 3       | 1      | 5      | 3      |
| <b>Czechia</b>  | 4      | 6      | 12     | 15     | 8       | 13      | 5      | 18     | 15     |
| <b>Denmark</b>  | 110    | 126    | 75     | 52     | 19      | 54      | 83     | 181    | 147    |
| <b>Germany</b>  | 2.236  | 2.409  | 2.335  | 2.092  | 2.167   | :       | 2.416  | 2.220  | 2.279  |
| <b>Estonia</b>  | 1      | 0      | 0      | 0      | 0       | 0       | 0      | 0      | 0      |
| <b>Ireland</b>  | 61     | 82     | 151    | 304    | 357     | 549     | 470    | 375    | 321    |
| <b>Greece</b>   | 57     | 94     | 41     | 56     | 85      | 28      | 31     | 37     | 48     |
| <b>Spain</b>  | 60.524 | 95.691 | 80.748 | 67.459 | 145.672 | 118.977 | 56.036 | 69.221 | 28.660 |
| <b>France</b>   | 1.735  | 1.993  | 2.696  | 2.634  | 2.734   | 2.889   | 3.253  | 3.737  | 3.250  |
| <b>Croatia</b>  | 677    | 692    | :      | 4      | 4       | 8       | 11     | 669    | 4      |



|                       |       |       |       |       |       |       |        |        |        |
|-----------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|--------|--------|--------|
| <b>Italy</b>          | 8.299 | 8.506 | 5.964 | 5.192 | 6.378 | 7.573 | 11.852 | 19.173 | 19.682 |
| <b>Cyprus</b>         | 12    | 7     | 18    | 17    | 2     | 4     | 6      | 10     | 13     |
| <b>Latvia</b>         | 0     | 0     | :     | 2     | 2     | 2     | 1      | 3      | 3      |
| <b>Lithuania</b>      | 0     | 1     | 0     | 1     | 0     | :     | 0      | 0      | 0      |
| <b>Luxembourg</b>     | 16    | 14    | 14    | 19    | 20    | 21    | 16     | 27     | 45     |
| <b>Hungary</b>        | 13    | 3     | 13    | 8     | 10    | 26    | 27     | 10     | 13     |
| <b>Malta</b>          | 4     | 2     | 5     | 2     | 6     | 4     | 4      | 3      | 11     |
| <b>Netherlands</b>    | 2.019 | 1.684 | 1.787 | 1.931 | 1.231 | 1.765 | 1.281  | 1.359  | 1.176  |
| <b>Austria</b>        | 91    | 63    | 71    | 77    | 91    | 96    | 115    | 99     | 130    |
| <b>Poland</b>         | 34    | 43    | 55    | 46    | 26    | 20    | 28     | 15     | 7      |
| <b>Portugal</b>       | 4.232 | 4.200 | 5.620 | 4.826 | 5.298 | 4.908 | 6.567  | 8.066  | 6.278  |
| <b>Romania</b>        | 7     | :     | :     | :     | 6     | 2     | 1      | 0      | :      |
| <b>Slovenia</b>       | 96    | 142   | 138   | 46    | 66    | 9     | 3      | 4      | 5      |
| <b>Slovakia</b>       | 0     | 2     | 0     | 2     | 2     | 2     | 10     | 6      | 3      |
| <b>Finland</b>        | 46    | 57    | 66    | 97    | 99    | 101   | 92     | 124    | 121    |
| <b>Sweden</b>         | 1.304 | 1.404 | 1.421 | 1.680 | 1.424 | 1.262 | 1.239  | 1.261  | 1.221  |
| <b>United Kingdom</b> | 3.676 | 3.548 | 3.055 | 3.665 | 3.361 | 2.401 | 2.136  | 2.437  | 1.749  |
| <b>Iceland</b>        | 19    | 19    | 33    | 18    | 47    | 20    | 23     | 20     | 16     |
| <b>Liechtenstein</b>  | 2     | 3     | 5     | 1     | 4     | 0     | 3      | 4      | 2      |
| <b>Norway</b>         | 250   | 243   | 306   | 277   | 331   | 433   | 344    | 413    | 536    |
| <b>Switzerland</b>    | 1.326 | 1.136 | 1.138 | 1.026 | 1.163 | 1.042 | 1.384  | 1.339  | 1.413  |

Source: EUROSTAT 2019

Such evidences have brought scholars to focus their attention on the grant or symmetrically the acquisition of a second European citizenship from abroad (Harpaz 2015, Cook-Martin 2013, Tintori 2011). More recently, the enlargement of the EU to its central-Eastern component has brought to the fore the acquisition of a second EU citizenship among internal migrants such as Romanians residing in Italy and Spain. What has been neglected so far is the incidence of dual citizenship among Latin Americans getting it for residency in the two Southern European countries. According to the statistics from Eurostat, the three populations with a greater share among long-term residents in Italy and Spain in the last decades are Ecuadorians, Peruvians and Colombians; but among the three only Peruvians seemed comparable in size by looking at the total population in each country and at the number of valid permits issued in the last decade (see Tables below).

**Table 2: Population by citizenship in Italy and Spain. Comparing Colombian, Ecuadorian and Peruvian population**

| Population by citizenship in Spain and Italy. Years 2008 – 2017 |       |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |
|---|-------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
|   |       | 2008    | 2009    | 2010    | 2011    | 2012    | 2013    | 2014    | 2015    | 2016    | 2017    |
| Colombia  | SPAIN | 296.849 | 288.839 | 265.765 | 245.834 | 223.141 | 173.193 | 145.534 | 135.864 | 138.360 | 159.563 |
|   | ITALY | 15.713  | 16.261  | 16.764  | 17.086  | 17.880  | 19.661  | 19.618  | 18.777  | 17.968  | 17.956  |
| Ecuador   | SPAIN | 420.299 | 399.380 | 350.311 | 309.778 | 269.437 | 214.038 | 174.372 | 158.951 | 145.201 | 139.441 |
|   | ITALY | 69.362  | 73.862  | 78.172  | 80.333  | 82.791  | 91.861  | 91.259  | 87.427  | 83.120  | 80.377  |
| Peru  | SPAIN | 136.276 | 138.143 | 130.884 | 121.955 | 109.639 | 84.235  | 66.411  | 61.252  | 59.529  | 66.681  |
|   | ITALY | 72.319  | 80.455  | 88.850  | 93.841  | 99.173  | 109.851 | 109.668 | 103.714 | 99.110  | 97.379  |

Source: EUROSTAT 2019

**Table 3: All valid permits by citizenship issued each year. Comparing Colombian, Ecuadorian and Peruvian population**

| All valid permits issued in Italy and Spain per year for citizens of Colombia, Ecuador and Peru. Years 2008 – 2017 |       |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |
|--|-------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
|  |       | 2008    | 2009    | 2010    | 2011    | 2012    | 2013    | 2014    | 2015    | 2016    | 2017    |
| Colombia   | SPAIN | 292.641 | 229.206 | 216.891 | 199.216 | 166.617 | 144.381 | 133.314 | 125.447 | 127.995 | 131.973 |
|  | ITALY | 22.156  | 20.367  | 21.960  | 22.147  | 21.975  | 21.537  | 20.637  | 18.848  | 18.520  | 18.643  |
| Ecuador  | SPAIN | 440.925 | 316.981 | 292.645 | 257.944 | 225.364 | 194.618 | 178.258 | 167.383 | 164.056 | 160.820 |
|  | ITALY | 93.101  | 84.884  | 89.631  | 90.553  | 91.111  | 89.537  | 87.649  | 79.834  | 77.030  | 76.179  |
| Peru   | SPAIN | 147.068 | 117.487 | 113.845 | 104.497 | 87.731  | 72.500  | 66.580  | 62.245  | 62.998  | 64.986  |
|  | ITALY | 103.939 | 101.432 | 107.870 | 109.919 | 110.475 | 110.069 | 105.237 | 94.947  | 91.933  | 91.511  |

Source: EUROSTAT 2019

As a consequence, I decided to study Peruvian (prospective) dual citizens residing in Italy and Spain. Peruvians look back to almost forty years of migration and settlement, and enjoy today an unconditional access to dual citizenship in both countries (Berg and Tamagno 2006, Paerregaard 2010). Moreover, the differences between the two citizenship regimes of Italy and Spain, and the differentiated access to dual citizenship reserved to Peruvian migrants were suitable to investigate whether migrants experience two ways of becoming and being dual citizens.

The settings of my qualitative work were two major destinations of Peruvian migration, the cities of Milan and Madrid, where I kept observing the lives of my respondents to gradually discover unique details about their origin country, Peru, about their lives as migrants in Italy and Spain, about their (prospective) lives as dual citizens. I moved from public collective gatherings like the national elections from abroad, religious processions, feminist demonstrations, political debates, migrant protests and cultural events to more private and intimate atmospheres like birthday parties, small talks on a bench or in modest apartments filled with memories of the past. Such double gaze at large and from below showed me how the Peruvian communities have become part of the host societies in due course. They have elected representatives at least at the administrative levels; they can count on consolidated migration chains that supported new arrivals and, throughout the years, they have established Peruvian celebrations in local calendars. All in all, the Peruvian immigrant group seemed the perfect choice to look at dual citizenship under the lens of ordinariness.

## **v. Presenting the research process**

My preliminary understanding of dual citizenship was informed by notions taken from normative debates about the role of the state and the future of the state-individual nexus. These debates were informed by the fact that dual citizenship has been steadily increasing in the last thirty years (Spiro 2017, Sejersen 2008). Yet, the phenomenon has gained salience in the last decade, giving scope for the burgeoning interest on its developments.

Dual citizenship has been usually presented as an opportunity for expanding how citizenship is practiced, claimed and experienced (Isin and Turner 2002). Although dual citizenship had long been portrayed as an enemy to the unity of the nation-state and avoided as much as statelessness, the spread of globalization, transnational migrations and

mixed marriages led to an intensified demand for the recognition of dual citizenship rights. Dual citizenship remains an on-going process, however with progresses, stalls and drawbacks. There are states that embraced its full recognition; states that banned it; some that shifted from recognition to denial (or the reverse) depending on migration issues; and some that declared to be against it on paper but passed so many *ad hoc* norms to contribute in practice to its spreading. Dual citizenship follows linkages between states that date back years or centuries, relations built on what was left of colonialism and what was built through emigration and return migration in the attempt to preserve consistent branches of one's state population gone abroad. Dual citizenship could be seen as a battle from above in which states compete to keep a grip on their citizens while compromising on their respective claims of sovereignty. But it is also a claim from below, a way for individuals to express conflicting needs such as claims for mobility, membership, and belonging. It is not a mere question of nominal membership. Rather, it has concrete implications for rights such as voting, inheriting properties, disposing of capitals, and interacting on equal footing with co-nationals. For these reasons, the right to dual citizenship entails the possibility for individuals to redefine formal membership(s) in the wake of unique needs that may contrast with the states' prerogatives.

Notwithstanding this preliminary appreciation of the phenomenon, I had assumed by default the perspective of the nation-state, the view from above. As a consequence, I approached my respondents expecting to hear from them distillates of the normative debates that animate the literature I had been reading thoroughly. In fact, the fieldwork compelled me to change my perspective to grasp the emerging contrasts between migrants' requests and states' needs. I was looking for idealized sentiments of loyalty but I found accounts on residence and prosaic memberships, on administrative requirements and bureaucracy as a physical apparatus. In this picture, the analytic separation of citizenship in

its four mainstream components – status, rights, identity, and participation (Bloemraad 2000, 2018) –, eventually thickened with expectation(s), potentialities, and strategies as lived experiences of nationhood (Antonsich 2016, Fox and Miller-Idriss 2008). The everyday component of my results is meant to clarify how, when, and where individuals qua migrants autonomously impinge their daily lives with the national, through narratives and social interactions (Skey 2011). In the words of my respondents, (dual) citizenship became the realm of ambivalence and negotiation in which both individuals and states could redefine the boundaries and meanings of membership. The path towards and across dual citizenship, which I originally built around the crucial passage from migrant to citizen, was juxtaposed to the growing importance of residence (or *jus domicile* along with *jus nexi* and *jus matrimony* to a less extent) within the stories I was collecting. Although the acquisition of citizenship during physical residence in the host country was the upstream criterion of my selection, residence itself became as crucial as the path towards dual citizenship. Hence, residence was the place, the spatial setting, in which individuals could feel and act their own citizenship. Residence is here considered as both a principle of citizenship foundation, i.e. *jus domicile* (with its proxy *jus nexi*) (see Bauder 2012, 2014) alternative to *jus soli* and *jus sanguinis*, and as a multidimensional category to be unpacked in its legal, practical and emotional dimensions (Erdal and Sagmo 2018). What started as a comparison between the Italian and the Spanish citizenship regime slowly evolved into a matter of everyday understanding of citizenship, with a perspective from below rather than from above (Shinozaki 2015).

As the similarities between the two countries became clearer, I had to revise my working hypothesis on time-patterned citizenship models, up to adopting a different conception of time. Time was actually there, embedded in my respondents' narratives about their lives and sense of citizenship, but it transcended the merely normative approach I had been

stubbornly imposing on my data. Similarly, my respondents hardly framed the new (prospective) acquisition as a privilege or a premium (Peters et al. 2018) as I would have expected. Once again, I needed to retreat from my preconceptions about the meaning of this status to follow them in their footsteps. The result is a renewed look at citizenship as something alive, nuanced, complex, dynamic, strategically used and inwardly scrutinized.

## **vi. Structure of the thesis**

The thesis develops its arguments in the following seven chapters.

After an overview of the theoretical debate informing the study of citizenship first and dual citizenship after that, Chapter 1 zooms in on the subjective aspects of naturalization. The examination of the literature starts with the concept of citizenship to then address the transformative power of dual citizenship and non-citizenship. Central to this discourse is the path that leads to the acquisition of (dual) citizenship and an analytical perspective at citizenship from below. The chapter ends with a succinct exposure of the empirical results.

Chapter 2 is dedicated to the description of the methods that I have applied and of the data I have collected. It explains the rationale behind the project design and its subsequent modifications along with evidences from the field. Its sections are dedicated to the following issues: the operationalisation of the path towards dual citizenship as a three-stage process; the construction of the semi-structured interviews and the effective interviews from the field; and the ethnographic work. In particular, it argues for a reflexive approach as a way of furthering the understanding of the developments in my own fieldwork.

The context of the research is presented in Chapter 3. This section introduces the key category of residence as an analytical tool, to then present the most recent statistics on migration flows and naturalizations of Peruvians in Italy and Spain, and discuss the structural differences that

brought to the selection of the two countries. It then illustrates under which circumstances migrants gained access into the host country and registered their residence. It ends with some reflections on how the contexts helped me problematizing the issues under investigation.

Chapter 4 presents the temporalities of citizenship as a way to tackle the common assumption about the normative function of time in citizenship regimes. It moves from a conception of time strictly related to the state and its mode of regulation – i.e. structural time – to complement it with a biographical version of time that embeds it in my respondents' personal narratives of citizenship. It explains how temporalities can bring to the fore the creative capacity of people and why the same normative construction of a citizenship regime cannot affect everybody in the same way. It ends distinguishing between those who acquired dual citizenship right on time and those who delayed the acquisition. The results of the chapter are further analysed in the following ones.

Chapter 5 considers those migrants who opted for a timely acquisition of (dual) citizenship. These migrants had formally complied with the citizenship model by acquiring the status as soon as it became available. It suggests that despite an apparent denationalization of the act of naturalization, the everyday experience of multiple citizenships still shapes individual identity and makes reference to the national. It considers the everyday nationhood of ordinary people to show how they reproduce the nation(s) through actions, motivations and feelings that may diverge from the expected form of the citizenship regime models in place. In particular, it explores the reflections on understandings of citizenship of a structurally imposed work-citizenship nexus.

In Chapter 6 the study lingers on migrants' tendency to postpone naturalization. It puts under a new light the common understanding of dual citizenship as a desirable privilege. Indeed, it suggests if not a devaluation of the citizenship status, a re-modulation of its weight and value for migrants' trajectories in the host country. The analysis insists on

the concept of denizenship, which is the status of long-term residents. This status is described as a limbo characterised by an impermanent stability in which they first enjoy the empowerment of being quasi-citizens and then experience the shortcomings of such a condition. Thus, the postponement of naturalization triggers considerations on the distinction between formal and substantive citizenship; on the temporary irrelevance of citizenship itself for long-term residents; and on the need to contextualize the desirability and accessibility of citizenship.

The Conclusions, Chapter 7, recaps the main advancements of the study while deepening some theoretical aspects. It starts by acknowledging that in the two contexts, Italy and Spain, Peruvian migrants had similar and converging narratives about their (prospective) dual citizenship status. It summarizes the main results of the research to then substantiate how dual citizenship is progressively normalised into the everyday experiences of citizenship. In the subsequent paragraph, it addresses three dimensions of the path towards and across dual citizenship that are usually understated, whereas the study highlights their importance to unveil emerging fields of exploration. What follows is an opposition between the declining role of citizenship regimes to circumscribe the national and the expanding possibilities for individuals to redefine the transnational through a multiplication of citizenship. It ends with a few considerations on citizenship tout-court, on the limits of the research and proposes ways ahead for the comprehension of the phenomenon.



# Chapter 1

## Theoretical framework

### **1.1. Introducing (dual) citizenship: perimeter of the analysis**

Although dual citizenship is all but a novelty neither as a conceptualization (Kivisto and Faist 2007b, Isin and Turner 2007, Evans 1993) nor as practice for both individuals and states (Bloemraad 2004, Faist 2001), until recently it has been neglected as a proper field of inquiry (Erdal and Sagmo 2017). Especially in the European context, the growing impact of dual citizenship has been acknowledged first on a legal-comparative level (Sejersen 2008, see also Jones-Correa 2001) and, to a lesser extent, on an individual-experiential level (Conway et al. 2008, Harpaz 2013, Yanasmayan 2015, Tintori 2011). Indeed, this prominence was reflected in a general top-down approach to the study of citizenship and citizenship variations across states (Howard 2005, Joppke 2010, Pogonyi 2011). Moreover, the recurrent framing of dual citizenship as an expansion of citizenship tout court (Isin and Turner 2002) has almost obliterated the nuances behind its occurrence in people's everyday lives to let the place, instead, for theorizations about the future of citizenship (Spiro 2010, Hansen and Weil 2002, Schuck 1998).

In light of the main question of the research on why, how and when migrants acquire dual citizenship in the country of residence, this literature review explores the theoretical and practical points of contact (or collision) between citizenship and dual citizenship on which the following empirical analysis draws.

The review moves from the original conceptions of citizenship, to go on with normative contents of what citizenship should be from a state's perspective (Brubaker 1992, Marshall 1964), to models of citizenship built around the dynamic relations involving state and individuals/migrants

(Bloemraad 2000). It continues through the bottom up perspective on the nature of everyday nationhood and (dual) citizenship for ordinary people (Harpaz 2015, Cook-Martin 2013, Aptekar 2015, Conway et al. 2008, Mügge 2012, Mavroudi 2008, Knott 2019), to end with the concrete individuals' actions that challenge states' normative contents (Bloemraad 2018, Gonzales and Sigona 2018, Bauböck 2011a).

Hereafter I elaborate more on the rationale informing this review. I first address citizenship and its constitutive parts – legal status, rights, identity, and participation – as the entry points for any reasoning about the issue. I proceed with a comparison between citizenship in the past and today. I then present the point of view of the nation-state and the normative attempt to find general patterns of citizenship evolution as problems to be faced within the borders of the state. In the following step, I take into account external elements, such as globalization and migration, to present three models of citizenship – i.e. traditional, postnational, and transnational – to show how theorists frame emerging relations involving states and individuals qua migrants. In this way, a few preliminary reflections on dual citizenship and its possible effects on the state/individual dynamics are introduced. The review passes then to the individual perspective with references to concepts like banal nationalism (Billig 1995) and everyday nationhood (Fox and Miller-Idriss 2008) for a preliminary understanding of the study of citizenship from below. It moves on with the most recent advancements on practices of dual citizenship, insisting on the related challenges and the tension between instrumentality, affection, legitimacy and strategy. The bottom-up perspective is kept to look also at the process of naturalization and at the discrepancies between individuals' and states' stances.

The last section of the chapter presents the originality of the study and frames it within the realm of everyday conceptions of citizenship. It builds on the previous theoretical framework to contextualize the working hypotheses and the directions of its contribution.

## **1.2. Studying citizenship today**

Before moving to the issues that arise when dealing with citizenship, there is the need to assess what are the constitutive parts of citizenship as a concept. Authors such as Irene Bloemraad (2000) Christian Joppke (2010, 2007) and Staeheli et al. (2012) distinguish between several dimensions of citizenship. There is no consensus over the number of these dimensions., Nonetheless, they represent the constants or constitutive parts of citizenship and serve the purpose of grouping together the most influential theories on the matter.

The fact that each dimension has triggered a macro theory offers scholars the opportunity to identify and rethink the *raison-d'être* of citizenship.

In its most basic form (first dimension) citizenship indicates a *legal status* granted by states to individuals. In this traditional and simple form, citizenship marks and reproduces a clear distinction between citizens and non-citizens and, consequently, foreign and domestic policy domains. It also lays some obligations on the individual in terms of nominal membership (Bauböck 1994). The legal status dimension applies to conceptions and criteria for membership assessing who is deemed (to become) a citizen by the rule of law.

*Rights* are the second dimension of citizenship. Since the 19th century the status of legal citizen has been associated with an increasing number of rights. Although the nature and extent of these rights differ from country to country, it comes as a corollary that being a citizen entitles individuals to a certain amount of privileges. In the last century, a focus on the rights dimension has brought to the fore first the rise of social rights and lately the progressive expansion of minority rights (Joppke 2007), especially within liberal nation-states.

The third dimension of citizenship, *identity*, questions the link between citizenship and membership in the national community. Admittedly, not all the countries set a divide between citizenship and nationality. In particular, some scholars such as Kofman (2005) noted how states reassert their sovereignty through national identity as membership into a bounded political community. Thus, immigration flows and increased diversity within societies have triggered preoccupations with national identity and social cohesion. In this sense, there has been a conflation of notions such as citizenship, identity, and belonging (Antonsich 2010) and there has been a general consensus about a pre-existing national harmony that migrants would disturb (Wimmer and Schiller 2003). Consequently, issues of identity concern not only the receiving society, which is called to implement tools of integration to preserve its national identity, but also the transnational and multiple identities of migrants themselves, who span across memberships in more than one place (Vertovec 2001). Under an identity paradigm, host states are called to put in place rules and policies for the management of diversity as a way “to circumscribe transnational and diasporic identities and reassert attachment to the core values of the nation-state of potentially disruptive citizens” (Kofman 2005: 464). The identity dimension illustrates the implications of a valued definition of citizenship, allowing/challenging the positioning of individuals vis-à-vis conceptions of who belongs and on what terms (Hopkins and Blackwood 2011).

Finally and among others, Bloemraad proposes *participation* as a fourth dimension. This refers to economic activity, social involvement, and political engagement at various levels, thereby allowing the investigation of citizenship as practice. After all, this dimension recalls the traditional *polis* where citizens, and only citizens, could participate in political life. This focus on participation was initially identified with civic and political involvement, but it is increasingly encompassing “acts of citizenship” (Isin 2008, Isin and Nielsen 2013) as the possibility to exercise a substantive and

performative form of citizenship (Bloemraad 2017, 2018) without a nominal entitlement to it.

Moving from this excursus on the four constitutive parts of citizenship, the understanding of why citizenship matters (see Bloemraad and Sheares 2017) can be reframed in less analytic terms. The most prominent aspect of citizenship is that it “affects everyone”<sup>1</sup> (Kostakopoulou, 2008: 1) and it is usually defined as equal membership of a national community (Bauböck and Guiraudon 2009). It is also true that there has been a proliferation of ways of being or becoming a citizen (Kivisto and Faist 2007b; Isin and Nielsen, 2008), and most of these new forms are not mutually exclusive.

For the majority of people citizenship is not an issue. They were born in a country and have always enjoyed the benefits deriving from being a citizen of that country (Bauböck 2008). Hence, citizens can take their status for granted and relate to their country in name of the rights and duties their membership entails them to (Preuss, 1998). Obviously, this relationship is not always problem-free or linear, but it is established by means of norms that apply to individuals at birth (Shachar, 2009). Membership at birth is sanctioned either through *jus soli* or *jus sanguinis*, which means that the parents are either citizens themselves – blood linkage – or that they are on the territory of the state when the child comes to life – territory linkage – (Weil 2001). The two principles do not merely reflect the conceptual constructs of membership that underlie each citizenship regime, but they also respond to questions of belonging to a specific territory, ancestry or ethno-cultural background (Erdal and Sagmo 2017). In this sense, the two principles, *jus soli* and *jus sanguinis*, imply both static ways of reproducing membership and normative

---

<sup>1</sup> Even stateless people, who are denationalized individuals, are affected by (lack of) citizenship: until their anomalous status is not normalized, they can be denied access to basic rights (see UNHCR website, page titled “Ending stateless”).

"hierarchies of belonging" (Skey 2013) that are essentialised in the modern nation-states. The nation-states are treated as ontological categories or "imagined communities" (Anderson 1987) whose resilience is ensured by a correspondence between a territorial belonging and an ethnically and culturally defined nation (Bauder 2012). On the one hand, through this essentialisation, the linkage between a state and its citizens is settled and institutionalized as it was a "natural bond"— although it is not (Thelen 2000, Zanfrini 2014) –. Indeed, social historians as well as scholars of other disciplines have accepted to think citizenship in national terms as part of common sense, without questioning this fundamental assumption. On the other hand, any principles other than *jus soli* and *jus sanguinis* is regarded as exceptional, secondary or even flawed on a scale of values (Erdal and Sagmo 2017). In this regard, the accordance of citizenship on the basis place of residence or rootedness, i.e. *jus domicile* and *jus nexi* (Sati 2010, Shachar 2011, see also *stakeholder citizenship* in Bauböck 2008), are decoupled from any original link with the territory and find their substance "in the connections and bonds of association that one establishes by living and participating in the life and work of the community" (Bauder 2012:188).

Within this rather static framework, migration comes at the expenses of a pre-given historical, political, material and immaterial way of organizing society. As a consequence, the nation-state is entitled to amend its foundational principles to control inclusion (and exclusion) into its constitutive membership. Nevertheless, the principles of *jus domicile* and *jus nexi* amending the two original ones and rejecting birth privilege (Bauder 2014) remain in a subaltern condition as if they were not complementary alternatives but mere pragmatic solutions of limited extent (Erdal and Sagmo 2017).

I insist on the apparent opposition between states and migration to further engage with scholarship on citizenship regimes and models of naturalization. On a practical level, citizenship is the result of specific

choices made by states in order to build and limit their sovereign power as well as to secure their survival. A sovereign state has the authority to elaborate its citizenship rules (as stated in The Hague Convention, 1930) and, thus, to determine how people can access membership – “arbiter of citizenship” (Olwig, 2003: 48). What is more, despite discourses on cosmopolitanism (Linklater 1998, Benhabib 2007, Zolberg 2000) and personhood (Bosniak 2000, Soysal 1994) that were going beyond nationhood, the definition of membership remains a core imperative of the contemporary nation-state (Baldi and Goodman 2015) although the “national” is now mobilized for the study of contemporary multicultural societies avoiding its “exclusive conflation with an identity category” (see Antonsisch and Matejskova 2015: 498).

The origins of the Western institution of citizenship can be sought in the ancient Greek and Roman societies. In the Greek city – *polis* –, a sort of restricted community, citizenship was associated with share in the public-civic life, with direct engagement in self-government, and with obligations to cultivate civic virtues. Citizenship was associated with full subjectivity within a polis and regarded as the fundamental characteristic of a virtuous human being, thereby resting on a normative understanding of the term. On the contrary, the Roman vision – *civitas* – transformed citizenship by making it a status that should follow the expansion of the Empire and thus a distinction to be granted to the conquered peoples. The status was deprived of its participatory rights but given a militaristic dimension, as the functioning of the whole empire required maintenance of order and respect of the law (Kostakopoulou, 2008). Nevertheless, as Isin and Turner put it (2007:5-6):

“citizenship rights became significant as an aspect of modern politics only when certain key revolutionary events had appropriated the political norms of ancient Greece and Rome as their own: the English civil war, the

American War of Independence, and the French Revolution.”<sup>2</sup>

As explained above, in today’s world, most states have designed citizenship regimes balancing the *jus soli* principle, the *jus sanguinis* principle and the *jus domicile* principle with very different and often intricate webs of provisions. The lack of homogeneity among states regarding these provisions has resulted in complex relations involving states and individuals that

[...] reflect a spectrum of institutional frameworks, policy legacies, and political calculations and serve to advance, restrict, and/or define specific membership standings for newcomers at all stages of legal status acquisition (Baldi and Goodman 2015:1155).

Furthermore, as Sara Wallace Goodman pointed out, these differentiated provisions take the concrete form of policy strategies to make migrants into members (Baldi and Goodman 2015, Goodman 2012). Through an interpretative framework of membership conditionality structures (MCS), she reconstructs the unique approach of each Western European country towards management of migration by means of three policy spheres: access to status, social benefits and civic integration requirements (Goodman 2012). While membership is no longer seen as unitary, the stratification of the multiple statuses of membership rests on the interwoven action of the three policies. In accordance with its national

---

<sup>2</sup> In sum, those revolutions affirmed respectively “the suppression of differences between citizens” in France, institutional barriers against the “state power over the individual” in Great Britain, and a radical egalitarianism practiced through active engagement of citizens in civil society through associations in the United States (Isin and Turner 2007).



preferences about inclusion and exclusion, each state devises specific policy arrangements thus perpetuating the policy divergences among states.

Similarly, Vink and Bauböck (2013) contested the idea of a process of convergence of citizenship regulations (for further details see Hansen and Weil 2001, Joppke 2007) and elaborated a revised typology of citizenship regimes. They went beyond the growing body of comparative research on citizenship that usually points to the construction of indices to measure citizenship regimes on a single scale of inclusiveness (Schuck 1998, Aleinikoff and Klusmeyer 2001, Howard 2009). Their alternative approach of “citizenship configurations” is based on purposes of citizenship laws to secure intergenerational continuity, territorial inclusion, singularity (or the unambiguous and unique allegiance between an individual and the state), special ties and effective genuine link with the state. The main novelty of this typology is that it encompasses provisions for both acquisition and loss of citizenship, opening the analysis to forms of access, denial and withdrawal of formal membership and overcoming the typical distinction in ethno-cultural or territorial regimes (i.e. based respectively on *jus sanguinis* principle and *jus soli* principle).

As the examples above demonstrate, the differences between citizenship regimes have been analyzed and catalogued in light of the underlying purposes of citizenship laws, of scales of inclusiveness, of combinations of policies that configure concrete strategies for the inclusion, exclusion and trial of new members. What emerges from the study of citizenship regimes is the preferential, but not exclusive (Vink and Bauböck 2013), link established between citizenship and migration (Castles and Davidson 2000) as well as the continuing salience of the nation-state for understanding how this link is managed.

### **1.3. National Citizenship: a state-centric discourse**

If one tries to look for the substance of citizenship (Bloemraad Korteweg and Yurdakul 2008), it becomes quite clear that there is no singularly agreed-upon definition of that substance (Bauböck 2008). For instance, in analysing citizenship as “a democratic or democratizing institution” (Isin and Turner, 2007: 16), scholars have enlarged the scope of citizenship by investigating new forms such as “multicultural citizenship” (Joppke, 2001; Bloemraad et al, 2008; Bloemraad, 2015), “postnational citizenship” (Soysal, 1994; Sassen, 2002), transnational citizenship, feminist citizenship (Lister 1997), gendered citizenship (Walby 1994), and “sexual citizenship” (Evans, 1993).

Such an enlargement shows how citizenship scholars have taken into account new or renewed claims for inclusion that cut across the traditional aspects of citizenship. This enlargement also signals that the language of rights and obligations is now applied to major social issues such as the status of homosexuals, refugees, and immigrants and calls for a redefinition of the conception of citizenship to include more than a mere legal status. But the discourse on citizenship was originally a fully state-centric explanation of the evolution of democratic institutions. Hereafter I present briefly two major contributions.

The current emphasis on the expansion of citizenship is counterbalanced by the perspective that tends rather to emphasize the decline in the efficacy of citizenship (Joppke 2010b). In either case, citizenship is usually framed around the oft-cited tripartite scheme of Marshall (1964). In Marshall’s view, the expansion of the welfare state in Britain was the prototype of a three-step process by which citizens were accorded in sequence civil, political and social rights by the welfare state. His theory coupled citizenship and rights thus falling into the footsteps of those who draw a sharp distinction between citizens and non-citizens. Indeed, Marshall bounded the progressive acquisition of rights to the

citizenship status and essentially described the citizen as a passive recipient of democratic decisions.

The state was also at the centre of the seminal study of Brubaker (1992) who identified two contrasting models of state formation. France, as an inclusive national community reinforcing its internal cohesion through common civic values, is labelled a “civic-nation”, whereas Germany as an exclusive Volk based on ancestry and blood is labelled an “ethnic-nation”. Within this framework: “When immigrants move from one country to another, they complicate the link between the citizen and the nation-state” (Bloemraad 2004:392). Although Brubaker himself started questioning the theoretical consistency of the dichotomy (Brubaker 1998, Vink and Bauböck 2013), it is undeniable that that the principle of *jus soli* has been mainly associated with the civic conceptions of nationhood, while *jus sanguinis* with the ethnic conceptions.

Despite the static and deterministic assumptions underlying this distinction, according to which states’ traditions shape their present in a linear way, Brubaker’s study prompted the academic community to investigate the roots of differences in citizenship regimes and to look for trends, breakpoints, or limitations in states’ citizenship design.

Both of these accounts, respectively Marshall’s and Brubaker’s one, presupposed the nation-state as the locus of citizenship (Kivisto and Faist 2007a). The individual, either citizen or subject, is contemplated as inherent part of the state. Individuals are made part of a greater design that shapes the considered democratic regime.

#### **1.4. Citizenship and migration: three models of citizenship and their approach to dual citizenship**

This section introduces the effects of increased mobility and globalization as part of the picture. In previous theorizations of citizenship, as shown above, they were almost neglected. Without an

explicit mention to the nexus citizenship-migration (Joppke 2010a), theories on citizenship have clearly expanded their reflections to incorporate, for example, burgeoning discourses on migration, human rights, and the future of the state. As my study aims to progressively narrow the focus towards dual citizenship, the gist of the present study, the following presentation includes the dual status in the analysis.

This section presents a theoretical understanding of citizenship that has dealt with the tension between state and individual in substantiating citizenship (Bloemraad 2004) rather than adopting the sole state-centric vision. This alternative framework groups theories and scholars under three different models of citizenship: the *traditional model*, the *transnational model* and the *postnational model*. In doing so, it recomposes individual actions – such as immigrant applications for dual citizenship – into the logics of the nation-state. It helps to forecast possible developments such as the strengthening of statehood or, on the contrary, the emergence of personhood as constitutive bases of citizenship. The overcoming of a static vision of citizenship policies has been favoured by a change in perspective, from a one-sided emphasis on how states face the political consequences of immigration, to a focus on mutual interactions between the state-defined citizenship regimes and individuals' own initiative like their claim for fully-fledged citizenship (Bauböck, 2010). Ultimately, this shift opened the door to a more nuanced vision of the citizen/non-citizen dichotomy. What is more, each model poses its own emphasis on one or more of the four constitutive dimensions of citizenship listed above.

The *traditional model of citizenship* has focused on citizenship as a legal status in order to highlight the essential role of the state in creating primary loyalty and expecting political commitment. This approach implicitly accepts the overlap between formal membership and sense of belonging. It foresees a declining impact of dual citizenship since through integration immigrants are expected to privilege only one of the two

statuses. Supporters of this view maintain either that dual citizenship undermines the centrality of the state and, consequently, the value of any formal membership (Schuck, 1998; Pogonyi, 2011); or that the centrality of the states is reinforced by granting dual citizenship as a means to increase individuals' attachments to both countries (Jones-Correa, 1998; Koopmans et al., 2005; Bloemraad, 2015).

The *postnational model*, on the other hand, argues that the rights of citizenship are entitlements of individuals rather than the means of states to exercise exclusive control over their populations (Soysal, 1994; Dahlin and Hironaka, 2008; Shachar, 2009; Bauböck, 2011, Benhabib 2007, Bosniak 2006). From this perspective, dual citizenship is the emancipation of the individual from the state and is rooted in a human rights discourse, which maintains that rights stem directly from personhood and not from statehood (Spiro, 2010). This approach predicts that immigrants and people in general will progressively claim rights independently of state's sovereignty, a process that would render both citizenship and the state irrelevant. Hence, dual citizenship would be an intermediate step of a process that aims at suppressing citizenship tout court.

The third model of citizenship – *the transnational one* – maintains that immigrants' lives transcend the borders of nation-states and generate both local and cross-border forms of attachment (Kearney, 1995, Portes 1999, Portes 2003). In addition to the structure of opportunities that states offer, this approach stresses the importance of immigrants' capacity to "forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement" (Basch et al., 1994: 7). As a result, this perspective argues that immigrants challenge the notion of the state as a closed space by expanding its geographical reach through their migratory movements and their transnational activities. Immigrants might be at the same time variously engaged and integrated in the destination country and engaged in economic, political, or social activities in the country of origin (Smith, 2007; Levitt and Lamba-Nieves, 2011; Gerson and Pantoja,

2014). Moreover, immigrants' "in-betweenness" is reflected in their transfer of social norms, cultural idioms, and preferences across states (Vertovec, 2001; Levitt and Jaworsky, 2007). This transnational transfer produces modifications both at the micro- and macro-levels. For instance, scholars refer to "social spaces that produce and are produced by transnational migration" (Levitt and Jaworsky, 2007: 132). The transformative capacity of migrants depends on their simultaneous embeddedness in more than one society; hence, these multi-sited and multi-layered social relations that immigrants develop and accumulate over time, can alter the economies, values, practices of entire countries as well as the lives of non-migrants.

Within the shift from the normative/state-centric look at citizenship and related issues to a vision encompassing the migrant category, the three citizenship models are a crucial step through. Migration becomes a challenge that needs to be faced: whether it will keep the relevance of the state as the guarantor of the unity of national belonging, or it will bring to a full emancipation of personhood from statehood supremacy, or it will allow individuals juggling between those two extremes while creating new personal constellations of citizenship (Bauböck 2010).

### **1.5. (Dual) Citizenship from below**

In this section I delve into the research dimensions of citizenship from below. It moves from the normative and state-centric perspective of previous sections, to concentrate on a bottom-up approach towards the study of citizenship.

Given that this thesis points at the everyday understanding of dual citizenship of Peruvian migrants, here I focus on the "everyday" part of the investigation introducing the distinction between "banal nationalism" (Billig 1995) and "everyday nationhood" (Fox and Idriss-Miller 2008, Fox 2017) as both theoretical and methodological remedies to elicit evidence of a nationalism from below. It insists in particular on the ways through which

ordinary people reproduce the nation or, in more general terms, reproduce a sense of the national as “a series of practices, habits or sensibilities which challenge the nationalist idea of a mono-cultural nation” (Antonsich and Matejoskova 2015:498). Then, in the attempt to go beyond the national and challenge the exclusivity of the national bond, I narrow the focus on studies dealing with practices of dual citizenship (Harpaz 2015, Harpaz and Mateos 2018, Yanasmayan 2015, Ronkainen 2011, Conway et al. 2008, Mügge 2012, Mavroudi 2008, Knott 2017). Indeed, the occurrence and spreading of dual citizenship acquisition poses new questions about the scale, depth and temporary meaning of citizenship (and of the national) as people can multiply their membership statuses via naturalization(s). Moreover, the reflections stemming from naturalization and dual citizenship acquisition trigger the conceptual redefinitions of citizenship in functional and emotional terms. The potential (or implicit) duality of multiple citizenships that encompass the extra-territorial/emigrant citizenship as well as the immigrant/host country citizenship is recomposed through mentions to the debate on transnationalism. The last part of the section is dedicated to the growing attention for the bordering of citizenship vis-à-vis migrants who, although are kept or remain in marginal and liminal spaces of non-citizenship, nonetheless claim citizenship under substantive and performative instances (Bloemraad 2018, Isin and Nielsen 2008).

#### **1.5.1. Searching for the national in everyday life of ordinary people**

If the citizenship status is what formalizes membership into a national community, the national is supposedly embedded within citizenship. Therefore, a scrutiny of the national can potentially bring new light on the concept of citizenship itself.

To ground my prospective on citizenship from below I shall recur to specific notions of the nation that portray it not only as the product of

macro-structural forces but also an assemblage of accomplishments of ordinary people engaging in everyday activities (Fox and Miller 2008:537). In this optic, the nation, and more so nationalism as a political project, is what ensures the unity of the state as a polity with a cultural construct of collective belonging. Thus, the nation is what makes people feel part of their historically and culturally defined state. In partial contrast with the state-centric view of the above theorizations, this strand of inquiry acknowledges that despite being nationalism constructed from above, it can be properly understood only if analysed from below "in terms of the assumptions, hopes, needs, longings and interests of ordinary people, which are not necessarily national and still less nationalist" (Hobsbawm 1991:10).

The first tendency has been that of describing the ways in which the nation has become a taken-for granted part of daily routines (Billig 1995, Edensor 2002). The power of nationalism should be equally imputed to its ability to attract attention and, simultaneously, to its ability to go as an unregistered and unconscious reminding. This aspect determines the camouflaged pervasiveness of the nation that takes the forms of flags and other silent symbols (i.e. national iconographies, music, architecture, banknotes, stamps) disseminated everywhere. Billig named "banal nationalism" this sort of an underground nationalism that is absorbed unreflexively and unselfconsciously (in opposition to the fireworks of a hot nationalism). Still, the nationalism banally reproduced through subconscious actions is purposively produced and transferred from the state to its nationals.

The concept of "everyday nationhood" (Fox and Miller-Idriss 2008, Antonsich 2016), instead, truly concentrates on the micro and consumption side of the national to find the evidences of common sense nationhood "as experienced (or not) by the unwitting targets of nationalism, ordinary people in their everyday lives" (Fox 2017:41). The underlying idea is that nationalism cannot be internally homogeneous or



singular and, consequently, the “national emerges as socio-spatially differentiated, fragmented, and articulated in a plurality of scales” (Antonsich 2016). Furthermore, human agency or the active role of ordinary people is brought to the fore (Antonsich 2018). The everyday nationhood as activated by people does not necessarily imply a negative and constraining strategy of the state (Billig 1995), but leaves the door open to a more positive influence of nationhood in people’s daily world (Calhoun 2007, Antonsich 2016). Thus, it points to uncover how people closely engage with nationhood during their interactions. For instance, it studies how people talk about the nation, how they defined it through their talks; how people deploy the nation to make sense of their world; and how and to what extent people choose the nation in non-national choices. This everyday nationhood approach sheds light on how people become “active participants in the quotidian production and reproduction of the nation” (Fox and Miller-Idriss 2008:538).

In her research about working-class young Germans, Cynthia Miller-Idriss (2006) was also capable of connecting the concept of “everyday” with people’s understandings of citizenship. Her conclusion was twofold: firstly, she noted that citizenship is not static or uniform concept, but rather imagined and re-imagined by ordinary people. Secondly, she affirmed that “while citizenship and naturalization policies are important markers of official and elite perspectives on citizenship, they do not serve as a reflection of how the members of any given state conceive of citizenship” (Miller-Idriss 2006:561). Therefore, the incorporation of a perspective from below makes overt a more flexible, dynamic and potentially contradictory understanding of citizenship in everyday life of ordinary people.

The everyday and its multiform complexities are also at the basis of the concept of “ordinary citizenship” (Staeheli et al. 2012). They consider how the everyday is “entwined with law and other structures of citizenship” and explore the “forms and practices of citizenship [that] are –

in their broadest sense – ordinary, diverse, shifting, and complex” (Staeheli et al. 2012:631). In their view citizenship is constructed through the interactions of both status and positioning that are fused together by ordinariness. The ordinary “reinforces particular kinds of orders that structure both law and daily lives” and speaks about the normalization of ordering through daily life. At the same time the ordinariness imposes to recognize that order is not everywhere or always the same. In this sense, ordinary citizenship draws attention on the resources and claims that go beyond the law, i.e. the citizenship struggles, and makes citizenship “both a general category and a contingent resource for political life”.

In sum, in approaching citizenship from below, scholars do not dismiss the lasting importance of the nation-state and its capacity to produce, impose or propose a specific conception of membership into its national community. Indeed, they mitigate or make a bit more complex the relationship between the top and the bottom sides of the equation, looking for the individual adaptations and interactions at the interstices – or edges (see Fox 2017) – of the nation. The attempt is that of uncovering the taken-for-granted assumptions of citizenship and nationhood, to find theoretically and methodologically viable frameworks that grasp how citizenship is lived by ordinary people (and ordinary migrants).

### **1.5.2. On dual citizenship: from a legal-comparative to a subjective perspective**

In a formal sense, dual citizenship means that citizens combine membership in and of two states. However, even on a formal level it does not imply the simple juxtaposition of statuses: the acquisition of a second citizenship not only affects the individuals holding the status but also the countries granting each status (Spiro, 2016).

In dual citizenship literature the legal-comparative and the normative approaches have for long had a greater echo, relative to the emerging field oriented towards the individual level experiences. This is

because the very first step to address dual citizenship is to assess its existence.

For instance, the legal perspective has highlighted the existence of cross-national differences in the acquisition of dual citizenship (Aleinikoff and Klusmeyer 2001, Aleinikoff and Klusmeyer 2010, Howard 2005, Sejersen 2008). This level of analysis has allowed listing which requirements are set about “whom and how” can access the dual status and, moreover, identifying trends across states, regions and years. Proponents of this approach have argued for the importance of considering how states rule the acquisition of citizenship as a way to define their domestic jurisdiction. The importance of structural circumstances that regulate this status is self-evident as dual citizenship is a form of multiple memberships recognized simultaneously by each state, the origin and the host one, and within the EU by other member states too, because of the common European citizenship (Freeman and Ögelman, 1998). The interactions between the host and origin country are both implicit and explicit. The simple possibility to acquire dual citizenship rests on their approval or tolerance of the status as well as on bilateral/international agreements that they signed to regulate it. This is the case of Spain’s provisions allowing dual citizenship for citizens from former colonies; or of the Council of Europe that reversed the former Convention on the Reduction of Cases of Multiple Nationality (1963) with the European Convention on Nationalities ECN (1993). In this respect, states shape the availability of dual citizenship for their citizens and entitle them with rights to multiple memberships (Vink and Bauböck 2013). States allowing dual citizenship implicitly recognize to have a share on their citizens that is partial and can be invoked discretionally by individuals themselves. For instance, dual citizens choose which passport to show at every border crossing (Ong, 1999:2). Howard (2005) highlights that only some countries have clear-cut policies that explicitly allow or ban dual citizenship. Most of them provide for discretionary and un-enforced

provisions, thus making any classification of dual citizenship policies highly fragmented and incomplete.

Even though dual citizenship does not necessarily imply migration, as a matter of fact it can be an entitlement that individuals have upon birth or ancestry, it involves two states that exercise their right to dictate who and under which conditions can be part of the national community. Needless to say, this strand of inquiry is closely related to the ongoing discussions about globalisation, the expansion and deepening of rights, and the hold of the nation-state (Feldblum, 2000; Sassen, 2002; Howard, 2005). In this respect, Sejersen (2008) notes that dual citizenship legislation and the possibility for individuals to maintain ties to different countries erode the normative foreign-citizen dichotomy. It is worth noting that the status has emerged also thanks to the considerable pressure exercised by women's movements, international treaties, and international human rights (Soysal, 1994, Spiro, 2010) to weaken the opposition to dual citizenship throughout the years. This perspective on the study of dual citizenship brings to the fore the importance of national legal structures and their changes over time in determining full membership.

A subjective approach to dual citizenship, instead, investigates the meanings and affects that migrants attach to the status. In the last two decades there has been a growing interest on the declinations of "lived citizenship" (Lister 2003) and "affective citizenship" (Fortier 2016, Fortier 2010, Johnson 2010). Put differently, scholars are increasingly interested in how citizenship affects people's lives on a day-by-day basis and how "contemporary conditions of personal life and subject formation relate to citizenship" (Fortier 2016:1042). The selected works acknowledge the emerging relationships between (dual) citizens, host countries and countries of origin, while delving into the uses of the citizenship status on the part of states as well as on the part of individuals.

### **1.5.3. Dual citizenship: a matter of immigration and emigration**

The debate on the spreading of dual citizenship and its implications cannot avoid issues related to the worth of citizenship. The common understanding about the diffusion of dual citizenship is that it will involve increasing numbers of immigrants around the world, but it will also reflect the differences of status among countries. Empirical studies have shown, although on a small scale given the shortage of available data, that naturalization processes do not follow a simply economic rule of demand and supply. Naturalizations are the result of more complex combinations of micro, meso and macro factors depending upon contexts and conjunctures. Scholars acknowledge the existence of a link between global inequality and dual citizenship or, rather, a stratification based on a global hierarchy of citizenship worth (Harpaz 2019). As proof of that, the demand for dual citizenship in the last two decades was much higher among Latin Americans and Eastern Europeans than North Americans and Western Europeans (Dumbrava, 2015; Harpaz, 2015).

In this optic, dual citizenship is both cause and effect of increased use of dual passports, enhanced mobility, and multiple attachments to different states (Faist, 2010). While investigating the advantages of a second passport, Harpaz (2015) noticed that for third-country nationals the second European citizenship may remain a dormant asset until economic recession pushes individuals to look for safer countries to build a new life. In this sense, the status can be used instrumentally as a plan-B at the occurrence (Finotelli, La Barbera and Echeverría 2017). Furthermore, Harpaz pinpoints that Western citizens take usually less advantage of the dual status as the benefits they will gain from the acquisition do not constitute an attractive payoff in most of the cases (see also Vink and Dronkers 2013, Harpaz and Mateos 2018). Along with Harpaz, the work of David Cook-Martin (2013) looks at the effects of dual citizenship when its acquisition is due to descent, within a Western country. The two studies

highlight that acquiring a “long-distance citizenship” paves the way to the emergence of an instrumental conception and use of citizenship by individuals. Notwithstanding migrants’ expectations and illusions about an easy access into the social and economic life of the host country thanks to the new status, the dual citizenship by ancestry reinforces inequality between Western and Non-Western countries as it reproduces a global stratification based on the value of citizenship. While Cook-Martin poses the accent on the scramble of countries to gain the affiliation of citizens, Harpaz emphasizes how citizens frame (dual) citizenship as an asset allowing access to “high-value territories and markets” (19). Although Cook-Martin delves more into the historical developments that shaped nationality in selected countries – namely Argentina, Italy and Spain –, whereas Harpaz constructs a dataset from un-analyzed administrative statistics to explain patterns of demand of dual citizenship from Western and Non-Western applicants, the two authors reach the same conclusion. They agree that a second European or Western citizenship grants an added value of status and opportunities, and what is more is that a growing number of people are converting this pre-existing ancestry resource into rights in a Western country.

Nonetheless, the mere legal possibility of getting dual citizenship is not sufficient to explain neither the naturalization rate nor the emotional bonds with the involved countries. The value of citizenship for dual holders is not a matter of algebra and cannot be deducted from the citizenship regime in place as overlapping layers of pragmatism and sense of belonging intervene in shaping individuals’ decisions (Mavroudi 2008, Ronkainen, 2011; Yanasmayan, 2015). In this sense, the work of Aptekar (2015) is instructive about the sort of natural flow. When she asked newly US citizens at their naturalization ceremony why they applied, the most recurrent and spontaneous answer spun around the idea that they were already part of the host society –they felt already Americans. Indeed, the acquisition of a second citizenship, although granted by states, regards

individuals and their personal experiences (Lister 2007). Hence, there is the need to delve into the motivations, meanings, and biographical/life course aspects that move people to acquire dual citizenship; in the words of Gustafson (2002: 463), "[to frame] citizenship as a personal attribute to be used for the construction of self-identity and meaning".

But what are the perspectives of (potential) dual citizens on the status? For instance, Ronkainen (2011) examines the interrelationships between expressions of (trans)national identifications and patterns of citizenship acquisition. Based on extensive analysis of survey and interview data collected among dual citizens residing in Finland, the study develops a useful typology of four types of dual citizens: 1) *resident-mononationals*, who value only the citizenship of the state of residency and take a rather negative stance toward ideas of multiculturalism and transnationality; 2) *expatriate-mononationals*, who have stronger emotional attachments for the citizenship of the country they left behind; 3) *hypernationals*, who have strong and meaningful ties in multiple dimensions to both their countries and live in a state of in-betweenness; and 4) *shadow-nationals*, who detach themselves from national connotations of citizenship and look instrumentally at multiple citizenship. This typology is an effective tool for examining how dual citizens use the enhanced possibilities brought about by their double status. Moreover, it pinpoints the importance of studying dual citizenship as a multifaceted practice, in other words as "an on-going transnational status" that helps explore "the interconnections between citizenship and national identification" (261).

In line with the idea of investigating citizenship as practice, Conway et al. (2008) interviewed young Trinidadians who decided to return to the island (of their birth or of their parents), while still in their thirties and forties. They selected young returnees to ask them about their "transnational experience, self-appraisal of their dual identities and how they value (or do not value) dual citizenship" (p 375). As the core question is whether transnationalism supplants nationalism, the study finds

no straightforward answer, but shows that “family relations intercede both to encourage transnationalism and to strengthen nationalism” (392). Moreover, by means of the concept of *flexible citizenship* that was initially proposed by Ong (1999) for transnational Chinese, Conway describes dual citizenship as a “pragmatic strategy” which individuals see as advantageous regardless of the relative strength or weakness of their feelings of national belonging. The study comes to the conclusion that being a cross-border institutional and legal right makes dual citizenship a means of adaptation in whatever way it has been acquired – through naturalization, through marriage, or at birth. Indeed, dual citizens make a fluid and strategic use of their status to accumulate “capital and power” and favor their transnational mobility. Moreover, they benefit of these advantages “regardless of the relative strength or weakness of their sentiments of national belonging” (393). The pragmatic attribution of dual citizenship is reinforced by the study of Mavroudi (2008) on Palestinian in Greece. Her insights suggest that

“Pragmatic citizenship may take on special significance for such groups [diasporas involved in nation-state building] because it can be seen as a way to gain citizenship status and the rights and privileges this affords without the need to belong fully to the host state and without the need to ‘let go’ of attachments to the homeland. In turn, this may also fuel perceptions of the nature of citizenship and its relationships to national identity in the homeland and/or future state that are not necessarily exclusive” (Mavroudi 2008:310).

She connected the acquisition out of necessity of a European citizenship by stateless Palestinian as a way to de- and re-construct forms of belonging while decoupling citizenship and national identity. The Greek



citizenship is pragmatic to them because it allows acquiring rights in the host country and allows envisioning self-determination and citizenship in a future scenario of peace in their original region.

Likewise, national belonging and its negotiation are at the center of a study by Yanasmayan (2015). She treated national belonging as a complex of sentiments and as an object of negotiation in case of naturalization. This study of Turkish migrants in the Netherlands, Spain, and the UK investigates the effect of citizenship policies on migrant people by taking into consideration not only the destination country but also the origin one. The study contests dichotomous distinctions of citizenship such as "thin versus thick" (Tilly, 1995), "formal versus substantive" (Holston, 1998), "active versus passive" (Turner, 1997) for their narrow focus on the nation-state. Thus, by drawing on the concept of affective citizenship (Mookherjee, 2005), the study investigates how migrants negotiate and make sense of their "emotional baggage" (Yanasmayan, 2015: 12) that comes with the change of legal citizenship status. "It calls into question the link established between legal and emotional bonds of citizenship" (1) by dealing with the practices of dual citizens under different citizenship regimes and looking at how legal identifications impact on migrants' self-recognition. In her study, she discovers that the *de facto* and *de jure* tolerance of dual citizenship facilitate migrants' development of multiple allegiances with both the origin country and the host country.

Similarly, Mügge (2012:14) (Dual nationality and transnational politics) observed that "the choices of people to opt for dual citizenship are heavily influenced by the institutional opportunities provided by both host and sending states". Thus, moving from the responses of host country citizenship regimes to the responses of the citizenship regimes in countries of origin, the transnational orientations of migrants/naturalized citizens become integral part of the analysis. Furthermore, it acknowledges that countries of origin may even reinforce their sense of

the nation/nationhood through a de-territorialization of national borders (Mügge 2012) (Ideologies of nationhood) by including or excluding emigrants and their descents from membership.

In this respect, the policies of kin state are considered by Eleonor Knott (2018). More specifically, she explored the acquisition of kin state citizenship by Romanians in Moldova. Kin state dual citizenship is a special form of emigrant citizenship, because it targets external co-ethnic kin and in so doing it perpetuates a "policy of nation-building by expanding the citizenry to non-resident individuals". Implicitly, this policy is a means to expand the state's influence on its neighbouring countries. What emerges from her analysis is an alternative way of defining citizenship that goes beyond the symbolic and strategic framework usually described. Her *legitimate* conception of kin state dual citizenship underpins that the engagement with Romanian citizenship in Moldova legitimizes it as natural and normal. Legitimate citizenship is thus a "combination of strategic and identity explanations" of citizenship acquisition.

Not only naturalization per se, but more so the acquisition of dual citizenship, invest simultaneously the spheres of immigration and emigration. Evidences from this effort towards the acknowledgement of a potentially simultaneous embeddedness in practical, symbolic or strategic terms in the re-definition and re-territorialization of citizenship borders, scholars have observed the growing complexity behind understandings of citizenship by ordinary people. What emerges is a persistent tension between the nation-states' architectural thoughts on citizenship to build coherent national citizenry and the individuals' constrained attempts to navigate through their own multiple and (un)coherent configurations of citizenship. In this respect, the proposed views of citizenship as instrumental or pragmatic, strategic or flexible, affective or symbolic, legitimate or natural are not necessarily in opposition with one another. Indeed, they may pertain to temporary and limited in space re-conceptualizations of citizenship from below with reference to one or

more of its constitutive dimensions – for a more radical articulation of the weight of positionality and location in the process of collective identification see *translocational positionality* (Anthias 2002) –.

Finally, a further implication of the immigration/emigration perspective makes reference, either explicitly or implicitly, to issues of integration in the host country and transnational involvements across origin and host countries. The two processes may actually interact through “migrants’ balancing acts” that conjugate local lives and transnational social fields on the basis of pragmatic, emotional and functional considerations (Erdal and Oeppen 2013).

In the next section I look at the process of naturalization that ultimately leads to the acquisition of dual citizenship. It insists on how the discrepancies between individuals’ and states’ preferences could impact on the conception of legality. Indeed, these contrasting preferences can stretch the conception of legality to a lighter or amended version of its contents.

#### **1.5.4. From foreigners to (dual) citizens: inside the process and the legal/illegal divide**

This sub-section is dedicated to the analysis of what comes before the (dual) status acquisition. It delves into the legal and practical steps marking migrants’ pathways from the arrival in the host state towards the formal inclusion into its citizenry. Strikingly, the legally guided path towards the acquisition can turn into its opposite. The search of a legal residence can bring migrants to situations of un-documentation, illegality, semi-legality or quasi-legality (Kubal 2012, Sigona 2012). The possibility to move back and forth from legally recognized statuses (Schuster 2005) provides evidence for arguments on marginality and liminality (Cebulko 2014, Glenn 2011, Menjívar 2006). Whilst acknowledging that foreigners are not catalogued by host states in a uniform or unitary fashion because

gender, race, social class, migratory status and country of origin (to tell only a few determinants) affect desirability or opposition to migration – to specific categories of migrants –, scholars investigate how these differentiated treatments impact on migrants' daily life opportunities and practices (Vora 2013, McIlwaine 2015, Chauvin and Garcés-Mascreñas 2012). The overall picture shows how experiences of marginality and liminality are far from exceptional across the world. Moreover, this strand of literature highlights that the line between inclusion and exclusion (Coutin 2000), citizen and non-citizen (Tonkiss and Bloom 2015), stability and precariousness (Goldring and Landolt 2013) are increasingly blurred. This prompts a rather dynamic reconsideration of citizenship and non-citizenship (Tambakaki 2015).

"In an increasingly mobile world, migration muddles the distinction between insider and outsider and unsettles consolidated categories of analysis of citizenship and alienage". (Barret and Sigona 2014: 286)

The analysis of the journey to naturalization and the acquisition of one or multiple citizenship cannot escape the bureaucratically constructed limits that regulate and shape immigration policies first and then citizenship regimes (Bloemraad 2002, Jones-Correa 2001b). Indeed, bureaucracy is said to equally apply to everybody but the evidence suggests that different immigrant groups vary sharply in their capacity to deal with requirements and structural impediments. As a consequence, not only the propensity to naturalize but even the possibility to be legally resident in the host country may become fuzzy and confused. The contextual environment is a key factor to understand how migrants get to know the rules of the game either to comply with them, or bypass them, or transgress them not always intentionally.

The dynamic relationship between the agency of migrants in dealing with statutory requirements and the state, which can relax or tighten those

same requirements at the occurrence, has led scholars to formulate the following explanations. Marginality is not confined to migrants only; the difficulties might be shared among the most fragile strata of society encompassing both citizens and non-citizens (Turner 2016). Migrants might value residence per se in the host state without considering, for impossibility or disinterest, the path towards naturalization (Golash-Boza 2016). Furthermore, migrants eligible for naturalization might prefer not to opt for the status acquisition while enjoying a progressive expansion of their rights through residence, i.e. denizenship (Hammar 1990). The flip-side of denizenship is that it prevents migrants from a full participation into the host society because they lack any voting rights, thus the possibility to hold politicians accountable for policies affecting them directly. The literature on this issue covers not only denizenship as long-term residence, but includes non-citizenship tout court (Bosniak 2006, Benton 2011, Tambakaki 2015, Tonkiss and Bloom 2015). The emphasis is on the grey zone in which, despite the lack of any formal membership into the citizenry, migrant people occupy a space. It could be a space they fall into like a downgrading spiral or a locus designed so by the state on purpose, to let migrant in for labour but with no access to citizenship (Vora 2013, Koffman 2005).

The discourse on non-citizenship and its variants challenge the concept of citizenship at its basis. Scholars have more and more interest in deepening the transformative power of what constitutes citizenship without its resemblance. For instance, as Isin phrases it: "Rather than asking "who is the citizen?" the question becomes "what makes the citizen?" (2009, 383)", thus moving towards an idea of performative citizenship (Isin 2017) or citizenship made through acts/claims-making (Bloemraad 2018).

This long excursus on (dual) citizenship has ironically come to its negation, i.e. non-citizenship. Indeed, the growing interest among scholars for the essence of citizen(ship) and the recognition that the state

is not the only category capable of substantiating its content, has resulted in useful and provocative reflections that span in multiple directions. Building on these conclusions, the next section contextualizes my own research and its contribution to the study of dual citizenship acquisition.

### **1.6. Dual citizenship in the mirror: locating the research**

The present research project tries to connect the hegemonic discourse of citizenship from the state's perspective with the growing interest in citizenship from the bottom up, building in particular on the interactions between residence, as a temporal attribution of citizenship, and everyday narratives, experiences and practices of (dual) citizenship. The exploration of such interactions brings to the fore how and to what extent the principles informing a citizenship regime are internalized by ordinary people to shape their own sense of citizenship.

The thesis deals with *jus domicile* (and to less extent with *jus matrimonii* and *jus nexi*) and investigates whether and how residence is experienced as an element of both legal naturalization and substantive membership into one or more communities at a time. It leverages on time to contrast the structural differences of the Italian and Spanish citizenship regime with the similar preferences and patterns of behavior that run transversally among Peruvian migrants in the two states. Moreover, given the fact that through naturalization people acquire also dual citizenship, it investigates how they frame their sense of citizenship with regard to their origin country and host country.

Each chapter is introduced by a specific theoretical framework whose contours I expose here briefly.

The first empirical chapter looks for the temporal dimensions (Erdal and Ezzati 2015, Cwerner 2001) that play a substantive role throughout the naturalization process and the acquisition of dual citizenship. It embeds

the principle of *jus domicile* within the everyday nationhood (Fox and Idriss-Miller 2008, Fox 2017) of my respondents and combines it with other biographical forms of time to show how citizenship becomes ordinary (Staeheli et al. 2012) developing simultaneously at the personal and national levels. It makes clear why the comparison is unfruitful if carried at the national level, while it opens new venues of exploration when citizenship regimes are considered in relation to the actions of my respondents. Thus, it proposes the distinction between those who naturalized on time (or at an accelerated pace) and those who postponed the acquisition as the basis for the following two empirical chapters.

The second empirical chapter is built on those who naturalized on time. It explores the (un)predictable collisions and convergences between the citizenship regimes and migrants' experiences of (dual) citizenship (acquisition). Here *jus domicile* (Bauder 2012, 2014) and *jus matrimonii* principles inform the whole analysis and are used to address issues of legality, of integration and of identity formation among ordinary people. The chapter traces where and how the migrants' everyday experiences of citizenship diverge from the states' normativity of the good citizens. The path towards and across a formal inclusion within the citizenry is presented as not linear and often incoherent. Indeed, behind a rapid naturalization there are multiple venues of legality, of economic insertion, of socio-cultural adaptation, of identity conceptions that may or may not encompass the supposed duality of dual citizenship.

The third empirical chapter investigates the sense of citizenship among those who voluntarily postponed the acquisition. The postponement questions the usual desirability and sense of privilege associated with dual status (Hammar 1990). Here the formal acquisition of dual citizenship is confronted with claims of earned, legitimate and substantive citizenship that build on a more performative conception of citizenship (Bloemraad 2018, Isin 2017). The *jus domicile* and *jus nexi* principles become the means in the hand of migrants to claim a

reformation of citizenship when the sole availability of dual citizenship is not deemed enough.

As sketched, the states' normative stances are not considered as monolithic and internally coherent structures. Similarly, the adaptive strategies set forth by migrants to integrate and go across the acquisition of (dual) citizenship are read as practices, as expectations, as aspirations and as legally constrained possibilities capable of forging a dynamic sense of citizenship.



## **Chapter 2**

### **Methods and Data Description**

#### **2.1. Project design**

The project casts further light on the role of dual citizenship in people's life. The project design allowed me deepening the meanings that Peruvian (prospective) dual citizens link to their dual citizenship status and, in general terms, what are or have been their motivations to naturalize in a foreign country while keeping the original citizenship. This implied a systematic study of the path towards and across dual citizenship (PDC) over migrants' biographies to unravel how the situated interaction between different citizenship regimes and provisions affects three substantive issues:

1. Immigrants' forms of belonging, affiliation and civic capital;
2. Immigrants' position and relationship with the state of origin, the state of destination, and other third states;
3. States' institutional arrangements and cultures of granting citizenship, as embedded in their distinctive national and institutional backgrounds.

I operationalized the PDC in a three-stage process, namely the request of citizenship; the recent acquisition of citizenship; and the fruition of citizenship. The tripartite division helps the study explore the specificities of each stage, the differences between the stages, and the relative impact of each stage on immigrants' life courses.

The identification of the three-stage process consisted of a two-step approach: in the first step I made a selection on the basis of a divide marked by a "yes or no" question such as: Did immigrants acquire dual citizenship in the host country? In the second step, I identified another divide within the group of naturalised immigrants: time since

naturalisation. This distinction identifies two kinds of dual citizens: those who have acquired the status for less than 2 years – in 2014— and those who acquired it at least since 3 years – in 2013, or earlier—. The core assumption being that the acquisition of a second citizenship matters not only per se, but also in relation to duration.

With respect to previous studies on immigrants' acquisition of dual citizenship, the choice of "request" as a first stage of PDC is innovative. Indeed, the choice allowed me targeting those immigrants who were eligible for citizenship acquisition on the basis of the length of their residency (Peters et al. 2015), but more crucially it targeted those immigrants who had already started their path to naturalisation (i.e., to dual citizenship). These immigrants had evaluated their situation and bet positively on their chances to meet all the requirements set by the country's citizenship law. To be sure, the length of their permanence in this stage -pending the application- depended on both the strictness of legal requirements and the efficiency of the bureaucratic apparatus of each country. Therefore, the analysis takes into account the fact that the two elements of strictness and efficiency can affect the rates of acceptance and, consequently, of naturalisation in general.

. Furthermore, the PDC stresses the need to consider the acquisition of citizenship as a process rather than just a point in time. Through the process, both the state normative stance and the individual's adaptive capacity are comprehended and made overt. In fact, the citizenship regime has specific requirements that should ideally produce a good new citizen for the national community. On the other side, migrants who aspire to become part of the host country's citizenry must adequate themselves to such requirements. The ways in which migrants comply and how the adaptation affects their lives, their sense of belonging and even their sense of citizenship are all encompassed within the processual view. The questions about when, how and why migrants decide to acquire dual citizenship and the whole migratory project altogether concur in giving

shape to the PDC. Indeed, only by searching through the experiences since the arrival in the host country as well as the expectations for the future, migrants' narratives of citizenship become truly alive and less random, especially when they depart from the state's expected narratives.

## **2.2. In-depth interviews**

Whereas almost 100% of Peruvian citizens naturalizing in both countries become dual citizens and have been doing so for the last decades, the comparison of people's narratives on the path "towards and across" dual citizenship could benefit of strong variations in individual-level characteristics such as gender, age at migration, current age, or time of arrival among the others. These variations are crucial to understand if and how states' citizenship regimes have brought the intended effects into the lives of new (prospective) citizens, or, said differently, if the paths are coherently designed to inflate a sense of citizenship that matches the time frameworks of citizenship acquisition and the need on the state part for a loyal citizenry. Hence, the comparative structure of the study allows the emergence of differences and similarities in the two citizenship regimes: for instance, in both Italy and Spain, people associate a strong sense of humiliation and frustration to the bureaucratic burdens to be carried on to get a residence permits of whatsoever nature; while, only in Italy, the citizenship acquisition is reportedly a means to ensure the free disposal of pension once reached the retirement age.

As I further detail in the context chapter, the citizenship regime goes hand in hand with welfare policies, bilateral agreements, and immigration provisions that attempt to keep a balance between the interests of the state and the rights of immigrants, but it is exactly at their point of intersection that the most striking discrepancies and shortcomings of each system emerge. Indeed, the linear succession of legal steps and statuses

designed at the normative macro level results often in an incoherent series of less-than-legal practices that lie under the surface and remain unspoken. For these reasons, interviews set the pace from the very beginning because of their capacity to give voice to people's own narratives about how they went through the naturalization process and to their reflections about what the process means to them. In-depth interviews offered me the possibility to "seek deep information and knowledge [...] This information usually concerns very personal matters, such as individual's self, lived experience, values and decisions" (Johnson and Rowlands 2002:104), a kind of information that I complemented with direct observations and desk-based research.

I reached 79 respondents with the help of different strategies and a bit of luck, of course. I searched the web and contacted other scholars who had information and lists of Peruvian associations in the two cities. I went twice to each field, so I repeated the desk-searching operation four times and each time I got access to new networks of potential respondents. The discovery of over 40 associations in Milan and 20 in Madrid was an instant mood booster that made me believe that the fieldwork would have been rapid and easy. Unfortunately, the response rates never skyrocketed and I experienced the well-known lengthy door-to-door hunting for people. Needless to say, the whole interviews collection proceeded for stops and goes, alternating receptive and punctual interviews to less reliable and reluctant individuals who, from time to time, simply disappeared with no notice. I realized that the possibility of being dumped repeatedly was not a remote one, so I adopted a purposive sampling strategy asking informants and respondents to introduce me to people with specific characteristics. The act of being introduced by a friend, a relative or a distinguished person within the community smoothen the reluctance to accept the interview and made easier to overcome the early barriers to relaxed and confidential discussions. Even though this precaution did not prevent me

from unfortunate encounters, it surely limited the occurrence and made individuals available for second-chance contact.

I chose to privilege face-to-face talks over any other way in our hands nowadays. I privileged "intimacy" as a way to "construct a social relationship of reciprocity, friendship and shared understanding with the aim to uncover what is being felt at a deeper level" (Birch and Miller 2000:199) over the possibility to reach out as many people as possible. Still, the limited time and travel budget at my disposal forced me to compromise and get a few Skype interviews or even phone calls (Irvine 2011, Shuy 2003, Fielding and Thomas 2008). What is worth mentioning here is that these technology-led meetings were subject to poor internet connections or flaws in reception, nevertheless they allowed me to communicate with persons who had migrated back to Peru or had moved forward to the UK. The acknowledgment of such limitations serves to stress the importance of the first approach: I usually phoned the potential respondent to present myself and the study; then, I sent an explanatory email (or the reverse); and, finally, I got in touch a second time to set the appointment. Even though not everybody was so deferential, this was the necessary procedure to be followed with Consular authorities and emeritus professors.

The interviews followed a semi-structured format on 7 main sections dealing with:

- "Life in Peru before departure";
- "The migratory journey preparation";
- "The arrival in the host country";
- "The family";
- "Relationships with the origin country and the host country";
- "The acquisition of dual citizenship";
- "Future perspectives".

Each section had a series of thematic questions that were a leverage to let respondents present the actions done and received throughout

their migratory experience, recall the evolution of their thoughts and feelings of attachment, and nail down the defining moments of their life-stories with a focus on the naturalization process and transnational engagement. After a brief introduction, I usually tried not to inhibit their narrative flows by guiding as less as possible – *wait and listen* (Fox and Miller-Idriss 2008, Fox 2017) –. This exercise of active listening and effective questioning proved to be exhausting, especially during my first approaches to the fieldwork in Madrid. At that time, my need to strengthen Spanish language skills was a pulling back factor that made the earliest steps even harder. Later on, I learned to play on my weakness thus making the conversation less burdensome, at times even spontaneous and enjoyable. Ultimately, I realized that respondents were more afraid of giving the “wrong” answer rather than eager to pinpoint my naive language mistakes. As it happened with Samoan women who were interviewed by Margaret Mead and “told her what they thought she wanted to hear” (Freeman 1983). Consequently, when said fear appeared on the scene, I had to promptly reassure the respondents that there was no “right or wrong answer” because it was not a test, only an investigation to be built on and thanks to their accounts. I wanted to know and understand the meanings behind their actions or thoughts (Goffman 1989).

The average length of the interviews was about one hour and a half, the shortest was 25 minutes and the longest almost three hours. People gave me interviews in the most different places: in a quiet and sunny park chatting on a bench with the twittering of birds; in a noisy pub in the city suburbs; within the house walls surrounded by Peruvian furnishing and new memories; in the back of a bakery store between trays and biscuits; in a row at the supermarket stopping only to retrieve the receipt; in the hall of a hospital just before the visiting hours; or even behind the cashier of a small shop at the railway station during rush hours. Once back at the office, to endure the word-to-word transcription of some interviews

recorded in a loudly environment as the one mentioned above, I had to bore in mind my aim and put extra efforts into this delicate phase to minimize the risk for avoidable transcription errors (Poland 1995, Easton et al. 2000).

For the sake of honesty and integrity (Watts 2008), I always made clear to my interlocutors and potential respondents that I was a researcher; as a result, they generally felt the responsibility and pleasure to hand out short summaries of the history of Peru, of pros and cons of being immigrants from a developing country, of being first-hand experts at laws and procedures from the very beginning of our conversation. While most of the times I had to rely on no more than these ephemeral overviews of my topic, some conversations ended in in-depth interviews or developed into friendship relations. With the passing of the time, I felt a welcome guest, a good sensation that helped breaking the rigid division of interviewer/interviewed roles to produce a richer mutual exchange. The continuous exchange of viewpoints and ideas became part of my field notes, along with personal impressions and fresh information to be double-checked.

The very object of this investigation, dual citizenship, made my role as an interviewer quite a tough one. In particular, to turn dual citizenship into something concrete was a difficult task for both me and my interlocutors. I often had to refine the questions, and respondents had to reformulate them in their own terms before talking about the meanings they link to each status. To paraphrase Koopmans et al. (2005), throughout the interviews I could observe that citizenship is a contested issue because it is many things to many actors, and the same is true for dual citizenship as well. For this reason, the alternation of in-depth interviews with participant observation was the means I chose to relate words and emotions on (dual) citizenship to practices of (dual) citizenship.

### **2.3. Participant observation**

I personally conducted fieldwork research in Milan, Italy, and in Madrid, Spain, from February 2016 until June 2017. In-depth interviews were the most suitable means to collect precious insights on “why people get dual citizenship”, but along with the recordings of formal and exhaustive interviews, the fieldwork was constellated with a wider range of observational opportunities.

Indeed, I took part in various events such as pre-electoral gatherings, public protests and manifestations, flash mobs, parties and ceremonies, election days and feminist meetings. I came to some of these events as an invited guest while to others as a bystander who found the announcement surfing the web. As it is often the case, being there and interacting spontaneously with Peruvian people was not only a way of becoming visible as a researcher and enlarging my network of contacts, but most of all it represented a “natural” access to individuals’ details and small talks that silently define their lives as migrant residents and/or new citizens. I was struck by the frequency with which people referred to their condition as migrants or even to their citizenship status in normal conversations, no matter the location. As a result, the incidence of the legal structure of opportunities on individuals’ migratory paths came out in the form of anecdotal streams of consciousness that alternated hilarious moments to extremely difficult experiences, all at once. Being there also meant to get some hints for instance, on common-sense understanding of Peruvian politics, either past or present, and gave me the basis to go with the flow and slowly enter the community. In addition, I collected audios, videos, pictures, business cards, leaflets and journals of the events I took apart in.

In the following, I report two examples. The first one is a short excerpt from notes taken during the first time I went to the Peruvian Election Day on April 10 2016, at the *Forum di Assago* close to Milan:



"I am terribly scared. I have no idea of what to expect if not a failure. I wait in line wrapped in my blue trench until the sun appears as it is 7:30 in the morning. The lines before the entrance are stretching slowly. I am standing beside two women. The oldest one says that she has spent her last 23 years in Italy and she lacks 7 more to get her pension. She must be a nurse, because she thanks former Minister of Health, Ms Rosy Bindi (1996-2000), for getting things right to a straightforward homologation of her Diploma in Nursing. She adds that she became an Italian citizen around 5 years ago and had the means to buy a house in the outskirts of Milan. ... The organizing committee is already at work: tens of volunteers, wearing reflector jackets, are distributing a small piece of paper with the instructions to locate the assigned "mesa electoral" among the three available options – the yellow table, the blue table, and the red table –. This must be a brand-new system of allocation as people have no clue of where to go ...".

It is undeniable that becoming a passive listener to grasp life from the others' point of view is both fascinating and risky. In particular, in a case like the one at hand, the impossibility to provide an appropriate contextualization for the reported speech is the risky complement of the same easiness that brought me next to a story touching upon all the elements I was looking for. Like other scholars documented (Boccagni 2007), the Election Day becomes the place where immigrant people (and people with an immigrant background) find and bring themselves symbols rituals and objects belonging to their country of origin. An empty and large space like the *Forum di Assago* becomes the scene where small episodes of Peruvian life and memories take place undisturbed. For all day long, I was mainly a silent observer, moving from one corner to the other, juggling with pieces of information impressions and fractions of

discourses, collecting all sorts of data even those I could not make sense of not weeks or months later. Moments like this allow me to see at least three aspects: how Peruvian citizens abroad experience and understand collectively their supposed *Peruanidad*; how they exercise their role of active voters; what do they talk about when the Italian language stops being compulsory for a while.

The second example illustrates clearly what happens when you turn off the recorder. Remembering what the manuals report about the eye-opening effect of words said at the greetings (Bertaux 1992: 47), I am grateful of having promptly transcribed these lines:

"We had just finished the interview. She was walking me to the train and was sorrow. Sorrow for not having kept track of the changes through which Peru has gone in the last decade, sorrow for not having strong feelings towards Peru, its food, or whatever... Then, suddenly, she went on "I have friends that, in front a Peruvian dish, can truly see their beloved Peru. They become emotional; you can see tears in their eyes. And I think "it is awesome feeling that way", but it doesn't happen to me".

Here is an example of how even a good plate of ceviche can awake mixed feelings of (not) belonging. The respondent expresses straightforwardly how she is torn between what she feels and what she should feel or would like to feel for her country. She laments having gone through such a hard process of detachment from her past that she cannot even recall how Peru looks like today, after two decades of progress and economic improvements. This confidentiality was coherent with the whole conversation, which means that the content did not surprise me, but her message became instantly clearer with this final comparison.

These illustrative anecdotes underlie the depth and fortuity that characterised the fieldwork. It is not uncommon to hear people talking about their migratory experiences, that they describe either overplaying or underplaying personal resilience. In this sense, the pure observation has the merit of catching the moment in its uniqueness, if you are ready to get it. These considerations bring me to the next section on issues of reflexivity.

#### **2.4. Access into the field: two sites, two tales**

When I entered the field in Milan it was my first experience as a researcher. I had discrete knowledge of computer assisted telephone interviewing (C.A.T.I. system) due to previous job experiences, but had only a dim idea of what a face-to-face and rigorously recorded interview could possibly look like. On top of that, my familiarity with the Peruvian context and migration from Latin America were outrageously scarce: I became interested in the Peruvian immigration to Italy (and partly vice-versa) as soon as I discovered that there had been a limited but stable community on the Italian soil since the late '80s. That happened while I was approaching literature to write my PhD project on dual citizenship, so it was a recent light of inspiration. With these premises I arrived in Milan, where I was hosted by a friend who supported my first steps providing me with a resemblance of home in an unfamiliar chaotic metropolis – being born and raised in a quiet medium-size town like Trento –. In the weeks preceding my arrival, I had contacted a few members of the organizations and arranged some initial appointments in the hope to find a receptive environment. With the passing of the time, the smooth and gentle path that had lead me into the composite world of the Peruvian community in the city was replaced by a more frustrating and lengthy process of negotiation. The fieldwork in Milan has been a continuous back-and-forth, both physically and emotionally. Although I felt confident in

communicating my goals and explaining the core point of the research, I could not assure a continuous presence in the city because of my accommodation arrangements. The result has been an intense but highly fragmented involvement with events either dedicated to Peruvians or to immigrants in general.

The stay in Madrid was completely different for two main reasons: firstly, because I reached Spain with preliminary results from the Italian case; secondly, because I went to Spain only twice, for a total period of six months. I found a single-room in a shared central apartment with other European students and had the support of a private university, Universidad Pontificia La Comillas, well-known from people living there. Within the University, I joined the Institute of Migration Studies and had an office at my disposal, a fact that, I learned lately, added reliability and visibility to my requests to potential respondents. After a few weeks of embarrassment and hesitation, I was slowly entering the variegated social fabric of Peruvians in Madrid. The search for new contacts and sites of aggregation brought me to religious parades and catholic masses, to feminist meetings, to public protests, to folkloric gatherings and festivals, and to political reunions in greater number than in Italy. There were days in which I had to literally jump from one event to the other, sometimes only to have a rough understanding of the situation at stake and make my presence notice. Despite the obvious reasons for being a ubiquitous ghost, I learned to enjoy the new rhythms of life and to feel less and lesser at odds with the foreign surrounding. Undeniably, the data collection and my motivation benefited of such prolonged exposure to the research object.

## **2.5. The iterative process of knowledge-production: my understanding of dual citizenship from below**

I began my fieldwork with the homework done: I had a clear idea of what people should think about their dual citizenship, including formal membership and sense of belonging, thanks to the extended normative literature on citizenship that I had been reading in preparation. Needless to say, the fieldwork experience was not as clear-cut and linear as I expected; not to mention that citizenship itself proved to be an intricate jungle to explore.

I soon realized that to study the naturalization process and its effects on people's lives implies the understanding of a much longer series of actions. The structural and legal impositions melt with individual creativity and adaptive capacity to circumstances, thus forging unexpected patterns leading to dual citizenship acquisition. In this respect, a focus on the sole process of "request-acquisition-fruition" would inevitably cut off a whole part of the story, prejudicing the comprehension of emotional attachments/detachments to/from citizenship. For these reasons, while transcribing the first interviews, I decided to include in the analysis not only the short PDC but also stages of the extended migratory process.

Moreover, as other studies show (see Papparusso et al. 2017, Schuster 2005), the inclusion of the main stages of the migratory process explains not only the individual's definition of his/her alleged integration but reveals the multiplicity of paths that converge in (dual) citizenship and depart from it. What emerges from the interviews is the importance of the legal condition as it is imposed or foreseen by the state's structure of opportunity and, along with it, the different ways through which migrants meet the requirements. In parallel, respondents find motivations, elaborate justifications, cultivate aspirations and re-shape their identifications and sense of belonging like in a cause-effect circle. This

continuous re-shaping follows the passage from one status to the other – i.e. status mobility (Schuster 2005).

Here I report two examples of such a relationship between identifications and legal conditions. The move from one status to the other could be a very smooth and coherent path. For instance, Guillermo got an initial pre-contract back in Peru that was formalized in Spain. Adequate housing conditions were provided for him by the firm in Spain, along with some help to filling the papers for the renewals and a quick naturalization occurrence. Moreover, given the newly acquired rights, Guillermo even took the possibility to invite his mom from Peru and allow her acquiring a five-year permit as family member of an EU citizen. On top of that he is a fully-graduated software engineer and he has always worked in the IT-sector, either in Peru or in Spain.

But it could be a stop-and-go path, full of uncertainty and discomfort. Cristina's experience is a case in point. She arrived in Europe to work as an au-pair in Germany. When her contract expired she moved to Austria and kept working as an au-pair in a remote village up in the Alps. As soon as she got her three-month renewal, she moved to Spain at her cousin's. There she soon became an over-stayer working as a nanny in the underground economy. She has always been working for the same employer; nevertheless, she spent more than six years with no papers at all. If at the beginning it was her employer who refused to legalize her position, it then became a legal nightmare to get residence permit in the country. Indeed, the Spanish authorities had problems in tracing back her moves across Europe and intimated her to leave the country twice. After two unsuccessful attempts to regularize her stay, a night in jail, the dismissal of a lawyer and thanks to the collaboration of her employer, she finally got her first Spanish residence permit and is now living "in a limbo", waiting for the acceptance of her naturalization request.

How do different paths towards and across citizenship affect immigrants' lives, the way they see themselves vis-à-vis their countries of

membership, their family and relatives, their group of peers, natives and other immigrants? How does the process affect their perceptions and meanings of citizenship? These are some of the questions awakened by the stories I heard and that I will address in the following chapters.

The project design gave me the illusion of having chosen a privileged part of Peruvian immigrant population. Indeed, I targeted those who were on the verge of completing their naturalization or those who were already dual citizens. All of this notwithstanding, it became clear soon that even behind stories of successful formal integration there were often months or years of irregular situations, exploitations, fears, and a general sense of precarity spreading over all spheres of life. The evidence kept showing me that the way people went through naturalization was the ephemeral result of how people had experienced their first steps on the hosting soil and felt treated by society at large. The guarantee of being finally *uno más* in the social fabric and having acquired dual membership was not necessarily a sign of personal stability, of undisputed integration or of rewarding accomplishment. If there were indeed respondents who linked their prospective status as citizens to some kind of positive advancement in their biographies, there were also people who could not but recall the adversities they had undergone as migrants, a condition that the status acquisition could not compensate for.

Their narratives elucidated the contradictory role played by dual citizenship. Given these premises, it does not come as a surprise that I had to reconsider the explicative capacity of discourses on citizenship tout court. Dual citizenship had to be one element among the others if I wanted to portray its real weight in life accounts without imposing a priori its prominence. In this way, what emerges is a complex web of options, considerations and contingencies that shape both the migratory histories of respondents and their links with their countries of membership. When a migrant ceases to be a migrant to become a citizen through naturalization, this does not necessarily result in substantive biographical

stabilization, nor does it mean that the migratory background fades away by taking an oath of allegiance.

Hence, my own initial conceptualization of the acquisition of dual citizenship as a privileged condition was a twofold mistake. First, the assumption implies that I took on the nation state's narrative on citizenship acquisition without questioning it. I identified naturalization with the sole acquisition of full rights which poses the new member on an equal footing with other citizens, but I erroneously assumed it to be people's narrative as well. Even though the status comes by definition with the acquisition of rights, respondents experienced the acquisition on their own terms and, consequently, positioned themselves in relation to both migrant and native population underlining different aspects. The self-positioning could thus rely on symbolic, cultural, economic and material aspects of life with diverse levels of intensity for each state of membership (or residence), making my initial assumption improper. Following this reasoning, a second mistake comes to the fore. The narratives I transcribed did not necessarily make for a correspondence between being a dual citizen and being privileged. Being granted a second citizenship was not, in itself, conducive to a right away better or positive evaluation of personal achievements. To be more precise, some participants considered the new status as a commodity, a mere bureaucratic paperwork, or a structural imposition to which they would not confer the title of "privilege".

As my preconceived notions were taken away from me in the process, I shifted my empirical focus to a kind of "migrant citizenship from below" to paraphrase Shinozaki (2015). I was going to consider formal and substantial membership in two countries addressing precisely people who were on their path towards and across dual citizenship, but I was now aware that marginality and prolonged precarity could be part of the picture as well, as illustrated above. Step by step, I unpacked my implicit conviction that migrant status and denizen status coupled inevitably with marginality, while citizen and dual citizen status made pair with a position



of privilege. The conclusion was that I had to problematize the nexus between the individual and dual citizenship status rather than take it for granted. The sensitizing concept of the *sense of citizenship* helped me in this process of re-orientation.

## **2.6. Re-Orienting the research through the sense of citizenship**

As I realized that I was facing a convergence of attitudes among my respondents despite the structural differences of the two citizenship regimes, I introduced the *sense of citizenship* to re-orient the interpretation of my data. This shift took place once I came back from my first Spanish field-work. Since then, I singled out the multiple facets of the *sense of citizenship* as a sensitizing concept (Blumer 1954:7)

A definitive concept refers precisely to what is common to a class of objects, by the aid of a clear definition in terms of attributes or fixed bench marks... . A sensitizing concept lacks such specification of attributes or bench marks and consequently it does not enable the user to move directly to the instance and its relevant content. Instead, it gives the user a general sense of reference and guidance in approaching empirical instances. Whereas definitive concepts provide prescriptions of what to see, sensitizing concepts merely suggest directions along which to look.

The notion of sense of citizenship is not a brand new one in literature (see Desforges et al. 2005, Joppke 2008). Yet, it has often been used as a mere evocative label with no real depth. I built exactly on that vagueness as an exploratory means (Glaser 1978). Thanks to the sense of citizenship, I could truly focus on how my respondents framed their discourse on citizenship.

Their sense of citizenship could convey a sensorial approach about something, i.e. citizenship, that is at the same time palpable and elusive (Vink 2015) – a “concrete” legal status as well as a collection of feelings. Although a legal status is not tangible per se, its presence or absence had tangible repercussions in the lives of my Peruvian respondents. Moreover, to demonstrate the possession of a legal residence on the territory of the host state they had to file a load of paperwork to the competent authorities. Thus, citizenship (and residence) as legal status is undeniably concrete, but it is much more than just that. In the words of my interviewees, their (prospective) dual citizenship is also their own translation of a normative alignment expected from them by states. Indeed, despite structural constraints and prescriptions designed by the nation-state for individuals/migrants to be part of the citizenry, they keep some room of manoeuvre to shape their own alignment. The variety of sentiments attached to citizenship is quite impressive: from indifference to gratefulness, from belonging to detachment, from the realization of an ideal to a necessary inconvenience, from acquired recognition to instrument of change, to tell a few.

As the empirical chapters will show, the temporalities and modalities that move people from one stage to the other across their migratory journey and their PDC influence both practices and feelings of citizenship. Therefore, what migrants think or feel about their citizenship (Yanasmayan 2015, Mookherjee 2005, Fortier 2016) is as important as what they actually have and could get from it (Harpaz and Mateos 2019, Finotelli et al. 2018, Ong 1999, Mavroudi 2008). Moreover, the possibility to hold their original Peruvian citizenship does not prevent them from reconsidering that citizenship too. Neither the (newly) acquired nor the original status is given once and for all, at least on a subjective level. “What citizenship is, means, or how I use it, or how I feel about it” is all part of a process of negotiation for both citizenships and involves the migrant as embedded in social contexts –local, national, transnational, ...–. Thus, citizenship has

its weight just while it is intrinsically volatile and impalpable. My respondents could not properly define or circumscribe their own conceptions of citizenship, but their narratives conveyed their sense of citizenship anyway.

I did not develop my final understandings around the concept of the sense of citizenship itself, but it was the necessary analytic step to become aware of the normative and state-centric grid I was adopting despite my proclaimed bottom-up approach.

## **2.7. Positioning myself**

“Soy morena y con mucho pelo – I am black and with a lot of hair”: I used to text these words just before an appointment to be spotted in the crowd. Indeed, my features of black Italian – Afro-Italian had remarkable implications during the fieldwork for the access to and the interaction with respondents, in both countries.

At first, Peruvian people guessed erroneously that I was Peruvian and asked me promptly – “¿De donde eres de Perú? – Where are you from Peru?” –, a question that flattered me for being mistaken with “one of us”, and at the same time put me in an awkward position because I was going to disappoint them with my Italian roots, after a few minutes only. I could play on my apparent immigrant background as “an insider by proxy” (Carling et al. 2014) to create a sense of familiarity and facilitate an open dialogue; nevertheless my Italian upbringing was a marker I could not disguise. In this sense, I could nod and relate when they lamented the inefficiency and cumbersome nature of the Italian bureaucracy; whereas I had to be instructed about the cultural differences between Peru and Spain to understand what was disturbing or revelatory of that differences to them.

The second awkward moment was usually marked by the question "So, why Peruvians if you are not Peruvian?" to which I had to provide a sincere and convincing answer, without sounding conceited or sophisticated. From the very beginning, I realized that a simple initial answer could affect not only the interview but also, and I would add most importantly, the respondent's perception of my trustworthiness (Shaffir 1991). Through practice and pitfalls, it was clear that making them part of my curiosity for the issue of dual citizenship, for the migratory history of Peru and its less known peculiarities was the most effective tool at my disposal. Moreover, the more I read and immersed myself into their narratives, the more I got deeper and unique details from the early stages of new conversations, thus shortening the process of reciprocal trust building.

In a few occasions, respondents gave a negative opinion about the Italians, "the others", and a polite apology followed quickly when they remembered that I belonged to the others, too. Although I could personally relate to some of the racist events they were reporting, the invisible barrier of nationality was always there to remind me to keep the distance from my object of investigation, especially in Italy.

My positioning in the fieldwork was inherently ambiguous or said otherwise it made explicit the "insider-outsider roles" (Mullings 1999). On the one hand, I could be identified with my privileged status of native Italian and native European; on the other hand, my ethnic roots could speak for themselves, thus making me an immigrant among the others. As Ergun and Erdemir (2009) put it:

"the insider-outsider relationship can be conceived as a dialectical one that is continuously informed by the differentiating perceptions that researchers and informants have of themselves and others".

As I was a member of the majority population in Italy and a member of the foreign population in Spain, according to a stereotypical positionality I was an outsider in my fieldwork among Peruvian migrants in Milan whereas an insider in my fieldwork in Madrid. But this simplification did not correspond to my experience that resembled more a form of hybridity (Carling et al. 2014).

## **2.8. A few notes on my Peruvian respondents**

The relations of power between me and my respondents depended also on how they perceived me and my research. The very first lesson that I earned was that the title "PhD student" is less than informative for the majority of people. In presenting both myself and my research interests I had to be simple and explicit, and particularly in Spain extremely straightforward to get the attention I needed.

Beyond the common immigrant background that could relax our first interactions, there was always my awkward necessity to dig into their personal stories and obtain rich interviews. As I tried to be as less intrusive as possible, I memorized my questions and decided to take just a few notes during our conversations. Moreover, I soon realized that the encounter with new people would never result in a neutral sharing of information. Each interview could produce mixed feelings and mutual perceptions that needed to be internally acknowledged to remain on track. What I mean is that not all my respondents were collaborative, thoughtful, articulated and consequential in their reasoning and answers. In the space of a few seconds I had to understand how to put the person in front of me at ease while guiding his/her on the issues I needed to explore more. The hard thing is that you cannot foresee what people would say, but your task as an interviewer is to gently bring them on that subject matter.

Throughout my field work I met respondents who established themselves as helpers or gatekeepers: they were extremely helpful in enlarging my network of Peruvians and in updating me about the forthcoming events in the cities. There were those who were initially reluctant in taking part in the research but accepted mostly because invited by the gatekeepers. I also met those who were simply enthusiastic of being part of a larger study on Peruvians and eager to talk about their experiences as migrants. In this very case, the problem was not to let the interview become a therapeutic session neglecting the core element of the sense of citizenship. There were a few who seemed rather keen on the research but mysteriously disappeared or did not show at the appointment with no further notification. Conversely, I collected some interesting or even illuminating interviews from people who seemed at first distant and elusive.

The fieldwork thought me that the communication of my goals and needs as a researcher is a place of constant negotiation. I had to be patient and wait for my respondents to save some time for me. Nevertheless, the willingness to be part of my research did not guarantee a proper understanding of its aims. Thus, the progressive refinement of my understanding of dual citizenship and its correlated issues passed mostly through the continuing translation of abstractions into concrete examples or through the exposure of my main findings to ordinary people who need to grasp at least a bit of my world to let me access their own world.

## **2.9. Data description**

In this section I shortly describe the sample composition [Table 1] as the analysis in the following chapters builds on the comparison of specific individual-level characteristics. In the course of each interview, I gathered demographic information and others relating to their PDC, such as age,

level of education, place of origin, year of arrival, year of request, year of acquisition, and way of acquisition. I interviewed 37 people in Milan and 38 in Madrid, plus 2 people who had returned to Peru and 2 who had moved to the UK after naturalizing in one of the two European countries. In this description I include the characteristics of the 4 persons who moved again in the correspondent country of naturalization.

The respondents in both cities were divided into two-thirds female and one-third male. The average age at migration was 29 in Italy and 31 in Spain, and the average current age was 50 in Italy and 52 in Spain. Moreover, while almost 60% of respondents in Italy arrived between 1990 and 1999, only a 30% arrived later than 2000; the exact opposite is true for people naturalizing/naturalized in Spain as the majority arrived with the new century.

The educational level of the respondents was high, as the majority had completed college education or at least take some courses; moreover, among those with a college degree some had also enrolled in a master or in PhD track in Europe. The impossibility to complete a college degree, especially for those attending public universities, was due to the difficult political and economic situation endured by Peru throughout the late '80s and the '90s.

Although most of the people had been living in Lima, the capital city of Peru, before their migration, almost one-third was originally of provincial areas. Another interesting element is that even *limeños*, those born and raised in Lima, from time to time underlined their provincial decent either on the side of their parents or of their grandparents.

For what concerns the naturalization process, in Italy respondents were distributed along the three stages of PDC, while in Spain the contacted people were predominantly skewed in the stage of fruition. It is true that the great majority of people came to Europe as adults and acquired their second citizenship following the normal residence track, but there were a few exemptions. For instance, a few persons came as

spouses of double citizens or as minors: I included them in the sample only if they had naturalized while residing in Europe – in the case of married persons – and if they had naturalized/were naturalizing as adults subject to residence requirements with no fast track – in the case of minors –.

**Table 4: Respondents' characteristics on gender, stage on PDC, way of citizenship acquisition/request, time at citizenship acquisition/request. Place of origin, employment, age, year of arrival, education. Unit Number and percentages are displayed.**

| Table 1                                     |    |                  |   |    |                  |
|---|----|------------------|---|----|------------------|
| Respondents characteristics                 |    |                  |   |    |                  |
| Italy                                       |    |                  | Spain                                       |    |                  |
|   |    | Percent of total |   |    | Percent of total |
| Female                                      | 26 | 68               | Female                                      | 26 | 63               |
| Male  | 12 | 32               | Male  | 15 | 37               |
| PDC   |    |                  | PDC   |    |                  |
| <i>Request</i>                              | 8  | 21               | <i>Request</i>                              | 3  | 7                |
| <i>Acquisition</i>                          | 18 | 47               | <i>Acquisition</i>                          | 6  | 15               |
| <i>Fruition</i>                             | 12 | 32               | <i>Fruition</i>                             | 32 | 78               |
| Way of dual citizenship acquisition/request |    |                  | Way of dual citizenship acquisition/request |    |                  |
| <i>Residence</i>                            | 29 | 76               | <i>Residence</i>                            | 36 | 88               |
| <i>Marriage*</i>                            | 9  | 24               | <i>Marriage*</i>                            | 5  | 12               |
| When dual citizenship is requested          |    |                  | When dual citizenship is requested          |    |                  |
| On time <sup>#</sup>                        | 17 | 45               | On time <sup>#</sup>                        | 21 | 51               |
| Postponed                                   | 21 | 55               | Postponed                                   | 20 | 49               |
| Place of origin                             |    |                  | Place of origin                             |    |                  |
| <i>Lima</i>                                 | 31 | 82               | <i>Lima</i>                                 | 29 | 71               |
| <i>Province</i>                             | 7  | 18               | <i>Province</i>                             | 12 | 29               |



|   |    |     |                            |    |     |
|---|----|-----|----------------------------|----|-----|
| Education   |    |     | Education                  |    |     |
| <i>High school or less</i>  | 12 | 32  | <i>High school or less</i> | 13 | 32  |
| <i>Some college</i>   | 4  | 11  | <i>Some college</i>        | 5  | 12  |
| <i>College</i>  | 17 | 44  | <i>College</i>             | 19 | 46  |
| <i>College plus</i>   | 5  | 13  | <i>College plus</i>        | 4  | 10  |
|   |    |     |                            |    |     |
| Employment  |    |     | Employment                 |    |     |
| <i>Employed</i>   | 26 | 68  | <i>Employed</i>            | 32 | 78  |
| <i>Unemployed°</i>  | 12 | 32  | <i>Unemployed°</i>         | 9  | 22  |
|   |    |     |                            |    |     |
| Current age   |    |     | Current age                |    |     |
| <i>18 - 40</i>  | 8  | 20  | <i>18 - 40</i>             | 10 | 24  |
| <i>41- 54</i>   | 16 | 43  | <i>41 - 54</i>             | 23 | 56  |
| <i>55+</i>  | 14 | 37  | <i>55+</i>                 | 8  | 20  |
|   |    |     |                            |    |     |
| Age at arrival  |    |     | Age at arrival             |    |     |
| <i>0 - 18</i>   | 3  | 8   | <i>0 - 18</i>              | 2  | 5   |
| <i>19 - 29</i>  | 16 | 42  | <i>19 - 29</i>             | 16 | 39  |
| <i>30 - 39</i>  | 16 | 42  | <i>30 - 39</i>             | 17 | 42  |
| <i>40 - 49</i>  | 3  | 8   | <i>40 - 49</i>             | 5  | 12  |
| <i>50+</i>  | 0  | 0   | <i>50+</i>                 | 1  | 2   |
|   |    |     |                            |    |     |
| Year of arrival   |    |     | Year of arrival            |    |     |
| <i>1980 - 1989</i>  | 4  | 10  | <i>1980 - 1989</i>         | 2  | 5   |
| <i>1990 - 1999</i>  | 25 | 66  | <i>1990 - 1999</i>         | 16 | 39  |
| <i>2000 - ....</i>  | 9  | 24  | <i>2000 - ....</i>         | 23 | 56  |
|   |    |     |                            |    |     |
| Total   | 38 | 100 | Total                      | 41 | 100 |
|   |    |     |                            |    |     |
| * acquisition by marriage implies shorter residence requirements            |    |     |                            |    |     |
| # on time includes accelerated acquisition via marriage                     |    |     |                            |    |     |
| ° unemployment includes unemployment, small jobs, informal jobs, retirement |    |     |                            |    |     |

## **Chapter 3**

### **The Context**

#### **3.1. Introduction**

The chapter first engages with a premise on residence as an analytical tool. Although residence will actually remain in the background throughout the development of the empirical part, it plays a crucial role as substrate of the entire research. Residence is indeed the category that outsets the pathway towards and across dual citizenship (PDC) in the considered comparison between the Italian and Spanish citizenship regimes.

After that, the chapter provides a brief description of the most recent data about Peruvian migration to Italy and Spain. This highlights the slow but steady increase of citizenship acquisitions by Peruvian migrants in both countries.

The third section illustrates under which circumstances my respondents gained access into the host country and eventually registered their residence. This is like a leap backward to give reason of the fundamental steps that precede the proper PDC.

The fourth and last section is dedicated to some reflections on the ongoing adjustments to the research object I made during the fieldwork.

The rationale behind this contextualisation is thus an attempt to conjugate the necessary presentation of the settings of my research with

the pre-existing conditions that have contributed to shape the PDC of my respondents over time.

### **3.2. Residence as a lens**

Over the last few decades, Italy and Spain have been grouped together for their similar migration histories, within rather different migration regimes (Finotelli et al. 2017). Known as countries of “new immigration”, the two Southern states started receiving migrants between the ‘70s and the ‘80, but experienced a real increase with the turn of the century. According to a Northern-European vision of migration control, the two countries have systematically failed in managing the incoming fluxes, thus becoming a *de facto* back door into Europe for hordes of irregular migrants (Finotelli 2007, Finotelli and Arango 2011). The present work does not endorse such a derogatory vision of migrants, nor does it indulge on the opportunity of defining “new” these fluxes (for a smart critique see Colombo and Sciortino 2004). However, it does include a few observations on the consequences of this social change with respect to Peruvian migration in Europe. As Italy and Spain have transitioned from emigration to immigration countries in just a few decades, it is important to locate Peruvians’ migratory fluxes in time and space.

Italy and Spain, as receiving countries, are both marked by hard versions of the *ius sanguinis* principle<sup>3</sup> when it comes to rules governing

---

<sup>3</sup> This is true at least in principle. If we then look at actual naturalization rates and their evolution over time, the scenario changes. In fact, in Spain access to citizenship based on the 10-year rule remains a residual category given the substantial influx of migrants from South America and the use of facilitating clauses of the two years or of one year by Iberian descendants (Álvarez Rodríguez 2011: 145). The same is true for the Italian context where, for example, there has been a surge in naturalizations by Romanian citizens who have passed,

naturalization. In other words, the two countries have ruled the access to naturalization in ways that, on the one side, privilege those who can legitimately claim ancestral links with the nation or the territory; while on the other side, restrict and delay access for those who lack such a direct link (Pastore 2004, Zincone 2006, Álvarez Rodríguez 2013). The prominent result is a two-speed track to become citizens. The two naturalization systems in practical terms graduate the level of closeness to the country itself. In this scenario, Peruvian migrants are among the closest national categories for the Spanish regime and among the distant ones for the Italian regime. As the required time of residence for naturalization and dual citizenship acquisition indicates the level of closeness, I present the context of this study through the lens of residence.

As the Oxford dictionary reads, “residence is the fact of living in a place”. In the case at stake, the act of being physically in the country is a necessary condition to meet the requirements for naturalization. But living in the country entails at least three more considerations. The first one is that residence must be continued. Short exit periods are admitted but are highly restricted because the presence of the person is deemed the only way to develop a real bond with the country. In the Spanish case, for instance, Peruvians can start the naturalization process after two years of residence thanks to the colonial past that ensures not only a common language but also a share of values and habits to some extent. On the contrary, Peruvian migrants residing in Italy must cultivate thoroughly that same level of closeness to the Italian society for at least ten years. Whether this discrepancy in time reflects the reality of everyday life of my respondents is the object of the following chapters, but a look at the laws makes clear the rationale behind them. The time spent within the borders of a country – *residence* – can be measured and this measure is used as a

---

with Romania's accession to the EU in 2004, from the limit of 10 years of minimum residence to 4 years.

proxy for closeness and integration by the state. Hence, residence for migrants becomes a means for the host state to ensure a certain level of homogeneity among its population. This explains why Spain grants the two-year rule only to nationals of Ibero-American countries, Andorra, the Philippines, Equatorial Guinea, Portugal or persons of Sephardic origin and allows dual citizenship exclusively for them. On its side, Italy does not limit dual citizenship status to specific nationalities but puts stringent residence thresholds for everybody but those who can prove Italian ancestry.

The second consideration is that residence must be legal – and/or traceable in time and space – to count on a formal level. Ideally, migrants access the host country through legal channels and remain legally in the country to make future naturalization requests. Although this clause sounds easy and straightforward, there have been a series of adjustments that have repeatedly hindered its full implementation. The result of these approximations of the legality clause is that both individuals and states have found ways to go round the law and, at the same time, to stick to it in a perverse circle. This is a fragile equilibrium in which short term convenience and limited derogations clash with the state's long term need to be consistent and predictable. Oscillations between strictness and mildness have long characterised the two Mediterranean countries: they both have granted several amnesties to migrants in irregular or undocumented situations since the '80s (Hierro 2016, Paparusso et al. 2017). What was designed as a temporary and *ad hoc* solution to regularize large numbers of people already on the territory became for a while a means that governments in power, either in Italy or in Spain, used with ease (Finotelli 2007). The output was a stretched legality clause to give a regularized, thus legal(ized), entry point to those who would have not met the requirements for residence otherwise. Likewise, migrants managed to abide by the law for most of its parts. Indeed, as I detail later, they put in place illegal or semi-legal conducts (Cebulko 2014, Kubal 2013)

to act overall in conformity with the law and pile up the required years of residence.

A third consideration recognises that through residence potentially everybody can become a citizen, because the use of formally defined criteria of naturalization is a way to democratise the access into state membership (Bauböck 2015, Davies 2005). However, this potentiality is not dependant on residence alone. Put differently, residence is a necessary but not sufficient condition. If it is true that a certain degree of integration into the social fabric of the host state comes through residence, the two citizenship regimes impose each its own set of parameters to complement the one on residence. Remarkably, the differences in treatment reserved to Peruvian migrants in Italy and Spain do not rely solely on the two vs ten years of residence, but on a wider range of requirements. For instance, the Italian regime evaluates the economic solvency of the applicant's last three years, while the Spanish one looks at the last three months. In both states the applicant must have a clear criminal record, while only in Spain aspiring citizens are asked to pass a test of cultural knowledge to file the request. Nevertheless, it remains in the faculty of the state to deny the request of naturalization.

As the above considerations show, residence is made of, defined and redefined by a series of practices. Although rules and state's provisions are in place and frame the overall structure of opportunity for migrant people to become citizen, the structure remains porous and slightly malleable under the pressure of circumstances. Therefore, a certain level of opacity is somehow structural in both countries and at times used – or tolerated – by migrants and by the state itself.

### **3.3. Peruvian migrants in Italy and Spain nowadays**

The core element of my comparison is related to the strong difference existing in residence length required for naturalisation by the two European countries. While Spain poses two years of residence as the main condition, Italy requires its immigrants a ten-year residence period (Marin et al., 2015, Zincone and Basili 2010). Coupling these differences in residence requirements with the differences in the speeds of the evaluation process of the applications and their formal acceptance (Fuentes and Pérez 2013, Tintori 2013), and despite the general increase in naturalisation rates in both countries during the last decade, Spain's rates were as twice as those of Italy's – 4.45% to 2.30% – in 2013. The number of total acquisition of citizenship then decreased in absolute terms in both countries but with a different path. In Spain there had been a steady decrease from 225.800 in 2013 to 66.500 in 2017; while in Italy there has been a pick in 2017 of about 201.600 in 2016 that has then decrease to 146.600 in 2017 (Eurostat). For further details see the Table below.

### Total number of acquisitions of citizenship in the EU-28 and EFTA, 2009-2017

|                | 2009         | 2010         | 2011         | 2012         | 2013         | 2014         | 2015         | 2016         | 2017         |
|----------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| <b>EU-28*</b>  | <b>771.8</b> | <b>815.1</b> | <b>785.5</b> | <b>821.6</b> | <b>979.6</b> | <b>888.4</b> | <b>840.7</b> | <b>994.8</b> | <b>825.4</b> |
| Belgium        | 32.8         | 34.6         | 29.8         | 38.6         | 34.8         | 18.7         | 27.1         | 31.9         | 37.4         |
| Bulgaria       | 1.0          | 0.9          | 0.6          | 1.8          | 0.8          | 0.9          | 1.3          | 1.6          | 0.9          |
| Czechia        | 1.1          | 1.1          | 1.6          | 1.8          | 2.2          | 5.1          | 2.6          | 4.6          | 3.5          |
| Denmark        | 6.9          | 4.0          | 4.2          | 3.6          | 1.8          | 4.7          | 11.7         | 15.0         | 7.3          |
| Germany        | 96.1         | 104.6        | 109.6        | 114.6        | 111.8        | 110.6        | 110.1        | 112.8        | 115.4        |
| Estonia        | 1.7          | 1.2          | 1.5          | 1.3          | 1.3          | 1.6          | 0.9          | 1.8          | 0.9          |
| Ireland        | 4.5          | 6.4          | 10.7         | 25.0         | 24.3         | 21.1         | 13.6         | 10.0         | 8.2          |
| Greece         | 17.0         | 9.4          | 17.5         | 20.3         | 29.5         | 20.9         | 13.9         | 33.2         | 34.3         |
| Spain          | 79.6         | 123.7        | 114.6        | 94.1         | 225.8        | 205.9        | 114.4        | 150.9        | 66.5         |
| France         | 135.9        | 143.3        | 114.6        | 96.1         | 97.3         | 105.6        | 113.6        | 119.2        | 114.3        |
| Croatia        | 5.3          | 3.3          | 3.3          | 1.1          | 1.0          | 0.7          | 1.2          | 4.0          | 0.7          |
| Italy          | 59.4         | 65.9         | 56.2         | 65.4         | 100.7        | 129.9        | 178.0        | 201.6        | 146.6        |
| Cyprus         | 4.1          | 1.9          | 2.2          | 2.3          | 1.6          | 2.3          | 3.3          | 4.7          | 5.5          |
| Latvia         | 3.2          | 3.7          | 2.5          | 3.8          | 3.1          | 2.1          | 1.9          | 2.0          | 1.8          |
| Lithuania      | 0.2          | 0.2          | 0.3          | 0.2          | 0.2          | 0.2          | 0.2          | 0.2          | 0.2          |
| Luxembourg     | 4.0          | 4.3          | 3.4          | 4.7          | 2.6          | 3.2          | 3.2          | 3.3          | 5.0          |
| Hungary        | 5.8          | 6.1          | 20.6         | 18.4         | 9.2          | 8.7          | 4.0          | 4.3          | 2.8          |
| Malta          | 0.8          | 0.3          | 0.2          | 0.7          | 0.4          | 0.3          | 0.6          | 1.5          | 2.0          |
| Netherlands    | 29.8         | 26.3         | 28.6         | 31.0         | 25.9         | 32.7         | 27.9         | 28.5         | 27.7         |
| Austria        | 8.0          | 6.1          | 6.7          | 7.0          | 7.4          | 7.6          | 8.1          | 8.5          | 9.1          |
| Poland         | 2.5          | 2.9          | 3.4          | 3.8          | 3.9          | 4.1          | 4.0          | 3.7          | 4.2          |
| Portugal       | 24.2         | 21.8         | 23.2         | 21.8         | 24.5         | 21.1         | 20.4         | 25.1         | 18.0         |
| Romania        | 9.4          | :            | :            | :            | 1.5          | 1.7          | 2.1          | 4.5          | 6.8          |
| Slovenia       | 1.8          | 1.8          | 1.8          | 1.5          | 1.5          | 1.1          | 1.3          | 1.3          | 1.6          |
| Slovakia       | 0.3          | 0.2          | 0.3          | 0.3          | 0.2          | 0.2          | 0.3          | 0.5          | 0.6          |
| Finland        | 3.4          | 4.3          | 4.6          | 9.1          | 8.9          | 8.3          | 7.9          | 9.4          | 12.2         |
| Sweden         | 29.5         | 32.5         | 36.6         | 50.2         | 50.2         | 43.5         | 49.0         | 61.3         | 68.9         |
| United Kingdom | 203.6        | 194.8        | 177.6        | 193.9        | 207.5        | 125.6        | 118.0        | 149.4        | 123.1        |
| Iceland        | 0.7          | 0.5          | 0.4          | 0.4          | 0.6          | 0.6          | 0.8          | 0.7          | 0.6          |
| Liechtenstein  | 0.1          | 0.1          | 0.1          | 0.1          | 0.1          | 0.1          | 0.1          | 0.2          | 0.1          |
| Norway         | 11.4         | 11.6         | 14.4         | 12.7         | 13.5         | 15.9         | 12.4         | 13.7         | 21.6         |
| Switzerland    | 43.4         | 39.3         | 36.0         | 33.5         | 34.1         | 32.8         | 40.7         | 42.9         | 44.9         |

(\*) The EU-28 aggregate includes Romanian data for 2009.

(:) Data not available

Note : The individual values do not add up to the total due to rounding

Source: Eurostat (online data code: migr acq)

As a matter of fact, in 1992 Italy strengthened its ties with its diaspora and descent, while making more stringent naturalisation requirements for all non-European Union immigrants. In the same years and moved by the same rationale?, Spain amended its Nationality Law written in the Civil Code. The result was that, among the others, both countries favoured their lineages in Latin America, the main difference consisting in residence requirements. Italian descents can acquire the Italian citizenship while residing abroad. Spaniard-origin people, instead, can naturalize only after two years of stable residence in Spain. It is also true that in the Peruvian case the ancestry link with Italy has shown a



limited impact if compared to the colonial past of Spain (Caselli 2009). Overall, though, Peruvians in Spain face a far easier access to citizenship than their counterparts in Italy.

Moreover, since the late 1980s, these countries have become the principal destinations of Peruvians in Europe. Spain accounts for the 16% and Italy accounts for the 10% of the total 3.5 million Peruvian citizens emigrated abroad (Ramos and Ruth 2014). Hence, throughout the last three decades, the migratory fluxes from Peru have changed in nature - from the early supply of unskilled labour to the current increase in family reunifications (Takenaka et al. 2010). This has probably enlarged the observable variations within the same immigrant population. According to data drawn from the International Migration Outlook (OECD 2015) and the *I Encuesta Mundial a la Comunidad peruana en el exterior*, immigrants from Peru have almost quintupled in Spain from 37,000 to 198,000, and doubled in Italy from 43,000 to 102,000, between 2000 and 2011. These figures suggest two conclusions: Peruvians migrate in larger numbers to Spain and they naturalise in Spain at a much faster pace<sup>4</sup>.

### **3.3.1. Between increasing migration outflows and increasing citizenship acquisitions**

The Peruvian population legally residing in Italy at the beginning of 2018 was about 97,379 people, corresponding to 2.5% of the total amount of migrants from third countries (or non-EU citizens). Recent statistics released by the Italian Ministry of Work and Social Policies (Ministero del lavoro e delle politiche sociali 2018) suggest that after a peak of 6,000 inflows in 2012 there has been a slow but steady decline of the Peruvian

---

<sup>4</sup> Rimane la rilevanza del contesto italiano per l'immigrazione peruviana, come dimostrato dal numero di regolarizzazioni di cittadini peruviani dal 1986 al 2003: in particolare, si parla di un totale di 35.831 regolarizzati su una popolazione residente (regolare) di 46.964 unità (Finotelli 2007).

community in Italy due to two related facts. On the one side, Italy has become a relatively less attractive country for Peruvians who either left the country or decided not to migrate (or migrate less) to Italy in the first place or to leave it to go somewhere else. On the other side, an increasing number of Peruvian migrants acquired Italian citizenship and became dual citizens with no exceptions<sup>5</sup>. The acquisitions of Italian citizenship went from 1,589 in 2012 to 5,503 in 2015 with an increase of almost 400% for what concerns naturalization by residence. Thus, the community has undergone a process of stabilization that is also confirmed by a decreasing number of residence permits for work and increasing number of family reunifications. The Peruvian community in Italy has a net prevalence of women, which are 59.1%; is mostly concentrated in the Northern regions and in particular in Lombardy; and it is mainly employed in the care and service sector (Barbiano di Belgiojoso and Ortensi 2014, Ministero del lavoro e delle politiche sociali 2018).

**Table 5: Number of naturalizations among Peruvian migrants in Italy. Years 2003-2017**

| Number of Naturalizations among Peruvian migrants in Italy |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
|--|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Year   | 2003 | 2008 | 2009 | 2010 | 2011 | 2012 | 2013 | 2014 | 2015 | 2016 | 2017 |
| Female   |      | 774  | 1355 | 1415 | 1227 | 1097 | 1411 | 2086 | 3472 | 3614 | 2281 |
| Male   |      | 290  | 592  | 820  | 499  | 492  | 644  | 1050 | 2031 | 2169 | 1408 |
| Total  | 383  | 1064 | 1947 | 2235 | 1726 | 1589 | 2055 | 3136 | 5503 | 5783 | 3689 |
| Source: Eurostat 2018                                      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |

---

<sup>5</sup> Observation referred by Peruvian consular authorities in Milan during an interview conducted in Italian and Spanish.

Peruvian migrants followed a similar pattern in Spain as well. The resident population declined from 138,143 units in 2010 to 66,681 in 2018 (Eurostat) and the corresponding number of Peruvians registered into the social security dropped from 82,642 to 31,773 in the years 2008-2015 (INE). Again, the reasons for a declining presence of Peruvian migrants in Spain should be found in two parallel strategies. The first strategy or option that Peruvians adopted was emigration from Spain either to move to another EU country or elsewhere in the world or to go back to Peru. The second option has been naturalization. Notably, in year we saw a peak of Peruvian migrants leaving the country or acquiring the Spanish citizenship. The total number of naturalizations among Peruvian migrants in the decade 2005-2010 amounts to 98,198 (Eurostat).

**Table 6. Number of Naturalizations among Peruvian migrants in Spain. Years 2003-2017**

| Number of Naturalizations among Peruvian migrants in Spain |      |       |       |       |       |       |        |        |       |       |      |
|--|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|--------|--------|-------|-------|------|
| Year   | 2003 | 2008  | 2009  | 2010  | 2011  | 2012  | 2013   | 2014   | 2015  | 2016  | 2017 |
| Female   |      | 4.630 | 3.461 | 4.589 | 5.085 | 4.500 | 10.426 | 9.221  | 3.856 | 3.994 | 1785 |
| Male   |      | 3.576 | 2.891 | 3.702 | 4.170 | 3.968 | 8.799  | 7.380  | 3.098 | 2.939 | 1439 |
| Total  | 2929 | 8.206 | 6.352 | 8.291 | 9.255 | 8.468 | 19.225 | 16.601 | 6.954 | 6.933 | 3224 |
| Source: Eurostat 2018                                      |      |       |       |       |       |       |        |        |       |       |      |

In both countries, once people naturalize they are statistically categorized among the citizenry and almost any trace is lost about their former (or dual) citizenship. This is the reason why it is difficult still nowadays to have a full picture of dual citizenship as a global phenomenon. Since Peruvians in the two Mediterranean countries are entitled to keep their original citizenship and the Consular authorities I contacted<sup>6</sup> reported no renunciations of the original Peruvian citizenship,

---

<sup>6</sup> Peruvian Consulates in Madrid and Milan

we can assume with good approximation that the totality of naturalizations resulted in the acquisition of dual citizenship.

### **3.4. Gaining access into the host country**

Before moving on to the empirical results of this research, I present the trajectories that my respondents followed to migrate, acquire dual citizenship and live as naturalized dual citizens. While so far I have presented the states' point of view and rules on the PDC, I turn now to migrants' point of view and to the concrete actions they brought forward to navigate through legal statuses. Thus, after the comprehension of the structures of opportunities put in place by Italy and Spain for migrants to naturalize, I furnish a detailed list of "how" my Peruvian respondents used these structures of opportunities. The list includes legal, semi-legal and illegal practices. A similar analysis was conducted by McIlwaine (2015: 494) who suggested that migrants create webs and practices not only to enter but also to get by afterwards in the host country

The intent is to illustrate all the forms of migration and PDC I came across throughout the investigation. Moreover, given that all my respondents were by selection on their PDC, either on request or acquisition or fruition stage, mapping the process works as a tool to immediately grasp the breadth of combinations people might use to reach the same "formal" stage.

This preliminary catalogue will be examined more thoroughly in some of its part in the empirical chapters to combine personal accounts of "how" with the explanations about "why" determined circumstances lead to the adoption of a specific strategy (or set of strategies) to become a dual citizen.

**Table 7: Respondents' ways of access into the host country**

| <b>WAYS OF ACCESS INTO THE HOST COUNTRY</b> |   |
|---|---|
| LAWFULLY WITH A GENUINE JOB CONTRACT        | <i>Arrives with a real job contract that pays social security</i>   |
| LAWFULLY BUT WITH A FICTITIOUS JOB CONTRACT | <i>Arrives with a real job contract that does not pay social security: the person has to work in the shadow economy</i> |
| LAWFULLY ON A TOURIST VISA                  | <i>Arrives as a tourist, becomes over-stayer: the person has to regularize</i>  |
| LAWFULLY ON FAMILY REUNIFICATION            | <i>Arrives as a family dependant: the person has an easier access to permit of stay</i>                                 |
| ILLEGALLY THROUGH BORDER CROSSING           | <i>Arrives crossing borders without any authorization: the person has to regularize</i>                                 |
| ACROSS THE EU ACCORDING TO FREE MOVEMENT    | <i>Moves from one country to the other with no authorization to settle in the second country</i>                        |

#### **3.4.1. Migrating lawfully and with a genuine job contract**

Some of my respondents left Peru only with a stable contract ready in the host country and all the paperwork done. They were afraid of going abroad without legal permission because they knew that being in unlawful positions could hinder their chances to really gain from the move or, even worst, could compromise their chances to bring family members on reunification permit. This was the case of Helga, who reached Spain after

a big company made job recruiting directly in Peru. The firm granted her a visa, an accommodation, and a salary high enough to sponsor the arrival of her daughter and her husband a few months later in accordance with the Spanish immigration law.

#### **3.4.2. Migrating lawfully but with a fictitious job contract**

Other respondents could reach Europe thanks to a job contract that they knew from the very beginning was not going to cover their social security. They managed to get the sponsorship of a firm in the host country through the help of relatives and friends living already in the destination country or, more dangerously, by recurring to illegal intermediaries. Those kinds of services were usually expensive and needed to be paid back or even in advance. As a consequence, once arrived in the host country, those migrants had the urgency to find a job in the black market to earn a living and make their work visa last as long as possible.

#### **3.4.3. Migrating lawfully on a tourist visa**

Some of my respondents reached Europe on a tourist visa by knowing in advance they were going to overstay the permit. They sought the help of family members and friends already living in the host country or had to get by on their own if they were pioneers.

#### **3.4.4. Migrating lawfully on family reunification**

I met only children or spouses, but the law includes other categories. There are two aspects to underline for this way of entry. As a first note, children were rarely aware of their imminent migration and had largely not been consulted at any point in time. They were more the object of their parents' attempts to guarantee them better opportunities in life. In a few cases the parents recognised that the energies and money they devoted to bring their children back with them in the host country responded to an egoistic desire to feel and be seen finally as caring

persons<sup>7</sup>. Children reported to have endured intense inner conflicts as they were torn between the happiness to be with their parent/s again and the sorrow for having left Peru, with no real options available to them (Yeoh and Lam 2007, Suárez-Orozco et al. 2002, Forman 1993, Arnold 1991). As a second remark, spouses of dual citizens could benefit even more of their marital status as they had ideally faster access to long-term permits and naturalization tracks. Moreover, the wedlock was never contested by the host immigration authorities. Despite the fact this is not always the case as the literature reports, my respondents relied on their spouses undisturbed. However, in half of the cases the marriage was over even before migration but this aspect was not scrutinized at the arrival. The end result was that some abuses were perpetrated under the label family reunification to prompt the admittance of already disjointed families.

#### **3.4.5. Migrating illegally through border crossing**

Very few people among my respondents were smuggled into the host country with no legal documents. Even though it is a residual strategy in my sample, the recurrent use of regularizations both in Italy and Spain across the years made it a viable means of entry, at least in the long run. They eventually regularised their status through amnesty.

#### **3.4.6. Migrating across the EU in accordance with the free movement principle**

A girl managed to move legally from Germany to Austria and then to Spain with a valid permit of stay for non-EU migrants. The downside of

---

<sup>7</sup>Indeed, as Rosita revealed to me, she dreamt of being together with her child again to wash away that sensation of being a guilty mother who abandoned her baby to follow her ambition (Female, 41, in Madrid since 2008, fruition stage).

her experience was the impossibility to regularize her position in the final host country, due to lack of any sign of entrance on her passport. Although this sounds like a contradiction in terms, the freedom to move from one country to the other with no internal borders and customs within the EU made her almost impossible to justify her presence in Spain, and the authorities decided to prosecute her as an illegal immigrant (cfr. *Migrating illegally through border crossing*).

### **3.5. “Lo hice para no estar renovando”: first impressions from the fieldwork**

Despite all the reports and information I had been reading before entering fieldwork, I was struck by reality when I started my pilot interviews and even more so while recording pieces of life from my respondents.

It is true that most respondents, usually by the end of the interview, would mention whether and how they were cultivating their sense of *Peruanidad* and carrying it along their lives, either behind the close door of their homes or in public ceremonies and events dedicated to Peru. By the same token, they would not forget to mention sooner or later which kind of link they had developed with the host country and its (prospective) citizenship. Those questions were at the core of the open interview guidelines I was following, so they were somehow expected to say something on that. Nevertheless, what surprised me the most was that such a clear positioning of oneself on the dual citizenship spectrum came as a second thought on the issue.

The conversation around their PDC was, first and foremost, about a path through bureaucratic stuff – “I naturalized because I was tired of renewing my permit”. In Italy as well as in Spain migrants complained about the time-consuming procedures to renew their residence permit. The simple idea of a compulsory renewal appeared to be a source of



distress, although the process accelerated throughout the years with the introduction of on-line registrations and document submissions.

The distress for the renewal came at least in two forms, a practical and a more psychological one. Speaking in practical terms, the recognition of legal residence by state authorities follows a specific request by the migrant who has to comply with a series of criteria. More so, the criteria assessment is highly institutionalized and formalized. Consequently, the submission of the necessary documentation must be on time, complete and updated. Then, the bureaucratic pressure spreads on other spheres of life and it is exactly there where the difference in burdens lies. For instance, depending on the job they had, my respondents presented me a whole range of obstacles in getting things done properly. Some of them had problems in obtaining even half a day off to get out and collect what the authorities had requested them. Those migrants were usually working in very precarious conditions and felt the obligation not to disappoint their managers to prevent any abrupt dismissal. On the opposite, there were those who benefitted of a more stable and secure working environment that gave them the proper administrative support to complete successfully the submission of any permits. In this second case, the possibility to delegate to someone else the management of such burdensome procedures came as a relief. Overall, the introduction of on-line submissions made the procedure less frustrating (and humiliating) as reported by those who arrived ten years ago or earlier and, at that time, had to stand in rows for hours before having the chance to confer with an officer.

Pablo [52, Milan, arrival 1988, acquisition 2007, Fruition]:

"We were mistreated... There were people who went there early in the morning and then spent there more than 10 hours or took turns with someone else. Fortunately, there is technology today, people used to complain a lot at that time.

[...] All foreigners used to come to the *Questura* (Police Station) to stay in queue and quarrel with one another over the queue”.

Although the practical side of distress did not play the same role in all the migratory experiences I heard, its psychological side was more “democratically” shared among my respondents and did not depend axiomatically on some form of precariousness. In fact, the obligation to submit a request to remain legally in the host country reminds migrants that they must justify their presence, and this is the same for each of them. Until their eligibility for citizenship becomes true, they keep experiencing such a zone of (partial) discomfort at each request. In some cases the concrete possibility to be denied the permit exacerbated this psychological side-effect and made them feel less and less secure or impatient, while waiting for a response from the authorities.

The two forms of distress should not be considered as alternatives but as complementary ones. In my view, their complementarity could explain the similar attitudes I found in the two countries, despite the fast track to naturalization and dual citizenship reserved to Peruvian migrants in Spain. In this sense, feelings and emotions around the condition of being a migrant emerge in similar ways regardless of the differences in residence requirements in the two contexts. It is the process itself that institutionalizes the distinction between citizens, who can reside with no restrictions, and migrants, who need a renewal sooner or later, while reinforcing the power of the state.

The choice of some of my respondents to postpone the naturalization beyond the minimum time required to access it does not really change the general view of lengthy and burdensome procedures for the renewal of residence permits. The postponement marks eventually the distance between the ordinary life of migrant individuals and the management of their presence in the host country. As the following

stories show, the administrative issues affect the entire life of a migrant but the reverse is also true. Hence, even the urgency to comply with the state rules or to move towards the acquisition of dual citizenship according to the structure of opportunity designed by the state depend on ordinary and extraordinary events in migrants' lives. Here I contend that the simple postponement does not deny the practical or the psychological explanation but it adds a further layer of complexity to the whole picture.

## **Chapter 4**

### **Temporalities of lived citizenship Where is time in (dual) citizenship?**

#### **4.1. Introduction**

The time usually associated with citizenship is either the residence required to apply for the status or the waiting time for the applications to be processed by the authorities. It is a conception of time strictly related to the state and its mode of regulation. Time is also used as a means for re-socialization of migrants to link their lives with life of the nation-state (Golden 2002). More generally, temporal language permeates discourses on migration and alienage:

“Time is a central variable and tool used by immigration law, policy and control. Foreigners are categorised in terms of the length of legal permitted stay, and of whether they are entitled to temporary or permanent residence. Once allowed into the host country, immigrants are often subjected to forms of control that set up temporal conditions for renewing permits and other legal documentation, and for seeking changes in their immigrant status” (Cwerner 2001, 10).

The idea that time matters is at the basis of my entire research project. It was built around the structural differences between the Italian and the Spanish citizenship regimes. The years of stable residence required to start the path towards and across dual citizenship – i.e. 10 vs 2 years – were the structural time guiding the comparison. The objective time structurally imposed on migrants should have been the revelatory

lens on how (prospective) dual citizen understand their memberships and build their sense of belonging. Even though my fieldwork did not confute this assumption, it introduced different forms of time to be taken into consideration.

Once I realized that the two and ten years spans gave reasons of the speed at naturalization but could hardly explain why my respondents acquired (or aspired to) dual citizenship or how they built their sense of citizenship, I looked for transversal lines between the stories I was collecting in Italy and Spain. As Cwerner noted, "the time perspectives and symbols of immigrants affect in many ways their predicament in the 'host' society" (Cwerner 2001, 7). Behind those stories I could see similar patterns and biographical time played a great part in them. The time of legal residence as required by the state was just one among the forms of time or temporalities framing their stories.

The chapter delves into the temporal dimensions of migrants' differentiated experiences of dual citizenship acquisition. The intersection between the structural and biographical forms of time is revelatory in the sense that it makes overt how *jus domicile* or residence is a means in the hands of both states and individuals. States require a minimum length of residence before applying for naturalization, so they set temporal requirements that structure the possibilities for migrants to become members of the citizenry. On their part, migrants build their PDC and sense of citizenship not only through these structural requirements but also in reason of individual characteristics and circumstances. While illustrating the interactions between the five temporalities of citizenship and their relevance within a few exemplary stories of my respondents, the chapter looks at the whole sample and grounds the analyses for the subsequent chapters. The results, which move from a combination of residence as required by each citizenship regime with length of residence as reported by my Peruvian respondents, propose a distinction between "on time" and "procrastinated" acquisition of dual citizenship.

Thus, the chapter focuses on two aspects: first, on when and how people decide to apply for dual citizenship; and second, on how does the decision interact with (or is shaped by) the contingencies of life and the “disciplining nature of the state” (Robertson 2014). It suggests that time, in its different forms, is implicated in the formation of migrants’ sense of citizenship.

#### **4.2. Temporalities of citizenship**

Moving from similar reflections on foregrounding temporal dimensions in migration research (Erdal and Ezzati 2015, King and Skeldon 2010, Koh 2015), I recognize the interplay of five forms of time organized into two main spheres: the structural time and the biographical time. Their distinction is analytical and serves the need of clarity, it combines the acknowledgment that there exist a state’s “staging of citizenship” (Shapiro 2000) and conversely that “the ways in which we live and understand citizenship are not fully defined by the nation states” (Staeheli et al. 2012:631). I use the terms structural and biographical as intuitive labels originating in the opposition state-individual. In particular, the biographical sphere looks at time as embedded in the personal narratives of my Peruvian respondents. The attention paid to embeddedness helps exploring the changing meanings and attachments to citizenship(s) through the words and eyes of migrants on their path towards and across dual citizenship.

**Table 8. Temporalities of (dual) citizenship**

| FORMS OF TIME – <i>TEMPORALITIES</i> OF DUAL CITIZENSHIP |                                 |   |
|--|---------------------------------|---|
| STRUCTURAL   |                                 |   |
|  | CITIZENSHIP REGIME REQUIREMENTS | <i>Years of residence required by the citizenship regime to start the process of naturalization</i> |
| BIOGRAPHICAL   |                                 |   |
|  | YEAR OF ARRIVAL                 | <i>Historical time at the arrival in the host country</i>   |
|  | AGE                             | <i>Years since birth, considered in relation to the migratory journey</i>                           |
|  | LIFE-COURSE STAGE               | <i>A specific event or situation marking a transition in individual's life</i>                      |
|  | LENGTH OF RESIDENCE             | <i>Time spent in the host country, including illegal/undocumented residence</i>                     |

The first form of time I present is *time of the citizenship regime*. It is the form of time pertaining to the structural sphere and has disciplining connotations. It is imposed by the state and marks, from an ideal point of view, when the transition from one status – foreigner – to the other –

citizen – may take place. It is the legal requirement that migrants must meet in order to be admitted into the citizenry of the host state.

The remaining four forms of time are all related to the biographical sphere. A second time dimension is the one identified by the *year of arrival*/that puts the individual in a specific historical time. The fact that the same year can have different implications for the social, economic and cultural sphere of each country helps to contextualize the migratory journey of each individual with an eye to the causes and constraints at both global and local level. For instance, the spread of terrorist attacks during the '80s and the following burst of a never-ending spiral of inflation made Peru a dangerous place to live. Conversely, in the same years, Spain was optimistically recovering from Franco's dictatorship. Overall, the choice of Spain could seem a viable solution if compared to the troubled situation in the South-American country.

A third form of time is the migrant's *age*. It could determine or influence the range of possibilities at their disposal.

The fourth form of time is *life-course stage* (Elder Jr 1994, Griffiths, Rogers and Anderson 2013, 12-13, Heinz and Krüger 2001). It virtually answers the question about the role(s) embodied by migrants. The migratory project and its evolutions over time are responsible for this form.

The last form of time I single out is *length of residence* in the host country. The actual residence is affected by contingencies, bureaucracy, changes of the laws on migration and naturalization, personal preferences or possibilities. This form of time encompasses both migrants' legal and illegal/quasi-legal years of residence (Kubal 2013, Cvajner and Sciortino 2010) in the host state.

The five forms of time help the process of understanding the phenomenon of dual citizenship by asking fundamental questions such as:



**Table 9. The relationship between questions in the fieldwork and Temporalities of citizenship**

|          |  |
|----------|--|
| When     | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➔ when did she/he arrive? [<i>Year of arrival</i>]</li> <li>➔ at what age did she/he arrive? [<i>Age</i>]</li> <li>➔ how old is she/he now? [<i>Age</i>]</li> <li>➔ when did she/he request/got dual citizenship? [<i>Age</i>]</li> <li>➔ at which life-course stage was she/he at the arrival? [<i>Life-course</i>]</li> <li>➔ at which life-course stage is she/he now? [<i>Life-course</i>]</li> <li>➔ at which life-course stage was she/he when she/he requested/got dual citizenship? [<i>Life-course</i>]</li> </ul> |
| How long | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➔ has she/he been living in the host country? [<i>Length of residence</i>]</li> <li>➔ does it take to request dual citizenship? [<i>Citizenship regime requirements</i>]</li> </ul>   |

This focus on temporalities links dual citizenship to a course of events conveying a sense of temporal duration or *flows* (Griffiths et al. 2013), in which all the considered forms of time enter and complete a narrative about citizenship. Griffith et al. speak of an extended version of time which broadens the concept of a “set of discrete events” to embrace

a perspective that captures “the on-going opportunism and chance of mobility decisions, situating them in time and space and recognizing the contradiction and heterogeneity inherent in mobility” (2013, 15-16). Although the following pages deal with migration, the focus here is on how my Peruvian respondents build and understand their sense of citizenship. The use of time references as the suggested five forms of time brings to the surface heterogeneities, contradictions and even apparent nonsenses of peoples’ narratives on migration (Johnson-Hanks 2005) as well as on their PDC.

#### **4.3. The rationale behind story selection**

This chapter presents eight stories using “age at the arrival” as selection criterion. Based on the temporality I named “migrant’s age”, it makes explicit the age at which the person arrived in the host country. This specific use of my respondents’ age suits at least three purposes. In the first place, it ideally follows the growth of a person from childhood to adulthood. This linear vision of time allows discussing the narratives of citizenship through the ages of life. It captures citizenship as a lived experience in which both the structural and biographical forms of time intertwine. Second, the initial focus on their age at the arrival allows comparing as their situation has progressed through the years until the moment of the interview. It is a means to put things and elements coming from their narratives into a perspective that is at the same time more easy to understand and to locate in time and space. Third, the emphasis on their age upon arrival enables to search for differences and similarities between the stories I collected. Thus, the aim is not only to see how each Peruvian migrant went through his/her migratory journey and PDC to build a personalized sense of citizenship, but also how the other temporalities interacted among each other creating patterns or singling out deviant cases in the approaches towards the status of dual citizenship.

Each narrative traces back the most significant form(s) of time for that specific person and, at the same time, conveys a more general clue on how migrants actually experience citizenship.

The eight stories cover a wide range of themes and details that were either common among most of the respondents or exceptional cases intercepting uncommon developments.

The choices, the contingences and the mere possibilities regarding people's PDC are seen within their lives and, crucially, through their eyes.

#### **4.4. Migrating in early childhood and adolescence: some observations**

During the interviews I realised that my young Peruvian informants walk through two distinct paths that stretch along their lives as parallel and at times interdependent between each other. Investigating how, when and why the PDC appears to them a viable option has inevitably uncovered the process of "coming of age" that they experience as well<sup>8</sup>. In some cases the need to face bureaucratic requests and simply to approach the authorities on their own, without aiding elders, propels a maturation process worth observing. Of course, the learning phase is not confined to young age, especially when people deal with quickly changing rules regulating immigrant access, presence and residence in the host country.

---

<sup>8</sup> The expression "becoming adults" is purposively vague and not strictly definitory, because this is not the appropriate context to elucidate the psychological theories developed around transition from youth to early adulthood and adulthood. For a deeper understanding of the matter I recommend the readings from Jeffrey Jensen Arnett, who coined the theory of "emerging adulthood" as a specific conceptualization of people lives between their late teens to their mid- to late 20s in industrialized societies. Despite the theoretical appeal of such concept, the time span considered in the chapter did not fit such a narrow definition (Arnett 2000).

Nevertheless, the stories of the young Peruvians I met share features that are not encompassed in the narratives of older respondents and, most importantly, cannot be detached from their coming to adulthood in a foreign (or seemingly so) country.

The intent here is to show how the two paths develop, how they are acted in conjunction or at different levels. A path forges the way these young respondents see themselves as individuals; the other path forges the way they see themselves vis-à-vis their states of membership.

As mentioned in the methodological chapter (Chapter 3), younger participants in this study were selected on the basis of one criterion: whether they had acquired or were in the process of acquiring the second citizenship once reached adult status and by residence, not for parental transmission or any other possibility offered by the law. Thanks to this criterion I heard their stories firstly as children attending primary school, then as adolescents transitioning from middle school to college education or to the job market, lastly as young adults living their twenties or thirties. I also heard their increasing awareness of being immigrants with new obligations as adulthood approaches. In this respect, we can say that independence comes with a price. All the forging changes of growing older make pair with the burdensome transformations in the course of an immigrant's life in the host country.

On a substantive level, these young respondents approached their (prospective) dual status with very diverse approaches and motivations (Smith, et al. 2005). As a consequence, they evaluated their country of origin and its citizenship in light of the new country of settlement and its citizenship disposals, of their experiences as young migrants with limited capacity of choice, and of their own narrative about the future ahead. As it is a common assumption that the future is there for the youngest to grasp it with full hands, those stories remind us that there exist structural temporal and material constraints to such an enthusiastic rhetoric.

**Table 10. Summary of the section: early childhood & adolescence**

| Early Childhood & Adolescence |         |                 |                |         |             |
|-------------------------------|---------|-----------------|----------------|---------|-------------|
|                               | Country | Year of arrival | Age at arrival | Age now | PDC         |
| Dolores                       | IT      | 1991            | 6              | 31      | Acquisition |
| Eduardo                       | ES      | 2001            | 15             | 31      | Fruition    |

#### **4.4.1. In Italy as a child: Dolores' story**

When I first met Dolores it was a sunny day in the outskirts of Milan. We sat on a bench in a small park not far from the highway and the last subway stop, far from the chaotic centre of the city and surrounded by a quiet countryside.

She arrived in Italy at the age of six in 1991 – *Age at the arrival*— and is now in her early thirties. She reached her father and her grandmother with her mother after years of waiting for a proper family reunification, but things went wrong and the two of them flew out on a tourist visa and soon became over-stayers. As it often happens, her parents were de facto a separated couple already in Peru and the journey to Italy could only confirm the end of their marriage. After a few months of cohabitation, Dolores and her mom moved to another flat. She started seeing two opposite reactions to migration in her parents. Her mom was eager to integrate and get over her past, while her father kept cultivating a strong nostalgic bond with Peru. On her side, she was growing up as an Italian child, or at least she tried to. She is now working as a secretary in a multinational company and volunteers for a humanitarian association.

During the last minutes of our conversation she stated “Well, I am Italo-Peruvian, I like that, because Italo comes first and then Peruvian follows”. Earlier she specified “Yeah, because I am also Peruvian ... I know

that, well I am not a 100% Peruvian but we can say that I am 10% Peruvian ... [*laughs*] ... I am proud of that 10%, of things that ... well, that I learned from and are in Peru... so to speak, I am patriotic on that side!"

Despite her gentle way of mocking patriotic sentiments, she definitely projected a vivid image on a white empty wall. Indeed, the spontaneous use of percentages to partition personal identity is a powerful metaphor of an identity split into two parts, the predominant part and the secondary one. The lower incidence of 10% is reserved to her Peruvian original part, while the unspoken Italian one accounts for the "remaining" 90%. The accent posed on the smaller part tells us that such a small amount should be taken into consideration even against the odds of her engrained sense of *Italianess*.

She searched for a definition of herself by digging into her dual citizenship to find the real weight of the two worlds – Peru and Italy – in her own life. Dolores's attempt to quantify her sense of belonging to both countries of membership is a vivid example of how people can visualize and comment on a highly abstract concept like "citizenship as identity" (Bloemraad 2000). What is more, she refers to a subjective definition of identity without invoking the traditional state-centric narrative on the sense of identity. It is a definition built on scars and aspirations, not on principles of national allegiance as enshrined in Constitutional charters. A trait common especially among younger respondents is an out-of-the-box explanation of their condition of immigrants who cannot find a place in the pre-defined categories proposed by the dominant normative discourse on citizenship and integration (Lister et al. 2003, Smith et al. 2005, Ní Laoire et al. 2010.). This imaginative capacity gives vigour to their life narratives, even when some of these memories are no more than scattered lists of details. Any attempt to verbalise the emotions as well as the practical implications of a given status leaves the floor to a struggle of thought refinement that dates back hours, days, years. Yet, in this excerpt

Dolores makes clear what it takes to reach at least a dim understanding of her being Italian and Peruvian or, better, being neither fully:

The thing is that ... it is difficult, by the way in the association I developed a bit these considerations, I took a drama course during which I delve into this thing and I understood it clearly, it was that... when... when... Before getting my citizenship I felt... I was Peruvian and thought that I did not... I felt uncomfortable in being ... I felt uncomfortable in being among Italians and I felt uncomfortable among Peruvians, well I wasn't... I was neither meat nor fish, I always felt uncomfortable.

As an interviewer I had some difficulties in connecting with her experience, unexpectedly. To me she was just like me, an Italian young woman. We had almost the same age; we did not look like typical Italians; we both spoke with a northern accent and had done all the way up from the primary to the university in Italian public schools. But the analogies stopped there. I soon realised that being a child of a mixed couple with an Italian parent had prevented me from experiencing the collateral damages of being an immigrant in Italy. I might have been mistaken for an immigrant, but in practice I was not. Conversely, she could think of herself as Italian, but according to the law she was not yet, at least until she got her citizenship done. She recalled an episode during her second year of primary school:

We were, it was the class of history and we were discussing about the birth certificate. We went to the municipality to do the certificate, but I could not. Yeah, by the way, we arrived in Italy, I was truly conscious of that since my early childhood, we arrived with a tourist visa, and then remained as "clandestine", my mother and I. [...] At school, I felt differently, strange ... I knew

that the other children did not have to do the same things. [...] I used to feel the difference between me and the others.

Dolores seemed to have really thought through her past and her inner experiences, naming her difficulties and searching for manageable ways of dealing with them. She also portrayed poignantly how she lived the split of feeling Italian but not being recognised as such by the state. All her friends considered her one of them, an Italian, that's it! Moreover, not being legally Italian, as she underlined, was a real offense to her. Along with this sense of identity deprivation, she started consulting directly the legislation to understand the rationale behind her situation: as she was not born in Italy, citizenship was not automatically acquired with her coming of age; it was not a right she was entitled to, it was a concession by the state. A concession long waited for that came in 2015, six years after the request – *Length of residence* –. In this respect, she spoke of her waiting period as full of anxiety: “a proceeding that lasted a lifetime and was wearing”.

She finally became Italian and this fact made her feel stronger, more stable and secure. Before the acquisition of “that piece of paper” she did not and could not feel that strength, because she knew she was not completely Italian in Italy despite the evidence. Neither could she feel in the right place when she went to Peru. There were her people, her country, her family (the extended one, of course); nevertheless she had problems in relating to a world that sounded foreign to her. Since she left in 1991, she has been to Peru just three times and only one out of three was a trip she organised by herself to go for a visit. The previous two times she was sent there by her parents with a ticket meant to be a Christmas present: a kind of gift that put her in an awkward situation in which she could not say no but wished immensely to decline. When she met her relatives again after such a long time of absence, she was surprised in finding a welcoming and warm familiar environment. In fact,



in Milan she used to know just a bunch of children of her father's friends, but none of them was part of her circle of close friends she still gets along today.

Making the math reveals a final detail about Dolores's life. Given that she arrived in Milan in 1991 and became a dual citizen in 2015, it actually took her 24 years to normalize her immigrant stay on the Italian soil. For what concerns the delay, her anger at the unfair Italian citizenship regime, undoubtedly, was no less important than the administrative inefficiency at processing cases in due time. In fact, the law sets a two-year deliberation span, but until recently that rule was highly disregarded thus fuelling a sense of impotence among applicants, who had to live for many years in a kind of suspended reality (Clayton and Vickers 2018, Lori 2017). Even though not all my respondents did experience the same inefficiency or felt the same way, Dolores's hesitation exemplifies how resentment can play a role in postponing the PDC and questioning the assumption about a timely acquisition of citizenship status. This happens when people who ideally meet all the requirements contest citizenship acquisition with a moral protest to the system, as in the case at stake. This issue is further discussed in Chapter 7.

Dolores's example suggests that a longer path might leave place to discomfort and a tendency to procrastination. However, this is only one reaction among many others as hypothesised by Reichel and Perchining who find "no linear relationship of years of residence on acquisition of citizenship" (2015, 42). Indeed, people might consciously deny any interests in citizenship, because their denizen status grants them a decent life (see chapter 7); nonetheless, migrants might anticipate the beneficiary effect of citizenship by investing more in their full economic integration long before the time of naturalization comes (Floris, Vink and Schmeets 2017). As Dolores's shows, what appears as a hesitation might be a pondered choice that does not maximize one's immediate advantage but responds to a quest for justice and equity.

In sum, Dolores's narrative on dual citizenship and on the deriving sense of citizenship is mostly built around two forms of time: age at the arrival and the length of residence at naturalization. The young woman has lived most of her life in Italy; all her memories link her to the Italian experience although she has been formally Peruvian throughout those same years. The long residence has made her Italian way before she obtained the citizenship status: the discrepancy between her substantive and nominal citizenship fuelled a procrastinated acquisition as a sign of her discomfort with the system of citizenship allocation. The discrepancy here is between her *de facto* citizenship that was only Peruvian for most of her life and her truly felt citizenship that was Italian. The nominal citizenship is also referred to as "formal citizenship" (Glenn 2011, Marshall 1964) because it is the one formally granted to the person by the state of origin. In Dolores's narrative, the Italian citizenship was her "citizenship-in-action" (Glenn 2011), the one she could relate to and crucially so the one that was taken for granted by her friends and local community. The term substantive has thus a double face: one refers to the self-representation of the person who nurtures a sense of belonging for the host community, and the second refers to the need for recognition by local practices (Bloemraad 2018). Indeed, the formal absence of such status was not prejudicial to her rootedness into the Italian society on her daily life, but it was prejudicial on a formal level vis-à-vis the Italian state that kept treating her as an immigrant despite her rootedness. To quote Calavita (2005a:417) "remember that not all foreigners are "strangers" and not all citizens are true members". In Dolores's case, her foreignness was only nominal. The reluctance of the Italian state to include its long-term residents as it appears from the citizenship regime brought Dolores to a delayed acquisition of (dual) citizenship. The delay was not a denial of her Italian sense of belonging but rather an act of rebellion against such a blind system.

**Table 11. Dolores' story: temporalities and key concepts**

| <b>Most relevant temporalities</b> | <b>Action</b> | <b>Citizenship related issues</b> | <b>Core question</b>              |
|------------------------------------|---------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Age (at the arrival)               | postponement  | discomfort                        | Formal vs substantive citizenship |
| Length of residence                |               | split identity                    |                                   |

#### **4.4.2. In Spain as an adolescent: Eduardo's story**

The second story I present is about a teenager, Eduardo, who arrived in Madrid in 2001 at the age of 15 to meet with his mother after 8 years since her departure. Back in Peru, he lived with his father and his brothers in a densely populated district of Lima. At the age of 12 he was already getting into trouble and fascinated by the gang-style of his neighbourhood. Even though he would not describe himself as bookish or studious, he recalled being a good student with decent grades in Peru. He did not take part in the decision to move to Spain. What is more, at the beginning he was disappointed of leaving all his friends and his father towards a place on the other side of the world. The Spanish option was an off-site one that literally turned his existence upside down. The first problems and drawbacks started when he enrolled in secondary school, where he discovered that his educational level was deemed too low for Spanish standards. He clashed with the system a second time when he first tried to submit his naturalization request. Notwithstanding all these obstacles, he has exceeded his expectations by completing both school and a bachelor degree in Economics.

I knew that the day would come, because my mom was here. You know, the day will come, but I could not

imagine, I hadn't thought about it .... Spain wasn't a nearby place; I wasn't thinking about it, it never occurred to me, until I received my documents.

The very first impact with Spain and especially with his mother was of cold distance. It did not last too long, but the remembrance of those first days is well impressed in his memories. The same is true for his mother, who still today recalls the initial awkward moments when her son seemed to have lost the natural bonding with her. (Suárez-Orozco et al. 2002, Carling et al. 2012, Boccagni 2012, Zentgraf and Chinchilla 2012)

Later on he tried to get accustomed to the new school arrangements, but the problems arrived soon and he failed the year. After a few hesitations, he could find his motivation again and fight the discouragement. He had borne in mind his goal: he was determined to go to university no matter the costs. This moved him through the hardships of an unwelcoming educational system, allowed him to find a balance between study and work from an early stage, and helped him build a strong character. Since his arrival in Spain he was also the person in charge for the administrative migration matters for the whole household composed of his mother, his younger brother and himself. Even though he was still a minor, he was conscious of the importance of this role and of the need not to postpone the citizenship request.

Indeed, in the first years of the new millennium, migrants could not benefit of submitting their applications online; on the contrary, they had to stand in endless rows at the office, el Registro Civil, from 4 am to ask for a piece of information or hand in their documents for any official requests. The rows used to end at midday and only the lucky ones would be attended on the very same day. Eduardo narrated a story that sounded exactly like many others, but he used to go and wait there alone or holding the turn for his mom.

It was an Odyssey... I did everything by myself. I submitted requests for the whole family... well, we got residency for family reunification. There were always rows, and rows and rows... I used to get there at 4 am and leave at Midday. How could be otherwise? My mother had her job, and she didn't like it... I was the one who cared. I used to go there at 5 am to stand in row, to go to the Consulate to stand in row, it was horrible! Then my mother reached me at 10 am or so, otherwise I handed in documents by myself because there was no need to sign them.

Eduardo learned how to be an independent person since his arrival in Spain. A mixture of laziness and lack of time on his mother side made him feel responsible for the bureaucratic fate of his relatives; moreover, it made him aware of the advantages associated with citizenship acquisition. Despite his good intentions, he was the only one whose<sup>9</sup> the acquisition request got rejected when he first submitted in 2006.

Everything was more accessible... because the stay permit for work and residency is just for one year, and then you don't work, and you need to renew it, you know. So well, if I got my Spanish ID, I don't need to do anything else... to stand in long rows, I mean... Everything becomes more accessible, it is not a matter that I want to get my citizenship... it doesn't matter to me, I did everything to get my documents not to stand in rows anymore, not to be renewing every single year...

---

<sup>9</sup> Eduardo got rejected because he was already nineteen when he submitted the request. He did not provide me with further details on the matter. He was eager to convey me his determination to get dual citizenship besides the inevitable frustration for the delay.

By the time his mother and brother received their citizenship in 2008, he was already a long-term resident but the lack of a Spanish ID was at odds with his needs, so he decided to try his luck again and in 2010, after two years of waiting, he finally became a Spanish citizen too. He had to put an effort to keep up with his daily routine of the morning job and late-night study.

Since his second year in Madrid, Eduardo was able to do small jobs or full-time ones to collect some extra money for the family. Now that he has been enjoying his dual status for almost 7 years he realises that life tests you unceasingly:

[Laughs] It is always the same, if it is not one thing it is the other... Now that I got my citizenship there's no job left, when there were plenty of jobs I didn't have any citizenship. Around 2009-2010-2011 when the crisis stroke, there was no job at all. Before there was no job, right now I need some English knowledge more! I am always lacking something...

Eduardo is actually working as an accountant for a small firm, but he knows that he needs to get as much experience as he can to grow professionally. Moreover, the normalization of his situation has brought him to project his expectations towards Spain, towards Madrid and not somewhere else. As a matter of fact he flew just twice to Peru and left his Peruvian passport expire with no intention to renew it; indeed, he is pretty sure that his Peruvian ID card is fair enough to ensure him affordable prices when he travels there but for the rest his European passport is the one to value.

He did not go back to Peru frequently because of his highly tightened schedule and, of course, due to the scarce resources he would have never asked his mother for! The idea of starting from scratch again, to randomly look for employment opportunities of whatsoever sort in his

country of origin did not resonate with him. He never felt the pressure to return; on the contrary, he sees his future in Madrid. Notwithstanding all his certainty about where he wants to spend the next years, he cannot but admit that he is Peruvian, his face and ethnic traits speaks for themselves and he loves to embrace them. As suggested by Bivand and Ezzati (2015, 1210):

“More so than older migrants, migrants arriving as children, as well as descendants of migrants, feel at home in their country of settlement, although their sense of belonging and identity often remains dual and in some cases ambivalent”.

Eduardo's *age at the arrival* made him aware of where he came from. Being an adolescent forcibly resettled in a new country made pair with his new responsibilities and an instrumental look at citizenship itself. His transition to adulthood went along with his passages of status vis-à-vis the Spanish state. He came to Spain as adolescent, and it was exactly this *life-course stage* that on the one hand allowed him not to be surprised by his foreignness in the host country and on the other prompted an instrumental attitude towards (dual) citizenship.

**Table 12. Eduardo's story: Temporalities and key concepts**

| <b>Most relevant temporalities</b> | <b>Action</b>          | <b>Citizenship related issues</b> | <b>Core question</b>     |
|------------------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Age (at the arrival)               | Seeking naturalization | Skills acquisition                | Instrumental citizenship |
| Life-course stage                  |                        |                                   |                          |

#### 4.5. Young adults in Italy and Spain

In this section dedicated to early adulthood of dual citizens (to be) in Italy and Spain, I present the stories of two young women, Angeles and Alejandra, who decided to move to Europe in search of a better future. Both arrived between 2000 and 2010 and could count on direct family connections already resident in the destination country, but could not imagine the difficulties they were going to experience throughout their stay abroad. They both used to live in the suburbs of Lima in very precarious conditions and immersed in a social setting with no opportunities of emancipation. They described their neighbourhoods as places in which they felt overwhelmed by the responsibilities for their siblings, by the rule of *machismo* and by a vicious cycle for which female teenagers got pregnant before finishing school and remained at their parents' home in a self-perpetuating reality of poverty and ignorance. The two women wanted something different for their lives.

**Table 13. Summary of the section: Young adulthood**

| Young Adulthood |         |                 |                |         |          |
|-----------------|---------|-----------------|----------------|---------|----------|
|                 | Country | Year of arrival | Age at arrival | Age now | PDC      |
| Angeles         | IT      | 2000            | 19             | 39      | Request  |
| Alejandra       | ES      | 2009            | 27             | 35      | Fruition |

##### 4.5.1. In Italy: Angeles' story

Angeles reached Italy at the age of 19, in 2000. It was her second attempt; the previous one, when she was only 17, ended disastrously. She had been dreaming of Italy since her early childhood, when one of her cousin left



Peru to migrate to Italy. From that moment, the country became a myth hard to renounce to and worth risking her life twice in the next ten years. Her flights to Italy were arranged by a well-established web of human trafficking that provided her with fake passports, safe places to wait for her boarding, and a few instructions to go through police controls. When she got caught and repatriated, she felt really ashamed for the loss of her brothers' money. It was just a few years later that she was given a second chance, a second road map across different airports in South America to land safely in Italy, Milan, where her mother and brothers were anxiously waiting for her arrival. All of them had used the same illegal method to come to Italy: they had been working hard, saving money to build a successful migratory chain and help their family either to leave Peru or to live a decent life right there. Angeles is now 39, has reached her independency, got her Italian diploma as IT technician and has a stable job.

I met her two weeks before her official citizenship acquisition. She had received the letter with the date to take her oath of allegiance to the Italian Republic three months earlier. For this reason, she was understandably excited, sure that her new citizenship would endow her with full rights and new bright opportunities. But she was unaware of her rights as an Italian citizen, with a mixture of enthusiasm and naivety that surprised me.

It was clear that she had been dreaming of her settlement in Italy for quite long and had been struggling to make ends meet in everyday life, but the most striking thing was that she did not dig into the official and legal outcomes of citizenship acquisition. Did not she dare to know more about the status she aspired to so intensely? Could not she find the sources to ask for clarifications about it? Did not she really think about citizenship in concrete terms until the awaited day had become more than a chimera? These questions testify that I was putting on normative lenses to prescribe how integration should look like in absolute terms. The

idealized conduct of a perfectly informed individual is not generally expected from native citizens, but it is erroneously projected as the minimum standard of domestication to become part of the national citizenry. In the aftermath, I also realized that integration and law awareness do not necessarily coincide or, put differently, the two of them do not need to be fully developed to be deemed sufficient for the occurrence of naturalization. Indeed, as long as the requirements are met and the aspiring citizen does not pose any threat to the receiving community, the authority can confer citizenship and proclaim the new member. If it was not for the oath of allegiance that new citizens must read out aloud in front of a civil servant, we can say that the Italian State has not put in place instruments to check to what extent naturalizing people know their rights and obligations as citizens.<sup>10</sup> In other Western

---

<sup>10</sup> Italy does not foresee a specific test at the moment of citizenship acquisition, but it does require a proof of language and culture knowledge for the emission of shorter stay permits.

According to the Regulation of the Integration Agreement (Accordo d'Integrazione), migrants older than 16 years who enter the national territory for the first time after the adoption of the Regulation – 10 March 2012 – and ask for a stay permit no shorter than 1 year, must sign the Agreement. The consequent obligations for the migrant are: 1. to reach at least an A2 Level of knowledge of the Italian language both written and spoken; 2. to acquire a sufficient knowledge of civic life in Italy, with particular reference to healthy services, education, social services, work and tax duties; 3. to comply with the values expressed in the Charter of Values of Citizenship and Integration – Carta dei valori della cittadinanza e dell'integrazione – that is modelled on the Italian Constitution and other European and International Charters on human rights. The Agreement lasts 2 years, throughout this period the migrant must attend specific courses to comply with the obligations and acquire the expected abilities. Each activity is valued in accordance with a point-based system and can be evaluated with a final test. <http://www.interno.gov.it/it/temi/immigrazione-e-asilo/modalita-dingresso/accordo-integrazione-straniero-richiede-permesso-soggiorno>

countries the use of citizenship tests and interviews is well-established and under on-going reform (Michalowski 2011, Micalowski 2009). For instance, Switzerland has one of the tightest European naturalization laws with its highly demanding civic integration<sup>11</sup>. Spain itself is a good example of how the practice has slowly been centralised (Alonso 2011, Rubio Marín et al. 2015): following a recent reorganization of the whole process of naturalization, applicants now have to pass two exams assessing their language and the constitutional-sociocultural knowledge. The Spanish exams are administered at regular intervals by the *Instituto Cervantes*<sup>12</sup>. Altogether, those test practices are used not only as means to restrict access to citizenship and ensure internal social cohesion, but also as a way to convey political messages through national models of integration (Joppke 2007, Etzioni 2007) or “policy paradigms” (Rubio Marín, et al. 2015). For instance, Etzioni (2007:353) reported “historically, citizenship exams have been introduced or modified in line with changing attitudes towards immigration in those nations that utilise them”. For the author, this could mean that nation states tend to lean towards one conception of citizenship or another depending on their core values and their current

---

An A2 language knowledge test is required also to obtain the EC long-term resident status, which can be grant to non-EU citizens who have lived legally and continuously in the country for 5 years.

<http://www.interno.gov.it/it/temi/immigrazione-e-asilo/modalita-dingresso/test-conoscenza-lingua-italiana>

<http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/ALL/?uri=LEGISSUM:l23034>

<sup>11</sup> As reported in a news on January, 10 2018. The new law introduces more stringent conditions to naturalization.

<http://globalcit.eu/switzerland-tightens-already-strict-naturalisation-law-by-demanding-more-civic-integration/>

<sup>12</sup> Instituto Cervantes is a public institution born in 1991 to spread the Spanish culture around the world

approach to immigration. Although the influence of the citizenship models is analysed in the next chapter (chapter 6), what is important to underline here is that the use (or not) of these tests and their nature is not neutral by definition. The tightening or relaxation of the requirements as well as the harshness or mildness of the questions is meant to place the bar in a specific place. Those tests along with the public discourse and attitude towards migrants determine the environment in which foreigners are hosted. In the following extract the emphasis is on Angeles's perception of the role of migrants, apparently against the understanding more common in Italy. On her side, Angeles affirms that migrants play an important and positive role into the Italian society by contributing to its material and social enrichment:

[...] Yeah, after many years we contributed to the growth of society, well I think we are useful for this reason ... but I also think that we are brought here [to Italy] by necessity, if [Peru] was more developed and modern or had all the things you have here and we don't ...

As it is often the case, the economic role of migrants is underestimated or even completely removed from the Italian public discourse (Sciortino and Colombo 2004). That is probably the reason why she underlines migrants' resourcefulness for the host society juxtaposing it to their need for stability and wealth (Calavita 2005b). Under this perspective, getting the host country's citizenship is a way to ensure you a place into its social fabric. The possession of the status becomes the means to overcome the label "migrant" and its implications like having to justify your presence with a stay permit "Ah, are you Peruvian? Show me your permit!". Actually, Angeles specifies her feelings about her citizenship to come "well, let's say that to me being an Italian citizen will only mean to have earned some extra points within this society", thus the status is not valued in itself but for the social consensus surrounding it. The acquisition

is not valued for its personal meaning, but rather for its external evaluation and the social recognition it would bring along (Bloemraad 2006). In Bauböck's words we can say that "how migration changes citizenship depends to a large extent on how states and their citizens *perceive* migrants and how they *construct* the meaning of citizenship" (emphasis in the original) (Bauböck 2002, 2). In fact, as Angeles goes on:

"I hope that [citizenship] will bring in more consideration; because it changes things... it changes a lot, even for Italian society, for the Italians themselves I would say... [...] I feel still nowadays that people tell you "you are a foreigner, you are an immigrant, you are illegal..."

In her expectations, the stigma associated with foreignness should be swept away by the new status, because it is meant to move her from the "others" to the "Italians" group. In some way citizenship should materialize integration, indicating that "the transformation" has taken place:

[...] I told myself to become part of society and stop feeling discriminated ... that to me, I always felt in that way, it's mere ignorance. ... you know, to be part of two cultures. I am proud of being Peruvian, I will never deny that I am Peruvian [...].

In this last fragment of conversation Angeles shapes the complexity of being Italian on a formal level, a level that is uncontested and earned, and at the same time being Peruvian on a more intimate level, where the pride of ancestral roots meets the pride of having successfully conquered a new position in life. She managed to catch her opportunity and is now ready to enjoy its fruits. The use she does of the expression "I earned my citizenship" recalls the observations made about the current trends in France, the UK, and the Netherlands. These countries converge in

proposing citizenship as “a process of manifesting that the potential citizen is worthy of the citizenship and all the rights and benefits that come with it” (Van Houdt, Suvarierol and Schinkel 2011, 418). The new conceptualization puts on the applicants’ shoulders the burden to actively demonstrate commitment to the nation-state to which they migrated. That burden becomes an incumbent sense of pressure in my respondent’s words.

Angeles’s almost dual citizenship is built on harsh experiences and a clear view of life in both countries. Her narrative matches the category of *expatriate-mononationals* (Ronkainen 2011), who distinguish between the political-juridical value of the newly acquired status and the emotional importance of the original citizenship that remains undeniably preponderant within their lives. On the one hand, she has become a member of the Italian society, where she keeps perceiving a subtle sense of inadequacy for her migrant background but is confident that her rights of citizenship will support her onwards. On the other hand, she feels strong affection for that very immigrant background, for her being Peruvian that no one and nothing could strip away from her as a demonstration that citizenship is “a means for active rather than passive definitions of identity and belonging” (Leuchter 2014, 787). She is definitely not blind to her double but ambivalent belonging. In other words, she feels to have the power to define where and to what extent she belongs to her two countries of membership. Recalling the above distinction between nominal and substantive citizenship, Angeles has almost reached her dual citizenship so a double formal recognition of her lawful standing in both Peru and Italy. Moreover, she feels free to evaluate the pros and cons of each membership. Her substantive citizenships are now matching the nominal ones, an aspect that enhances her capacity to redefine herself without the scrutiny of any state authorities. Given her compliance with the Italian Law, she is now in the position to actively locate and define her own sense of citizenship. She experienced the contradictions afflicting

Peruvian society and does not want to go back. Hence, thanks to her new citizenship, she will try to bring her mom to Italy again, this time legally as a family member of an EU citizen. To conclude, each side of her dual status serves a precise function: one matters for her identity, while the other matters for the rich-but-unspecified rights it entails (Castels 2002, Conway et al. 2008, Vertovec 2001)

In brief: Angeles arrived in Italy in 2000, remained with no documents for three years, in 2003 an amnesty regularized her residence, in 2013 she requested the Italian citizenship and three years later, in 2016, she became an Italian citizen with dual citizenship status. She lived as a migrant in Italy for 16 years (*Length of residence*). Despite her long years on the Italian soil, her narrative on citizenship is soaked with the struggle for integration. It is both a need of feeling integrated and of being perceived as integrated.

**Table 14. Angeles's story: Temporalities and key concepts**

| <b>Most relevant temporalities</b> | <b>Action</b>       | <b>Citizenship related issues</b> | <b>Core question</b> |
|------------------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------|
| Life-course stage                  | Seeking integration | Aspirations                       | Earned citizenship   |
| Length of residence                |                     | Need for recognition              |                      |
| Citizenship regime requirements    |                     |                                   |                      |

#### **4.5.2. In Spain: Alejandra's story**

We met in a typical coffee bar in the very centre of Madrid. It was one of those bars with huge windows to display tons of "churros" and chocolate cups in cold winter days. We sat at a table in a remote corner of the back to avoid the noisy tourists in the front.

Alejandra is 35 and arrived in Madrid in 2009, at the age of 28. She had been waiting for the job contract from Spain for a whole year, a contract that she obtained thanks to her sisters' help. They were already in Madrid as dependents of a wealthy family of a religious congregation: they were in charge of the family's five children and of the house maintenance. One by one the sisters had been leaving Peru to come and work for the same family in a labour chain based on mutual trust and dedication. In 2009 it was now Alejandra's turn to start a new life abroad, leaving behind precarious and underpaid posts, her mother, her two younger brothers, and a doomed future. In the year preceding her departure, she had been studying English to widen her skills and be ready for the European context. Due to past experiences in Peru, she was not enthusiastic about the idea of working as a live-in domestic worker; she feared to be ill-treated and bullied like in her previous job. Contrary to her forecasts, her employers in Madrid were of kind nature and well mannered, but the job was a hard one, made of long hours with no time to relax if not on weekends. She could bear the burden of such an exhausting week until they stayed in Madrid, but when the family moved and she moved with them to another city she realized it was too much of an isolated existence for her.

I used to work... working as live-in with 5 children means to work from 7a.m. to 10 p.m. I could relax a bit only when they were eating. I had to wake them up, bring them to school, then I had to take care of the house, prepare the lunch, do the washing, iron the clothes, take the girls from school, bring them to the playground, bath them, prepare the dinner, and again the next day, every day...

She had hardly any contacts with other people except the family members: the solitude was affecting her health as she became thin and



frustrated. In light of this, she quit her job when the two-year contract expired. From then on, she had been living in the suburbs of Madrid: at the beginning sharing a room with her younger sister and in the last year with a room for herself in a shared flat. Despite the economic downturn, she managed to survive on small jobs and renew her permits, until she received the Spanish citizenship in 2013, four years after her arrival.

Alejandra is a gentle young woman. She replied to my questions putting a smile after the narration of a bad memory. She has returned to her family in Peru just once in 2015, but her affection for her homeland has not vanished in the distance. With a melancholic expression on her face, she thought loud about what she missed of her past life:

Well, here... I feel alone here... even though there's my sister. It isn't... [...] well, what I really miss is, for example, that in Peru there's your neighbour, your family is close, my friends of school time or of any other place with whom I could go anywhere for a drink or a talk, while here there is none...

In particular, she insists on the fact that her friends are among other migrants from Latin America, Africa or even Asia, but not among Spanish people. She is not the only one who reported a general difficulty in getting contact with Spanish citizens and making friendship with them, as if they could not find the means to show affinity or build intimacy, because of an invisible barrier between the majority of population and "the others":

I couldn't have such affinity with Spanish people, but I don't know why, they weren't bad people, but you know... if only... [...] Sometimes I see that there are migrants on the one side and the majority on the other, I mean Latino migrants...

This is just part of the story. Indeed, Alejandra appreciates Madrid and Europe at large for the quality of life it offers, especially the possibility for a woman to dress as she likes and to have efficient public transportation at an affordable price. Her European lifestyle allowed her to send remittances regularly to her family in Lima.

Since the first year, I have always sent money... I don't know what they used the money for... I suppose it was for food. Well, my mom, especially now, she doesn't have any social security or health insurance, she has no job, I mean she won't receive any pension... So, I think the money was for the house utilities and food. [...] It was like, it was like a turn, before my bigger sister used to send in money, then it was my younger sister's turn, and then my turn. Right now I am the only one who is still sending money because the others can't.

Moreover, in the last months she and her sister found a flat with another Peruvian woman and could finally have the joy of a single room for each:

Well, it has been an accomplishment, because before we had to share a room, me and my sister... and had to live with other people. We used to live like that, only recently we live by ourselves, my sister and I and another girl in a flat. Previously, it was really crowded. But I mean, at the beginning it doesn't matter, because you need to save money.

Both her recent apartment and her new job have given her a new and fresh sensation of independence. She is now savouring her freedom; a feeling that she experienced also in 2013, when she obtained the Spanish citizenship. She recalled having searched all the information for the request procedure by herself:

Yeah, you know, it is because things are always changing, so it is better to look them up by yourself. That's why I learned to surf the websites.

She had some doubts about her possibility to receive the status when she lost her job and had scheduled the interview at the Police Department. This is part of the request procedure, during which officers ask aspiring citizens personal questions to evaluate their level of integration into the Spanish society and compliance with its norms. As she was going to receive unemployment benefits, her temporary lack of job was not deemed a problem. When Alejandra received her dual citizenship status she felt immensely relieved. First of all, she did not need to renew the permit anymore. Moreover, she could travel freely within Europe and easily abroad:

I felt freed. I was free because there was no pending bureaucratic stuff to renew anymore...

Nowadays, Alejandra is content with her salary too. She sees herself in Madrid or anyway in Europe. Going back to Peru is her very last option. Nevertheless, she and her sister decided to break the chain and did not put much effort to bring her brothers to Spain, because they have their lives and stable employments there.

After all, Alejandra probably realized of having cultivated her personal strength and resilience, of having acquired adult independence while becoming a citizen between two worlds. She left Peru behind because she wanted to escape a doomed future; she wanted to be free somehow. Her path towards dual citizenship was marked by the fear of becoming illegal or unemployed, thus hindering her possibility of gaining stability and personal freedom. To her, naturalization and empowerment sound very much like the same thing.

**Table 15. Alejandra's story: Temporalities and key concepts**

| <b>Most relevant temporalities</b> | <b>Action</b>            | <b>Citizenship related issues</b> | <b>Core question</b>       |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Life-course stage                  | Staying employed legally | Fear of unemployment              | Empowerment & independence |
| Citizenship regime requirements    |                          | Fear of illegality                |                            |

#### **4.6. Peruvians arrived in their 30s**

The first two stories are about Pilar and Manuel. As shortly summarised in the table below, they both reached Europe during their thirties. Pilar was a typical Peruvian housewife with children to take care of, while Manuel was a self-made entrepreneur looking for new business opportunities. They left Peru in the same year, probably a crucial moment for the country that in 1990 was experiencing civil war and the pressure of an economic depression (de Olarte 1993, Durand 2010, Galdo 2013). The widespread feeling of insecurity was based on the material difficulties in living a normal life because of the terrorist attacks and the organized blackouts. This insecurity contaminated the prospects for the future as well. People started wondering how they could ensure for themselves and their children a decent and safe life in a place where bombs and brutality were nearly ordinary. In that scenario, my respondents decided to move forward through migration.

**Table 16. Summary of the section: Peruvians arrived in their 30s**

| Peruvians arrived in their 30s |         |                 |                |         |                   |          |
|--------------------------------|---------|-----------------|----------------|---------|-------------------|----------|
|                                | Country | Year of arrival | Age at arrival | Age now | Life-course stage | PDC      |
| Pilar                          | ES      | 1990            | 30             | 57      | Married/2c        | Fruition |
| Manuel                         | IT      | 1990            | 36             | 60      | Married           | Request  |

#### **4.6.1. In Spain: Pilar's story**

When Pilar left Peru, in 1990, she was a wife, a mother of two, and the person in charge of all the daily domestic chores. She and her family used to live in the centre of Lima, but the repeated terrorist attacks and sudden cuts in the water and electric supply systems cast people down with few alternatives but emigration. She recalled choosing Spain as her destination for two main reasons: at that time Peruvians did not need an entry visa and, due to the colonial past, the two countries shared the same language. All in all, Spain inspired her with a feeling of familiarity: "well, maybe it was because it seemed more familiar, but I can't say why... coming to Spain, you know".

Once her husband lost his job, a Spanish couple from her neighbourhood gave her some tips about where to go and stay in Madrid. She came to Europe with nothing more than her good intentions and a list of contacts to rely on. Pilar described that moment as follows:

"At that time I could come freely, and there was no way back. It was quite sure they would let me in, even though there was a remote possibility that the authority would stop me at the frontier. Never mind, I had some contacts and tried. I came alone, I was the first one of the entire family, and even the first one among all the

people I knew, I was the first one, I came with my luggage to make a living”.

The day she left Peru is far away in the past, it was about 27 years ago. Yet she could relive it clearly:

“Well, it was awful, it was horrible like it is today for ... like ... how do you call them... it was exactly like for refugees nowadays, who flee. To tell the truth, it might be that my escape was a bit less demanding because I took a plane, but it was hard... it is hard to break the tie with your family, with your culture, with your country, and with everything...”.

She entered the country as a tourist and soon became an over-stayer, although she found job very quickly and, after only a few months, the cleaning company gave her a regular contract. She worked for that same company for more than 25 years until the economic crisis and the recession in 2010 forced her employers to fire her along with many others.

In 1991 her husband and children came as tourists as well and went through a period of unlawful residence on the Spanish soil. Despite their situation as undocumented migrants, that year the children attended school without any problem, while in 1992 she managed to regularize their position through family reunification. She finally got dual citizenship in 1994, in time to transmit the status to her son and daughter.

At the citizenship ceremony Pilar swore her loyalty/an oath to the country because she was expected to do so. However, she was not fully aware of what was going on:

“At that time I didn’t know what did it mean to swear for the monarchy, I wouldn’t do it now, I wouldn’t swear ... for the monarchy my God, they made me swear for... I

don't even know! [...] To tell you the truth, I didn't know the real meaning of it; I thought it was something good for me. And it is sure, I believed in the monarchy and I believed in all that I was told".

From this excerpt, it is clear that for the first years of residence she was really into the Spanish national(-istic) rhetoric. She truly believed in what she was asked to swear for like the Kingdom and the King. Only recently she has unveiled what she considers a system of lies, which has brought her to question what she used to take for granted. Strikingly, her current sense of attachment for Spain is not driven by her once displayed and truly embodied nationalistic rhetoric. Indeed, she now feels detached from that kind of propaganda, from that way of finding relief and inspiration from a state-driven imaginary. Nevertheless, she cannot see herself away from Spain forever, nor from Peru. She is literally split between the two countries, because both realities are her realities and she appreciates them for very different reasons. For instance, she summarises her duality like this:

"Here in Spain I feel secure, I live a peaceful and stable life; back in Peru I feel alive again, I recover my strengths and I finally relax. But it is true that I miss Spain when I am there, and at the same time I am missing Peru when I am here".

Pilar can easily distinguish between the state, its apparatus and its misguiding behaviours and what encompasses being a dual citizen. Her sense of nation bypasses the national institutions to embrace a way of living that she has learned through time. Pilar arrived in Spain quite early when just a bunch of other Peruvians had already settled in Europe. It is probably for this reason that she recalled a warm and favourable

welcoming by Spanish people that matches with her joint “Peruanidad y Hispanidad” (cfr. Peruvianess and Hispanicity) embodied by her surnames:

“I never felt a foreigner because of my Spanish roots ... because I am a mixture of both cultures, I am a real mixture... One of my surname is Inca and the other is a Spanish one ... [...] No one will ever convince me that I am a foreigner in this country because I am not! [...] If I have got a Spanish surname, there must be Spanish blood in my veins and, at the same time, there must be Inca blood, so I care for both countries”.

A second aspect of her duality is that through the years, she succeeded in bringing almost all her relatives to Spain by means of reciprocal support, while she went to Peru at least once a year not to break the ties with her origin country (Levitt 2002, Soehl and Waldinger 2010) . She dreams of returning after retirement to Peru – *the myth of return* (Anwar 1979)– where she and her brothers erected a six-flat building they now use on vacations (Boccagni 2011, Ley and Kobayashi 2005).

On the one hand, Pilar listed all the achievements since her arrival in Spain: a stable job, the family reunification, her economic independence, yearly visits to Peru, her investments in Peru, and so on. On the other hand, she wanted to convey to me the idea that along the years she learned to be somewhat “different and more” than those achievements. In particular, she regrets her past naivety about the nation-state and the patriotic feelings it instilled into her. She sees it now as an artificial construction with no real meaning. She is glad of possessing two passports, but she does not define herself in light of her formal statuses rather than in light of the attachments she developed in (and for) both countries. Peru and Spain are equally part of her, not to mention the fact that (so far) she has spent her first half of life in Peru and her second half



in Spain. As other scholars already noted, national identification has different aspects and dimensions along with sense of belonging such as "feeling of esteem and pride, and cultural beliefs and values" (De Vroome, Verkuyten and Martinovic 2014: 20). Likewise, I argue that national identification is not only made through identification with national symbols, but it is also of a kind of enjoyment or feel of appropriateness regarding habits and traditions of a people. Pilar arrived as a pioneer of her family and to a certain extent of Peruvian migration to Spain. Indeed, her early arrival in 1990 (*Year of arrival*) allowed her feeling welcome by Spanish people. She left home, her husband and her children (*Life-course stage*) on a mission she successfully accomplished thanks both to her capacity and to the favourable circumstances. She rushed to find a job, to naturalize, to share stability and suitability for the host country. Only with the passing of time (*Length of residence*) Pilar became more aware of her place within the Spanish society as well as of her relationship with Peru. Her story in particular shows the transformative nature of the sense of citizenship. She underlines what has changed throughout the years in her relationship with the state-led narrative on citizenship. When Pilar first arrived in Spain, escaping from a dangerous and insecure Peru, she was eager to start afresh. As Spain offered her a new (relative) stability, she nourished a sincere sense of gratefulness for the country that she expressed with a full endorsement of its nationalistic rhetoric. Only with the passing of the time, she has started questioning that rhetoric to build her own sense of citizenship. Pilar has slowly come to evaluate and appreciate her citizenships for what they actually mean, serve, and stand for in her life. The transformation brought her to abandon a normative conception of membership to shape her own one through disillusionments and personal experiences.

**Table 17. Pilar's story: Temporalities and key concepts**

| <b>Most relevant temporalities</b> | <b>Action</b>            | <b>Citizenship related issues</b>     | <b>Core question</b>       |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Length of residence                | Becoming the breadwinner | Changing attitude towards citizenship | Transformative citizenship |
| Life-course stage                  | Being the pioneer        | Myth of return                        |                            |
|                                    |                          | Split identity                        |                            |

#### **4.6.2. In Italy: Manuel's story**

Like Pilar, Manuel left Peru in 1990 because of the civil war, but he migrated to Italy. He was already 36 years old and had long working for a long time as a craftsman entrepreneur; thus, he decided to try his luck in Italy for its enduring and well-known tradition in the craft sector.

He entered the country as a tourist with a discrete sum of money that allowed him searching for a job with no hurry, at least at the beginning. After eight months his wife came from Peru as well. They had no children and were used to a comfortable life back in Lima. After some months he entered the Italian black market: he started working in a factory but he soon realized that caregivers for older people could earn much better. He stayed in the shadows of the informal sector until his position was legalized by a massive regularization in 1995 (Finotelli and Arango 2011).

Despite his initial precarious condition, Manuel had been involved in social and civic activism to help migrants and promote a reciprocal process of understanding and integration with natives. As Italy was slowly

coming to terms with having become an immigration destination at the end of the century, migrants themselves proved to be very prolific in creating myriad of associations. Manuel is the perfect example of this vitality explosion and activism: throughout his residence in Italy he has taken part in the launch of a journal about Latinos, in several associations and forums dealing with migratory issues at large up to joining, more recently, an Italian political party. His strong civic engagement is built upon both experience and ideals. For instance, he provocatively declared that his problems with the Italian tax collection system had brought him to the political arena, which is supposedly the right place to campaign for claiming rights and to fight for justice. Like many other Italian citizens, he lamented about the excessive bureaucratic pressure exercised by the State on taxpayers. His reasoning, tone, and excitement were typical of any Italian talk-show: he had perfectly internalized not only the most common rhetoric about the aberrations in the Italian political system and its by-products, but had also endorsed the ambiguous approach towards politics that condemns and reinforces at the same time the faults of politicians.

Manuel has a clear view of what citizenship is and should be. To him the mere presence on a country's soil is not enough to be a good citizen, but it is certainly a fundamental prerequisite.

"I think that... Ehm, the authority should deny citizenship to all of those who..., they should give it only to those who deserve it. [...] How is it possible that people who live abroad have a clue of what life is in Italy? They don't know, they don't even know the language ... They don't know the culture, they don't know anything in sum! They can vote only because of their grandfather or gran-grandfather ... They have the Italian citizenship because of a surname. While I am speaking for myself, for people like me, who weren't born and raised here,

but I fight for this country and only for a surname, for a grandfather, I can't vote today!"

He made precise references to the general elections of 2006 and his disappointment went further on adding precious details to his understanding of citizenship:

"To be coherent citizenship, the concept of citizenship, should change radically. It shouldn't be enough to be born here, because... because you are born here by chance, isn't it? Indeed, you are born here, you are given the citizenship but you don't really care, you can live here or you can live abroad, it doesn't matter. You don't care about the State, about this country, about this Nation. And so what kind of citizen are you? You shouldn't be allowed voting. Citizenship must depend upon the individual's participation".

Manuel is even ready to transfer this civic fervour to Peru, as he says, if he left Italy in order to start from scratch back home. While keeping in mind the choice of return, he stated boldly where he belonged to now:

"Well, I am milanese because I have been living here. It is like I was born here ... Indeed, when I went to, when I went to the party assembly to introduce myself I said "I am Manuel, I have been a Milanese for 22 years. It's like that! To Milan, I was born 22 years ago, I took my first steps like all new-borns and then, in the end, I felt like the city was mine. I care about Milan, about those who lead the city, those who lead the Italian State; I want to make the Italian society change".

Manuel identified citizenship with its participative dimension (Bloemraad 2000). He decided not to request citizenship when he reached the 10-year minimum legal stay because he did not see the need or he simply did not need it at that time. Some of his closer friends used to give vigour to his “self-declared Milanese-based Italian citizenship” by saying that the country should honour him with the status for all the efforts he put in making it a better place. He seemed very proud of such consideration and felt betrayed by the State because of the tax affair he was involved into. He regretted his miscalculations, mostly because his foreign status prevented him from running for the Parliamentary Elections in 2013. That electoral turn, in particular, opened the doors of the highest Italian representative organ to ordinary people, who mobilised challenging for the first time the establishment and veterans of the political elites. He indulged in his aspirations that clashed with reality: he was still a denizen, a long-term resident of Peruvian origins in Italy. His wife had acquired the dual status the year before and he was confident to be on the verge of obtaining it soon.

In 2008 he turned to the entrepreneurial business again and we met in his shop, at the very centre of the city. He started the PDC process in 2013, after 23 years from his arrival and after 18 years of legal residence in Italy (*Length of residence*). I got the impression that his ideals of civic engagement and active participation had finally come to terms with the prosaic language and mechanisms of the law: you might feel like a citizen but only the State declares you so, officially. He moved to Italy in his 30s, with a career and money at his disposal (*Life-course stage*). He personally conceives citizenship not as a mere status but rather as active engagement and civic involvement. To Manuel, it is not the mere residence of permanence in a place that makes you a real citizen; you need to purposively nourish that status to be worthy of it (Reed-Danahay and Brettell 2008).

**Table 18. Manuel's story: Temporalities and key concepts**

| <b>Most relevant temporalities</b> | <b>Action</b> | <b>Citizenship related issues</b> | <b>Core question</b> |
|------------------------------------|---------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------|
| Length of stay                     | postponement  | Participation                     | Earned citizenship   |
| Life-course stage                  |               | Civic engagement                  |                      |

#### **4.7. Peruvians arrived in their 40s**

The following stories are taken from two women who had almost nothing in common aside from the age at the departure and some civic engagement, expressed in very differently ways.

Josefa left Peru at the age of 48 when both her personal and economic life had reached an advanced stage as she was a married mother of two with a teaching job. On the contrary, Lis was still living with her aged father and trying her luck with different professional experiences. Although she had a solid education with two degrees, she struggled to find a stable and well paid job. Moreover, the first woman left Peru at the end of the XX century, while the second woman succeeded in reaching Spain just in time to endure the severe economic downturn that has prostrated Western countries since 2008.

**Table 19. Summary of the section: Peruvians arrived in their 40s**

| Peruvians arrived in their 40s |         |                 |                |         |                   |          |
|--------------------------------|---------|-----------------|----------------|---------|-------------------|----------|
|                                | Country | Year of arrival | Age at arrival | Age now | Life-course stage | PDC      |
| Josefa                         | IT      | 1998            | 48             | 67      | Married/2c        | Fruition |
| Lis                            | ES      | 2007            | 43             | 53      | Single            | Fruition |

#### **4.7.1. In Italy: Josefa's story**

Josefa arrived in Italy in 1998, at the age of 48 – *Age at the arrival* –, following her husband who had migrated six years earlier: she came with her two children on a family reunification permit. A few years before, her husband went on a short visit to Peru and on that occasion he suggested her to leave the children with close relatives to migrate with him to Europe:

“[...] we cannot take the children with us, because you need to work and you will find a job in another sector, probably a completely different job. There [in Italy] you cannot rely on your professional achievements because there are no bilateral agreements with Peru”.

Her husband was concerned about the well-being of the family as well as about her employability. Nevertheless, when he took advantage of a massive regularization – *Year of arrival* –, she managed to move to Italy with all the needed documents and permits for her and the kids:

“I came to Italy, but unlike my husband I came with documents and with the sole condition to bring my children with me, because I was not going to leave them back, they were adolescents at that time and it was hard

for them. I came as the wife of a legally resident immigrant”.

She used to be a teacher in Peru and thanks to her husband’s remittances she had conducted a decent life even in his absence; but only through migration they could re-establish the unity of the family job – *Life-course stage* –. Once in Milan, she stayed at home for the very first five months in order to support the children during their adaptation.

“I started learning about the norms, laws and all the things related to the family and the students. I was interested in all that stuff, you know as I was a teacher it was easy to me to ...”.

Lately, she found a post in a cleaning company that still employs her today. She is proud in saying that she was never tempted to be submissive or scared of the consequences of being too exposed in the work place. This might be the reason why she has been a trade unionist for the last few years.

“I am a union leader. [...] Later on, step by step, I got involved into the social and migratory life of Milan. As a leader I am as known in my country, in Peru, as here in Italy in Milan. At the Italian level I am well-known in cities like Florence, Turin, and Rome”.

Her interest and engagement with civic activism dated years back when she was still in Peru and part of a political party (for a discussion of worthwhile political experiences prior to migration see Bermudez 2010). In light of that original dedication, she now tries to ameliorate the condition of Peruvian migrants in Italy and across the world as a member of at least four associations operating at the local, national and international level



respectively. By means of a thick web of reunions, forums and events that involve directly the Consular authorities as well as branches of the Peruvian government, she and her peers push to get new agreements like the ones operating between Peru and Spain. Her transnational practices confirm that emigrants from abroad “have the potential to affect the sending country’s politics and political attitudes” in broad terms through their “political remittances” (Boccagni et al. 2015: 459 ).

Josefa entered Italy from the main door:

“I came because my husband asked for the reunification.  
I had all my family documentation so I easily obtained  
my stay permit”.

She became soon aware that her legal entry was smoothening her path across the permits jungle:

“For the renewal it was the same. For family reasons, if you hold or not a job but your spouse brought you in legally, you can keep documents for family reasons. Once you find a job, you can switch to a permit of work and residence. [...] I got my work permit, then after five years I requested immediately the permanent residence permit (carta di soggiorno) and later the citizenship. I requested it with 10 years of residence, but it took about 4 years to get it”.

She did all the paperwork right on time, with no delays: she started her PDC in 2008 – *Length of residence* and *Citizenship regime requirements* – and acquired dual citizenship in 2012. But what meanings does she attach to it? If on the one hand she was very conscious about the formal importance of documents, on the other hand she considered them mostly for their practical aspects:

"I acquired the citizenship thinking about the possibilities it boosts, but I know it doesn't guarantee a secure help. It might help ... [...] In practical terms, to get the citizenship didn't mean that I won the lottery. I took it because I am pro-active. I don't know, but to me it is normal, it's paperwork that needs to be done... well, as I was a teacher I am precise with those kinds of things".

From Josefa's words, it seems clear that she has not developed a strong sense of *Italianess* of whatsoever type. Moreover, she proclaimed herself a "forever Peruvian woman" with a proud and firm voice. Even though she was pleased by the ceremony that marked her new membership with the reading of a short oath and singing of the Italian national anthem, her identity was not really affected by the recent naturalization. She still goes back every year to see and visit her family living in Peru, and now that her daughter has moved to their old house in Lima, as a mother she feels split as a mother between Italy and Peru. Indeed, her son settled in Italy while her daughter is starting her life in the country of origin. When they left Peru about 20 years ago, they decided to keep the big house in Lima and rent it out in order to get some money. After their very first attempt, though, the family opted to leave the house empty so to have a place to stay on vacation.

Her concluding remark "I was born in Peru and I hope to die in Peru", ideally closes a circle in which the *dormant* citizenship isn't the original one, the Peruvian citizenship, but the newly acquired one, the Italian citizenship. This last comment prompts further explanations. The paradox of Josefa's sense of belonging rests on the fact that her formal dual citizenship is not mirrored in a double sense of citizenship. She is an Italian citizen because it is convenient to be so, but her love for her Peruvian roots has never disappeared and has even stimulated a deeper political engagement from abroad. When she talked about her feeling

split between the two countries, she was not putting the two national communities on the same level. Instead, she referred to the unity of her family and her being a mom that can be with one of her children at a time.

Josefa requested her citizenship as soon as it was legally possible; somehow her compliance with the Italian law matches her being formally Italian or Italian on a paper, but the substance of her existence lies within her Peruvian original citizenship. Her sense of citizenship is exemplar of the distance that may exist between a formal and on time adherence to the state's precepts and the individual's constellation of attachments and feelings.

**Table 20. Josefa's story: Temporalities and key concepts**

| <b>Most relevant temporalities</b> | <b>Action</b>       | <b>Citizenship related issues</b> | <b>Core question</b>     |
|------------------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Life-course stage                  | On time acquisition | Transnational engagement          | Instrumental citizenship |
| Age (at the arrival)               |                     | One identity, two memberships     |                          |

#### **4.7.2. In Spain: Patricia' story**

Patricia arrived to Spain in 2007 at the age of 43 after two years of waiting. Her sister had come to Madrid a few years earlier and was married to a Peruvian man naturalized Spanish. She had tried at least three times before her formal invitation to bring Patricia to Spain got accepted by the immigration authorities. This is the reason why Lis kept waiting so long in Peru.

On her side, Patricia was preparing to start afresh in Madrid. She had been working as a teacher for a while, completed two degrees, taken a course as auxiliary of geriatrics to be ready for the Spanish labour market. As she reported, this was one of her sister's suggestions:

"My sister was a caregiver too. Well, my sister told me, before my departure and when she was transmitting the request: you won't work as a teacher here so it is better for you to study auxiliary of geriatrics, because to take care of older people – *los viejitos* – is the only job you will find...".

Moreover, when she finally received the permit for residence and work, she perfectly knew that the job contract was not a real one:

"[...] Well, and I finally got the paperwork and could come ... but of course, having a job contract didn't mean I was going to work in that sector ... not at all. It was a fake contract, right? You just pay someone to manage the documents...".

Here is yet another subtle way to bypass the obstacles of the law by walking on the thin borderline between legal and illegal practices. At her arrival, Patricia had a debt of Euro 2,400 she owed to her sister. She resorted to fraud to obtain a legal and regular access to the Spanish territory, thus stretching the legal borders to find herself trapped into those countless traps of legal ambiguity that Agnieszka Kubal named "semi-legality". This creative approach towards law application creates a series of in-between statuses difficult to detect or prevent, making some commentators suspect that such an institutional fog is even "fuelled in neoliberal migration regimes" (Kubal 2013, 557) aiming to fill labour

shortages. As expected, she found a post as caregiver for an old woman with the help of her sister. She has kept working in the field ever since.

Patricia is a single woman, has no offspring and is full of interests. She decided to leave Peru because for a woman of her age with no husband or family she saw no future perspectives in her own country – *Life-course stage* –. Despite all the difficulties she has endured in Spain, she is content with her current salary and her life in general. Her minimum wage is now guaranteed by the law, but some years ago she struggled for a while to move to the next contract because of the shortfall in jobs due to the economic downturn – *Year of arrival* – . Indeed, she accepted working as a live-in carer to have the means to request her second permit. This was the “necessary evil” to get along in times of heavy uncertainties spread across the entire Spanish society and beyond.

Even during hard times, Patricia never quit looking for new opportunities and stimuli, thus turning once again to her beloved theatre and enlarging her web of contacts. She entered a group of actresses and together they decided to make socio-political statements through their art: their performances show in particular a feminist sensibility. She got involved with an association dealing with migration issues in Madrid, but the close and shady connections with some political figures of the Peruvian community in the city made her withdraw and turn to pure artistic expressions. Patricia’s scepticism about politics is not an absolute one. As a matter of fact, she has registered and campaigned for a political party in Spain for the last few years.

When I met her, she had been living in Madrid for almost 10 years. In 2010, a friend of her asked: “Patricia, how long have you been to Spain? You should get the citizenship”. At that moment she realized she could request it, but her sister got sick and the illness overshadowed anything else. Later on, that same year, she managed to collect what she needed to start the naturalization process:

“Well, as I am a single woman and with no children... because if you have any children, well you need their birth certificates, your husband’s birth certificate, your husband’s authorization to let them move to Spain... and all this stuff ... [...] I had been living here almost five years or so, I had already my long-term residence permit... [...] so in 2010, I think, in December 2010 I made my request. In 2012, in November I think, I got it”.

She was not in a hurry to get her dual status. Nevertheless, she found it convenient:

“[...] Well, I had a permit with a five-year validity ... but I tell you why I naturalized: to travel. Because I have some relatives in the United States and as a Peruvian it is quite difficult to get a visa, you might even be rejected... Well, as a legal resident I can travel around all Europe, but I have some friends in London and others in Sweden. So, as a Peruvian I couldn’t enter easily and given the fact that I can get dual citizenship, well I decided to get it!”.

She added that her dual citizenship allowed her a certain room of manoeuvre to choose freely where to end her days, because she had no clue about that. She was dreaming about her retirement and was happy that her modest Spanish salary would endow her with a small pension: something she could have hardly reached in Peru. In the meanwhile, she hoped to find a way to climb a few steps up the social ladder and improve her economic condition.

Thanks to the permits of stay and her dual citizenship Patricia, who is now 53, has come to a viable equilibrium allowing her to survive, to pay the rent of her flat with the help of two housemates (a cousin and a friend of hers), and to cultivate her hobbies with less social burden than the one

she left back in Peru. Here again, the life-course stage at the arrival explains Patricia's need for empowerment and emancipation. Her instrumental look at (dual) citizenship was even emphasised by the economic downturn that gave her no illusions about her employability: she came fully aware of the labour niches reserved to her as a woman, as a migrant, as a Peruvian migrant woman (Crenshaw 1990) in Spain.

**Table 21. Patricia's story: Temporalities and key concepts**

| <b>Most relevant temporalities</b> | <b>Action</b>      | <b>Citizenship related issues</b> | <b>Core question</b>       |
|------------------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Year of arrival                    | Skills acquisition | Expectations                      | Empowerment & independence |
| Life-course stage                  |                    |                                   |                            |

#### **4.8. Concluding reflections on the temporalities in context**

This chapter indulges on the stories of eight Peruvian migrants, both women and men, to bring to the fore how their experiences of migration and their path towards and across dual citizenship affected their sense of citizenship. The emphasis on five forms of time or temporalities of citizenship has helped generalize some of the issues arisen throughout the narratives as personal instances.

The discourse on citizenship and its acquisition is usually centred on the state. In that scenario, the individual should just act in accordance with the state's precepts and laws. Moreover, when by design the citizenship regime ensures the acquisition of dual citizenship at naturalization, naturalization itself is deemed favourable by default and therefore

desirable. As said, the possibility to get dual citizenship is granted to Peruvian migrants in Italy as much as in Spain. What the mainstream discourse on citizenship fails to notice is that the structural possibility of dual citizenship does not really predict when or how (or even whether) people would take advantage of it. Through the use of temporalities the chapter moves a step forward in siting the narratives on citizenship within the lives of migrants and away from the realm of mere desirable possibility.

The five forms of time work as a contextual frame for the unfolding narratives, giving them meaning in a comparative fashion. In the words of my respondents, the weight of (dual) citizenship cannot be fully grasped without paying attention to its temporalities. Not only does each form of time matter differently in each life account, but it also results in different shapes of the sense of citizenship depending on the preferences, expectations and contingencies embedded in each narrative. In this sense, temporalities give reasons of major differences between people with a similar background and, conversely, show the commonalities among apparently distant people as well. For instance, the length of residence resonates in the narratives of Dolores and Manuel much more than their age differential. Instead, a similar life-course stage actually brings closer the cases of Pilar and Josefa: although migrated to different countries, they both adopted an instrumental approach towards citizenship.

Those who arrived as minors or young adults shared a sense of detachment from Peru. They may feel Peruvian, but they are quite sure that their future would not be in their country of origin. They are not completely detached but show a less idealised and more pragmatic way of building ties with Peru (Levitt 2006). While those arrived in their thirties and forties showed more mixed feelings, with usually a stronger projection towards Peru (Erdal and Ezzati 2015). Although not all of older migrants were sure about their return back home, they often maintained "a resilient attachment" (Leavey et al. 2004: 776) for their country of origin by



cultivating an ambivalence “expressed in terms of loss and regret”. Some dreamt to go back to a renewed Peru that is now developing at a fast pace, definitely faster than Italy or Spain, but felt nevertheless a disconnection with their home country perceived as too distant not only geographically. Others had idealised a past world of happiness and enjoyment that they experienced as youngsters or young adults, while retained a sense of betrayal because they were forced somehow to migrate and start a new life abroad.

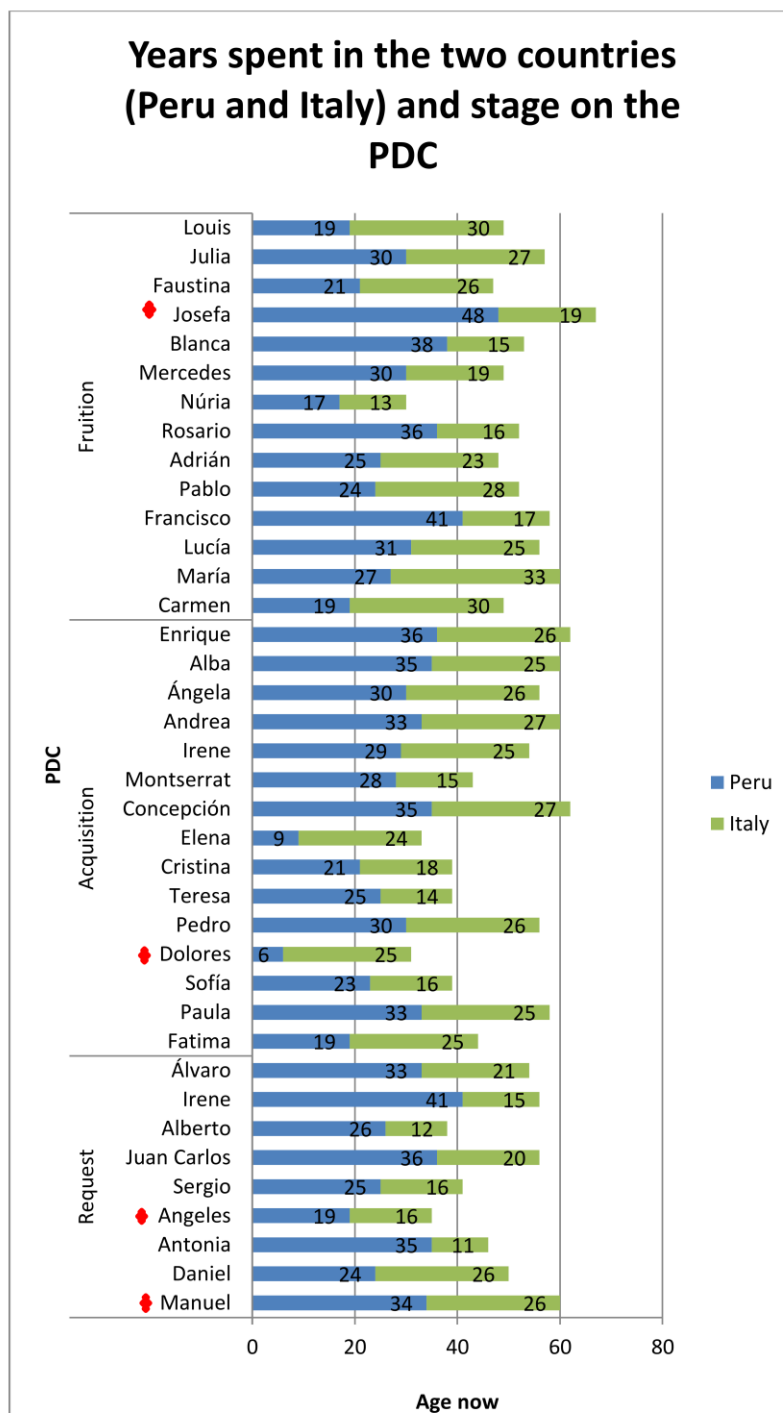
The age at the arrival combined with the age at the moment of the interview casted a new light on the weight of citizenship in people’s lives. For example, the older the respondents were at the moment of migration the longest they had lived in Peru. Moreover, the longer their residence in the host country the greater was their tendency to evaluate their whole life on the basis of what they had accomplished both personally and economically, of their expectations, and of their integration process.

Apparently, then, the life-course stage mattered a lot. For instance, being or not a parent influenced the speed at naturalization, namely those migrants with children tended to apply for citizenship as soon as possible if they could pass the status on the children as well. In this respect, Manuel and Patricia felt less pressure because stability was not on top of their priorities. She came as a single woman in search of personal independence while he came as an entrepreneur ready to set his business.

Expanding these considerations to my 79 respondents, the most evident aspect is that none of the forms of time could actually predetermine a homogeneous result for all. In the following tables I represent graphically the interplay of the forms of time in each country. The first tables are about the *Years spent in the two countries*, namely the origin country and the host country, *and the stage on the PDC*, while the subsequent two tables are about the *Time at dual citizenship acquisition and the length of residence in the host country*. Each table allows

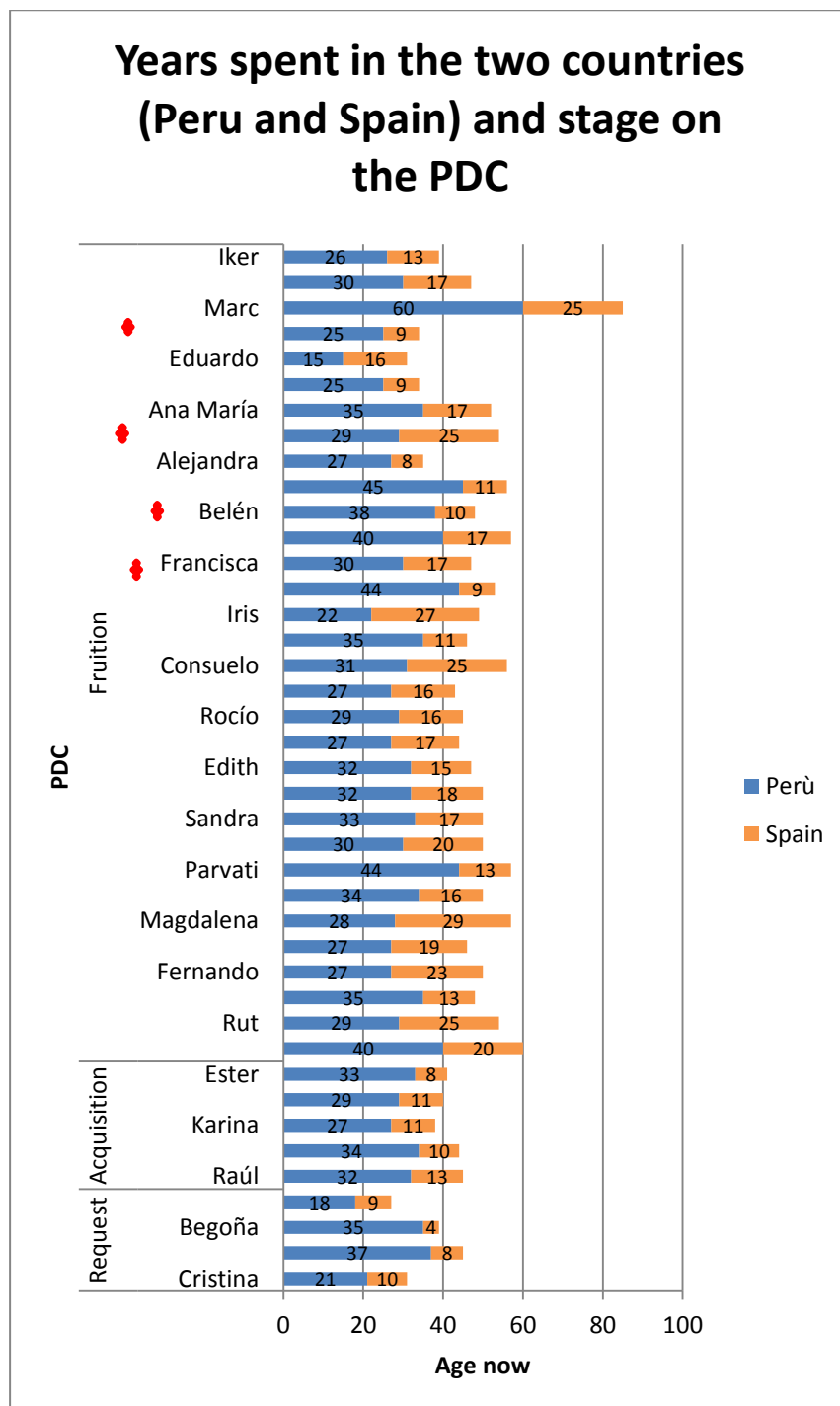
deducing a few more information such as the age at the arrival, the age now, the length of residence in the host country, or the specific stage on the life-course (i.e. having or not children). Although the chosen life-course stage is just an example among the others,

**Chart 1: Years spent in Peru and Italy and stage on the PDC.**



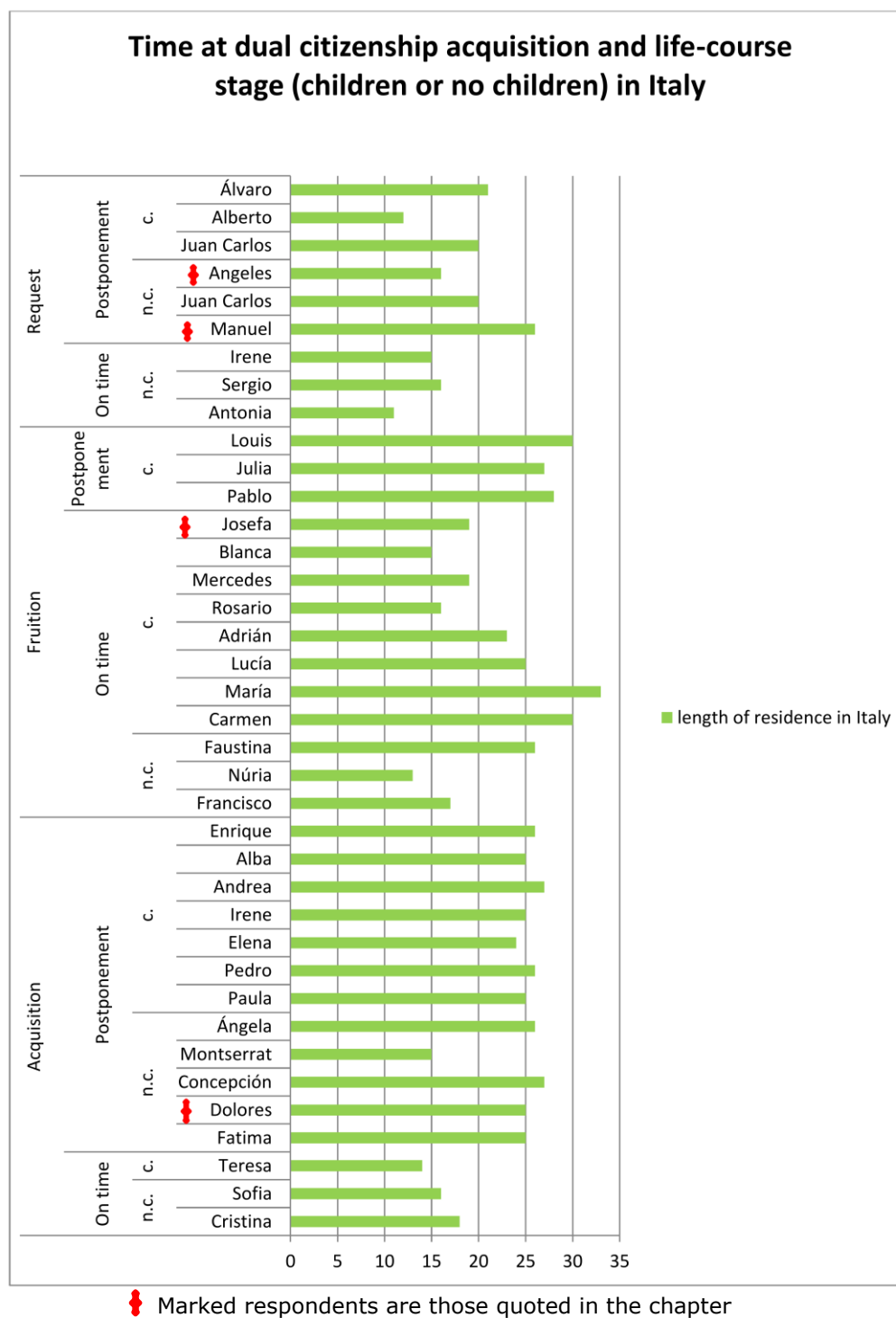
♦ Marked respondents are those quoted in the chapter

**Chart 2: Years spent in Peru and Spain and stage on the PDC**

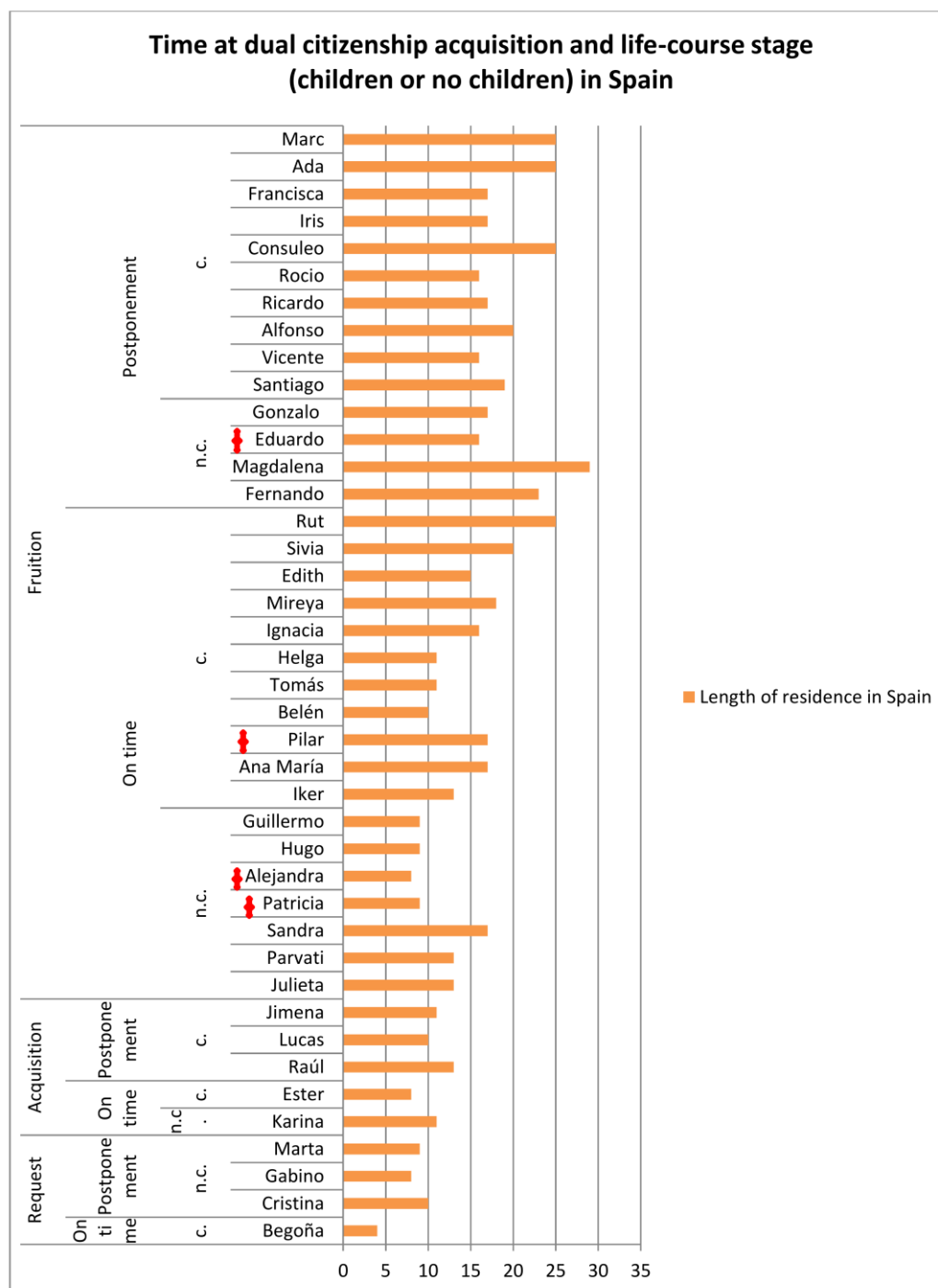


♦ Marked respondents are those quoted in the chapter

**Chart 3 Time at dual citizenship acquisition and life-course stage: having/not having children. Italy**



**Chart 4 Time at dual citizenship acquisition and life-course stage: having/not having children. Spain**

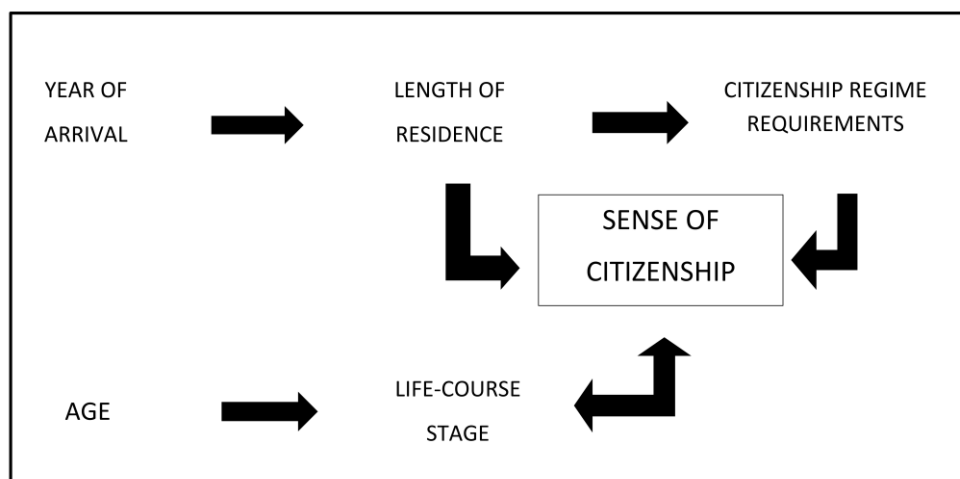


♦ Marked respondents are those quoted in the chapter

The proposed temporalities "*Age – Year of arrival – Life-course stage – Length of residence – Citizenship regime requirements*" do not pertain exclusively to (dual) citizenship. To be fair, they are not a peculiar feature of migration per se. Nonetheless, they are the lens to cast a new light on mechanisms and explanations too often overlooked. The intrinsic consequence of the use of those temporalities has been the mitigation of the original comparative approach of the research. Even though Italy and Spain keep idiosyncratic features at a structural level, the emphasis on time-related aspects of citizenship as lived experiences made the commonalities emerge across the two countries much more than their differences. The narratives of my respondents were surprisingly alike in the two contexts (as the tables above exemplify). This leads me to downplay the 10-2 year opposition.

The analysis through temporalities laid the basis for a deeper understanding of the meaning(s) of citizenship for migrant people and a critical review of some assumptions that are taken for granted in citizenship studies. In general terms, the five forms of time were conducive to what I named "sense of citizenship". The expression is not brand new in the field (Desforges et al. 2005, Joppke 2008), but it has been usually suggested as an evocative expression with no precise connotation. Here, the sense of citizenship is built upon the life experiences of my respondents, their ongoing understanding of citizenship(s) either acquired or prospective. It is a mixture of the attachments as well as the strategic uses that the status acquisition responds to. In the diagram below I trace the preliminary connections between this concept and the five forms of time. Because both the structural time (*Citizenship regime requirements*) and the biographical time (*Length of residence, Age, Life-course stage*) are not static by definition (with the obvious exception of *Year of arrival*), the transformative potential of the sense of citizenship becomes clearer.

**Figure 2: DUAL CITIZENSHIP TEMPORALITIES**



The sense of citizenship delves into the life-course contingences, implications and choices that shape people's moves towards a dual status. It is the result of a perspective that considers PDC within the entire migratory journey of Peruvian migrants. In this respect, the temporalities of dual citizenship do not serve to bring to the fore the sole events in migrants' lives in their sequential unfolding, but rather to highlight how these events and the meanings attached to them *flow* on the basis of both legal-structural constraints and individual preferences. Indeed, none of the forms of time taken separately can truly explain when and why some particular choices were made. However, their interplay gives a better though complex picture of each journey.

The chapter shows how migrants understand their own path towards and across dual citizenship in spite of the normative assumptions informing each citizenship regime. Moreover, the emphasis on the temporalities of (dual) citizenship has acted as a transversal means of revelation across the two countries, touching upon age, gender, and social class.



The distinction between structural and biographical time is not a mere analytical artefact. It suggests looking for the interplay of states' preferences and individuals qua migrants' needs when dealing with time in citizenship. Time is crucial to understand how a citizenship regime works, but there is no a unique form of time. Indeed, the disciplining form of time as "residence requirements" designed by the states is not sufficient to appreciate how citizenship is embedded within the lives of migrants (Antonsich 2016, Lister 2007). Along with time in citizenship regimes, there are other forms of time that relate more to biographical aspects of each migrant. If migrants arrive in the host state at an early age or late in life, as spouses with children or as singles with no strings attached, as established professionals or jobless seekers, in a period of economic expansion or economic recession, or the time they have spent in the host country, all these circumstances matter and can shape the insertion into the receiving society as well as the relationship with the country of origin. The five temporalities proposed in the chapter take into consideration all these circumstances to disentangle further issues that my respondents linked to citizenship.

The eight stories above are exemplar of my whole sample and show how a temporal glance at migrants' narratives on citizenship might uncover other issues like, for instance, the double path of youngsters, who move simultaneously towards adulthood and towards a full recognition of their membership via naturalization. Another aspect emerged is the pressure on young migrants who strive for a formal recognition despite having been educated and socialized mainly (or solely) in the host country. Furthermore, the fact of being a single woman with no plans of starting a family in her twenties can turn the migratory journey towards the acquisition of dual citizenship also into a search for independence and self-empowerment. Or the fact of being in timely compliance with the provisions of the citizenship regime cannot ensure that the individual

migrant has developed a strong sense of belonging for the newly acquired membership.

Temporalities are a lens to interpret individual level narratives on (dual) citizenship. The use of plural forms of time to navigate through the narratives on citizenship has two major interrelated implications. On a theoretical level, it questions the assumption that makes the structural time the exhaustive means to compare and understand the differences between citizenship regimes. Each citizenship regime responds to a specific normative construction, making for instance the system more or less open to new acquisitions (Howard 2005); but these normative constructions cannot truly foreseen to what extent or how individuals will comply with them. In this respect, only temporalities all together help contextualizing the narratives of migrants and their creative capacity (Bloemraad 2018) to act and react to the predicaments of states. Conversely, they help downplaying the structuring role of the state. On an experiential level, these five temporalities explain why the same normative construction does not (and cannot) affect everybody in the same way.

The theoretical and experiential implications are further analysed in the following chapters while addressing some aspects that the present chapter touched slightly upon, like the discrepancies between citizenship regimes and migrants' experiences when dual citizenship is acquired on time – in Chapter 6 – and the temporary attractiveness of long-term residency in procrastinated paths towards dual citizenship – in Chapter 7 – . The original comparison between Italy and Spain based on the minimum time of residence required to apply for naturalization let the floor to the broader distinction between "on time acquisition of citizenship" and "delayed/procrastinated acquisition". The narratives collected during my fieldwork could be substantially divided into two subgroups corresponding roughly to half of the sample each. The most relevant forms of time for the following pages are, thus, the *citizenship regime*

*requirements* and the *length of residence*. Also the concept of sense of citizenship is progressively refined.

## **Chapter 5**

### **Dealing with the same “national” umbrella**

#### **5.1. Introduction**

The chapter maintains that ordinary people have multiple understandings of citizenship and belonging to the nation(s). It suggests that despite an evident de-nationalization of the act of naturalization, the everyday experience of citizenship(s) still shapes individual identity also in light of the absence or presence of a sense of belonging towards nation-states.

The motivations bringing people to a prompt acquisition of dual citizenship testify a motivational weakening that passes through an instrumental (Joppke 2019, Ong 1999) or legitimate (Knott 2018) approach towards citizenship. Nevertheless, an analysis of naturalization and dual citizenship acquisition under both practical and discursive terms brings back in the national (Antonsich and Matejskova 2015, Antonsich 2009). The focus on residence in the host country sets two main points. Firstly, it foresees a nexus between migratory statuses and work outcomes (Goldring and Landolt 2011). Secondly, it finds the reflections of such nexus in the discourse around (dual) citizenship as belonging. In this sense, the look at the concrete steps that lead migrants to an on time acquisition of citizenship and the narratives that they have of their dual (perspective) membership re-connect the national to citizenship.

Although each citizenship regime is modelled around a preferential path towards citizenship acquisition (Hainmueller et al. 2017) and an ideal type of the good citizen, my respondents displayed multiple ways of experiencing their (prospective) dual citizenship under a formal compliance with the same model of citizenship.

The sociological approach applied in the chapter looks at the insights on everyday nationhood of ordinary people (Fox and Miller-Idriss 2008, Antonsich 2016). It shows how and to what extent migrants' experiences of citizenship acquisition and citizenship regime models collide or converge in both predictable and unpredictable ways.

It suggests that (prospective) new citizens (re)produce the nations and contribute to the on-going redefinition of citizenship boundaries even when their actions, motivations and feelings for their countries of membership diverge from what nation-states would expect from them.

According to an economic approach to the study of naturalization, a prompt acquisition of the host country citizenship signals migrants' eagerness for integration, in both economic and socio-cultural terms. If becoming a citizen manifests the willingness of being fully part of society, to make a request for naturalization on time or at an accelerated pace should be a sign that the migrant had no hesitations in complying with the requirements set by the law and in understanding the culture of the host country straightaway. The implicit assumption is that those people who managed to start their naturalization process in due time were on track to be "good citizens" from the very beginning, since their arrival in the country. But is there truly a correspondence between the "on time" citizenship acquisition and ideal (prospective) citizens? To what extent abundance to the structural time ensures the endorsement of the "national" as foreseen by the host country? And what is the place of dual citizenship, how do ordinary people reconcile multiple memberships with one idea of citizenship?

As anticipated in Chapter 4, the reconstruction of where is time in dual citizenship brought to the salient distinction between those Peruvian migrants who naturalized just on time and those who postponed their PDC. The following pages deal exactly with those respondents who filed their request for citizenship as soon as it became available due to either *jus domicile* or *jus matrimony*. The analysis is framed around the concept

of everyday nationhood as a way to trace my respondents' experiences of citizenship(s) in ordinary life. While acknowledging that each citizenship regime attempts to shape its (future) members as if citizenship was a homogenous category, the empirical part questions this top-down explanation on the basis of two main evidences. First, it shows that the avoidance of bureaucracy is among the strongest motivations bringing migrants to on time naturalization, thus undermining the rhetoric on membership as desirable per se. And second, it illustrates how the sense of citizenship is multiple and related to practical and interrelated issues of economic integration, social integration and identity formation within the host society.

## **5.2. The reproduction of nation(s)**

The study citizenship as a category (Bloemraad 2000, Joppke 2007), a practice (Aleinikoff and Klusmeyer 2010), or a normative stance (Brubaker 1992, Marshall 1964, Bauböck 2012) has slowly integrated the individual within its framework (Soysal 1994, Sassen 2002). The more consolidated perspective from the above is based on legal comparisons between citizenship regimes (Seyersen 2008, Vink and Bauböck 2013), or on chronicles and typologies of their evolution across time and space (Howard 2009). This perspective considers the nature of citizenship regimes, and thus their supposed inclusive or exclusive stance, as formally prescribed by word of law. What is prescribed by law reflects the imagined community (Anderson 1991) of each nation-state; therefore nation-states use their citizenship regime and more generally "nationalism" to shape their (future) citizenry and ensure their institutional reproduction.

The consideration of the individual as a constitutive part of the citizenship discourse ultimately brought to the need to complement the

top-down approach with an understanding of citizenship from below (Hobsbawm 1991, Brubaker 2006). The implications of banal (Billig 1995) and everyday nationalism (Edensor 2002, Fox and Miller-Idriss 2008) arise from the attempt to study the nation from the bottom-up. While banal nationalism looks at how individuals passively receive and reproduce on their own a state-led conception of the national (Skey 2009), everyday nationalism completes the picture by looking at how, when and where individuals autonomously impinge their daily lives with the national (Antonsich 2016, Skey 2011). The national is investigated in daily objects and social conventions as well as in interpersonal relations and individuals' self-understandings. Everyday nationalism underlines how the national is re-produced by daily interactions among citizens and non-citizens.

This chapter adopts a more recent stance on everyday nationalism that questions the idea of a homogenous and coherent narrative of the national, showing how it can potentially open to more inclusive forms (Antonsich 2018). Indeed, issues of intersectionality (Crenshaw 1990, Yuval-Davis 1996) and new "others" are the breaking points of the national as an identity category (Antonsich and Matejskova 2015). They potentially push the boundaries of the national for both individuals and the nation-states and suggest a revision of most consolidated categories of identification (i.e. ethnicity (Fox and Jones 2013), race, and religion). Moreover, this evolution of the everyday nationalism acknowledges that the internal and stable coherence of the national could be challenged by the diverse strata of the same population (Antonsich 2018).

The adopted lens on "on time" acquisition of citizenship triggers the consideration of another branch of studies. I refer to studies that focus on the economic side of citizenship. In fact, the elements most commonly used to design the citizenship regime include residence along with proofs of economic self-sufficiency, language proficiency and a general appreciation of the cultural habits of the host country. As said, Spain foresaw a fast-track citizenship for Peruvians while Italy did not reserve

them any preferential treatment. The two regimes embody distant models of inclusion that can be summarized in the catalyst-crown opposition (Hainmueller, Hangartner and Pietrantuono 2017). To simplify analytically the opposition, the early acquisition of (dual) citizenship in Spain should boost migrants' integration opportunities and endorsement of the national following the sequence *"labour market insertion – dual citizenship acquisition – socio-cultural integration"*. Instead, the achievement of citizenship in Italy should be praised as the final crowning of migrants' integration process according to a sequence like *"labour market insertion – socio-cultural integration – dual citizenship acquisition"*. As evident, both citizenship regime models emphasise the labour market insertion as a necessary element not to burden citizen tax-payers.

In light of that, the citizenship premium framework is often adopted. Within this framework, the propensity towards the acquisition of citizenship and rates of naturalization are analysed to understand which groups gain more when it comes to naturalization in a host country and whether there exists a time limit within which maximizing those gains (Bevelander and DeVoretz 2008; Hainmueller, Hangartner and Pietrantuono 2017; Peters, Vink and Schmeets 2017; Bratsberg, Ragan and Nasir 2002; Helgertz, Bevelander, and Tegunimataka 2014; Bloemraad and Sheares 2017). The economic benefits it considers are usually wage increase and access to better jobs. The explanations report that newly become citizens can finally compete on an equal footing with natives in the labour market and employers are deemed to trust more those who have truly committed themselves to integrate in the host society. The signalling effect is a positive one and is greater for those migrants who belong to less favoured groups such as third country nationals or scarcely educated people. Thus, the citizenship premium consists practically of wage improvements and (perceived) skills improvements that make the new citizens better suited for and more stable in the labour market (Steinhardt 2012).



Finally, I refer to the work-citizenship matrix (Goldring and Landolt 2011). The development of the matrix follows a life-course approach on the link between work and legal status. It is an interpretative framework suggesting that “prior locations have the potential to exert long-term effects”. Moreover, the focus on work-citizenship insecurities highlights that “gains on one front are not always matched on others”. It is clear that the link between (speed at) citizenship and work is largely exploited to illustrate to whom and to what extent the status acquisition is more (or less) beneficial.

Following this brief theoretical introduction, the use of everyday nationalism throughout the whole analysis is twofold. It firstly makes overt the limits of mere legal concerns with reproduction of the nation because they cannot go beyond formality. And then by recalling the work-citizenship matrix, it illustrates how individuals’ practices and discourses on (dual) citizenship still contribute to a reproduction of the national through constellations (Bauböck 2010) of belonging.

### **5.3. The “on time” acquisition of dual citizenship**

The chapter focuses on those who could request and eventually acquire dual citizenship within the time limits foreseen by the citizenship regime models. I selected those who moved into the PDC right on time or at an accelerated pace in accordance with the principles of *jus domicile* and *jus matrimony*. In the third empirical chapter (Chapter 6) I analyse the situation of those who postponed the citizenship acquisition.

Building on the concluding observations of Chapter 5, the comparison between Italy and Spain became less relevant because migrants’ attitudes and considerations about (dual) citizenship were remarkably similar among the people I interviewed in the two countries. Thus, the divide along the citizenship models that splits my respondents

into two groups – those who naturalized “on time or earlier” vs those who “postponed” the request – seemed more profitable. I propose a comparison which is based on how migrants respond to the provisions of the citizenship models.

The respondents included in the following pages are those who requested dual citizenship as soon as they reached the minimum time of residence in the host country, thus after two years in Spain and ten years in Italy. Residence is the structural means for nation-states to impose continuity in migrants’ involvement with the territory. In this sense, *jus domicile* requires physical presence in a place as a means to ensure (and measure) a stable relationship between the individual and the state. Through residence the individual should then acquire the basic understanding of the host society and eventually become a new member. The reduction of the process to the minimum length required by law could be seen as a proof of migrants’ successful incorporation: they were able to embrace the paradigm of the good citizen and matched it with their actions.

I included also those migrants who benefitted of a quicker access to naturalization for being married to a citizen (or dual citizen at birth) of the host country. As specified in the methodological chapter (Chapter 3), I selected only those spouses who acquired dual citizenship while residing in the host country. Yet, there is a combination of *jus matrimony* and *jus domicile* that allows considering this way of acquisition as an accelerated form of citizenship by residence. Moreover, by promoting the unity of the family, *jus matrimony* takes for granted that the prospective citizen is socialized to the host country way of living and to nationhood within the domestic walls.

The following analysis and discussion shows that a prompt acquisition of citizenship is not necessarily a way of matching the nation-state’s expectations about an ideal citizenry. Indeed, the reproduction of the nation through *jus domicile* and *jus matrimony* does not secure a

homogeneous understanding of citizenship (Antonsich and Matejskova 2015). It rather suggests a shift towards a denationalization of citizenship through a general motivational weakening.

#### **5.4. Formally good citizens: the motivational weakening of naturalization**

During the interviews I realized that those who were perfect on time were especially conscious of the difference between citizen and non-citizen, even when the non-citizen situation was that of a privileged denizen (Hammar 1990). To become finally a citizen like the others and among the others, thus becoming something more than an almost-citizen or denizen vis-à-vis the law (Turner 2016), is a step made to be in compliance with the law.

Sandra [Madrid, 50, arrival 1999, request 2001, *Fruition*]:  
Why? Because I see it as a way to get full rights and duties, the ones that you get by living here, you know?!  
Well, I know that you can do almost the same with other permits... you can get some more rights with the residence permits after 5 or 10 years. I have been told it is close to the citizenship status but there are flaws of course

What I contend here is that a look beyond law abidance suggests the push of practical, strategic and even banal considerations leading migrants to naturalization. The way in which dual citizenship (and citizenship as a category) is valued is also strongly dependant on how people experienced migration, and not only the strict PDC, since the very beginning.

The focus on *jus domicile* reveals that my respondents desired above all to free themselves from any further bureaucratic burdens. Indeed, they could finally secure their stay through the status acquisition.

On their part, migrants had to be fully aware of the rules of the game and be prepared to comply with the set requirements with diligence. Clearly, diligence does not coincide with the aspiration of being a member of the nation – what I call here the “national” (for further reflections on this matter see Antonsich and Matejskova 2015) –, but rather with the acknowledgment of the *convenience* descending from such a formal membership. Similarly, those spouses who had a simplified and accelerated path towards dual citizenship acquired it out of legitimacy – i.e. legitimate citizenship (Knott 2018) – before any other considerations.

#### **5.4.1.        Avoiding bureaucratic burdens through *jus domicile***

Peruvian respondents who requested citizenship on time were pushed by their prudential attitude and foresight capacity to take advantage of the added opportunities. They were capable to do what the law foresaw in the exact moment it became available to them, because they did not want to be flattened by bureaucracy (Golash-Boza 2016). In their minds a new citizenship as well as a dual citizenship could be useful or would certainly be so in the future. Therefore it was reasonable to acquire it right away not to waste any chances to come.

Josefa [67, Milan, arrival 1998, acquisition 2012, Fruition]:

“I got the citizenship thinking about the possibilities it opens up. I wasn’t sure that it would help for sure... I know that either as a citizen or as a foreigner, it doesn’t really matter. Because it depends on you as a person, it is not a matter of citizenship. To tell you, it didn’t mean a “big ooh” to me, like I won the lottery. I took it as soon as possible only because I am zealous, even too much... I don’t know why, but it is normal to me, if I have to do paperwork I’ll do it, that’s it! As I was a teacher I am

precise with this kind of things, I don't let things go by. I have to do it, I'll do it [...]"

If the primary need is that of getting rid of bureaucratic burdens associated with permit renewal (cfr. Chapter 3.6), then a prompt naturalization is an obvious decision.

Carmen [Milan, 49, arrival 1986, request 1997, *Fruition*]  
"Police officers were mean to immigrants, you know? Move here, move there.. It was like that, when the American was in and then all the others. It was sad, right? I could never get along with that so, when I finally got my citizenship I quit the queueing! We, my husband and I, travelled a lot. We went all around Europe, so in every place they would ask me a visa to travel, right? Before I got the citizenship I used to go to the Consulate, I had to stand in line so many times. Actually, it wasn't for the queue... but for the questions, hundreds of questions ... I didn't like it at all!"

Nevertheless, the prompt acquisition goes hand in hand with other conditions that migrants have already realised or are going to make happen. The necessary condition is being in compliance with the law, at least formally. Therefore, it is crucial to know the rules of the game from the very beginning. This means either that each migrant has a good knowledge of the structure of opportunity offered by the host country or that their co-ethnic networks possess that same knowledge.

Teresa [Milan, 39, arrival 2002, request 2013, *Acquisition*]: "I discourage my husband [from using illegal means]. I used to tell him "You need a permit of residence so you can start working straightaway, or you can study, and if you want to homologate your degree you must do it as soon as possible... in the meanwhile you have to learn Italian!"

It could be a direct knowledge coming from individual investigation or, more commonly, an indirect knowledge that takes advantage of past experiences of other migrants. Especially in the case of "on time acquisition" of citizenship, knowledge of the citizenship regime and its rules represented a crucial aspect irrespectively of it being direct or indirect in nature. In this sense being at pace with the administrative issue becomes a synonym for acting responsibly:

Helga [46, Madrid, arrival 2005, request 2008, acquisition 2013, Fruition] "the situation pushed me not to waste any occasions to file my documents to get the citizenship. Because, by getting the citizenship I could at least, you know, get a bit of stability from the administrative point of view to stay in Spain. I would not have to worry about renewing my NIE (permit of stay) every now and then, and if I don't get a job contract I cannot renew it... [...] I kept saying to my husband: "we are going to be fine don't worry, we shouldn't miss at any time the opportunity to be up to date with the documents." As I said, we did all the steps so no one could ever say that we didn't meet the requirements".

The knowledge accumulated through the years can be used to perpetuate chains of irregularity, but it can also serve as a warning, like in this very case. It discouraged my respondents from going through the same pains and worries already experienced by other migrants before them.

As proof of warning, the avoidance of periods of undocumented residence is one of the most recurrent apprehensions:

Karina [38, Madrid, arrival 2007, request 2010, acquisition 2012, Fruition]: "I went to the Catholic Church. I left my cv there, and after only four hours they called me back to offer me a job. I had to babysit two

young girls. "Oh my Gosh!" Well... I had never done something like that in my country. I didn't iron my clothes, I had a domestic for that and all the rest. But I had to accept, because I had to pay (for my social security). I had to pay because I was worried about becoming illegal... [...] I told myself, I will do whatever comes."

The illegality issue is also strictly related to the situation of the country at large. For instance, in the Spanish case the economic crisis started in 2008 had some impact on migrants' capacity to endure the insecurity of the request stage, while struggling to find a job (Finotelli et al. 2017).

The need to prove legal residence to move across the statuses, update the permits and reach the minimum length of residence to apply for naturalization was not equally problematic among my respondents. As shown previously, see Chapter 3, being legally or illegally resident in the host state can be a matter of contingencies. For instance, some of my respondents managed to juggle along the grey zones of fake job contracts or extra-money in the informal sector while satisfying the formal requirements for residence. They manoeuvred across the space between legal and illegal, and adopted shades of semi-legality as a means to cope with the structural limitations imposed by the state. Conversely, other respondents had no problems at all in keeping their residence legal exclusively through legal means. Nevertheless, they all applied for citizenship on time mainly under the urgency to secure their position within the citizenry. To them the acquisition was not an aspiration to the "national", rather a matter of prudence: "I got it, because... You never know what may happen".

#### **5.4.2. The legitimate convenience of *jus matrimony***

Among my respondents, the possibility to be granted a long term permit at the arrival and benefitting of the citizenship status of their partner supported the whole migration plan from the very beginning, even before departure from Peru. As for Mireya, who married a native Spanish, citizenship itself can be no more than a matter of paperwork:

Mireya [Madrid, 50, arrival 1998, request 1998, *Fruition*]:

Well, to me citizenship has always been a matter of ... of paperwork. There's nothing to do. I have always looked at it in this way. In my family, either my father or my mother, they always told me that, that it is just paperwork. Because we moved abroad, me and my family migrated in and out our country, right?

The possibility to acquire citizenship via marital status and while residing in the host country introduces a "dimension of legitimacy" (Knott 2019) in migrants' access to dual citizenship. They did not question the status acquisition because they could legitimately claim it as spouses of citizens. The citizenship policies provided them with a right they promptly benefitted from, even before interrogating themselves about the meanings of the new status within their lives.

For instance, Mercedes [49, Milan, arrival 1998, request 1998, acquisition 2003, *Fruition*] arrived in Italy newly married to her Italian husband. She had already spent a few years in Italy to take a master in Law and came back for love. They had to get married before her departure from Peru because the Consular authorities were suspicious when she asked for a permit by herself. She was denied the visa the first time, but not the second one:

Mercedes "[...] He (her future husband) came to Peru.

[...] So we decided to get married, there was almost his



entire family. It was awesome. And then we went to the Embassy to look for a family visa. They gave it to me straightaway.

They got married before departure because it was the most straightforward way for Mercedes to receive a long-lasting residence permit in Italy.

Another example is the story of Isabel. She arrived in Italy in 2001, married to an Italo-Peruvian man and mother of two teenage daughters. In her family she was the only one with the sole Peruvian citizenship, while the three of them had acquired dual citizenship at birth by descent. They moved to Italy in force of the citizenship advantage. Although Isabel was not a dual citizen but a non-EU migrant citizen, she benefitted of the dual status of other family members that granted her an indefinite stay permit straightaway. Nevertheless, no later than a few months after her arrival she filed the request for naturalization as spouse of an Italian citizen and acquired it in 2005. As she was aware that the host country's citizenship can help in the everyday life, Isabel left Peru with all the necessary documentation to become an Italian citizen. Before departure, she and her husband considered carefully three options: moving to the United States, moving to Germany and moving to Italy. In the end, they opted for Italy for the valuable possibility of being legal residents from the very beginning

Something similar is valid for Ignacia [43, Madrid, arrival 2000, request 2002, acquisition 2004, Fruition], who had always thought about getting abroad. Since her childhood she had been dreaming about moving to the United States and having a better life. Hence, at the age of 25 she and her husband managed to reach Chicago and stay by a friend's for a couple of months. As a few problems arose at her friend's house and their visas were going to expire soon, the couple decided to migrate to Spain. Her husband is of Spanish origins. This means that he holds dual citizenship by birth. He left the United States and went directly to Madrid,

because with his citizenship status he could easily request family reunification while residing in Spain. All the bureaucratic chores were dealt with no hesitations and Ignacia obtained the stay permit in just three months in 2001.

"I came here legally. I was a reunified family member, so I didn't experience irregularity... because I came on family reunification".

Ignacia strongly emphasised that irregularity could not have been an option.

And then there is Edith. Her story shows how the family reunification could be more than just a label. She had been living alone in Lima with her child for almost five years, when she moved to Spain to reunite with her husband in 2001. After such a long time apart and with the aim to give their child the love of both parents, they decided to recompose the family union. The endeavour lasted only half a year. She and the child had come on family reunification; within a year the little boy was already a dual citizen thanks to his father's newly acquired Spanish citizenship while she obtained the five-year permit as family member of an EU citizen – la Tarjeta Comunitaria –. Their attempt to recompose the family unit had two major consequences. First, their child got his Spanish citizenship for cohabiting with the father who had recently naturalized. Second, Edith benefitted of the spousal favourable treatment although the marriage had not really survived the distance.

The knowledge about their rights as spouses of a citizen prompted these women to leave Peru. They knew they were leaving behind their world to start a new life afresh, but migrating at the side of a citizen made the move a bit less risky in their eyes because of the stability associated with their status. Despite the fact that my respondents could enter and stay reassured by their legal stability as dependents, the way they related

to that *stability in dependence* casts some light on their sense of citizenship and I delve into this aspect in the next section.

The examples above show to what extent an accelerated access to dual citizenship via *jus matrimony* can depart from an idealised juxtaposition of naturalization and adherence to national discourse, similarly to what has emerged in dealing with law abidance by *jus domicile*. Indeed, my respondents planned marriage before migration to free themselves from further administrative burdens upon arrival. They leveraged on their marital status to ensure legal residence without delay or to recover a marriage in shambles, but the importance of the (prospective) citizenship as proof of a symbolic membership already in place was not at stake. Marriage per se was not claimed as an instance of “substantive citizenship”, of a sense of belonging to the host country somehow conveyed by the citizen partner. It was particularly true in the case of citizen partners who acquire dual citizenship at birth but lack any direct attachment or involvement with the host country themselves. On the contrary, the next section illustrates how residence and prolonged exposure to the host society were the spouses’ means to develop their own understanding of (dual) citizenship.

In sum, to my Peruvian respondents the accelerated access to naturalization on the basis of *jus matrimony* was, again, only a matter of convenience that safeguarded them from insecure positions vis-à-vis the host country.

### **5.5. How (prospective) citizenship re-activates the “national”**

This section illustrates how the everyday understanding of citizenship and the reproduction of the national is intrinsically linked to both individuals’ path across migratory statuses and individuals’ work outcomes in space (in Peru and in the host country) and in time (through the passing of the years). With the following stories I delve into the mechanisms allowing

migrants being in compliance with the law and attaching multiple meanings to (dual) citizenship acquisition. To do so I split the exposition in two parts. In the first part, I deal with the expectations, compromises and choices leading my Peruvian respondents to a certain path into the labour market and to a certain approach towards naturalization. Here I combine the everyday nationalism with the “work-citizenship matrix” (Goldring and Landolt 2011) that intersects precariousness of legal status and work. In the second part, I make a step forwards by looking for the reflections of such intersection into the spheres of identity and belonging to the nation(s) of membership.

I contend that, within the limits of requirements set by citizenship regimes, individuals are brought by contingences and preferences to a work-citizenship nexus that shapes how they feel about naturalization (i.e. citizenship as a status), and how they position themselves within the memberships encompassed in dual citizenship.

#### **5.5.1. Naturalization and work: implications of a nexus**

The expectations, compromises, and preferences that guided my respondents’ integration into the labour market and their moves into the PDC prejudiced the role of citizenship within the daily routines. In the following paragraphs, I trace back what might be the place of naturalization in the case of downward and upward mobility. The interpretation of my data is then built upon the framework of work-citizenship matrix.

##### **a) Downward mobility throughout naturalization: working no matter what**

One of the crucial aspects for those who committed to naturalize on time was to fulfil the urgency to work. As said, the permit renewals are contingent upon being employed (or self-employed). For this reason the

nature of the job itself became less and less important in the eyes of my respondents. They had to renounce their ideal position to reach the ultimate goal. As in the case of Lucía [56, Milan, arrival 1991, request 2001, acquisition 2008, *Fruition*] who wanted to earn as much as possible and abandoned her white collar aspirations:

“[...] When I entered the Consulate I was employed, I worked in the office... To me, that was the real value to be in an office. But after a while I realized that I was in an office but I was always the last one, I was always the one who got the worst tasks, I could not have a career...”

Once she arrived in Italy, Lucía soon became the breadwinner in her family because her husband had to work in the shadow economy for long before being regularized. Although she held a degree in Economics, she had to leave Peru with the worsening economic situation in 1991. She reached her husband in Italy after six month from his departure. They left their oldest daughter with her mother and decided to save some money to reunite with her as soon as possible. Lucía’s first job was caring for an old lady. Later on she moved from job to job to make ends meet and save as much as possible:

“We (my husband and I) did all that we can to save money. At that time I could save because I had a stable job... We bought dollars straightaway, I don’t remember exactly how much but I was earning around 1.7000.000 Lire... [...] as I said, in Peru I wouldn’t have done it. Not in Peru! To be a domestic, it is out of discussion! If you are a domestic in my country you cannot send your children to the University, here you can for sure!”

She admittedly said that she would have never accepted the same occupations in Peru. Her projection first towards the family reunification

and then to get her papers done for the family as well brought her to a kind of alienation in which all of her life was spinning around working hours:

“I had always part-time jobs. In my ignorance I thought that to work in the black market means earning more money. So, working part-time allowed me getting my permit of stay and being in the shadow economy allowed me earning more. I worked up to 14 hours per day, eh?! ”

She had hardly the time to see her daughters, her husband or socialize with others outside her family. Even her choice to save a bit more by earning money under the table is among the facts that set her apart from the Italian society. Her formal compliance with the Italian citizenship regime resulted in a rush for work no matter what. Simply put, social commitment with her local community was not a piece of her work-family puzzle.

Lucía’s experience is not an isolated one. The acceptance of any occupation just to get legal employment was common among those respondents who decided to naturalize “on time”. With the acquisition of dual citizenship, then, some of them felt the courage to search for a better job or a position that could suit their aspirations. In this sense, “working no matter what” could represent a fairly long but still temporary option until the status is obtained.

What does Lucía’s story tell about the Italian citizenship model? The alienation or, said otherwise, her distance from what is going on around her within the society indicates her limited integration into the social fabric. A timely compliance with the administrative deadlines did not entail a fair social integration. In fact, Lucía’s dedication to her job tasks to guarantee her role of breadwinner got in the way of further involvement and maintenance of previous social status. She managed to get and

maintain her work post; and therefore to reach the status of dual citizenship after ten years of residence in Italy. In spite of that, throughout those long ten years, she hardly had time (or will) to immerse into the Italian social fabric because she prioritized other aspects. To her, naturalization was the means to provide stability to her family. Moreover, since her arrival she chose to downsize her labour aspirations as the priority was working per se.

b) Downward mobility as empowerment in the shadow

This second example shows how the citizen partner's incapacity to take action and cope with the initial professional downgrading as a migrant, although a migrant with full citizenship status, prompted the dependent spouse to become proactive as a compensation.

What Blanca [47, Madrid, arrival 2001, request 2002, acquisition 2004, *Fruition*] left behind in Peru was a comfortable routine as a housewife who took care of her daughters on a constant basis, while the breadwinning father was at work all day long. It is extremely important to underline that at that time she did not feel any pressure to enter the job market. They had the means to conduct a more than satisfying life. The move to Italy turned their world upside-down, literally. Her daughters felt catapulted in a too-distant world; her husband got trapped in a stubborn reluctance to accept less prestigious jobs than the one he used to hold as a technical engineer; and Blanca herself started working.

"In my case, well, I sorted it out by doing... I did small jobs here and there. It is not because I hold a degree that I can't do it. I had to make ends meet for my family. I kept going like that... [...] At that time, you could find easily informal jobs like ironing clothes, cleaning houses, taking care of children ... a bit of everything, and with these [occupations] I have survived until today".

Blanca holds a degree in Economics but does not define herself according to her advanced education. Since her arrival, her urgency has been that of providing for the family no matter what. The fact that, after two or three years since their arrival, her husband was still languishing at home with no stable job or prospects on the horizon made the two of them split.

"I used to work every day. I worked from 8 am to 3 am, and I came back home... In the morning I used to clean offices. Then I used to run to a lawyer's house for two hours, later two hours in another house, and so on. At night people could call me to do babysitting until 1 or 2 am. So I came back home, had a sleep for four hours and went back to work again...".

Blanca's daily schedule was highly fragmented and stressful because of the coming and going from one appointment to the other. Under the precarious web of informal labour contracts, she was able to find a sort of regularity that has secured her a minimum income throughout the years. Moreover, the relative quick acquisition of dual citizenship status did not push her to break the chain of irregular jobs. She kept moving from one to the other without asking for a regularization of her social security position. Although in the long run this choice might prove to be detrimental, it has been quite effective so far.

The permanence in this grey zone of domestic help, which is at the same time difficult to detect and readily available, exemplifies how migrants and new citizens learn to navigate almost undisturbed through the laws of a host state. It is evident that Blanca's privileged condition as spouse of an Italo-Peruvian prevented her from experiencing harsh controls and striving for a legal labour contract. This is probably the reason why she said:



“To tell you the truth, it [the citizenship] hasn’t changed anything. After all, my face speaks for itself. The face, my way of saying... I can say I am Italian as I have been a citizen for a while, but I always remain a foreigner to them [the Italians]. [...] Only when I show my ID that says “Italian citizen”, then they suddenly change their behaviour, they become nicer and gentle”.

Her *stability in dependence* gave her the possibility to gain economic independence straightaway and even substitute her spouse on material grounds. She never ceased being Peruvian (Viruell-Fuentes 2006) and has never felt part of the Italian society. Blanca’s persistent foreignness was reinforced by her self-segregation in the shadow economy. Although she managed to empower herself through citizenship and work, she confined herself to marginality in the Italian context. Statistically speaking, her means of sustenance do not correspond to employment (Maroukis et al. 2011).

c) Upward mobility throughout naturalization

In other cases, instead, naturalization may occur with a perfect correspondence between dream job and actual job. Indeed, the search for a job and its maintenance is not always a painful experience. Among my respondents, there were a few who managed to update their status vis-à-vis the state with no major obstacles. Their sole concern was their professional realization. Julieta is a case in point:

Julieta [48, Madrid, arrival 2003, request 2005, acquisition 2007, *Fruition*]: “I came here with a job contract. I came here exactly for this. [...] I was, I worked for a hotel chain and I had always been working in the tourism area.... They did my contract and everything went fine and here I am! [...] My expectations for the

future grow and actually were born here as I got to know the country a bit more. The first year I worked, as everybody I didn't know much about Spain, I worked in a pizzeria, as a babysitter and then I got a job with a travel agency. When I got the job with the travel agency, it was like going back to my world to a job I had been doing since I was a young girl. [...] I don't know, everything was quite easy to me... I worked with the agency for six or seven years and then we were all fired. I was unemployed and I started studying again. I went back to study as soon as the agency fired me, at the end of the month I enrolled to keep studying and get to know Spain a bit more... it was a course for Travel Guide and Tourist Information. I wanted to open a firm here (in Spain) but I realized it was too difficult because of the taxes you have to pay to get started. So, of course... I decide to start it in my country as I know both worlds. So now I have my small travel agency in Peru, I am a tour operator based in Europe but I sell Peru...".

Julieta made little mention of her path towards dual citizenship. As she could rely on a solid employment situation and had no difficulty in filing the requests for the renewals, the naturalization process went on quite smoothly. After her citizenship acquisition she eventually got married to a Spanish citizen. Her narrative about citizenship is mainly in line with the Spanish catalyst model, but what I wanted to underline here is Julieta's need to be professionally updated. She had no problem in doing small jobs to begin with, but she promptly shifted to her desired occupation as soon as the occasion popped up. Thanks to her marriage she describes herself as part of two worlds, and her job plays a great role in anchoring her to Spain and its traditions.

d) From naturalization to new labour aspirations

When Sofía migrated to Italy she was the last member of her family to leave Peru. With the support of her relatives and her determination to be fully independent, she renewed her permits while studying at the university and working in menial jobs. As she built up her competences and earned her college degree, she could slowly improve the nature of her labour position. Naturalization was her goal since the arrival in Italy, because with the status she could finally reach true independence.

Sofía [39, Milan, arrival 2000, request 2011, acquisition 2013, *Acquisition*] I knew that if I came here I was going to stay for good [...] I requested citizenship after 10 years sharp. I was counting the days; I had the request ready to be filed. After six months from the request and every six months afterwards I was checking with the administration... so, I got it after two years, much faster than my sisters who waited for longer ...

Despite the motivational weakening that led her to naturalization, entering the citizenry of the host state was a new stability and even prompted unexpected changes:

"Before I could not dare to say things that now I can say, like I have my citizenship too. Right? It matters a lot. [...] Look, as we are speaking about citizenship, I feel like a citizen of the world. (laughs) It is not my business. I mean, I don't feel Italian, I don't feel Peruvian, I feel... But I must admit that when I received it I felt more like a citizen, indeed".

Although Sofía was generally dismissive about the importance of citizenship in her life, she acknowledged that her "on time" acquisition made her finally an Italian citizen. She described it as a feeling – I got it! –. Later on, with her newly acquired citizenship, Sofía would dare to leave a

prestigious but frustrating job to follow her new career aspirations she had been training for through on-line courses in the last two years. The status stability pushed her to look for a more fulfilling working future. In a form of reversal effect, the weak motivation that speed her PDC, brings in the liberating power of citizenship from the back door unexpectedly. She jumped towards a new career backed by the stability of her citizenship status. Sofia had the courage to go for an “upward mobility” through job transition as soon as she realized the potential of her newly acquired status (Akresh 2008). In this sense, (dual) citizenship became a form of capital (Bauder 2008) she could rely on to strengthen her assimilation into the Italian market and look for a desired position. She did not value citizenship in itself, but for the new prospects it offered. She did not need citizenship to find a job and secure her employment position, because she had already reached a quite prestigious status. What changed with the naturalization was her propensity to dare, to look for personal fulfilment, to ask more with no compromises.

### ***Discussion***

The selected stories sketched a few of my respondents’ patterns of upward-downward mobility into the labour market of the host country. These stories also made explicit how the patterns of integration towards and across the acquisition of dual citizenship responded to migrants’ different scales of priority and preferences as well as contextual contingences. To advance further in the analysis, I refer to the work-citizenship matrix (Goldring and Landolt 2011) as developed in the study of employment experiences of immigrant workers in the city of Toronto (Canada):

“We use the idea of a work–legal status matrix to problematize the process of regularization by examining how transitions towards more secure and insecure

migrant legal status intersect with precarious work” (327).

They managed to look at precarity and security over the life-course and reached the conclusion that:

“If the transition to secure legal status is not accompanied by improved labor market outcomes, it suggests not only that labor markets are becoming stratified according to migratory status, but that once in a vulnerable labor market situation it is difficult to improve one’s situation. That is, precarious legal status becomes a source of vulnerability in the short run as well as a long-term trap because low-wage and precarious jobs become a ‘sticky’ web for people with precarious status” (336)

The above excerpts taken from those Peruvian respondents who acquired dual citizenship on time confirm the existence of intersections of work outcomes, migrants’ legal status, and dual citizenship. Indeed, pathways established to be in compliance with the law were “difficult to jump over or to move out of”. The present study introduces a factor that partially corrects the explicatory grip of the matrix or at least makes it less deterministic. By pointing at migrants’ expectations, compromises and preferences on the pathway towards citizenship, the study brings back the limited but persistent agency of migrants. Their expectations and preferences are the lens to explain the choice of a path over the other and, more crucially, to understand the role of naturalization within peoples’ lives.

I maintain that the integration of the work-citizenship matrix with individuals’ accounts of the relative meanings of work outcomes makes the national relevant once again. Yet, the national comes from a look at naturalization as an everyday experience of citizenship. Said otherwise,

the everyday understanding of citizenship passes also through the abundance of economic requirements.

### **5.5.2. Narratives of (dual) citizenship: bringing back the national**

In this section I examine a few stories to show how migrants' integration into the labour market is reflected in their narratives of individual identity and sense of belonging as attached to their (prospective) dual citizenship status.

#### **a) Embedded alienation**

Gabino [45, Madrid, arrival 2008, request 2014, acquisition 2016, *Acquisition*], arrived in Madrid with a job contract, and then passed from one occupation to the other without the slightest knowledge of the legislative framework regulating his stay in Spain. These circumstances led him out of legality. The impossibility for Gabino to regain a legitimate residence in the country and the concomitant worsening of the economic downturn pushed him to find a quick and effective solution to a potentially wearing condition. He resolved to a sham marriage. The marriage with a Spanish acquaintance was celebrated upon payment. When his work permit was revoked and his attempts to appeal ended ruinously, the legal connection with a Spanish citizen seemed to him the only way to regain legal residence.

"I thought, I wanted to look for someone who has already the Spanish citizenship. A marriage for convenience as they say. I was lucky to find a friend of my cousin... We planned it carefully as it was everything real".

Once his undesirable migrant record had been reset through marriage, he could go on searching for an occupation while benefiting of his wife's figurative support:

"Yeas, we got married in a small village... There is my marriage certificate, the act. Everything went well. For everything I needed and all the administrative stuff I had to count on her (my wife's) documents. [...] I didn't have any job, so when they ask for your livelihoods, well I had to file her job contract. For the state I was living at her expenses – *mantenido* –".

He has lived mostly detached from the Spanish social fabric since his arrival. Moreover, his bad luck on the Spanish soil has made him prone to "onward migration" (Mas Giralt 2017) in search of a better future once again.

"Having dual citizenship opens doors to get abroad to many countries and get a job. [...] A relative of mine is offering me a job, he needs someone (to work) in Milan. [...] But I keep thinking about going to the United States, where one of my sisters is living and she is a citizen already, she is working on an invitation for me".

Gabino's sense of citizenship is strongly anchored to his Peruvian roots:

"I didn't renounce my citizenship (the Peruvian one)... I love my country, I love the small village where I was born above all. I always say that I come from a tiny tiny village but proudly. [...] I will always be Peruvian, I keep saying that I am Peruvian and sometimes I forget that I got the Spanish citizenship as well".

Because of the work vicissitudes he has endured since his arrival in Spain, he does not see himself living in Madrid for long. The spasmodic and unfortunate search for a job, the rough encounters with the police and a few hours spent in jail due to an expired residence permit evolved altogether in a sense of detachment for the host country. Gabino felt unwelcome, a feeling that has not abandoned him after eight years of residence in Spain. He hopes to build a brighter future on his new European citizenship because it offers such a big labour market that the possibility to find a job outside Spain is now much greater than before (Della Puppa and Sredanovic 2016). His work adversities doomed both his integration into the Spanish society and his affection for the newly acquired Spanish citizenship. His experience recalls the observations on poor integration of Moroccans and Antilleans in Dutch society who endured "a weak labour market position" and tended to withdraw from Dutch society while feeling "more strongly related to their country of origin" in a "process of social seclusion" (Snel et al. 2006: 304-305).

b) At a slow pace into duality

One of the possible consequences of a relatively uncomplicated move from being a third-country national married to a citizen to being a full citizen economically dependent on your spouse could be a delayed access into the labour market.

Mercedes: "When I arrived I saw myself as a girl married to an Italian man. That's it. Nothing more. [...] I got my citizenship as the-wife-of."

Mercedes decided to adhere to a traditional household model in which the male breadwinner is the one in charge of the economic means of the family – the productive sphere –, while the female provides for the intimate care of the family and dedicates herself to the reproductive



sphere. She made this choice in accordance to her idealized vision of maternity in spite of her past of a professional in charge of an entire department. Before leaving Peru she had a well-remunerated and prestigious job in the public administration, she was an independent woman with a brilliant career. She left everything behind “for reasons that the reason cannot understand” and soon became a full-time mum. For ten long years she dedicated herself almost entirely to their child. As soon as she arrived in Italy she requested the citizenship status and received it five years later. She voluntarily abandoned her ambition for a while to correspond to an idealized role of the perfect housewife. And she could do it because of the dependence on her husband. In the meanwhile she took courses as cultural mediator, and worked as front officer at the Peruvian Consulate in Milan to help her compatriots on a legal basis. Only a decade later she looked for a job to make good use of her competences.

Mercedes’s marital status granted her the possibility to integrate in her new duality at a slow pace. She slowly entered the workforce after a period of formation in Italy and backed by the professional and cognitive skills she had consolidated in Peru. She had the time to build her own sense of citizenship through the small things of every day. For instance, she saw as her duty to be at the forefront of her migrant community to claim for greater visibility for migrants inhabiting and actively contributing to their local community. Thanks to her Italian citizenship she took part at her local ballots as electoral scrutineer: she described this accomplishment as a small fight to enlarge her civil rights.

In the case of Mercedes, fast-track naturalization brought to a gradual integration within her local Italian reality. She never reached the same labour status she used to hold before migration, but she managed to integrate her Peruvian and her Italian parts into a stronger definition of

her identity as an ongoing process: "You cannot take anything for granted, not even a damned citizenship!".

c) Naturalization as a "normal process"

The acquisition of the host country citizenship could also be the simple normalization of a seemingly smooth insertion into the new society. The case of Guillermo is exemplar. He was working for an IT company in Peru when a big Spanish firm recruited him for a similar position. He moved to Spain and received full support to get his paperwork done without delay.

Guillermo [34, Madrid, arrival 2008, request 2010, acquisition 2012, *Fruition*]: "Well... If I remember well, I renewed my documents twice. The second time it was much easier and from then on... I was doing already my paperwork for the ID card. Because, of course, first of all because I could. I had the possibility to do it, as I could do it I did it. To tell you the truth, you can request it after two years, so I did it to find more stability [...]. The citizenship gives you that. I don't know, it is also for integration, for the time you've been here and made friends... you get along with people, you understand the culture, it is obviously a normal process, it is a normal process to get an ID card from here".

Guillermo graduated from college in Peru and started straightaway working in the sector he trained for. He was enjoying life there as much as he is at ease in Spain. He was not looking for upward mobility and did not suffer a downgrading. Guillermo conserved his social status throughout migration; moreover, he had no problems in making new friends in Madrid. He did not question or renounced his *Peruanidad* but he equally felt a Spanish citizen among his Spanish peers.

As Aptekar (2015) noted the citizenship acquisition may be perceived by newly made citizens as “a common sense move”, a natural consequence of a process of integration into the host society. The normality of such a step towards full membership is also a quest for recognition (Bloemraad 2018), for emancipation from the perceived “strangeness” that keeps stigmatizing migrants (Antonsich 2018).

d) From migrant to “equal citizen”

The following story shows how the expectations about self-realization affect the applicant’s understanding of citizenship.

Ignacia’s *stability in dependence* became almost unbearable until she could finally file her (dual) citizenship request and pursue her desired professional career. Her expectations about her life in the host state were brutally smashed by reality in Spain.

For Ignacia holding a regular visa proved to be a source of inner strength, at least at the beginning of her migratory journey. The support of her husband allowed her to enter the Spanish society with a precise idea in mind: that she was going to compete on the same level of Spanish people. Indeed, she had homologated her degree and professional qualifications in 1999 and this made her sure to find open doors to work in Europe. As soon as she arrived in Madrid, she enrolled in a PhD course that she quit soon afterwards. Despite her timely preparation for migration in terms of both mood and documentation, she could not foresee her life as a migrant woman.

“The emigration to Spain was hard to me. Because I realized I was a foreigner, I became an immigrant and people could easily associate with a person with no education, without ... well, a woman of my neighbourhood, a very nice woman, she exclaimed once

“oh, but you speak a very good Spanish!”... But what are you talking about? It was like that... So, you can imagine, I had never felt this way, such a hard time...”.

Ignacia was ready to start her new life thanks to solid evidence of her competence as a psychologist. Instead, she was struggling to make herself seen beyond her migratory status. Being an immigrant was a label she could not strip of her face. It was a mark that preceded her and even defined her from the outlook. It was a mark that could prejudice her possibility to show her professional competence or could relegate her to a secondary role in the workforce.

“I remember... during the first two years... I lived intensely the migratory struggle, because I missed my family, my food, my culture, my people and the social recognition. [...] The social recognition means that [in Peru] I walked down the street and I was Ignacia, people could recognise me and, of course, I was the psychologist!”.

Ignacia experienced the cultural shock through the diffuse denial of her professionalism, the so called “professional downgrading” (Erel 2010). Moreover, despite all her efforts, she could not find a job and she was ready to go back to Peru. She finally found an employment as a cultural mediator. Only the incorporation into the labour market gave her the strength to continue with new perspectives. After this first job, she managed to move from one opportunity to the other and she finally reached the desired position as a psychologist. She could combine her past competences with the ones acquired through free courses offered by the municipality and a master in migration studies she took in Madrid as well. At the time of our interview, she was working as a psychologist with women victims of trafficking.

Ignacia started working as a professional when her citizenship request was being examined by the authorities. The two processes went on at the same time. She experienced a double inner conflict: she felt discomfort for her unsuitable work placement and for her migrant status. She filed the citizenship request in 2002, but the waiting time proved to be very frustrating and exhausting. She could not tolerate the dependence on her husband's citizenship status.

"He [my husband] was tired of hearing my complaints all day long. He was working hard, of course he was working hard, but I was depressed. I kept saying: "I can't go on like this." I was on the verge of a return. But I also wanted to do something with my life. I wanted my paperwork done. Even though I had almost everything, I desperately wanted the citizenship so I could go to a job interview. I knew that *los papeles* would grant me the same condition and rights of any other national. Because it was about that. Plus, the possibility to travel, to go back and forth, as a European so to speak".

Ignacia's case shows how the acquisition of dual citizenship could crown her need for equal treatment as well as her possibility to be Peruvian and European at the same time. Ignacia received the citizenship in 2004 and this allowed her going on with her migratory project with more power. Importantly, the empowerment she makes reference to does not affect her Peruanidad or her sense of citizenship. It is a power that comes with the status for the rights and the possibilities it entitles people to. For instance, she acknowledges that holding dual citizenship makes her part of the Spanish society legally and at the same time keeps her anchored to her Peruvian roots.

"I feel that I belong here, from a legal point of view. Because if they [Spanish natives] look at me they see a

Peruvian face, if they listen to my accent they ask me where I come from. I always reply that I am from Peru I don't say that I am Spanish. With the passing of the time I feel year by year a bit more Spanish, it is true, but only recently. My identity, my basis, my origin, I know it perfectly where I do come from ...".

In Ignacia's words, work was not only a matter of legal residence. She had pictured a migratory journey of self-fulfilment and career accomplishment. The kind of job she was going to enrol for was as much important as her path towards and across dual citizenship. In her mind the two journeys could not but develop at the same pace.

### **Discussion**

These stories are exemplary of how insertion in the labour market, identity and understanding of dual citizenship may combine to build individuals' sense of citizenship. For instance, the above illustrations presented the following pathways:

- Gabino had limited socio-economic results in the host country therefore he tended to strengthen his attachment and sense of belonging towards Peru (often in mere symbolic and idealized terms). Conversely, he downplayed the importance of the (perspective) host country citizenship;
- Mercedes managed to gradually integrate and improve her situation in the host country under socio-cultural terms, tended to underlie the importance of both citizenships in her life;
- Guillermo, who confirmed or reproduced in the host country the status they used to hold in Peru and did so through a smooth path, tended to normalize his dual membership while the citizenship status was almost indifferent to him;
- Ignacia, who improved substantially her socio-economic position in the host country, tended to look beyond their dual citizenship (and

membership) to embrace a more inclusive understanding of citizenship such as the European citizenship.

The intent here was not that of finding general pathways among the narratives to give reason of my respondents' sense of citizenship as a whole. Instead, I wanted to show the multiplicity of narratives of (prospective) dual citizenship and the re-definition(s) of the national lying even beyond a prompt acquisition of the status.

### **5.6. Contradictions of residence: de-nationalize to re-nationalize**

Through the on time acquisition of citizenship I delineated the contradictory role played by residence when the national is at stake. It is the means for migrants to reach naturalization and the process along which migrants build their sense of citizenship. Residence works on two levels. On the one level, residence is the means that *de-nationalizes* the acquisition by making irrelevant any references to membership and replacing it with instrumentality. On the other level, residence is the process that *re-nationalizes* dual citizenship. Along the process migrants may understand what citizenship means to them and how do they feel towards each country of membership.

Among my respondents, those who requested dual citizenship on time (or at an accelerated pace) were driven to law abidance by a prudential attitude. They wanted to safeguard their residence in the host country by lawfully ending the renewal of permits. In accordance with *jus domicile* and *jus matrimony*, the Peruvian migrants I interviewed used either fully legal means or semi-legal (Kubal 2012) strategies to comply with requirements of the citizenship regimes in Italy and Spain.

As shown in detail above, this formal compliance does not necessarily imply an endorsement of the motivations that nation-states expect from perspective citizens at the moment of naturalization. Indeed,

in nation-state's idealization the citizenship acquisition should be desirable per se. For instance, data from the European Values Studies show that the sense of attachment is still quite important among natives in the two countries. In fact, 79% of native Italians and 85% of native Spaniards answered the question "How close do you feel to your country" with "close or very close" preferences (EVS 2017). This supports the idea that there is an expected behaviour for migrants, too. Moreover, the on time acquisition should manifest their eagerness to be members of the citizenry. Instead, what has emerged is a propensity to naturalization driven by the urgency to avoid bureaucracy. Hence, the everyday experience of nationhood (Antonsich 2016) and the path towards the inclusion into the nation(s) (Antonsich and Matejskova 2015) are constrained but not pre-determined by the citizenship regime of the host country. The way in which my respondents tackled law abidance since their arrival in the country somehow marked their future steps and, ultimately, their understanding of dual citizenship tout court.

Furthermore, although it would be improper to say that an individual naturalizes just by chance, the stories about on time acquisition suggest a certain lightness associated with such a quick access to citizenship. As Joppke (2010) noted, the recent dissociation of citizenship from nationhood produces a paradoxical evolution. The objective value of citizenship might be increasing, while the subjective value is likely to be progressively lower, a process that he names "the inevitable lightening of citizenship". Indeed, the possibility to retain the original citizenship and become dual citizens made the new acquisition less burdensome and easier to accept in one's life. The on time acquisition of the citizenship status is not only a way to take an opportunity as it comes. It also gives access to further benefits and leaves the door open to new possibilities:

Antonia [Milan, 46, arrival 2005, request 2016, *Request*]: I am South American ... I am Peruvian. The fact that I obtained the Italian citizenship doesn't mean that I feel



Italian as well. I mean, it doesn't change to the better, I haven't change at all. I am South American, but I don't see myself living in Peru. To go back would be losing something. My idea instead it to be on the move, to keep on changing...

Looking at the other side of the coin, the lightening of citizenship is driven also by its development into a "last resort". While getting (dual) citizenship "because you'll never know what the future would be like" is not exactly the kind of motivation desired by any host country, the host country itself may be part and parcel of this motivational weakening. Indeed, the uncertainty about the policies dealing with migration issues or access to citizenship, an aspect lamented by Peruvians in both countries, is not secondary when people weight pros and cons of putting an extra effort to successfully complete the naturalization process.

Faustina [47, Milan, arrival 1991, acquisition 1997, *Fruition*]: "I told my mom, you must do the citizenship because you need the red passport! It is sure that I fear when they are going to take off your benefits. One day they could wake up and say that these rights are not for migrants anymore, and how am I going to take care of you later on? I cannot support you. Please, get this citizenship done!".

Such unpredictability, and consequently the propensity to naturalize as soon as possible, is not only a sign of migrants' instrumental turn on citizenship (Joppke 2019) as a status. It comes with the need to prevent further insecurity, with the consciousness of being always at risk of subtle marginalization as migrants or non-citizens (Della Puppa and Sredanovic 2017). It becomes what Spiro (2007) named "citizenship of convenience", an opportunity to be seized because it will save future complications, at least for the individual. Indeed, status mobility especially a downward

mobility is not a remote eventuality in migrants' lives. As Schuster (2005:758) noted, there are

"stratified rights of migrants — different bundles of rights that adhere to the different statuses of migrants — but one of the most striking features to emerge from my fieldwork was that many of the people I spoke to had experienced two, three or more of these different statuses—and on occasion slipped backwards and forwards between them".

Naturalization becomes a form of insurance against the "shifting mobilities" that may lead to a less secure status not only for mistakes on the part of the migrant but, more crucially, for the introduction of more restrictive regulations on the part of the state. The acquisition of papers sounds convenient when it ensures the realization of plans for the future.

Moreover, when the status acquisition is not in question for your own security, then the status may lose part of its normative sacredness to be just one more administrative duty. This happens despite the increasing role reserved to naturalization ceremonies and rituals across Western countries (Badenhoop 2017). Once again, the normative attempt of nation-states to build the desired good citizens (Pykett et al. 2010) by confronting them with high expectations at the very moment of their admission into the citizenry cannot ensure migrants' intimate compliance to such expectations. More prosaically, the acquisition of status falls into the indistinct cauldron of bureaucratic burdens to be carried out.

Notwithstanding these considerations drawn from the first part of the empirical analysis, law abidance by convenience should not induce to conclude that migrants naturalize with no clue of life in the host country or dismiss complete the national from their citizenship discourse. Indeed the understanding of citizenship(s) passes also through the relativization of the work-citizenship nexus that positions the economic and socio-

cultural integration into the host country within an individual's life assessment. In this sense, the labour outcomes should not be considered per se or under standardised thresholds, but rather contextualized according to migrants' expectations and preferences.

Although the on time acquisition is the consequence of instrumental and strategic considerations about naturalization, a deeper look at the practices and discourses on dual citizenship revitalizes the importance of the national to express both processes of identity formation and constellations of belonging. While reflecting on their (perspective) citizenships as statuses, my Peruvian respondents inevitably related them to the presence or absence of a sense of belonging for the nations of their (perspective) membership. As shown, the sense of belonging is not (and cannot be) uniformly shared. Individual migrants, each one of them, bare their own constellation of belonging. The constellations span from the local to the global; imply one, both or none of the memberships; may change through transitions; and revolve around rootedness, empowerment, detachment or indifference.

To conclude, the new regulations on citizenship acquisition are infused with normative intentions meant to obstacle new entries into the citizenry. For instance, in most Western countries including Italy and Spain, the tightening of citizenship tests and language requirements is under way (Joppke and Bauböck 2010, Michalowski 2011, Etzioni 2007). This tightening should enforce (or reinforce) a normatively oriented appreciation and reproduction of the national. But, as in a vicious circle, the ceaseless hardening of the requirements at any new change may result in a run for naturalization with the sole motivation of preventing the worst case scenarios. Residence allows simultaneously for a de-nationalization of citizenship (as naturalization) and a re-nationalization of citizenship (as multiple memberships). Citizenship regimes cannot impose a super-citizen prototype upon (prospective) citizens; it is rather (prospective) citizens themselves that ensure the reproduction of the

nation(s) through their on-going redefining of the content of citizenship (Miller-Idriss 2006) and eventually of dual citizenship. As Joppke (2019: 874) recently noted "Citizenship has always combined an individual with a collective element, but the novelty is the decided shifting of the balance toward the individual".

## Chapter 6

### Does dual citizenship really matter?

#### 6.1. Introduction

The third aspect that emerged throughout the research on Peruvian migrants in Italy and Spain is that the majority of them delayed naturalization and thus the acquisition of dual citizenship.

Official data on Peruvian migrants holding long-term resident permits seem to confirm the growing relevance of the condition in both countries over the years:

**Table 22. Long-term Peruvian residents holding residence permits**

| LONG-TERM PERUVIAN RESIDENTS AMONG ALL PERUVIANS HOLDING<br>RESIDENCE PERMITS (EXPRESSED IN %) |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |
|--|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
|  | 2008      | 2009      | 2010      | 2011      | 2012      | 2013      | 2014      | 2015      | 2016      | 2017      | 2018      |
| ITALY  | 22.0<br>3 | 25.9<br>4 | 34.0<br>5 | 46.6<br>3 | 50.7<br>4 | 53.6<br>3 | 57.2<br>3 | 61.6<br>4 | 65.3<br>0 | 67.5<br>0 | 71.3<br>2 |
| SPAIN  | 2.26      | 2.89      | 29.1<br>3 | 33.1<br>9 | 40.1<br>7 | 48.3<br>9 | 48.8<br>6 | 50.1<br>2 | 50.7<br>1 | 49.0<br>6 | 46.5<br>8 |

Source: EUROSTAT 2019

Furthermore, as the acquisition of a “second” citizenship is not detrimental to the citizenship migrants already hold, the delay or postponement of such acquisition may tell something on whether (dual) citizenship matters in people’s lives. It also triggers some reflections on how people play on long-term residence and their involvement with the

host society to claim substantive citizenship despite the postponement of true naturalization.

Dual citizenship has for long been considered a privilege granted to individuals at the expenses of the nation-states. Therefore states tried to avoid its occurrence with any means (Sejersen 2008). Only recently, states have recognized that the avoidance of the status is hardly enforceable and could prejudice basic rights of the human being (Spiro 2010, Faist and Kivisto 2007). In 2002 Martin and Aleinikoff observed:

“The growth in dual nationality presents more opportunities than dangers, freeing individuals from irreconcilable choices and fostering connections that can further travel, trade, and peaceful relations. The claim that dual nationality is bigamy adopts the wrong family analogy. Marriage makes a person a member of two families: one's own and one's spouse's. To give love or loyalty to the second does not require subtracting it from the first”.

Within this framework, Italy and Spain designed their own citizenship regimes around the value they attached to the dual status. For instance, by the word of law Spain allows dual citizenship only for citizens coming from states that share a common heritage with the Spanish crown such as the neighbour Portugal or the former colonies of South America. Whereas, Italy poses no limits at the acquisition of dual citizenship via naturalization but it graduates the presumed proximity to its culture through the years of residence required to get the citizenship. The Peruvian migrants I selected for this research are respectively among the closest people for the Spanish regime and the most distant ones for the Italian regime. Despite the different paths and proximities that characterised the possibility to access dual citizenship, it is a default option for my respondents. I say default because at the Peruvian Consulates in

Milan and Madrid I was told that none of the Peruvians naturalizing either in Italy or in Spain had renounced their citizenship of origin in the last years.

Despite those premises, the direct association of dual citizenship with a flavour of privilege did not match the practice of postponement of my respondents. It suggested, if not a devaluation of the citizenship status, a re-modulation of its weight and value for migrants' trajectories in the host country.

This is how the concept of *denizen* (Hammar 1990) became central for the analysis of my results. Indeed, I interpreted the postponement as an expression of autonomy: my respondents' way of controlling and redefining the terms of their integration (whatever it is) in the host community. They all had acquired a long-stay permit and protracted their lives as permanent (or long-term) foreign residents in the host country for years before applying for the acquisition of (dual) citizenship. They experienced a limbo characterised by an *impermanent stability* in which they enjoyed long-term residence while being foreigners to the host country. The specificity of this limbo is that it approximates the citizenship status through residence (*jus domicile*) but it cannot substitute completely the formal inclusion into the citizenry. There remains a threshold point at which my Peruvian respondents resolve to the naturalization, because at that point the shortcomings of their limbo become an obstacle. Until that threshold is reached, each of them did not necessarily care getting dual citizenship and had a number of "good" reasons to do so.

The chapter begins by summarizing the main contributions on denizenship theorization and by linking it to the latest empirical lines of investigation in dual citizenship studies. It then exposes the revision process of the original working hypotheses that introduce the empirical results. It goes on discussing how and why my Peruvian informants postponed their acquisition of dual citizenship. Here three salient aspects are deepened. First, the postponement is not a renounce to

naturalization. Second, the postponement has specific temporary limits. And third, the postponement leads to a sense of earned citizenship that prompts considerations on the connections between *jus domicile* and *jus nexi*. According to the earned citizenship discourse but in opposition with the state-led rhetoric on the matter (Andreouli and Dashtipour 2014, Van Houdt et al. 2011), migrants feel to have earned their right to citizenship (Sati 2010, Shachar 2011, Bauböck 2008) through living and conforming to the citizen as worker expectations in the host state. Moreover, this long-term residence can be looked at through the lens of *jus domicile* and *jus nexi* principles as alternative bases to remodel citizenship conceptions. The following section deals with a few more details about denizenship as a limbo condition, before the concluding reflections on the implications of these findings for the general debate on naturalization and dual citizenship.

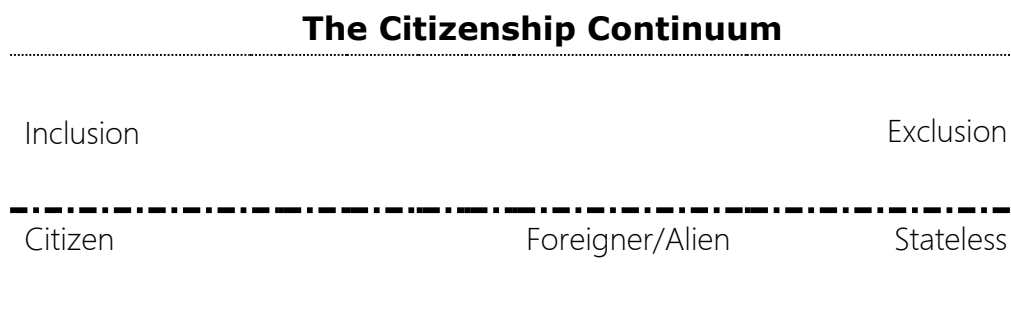
## **6.2. Theorizing the link between denizenship and dual citizenship**

To appreciate the breadth of the citizenship discourse and delve into denizenship as a negation of some dimensions of citizenship itself, we first need to trace the contours of the broader debate through its core concepts.

At this point of the research it is clear that in dealing with dual citizenship I deal with the multiple facets of the inclusion/exclusion opposition (Benhabib 2004).



**Figure 3: Citizenship continuum**



Source 1: own elaboration

In formal terms a citizen is member of a nation-state, while a foreigner is not member of the same state. On their part, foreigners may be citizen of their country of origin while dual/multiple citizens are citizens of more than one country at a time. On an ideal citizenship continuum at one extreme there is multiple citizenships while at the other extreme there is statelessness, the condition of those who are not member of any states.

Based on these essential remarks, it is important to present, first, the evolution of the concept of denizenship and its association with dual citizenship. And then, the more recent theoretical elaborations on dual citizenship and the reasons inducing to its acquisition.

The idea of denizens like second class citizens or quasi-citizens has a long history behind. The concept dates back to the Roman citizenship distinguishing between Latin and non-Latin groups within the Empire.

While denizenship has its own relevance in disciplines like law and philosophy or political theory, in migration studies it has been mainly treated indirectly. Denizenship has traditionally been understood as the result of a slow extension of rights to resident migrants, thus bringing to a reconfiguration of the ideal-type of citizenship. The emphasis on the convergence between citizens and permanent non-citizens originated theories about the diminishing role of the nation-state vis-à-vis the

emergence of a universal personhood (Soysal 1994). Putting the individual at the centre of a human rights framework was disruptive of the traditional conception that made citizenship as the “the right to have rights” (Arendt 1951). Rights were supposedly no longer attached to citizenship but to individual as a human being.

In particular, the migration literature started reasoning about the rights of denizenship with changes in guest-workers policies that moved from rigid exclusionary provisions to increasingly inclusionary ones allowing legal settlement for foreigners. Tomas Hammar (1990) was the first migration scholar who used the term denizen to refer to permanent residents:

“foreign citizens (who) have also gained a secure residence status. [...] A new status group has emerged, and members of this status group are not regular and plain foreign citizens anymore, but also not naturalised citizens of the receiving country (pp. 12-13)”.

Since Hammar’s inception, the term denizen has been used as a flagship with blurred borderlines. In particular, it has come to identify aliens tout court or the condition of alienage in a host state (Bosniak 2006, Benton 2010). The confusion of the categories of migrants covered by the term has prompted the historical study of the rights of aliens from a legal comparative perspective (Brubaker 1992). This line of investigation dealing with aliens or non-citizens in receiving countries found a major contributor in Carens (1987, 1989, 2010) with his vision of a the three-step claims of aliens: entry claims, rights claims and citizenship claims.

The development of the EU internal migration introduced the figure of European denizens, thus widening the gap between the privilege of being EU citizens residing in another member state and the harder condition of third country nationals residing in the EU (Aleinikoff and Klusmeyer 2002, Atikcan 2006).

In a recent and provocative paper Turner (2016) affirmed that the constant erosion of rights within liberal democracies is turning citizens into de-facto denizens. The author subverts the original direction that associated denizenship with a sort of elevation of non-citizens to the rank of citizens to declass citizens and equate them to their resident-foreign counterpart.

Without dismissing the advancements made from the late '80s, I make reference to Hammar's original definition of denizens as long-term foreign residents and his intuitions on the link between the denizenship status and dual citizenship. At his time, the propensity to naturalization in host states was really low because it coincided with the loss of original citizenship. Therefore, Hammar foresaw in dual citizenship "a good way to induce reluctant denizens to naturalise (p.205)". The dual status along with voting rights for denizens were the principal means he proposed to shorten the distance between citizens and denizens, or "to restore the congruence between the actual resident population and the population of citizens" (p.3)<sup>13</sup>. The need to re-establish a democratic equilibrium was conducive either to an expansion of denizenship towards enfranchisement or to an appealing naturalization that would not come at the expenses of previous citizenship. Furthermore, Hammar was conscious that a formal dual membership would match an already existing "dual national identification of many denizens, based on their ties to two countries" (p. 214).

Having assessed that dual citizenship might favour the propensity towards naturalization. It is now time to discuss what actually moves people towards its acquisition.

The literature on the topic underlines the desirability of dual citizenship. Still nowadays, the general understanding of dual citizenship is

---

<sup>13</sup> The problem about the correspondence brought Bauböck (2015) to distinguish between citizenry and demos of a country.

that it is valued positively especially from prospective dual citizens. Moreover, if it comes as a by-product of naturalization it should be an incentive to naturalization itself. Quoting Spiro from the *Oxford Handbook of Citizenship* (2017):

“Individuals increasingly value the status for instrumental and sentimental reasons (221)[...] the sentimental and instrumental benefits of dual citizenship came to outweigh the costs in an increasingly number of pairings. In many cases there is little cost to acquiring and no cost to retaining an additional citizenship. [...] Today is the preclusion of multiple citizenship that is more likely to create mental conflicts by artificially forcing membership choices (635)”.

The desirability of the dual status is analysed according at least to three lines of investigation. Indeed, being the value of dual citizenship contingent on migrants' experiences they could regard it either as an instrument (Joppke 2019), as affection (Fortier 2016) or as a legitimate right (Knott 2018). The instrumental view insists on what brings migrants to acquire and retain dual citizenship. Instead, the sentimental approach unveils to what extent (if any) and how migrants develop sentimental bonds with their memberships. Hereafter a short discuss about these two lines. While the third line of investigation is treated separately, afterwards.

The “instrumental turn” (Joppke 2019) in dual citizenship studies is entrenched in concepts like compensatory citizenship (Harpaz 2015, Harpaz and Mateos 2018), flexible citizenship (Ong 1999), or strategic citizenship (Harpaz and Mateos 2018, Finotelli La Barbera Echeverria 2017). All these neighbouring concepts make reference to the concrete or potential uses of dual citizenship or the utilities it brings for as explanations for the acquisition. Moreover, they all build on a stratified vision of the world in which the value of citizenship is measured in terms

of welfare opportunities, free mobility, or in general the quality of life it gives access to. In this sense, the dual status is a way for individuals to have a range of possibilities available to them, to look for opportunities beyond the borders of a single country. The advantage lies in the possession of a full membership status in more than one country and thus, upon residence, in the entitlement to all the rights (and duties) associated with that specific citizenship.

The instrumental side and sentimental side are kept separated here for analytical purposes; in real life, however, they are closely related. As a matter of fact, those studies that have deepened how people relate to dual citizenship emotionally usually acknowledge that it works as a "pragmatic strategy" (Conway Potter and Bernard 2008:375) regardless of the relative strength or weakness of people's feelings of belonging. Ronkainen (2011), for instance, examines the interrelationships between expressions of transnational identifications and patterns of citizenship acquisition among dual citizens in Finland and reaches the conclusion that it is "an on-going transnational status". He developed a typology of four types of dual citizens based on the prevalence or absence of feelings of national belonging towards each state of membership. Hence, dual citizenship in itself does not reflect the existence of emotional bonds with the involved countries, nor does it exclude them in force of a diffuse sense of pragmatism.

As mentioned in the theoretical chapter (see Chapter 1), there is also a third way of looking at dual citizenship as a legitimate citizenship (Knott 2018). The concept has been applied to the case of kin-state policies reaching out for co-ethnic kin in neighbouring countries that allow non-resident emigrants (or descents) to acquire dual citizenship. These people request their dual citizenship in force of a legitimate right to do so. Thus, the possibility to leverage on co-ethnic linkages becomes a legitimate means of empowerment in itself, regardless of the presence (or absence) of further strategic and/or affective reasons behind the request.

The effort of these theorizations about dual citizenship is twofold. On the one side, they try to understand how people relate to their host country citizenship. On the other side, they elaborate on the evolving relationship between migrants and the origin country citizenship. In this sense, the discourse on dual citizenship is both about naturalization, thus the acquisition of a new citizenship, and the maintenance of the original one. In accordance with these previous efforts, the present chapter explores how the postponement affects peoples' everyday understanding of both sides of dual citizenship.

### **6.3. Working hypotheses**

As I entered the fieldwork, I was moving from two working hypotheses: a more general one related to "the desirability of dual citizenship acquisition" (Blatter 2008; Nyers 2010) and the second one, more contextual, specific for the Italian and the Spanish citizenship regime respectively.

*On the desirability of dual citizenship acquisition.* The literature on citizenship and naturalization suggests that being eventually granted dual citizenship is a major relief for aspiring citizens. Indeed, knowing in advance that naturalization is associated with the acquisition of a dual status by default should ease the path towards the acquisition. This is particularly true for third country nationals residing within the EU because they are those who would gain the most by becoming citizens of a member state. Moreover, the possibility to keep the original citizenship without having to renounce your original rights, or to renegotiate your membership on a formal level, should be associated with a largely shared propensity to naturalization. In ideal terms, the desirability of the dual status rests on the absence of drawbacks for the original status (Hammar 1990, Blatter 2011, Baubock 1994).

*On the influence of specific citizenship regimes.* Projecting then this general hypothesis into the two specific cases, I had a more layered set of expectations. In the Spanish context, which is meant to work as a “catalyst” for my Peruvian respondents, I was expecting generalized and prompt naturalizations with only few exceptions. In Italy, instead, I had two contrasting hypotheses. The “crown model” is meant to give the applicant the citizenship only at the end of the integration process. The acquisition of the status should crown or reward the completed integration. In this sense, migrants should be eager to get their citizenship status once they meet the requirements, after such a long period spent waiting to be finally ready. Under this hypothesis, I expected a rush to naturalization with ten years of residence. In contrast, my second hypothesis considered the lengthy process as a deterrent capable of making the status acquisition less desirable. Although I was expecting it to be a residual option, I foresaw the possibility for my interviewees to delay naturalization in consequence of a protracted state-led waiting. Thus, the institutional discouragement of the “shopping” of citizenship to preserve the value of the status could result in its opposite effect, making the acquisition less desirable.

As a consistent group of Peruvian migrants had purposively postponed naturalization in both countries, I realized that the second “residual” hypothesis about the Italian context had something suitable for both regimes. It was not a residual occurrence but majoritarian among my respondents. Consequently, the propensity to a delayed acquisition of citizenship was not to be searched in the specific regime given the huge differences in the two countries. Being long-term residents was common among those who postponed the acquisition. That is the reason why I decided to investigate why the quasi-citizen status may be the driver of postponement.

#### **6.4. PDC - Request, Acquisition and Fruition: a general view**

For the very nature of the selection process of this research, my Peruvian respondents spoke of different kinds of dual citizenship. Being in a stage or the other on the PDC and, more specifically, being or not a dual citizen had repercussions on the way migrants could experience the status. For instance, it was a matter of an imagined or expected citizenship for some, while for others it was the experience of novelty, or habit, or even disillusionment.

In ideal terms the act of filing the naturalization request to become part of the host country citizenry should be a major decision. In this respect, the state's rhetoric on the conferral of membership to immigrants underlines how the citizenship regime is designed to effectively select only those aspiring citizens who had allegedly endorsed the national spirit with its language and culture and all the rest. But the rhetoric is somehow detached from the ongoing selection process. It can formally guide the actions of prospective citizens in predefined directions, but it cannot control the intentions or aspirations behind those very actions. That is probably the reason why the need to be freed from the bureaucratic task for renewal of permit to stay was often mentioned as a major goal.

Those migrants who were in the stage of request could not describe the impact of dual citizenship on their lives but rather their expectations on that impact. Their descriptions on the "prospective" dual citizenship tapped into their personal account of life as immigrants in the host state as well as on narratives coming from other people. On the contrary, those migrants who were already dual citizens, either in the acquisition stage or fruition stage, spoke of a condition they had acquired. The simple possession of the dual status represented a "safe shore" where they had already landed and was not available yet for the citizens to be. Even the most sceptical about the real impact of naturalization and dual citizenship



on their lives admitted to have experienced at least a slight improvement through acquisition.

As the naturalization in the host state does not affect the original Peruvian citizenship, the acquisition among my respondents is not described in dramatic terms. The possibility to simply add a new citizenship status does not require them to detach the emotional bond from the legal and formal one. Through naturalization they are going to be legally members of two countries at a time, because the new acquisition does not come at the expense of the previous membership. Despite the absence of a legal and thus formal restriction on dual citizenship, the PDC still implies a process of self-bargaining on an emotional level (Conway et al. 2008, Yanasmayan 2015). My respondents were not denied their *peruanidad*. Nonetheless, their membership and belonging had to be re-defined or re-affirmed in the light of the new (prospective) acquisition. In other words, the act of naturalization required an emotional self-negotiation, although my informants could ponder the matter of where they belong with no legal limits to their effective dual membership.

For instance, here follows an extract showing how the negotiation of dual citizenship oriented the emotional side towards the original Peruvian citizenship and the instrumental side towards the Spanish one:

Ester [41, Madrid, arrival 2008, acquisition 2016, *Acquisition*]: "Oh yes I feel Peruvian. Peruvian Peruvian ... so to speak, I am Peruvian. The fact that I obtained my citizenship, it has been only an option... the option to have more... to have more opportunities within Europe. Because this is the place where I live. I live here in Spain. For this reason, getting the citizenship is a matter of opportunities. But it has nothing to do with my roots! I will not stop being Peruvian just because I became Spanish. I won't say that I have a Spanish identity, no! From this point of view, my life hasn't changed at all. I work here in a Peruvian restaurant ...".

The “process of self-bargaining” (Yanasmayan 2015) underlines once more migrants’ agency in keeping their autonomy vis-à-vis the impositions of the state. As the previous chapter about timely acquisition of citizenship suggests that the intentions guiding a prompt acquisition are not necessarily in line with the state’s desired approach towards citizenship, the present chapter deals with migrants who postpone the status acquisition purposively. Their postponement is here regarded as a sign of their misalignment with the desiderata entrenched in the citizenship regime. The following pages delve into the nature of this misalignment.

### **6.5. Good reasons to delay naturalization**

Among my interviewees the great majority postponed the naturalization after reaching the minimum time of residence. Speaking of residence I refer to the legal residence and therefore to the residence officially “registered” with the authorities of the host state. As already mentioned in the chapter on “Temporalities”, effective and legal residence do not always coincide; as a consequence, the “delay” is not always a voluntary act but is often given by circumstances. This occurrence led, for example, one of my interviewees to say

Paula [58, Milan, arrival 1991, acquisition 2014, *Acquisition*]: “I worked “in black” for five years, then I took it (dual citizenship) after ten years (of residence)”

During her earlier five years she had remained irregularly in Italy hoping that her husband would help her to regularize her situation. The example shows a discrepancy between fifteen years of effective residence and ten years of legal residence. Nonetheless, once Paula totalized the required ten years, she behaved like the “perfect on time” people and tried immediately to naturalize to become active part of the Italian citizenry, as Italy is her country of adoption.

The case of those who voluntarily delayed the request of citizenship after the two or ten years of residence is a different one. For this category of migrants, both types of delay might have occurred, i.e. the initial delay for irregular residence and the subsequent delay as legal residents and on their own responsibility. In this section I concentrate mostly on the reasons that lead to the accumulation of a "voluntary" delay, i.e. the one arising after reaching the ideal threshold to apply for (dual) citizenship.

Raúl [45, Madrid, arrival 2003, acquisition 2016, *Acquisition*]: "Well, before... because of the job and lack of time I didn't get it, you know. But I finally did it and I just received my Spanish passport, a month ago or so. [...] I didn't request it earlier because I had no time at all".

As this extract shows, one of the most common justifications for the delay was an alleged "lack of time" that prevented people from carrying on with paperwork and bureaucracy for the request. This lack of time can be seen as a mere excuse not to do something that is generally recognized as beneficial like naturalization. If seen under this light, the delay is a form of "laziness" on part of the majority of my respondents. But laziness is a too vague sensation that leaves no room for a deeper understanding of the issues at stake.

Indeed, a closer reading of the data offers a different perspective. The fact of being a long-term resident with a mid-range temporal perspective on legal residence is a means of stabilization. Most of the times, the reasons not to naturalize were not a crusade against citizenship itself but rather a mixture of self-indulgence and circumstantial drawbacks that privileged everyday life needs over the status acquisition. Such a lack of urgency can be explained in terms of "denizenship" rights. Denizens do not live in the urgency to renew their permit of stay. They can send those thoughts to the back of their minds and almost forget about the red tape for some years. The stability of their status allows them building more durable routines in which life actually takes over. They can finally focus on

their jobs, on their daily tasks in force of a status that under many respects equates them to any other citizen. Like Golash-Boza (2016: 1586) reported in her study about deportees in the US:

"The daily pressures of life superseded the perceived need to seek out citizenship for these men. Being a citizen of Jamaica and not the United States was not salient in their daily lives."

As in the case of Jamaican deportees, the daily routine of my Peruvian respondents made their lack of legal citizenship seemed to have little importance. Golash-Boza noted also that alienage was not significant because they had access to other forms of citizenship like cultural citizenship, civil and legal rights. Although my research did not bump into deportees, the weight of daily life emerged strongly from the narratives of those who delayed the acquisition of citizenship:

Consuelo [56, Madrid - UK, arrival 1991, acquisition 2001, *Fruition*]:  
"Because... because all my family had already acquired the citizenship, my sister hold it, my brother-in-law hold it, my new boyfriend hold it ... and I had my daughters, so it was like everybody was waiting for me to take it. Then, as I had always been employed and I like, well... to have my money ... for this reason, it is important to have the time for bureaucratic stuff, which is something that I hate doing... I don't like it... I didn't work for a while because I was on maternity leave for my second daughter, so I got some spare time more to manage all this stuff and, you know, to request it... and I did it."

Aside from having free time or not, the first step that will bring migrants from the condition of denizen to the status of citizen is the active engagement to become one. Although the mere request of citizenship does not make a person automatically part of the host state citizenry,

initiating the process is a major step forward. It is so because the long residence goes along with the tendency to keep things as they are. In practice, denizenship could be also seen as a form of procrastination, a reluctance to step out of the routine to launch a new beginning. Indeed, my respondents were well adapted to the stability attached to long-term residence, a condition that guaranteed them an approximation of a decent life.

The denizen has in fact acquired a whole series of rights that minimize the distinction with the citizen tout court. The difference is less important in everyday life, if we consider that it mainly rests on the right to vote. Thus, the delay in acquiring the status may depend on the fact that not all migrants have it clear from the very beginning how long they are going to stay in the country. This lack of an overall plan for the future may well concur with daily routine in delaying the citizenship request. Life flows on day after day and the time for getting dual citizenship is easily overlooked. Like in the case of Consuelo, only an imposed pause like the maternity leave may result in a good "excuse" to finally approach the red tape and submit the naturalization request. But the reasons do not stop there.

#### **6.5.1. Postponement, not renunciation**

Nevertheless, my respondents were included in the sample because they were somewhere on their PDC. This means that the delay was not perpetual but limited in time. It had come to an end and the migrant had at least entered the request stage, if not obtained the dual citizenship status already. What drove my respondents to seek citizenship when they had lived without it for a long time?

Among the reasons I was given in Italy there was the need to dispose of the pension:

Enrique [62, Milan, arrival 1991, acquisition 2015, *Acquisition*]: "We didn't want to get the citizenship. Even when we reached the ten years (of residence)... why should I get the citizenship if I am not going to stay in Italy?!" [...].

The case of Enrique is exemplar. He kept saying that he was not going to stay in Italy although he had been living in Milan for 26 years. The myth of a return (Boccagni 2011, Sinatti 2011) to Peru has stretched his capacity to shape his future since his arrival. It has even prevented him from recognizing that Italy for better or worse had become his home or at least his stable residence. Before deciding to file the request, Enrique deemed the citizenship status as irrelevant for his way of living and, more so, for his sense of belonging that was exclusively tied to the country of origin. In this sense, the denizen status represented for him a comfort zone matching his need for stability with adherence to a long-nurtured myth of return. Agustin was anchored to an idealized Peru and seemingly detached from Italy, his country of residence. His present did not count that much until he realized that lacking the Italian citizenship could hinder his possibilities to fully enjoy a return to Peru. Even the acquisition of (dual) citizenship was instrumental to this myth of going back home and live there as a well-off citizen. Only through dual citizenship he had the possibility to potentially move the benefits acquired in Italy to Peru. In fact, a Peruvian citizen (see chapter on Context) who has paid social security through his/her job, can receive the pension only if s/he continues to reside in the territory of the Italian State. Otherwise, once the residence in Italy has ceased, the right to enjoy the pension also ends. Only citizenship allows you to cash in your pension every month in any part of the world. When the crucial element of continued residence in the territory is missing, the distinction between denizen and citizen becomes a tangible one (Gargiulo 2017). Such an unequal treatment does not exist in Spain

due to bilateral agreements between Spain and Peru<sup>14</sup>. As proof of this, none of my interviewees in Madrid mentioned the difficulties for retirement among the reasons that led them to naturalize.

The (dual) European citizenship, moreover, makes it possible to travel more easily. As already mentioned above, it opens to the free space of the European Union and possibly gives the chance to look for a job in other countries, although with some risks (Heindlmaier and Blauburger 2017). It also allows accessing a third country as European citizens. For example, one of my respondents lamented her impossibility to fly to the United States at lower costs:

Marta (27, Madrid, arrival 2008, request 2015, *Request*): I could have done [the request] in 2014, but I didn't because... I thought, if I am here legally it doesn't matter whether I've got the citizenship or not, you know... And I didn't realize that, well, now I realize that it is important to have it. At least to me, because... my boyfriend is Mexican and lives right at the border with the US. So, his family travels a lot to the United States. Well. They have a visa, his grandparents, everybody got it. They all go shopping to the US, it only takes five hours by car. So, in December I was there in Mexico, my boyfriend went to Tucson and I couldn't go. I needed a visa. It is essentially for that that I need the Spanish citizenship, it opens many doors... I had a look at the visa, but it costs 180 euros and you are not sure to get....

---

<sup>14</sup> Although it remains to be determined who actually enjoys the pension and according to which criteria the pension is accessed having paid social security in both countries, personal communication with A. Escriva (May, 2017)

Marta did not risk her money without the certainty to get the visa for the United States. That happened because she was a Peruvian migrant trying to enter the US, but she is sure that moving there as a European would have been much less troublesome. Here is the great difference between those who acquire (dual) citizenship by residence and those who manage to get it from a distance. Hence, European citizenship is one of the reasons that brought many to acquire dual citizenship from a distance, especially via Italian and Spanish ancestry in Latin American countries (Tintori 2011, Cook-Martin 2013). The case of Marta is typical. She regretted not having requested the Spanish citizenship earlier. Throughout her denizenship she has experienced what it means to feel and live as a "European" without the same advantages of a European. Indeed, the advantages at stake are what marks the distance with regular citizens and show concretely the limits of an uncompleted membership in a member state.

#### **6.5.2. It is not for me, I want a future for my child(ren)**

Ensuring a better future for one's children is among the incentives to acquire dual citizenship. In some cases it has been the spring that triggered the need to naturalize after years of delay. This happened in a sort of race against time to acquire citizenship before the eighteenth birthday of cohabiting children and to transmit them the status automatically. Thus, the citizenship(s) assumes greater importance, less as a personal advantage for the parent(s) than as a potential advantage which passes onto children.

In this case, the value that the individual attributes to the acquisition of (dual) citizenship is somehow proportional to the possibilities s/he hopes to provide for the offspring. The benefits that stem directly from the acquisition for the parent(s) are overshadowed by those they give and will potentially benefit the new generation.



Francisca [47, Madrid, arrival 2000, acquisition 2008, *Fruition*]: "I don't know, I don't know whether I did it after six or eight years after my arrival... People kept telling me what a fool I was, that I needed to acquire the citizenship. But... I could rely on my permit so I didn't see any major advantage [...] not until I became a mother. Well, at that moment I told myself It's time! And I decided by that time to (naturalize)... As my relationship with the father of my daughter wasn't the ideal one... Because it wasn't a happy ending as a normal relationship should be. It was better for me to prevent any unlucky event that may occur and I thought that the best way to handle everything was to get the citizenship. So I could get in and out and decide autonomously about my daughter, it was a matter of precaution so to speak".

Only her pregnancy made Francisca think about the future in more pragmatic terms. She had been postponing or even overlooking the question of citizenship as long as it was her own problem, but changed her mind as soon as it involved her expected child. Another example is that of Iris:

Iris [49, Madrid, arrival 1994, acquisition 2007, *Fruition*]: "My daughter was in the secondary school already... She had grown up. I could present her request too and we were going to get the citizenship together. At that time I thought about it because with 14 years, here in Spain, they (citizens) could get their ID card. So I decided to... On top of that, I was postponing it because of the requirements. They [the authorities] asked for your criminal record of both here and there [Spain and Peru], too many things".

When she left Peru to move to Spain her daughter was in secondary school. Iris had not left many years ahead to pass her citizenship onto her daughter. Her initial delay was potentially undermining a smoothened future for her daughter. A far-sighted vision similar to those who

naturalized “on time” is here mixed with the parental responsibilities of care and support for children.

As a proof of this there is the regret of those who could not get dual citizenship in due time and left to their adult children the burden of requesting citizenship with their own strengths:

Pablo [56, Milan, arrival 1990, acquisition 2014, *Acquisition*]: “I submitted my request and it was accepted. After a year my daughter requested it too. She could have taken it with 18 years, they even told her at the Questura but she let it go by. So she requested it for residence like me, after 10 years”.

A second example:

Paula [58, Milan, arrival 1991, acquisition 2014, *Acquisition*]: “I took my citizenship. But my children don’t have the citizenship. They are Peruvians in any case. [...] My daughter is a bit fed up. She said that this kind of things should be a bit easier for those who study here... They (the authorities) ask for a lot of documents from Peru only because she was born there. She doesn’t care! She can travel even as a Peruvian. [...] Well, she likes travelling. She settled down and right now she doesn’t care at all about the Italian citizenship, although it could be something more. As a matter of fact we (her parents), we feel better now”.

Crucially, the children of those who could not make it on time seem far less concerned than their parents about the citizenship status. Those young adults either managed to get the status on their own although a bit later or, as in the second case, did not bother at all about it. In the words of Paula, for instance, her daughter’s anger is against the Italian state that fails to recognize the substantial citizenship of those who educated on the soil, rather than against her mother who failed to submit the request on time. But the mismatch of these expectations is not further analysed.

### **6.5.3. Torn between delay and earned citizenship**

In the case at stake, the acquisition of a second citizenship is also a "simple" consequence of naturalization. The argument of my interviewees was similarly to what Aptekar (2015) reported on newly American citizens for whom the act of naturalization was the natural consequence of a process of rootedness they had undergone throughout the years. The lack of any formal renunciations to the original citizenship drove some migrants to concentrate almost exclusively on the impact of the citizenship (to be) acquired from the host state to let the original Peruvian citizenship on the background. To a certain extent that provided empirical support for the relevance of some notion of traditional belonging or at least of rootedness despite the (prospective) dual status (Bloemraad 2004: 420). Moreover, this idea of being grounded in some ways in the host country took the form of a narrative on citizenship in meritocratic terms:

Pablo [56, Milan, arrival 1990, acquisition 2014, *Acquisition*]: "I feel like I earned my place here. [...] I earned it because I paid for everything since I landed here. Because I accepted humble jobs to earn respect, to earn my place, 'cause nobody has ever given me anything. I sweat for everything I got in life.

Having often accepted menial and demanding jobs that had nothing to do with education or former employment in Peru (see chapter 5), the concept "I earned my citizenship" assumes connotations of moral revenge or right compensation for what a person has endured over the years. What is more, the postponement amplifies the sense of a duly earned status. If migrants have finally opted for a request, this happens because something has put them face to face with the intrinsic limits of denizenship. And it is probably the knowledge of having encountered

those limits for their own fault what makes the (prospective) acquisition even more poignant.

Oddly enough, this is the same recurring rhetoric heard in the public discourse of the last decade (Kostakopoulou 2010). Following such rhetoric, citizenship is a status that should not be given away easily. Rather, migrants must prove that they earned a place in the national community (Van Houdt, Suvarierol and Schinkel 2011). The postponement even accentuated this sense of deservingness around citizenship because they were able to stand on their own feet for longer. Moreover, for a few among my respondents, who felt part of the host society and proudly affirmed to have contributed to it, the new process of scrutiny inevitably associated with the request of citizenship was deemed offensive. As feeling part of the society or your local community does not correspond to being officially a member of it, the host state has the faculty and even the duty to check thoroughly whether the applicant meets the requirement to finally become a (dual) citizen. The personal contention of being a *de facto* citizen does not have any major value until the host state itself grants the status. And my Peruvian respondents knew it well. The individual's sense of deservingness is confronted with a renewed sense of precarity instilled by the process of scrutiny. According to their plan, they should be granted the citizenship status but a denial from the host state is always possible. I could distinctively trace this final latent ambivalence in the words of those few respondents who had postponed their PDC and were in the stage of request. They were torn between merit and annoyance while waiting at the gate of citizenship.

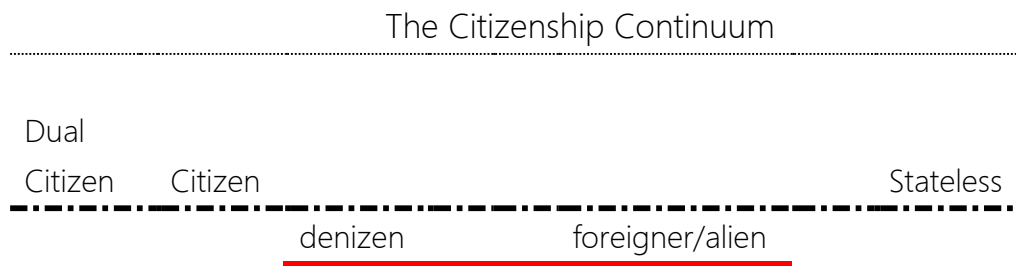
Manuel [60, Milan, arrival 1990, requested 2012, *Request*]: "I mean they should take the citizenship away from everyone that... they should give it only to those who really deserve it no matter where they were born, in Italy or abroad".

Here Manuel brings the idea of earned citizenship to its extremes. In fact, being formally a denizen who is still awaiting a response from the authorities is the vivid example of the distance between being and feeling a citizen. It is the embodiment of denizenship as a limit whereby the state reaffirms its sovereignty (Nyers 2006). His reasoning inverts the usual understanding of postponement as a lack of interest on the migrant side. The form of protest behind the act of postponement is a call for the state to be proactive, to update its capacity to detect who has already become one of its citizens. In the voices of my respondents, the burden of the proof should be lifted from their shoulders because their completed integration is there to be seen quite easily. Therefore, being part of local associations, having attended school in the country, being raised in the country and so forth are all practices of citizenship that should count *per se*, with no further scrutiny. In other words, my respondents claim a form of stakeholder citizenship (Bauböck 2008) on the basis of their prolonged and active involvement within the host citizenry, for having invested part of their future in the host country and having a concrete stake in the country itself – “stakeholdership in this sense is [...] determined by basic facts of an individual’s biography” (Bauböck 2008:4) –. Under this light, the postponement mirrors a delay on the part of the state in recognizing the validity of those practices (Bauböck 2015). Both prolonged residence – i.e. *jus domicile* – and the “genuine and effective ties towards the political community” – i.e. *jus nexi* – (Sati 2015) are expressions of the need to root citizenship for denizens in the participation in the cultural, social and economic life of the host country. The accent that my respondents posed on their effective residence and substantive links with either Italy or Spain called for recognition of their *de facto* citizenship by the state. By virtue of their already in place substantive citizenship in addition to their privileged denizenship status, my respondents intended postponement as a means to move the burden of recognition from their shoulders to the host state.

## 6.6. Denizenship as a limbo

This emphasis on the active role played by Peruvian migrants in deciding whether and when to naturalize twists the traditional look reserved to long-term residents qua non citizens. In accordance with the theoretical excursus on the concept of denizen, this was conceived to define the lack of citizenship status.

**Figure 4: Citizenship continuum with denizenship**



Source: own elaboration

Denizens lack full membership. In practical terms they have no “voice” (Hirschman 1970) when it comes to decide what rules should apply to them because they lack the right to vote in the host country. This perspective on denizens usually comes along with the idea of second class citizens or half citizens again to convey the sense of absence that permeates their condition.

It is now possible to locate the denizen condition on the continuum. Indeed, a denizen is a foreigner who approximates the citizenship status in virtue of his/her gradual acquisition of most of the rights attached to citizenship with some crucial exceptions (i.e. right to vote) depending on the country. Thus, although denizens remain foreigners until naturalization, I put them closer to the citizen pole to mark the distance

with those foreigners who have a less stable condition in the host country (i.e. migrants on a short stay permit, tourists, and asylum seekers to say a few).

To be fair, addressing denizenship as a spurious kind of citizenship is intrinsically misleading because it is not. Denizens may act or even feel like citizens of the host country but they are not. Moreover, as the excerpts have shown, the condition of denizen is the result of both active choices and the simple flow of events. In this sense, the postponement or delay narrative does not cover the whole spectrum of the condition.

My respondents became denizens when they overlooked the moment to start their PDC at the expiration date of the minimum residence required. The key element here is this overlooking process. Does it occur intentionally or unintentionally? Do migrants prefer an impermanent stability over stability or does that happen for reasons of *force majeure*? What I contend is that one extreme does not exclude the other. For some among my respondents the condition of denizenship was a choice, a state chosen deliberately to resist the logics of the citizenship regime in force. For others, it was more the resulting condition of a day by day routine.

When my respondents chose denizenship over naturalization they did so for specific reasons. For instance, if they had no intention to settle in the host country or no clear plan for the future, starting the PDC and investing in full membership were clearly out of the picture. Another case is that of those who did not want to naturalize as a form of protest against the rules of the games deemed unjust and unequal. This sentiment was shared among children raised and educated (but not born) in the host country; or among long-term migrants who harboured resentment after experiencing the rough side of bureaucracy. The decision not to request (dual) citizenship manifests their intention and capacity to cope in spite of the difficulties disseminated on their way by the state. For a few of my respondents it even became a claim against the exclusionary use of

granting citizenship that puts an excessive burden on the shoulders of applicants. The burden is a material one, as for the paperwork that should support their application and prove their integration within the social fabric. What is more, the burden is an emotional one. They found very discomfoting the fact that the regime would question their integration while renewing their foreignness by means of indifferent administrative procedures. Thus, the indifference of the procedures operated a trivialization and depersonalization of their own path of integration. What followed was their indifference for the citizenship status, at least for some time.

There were those who simply postponed the acquisition knowing that they were going to get it sooner or later anyway. For example, the birth of a child or the prospects to reunite with aging parents once they retire set the ultimate limits to their postponement. As the acquisition of (dual) citizenship would pass its benefits onto others, it could be delayed until those benefits were needed.

Finally, denizenship encompassed those who let life took over. The daily routine, the contingencies and the goals we aim to as individuals were their sole horizon. Having already acquired their long-stay permit, they had a fairly busy schedule to think of and juggle between their ordinary commitments.

Denizenship lasted until an event, a specific need, a possible gain or more prosaic concerns came on the scene. That is the moment when the desirability of this impermanent stability lost its appeal to turn into a zone of discomfort. My respondents moved from the initial empowerment vis-à-vis the provisions of the host state's citizenship regime to the urgency to be in conformity with those very provisions and be part of the citizenry. There they could experience the flip-side of quasi-citizenship. The lack of citizenship status became their issue.

People had been living in a limbo and kept being so but with a different attitude. The indifference towards (dual) citizenship or the mere



temporary irrelevance of the status for their life-style could no longer exist. And the same condition of long-term residence passed from having positive connotations to the negative ones. Denizenship as a limbo is both the reaffirmation of migrants' autonomy in drawing their own path of integration at the pace that suits them better and of migrants' dependence, a condition that is always a bit less than full membership in the host state.

Paradoxically, as denizens who wanted the citizenship status of the host country, my Peruvian respondents perceived the limited support that their original citizenship could grant them. They were not requested to deny their *Peruanidad*, but there were legal bureaucratic and prosaic matters that could be easily overcome through the acquisition of the host country citizenship. Being in this limbo made overt how their attachment toward their Peruvian side had limited impact or implications on their condition as denizens abroad. Because of their long-term commitment to the host country, only the acquisition of the host country citizenship could improve their daily lives or future prospects, regardless of the importance people attached to their Peruvian citizenship. Initially, the postponement may have even reinvigorated their feelings of belonging towards Peru, establishing a direct correspondence between the sole Peruvian citizenship status and people feeling/being Peruvians. Nevertheless, life circumstances brought to the fore more pragmatic and cogent needs for which a sense of belonging for the origin country could not compensate for. As a consequence, torn between the immediate condition in the host country and feelings for the origin country afar, my respondents acted in order to ameliorate an immediate condition. Hence, naturalization acquires a value in itself that is proportionate to the improvements it favours, while the reasoning on dual citizenship as a category comes as a second thought and in more abstract terms. The discourse on dual citizenship helped juxtaposing the two citizenships, i.e. the Peruvian

citizenship and the (prospective) Italian or Spanish citizenship, and weighting the meanings and feelings my respondents attached to them.

### **6.7. Conclusion: from comfort to discomfort**

This chapter has explained the everyday understanding of dual citizenship (Miller-Idriss 2006, Sredanovic 2014) by exposing how delayed naturalizations occur.

The overlook of the minimum time of residence required by the citizenship regime of the host state is intrinsically related to a formal status of long-term residence or denizenship (Hammar 1990). My respondents could eventually postpone or forget about the advantages of citizenship in force of their denizenship that freed them from continuous renewals for longer periods. Moreover, they enjoyed an increasing set of rights as their residence got longer.

As we have seen, this limbo can actually distract migrants from the acquisition of (dual) citizenship and induce them to remain in an impermanent stability until new needs emerge. Within this special kind of stability, the women and men I interviewed made their own way into the host country. Under many aspects their daily lives resembled the lives of other citizens to the point that they claimed full membership regardless of their real status (Bloemraad 2004). Following their understanding, (dual) citizenship should not depend on abstract obstructive requirements but on the evidences of practice and commitment. The idea of a *de facto* citizenship stemming directly from the lived mundane experiences (Skey and Antonsich 2017, Antonsich 2016, Lister 2007) in the host country goes hand in hand with the state-led rhetoric of earned citizenship (Van Houdt et al. 2011) echoed by some among my respondents. Indeed, acting as good citizens and overcoming the difficulties

endured predominantly by migrants should prove well enough the existence of a substantive citizenship or, said otherwise, of a citizenship already in place. As Holston (1998:51) put it:

"[...] in many cases formal citizenship is neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for substantive citizenship. In other words, although in theory full access to rights depends on membership, in practice that which constitutes citizenship substantively (rights and duties) is often independent of its formal status."

This limbo situation is fascinating also because it is a combination of both intended and unintended choices that range from patent indifference towards the formal ultimate status granted by states to determined resistance to the rules and requirements set forth in the citizenship regime. As the occurrence of denizenship depends on a variety of factors, the way in which it is described should take into consideration these multiple facets. Although denizenship indicates a condition of quasi-citizenship for migrants (Bauböck 2010), scholars insist mainly on its "lack side" (Benton 2010) almost obliterating the benefits it brings in for those who linger in the condition. In this respect, my study does not deny the shortcomings of denizenship as such, but proposes an analytical two-stage approach to further and enlarge the understanding of the condition itself. In the first stage denizenship takes the form of postponement, delay or simple overlook. The emancipatory effect of the limbo rests in this first stage. It allowed my Peruvian respondents to mingle with the social fabric of the host state while ignoring the state's provisions. It is emancipatory in the sense that they did not feel the urge to adhere to predetermined patterns of integration to practice their own integration. This evidence is more strident if we

consider that through naturalization my interviewees had literally access to two citizenries at a time. Denizenship served as a temporary means of emancipation, of canalization of migrants' creative resources in making the most out of their long-term residence.

Only in the second stage the traditional conception of denizenship becomes prevalent. When migrants decided to request dual citizenship and started their PDC, in that moment they started evaluating their denizenship as a flawed condition in comparison with full citizenship. What they were missing was the possibility to be equal in rights and opportunities with other citizens (Hammar 1990). The switch happens while denizenship is still in place. It is more a change of perspective rather than a change of status, because the condition will come to an end only with the acquisition of (dual) citizenship.

This vision of denizenship challenges the idea of dual citizenship as privilege. The postponement or the temporary irrelevance of naturalization for long-term residents casts a different light on the weight of citizenship in migrants' lives. Ultimately the status acquisition does mark a threshold. Nevertheless its desirability does not depend solely on the accessibility of the status. As the narratives reported in the chapter show, neither an eased access to naturalization (in the Spanish case) nor the default acquisition of dual citizenship (in both countries) had prevented the majority of my respondents from postponing the acquisition. Until a specific event or the needs of relatives took the stage, those long-term migrants see no real benefit in upgrading their condition by becoming citizens of the host country. The hesitation of Peruvian migrants parallels to some extent that of European internal migrants who

usually do not naturalize in another members state for the limited advantages they will gain<sup>15</sup>.

The chapter shows that the acquisition of dual citizenship does not work as a panacea for migrants in a host country, and even more so the postponement of such acquisition is an indication of what hides under the surface. Indeed, dual citizenship and thus the possibility to consider themselves as part of two countries and two worlds at the same time come after a long process of negotiation. Through residence and settlement in the host country, my Peruvian respondents became part of their host country citizenry way before resolving to their PDC. By virtue of both *jus domicile* and *jus nexi* principles they could claim dual membership as stemming from their actual involvement based on their daily relationships and interactions. In this respect, the formal naturalization and, consequently, the acquisition of dual citizenship was more a matter of paperwork and recognition rather than of change in their everyday lives. Moreover, if denizenship is a form of impermanent stability while naturalization is a permanent stability that is favoured (but not identified with) the prospect of dual citizenship, it means that the rights finally acquired through naturalization such as the right to vote are not a priority among those who lingered in postponement.

---

<sup>15</sup> The exceptions are at least two: EU citizens migrating from states that have recently joined the EU; and UK citizens who want to preserve their European heritage after BREXIT.

## Chapter 7

### Conclusion

#### 7.1. Introduction

At the end of two years spent as a researcher among dispersed groups of Peruvian migrants in Milan and Madrid I realized that despite the differences entrenched into the citizenship regimes of the two countries, my respondents had similar narratives about their (prospective) dual citizenship status. I was facing a convergence of attitudes and, consequently, of the sense of citizenship. Something I would not have expected. Being aware of the fact that these concluding observations might be contingent upon the selected migrant group, which has its internal variations – on gender, class, educational level, and area of origin – but was not constructed with a representative scope in mind, I suggest what follows.

#### 7.2. The research in a nutshell

My study builds on the debate on formal/nominal citizenship vs substantive/de facto citizenship. It addresses the distinction through the path towards and across dual citizenship, PDC. As the three-stage process entails a clear distinction between those who are already citizens – i.e. in the *acquisition* or *fruition* stage – from those who are not – i.e. in the *request* stage –, it allows deepening the implications of such a divide. For instance, those migrants who had filed the request but were still in the waiting zone could speak of their imagined prospective citizenship and their de facto citizenship, for what concerns the host state of course. By residing and living their daily routines in the host society, my Peruvian respondents had already a clue of what life-as-citizens is or could be like.

Their physical presence among other citizens as well as other migrants in a less stable condition had made them aware of the benefits coming with the status. They could even measure the imagined citizenship against their substantial one and see the discrepancies, evaluate how far or close their lives at present are from that imagined condition. Instead, those who had accessed dual citizenship tend to speak less about the imagined status to confront the substantial citizenship with the formal one (Holston 1998). The practices of citizenship (Aleinikoff and Klusmeyer 2010) or citizenship as a lived experience (Lister 2007) in a way blur the distinction between citizens and non-citizens, between aspiring citizens and naturalized citizens, at least as long as denizenship (Hammar 1990) or non-citizenship (Tambakaki 2015) is as attractive as citizenship.

Here I present the main conclusions from the empirical evidence I collected. They descend from the above observations on the layers of the sense of citizenship that can be referred to an imagined, a substantive and/or a nominal citizenship respectively.

The first empirical chapter on temporalities shows that time is a crucial element when dealing with citizenship issues, but it needs to be considered under a multiplicity of forms. The emphasis on the individual level perspective reveals the limited explicatory capacity of *time as prescribed by state in the citizenship regime*. Time in its structural form is not enough to understand how, when and why people decide to get dual citizenship through naturalization. It must be interwoven with other biographical variables such as migrants' *age* (at different stages), *year of arrival*, *life-course stage* and *length of residence*. By shifting the attention from the normative stance of the state to the lived and contradictory experiences of Peruvian migrants, the availability of dual citizenship comes to terms with its desirability, its instrumentality and more generally with the opportunity for migrants to acquire it. Temporalities are thus a means to display the structured agency of migrants and their creative capacity to mitigate the state's interferences with their lives. This chapter introduces

the distinction between on time and postponed citizenship acquisition, whose implications are further analysed in the two subsequent chapters.

The second empirical chapter investigates why people chose a prompt naturalization and how this affects their sense of citizenship. By illustrating the ways in which my respondents tackled law abidance, it distinguishes the motivations at the acquisition of citizenship from the everyday experience of the path towards dual citizenship (Antonsich 2016, Antonsich and Matejskova 2015). In fact, the *file rouge* underlying my respondents' narratives was a motivational weakening. Migrants opted for naturalization out of convenience or by virtue of a legitimate marital right to claim citizenship. Thus, an on time access to citizenship status is only the means to secure one's own stability for the future. A look at the everyday experiences, instead, shows how migrants' pathways are the joint result of structural constraints and of personal preferences vis-à-vis nation-state obligations. Moreover, the work-citizenship nexus (Goldring and Landolt 2011), designed by law to avoid prospective citizens being a burden for taxpayers, somehow shapes how migrants feel about their dual membership. If the first observations on the convenience of law abidance support the idea of an on-going process of lightening of citizenship (Joppke 2010); issues such as economic insertion and identity formation makes overt that the national still informs people's narratives of belonging.

The third empirical chapter concentrates on denizenship as the temporary postponement of dual citizenship acquisition. The postponement challenges the notion of dual citizenship as privilege, as desirable, as advantageous no matter what. Moreover, the postponement suggests that daily routines can shape the lives of migrant people as much as administrative policies. In contrast with the general understanding of denizenship (Bosniak 2006, Benton 2011), I maintain that this is a Janus-face condition. Whenever long-residents change attitude, it starts with mostly positive connotations of empowerment to become the



obstruent condition separating them from full citizenship. Denizship, and thus non-citizenship, might happen or it might even be chosen. Although the input to exit the condition should come from the individual or from external events/pushes, the ultimate arbiter of the passage to (dual) citizenship remains the state through its citizenship regime. As denizens, migrants could nonetheless feel and behave and be recognized by their surrounding community as *de facto* citizens, hence claiming membership and rights of citizenship under different assumptions.

The reported narratives expose migrants' incoherencies and underlying motivations in approaching the paths towards and across dual citizenship. My study focuses on the acquisition of the status through residence in the host country. This mode of acquisition has long been overlooked for those populations who could benefit of a preferential treatment while still being in their country of origin (Harpaz 2015, Cook-Martin 2013). It explores how people deal with the option of a plan b, like the acquisition of a second citizenship, while experiencing as migrants or non-citizens/denizens the actual opportunities and drawbacks of such a plan. As the available statistical data suggest, Peruvians naturalize in Italy and Spain without renouncing their original citizenship. As they can be dual citizens, they could be expected to become so with no exceptions. The dual status seems to be a taken for granted condition. Despite those premises, my study demonstrates that this status does not imply a devaluation of citizenship *tout court* (Joppke 2010), nor a mere commodification of the status – passport as property (see Harpaz 2013) –, nor a passive re-confirmation of the centrality of the nation-state (Schuck 1998, Pogonyi 2011).

There is no denying that in this case, and in particular for the asymmetrical acquisition of rights, dual citizenship by residence also reinforces the idea that there exists a factual global ranking of the value of citizenships (Harpaz 2019). Notwithstanding this general trend, the process in place involves states as much as individuals *qua* migrants (Bloemraad

2018). Although the state sets the setting through its citizenship regime, the daily routines of individuals' — i.e. citizens, dual-citizens, and even denizens —keep leaving their own mark on citizenship. This happens because the acquisition of the status does not assure a real stabilization per se. As shown by other studies (Kubal 2012, Sigona 2012, Turner 2016) the state itself contributes in creating and perpetuating loopholes to its own regulations, and more poignantly in making the spread of marginality transversal across both citizens and non-citizens. For instance, the persistence of fake contracts of employment upon arrival allows migrants to keep their residence legal but force them to find real paying jobs in the black market. Through this barely legal form of law abidance, people can reach the minimum length of residence while experiencing extreme precarity. Yet, this precarity can be protracted for years, even long years after the naturalization.

### **7.3. The everyday normality of multiple citizenship**

In defining the four themes to speak about "the major issues pertaining to citizenship in liberal democracies", Kivisto and Faist (2009:14) decided to put dual citizenship among the *expansions* of citizenship. My research embraces the concept of expansion and overall places greater power in the hands of individuals in defining the contents of their citizenship(s).

Multiple citizenship status potentiates on one side the individuals' possibility to redefine their sense of membership and identity, and on the other the number of rights (and duties) that individuals can enjoy in each country of membership. While the expansion of rights takes place automatically by rule of law and it is then the individual who chooses to what extent he/she is going to use such rights, there is no automatic re-formulation of the individual's identity. The expansion of citizenship for what concerns the identity/membership dimension is only a potential development, it does not necessarily happen for every citizen to be.

One major contribution of my study lies precisely in providing a different glance at dual citizenship, a less idealised and stereotyped one. First of all, I question the notion of privilege that is usually linked to dual citizenship. I look to what it means for migrants in concrete terms, thus bringing to the surface aspects that are usually neglected.

Moreover, although (prospective) dual citizenship refers inevitably to categories such as formal membership, inclusion, and recognition of plural memberships; what a person experiences of these categories is often shaded, intrinsically complex, and fluid. The original citizenship, i.e. Peruvian citizenship, is ascribed and to some degree “indelible”, whereas the acquired citizenship opens up to new possibilities of a self-redefinition. Peruvian citizenship seems to be an indelible mark that each migrant will carry no matter what, even in the case of a forced renunciation of the Peruvian citizenship itself. My respondents described their original citizenship as the expression of their ethnicity, culture, core values, or an idealised past where their roots came from. Instead, the adherence to the acquired citizenship was much more diversified. This happens because the new status is the result of migration, of a renunciation of what it used to be in Peru to get into an unknown country (either Italy or Spain). The new citizenship embodies the initial detachment from the new country; it is the acknowledgment of a *strangeness* (Antonsich 2018) that was continually reinforced by the state through the renewal of permits preceding naturalization.

As said, dual citizenship is an expansion of citizenship because it involves two countries at a time. It likely implies a narrative about “here and there” (Waldinger 2008) that I have not explored to its full potential. The study confirms the existence of migrants’ “balancing acts” (Erdal and Oeppen 2013) to negotiate on practical grounds transnationalism and processes of integration. However, my respondents’ narratives left the transnational dimension of the dual status mainly in the background, treating it more as an abstraction rather than as concrete practices. Yet,

the question on the link between dual/multiple citizenship and transnationality remains an open one.

When dealing with naturalization, scholars commonly highlight the benefits coming with the new status, and the acquisition of dual citizenship makes no exception. My study points to the opposite direction. I underline what are the renounces and compromises migrants have to undergo before reaching dual citizenship. For instance, the banal fact that my respondents considered the acquisition as the yearned end of renewals tells a lot about the process of naturalization. Simply put, the request of naturalization can be no more than the means to preserve what has been hitherto achieved and built. It is the means to stabilise the "everyday normality" with no reference to any identity narrative. Naturalization is just a step among others in order to move forward along one's own path. It is a compulsory step only when the deriving benefits are going to be shared or passed on others, like children, or spouses, or parents.

This study has delved into the meanings of citizenship to understand dual citizenship. The understanding of multiple citizenship has gone through a thorough analysis of citizenship tout court. Furthermore, despite the acknowledgment of an increasing incidence of multiple citizenship from the distance (Harpaz 2019, 2015, 2013), I maintain that naturalization by residence makes overt the partial or the seeming adherence to the states' normative instances on citizenship status.

To extend Joppke's (2007:37) "citizenship is many things to many people", I would add that "citizenship is many things to many people, institutions, and apparatuses". It should be specified every time which is the point of view adopted and, notably, its limits. It is reductive to let the rules of citizenship regimes coincide with citizenship itself, because such an overlap does not tell anything about the transformative relationship involving at the same time states, individuals, civil societies, and other

intermediate subjects – i.e. NGOs, associations, etc. –, or supranational subjects – i.e. the EU, courts of justice, etc. –.

The ongoing redefinition of the *inclusion/exclusion* divide is a fundamental aspect also for the observations about *denizenship* or *non-citizenship*. In this study, denizenship is by definition only a temporary condition; however it suggests a further investigation of the reasons that bring some people to opt out of naturalization. There is still need to understand which reasons bring people to such an indifference towards the acquisition of dual citizenship. Why do migrants renounce to claim their “privilege”? A better understanding of the matter could help restructuring the borders of citizenship and of its expansive forms.

Altogether, my study of the process of dual citizenship acquisition and its effects on people’s lives shows the fundamental role of a series of actions going beyond the mere process of naturalization. These series of actions, which are made of structural and legal impositions as well as of individual creativity and adaptive capacity, result in unexpected patterns to naturalization. Despite the prominence usually attributed to the acquisition of citizenship, when a migrant ceases to be a migrant to become a citizen his or her migratory background does not fade away abruptly. The formal or prospective acquisition of a place within the citizenry does not tell much about the real conditions of life experienced by an individual.

As the performative discourse on citizenship reports, conditions of membership and marginality can coexist (Bloemraad 2018). Similarly, integration and inclusion should be layered and unpacked, thus making them possible also for those categories of individuals that seem too far from any inclusionary reasoning. I also suggest incorporating into the analysis in a more critical way the structural environment that sets the rules and the administrative red tape to be accomplished. Indeed, bureaucracy is often the cause of practical and psychological forms of distress lamented by citizens, aspiring citizens, relentless denizens, and

migrants. As a consequence, bureaucratic tasks contribute by pushing people to navigate or circumnavigate the difficulties in proactive fashions. The creative capacity of individuals, their structured agency, should be the leverage to expose the weakness of citizenship as a normative construction. However, the importance of normativity, which affects the citizenship regimes and their models of citizenship among the others, should not be denied or dismissed. Citizenship is at the same time a normative aspiration, a legal framework, a practical stance, a lived experience, and an imagined idealization. For instance, among my Peruvian respondents there were those who would make no difference between the original and the acquired citizenship, because both of them were equally part of their lives. Others who would consider one citizenship for its emotional and affective attachments and the other one for the opportunities it offered in terms of professional development and future stability. Others could not see themselves as nationals, but rather members of their local communities, as a consequence each citizenship was the mark of a local membership and commitment. In their narratives, dual citizenship was split in two and each citizenship weighted on its own with a potential multiplication of contradictory meanings. Thus, dual citizenship is not the simple duplication of citizenship but is a mirror of its layered complexity.

#### **7.4. The triggering dimensions of the path towards and across dual citizenship**

Building on previous considerations, this paragraph highlights the three dimensions that should be emphasised more when studying the path towards and across dual citizenship.

#### **7.4.1. Residence**

My study evidences how residence contributes to both the reproduction of nation(s) and the potential multiplication of belonging. On a similar vein, Bauder's work connects the *jus domicile* to experiences of international migration and the maintenance of transnational ties across borders over time (Bauder 2012, 2014; Erdal and Sagmo 2017). In this sense, under the promise of equal citizenship, *jus domicile* opens the door to a re-configuration of the national from the inside while broadening the means to be part of the national. Against the prominent genealogies of membership, such as *jus soli* and *jus sanguinis*, the focus on *jus domicile* (and on *jus nexi* as a proxy) represents an increasingly accepted alternative to sanction membership within the political community. While *jus sanguinis* and *jus soli* base the continuity of the national through the persistence of a bond across generations, the *jus domicile* and its mediated forms allow for a rupture introducing the role of acquisition.

The emphasis on residence as a requirement that needs to be legally confirmed anchors the prospective membership of migrants to their stable, productive, and meaningful presence in the territory. Yet, residence should be appreciated and analysed under its legal, practical and emotional aspects.

In legal terms, residence is the minimum length of time that the state sets (along with other requirements) for migrants to be eligible as citizens. Here the physical presence and the development of a substantial link (Bauböck 2008) with the national territory are not deemed enough on their own. Residence must be legal and documented, there must be a traceability of the pathway into the host society that virtually re-establishes the continuity disrupted through residence as a principle. We can find a reflection of the legal aspects of residence in the practical ones. Indeed, residence involves a series of practices and behaviours activated by the need to be in compliance with the law. Residence is not only a

requirement, but the result of the practices heading to such a requirement. The permanence in a place is intrinsically related to the modalities chosen to experience permanence while abiding the law. Furthermore, this intertwining of practices and choices has reflections in the emotional aspects of residence in transnational migration (Erdal and Sagmo 2018: 214). As a matter of fact, residence awakes feelings and narratives about the presence/absence of emotional bonds with places of residence, either past, present or imagined. Although this study would not derive "social membership" (Carens 2013) from the automatism of time and residence (Joppke 2019: 867), I maintain that residence in the host country and the consequent acquisition of dual citizenship triggers migrants' reflections on belonging that may or may not encompass the national within the geographies of membership.

I did not approach *jus domicile* as a shortcoming in the territorial citizenship principle (Bosniak 2007) or as a mechanism to achieve equality and social justice (Bauder 2012), but I recognize its part in unveiling the discrepancies between citizenship regimes in theory and in practice.

#### **7.4.2. Availability and desirability**

My research, moreover, warns about risks that researchers may run into when approaching dual citizenship.

As repeated throughout the thesis, the status of dual citizenship is usually presented as a desirable privilege (Hammar 1990, Spiro 2017). I illustrated already the problems descending from the category of privilege (Chapter 3); therefore I concentrate here on the need not to conflate desirability with accessibility and actual acquisition of dual citizenship.

The emphasis on time, and in particular on the influence of biographical temporalities on the status acquisition, revealed that a readily availability of the status does not necessarily imply its desirability. Moreover, the desirability could be framed not only in terms of aspiration



to the national – i.e. belonging – but also of pragmatism and convenience.

The fact that both Italy and Spain would grant my Peruvian respondents dual citizenship at naturalization was not sufficient to predict migrants' propensity towards it. Although dual citizenship by definition allows retaining the original citizenship and does not require any obligations detrimental to the original status, the postponement as well as the lack of citizenship acquisition among migrants in general calls for a deeper analysis of the issue.

As other studies have shown (Yanasmayan 2015), the formal (or tacit) acquisition of dual citizenship might be dependent on the co-joint action of both the origin and the host country. Furthermore, the greater the obstacles posed to its obtainment, the greater the inner emotional negotiations endured by individuals:

“the evidence from the sample groups appears to show that a thick sense of citizenship manifests itself either in the form of refusing naturalisation when dual citizenship is legally or realistically not possible in the country of residence or in the form of multiple thick citizenship bonds when dual citizenship is a legally permitted non-controversial issue” (Yanasmayan 2015: 13).

The present study has illustrated that even when the acquisition of dual citizenship at naturalization could be taken for granted, it was promptly accessed only by half of my respondents. This brings to the fore the role of desirability. The original citizenship was taken for granted – what was truly desired was its maintenance. Thus, the desirability of dual citizenship depended first of all on the possibility to retain the original citizenship. Desirability depended also on contextual contingences that pushed people towards an early or late acquisition.

The availability relates to the structure of opportunity as set by the nation-state. It is designed in citizenship regimes and managed through the concurrent action of immigration policies and citizenship requirements. Instead, desirability speaks about the way migrants relate to such availability. By keeping in mind this distinction, it becomes clearer why the two categories are not overlapping ones and why their analytical separation can be beneficial for the comprehension of citizenship phenomenology.

#### **7.4.3. Supra-nationality**

At naturalization, third-country nationals become also EU-citizens. This potentially adds a further layer of complexity to their citizenship constellations. Indeed, migrants treat the EU citizenship either as an accessory for easier mobility within Europe and beyond its borders or as a citizenship in itself that grants access to a tradition of values and rights.

The unique European case, where the supranational citizenship descends automatically from membership in a member state (Delanty 1997), can have a contradictory impact on citizenship itself. On the one hand, it can increase the instrumentality of statuses (Joppke 2019) with an expansion of rights and no equal expansion of duties to be performed as European citizens. On the other hand, it may represent an additional community of membership along which people adjust their sense of belonging.

Under this light, the acquisition of dual citizenship is by default an acquisition of "three citizenships" at a time. Moreover, the differentiated access to citizenship in member states, as in the case of Peruvian migrants in Italy and Spain, reinvigorates the debate on the discriminatory nature of the EU citizenship and its intrinsic dependency on member states' citizenship regimes (Delanty 1997, Margiotta 1994).

European citizenship is usually cited to make the case for increased mobility opportunities either within or outside Europe (Mas Giralt 2017, Birkvad 2019, Ramos et al. 2018). According to Joppke (2019:873):

“The point of supranational policy is to encourage people to move and to become emancipated from the confines of the national. To the degree that EU law imposes itself on member-states citizenship policies, the balance must tilt toward de-nationalization”.

In his view, supranationality goes together with an increased instrumentality that makes the essence of nationality a mere procedural connection between the individual and the state (Kochenov 2010). The instrumentality turn is endorsed also by Leuchter (2014:787):

“Israeli citizens who had applied for another citizenship actively created a distinction between their Israeli citizenship and their other citizenship. The conceptualization of the Israeli citizenship in terms of identity and belonging, and their ‘European passport’, as a technical non-obliging document, allowed for the neutralization of the challenge a dual citizenship status might pose on questions of national loyalty”.

Without dismissing the pragmatic use of European citizenship, which was widespread also among my respondents, this study shows to what extent the supranational may become part of a discourse on migrants’ identity and belonging. As in the case reported by Ramos et al. (2018), where Spanish-Colombians and Spanish-Ecuadorians claimed “an upgrade” in their status as European dual citizens against their co-nationals who had just migrated from South America, being a member of the EU may act as a boundary marker. It reinforces the individuals’ need for membership by enlarging the community of reference and by embedding membership into a body with a higher moral status.

Altogether, entering the European community is not only a strategic choice to boost employment or mobility perspectives; it could be valued per se, as a further layer in the map of personal identity and belonging.

### **7.5. What citizenship regimes cannot see**

My thesis claims for a deeper understanding of individuals' role in shaping the content of citizenship. Despite recent attempts on the side of nation-states to fortify civic integration requirements (Goodman 2014) and re-nationalize citizenship through exclusivity (Joppke 2019, Orgad 2015, Koffman 2005), the multiplication of citizenship has left people more in charge of defining what citizenship is and means to them.

I maintain that reducing the debate to an opposition between de-nationalization (Bosniak 2000, Macklin and Bauböck 2015, Joppke 2003) and re-nationalization (Hansen 2009) of the status is a less than profitable over-simplification. The comparison of two citizenship regimes relying on distant understandings of citizenship shows that the discrepancies between "design on paper" and "implementation in practice" may bring to convergent effects on migrant recipients. Regardless of the differentiated treatment Peruvian migrants were reserved in each country, they opted either for on time or postponed acquisition of dual citizenship. Moreover, the motivations and explanations for opting for one or the other citizenship acquisition proved wrong the most common normative assumptions linking time and status.

Indeed, the on time acquisition did not occur to satisfy people's eagerness to be part of the citizenry, but rather to conveniently free them from bureaucratic burdens. On the contrary, the postponed acquisition did not represent a denial of membership claims, but rather the reaffirmation of the value of citizenship as a substantive commitment against its reduction to a mere procedural matter. The reliance on a perspective from below to explore the everyday aspects of citizenship has

illustrated how ordinary people juggle between personal preferences and nation-states obligations while experiencing their transitions across statuses.

Citizenship regimes are essential to define the degree of openness (or closure) of national systems (Itzigsohn 2000), to understand how they evolved throughout epochs, and to identify more general trends about the prevalent conceptions of citizenship around the world (Vink and Bauböck 2013, Seyersen 2008, Harpaz 2019). Nevertheless, a reliance on the sole legal-comparative level cannot give reason of deviations from the model. Deviations should not be automatically interpreted as failures or inadequacies of the model itself. Ultimately, the intended and unintended consequences of citizenship regimes can be disclosed only by integrating the legal, architectural and normative references with the everyday instances of targeted recipients.

#### **7.6. Dual citizenship: a potentially transnational choice**

This study illustrates why dual citizenship is something more than the mere naturalization in the host country.

People can retain their original citizenship, acquire the new one, and in force (or despite) their formally sanctioned memberships they can choose to what extent these memberships are meaningful to them in terms of belonging, instrumentality, legitimacy, or safeness.

My research mainly concentrated on aspects related to *immigrant citizenship* – the understanding of citizenship acquired in the host country –, rather than *emigrant citizenship* (Leblang 2015, Bauböck 2009) – the understanding of citizenship of the country of origin while living abroad –. Nevertheless, it is undeniable that (prospective) dual citizenship gives at least the security and stability of formal membership (with all attached rights) in two countries (Faist and Kivisto 2007). In this sense, dual citizenship is transnational in potential either pragmatically or symbolically.

Migrants exercise their right to choose and change throughout time what each citizenship means to them, how they will use their statuses, and whether they have any feelings of belonging towards their nations (Conway et al. 2008, Spiro 2016, Vertovec 2001). Once the nominal citizenship is secured, the substantive side of citizenship represents the means in people's hands to understand how they project themselves into each citizenship.

Migrants still need the nation-state to be granted the status, then they are the ones who have the power to define their memberships as nominal, substantive or something different (Rosbrook-Thompson 2011, Golash-Boza 2016). Dual citizenship is thus potentially transnational because migrants are formally linked to two states at a time (Bauböck 1994), but again the substance of that link cannot be imposed or even foreseen by nation-states themselves. What is more, the unique European case makes onward mobility a third viable pole that complements the possibility to keep residing in the host state or to return in the country of origin. This further possibility reinforces claims about transnationality as a combination of practices, discourses, aspirations and attachments that move with people (Basch et al. 1994, Tintori 2011). For instance, migrants may resettle in their country of origin, or move regularly between the host state and the origin country for vacations or work, or they may sporadically return while settling in a third new country (Ho 2016). Nevertheless, there is no necessarily overlap between citizenship as residence (either habitual or occasional) and citizenship as symbolic or emotional bond (Ronkainen 2011). Rather, there is "a weakening of the exclusive, loyalty-commanding nexus between citizen and nation-state" (Joppke 2019:879), and a corresponding empowerment of the individual in defining the contents of the citizenship nexus.

### **7.7. Ways ahead**

As shown by a large body of literature, citizenship is not confined to the nation-state anymore (for a vision on the centrality of the state see Brubaker 1992, Marshall 1950). The spread of multiple citizenships inevitably complicates the citizen-state nexus (Bloemraad 2004). Those statuses are the tangible parts of migrants' emerging links and affiliations across and within states.

Individuals cannot be considered passive recipients (if they had ever been so) of democratic decisions (Marshall 1964), nor are they imbued with unitary and homogenous conceptions of the national (Billig 1995, Skey 2009). Indeed, individuals actively contribute to the reproduction of nation-states through the acquisition of citizenship as a legal status. They do so due to the interplay of complementary principles such as *jus soli*, *jus sanguinis* and *jus domicile* (Erdal and Sagmo 2017, Bauder 2014). In particular, my study insisted on the role of residence as an acquisitive principle that helps establishing ex-novo the citizen-state nexus. In this respect, citizenship regimes and policies for the management of diversity are among the means in the state hands to circumscribe the disruptive potential of new citizens (Kofman 2005). Despite those attempts, this thesis has illustrated that the nation-states' efforts to preserve intact the identity dimension of citizenship is highly inconsequential. Not only because individuals do not hold the state as the sole point of reference of their discourse on rights – thus partially confirming the emergence of forms of personhood vis-à-vis statehood (Soysal 1994, Benhabib 2007) –, but also because membership claims are not exclusively drawn by ethno-nationalist conceptions. As other studies reported, citizenship is increasingly acquired out of instrumentality (Ong 1999, Joppke 2019), for strategic reasons (Finotelli et al. 2017, Harpaz 2015), as a legitimate exercise of rights (Knott 2018) that can replace or more commonly accompany the national-lead considerations on citizenship. Moreover, citizenship is entrenched in acts that are not necessarily performed by

actual citizens. This blurs the lines between the nominal and substantive exercise of citizenship rights (Bloemraad 2018, Bloemraad and Sheares 2017, Isin 2008, Isin and Nielsen 2013).

To some extent, citizenship acquisition and its derivative forms such as denizenship or multiple citizenships are increasingly the result of broader phenomena like global inequalities (Harpaz 2019, Harpaz and Mateos 2018), stratifications, and enhanced mobilities (Faist 2010). In these global trends the focus on dual citizenship can trigger new insights about the understanding and uses of citizenship within family units, given that different members can now reach the same status under a multiplicity of venues. Another way ahead lies in comparative research on dual citizens after onward migration and upon return back home. This kind of comparison could bring new evidence on the hierarchy of statuses or on the portability of acquired skills across countries (or continents).

Although the possibility to retain more than one citizenship at a time is not a complete novelty in history, the increasing demand for full or quasi membership rights across states and its sizeable impact on national populations leaves the door open to a reconceptualization of citizenship. The thesis highlights how the turn towards a procedural vision of citizenship, the one that is currently used by nation-states to enforce the national and shape prospective citizenry, is literally recreating the weaknesses it hopes to fix. The tightening of requirements for access runs the risk to void the membership process of any deeper meaning and value for aspiring citizens. The evidence advises that an excessive burden peers with indifference rather than with attachment. Instead, it suggests that through the empowerment of individuals citizenship may change its contours and its geographical base, but it retains strong affective implications.



## References

- Akresh, I. R. (2008). Occupational trajectories of legal US immigrants: Downgrading and recovery. *Population and development review*, 34(3), 435-456.
- Aleinikoff, T. A. and Klusmeyer D. (ed.) (2001). *Citizenship today. Global perspectives and practices*. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
- Alonso, B. S. (2011). La política migratoria en España Un análisis de largo plazo. *Revista Internacional de Sociología*, 69(M1), 243-268.
- Álvarez Rodríguez Aurelia (2013) *El acceso a la nacionalidad: la perspectiva jurídica*  
<https://www.raco.cat/index.php/AnuarioCIDOBInmigracion/article/view/291266>
- Amit, V. (2014). Inherited multiple citizenships: opportunities, happenstances and improvisations among mobile young adults. *Social Anthropology* 22(4): 396-409.
- Anderson, B. (1987). *Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*.
- Andreouli, E., and Dashtipour, P. (2014). British citizenship and the 'other': An analysis of the earned citizenship discourse. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, 24(2), 100-110.

- Anthias, F. (2002). Where do I belong? Narrating collective identity and translocational positionality. *Ethnicities*, 2(4), 491-514.
- Antonsich, M. (2010). Searching for belonging—an analytical framework. *Geography Compass*, 4(6), 644-659.
- Antonsich, M. (2016). The 'everyday' of banal nationalism—Ordinary people's views on Italy and Italian. *Political Geography*, 54, 32-42.
- Antonsich, M. (2018). Living in diversity: Going beyond the local/national divide. *Political geography*, 63, 1-9.
- Antonsich, M., and Matejskova, T. (2015). Immigration societies and the question of 'the national'. *Ethnicities*, 15(4), 495-508.
- Anwar, M. (1979). *The Myth of Return: Pakistanis in Britain*. London: Heinemann
- Aptekar, S. (2015). *The road to citizenship: what naturalization means for immigrants and the United States*. Rutgers: Rutgers University Press.
- Arendt, H. (1951) *The decline of the nation-state and the end of the rights of man*. In Imperialism. Part II of H. Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, New York: Harvest.
- Arnett, J. J. (2000). Emerging adulthood: A theory of development from the late teens through the twenties. *American Psychologist*, 469-480.
- Arnett, J. J. (2007) Emerging Adulthood: What Is It, and What Is It Good For?. *Child Development Perspectives*, 68-73.
- Arnold, E. (1991). *Issues of reunification of migrant West Indian children in the United Kingdom*. In J. L. Roopnarine & J. Brown (Eds.), *Caribbean families diversity among ethnic groups* (pp. 243– 258). Greenwich , CT : Ablex Publishing Corp.
- Atikcan, E. O. (2006). Citizenship or denizenship: the treatment of third country nationals in the European Union'. Sussex European Institute, SEI Working Paper no 85. Available from [www.sussex.ac.uk/sei/1-4-10-1.html](http://www.sussex.ac.uk/sei/1-4-10-1.html)

- Badenhoop, E. (2017). Calling for the Super Citizen: Citizenship ceremonies in the UK and Germany as techniques of subject-formation. *Migration Studies*, 5(3), 409-427.
- Baldi, G., and Goodman, S. W. (2015). Migrants into members: social rights, civic requirements, and citizenship in Western Europe. *West European Politics*, 38(6), 1152-1173.
- Barbiano di Belgiojoso, E. and Ortensi, L. E. (2015). Female Labour Segregation in the Domestic Services in Italy, *International Migration and Integration*, 16, 1121-1139
- Barrett, J., and Sigona, N. (2014). The citizen and the other: New directions in research on the migration and citizenship nexus. (2014): 286-294.
- Basch, L., Glick Schiller, N. and Szanton Blanc, C. (1994). *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments, and Deterritorialized Nation-States*. Basel, Switzerland: Gordon and Breach Publishers
- Bauböck, R. (2002). How migration transforms citizenship: international, multinational and transnational perspectives. IWE - WORKING PAPER SERIES.
- Bauböck, R. (2009). The rights and duties of external citizenship. *Citizenship Studies* 13(5): 475-499
- Bauböck, R. (2010). Studying Citizenship Constellations *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 36, 5: 847-859
- Bauböck, R. (2011a). Temporary migrants, partial citizenship and hypermigration. *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy* 14:5
- Bauböck, R. (2011b). Boundaries and birthright: Bosniak's and Shachar's critique of liberal citizenship. *Issues of Legal Scholarship* 9:1
- Bauböck, R. (2015). Morphing the Demos into the right shape. Normative principles for enfranchising resident aliens and expatriate citizens, *Democratization*, 22:5, 820-839, DOI 10.1080/13510347.2014.988146

- Bauböck, R. and Guiraudon, V. (2009). Introduction: realignments of citizenship: reassessing rights in the age of plural memberships and multi-level governance. *Citizenship Studies*, 13(5): 439-450
- Bauböck, R., (1994). *Transnational citizenship: membership and rights in international migration*. Edward Elgar Publishing
- Bauböck, R., (2010). Dual citizenship for transborder minorities? How to respond to the Hungarian-Slovak tit-for-tat. <http://hdl.handle.net/1814/14625>
- Bauböck, R., 2018. Whose bad guys are terrorists?. In *Debating Transformations of National Citizenship* (pp. 201-205). Springer, Cham.
- Bauder, H. (2008). Citizenship as capital: The distinction of migrant labor. *Alternatives*, 33(3), 315-333.
- Bauder, H. (2012). Jus domicile: In pursuit of a citizenship of equality and social justice. *Journal of International Political Theory*, 8(1-2), 184-196.
- Bauder, H. (2014). Domicile citizenship, human mobility and territoriality. *Progress in Human Geography*, 38(1), 91-106.
- Benhabib, S. (2007). Twilight of sovereignty or the emergence of cosmopolitan norms? Rethinking citizenship in volatile times. *Citizenship Studies*, 11(1): 19–36.
- Benhabib, S., (2004). *The rights of others: aliens, residents, and citizens*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Benton, M. E. (2010). *A theory of denizenship* (Doctoral dissertation, UCL (University College London)).
- Berg, U. D., and Tamagno, C., (2006). El Quinto Suyu from above and from below: state agency and transnational political practices among Peruvian migrants in the US and Europe. *Latino Studies*, 4(3), 258-281.
- Bermudez, A. (2010). The transnational political practices of Colombians in Spain and the United Kingdom: politics 'here'and 'there'. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 33(1), 75-91.

- Bevelander, P. and DeVoretz, D. J. (eds.) (2008). *The economics of citizenship*. Malmö University, Holmbergs, Malmö.
- Billig, M. (1995). *Banal nationalism*. sage.
- Birch, M., and Miller, T. (2000). Inviting intimacy: The interview as therapeutic opportunity. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 3(3), 189-202.
- Birkvad, S. R., (2019) Immigrant meanings of citizenship: mobility, stability, and recognition, *Citizenship Studies*, 23:8, 798-814, DOI: 10.1080/13621025.2019.1664402
- Blatter, J. (2011) Dual citizenship and theories of democracy. *Citizenship Studies*, 15, 6-7: 769-798
- Bloemraad, I. (2000). Citizenship and immigration a current review. *Journal of International Migration and Integration/Revue de l'integration et de la migration internationale*, 1(1): 9-37.
- Bloemraad, I. (2000). Citizenship and immigration a current review. *Journal of International Migration and Integration/Revue de l'integration et de la migration internationale*, 1(1): 9-37.
- Bloemraad, I. (2002). The North American Naturalization Gap: An Institutional Approach to Citizenship Acquisition in the United States and Canada. *International Migration Review*, 36(1), 193-228.
- Bloemraad, I. (2004). Who claims dual citizenship? The limits of Postnationalism, the possibilities of Transnationalism, and the persistence of traditional citizenship. *International Migration Review*, 38(2): 389-426
- Bloemraad, I. (2006). *Becoming a citizen: Incorporating immigrants and refugees in the United States and Canada*. Univ of California Press.
- Bloemraad, I. (2015). Theorizing and analysing citizenship in multicultural societies. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 56(4):591-606
- Bloemraad, I. (2018). Theorising the power of citizenship as claims-making. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 44(1), 4-26.

- Bloemraad, I. and Sheares, A. (2017). Understanding membership in a World of Global Migration: (How) does citizenship matter?. *International Migration Review*, 51(4): 823-867
- Bloemraad, I., Korteweg, A. and Yurdakul, G. (2008). Citizenship and immigration: multiculturalism, assimilation, and challenges to the nation-state. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 34:153-179
- Blumer, H. (1954). What is wrong with social theory? *American sociological review*, 19(1), 3-10.
- Boccagni P. (2011). The framing of return from above and below in Ecuadorian migration: a project, a myth, or a political device? *Global Networks* October 11(4):461-480
- Boccagni, P. (2007). Votare, per noi, era un giorno di festa. Un'indagine esplorativa sul transnazionalismo politico tra gli immigrati ecuadoriani in Italia. Roma, CeSPI Working Paper, 35, 2007.
- Boccagni, P. (2012). Practising motherhood at a distance: Retention and loss in Ecuadorian transnational families. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 38(2): 261-277.
- Boccagni, P., Lafleur, JM., and Levitt, P., (2015). Transnational Politics as Cultural Circulation: Toward a Conceptual Understanding of Migrant Political Participation on the Move. *Mobilities*, 11(3):444-463, DOI: 10.1080/17450101.2014.1000023
- Bosniak, L. (2006). *The Citizen and the Alien: Dilemmas of Contemporary Membership*. Princeton, N.J. and Oxford: Princeton University Press
- Bratsberg, B., J. Ragan, Jr. and Z. Nasir (2002). The Effect of Naturalization on Wage Growth: A Panel Study of Young Male Immigrants. *Journal of Labor Economics*, 20(3):568-97
- Brubaker, R. (1992). *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press
- Calavita, K. (2005a). Law, citizenship, and the construction of (some) immigrant "others". *Law & Social Inquiry*, 30(2):401-420.

- Calavita, K., (2005b). *Immigrants at the margins: Law, race, and exclusion in Southern Europe*. Cambridge University Press.
- Calhoun, C. (2007). *Nations matter: Culture, history and the cosmopolitan dream*. Routledge.
- Carens, J. (1987). Aliens and Citizens: The Case for Open Borders. *The Review of Politics*, 49(2): 251-73
- Carens, J. (1989). Membership and Morality: Admission to Citizenship in Liberal Democratic States. in W.R. Brubaker, ed., *Immigration and the Politics of Citizenship in Europe and North America*. Lanham and London: German Marshall Fund of the US.
- Carens, J. (2010). *Immigrants and the Right to Stay*. Cambridge, M.A.: MIT Press
- Carling, J. and Collins, F. (2017). Aspirations, desire and drivers of migration. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*
- Carling, J., Erdal, M. B., & Ezzati, R. (2014). Beyond the insider–outsider divide in migration research. *Migration Studies*, 2(1), 36-54.
- Carling, J., Menjivar, C., & Schmalzbauer, L. (2012). Central themes in the study of transnational parenthood. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 38(2):191-217.
- Caselli, M. (2009). *Vite transnazionali?: peruviani e peruviane a Milano*. Milano: Franco Angeli ISBN 13: 9788856805147
- Castels, S. and Davidson, A. (2000). *Citizenship and migration: Globalization and the politics of belonging*. Psychology Press
- Castles, S. (2002). Migration and community formation under conditions of globalization. *International migration review*, 36(4):1143-1168.
- Cebulko, K. (2014). Documented, undocumented, and liminally legal: Legal status during the transition to adulthood for 1.5-generation Brazilian immigrants. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 55:143-167 DOI 10.1111/tsq.12045
- Ceobanu, A. M., and Escandell, X. (2011). Paths to citizenship? Public views on the extension of rights to legal and second-generation

- immigrants in Europe. *The British journal of sociology* , 62(2):221-240.
- Chaloff, J. (2006). Innovating in the Supply of Services to meet the needs of immigrants in Italy in OECD, From Immigrant to Integration: Local Solutions to a Global Challenge, OECD Publishing. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264028969-6-en>
- Chauvin, S. and Garcés-Mascareñas, B. (2012). Beyond Informal Citizenship: the new moral economy of migrant illegality. *International Political Sociology*, 6(3):241-259
- Christou, A. (2011). Narrating lives in (e)motion: Embodiment, belongingness and displacement in diasporic spaces of home and return. *Emotion, Space and Society*, 4:249-257
- Clayton, J., and Vickers, T. (2018). Temporal tensions: European Union citizen migrants, asylum seekers and refugees navigating dominant temporalities of work in England. *Time & Society*.
- Colombo, A. and Sciortino, G. (2004). Italian immigration: the origins, nature and evolution of Italy's migratory systems. *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, 9(1):49-70, DOI 10.1080/1354571042000179182
- Conway, D., Potter, R. and Bernard, G. St. (2008). Dual citizenship or dual identity? Does "transnationalism" supplant "nationalism" among returning Trinidadians?. *Global Networks*, 8(4):373-397
- Cook-Martin, D. (2013). *The Scramble for Citizens: Dual Nationality and State Competition for Immigrants*. The Stanford University Press
- Coutin, S. B. (2000). Denationalization, Inclusion, and Exclusion: Negotiating the Boundaries of Belonging. *Indiana Journal of Legal Studies*, 7(2):585-93.
- Cwerner, S. B. (2001). The Times of Migration. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 27(1):7-36.
- Dahlin, E. C. and Hironaka, A. (2008). Citizenship beyond borders: a cross-national study of dual citizenship. *Sociological Inquiry* , 78(1):54-73



- Davies, G. (2005). 'Any Place I Hang My Hat?' or: Residence is the New Nationality. *European Law Journal*, 11(1), January, 43-56 DOI 10.1111/j.1468-2435.2011.00695.x
- De Groot, G. R., and Vink, M. P. (2010). Loss of citizenship: Trends and regulations in Europe. EUDO CITIZENSHIP Comparative Citizenship Analyses.
- de Olarte, E. G. (1993). Economic stabilization and structural adjustment under Fujimori. *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs*, 35(2): 51-80.
- De Vroome, T., Verkuyten, M. and Martinovic, B. (2014). Host National Identification of Immigrants in the Netherlands. *International Migration Review*, 48(1): 1-27.
- Della Puppa, F. and Sredanovic, D. (2017). Citizen to Stay or Citizen to Go? Naturalization, Security, and Mobility of Migrants in Italy. *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies*, 15(4):366-383
- Desforges, L., Jones, R. and Woods, M. (2005). New geographies of citizenship. *Citizenship studies*, 9(5), 439-451.
- Dumbrava, C. (2015). Super-foreigners and Sub-citizens: Mapping Ethno-national Hierarchies of Foreignness and Citizenship in Europe. *Ethnopolitics*, 14(3):296-310.
- Durand, J. (2010). The Peruvian diaspora: portrait of a migratory process. *Latin American Perspectives*, 37(5), 12-28.
- Easton, K. L., McComish, J. F., and Greenberg, R. (2000). Avoiding common pitfalls in qualitative data collection and transcription. *Qualitative health research*, 10(5), 703-707.
- Edensor, T. (2002) *National Identity, Popular Culture and Everyday Life*. Oxford: Berg.
- Elder Jr., G. H. (1994). Time, human agency, and social change: Perspectives on the life course. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 4-15.

- Erdal, M. B., and Ezzati, R. (2015). 'Where are you from' or 'when did you come'? Temporal dimensions in migrants' reflections about settlement and return. *Ethnic and racial studies*, 38(7):1202-1217.
- Erdal, M. B., and Oeppen, C. (2013). Migrant balancing acts: understanding the interactions between integration and transnationalism. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 39(6), 867-884.
- Erdal, M. B., and Sagmo, T. H. (2017). Descent, birthplace and residence: Aligning principles of citizenship with realities of migrant transnationalism. *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift-Norwegian Journal of Geography*, 71(4), 208-219.
- Erel, U. (2010). Migrating cultural capital: Bourdieu in migration studies. *Sociology*, 44(4):642-660.
- Ergun, A., and Erdemir, A. (2010). Negotiating insider and outsider identities in the field: "Insider" in a foreign land; "outsider" in one's own land. *Field Methods*, 22(1), 16-38.
- Etzioni, A. (2007). Citizenship tests: A comparative communitarian perspective. *The Political Quarterly*, 78(3)
- Eurostat <https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/data/database>
- Evans, D. (1993). *Sexual citizenship: the material construction of sexualities*. London: Routledge
- Faist, T., J. Gerdes, and Rieple, B. (2004). Dual Citizenship as a Path-dependent Process. *International Migration Review*, 38: 913-944
- Faist, T. (2010). Towards transnational studies: world theories, transnationalisation and changing institutions. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 36(10):1665-1687
- Faist, T. (Ed.). (2007). *Dual citizenship in Europe: From nationhood to societal integration*. Aldershot: Ashgate
- Faist, T. and Gerdes J. (2008). Dual citizenship in an age of mobility (Report)" Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute

- Faist, T. and Kivisto, P. (ed.) (2007). *Dual citizenship in global perspective. From unitary to multiple citizenship*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan
- Feldblum, M. 2000. Managing Membership: New Trends in Citizenship and Nationality Policy. 475–499 in Aleinikoff T. A., Klusmeyer D. (eds.), *From Migrants to Citizens: Membership in a Changing World*. Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
- Fielding, N. G., & Thomas, H. (2008). *Qualitative interviewing*. 124-144
- Finotelli, C. (2007). Italia, España y el modelo migratorio mediterráneo en el siglo XXI, *Análisis del Real Instituto Elcano ARI*, 58
- Finotelli, C. and Arango, J. (2011.) Regularisation of unauthorised immigrants in Italy and Spain: determinants and effects. *Documents d'Anàlisi Geogràfica*, 57(3):495-515
- Finotelli, C. and Michalowski, I. (2012). The heuristic potential of models of citizenship and immigrant integration reviewed. *Journal of Immigrant and Refugee Studies*, 10: 231-240
- Finotelli, C., La Barbera, M., & Echeverría, G. (2018). Beyond instrumental citizenship: the Spanish and Italian citizenship regimes in times of crisis. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 44(14), 2320-2339. DOI: 10.1080/1369183X.2017.1345838
- Floris, P., Vink, M., and Schmeets, H., (2017). Anticipating the citizenship premium: before and after effects of immigrant naturalisation on employment. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 44(7):1051-1080
- Forman, G. (1993). Women without their children: Immigrant women in the U. S.. *Development*, 4:51– 55.
- Fortier, A. M. (2010). Proximity by design? Affective citizenship and the management of unease. *Citizenship studies*, 14(1):17-30.
- Fortier, A. M., 2016. Afterword: Acts of affective citizenship? Possibilities and limitations. *Citizenship Studies*, 20(8):1038-1044.

- Fox, J. E. (2017). The edges of the nation: a research agenda for uncovering the taken-for-granted foundations of everyday nationhood. *Nations and Nationalism*, 23(1), 26-47.
- Fox, J. E., & Miller-Idriss, C. (2008). Everyday nationhood. *Ethnicities*, 8(4), 536-563.
- Freeman, D. (1983). *Margaret Mead and Samoa: The making and unmaking of an anthropological myth*. Canberra, ACT: Australian National University Press.
- Freeman, G. P. and Ögelman, N. (1998). Homeland citizenship policies and the status of third country nationals in the European Union. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 24(4): 769 -788.
- Galdo, J. (2013). The long-run labor-market consequences of civil war: Evidence from the Shining Path in Peru. *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 61(4): 789-823.
- Gargiulo, E. (2017). The limits of local citizenship: administrative borders within the Italian municipalities. *Citizenship Studies*, 21(3):327-343
- Gerson, S. A. and Pantoja, A. D. (2014). Pessimists, optimists, and sceptics: the consequences of transnational ties for Latino immigrant naturalization. *Social Science Quarterly*, 95(2):328-343
- Glaser, B.G. (1978). *Theoretical Sensitivity*. Sociology Press, Mill Valley, California
- Glenn, E (2011). Constructing citizenship: Exclusion, subordination, and resistance. *American Sociological Review* 76(1):1-24.
- Goffman, E. (1989). On fieldwork. *Journal of contemporary ethnography*, 18(2), 123-132.
- Golash-Boza, T. (2016). Feeling Like a Citizen, Living As a Denizen: Deportees' sense of belonging. *American Behavioural Science*, 60(13):1575-1589
- Golden, D. (2002). Belonging through time: nurturing national identity among newcomers to Israel from the former Soviet Union. *Time & society*, 11(1):5-24.

- Goldring, L. and Landolt, P. (eds) (2013). *Producing and Negotiating Non-Citizenship: Precarious Legal Status in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press
- Goldring, L., and Landolt, P. (2011). Caught in the Work-Citizenship Matrix: the Lasting Effects of Precarious Legal Status on Work for Toronto Immigrants. *Globalizations*, 8(3):325–341. doi:10.1080/14747731.2011.576850.
- Goodman, S. W. (2012). Measurement and interpretation issues in civic integration studies: A rejoinder. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 38(1), 173-186.
- Green, S. (2012). Much ado about not-very-much? Assessing ten years of German citizenship reform. *Citizenship Studies*, 16(2):173-88
- Griffiths, M., Rogers, A., and Anderson, B. (2013). Migration, Time and Temporalities: Review and Prospect. *COMPAS Research Resources Paper*, March:1-31.
- Guarnizo, L. E. (2007). Aspetti economici del vivere transnazionale. *Mondi Migranti*, 2:7-40
- Gustafson, P. (2002). Globalisation, multiculturalism and individualism: the Swedish debate on dual citizenship. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 28(3):463-481
- Hainmueller, J., Hangartner, D., and Pietrantuono, G. (2017). Catalyst or crown: does naturalization promote the long-term social integration of immigrants?. *American Political Science Review*, 111(2):256-276
- Hammar, T. (1985). Dual Citizenship and Political Integration. *International Migration Review*, 19:438-450
- Hammar, T. (1990). *Democracy and the Nation-State: Aliens, Denizens, and Citizens in a World of International Migration*. Averbury: Gower.
- Hansen, R. (2009). The poverty of postnationalism: citizenship, immigration, and the new Europe. *Theory and society*, 38(1), 1-24.

- Hansen, R., and Weil, P. (2002). *Dual nationality, social rights and federal citizenship in the US and Europe: the reinvention of citizenship*. Berghahn books.
- Harpaz, Y. (2013). Rooted Cosmopolitans: Israelis with a European Passport—History, Property, Identity. *International Migration Review*, 47(1):166–206.
- Harpaz, Y. (2015). Ancestry into opportunity: How global inequality drives demand for long distance European Union citizenship. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 41(13)
- Harpaz, Y. (2019). Compensatory citizenship: dual nationality as a strategy of global upward mobility, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 45(6): 897-916. DOI:10.1080/1369183X.2018.1440486
- Harpaz, Y., and Mateos, P. (2019). Strategic citizenship: negotiating membership in the age of dual nationality. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 45(6):843-857
- Heindlmaier A. and Blauburger M. (2017). Enter at your own risk: free movement of EU citizens in practice. *Western European Politics* 40(6):1198-1217. DOI:10.1080/01402382.2017.1294383
- Heinz, W. R., and Krüger, H. (2001). Life Course: Innovations and Challenges for Social Research. *Current Sociology*, 49(2): 29-45.
- Helgertz, J., P. Bevelander, and A. Tegunimataka (2014). Naturalization and Earnings: A Denmark-Sweden Comparison. *European Journal of Population*, 30(3):337–59.
- Hidalgo, J., (2014). Selling Citizenship: A Defense. *Journal of Applied Philosophy*, 1-17
- Hierro, M. (2016). Latin American Migration to Spain: Main Reasons and Future Perspectives. *International Migration*, 54(1). DOI 10.1111/imig.12056
- Hirschman, A.O. (1970). *Exit, Voice, and Loyalty*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Ho, E. L. E. (2016.) Incongruent migration categorisations and competing citizenship claims: return and 'hypermigration' in transnational migration circuits. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 42(14):2379-2394. DOI: 10.1080/1369183X.2016.1205802
- Hobsbawm, E. J. (1991) *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Holston, J. (1998a). Spaces of insurgent citizenship in Sandercock, L. *Making the invisible visible: A multicultural planning history*. University of California Press. 37-56
- Holston, J. (1998b). *Spaces of insurgent citizenship. Making the invisible visible: A multicultural planning history. 2*, 37-56.
- Hopkins, N., and Blackwood, L. (2011). Everyday citizenship: Identity and recognition. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, 21(3), 215-227.
- Howard, M. (2005). Variation in Dual Citizenship Policies in the Countries of the EU. *International Migration Review*, 39 (3): 697-720
- Howard, M. (2008). The causes and consequences of Germany's new citizenship law. *German politics*, 17(1):41-62.
- Instituto Nacional de Estadística (INE) <https://www.ine.es/>
- Iordachi, C. (2004). Dual citizenship and policies toward kin-minorities in East-Central Europe: A comparison between Hungary, Romania and the Republic of Moldova.
- Irvine, A. (2011). Duration, dominance and depth in telephone and face-to-face interviews: A comparative exploration. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 10(3), 202-220.
- Isin, E. F. and Nielsen, G. M. (ed.) 2008 *Acts of citizenship*. London and New York. Zed Books
- Isin, E. F. and Turner, B. (2007). Investigating citizenship: an agenda for citizenship studies. *Citizenship Studies*, 11(1):5-17
- Isin, E. F., (2009). Citizenship in Flux: The Figure of the Activist Citizen. *Subjectivity*, 29:367– 388

- Isin, E. F., 2017. Performative citizenship. In *The Oxford handbook of citizenship*.
- Isin, E. F., and Turner, B. S. (Eds.). (2002). *Handbook of citizenship studies*. Sage.
- Itzigsohn, J. (2000). Immigration and the boundaries of citizenship: The institutions of immigrants' political transnationalism. *International Migration Review*, 34(4), 1126-1154.
- Johnson, C., (2010). The politics of affective citizenship: from Blair to Obama. *Citizenship studies*, 14(5), 495-509.
- Johnson, J. M., and Rowlands, T. (2012). The interpersonal dynamics of in-depth interviewing. *The SAGE handbook of interview research: The complexity of the craft*, 99-113.
- Johnson-Hanks, J. (2005). When the Future Decides Uncertainty and Intentional Action in Contemporary Cameroon. *Current Anthropology*, 46(3).
- Jones-Correa, M. (1998). *Between two nations: The political predicament of Latinos in New York City*. Cornell University Press
- Jones-Correa, M. (2001a). Under Two Flags: Dual Nationality in Latin America and Its Consequences for Naturalization in the United States. *International Migration Review*, 35:997-1029.
- Jones-Correa, M. (2001b). Institutional and Contextual Factors in Immigrant Naturalization and Voting. *Citizenship Studies*, 5(1):41-56. DOI: 10.1080/13621020020025187
- Joppke, C. (2001). Multicultural citizenship: a critique. *European Journal of Sociology*, 42(2):431-447
- Joppke, C. (2003). Citizenship between De-and Re-ethnicization. *European Journal of Sociology*, 44(3):429-458.
- Joppke, C. (2007) Beyond National Models: Civic Integration Policies for Immigrants in Western Europe. *West European Politics*, 2007: 1-22.
- Joppke, C. (2007). "Transformations of citizenship: status, rights, identity" *Citizenship Studies*, 11:37-48



- Joppke, C. (2010a) *Citizenship and Immigration*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Joppke, C. (2010b). The inevitable lightening of citizenship. *European Journal of Sociology*, 51(1): 9-32
- Joppke, C., (2016). Terror and the Loss of Citizenship. *Citizenship studies*, 20(6-7):728-748.
- Joppke, C., (2019). The instrumental turn of citizenship. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 45(6):858-878.
- Joppke, C., 2008. Immigration and the identity of citizenship: the paradox of universalism. *Citizenship studies*, 12(6):533-546.
- Joppke, C., and Bauböck, R. (2010). How liberal are citizenship tests? Cadmus.eui.eu
- Kearney, M. (1995). The local and the global: The anthropology of globalization and transnationalism. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 24:547-565
- King, R., and Skeldon, R. (2010) 'Mind the Gap!' Integrating Approaches to Internal and International Migration. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 36(10): 1619-1646.
- Kivisto, P. and Faist, T. (2007). *Dual citizenship in global perspective: From unitary to multiple citizenship*. Palgrave Macmillan
- Kivisto, P., and Faist, T. (2009). *Citizenship: Discourse, theory, and transnational prospects*. John Wiley & Sons.
- Knott, E. (2019). Strategy, identity or legitimacy? Analysing engagement with dual citizenship from the bottom-up. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 45(6), 994-1014.
- Kochenov, D. 2010. "Rounding Up the Circle: The Mutation of Member States' Nationalities under Pressure from EU Citizenship." EUI Working Paper RSCAS 2010/23, European University Institute, Florence.
- Kofman, E. (2005). Citizenship, migration and the reassertion of national identity. *Citizenship studies*. 9(5):453-467.

- Koh, S. Y. (2015). Temporalities of citizenship: Malaysian-Chinese skilled migrants in Singapore and returnees to Malaysia. *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, 24(1): 3-27.
- Koopmans, R., Statham, P., Giugni, M. and Passy, F. (2005). *Contested Citizenship. Immigration and cultural diversity in Europe*. University of Minnesota Press
- Kostakopoulou, D. (2008). *The future governance of citizenship*. Cambridge University Press
- Kubal, A. (2013). Conceptualizing semi-legality in migration research. *Law and Society Review*, 47(3):555-587
- Lafleur, J. M., and Mescoli, E., (2018). Creating undocumented EU migrants through welfare: a conceptualization of undeserving and precarious citizenship. *Sociology*, 52(3):480-496
- Laitner, H., and Ehrkamp, P. (2006). Transnationalism and migrants' imaginings of citizenship- *Environment and Planning* 38:1615-1632
- Leavey, G., Sembhi, S., and Livingston, G. (2004). Older Irish migrants living in London: identity, loss and return. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 30(4): 763-779.
- Leuchter, N. (2014). Creating other options: negotiating the meanings of citizenships. *Citizenship Studies*, 18(6-7):776-790.
- Levitt, P. (2006). The ties that change: relations to the ancestral home over the life cycle. *The changing face of home: The transnational lives of the second generation*, 123-144. New York: Russel Sage Foundation
- Levitt, P. and Jaworsky, B. N. (2007). Transnational migration studies: Past developments and future trends. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 33:129-156
- Levitt, P. and Lamba-Nieves, D. (2011). Social remittances revisited. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 37(1):1-22
- Ley, D., and Kobayashi, A. (2005). Back to Hong Kong: return migration or transnational sojourn?. *Global networks*, 5(2):111-127.

- Lister, R., (1997). Citizenship: Towards a feminist synthesis. *Feminist Review*, 57(1): 8-48
- Lister, R., (2007). Inclusive citizenship: Realizing the potential. *Citizenship studies*, 11(1):49-61.
- Lister, R., 2007. Inclusive citizenship: Realizing the potential. *Citizenship studies*, 11(1), 49-61.
- Lister, R., Smith, N., Middleton, S., and Coz, L., (2003). Young People Talk about Citizenship: Empirical Perspectives on Theoretical and Political Debates. *Citizenship Studies*, 7(2): 235-253, DOI: 10.1080/1362102032000065991
- Lori, N. A. (2017). Statelessness, 'in-between' statuses, and precarious citizenship. *The Oxford Handbook of Citizenship*, 743-766.
- Macklin, A. (2018). The return of banishment: Do the new denationalisation policies weaken citizenship?. In *Debating transformations of national citizenship* (pp. 163-172). Springer, Cham.
- Marín, R., and Sobrino, R. I., Alberto Martín Pérez, A. M., and Moreno-Fuentes, F. J. (2015). Country Report on Citizenship Law: Spain, EUDO Citizenship Observatory [http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/34480/EUDO\\_CIT\\_2015\\_04-Spain.pdf?sequence%3D1](http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/34480/EUDO_CIT_2015_04-Spain.pdf?sequence%3D1)
- Maroukis, T., Iglicka, K., & Gmaj, K. (2011). Irregular Migration and Informal Economy in Southern and Central-Eastern Europe: Breaking the Vicious Cycle?. *International Migration*, 49(5):129-156.
- Marshall, T. H. (1964). *Class, citizenship and social development*. New York
- Martin, D. and Aleinikoff, T. (2002). Double Ties: Why nations should learn to love dual nationality. *Foreign Policy*, 133:80
- Mas Giralt, R. (2017). Onward migration as a coping strategy? Latin Americans moving from Spain to the UK post-2008. *Population, space and place*, 23(3).

- Mavroudi, E. (2008). Palestinians and pragmatic citizenship: Negotiating relationships between citizenship and national identity in diaspora. *Geoforum*, 39(1), 307-318.
- Mazzolari, F. (2009) "Dual citizenship rights: do they make more and richer citizens?" *Demography* 46: 169 – 91
- McIlwaine, C. (2015). Legal Latins: Creating Webs and Practices of Immigration Status among Latin American Migrants in London. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 41(3):493–511
- Menjívar, C. (2006). Liminal Legality: Salvadoran and Guatemalan Immigrants' Lives in the United States. *American Journal of Sociology*, 111(4):999–1037
- Micalowski, I. (2009). Citizenship Tests in Five Countries – An Expression of Political Liberalism? .
- Michalowski, I. (2011). Required to assimilate? The content of citizenship tests in five countries. *Citizenship Studies*, 15(6-7):749-768
- Miller-Idriss, C. (2006). Everyday Understandings of Citizenship in Germany. *Citizenship Studies* 10(5):541-570
- Ministero del lavoro e delle politiche sociali (2018). La comunità peruviana in Italia <https://www.lavoro.gov.it/documenti-e-norme/studi-e-statistiche/Documents/Rapporti%20annuali%20sulle%20comunit%C3%A0%20migranti%20in%20Italia%20-%20anno%202018/Peru-rapporto-2018.pdf>
- Mookherjee, M. (2005). Affective citizenship: Feminism, Postcolonialism and the Politics of Recognition. *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, 8(1):31-50
- Mügge, L. (2012). Managing transnationalism: Continuity and change in Turkish state policy. *International Migration*, 50(1), 20-38.
- Ní Laoire, C., Carpena-Méndez, F., Tyrrell, N., and White, A. (2010). Introduction: Childhood and migration—mobilities, homes and belongings. *Childhood*, 17(2): 155-162

- Nyers, P. (2006). The accidental citizen: acts of sovereignty and (un)making citizenship. *Economy and Society*, 35(1):22-41
- Nyers, P. (2010). Duelling designs: the politics of rescuing dual citizens. *Citizenship Studies*, 14(1): 47-60
- OECD, International Migration Outlook 2015  
[https://dx.doi.org/10.1787/migr\\_outlook-2015-en](https://dx.doi.org/10.1787/migr_outlook-2015-en)
- Olwig, K. (2003). "Transnational" socio-cultural systems and ethnographic research: views from an extended field site. *International Migration Review* 37(3):787-811
- Ong, A. (1999). *Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logics of Transnationality*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Paerregaard, K., (2010). *Peruvians dispersed: A global ethnography of migration*. Rowman & Littlefield.
- Papparusso, A, Fokkema, T. and Ambrosetti, E. (2017). Immigration Policies in Italy: Their Impact on the Lives of First-Generation Moroccan and Egyptian Migrants. *International Migration and Integration*, 18:499-564, DOI 10.1007/s12134-016-0485-x
- Parsons, T. (1940). An analytical approach to the theory of social stratification. *American Journal of Sociology*, 45(6):841-862.
- Pastore, F. (2004). A community out of balance: nationality law and migration politics in the history of post-unification Italy. *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, 9(1):27-48, DOI: 10.1080/1354571042000179173
- Peixoto, J. (2012). Back to the south: Social and political aspects of Latin American migration to Southern Europe. *International Migration*, 50(6):58-82.
- Peters, F., Vink, M., and Schmeets, H. (2017). Anticipating the citizenship premium: before and after effects of immigrant naturalization on employment. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 44(7):1051-1080

- Pogonyi, S. (2011). Dual citizenship and sovereignty. *Nationalities Papers*, 39(5):685-704.
- Poland, B. D. (1995). Transcription quality as an aspect of rigor in qualitative research. *Qualitative inquiry*, 1(3), 290-310.
- Portes, A. (1999). Conclusion: towards a new world – the origins and effects of transnational activities. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 22(2):463-77
- Portes, A. (2003). Conclusion: Theoretical convergencies and empirical evidence in the study of immigrant transnationalism. *International Migration Review*, 37(3):874-892
- Preuss, U. K. (1998). Migration – a challenge to modern citizenship. *Constellations*, 4(3):307-319
- Ramos P. and Ruth L. (2014). Peruvian Migration Policies Policy and institutional frameworks, INTERACT Research Report 2014/08 <http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/32247/INTERACT-RR-2014%20-%2008.pdf>
- Reed-Danahay, D., and Brettell, C. B. (Eds.). (2008). *Citizenship, political engagement, and belonging: immigrants in Europe and the United States*. Rutgers University Press.
- Reichel, D., and Perchining, B. (2015). Reflections on the value of citizenship – explaining naturalisation practices. *Austrian Journal of Political Science*, 31-45.
- Robertson, S. (2014). Time and temporary migration: The case of temporary graduate workers and working holiday makers in Australia. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 40(12), 1915-1933.
- Ronkainen, J. (2011). Mononationals, hypernationals, and shadow-nationals: multiple citizenship as practice. *Citizenship Studies*, 15(2): 247-263
- Rosbrook-Thompson, J. (2015). 'I'm local and foreign': Belonging, the city and the case for denizenship. *Urban Studies*, 52(9), 1615-1630.

- Sassen, S. (2002). The repositioning of citizenship: emergent subjects and spaces for politics. *Berkeley Journal of Sociology*, 46
- Sati, J. (2010). The 1.5 Generation; On Jus Nexi Rootedness and Citizenship. *THE GADFLY*, 5.
- Schuck, P. H. (1998). *Citizens, Strangers, and In-Betweens: Essays on Immigration and Citizenship*. Boulder, CO: Westview
- Schuster, L. (2005). The Continuing Mobility of Migrants in Italy: Shifting between Places and Statuses. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 31(4):757-774. DOI: 10.1080/13691830500109993
- Sciortino, G., and Colombo, A. (2004). The flows and the flood: the public discourse on immigration in Italy, 1969–2001. *Journal of modern Italian studies*, 9(1): 94-113.
- Sejersen, T. (2008). "I vow to thee my countries" – The expansion of dual citizenship in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. *International Migration Review*, 42(3):523-549
- Shachar, A. (2009). *The birthright lottery. Citizenship and global inequality*. Cambridge, Massachussets, London, England: Harvard University Press
- Shachar, A., and Bauböck, R. (2014) Should citizenship be for sale?. Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies Research Paper, (2014/01).
- Shaffir, W. B. (1991). Managing a convincing self-presentation: Some personal reflections on entering the field. *Experiencing fieldwork: An inside view of qualitative research*, 72-81.
- Shapiro, M.J. (2000). National times and other times: Re-thinking citizenship. *Cultural Studies*, 14(1):79–98
- Shinozaki, K. (2015a). Migrant citizenship from below: Family, domestic work, and social activism in irregular migration. Springer.
- Shinozaki, K. (2015b). Transnational dynamics in researching migrants: self-reflexivity and boundary-drawing in fieldwork. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 35(10):1810-1827

- Shuy, R. W. 2003. "In-person versus telephone interviewing". In *Inside interviewing: New lenses, new concerns*, Edited by: Holstein, J. A. and Gubrium, J. F. 175–193. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Sigona, N. (2012). "I've Too Much Baggage": The Impact of Legal Status of the Social Worlds of Irregular Migrants. *Social Anthropology*, 20(1):50–65.
- Sinatti, G. (2011). 'Mobile Transmigrants' or 'Unsettled Returnees'? Myth of Return and Permanent Resettlement among Senegalese Migrants. *Population, Space and Place* 17:153-166
- Skey, M. (2013). Why do nations matter? The struggle for belonging and security in an uncertain world. *The British journal of sociology*, 64(1), 81-98.
- Smith M. P. (2007). The two faces of transnational citizenship. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 30(6):1096-1116
- Smith, N., Lister, R. Middleton, S., and Cox, L. (2005). Young People as Real Citizens: Towards an Inclusionary Understanding of Citizenship. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 4(8): 425-443.
- Snel, E., Engbersen, G. and Leerkes, A. (2006). Transnational involvement and social integration. *Global Networks*, 6:285–308
- Soehl, T., and Waldinger, R. (2010). Making the connection: Latino immigrants and their cross-border ties. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 33(9):1489-1510.
- Soysal, Y. (1994). *Limits of citizenship. Migrants and postnational membership in Europe*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press
- Spiro, P. J. (2007). Dual Citizenship-A Postnational View. Available at SSRN 901754.
- Spiro, P. J. (2010). Dual citizenship as human right. *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, 8(1):111-130
- Spiro, P. J. (2016). *At home in two countries. The past and future of dual citizenship*. New York: NYU Press



- Spiro, P. J. (2017). "Multiple Citizenship." In *The Oxford Handbook of Citizenship*, edited by A. Shachar, R. Bauböck, I. Bloemraad, and M. Vink. Oxford: Oxford University Press, ch. 29.
- 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.
- Staeheli, L. A., Ehrkamp, P., Leitner, H., and Nagel, C. R. (2012). Dreaming the ordinary: Daily life and the complex geographies of citizenship. *Progress in Human Geography*, 36(5):628–644.
- Steinhardt, M. F. (2012). Does Citizenship Matter? The Economic Impact of Naturalizations in Germany. *Labour Economics*, 19(6):813–23
- Suárez-Orozco, C., Todorova, I. L., and Louie, J. (2002). Making up for lost time: The experience of separation and reunification among immigrant families. *Family process*, 41(4):625-643.
- Takenaka, A., Paerregaard, K. and Berg, U. (2010). Peruvian Migration in a Global Context. *Latin American Perspectives*, 3-11
- Tambakaki, P. (2015). Citizenship and inclusion: rethinking the analytical category of noncitizenship. *Citizenship Studies*, 19(8):922-935, DOI: 10.1080/13621025.2015.1110285
- Thelen, D. (2000). How natural are national and transnational citizenship? A historical perspective. *Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies*, 7(2):549–65
- Tilly, C. (1995). *Citizenship, Identity and Social History: International Review of Social History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Tintori, G., (2011). The transnational political practices of "Latin American Italians". *International Migration*, 49(3):168-188.
- Tonkiss, K. and Bloom, T. (2015). Theorising noncitizenship: concepts, debates and challenges. *Citizenship Studies*, 19(8):837-852, DOI: 10.1080/13621025.2015.1110278
- Turner, B. S. (1997). Citizenship studies: a general theory. *Citizenship Studies*, 1(1):5-18

- Turner, B. S. (2016). We are all denizens now: on the erosion of citizenship. *Citizenship Studies* 20(6-7):679-692
- Van Houdt, F., Suvarierol, S., and Schinkel, W. (2011). Neoliberal communitarian citizenship: Current trends towards "earned citizenship" in the United Kingdom, France and the Netherlands. *International Sociology*, 26(3):408-432
- Vertovec, S. (2001). Transnationalism and identity. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 27(4):573-582
- Vertovec, S. (2001). Transnationalism and identity. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 27(4):573-582, DOI: 10.1080/13691830120090386
- Vink, M. 2015. Elusive citizenship. Maastricht: Maastricht University. <https://doi.org/10.26481/spe.20150501mv>
- Vink, M. P., and Bauböck, R. (2013). Citizenship configurations: Analysing the multiple purposes of citizenship regimes in Europe. *Comparative European Politics*, 11(5), 621-648.
- Vink, M. P., Prokic-Breuer, T and Dronkers, J. (2013). Immigrant naturalization in the context of institutional diversity: policy matters, but to whom?. *International Migration*, 51(5)
- Viruell-Fuentes, E. (2006). 'My heart is always there': the transnational practices of first-generation Mexican immigrant and second-generation Mexican American women. *Identities*, 13(3):335-62.
- Vora, N. (2013). *Impossible Citizens: Dubai's Indian Diaspora*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Walby S., 1994 Is citizenship gendered? *Sociology*, 28 (2):379-395
- [Waldinger, R. \(2008\). Between "here" and "there": immigrant cross-border activities and loyalties. \*International Migration Review\*, 42\(1\):3-29.](#)
- [Watts, J. H. \(2008\). \*Integrity in qualitative research\*.](#)
- Weil, P., (2001). Access to citizenship: a comparison of twenty-five nationality laws. *Citizenship today: Global perspectives and practices*, 17-35.

- Wimmer, A., and Schiller, N. G. (2003). Methodological Nationalism, the Social Sciences, and the Study of Migration: An Essay in Historical Epistemology 1. *International migration review*, 37(3), 576-610.
- Yanasmayan, Z. (2015). Citizenship on paper or at heart? A closer look into the dual citizenship debate in Europe. *Citizenship Studies*, 19(6-7):785-801
- Yeoh, B. S., and Lam, T. (2007). The costs of (im) mobility: Children left behind and children who migrate with a parent. *Perspectives on gender and migration*, 38:120-149.  
[https://www.unescap.org/sites/default/files/SDD\\_PUB\\_Perspectives\\_on\\_Gender\\_and\\_Migration.pdf#page=128](https://www.unescap.org/sites/default/files/SDD_PUB_Perspectives_on_Gender_and_Migration.pdf#page=128)
- Zanfrini, L. (2014). *Cittadinanze: appartenenza e diritti nella società dell'immigrazione*. Gius. Laterza & Figli Spa.
- Zentgraf, K. M., and Chinchilla, N. S. (2012). Transnational family separation: A framework for analysis. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 38(2):345-366.
- Zincone G. (2006). The Making of Policies: Immigration and Immigrants in Italy, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 32(3):347-375, DOI: 10.1080/13691830600554775
- Zincone, G. and Basili, M. (2010). Country Report on Citizenship Law: Italy, EUDO Citizenship Observatory  
<http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/19619/Italy.pdf?sequence=1>
- Zincone, G. (ed.) (2006). *Familismo legale. Come (non) diventare italiani*. Roma-Bari: Laterza.
- Zolberg, A. R. (2000). The dawn of cosmopolitan denizenship. *Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies*, 511-518.

## Annex 1

### List of Peruvian respondents in Milan, Italy

| List of respondents in Milan, Italy |        |             |     |                |         |         |             |                 |
|-------------------------------------|--------|-------------|-----|----------------|---------|---------|-------------|-----------------|
| Name                                | Gender | Interviewed | Age | Marital Status | Arrival | Request | PDC stage   | Occupation      |
| Carmen                              | F      | Feb 2016    | 49  | Married        | 1986    | 1997    | Fruition    | Shop assistant  |
| Fatima                              | F      | Feb 2016    | 44  | Engaged        | 1991    | 2010    | Acquisition | Small jobs      |
| María                               | F      | Feb 2016    | 60  | Married        | 1983    | 1983    | Fruition    | Lawyer          |
| Manuel                              | M      | Feb 2016    | 60  | Married        | 1990    | 1990    | Request     | Entrepreneur    |
| Paula                               | F      | Feb 2016    | 58  | Married        | 1991    | 2007    | Acquisition | Unemployed      |
| Sofía                               | F      | Feb 2016    | 39  | Single         | 2000    | 2011    | Acquisition | Office worker   |
| Lucía                               | F      | Feb 2016    | 56  | Married        | 1991    | 2001    | Fruition    | Servant         |
| Francisco                           | M      | Feb 2016    | 58  | Married        | 1999    | 2001    | Fruition    | Artist          |
| Dolores                             | F      | Feb 2016    | 31  | Single         | 1991    | 2009    | Acquisition | Office worker   |
| Daniel                              | M      | Mar 2016    | 50  | Divorced       | 1990    | 2013    | Request     | Nurse           |
| Antonia                             | F      | Mar 2016    | 46  | Single         | 2005    | 2016    | Request     | Nurse           |
| Pedro                               | M      | Mar 2016    | 56  | Married        | 1990    | 2006    | Acquisition | Entrepreneur    |
| Pablo                               | M      | Mar 2016    | 52  | Divorced       | 1988    | 2002    | Fruition    | Office worker   |
| Teresa                              | F      | Mar 2016    | 39  | Married        | 2002    | 2013    | Acquisition | Nurse           |
| Angeles                             | F      | Mar 2016    | 35  | Single         | 2000    | 2013    | Request     | Office worker   |
| Sergio                              | M      | Mar 2016    | 41  | Married        | 2000    | 2010    | Request     | Professor       |
| Cristina                            | F      | Mar 2016    | 39  | Engaged        | 1998    | 2009    | Acquisition | Unemployed      |
| Juan Carlos                         | M      | Mar 2016    | 56  | Married        | 1996    | 2016    | Request     | Caregiver       |
| Alberto                             | M      | Apr 2016    | 38  | Divorced       | 2004    | 2016    | Request     | Nurse           |
| Elena                               | F      | Apr 2016    | 33  | Single         | 1992    | 2012    | Acquisition | Nurse           |
| Concepción                          | F      | Apr 2016    | 62  | Single         | 1998    | 2010    | Acquisition | Entrepreneur    |
| Adrián                              | M      | May 2016    | 48  | Married        | 2002    | 2002    | Fruition    | Lawyer          |
| Rosario                             | F      | May 2016    | 52  | Married        | 2000    | 2000    | Fruition    | Journalist      |
| Núria                               | F      | Oct 2016    | 30  | Single         | 2003    | 2004    | Fruition    | Student         |
| Montserrat                          | F      | Sep 2017    | 43  | Single         | 2002    | 2014    | Acquisition | Physiotherapist |
| Irene                               | F      | Sep 2017    | 56  | Single         | 2002    | 2013    | Request     | Housekeeper     |
| Mercedes                            | F      | Sep 2017    | 49  | Married        | 1998    | 1998    | Fruition    | Teacher         |
| Blanca                              | F      | Sep 2017    | 53  | Divorced       | 2002    | 2002    | Fruition    | Housekeeper     |
| Josefa                              | F      | Sep 2017    | 67  | Married        | 1998    | 2008    | Fruition    | Servant         |
| Faustina                            | F      | Oct 2017    | 47  | Divorced       | 1991    | 1997    | Fruition    | Office worker   |
| Álvaro                              | M      | Oct 2017    | 54  | Married        | 1996    | 2014    | Request     | Unemployed      |
| Julia                               | F      | Oct 2017    | 57  | Married        | 1990    | 2006    | Fruition    | Housekeeper     |
| Irene                               | F      | Oct 2017    | 54  | Engaged        | 1992    | 2009    | Acquisition | Servant         |
| Louis                               | M      | Oct 2017    | 49  | Married        | 1987    | 2007    | Fruition    | Shop assistant  |
| Andrea                              | F      | Oct 2017    | 60  | Single         | 1990    | 2008    | Acquisition | Housekeeper     |
| Ángela                              | F      | Oct 2017    | 56  | Single         | 1991    | 2007    | Acquisition | Pharmacist      |
| Alba                                | F      | Oct 2017    | 60  | Married        | 1992    | 2009    | Acquisition | Housekeeper     |
| Enrique                             | M      | Oct 2017    | 62  | Married        | 1991    | 2009    | Acquisition | Unemployed      |

\* 1: Names have been changed to protect the privacy of individuals



## Annex 2

### List of Peruvian respondents in Madrid, Spain

| List of respondents in Madrid, Spain |        |             |     |                |         |         |             |                |
|--------------------------------------|--------|-------------|-----|----------------|---------|---------|-------------|----------------|
| Name                                 | Gender | Interviewed | Age | Marital status | Arrival | Request | PDC stage   | Occupation     |
| Sivia                                | F      | Oct 2016    | 60  | Married        | 1996    | 1999    | Fruition    | Office worker  |
| Raúl                                 | M      | Oct 2016    | 45  | Married        | 2003    | 2012    | Acquisition | Entrepreneur   |
| Rut                                  | F      | Oct 2016    | 54  | Married        | 1991    | 1993    | Fruition    | Professor      |
| Julieta                              | F      | Oct 2016    | 48  | Married        | 2003    | 2005    | Fruition    | Entrepreneur   |
| Fernando                             | M      | Nov 2016    | 50  | Single         | 1993    | 2000    | Fruition    | Professor      |
| Santiago                             | M      | Nov 2016    | 46  | Married        | 1997    | 2003    | Fruition    | Lawyer         |
| Lucas                                | M      | Nov 2016    | 44  | Divorced       | 2006    | 2011    | Acquisition | Writer         |
| Magdalena                            | F      | Nov 2016    | 57  | Single         | 1987    | 1995    | Fruition    | Cook           |
| Vicente                              | M      | Nov 2016    | 50  | Divorced       | 2000    | 2004    | Fruition    | Journalist     |
| Parvati                              | F      | Dec 2016    | 57  | Single         | 2003    | 2005    | Fruition    | Office worker  |
| Alfonso                              | M      | Dec 2016    | 50  | Married        | 1996    | 2007    | Fruition    | Small jobs     |
| Sandra                               | F      | Dec 2016    | 50  | Single         | 1999    | 2001    | Fruition    | Caregiver      |
| Mireya                               | F      | Dec 2016    | 50  | Married        | 1998    | 1998    | Fruition    | Professor      |
| Edith                                | F      | Dec 2016    | 47  | Divorced       | 2001    | 2002    | Fruition    | Caregiver      |
| Karina                               | F      | Dec 2016    | 38  | Single         | 2007    | 2010    | Acquisition | Servant        |
| Cristina                             | F      | Dec 2016    | 31  | Single         | 2006    | 2015    | Request     | Babysitter     |
| Ricardo                              | M      | Dec 2016    | 44  | Married        | 1999    | 2005    | Fruition    | Journalist     |
| Rocío                                | F      | Dec 2016    | 45  | Married        | 2000    | 2005    | Fruition    | Journalist     |
| Ignacia                              | F      | Dec 2016    | 43  | Married        | 2000    | 2002    | Fruition    | Psychologist   |
| Jimena                               | F      | Dec 2016    | 40  | Married        | 2005    | 2013    | Acquisition | Journalist     |
| Consuelo                             | F      | Dec 2016    | 56  | Divorced       | 1991    | 1999    | Fruition    | Caregiver      |
| Helga                                | F      | Dec 2016    | 46  | Married        | 2005    | 2008    | Fruition    | Nurse          |
| Ester                                | F      | Dec 2016    | 41  | Divorced       | 2008    | 2011    | Acquisition | Manager        |
| Iris                                 | F      | Dec 2016    | 49  | Married        | 1994    | 1999    | Fruition    | Office worker  |
| Patricia                             | F      | Dec 2016    | 53  | Single         | 2007    | 2010    | Fruition    | Caregiver      |
| Gabino                               | M      | Dec 2016    | 45  | Single         | 2008    | 2015    | Request     | Unemployed     |
| Begoña                               | F      | Feb 2017    | 39  | Married        | 2012    | 2015    | Request     | Entrepreneur   |
| Francisca                            | F      | Feb 2017    | 47  | Single         | 2000    | 2006    | Fruition    | Entrepreneur   |
| Pilar                                | F      | Feb 2017    | 57  | Divorced       | 1990    | 1992    | Fruition    | Unemployed     |
| Belén                                | F      | Feb 2017    | 48  | Married        | 2007    | 2008    | Fruition    | Housekeeper    |
| Tomás                                | M      | Feb 2017    | 56  | Divorced       | 2006    | 2008    | Fruition    | Entrepreneur   |
| Marta                                | F      | Feb 2017    | 27  | Engaged        | 2008    | 2015    | Request     | Unemployed     |
| Alejandra                            | F      | Feb 2017    | 35  | Single         | 2009    | 2012    | Fruition    | Shop assistant |
| Ada                                  | F      | Marc 2017   | 54  | Divorced       | 1992    | 1998    | Fruition    | Office worker  |
| Ana María                            | F      | Marc 2017   | 52  | Married        | 2000    | 2003    | Fruition    | Caregiver      |
| Hugo                                 | M      | Marc 2017   | 34  | Engaged        | 2006    | 2008    | Fruition    | Military       |
| Eduardo                              | M      | Marc 2017   | 31  | Single         | 2001    | 2008    | Fruition    | Office worker  |
| Guillermo                            | M      | Marc 2017   | 34  | Single         | 2008    | 2011    | Fruition    | ITC expert     |
| Marc                                 | M      | Marc 2017   | 85  | Married        | 1992    | 2000    | Fruition    | Retired        |
| Gonzalo                              | M      | Marc 2017   | 53  | Single         | 1994    | 1999    | Fruition    | Professor      |
| Iker                                 | M      | Marc 2017   | 39  | Married        | 2004    | 2007    | Fruition    | Unemployed     |

\* 2: Names have been changed to protect the privacy of individuals



### **Annex 3**

#### **Semi-structured interview: Italian guidelines**

*1) Mi racconti cosa faceva prima di arrivare in Italia: la sua situazione e le attività nel paese di origine, soffermandosi sulla sua famiglia, il lavoro, il tempo libero e sulla vita di tutti i giorni*

Quando è partito, a che età? Dove viveva? Cosa faceva prima di partire? Che vita facevate al paese? Se hai figli rimasti al paese di origine, puoi raccontarci cosa fanno ora? Chi si occupa di loro, a chi sono stati affidati?

La sua famiglia e la posizione socio-economica: Può descrivermi la sua famiglia, da quanti membri è composta, che lavoro fanno/facevano prima che lei partisse? [quando si chiede che lavoro fanno, concentrarsi su quali mansioni svolgevano, che posizione occupavano, più che su "dove" lavoravano; p. es., va bene sapere che una persona lavora in una scuola, ma con che compiti? Maestra, bidella, preside...] E lei, era occupato/disoccupato? I suoi genitori hanno cambiato lavoro, o residenza nella loro vita? Come giudica la vostra situazione economica al paese di origine? Vivevate in un appartamento di proprietà, in affitto o altro? Aveva la patente?

Un confronto col Perù: Quanto guadagna al tuo paese di origine una persona che svolge il lavoro che lei sta svolgendo ora in Italia? Lo stipendio che guadagna qui, a che tipo di stipendio del tuo paese corrisponde? A quello di un operaio/a? di un impiegato/a? di un/a dirigente?

Il tempo libero: Mi puoi parlare di come trascorrevi il tempo libero dal lavoro al paese di origine? Trascorrevi più tempo in famiglia o con



amici/he? Che tipo di attività svolgevi? Quali erano i tuoi principali interessi (es. lettura, cinema ecc.)?

*2) Il viaggio e le aspettative: la nascita dell'idea di emigrare, di come questa decisione è stata presa, delle persone con cui ne ha parlato, dei consigli che le hanno dato, sui motivi e le aspirazioni che la hanno spinta*

Perché ha lasciato il Perù? Ha familiari (ovvero genitori, nonni, fratelli/sorelle, figli) emigrati – o parenti (cugini, zii, ecc) ? Se sì, dove, e quando sono emigrati (in particolare farsi dire se sono emigrati prima, dopo o insieme all'intervistata/o)? Se ha familiari, parenti o amici emigrati in altri paesi, ha mai parlato con loro dei vantaggi e degli svantaggi dell'Italia rispetto a queste altre mete? Quando e a che età ha cominciato a pensare di emigrare? Come le è nata questa idea? Quanto tempo è passato da quando ha avuto l'idea per la prima volta a quando è effettivamente partita/o? Puoi dirmi le ragioni principali che la hanno spinta/o a emigrare dal tuo luogo di nascita (e poi magari dal suo paese di nascita)? Ci sono state considerazioni relative a situazioni sgradite al paese di origine? Qual è stata la reazione dei familiari alla sua decisione di partire?

L'organizzazione: Le chiedo di raccontarmi nei dettagli come ha organizzato la partenza, l'arrivo e la prima accoglienza, soffermandosi anche sugli aspetti meramente pratici (documenti, denaro necessario al viaggio, passaggio frontiere, primo alloggio e problemi dei primi giorni ecc.) Ha avuto difficoltà, burocratiche per esempio, a ottenere i documenti necessari per uscire dal suo paese? Ha avuto a che fare con intermediari per poter uscire? Ha dovuto pagare del denaro, a qualsiasi titolo, e quanto, per poter espatriare? Quanti soldi sono stati necessari per partire? In che modo ha raccolto i soldi necessari alla partenza? La ha aiutato qualcuno? Come è arrivato in Italia? E a Milano? È passato per altri paesi prima e/o dopo il suo arrivo in Italia? Cosa voleva fare una volta arrivato

in Italia, quali erano i suoi progetti? Aveva preso qualche contatto con istituzioni italiane all'estero? Prima di partire, sapeva già che lavoro avrebbe fatto in Italia? Se sì, mi può spiegare come e perché lo aveva saputo?

I motivi e le informazioni: Quali sono stati i motivi principali che la hanno invece spinto a venire in questa città? Ricorda che informazioni aveva di questa città prima di partire? Da chi aveva avuto queste informazioni (parenti, amici, stampa o televisione, associazioni ecc.)

*3) Mi racconti l'inizio della sua vita in Italia e del suo lavoro*

Qual è stato l'impatto con l'Italia e Milano? Può descrivere il suo alloggio attuale e come lo ha trovato? Che rapporti ha avuto con le istituzioni (questura, consolato, sindacati) all'inizio? E con la burocrazia? Quali sono state le principali difficoltà?

Il lavoro: Come ha trovato lavoro? È lo stesso di quando è arrivato o ha cambiato più volte? Mi può raccontare un po' delle sue esperienze di lavoro in Italia? Come lo ha trovato? Che lavoro cercava? Quali condizioni di lavoro ha trovato, dal punto di vista dell'organizzazione dell'attività e del contratto, in cosa consisteva esattamente, i rapporti con i datori di lavoro con i suoi vantaggi e problemi. Può descrivermi le condizioni contrattuali di questo lavoro (orario, giorni della settimana, paga, regolarizzazione del rapporto, vacanze, permessi per malattia, per ragioni personali o familiari)? Ritiene che queste condizioni contrattuali siano state successivamente rispettate? Quali sono le condizioni effettive di questo lavoro? Cosa le piace del suo lavoro? Cosa non le piace del suo lavoro? Come valuta il suo lavoro rispetto allo stesso lavoro ma fatto nel suo paese?

La disoccupazione: è mai stato disoccupato da quando è in Italia? Se sì, per quanto tempo? Con quali mezzi ha potuto tirare avanti durante il

periodo in cui era disoccupata? [lasciare rispondere, eventualmente proporre: risparmi accumulati, aiuti di familiari, aiuti di connazionali immigrati, prestiti da parte di datori di lavoro o amici o altri...]

*3) Mi parli della sua famiglia e dei parenti da quando è in Italia*

Dove vivono i suoi parenti? È arrivato da solo? La hanno raggiunta o la raggiungeranno in futuro? Come si tiene in contatto con loro? È cambiato nel tempo il modo in cui vi sentite? O il numero di volte? Vi sentite di più, di meno, utilizzate di più internet o altri mezzi? È diventato più semplice sentirvi? Cosa le chiedono i suoi familiari? E che cosa si aspetta lei, da parte loro? Cosa fa con i soldi che guadagna (li spende, li mette da parte, li manda alla famiglia, compra dei beni di consumo da mandare al paese...)? Invia del denaro, a quale scopo? Viene aggiornato su come viene impiegato il denaro? Con quale frequenza li invia? In che modo li invia (banca, posta, parenti, amici, conoscenti che tornano, Western Union o simili)? Chi gestisce il denaro che invia? Invia oggetti in regalo?

*4) Mi parli del suo rapporto col Perù*

Da che posto del Perù viene? Oltre alla famiglia stretta, ha lasciato molti parenti e amici in Perù? Come si informa su quello che accade in Perù? Le interessa? Ascolta una radio estera? Guarda la televisione estera? Come via internet o altro? Le manca il Perù (e il suo paese, comunità, quartiere...)? Cosa in particolare? È mai tornato in Perù? Ogni quanto tempo ci fa ritorno? Ha votato o voterà per le elezioni in Perù? Crede che il governo peruviano sostenga i propri cittadini all'estero? Ha mai sentito di iniziative governative? Ne ha usufruito? O sa di persone che lo hanno fatto? Ha dato vita o preso parte ad attività imprenditoriali che collegano l'Italia e il Perù?

*5) Mi parli del suo rapporto con gli altri cittadini peruviani qui in Italia (a Milano) e delle associazioni di cui fa parte*

Partecipa ad iniziative rivolte al Perù? Fa parte di associazioni di immigrati peruviani in Italia o in Perù? Quali finalità ha l'associazione? Fa parte di associazioni religiose? Mi può raccontare del suo rapporto con la religione, come si è evoluto? È cambiato il suo rapporto con la religione da quando è in Italia? Ha molti amici peruviani in Italia? Passa con loro molto tempo? Si sente parte della comunità peruviana a Milano?

*6) Mi parli di che cosa significa per lei essere peruviano*

Cosa significa per lei essere peruviano? Rinuncerebbe mai alla cittadinanza peruviana? Perché? Cosa dovrebbe fare un "buon" peruviano quando si trova all'estero? Crede che anche altri cittadini peruviani sarebbero d'accordo con lei? È cambiato, nel tempo, il modo in cui vede il Perù? Secondo lei, in generale, le persone emigrate in Italia si sentono "peruviane come prima" ...o cambia qualche cosa? Se sì, che cosa?

*7) Mi parli del suo rapporto con l'Italia e gli italiani*

Come si trova in Italia e a Milano? Ha amici italiani, connazionali, misti? Dove li ha conosciuti? Trascorre con loro molto tempo e come? Si tiene informato su ciò che accade a Milano, in Italia? Cosa ne pensa? Le capita di leggere giornali italiani? Di ascoltare la radio italiana? Di guardare la televisione italiana? Quali sono le maggiori difficoltà che incontra? Da quando è in Italia, ha mai avuto bisogno di rivolgersi a strutture pubbliche o private per ragioni legate alla sua condizione di straniero/a o a quella di qualche suo familiare, per esempio per ottenere documenti? Mi può descrivere di quale problema si è trattato, a quali strutture si è rivolto/a e quali servizi ha ottenuto

*8) Può farmi un confronto tra la sua vita in Italia e in Perù*

Come le sembra la sua vita ora anche rispetto a quello che faceva in Perù prima di partire? È cambiato, nel tempo, quello che pensa dell'Italia, di Milano? È cambiato nel tempo l'atteggiamento degli italiani/milanesi nei suoi confronti? Pensa che lo stile di vita degli italiani sia diverso da quello dei peruviani, in cosa? Cosa sapeva, prima di partire, di come vivono gli stranieri in Italia? Cosa ha scoperto di nuovo?

*9) Vorrebbe diventare cittadino italiano?*

Perché vuole prendere/o ha preso la cittadinanza italiana? Secondo lei quali sono le difficoltà che incontrerà (ha incontrato) nel richiedere la cittadinanza? Come cambierà (o è cambiata) la sua vita da cittadino italiano (con tutti i diritti e doveri)? Crede siano gli stessi diritti e doveri che hanno i cittadini peruviani in Perù, o pensa ci siano differenze tra i due paesi? Come pensa cambierebbe (o come è cambiata) la sua vita con un passaporto italiano/europeo? Si sente italiano? O peruviano? O entrambi / o nessuno (in che senso, sotto quali aspetti, ecc.)? Cosa pensano i peruviani rimasti in Perù di chi prende un'altra cittadinanza? E il governo peruviano? In generale, crede sia un bene o un male che chi emigra possa avere più cittadinanze? Per chi?

*10) Come immagina il suo futuro, ha dei progetti?*

Come vede il suo futuro, che progetti ha? Tornerà in Perù o resterà in Italia? Perché? Pensa di andare in un altro paese europeo? Perché? Dove vorrebbe invecchiare? Sono cambiate nel tempo le sue idee sul futuro? E per ciò che riguarda il lavoro? Cerca lavoro in altri settori o ci sono lavori che preferirebbe evitare? Frequenta corso di formazione professionale o di aggiornamento? Corsi di lingua?

## **Annex 4**

### **Semi-structured interview: Spanish guidelines**

*1) ¿Podría usted decirme que es lo que hacía antes de llegar a Italia?: Su situación y actividades en el país de origen, centrándose en su familia, el trabajo, la vida diaria y el tiempo libre. ¿Cuándo se fue?, ¿A qué edad?, ¿Dónde vivía?, ¿Cuál era su estatus social? ¿Tenía trabajo? ¿Cuáles fueron sus ocupaciones u oficio en Perú? ¿Que profesión o actividad desempeñaba en Perú antes de la migración?*

a. Su familia y la posición socioeconómica: ¿Podría describir su familia? ¿Cuántas personas la componen?, ¿En qué trabajaban antes de su salida? [Sería bueno detallar las tareas] Y usted, ¿estaba empleado / desempleado? ¿Sus padres cambiaron puestos de trabajo o residencia en su vida? ¿Cómo evalúa su situación económica en el país? ¿Vivía en una vivienda alquilada, propia o de otra manera?

b. Una comparación con el Perú: ¿Cuánto dinero tiene en Perú una persona que realiza el trabajo que usted está haciendo ahora en España?

c. Ocio: ¿Podría hablarme de lo que hacía en su tiempo libre en Perú? ¿Cuánto tiempo pasaba con su familia o sus amigos? ¿Qué tipo de actividades hacía? ¿Cuáles eran sus principales intereses (por ejemplo: leer, ir al cine, hacer deporte, etc.)?

*2) El viaje y las expectativas: ¿Cómo nació la idea de emigrar, ¿Cómo tomó esta decisión?, ¿Con que personas habló sobre su decisión, ¿Que consejos le dieron? ¿Cuales fueron las razones y las aspiraciones que le han impulsado?*

a. ¿Por qué salió de Perú? ¿Hay miembros de su familia (es decir, padres, abuelos, hermanos / as, niños) o parientes (primos, tíos, etc.) que hayan emigrado antes que usted? Si usted tiene familiares o amigos que

han emigrado a otros países, ¿alguna vez ha hablado con ellos de las ventajas y desventajas de Italia en comparación con estos otros destinos?, ¿Cuándo comenzó a pensar en emigrar? ¿Cómo surgió la idea? ¿Usted puede decirme las principales razones que le empujaron a emigrar de su lugar de nacimiento (y tal vez de su país de nacimiento)? ¿Cuál fue la reacción de la familia?

b. Preparación de su salida: ¿Podría decirme en detalle cómo organizó su salida, llegada y primera recepción en España?, centrándose también en los aspectos puramente prácticos (por ejemplo: los documentos, el dinero para el viaje, el cruce de fronteras, la primera vivienda y los problemas de los primeros días...). ¿Tuvo usted dificultades burocráticas para obtener los documentos necesarios para salir de su país? ¿Tuvo que tratar con organizaciones ilegales para salir? ¿Tuvo que pagar sumas de dinero a esos intermediarios ilegales? ¿Cuánto dinero necesitó para empezar? ¿Cómo reunió el dinero necesario para empezar? ¿Pidió usted ayuda a alguien? ¿Cómo llegó a España? ¿Y a Madrid? ¿Ha viajado a otros países antes y / o después de llegar a España? ¿Que deseaba hacer en España, cuáles eran sus planes? ¿Había tenido algún contacto con las instituciones de España o con cualquier empleador en España antes que salir?

c. Las razones y las informaciones: ¿Cuáles fueron las principales razones que le han llevado a elegir esta ciudad (Madrid)? Recuerda usted qué información tenía sobre Madrid antes de emigrar? ¿Por parte de quien había obtenido esta información: familiares, amigos, prensa, televisión, asociaciones, etc.?

3) *Podría usted hablar del comienzo de su vida en España y su trabajo?*

a. ¿Cuál fue su primera impresión de España y de Madrid en particular? ¿Puede usted describir su alojamiento/vivienda actual y de que

forma la consigue? ¿Qué relación tenía usted con las instituciones (policía, consulado, sindicatos) en el comienzo? Y con la burocracia? ¿Cuáles fueron las principales dificultades?

b. Trabajo: ¿Cómo encontró su trabajo actual? ¿Es el mismo que cuando llegó o ha cambiado alguna vez? ¿Podría contarme brevemente sobre su experiencia de trabajo en Madrid? ¿Qué trabajo estaba buscando o esperaba encontrar? ¿Podría describir las condiciones contractuales de este trabajo (horas, días de la semana, sueldo, regularización de la relación, vacaciones, bajas por enfermedad, por razones personales o familiares)? ¿Cree que las condiciones contractuales se han cumplido hasta la fecha? ¿Cuáles son las condiciones reales de este trabajo? ¿Qué le gusta de su trabajo? ¿Qué no le gusta de su trabajo? ¿Cómo evalúa la situación de sus compatriotas que hacen el mismo trabajo en Perú?

c. Desempleo: ¿Ha estado desempleado desde que ha llegado a España? Si es así, ¿por cuánto tiempo? ¿Qué medios ha utilizado para su subsistencia durante el período que estuvo en paro? [En caso de falta de respuesta proponer: ahorros acumulados, asistencia familiar, cuidado de los compañeros inmigrantes, préstamos de los empleadores, amigos u otras personas... ]

4) *¿Puede hablarme de su familia y parientes?*

a. ¿Dónde viven sus padres? ¿Llegó solo? ¿Se ha reunido con ellos o piensa hacerlo en el futuro? ¿Cómo mantiene el contacto con ellos? ¿Han cambiado con el tiempo los medios por los que se mantiene en contacto con ellos?, ¿o la frecuencia? ¿Que le pide o le pedía su familia? ¿Y que espera usted de ellos? ¿Que hace con el dinero ganado (lo gasta, lo ahorra, lo envía a su familia, compra bienes de consumo para enviar a su país ...). ¿Está al corriente de cómo es utilizado este dinero? ¿Con qué frecuencia lo envía? ¿Cómo lo envía: a través del banco, oficina de



correos, familiares, amigos, conocidos que regresan, Western Union o similares? ¿Quién maneja el dinero que envía? ¿Envía artículos como regalos?

5) *¿Puede hablarme de su relación con el Perú?*

a. ¿De dónde es usted de Perú? ¿Ha dejado a muchos familiares y amigos en el Perú? ¿Cómo se informa acerca de la actualidad del Perú? ¿Está interesado? ¿Escucha una radio extranjera? ¿Ve la televisión extranjera a través de Internet u otros medios? ¿Echa de menos el Perú (la comunidad, vecindad ...)? Específicamente, ¿qué es lo que echa de menos? ¿Ha regresado a Perú desde su migración? ¿Con qué frecuencia retorna? ¿Votó o va a votar en las elecciones en Perú? ¿Cree que el gobierno peruano está apoyando a sus ciudadanos en el extranjero? ¿Alguna vez ha oído hablar de las iniciativas del gobierno? Ha disfrutado de estas iniciativas o conoce a personas que lo hayan hecho? ¿Ha dirigido o participado en actividades comerciales entre España y Perú?

6) *¿Puede hablarme de su relación con otros ciudadanos peruanos aquí en España (Madrid) y las asociaciones a las que pertenece?*

a. ¿Qué significa para usted ser peruano? ¿Renunciaría a la nacionalidad peruana y/o a la nacionalidad española? ¿Por qué? ¿Qué debería hacer un peruano para ser un buen ciudadano (en el extranjero)? ¿Cree que otros ciudadanos peruanos estarían de acuerdo con usted? ¿Ha cambiado con el tiempo la forma en que ve el Perú? En su opinión, ¿las personas que han emigrado a España se sienten "peruanas como antes" o ha cambiado algo? En caso afirmativo, ¿qué ha cambiado?

7) *¿Puede hablarme de su relación con los españoles y España?*

a. ¿Como se encuentra en España y en Madrid? Tiene amigos españoles, paisanos, o de ambos grupos? ¿Dónde los ha conocido? ¿Cuanto tiempo pasa con ellos y a que lo dedican? ¿Se mantiene

informado acerca de lo que está sucediendo en Madrid, en España?  
¿Qué opina? ¿Lee alguna vez periódicos españoles? ¿Escucha la radio española? ¿Ve la televisión española? ¿Cuáles son las principales dificultades que afronta? ¿Ha tenido que recurrir a estructuras públicas o privadas por alguna razón? ¿Podría decirme de qué problema se trataba?

8) *¿Puede hacer una comparación entre su vida en España y en el Perú?*

a. ¿Cómo evalúa ahora su situación antes de partir? ¿Esta opinión ha cambiado con el tiempo? Y ¿qué es lo que piensa de España, y de Madrid? ¿Ha cambiado con el tiempo la actitud de los españoles/madrileños hacia usted? ¿Usted piensa que el estilo de vida de los españoles es diferente del de los peruanos, en qué aspectos? ¿Qué es lo que sabía, antes de salir, de como vivían los extranjeros en España? ¿Qué encontró de nuevo/diferente?

9) *Ciudadanía/Nacionalidad: ¿Quiere naturalizarse? ¿Se ha naturalizado ya?*

a. ¿Por qué razón?, ¿Qué dificultades va a encontrar o ha encontrado durante el proceso de naturalización? ¿Cómo cambiará (o ha cambiado) su vida después de la naturalización (que derechos y deberes)? ¿Cree que tiene los mismos derechos y deberes que tienen los ciudadanos peruanos en el Perú?, o ¿piensa que hay diferencias entre los dos países? ¿Cómo cree que cambiaría (o ha cambiado) su vida con un pasaporte español/europeo? ¿Se siente peruano, español, las dos cosas / o ninguna? (en qué sentido, de qué forma, etc.) ¿Que piensan los peruanos que han permanecido en el Perú de los que adquieran otra nacionalidad? ¿Y el gobierno peruano? En general, ¿cree que es positivo o negativo que los que emigran puedan tener múltiples ciudadanía? ¿Para quién?

10) *¿Cómo ve su futuro? ¿Usted tiene algo planeado?*

a. ¿Cómo ve su futuro, qué proyectos tiene? ¿Volverá a Perú o permanecerá en España? ¿Por qué? ¿Piensa en ir a otro país europeo? ¿Por qué? ¿Dónde le gustaría pasar su jubilación? ¿Han cambiado con el tiempo sus ideas sobre el futuro? ¿Y sobre el trabajo?

11) *¿Asiste a cursos de formación profesional o de reciclaje? ¿Cursos de idiomas? Cuando? Por qué?*