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RESEARCH HANDBOOK ON
Intersectionality

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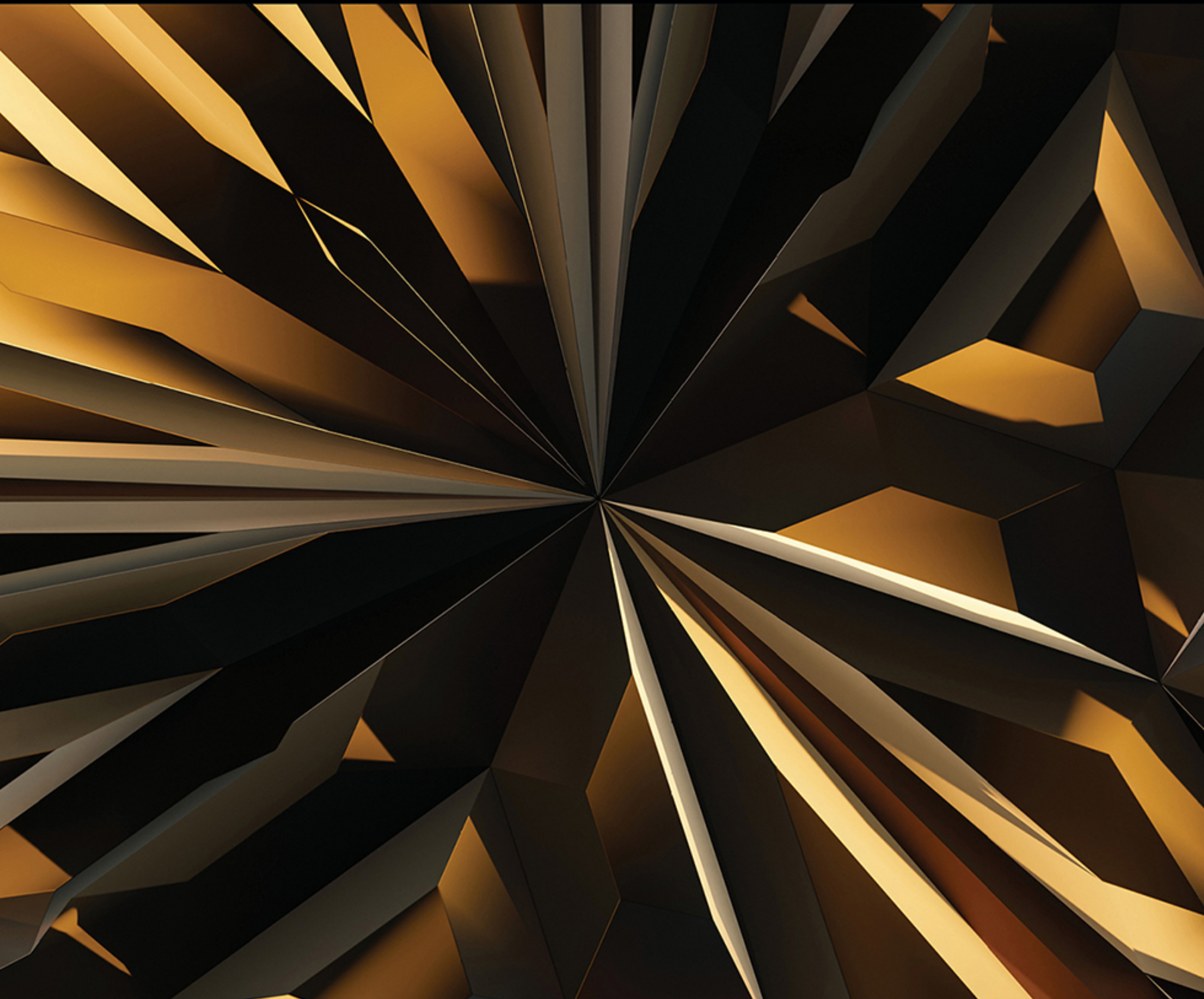
Edited by
Mary Romero



RESEARCH HANDBOOKS IN SOCIOLOGY

Research Handbook on Intersectionality

Edited by

Mary Romero

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RESEARCH HANDBOOKS IN SOCIOLOGY

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Daniela Cherubini

FRAMING "LIVED CITIZENSHIP" IN INTERSECTIONAL TERMS

Since the late 1990s, an interest in lived, embodied and subjective experiences made its way into citizenship studies. The notion of "lived citizenship" was proposed (Lister et al. 2003) to signal this new research direction. This concept overcomes the normative idea of citizenship as coinciding with a formal status and static set of rights and opens to an exploration of meanings that people attribute to being citizens (or non-citizens), their experience of access to or exclusion from rights, and the practices used to demand recognition as citizens. In other words, it refers to "how individuals understand and negotiate the three key elements of citizenship: rights, belonging, and participation" (Lister et al. 2007, 168). Against the idea of citizenship as an abstract and neutral device, this perspective focuses on concrete subjects, contexts, and power relations, to understand "the ways in which people's social and cultural backgrounds and material circumstances affect their lives as citizens" (Hall and Williamson 1999, 2).

The focus on lived citizenship is part of a broader micro-sociological and cultural turn in the academic debate on citizenship, which renewed a research agenda focused on normative dimensions and extended the analysis to multiple aspects of everyday life (Kallio et al. 2020; Ong et al. 1996; Rosaldo 1994). It is rooted in feminist, anti-racist and difference-centred approaches that expanded the notion of citizenship to include the perspectives of women and other disadvantaged groups (Carey 2009; Collins 2000; Lister 1997; Moosa-Mitha 2005; Pateman 1988; Roseneil 2013; Werbner and Yuval-Davis 1999). These critical reconceptualizations draw on the experience of subjects who are far from the "ideal citizen", the latter tending to be defined as male, adult, white, heterosexual/procreative, cisgender, worker/consumer, physically and mentally able, native-born, secular, or Christian, as we will see. For this reason, these subjects hold marginal or outsiders' positions in the structure of rights and privileges that comes with membership to the community of citizens.

In tune with these conceptual roots, the lived citizenship perspective allows us to see how citizenship is experienced and negotiated, but also reclaimed or contested, by disenfranchised people located at the margins of a social and political community. It focuses on the redefinitions of citizenship emerging from "below" and from the "margins" (Caldwell et al. 2009; Cook and Seglow 2016; Dobrowolsky and Tastsoglou 2006; Kabeer 2005; Moosa-Mitha and Dominelli 2016; Neveu et al. 2011; Stasiulis and Bakan 2005; Warming and Fahnøe 2017). Moreover, it sees citizenship as a governmental mechanism that categorizes subjects according to normative notions of belonging; but also as a space of struggle which involves those who lack the legal and symbolic recognition of belonging to the community and who do not have full rights. In other words, the idea of lived citizenship can be explored as both a disciplinary and emancipatory tool, testing the possibilities of building a more "inclusive" citizenship[2] (Kabeer 2005; Lister 2007).

In this chapter, I show that lived citizenship is key to the study of the current processes of inclusion, exclusion, and transformation of citizenship in plural societies. I contend that, when

framed in intersectional terms, the lived citizenship perspective allows us to recognize that "the specific location of people in society – their group membership and categorical definition by gender, nationality, religion, ethnicity, 'race', ability, age or life cycle stage – mediates the construction of their citizenship as 'different' and thus determines their access to entitlements and their capacity to exercise independent agency" (Werbner and Yuval-Davis 1999, 5). In addition, an intersectional understanding of lived citizenship centres the experiences of inclusion and exclusion, and the agency and transformative potential of people located at the margins and/or at neglected points of intersection between multiple axes of social division.

To show the utility of this approach, in the first part of the chapter I reconstruct how critical studies advancing a lived, difference-centred, and intersectional perspective have reconceptualized the three key elements that constitute citizenship, namely, rights, belonging, and participation. In the second part, drawing from my research work, I discuss an ethnographic study of migrant women promoting their own grassroots associations in a Southern European context, and their lived experience and practice of citizenship. In the conclusion, I go back to the central questions of the book and share some methodological thoughts, lessons learnt and open challenges, arising from the application of intersectional lenses in this research field. I reflect on how the situated intersectional approach and the ethnographic gaze adopted in my case study help to: (a) capture the macro, meso, and micro levels of analysis involved in the study of lived citizenship, (b) grasp the contextual and emergent character of the intersecting identities and social divisions around which the contestations of citizenship are articulated, and (c) acknowledge the (re)making of citizenship on the ground by multiply-marginalized subjects.

HIERARCHIES OF STATUSES AND DIFFERENTIATED RIGHTS

Citizenship defines rights, duties, and legal statuses. Regarding this first dimension, the critical approaches under analysis in this chapter emphasize the processes of inclusion and exclusion lived by people with different positions in society. Instead of looking at the "community of the citizens" as an internally homogeneous field, these approaches bring to light the structure of stratified rights and unequal opportunities which emerges in the space between full citizenship and non-citizenship. In this space, people may find themselves located at different positions, according to their legal status (formal citizenship, type of residence permit if foreign citizens, illegal stay) as well as their social identity and background (age, gender, social class, education, cultural capital, ethnicity, race, ability, family situation, and so on). As such, they may experience different gradations of "second-class" citizenship, for instance, if they lack the resources to exercise the rights they are formally entitled to, or if they have a reduced set of rights, compared to those enjoyed by other (full) citizens. Some may suffer severe forms of exclusion, with no recognition or enjoyment of basic rights, when they find themselves in a condition of "non-person" (Dal Lago 1999).

Different authors have proposed the term "civic stratification" to describe this layered structure (Kofman 2002; Lockwood 1996; Morris 2002), which is shaped by three interrelated processes: "civic inclusion/exclusion" (the differential granting of rights by the State), "civic gain/deficit" (informal mechanisms hindering or enhancing the enjoyment of rights), and "civic expansion/reduction" (changes in rights regimes resulting from the recognition/withdrawal of new rights and new categories of citizens) (Lockwood 1996, 536–46; Morris 2002, 7).

Migration policies certainly constitute a preferred field of application for the concept. A growing literature shows how these policies create different legal categories for international migrants, and while they expand the rights granted to some (qualified workers, long-term residents, European Union (EU) citizens, and so on), they also restrict the rights of others (asylum seekers, unqualified workers, sex workers), who often enter precarious and illegal stay. In doing so, these policies actively produce internal borders and act as mechanisms of differential inclusion (Bauböck 2006; Ong 1999).

Yet despite their relevance in contemporary societies, migration policies are not the only factor at play, nor do they operate alone. In fact, current research advances an intersectional understanding of civic stratification and shows that migration regimes interact with other systems of social and political regulation, such as the nationality model, the welfare and labour regime, the gender and care regime, and the racial and sexual politics that characterize each context. For instance, the partial citizenship of migrant women (Dobrowolsky and Tastsoglou 2006; Lister et al. 2007; Spijkerboer and Walsum 2007; Staiano 2016) and of migrant domestic workers (Bosniak 2006a; Luppi et al. 2018; Parreñas 2013; Romero 2002; Stasiulis and Bakan 2005) has been pointed out by several scholars as resulting from the interplay of migration, labour, care, and gender regimes operating at transnational, national, and local levels. More broadly, according to this intersectional view, gender, nationality, origin, race, ethnicity, religion, sexuality, age, social class, and education have proven to be significant factors of stratification in immigration policies, including those regulating entry and employment (Anderson 2013; Kofman 2002), family migration and reunification (Kofman 2018; Kraler and Bonizzoni 2010), asylum (Danisi et al. 2021; Giametta 2017), naturalization (Fortier 2021), sex work and trafficking (Mai et al. 2021), access to social rights (Amelina et al. 2019), and law enforcement and deportation (Romero 2008).

In my view, this literature should be brought into dialogue with the large body of studies showing how civic exclusion, civic deficit, and civic reduction also mould the experience of several other subjects – beyond international migrants – limiting their access to the range of rights enjoyed by most "fully-fledged" citizens. Among them, women, ethnic and sexual minorities, racialized people, the working class and those in poverty, the disabled, dependent people, children, and underage citizens. For instance, feminist citizenship studies have pointed out women's historical exclusion from civil, political, and social rights, as well as their imperfect citizenship status today, due both to formal and informal (but systemic) mechanisms of exclusion (Lewis 1998; Lister 1997; Lister et al. 2007). Another example comes from the literature on sexual, reproductive, and intimate citizenship, which has shown how people who do not meet dominant norms of gender identity and sexuality often hold second-class citizenship. These may include, among others, people living outside conventional family forms, transgender or non-binary people, sex workers, and single or non-heterosexual people wishing to access medically assisted reproduction (Hanafin 2013; Roseneil 2013; Roseneil et al. 2020; Sabsay 2011). Lastly, recent critical interventions in migration studies look at the connections between the experience of inclusion/exclusion of both migrants and non-migrants, address the "migrant-citizen nexus" and invite academics to "de-migrantise migrants" and "migrantise citizens" (Dahinden and Anderson 2021).

Coupling the insights from these multiple strands of scholarship, in my view an intersectional and lived citizenship focus enables us to see how the structural framework is reflected in people's everyday lives and gives body to different experiences of inclusion and exclusion

in multiple domains, including those conventionally considered to be "private" matters (e.g., family, and intimate life).

BELONGING AS A TERRAIN OF POLITICS

Citizenship is also a matter of identity, belonging, and affection, related to feeling attached and recognized as part of a community[3] (Fortier 2010; Isin and Wood 1999). Lived and intersectional approaches in this field start from this widely shared premise and look at belonging as a terrain of power, negotiation, and conflict. They focus on how the definitions regulating the symbolic borders of the community apply to different categories of subjects, on the one hand, and how they are adopted, contested, or rejected by these subjects, on the other hand. They point out how different definitions of belonging (having different normative force) are confronted in our societies, through bottom-up and top-down processes, creating and recreating the frontiers between citizens and non-citizens, insiders, and outsiders. In this regard, Nira Yuval-Davis and colleagues (2006) highlight the importance of the "politics of belonging", meaning those dynamic processes of self-identification and Othering which are oriented towards maintaining or redrawing the frontiers between "us" and "them" in a political community. The politics of belonging entail two processes, one related to the definition and reproduction of these frontiers by hegemonic powers, and another produced by its adoption or resistance on behalf of other political agents, including social movements and ordinary people. They not only take shape in public policies, laws, and administrative procedures but also in everyday interactions, as well as in discourses and cultural artefacts where shared meanings of "Us" and "the Other(s)" are created and circulated. The politics of belonging should be viewed as spatially, temporally, and intersectionally situated (Yuval-Davis et al. 2006). They are constructed in specific ways – and lead to different political projects of belonging – according to the historical and social contexts, and in relation to a range of social divisions and identities.

Research in this field follows a twofold agenda. On the one hand, interventions focus on the normative definitions setting the boundaries of the political community (the nation and beyond) and constructing the figure of the "ideal citizen" as a standard that delineates who is and is not worthy of inclusion. On the other hand, research casts light on how people reproduce, adapt, or contest these definitions both in their everyday actions and discourse.

In the first research direction, a long tradition of critical thought has focused on the construction of the "citizen" as an ideal figure that is modelled on a privileged social position, despite being perceived as neutral and universal. The moral, intellectual, and bodily characteristics that are implicitly associated with this "upstanding" and "archetypal" citizen (such as autonomy, impartiality, rationality) coincide with those traditionally attributed to the ideal figure of an adult, able-bodied, cisgender male, belonging to the dominant ethnic or racial group, heterosexual and involved in productive work (in addition to consumption and leisure) (Lister 1997; Moosa-Mitha 2005; Pateman 1988). The literature has also reflected on the racialized, gendered, and sexual borders of the nation and other communities of belonging (Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1992; Luibhéid 2002; Mongia 1999). As summarized by Rutvica Andrijasevic (2009), this literature shows that alongside boundaries drawn on essentialized notions of descent, culture, ethnicity, and race, "sexuality and gender play a constitutive role in the formation and definition of the nation insofar as the reproduction of nationhood and citizenship remain premised on heterosexuality and heteromasculinity. These denote certain bodies as

desirable, and others racialized or non-procreative …, as being a threat to nation's survival" (Andrijasevic 2009, 390). These types of criteria underlie the negotiations of belonging with which all people must reckon, yet this is especially the case for those who do not immediately match the image of the ideal citizen. These criteria are also at work in policies regulating international migration and access to nationality, setting benchmarks of acceptability for migrants as new citizens, and creating categories of desirable and undesirable migrants (Anderson 2013; Bosniak 2006b). As seen in the previous section, far from remaining confined to the realm of the symbolic and to interpersonal (mis)recognition dynamics, these categories have concrete effects in terms of status, rights entitlements, and structural position. In addition, research on homonationalism and femonationalism (Farris 2017; Puar 2007) demonstrates that such sexualized, racialized, and classed figurations of (un)belonging and (un)deservedness can come through as much from conservative policies in the field of gender and sexual equality, as from seemingly progressive ones.

The second direction of analysis focuses on the counter-narratives of belonging mobilized by marginalized subjects to contest the symbolic exclusion – or partial and subordinated inclusion – they experience. Through narrative and ethnographic methods, these studies show how such subjects tactically or strategically negotiate hegemonic narratives that entrench their non-membership and formulate alternative scripts of belonging (Coll 2005; Erel 2009; Miri et al. 2020; Salih 2000). Equally relevant, especially in more recent literature, is the focus on "everyday bordering" (Yuval-Davis et al. 2019), meaning the ordinary and pervasive (re) making of the symbolic, social, and spatial frontiers dividing community insiders and outsiders, which takes place in spaces of everyday life. For instance, in the workplace, at school, in the family, in the urban environment, on public transport and in everyday interactions mediating access to basic goods and services (banking, accommodation, health, mobility, leisure) (Agergaard and Lenneis 2021; Blackwood et al. 2015; Diatlova and Näre 2018). According to these authors, everyday bordering involves people with different locations and social roles, and multiple points of view. As such, they should be analysed through a "situated and intersectional" gaze (Yuval-Davis et al. 2019).

PARTICIPATION FROM THE MARGINS

The third dimension deserving attention is that of active participation. The lived perspective is of course interested in the performative aspects of citizenship and centres the research agenda on the practices through which people enact their rights, renew their bonds with the political community, express their sense of being a citizen or seek recognition as such. These include both coded routines (e.g., voting, paying taxes) and dissident practices that break with established norms and roles assigned to citizens. The latter potentially opens new ways of enacting citizenship and generates novel political subjectivities requiring recognition as "citizens". In this regard, Engin Isin (2008, 18) speaks of "acts of citizenship", defined as "the moments when, regardless of status and substance, subjects constitute themselves as citizens – or, better still, as those to whom the right to have rights is due".

The focus on and from the margins characterizes the lived citizenship approach and leads us to take as a privileged point of analysis those practices that come from "non-citizens" and "second-class citizens". This line of analysis includes research on the demands for inclusion by people in conditions of economic and cultural marginality, such as the poor, racialized

minorities, disabled people (Kabeer 2005; Pontrandolfo 2018; Warming and Fahnøe 2017), or in liminal positions, such as young people and children (Lister et al. 2003; Smith et al. 2005). Equally extensive is the research on migrant participation, including those lacking legal residence status (Koopmans et al. 2005; Martiniello 2006; Suárez-Navaz et al. 2007), and on requests for rights and recognition made by migrant women (Andall 2000; Chun et al. 2013; Tudela-Vázquez 2016). Overall, this literature confirms that while many of the classic channels for exercising active citizenship are difficult or inaccessible to people in conditions of socio-economic, cultural, or legal precarity, these people often elaborate alternative means of participation, which may be understood as forms of "citizenship from below".

Indeed, opportunities and barriers to participation are not equally distributed in society, between genders, generations, social classes, and so on. Many forms of civic-political participation (e.g., party politics, informed and conscious voting, collective organizing, demonstrations) are excessively demanding or inaccessible to some people or social groups, who lack key resources such as time, social and cultural capital, or have different abilities and dispositions. It is not only a matter of resources. Feminist and difference-centred analysis have shown that normative models of citizenship define the duties of an active citizen not only according to the political tradition of each context (e.g., civic republicanism, liberalism) but also in relation to the ideal figure of the "good citizen" described in the previous section. For subjects who deviate from this "ideal citizen", active participation is channelled towards a limited range of possibilities for legitimately taking the public stage and contributing to the "public good".

The intersectional and lived approaches do not limit themselves to these critical issues, but also bring into focus the question of visibility and recognition of participation practices by multiply-marginalized people. Frequently taking place outside legitimate spaces and forms of the "political", in fact these practices often have little (or no) visibility and fail to be recognized for their political purpose and value. Again, this tendency has been widely described in the case of women's participation, which even in its collective and organized forms has been systematically undervalued throughout history. Women's experiences of empowerment, voicing, and organizing have often been downgraded as having little value and impact, as if they were second-rate forms of participation for being associated either with the private sphere (and therefore, by definition, "apolitical"), or "pre-political" interests and forms of solidarity. These forms have been excluded from the realm of what counts as "active citizenship" (Lister 1997; Naples 1998; Rowbotham 1992). Misrecognition and misrepresentation in the political field are even more pervasive for racialized and migrant women, who are often depicted as incapable of political action, and whose ways of enacting and seeking rights are not read as (sufficiently) political. A large tradition of critical thought, from Black and Chicana, to Third World and postcolonial feminisms, shows that their specific needs and interests as well as their intersectional identities frequently fail to be acknowledged in the political sphere (Collins 2000; Crenshaw 1991; Kóczé et al. 2018; Moraga and Anzaldua 1983). Pivotal to an intersectional and lived perspective is the ability to grasp the ways marginalized subjects engage politically and the innovative, transformative forms of engagement that are acted out from below.

MIGRANT WOMEN'S LIVED CITIZENSHIP: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC ACCOUNT

In this second part of the chapter, I present a research example that is in dialogue with the body of scholarship explored thus far, incorporating many of its questions and research directions. In detail, I share some empirical and methodological insights from an ethnographic study on migrant women's collective organizing (Cherubini 2018), which I believe can be useful to the core question under analysis in these pages: that is, how to do intersectional research on lived citizenship.

The fieldwork was carried out in Andalusia, Spain, and was based on document analysis, participant observation, and narrative interviews with 40 activists from 27 associations, located in different towns and cities in the region. These are grassroots groups led by and mostly composed of migrant women, either from the same or from different geographical origins (e.g., Latinas' associations, Moroccan women's associations, intercultural associations, and so on). Created since the mid-1990s, these associations fight to defend and expand migrants' and migrant women's rights, countering multiple discrimination and securing migrant women a better position in society. To this end, they develop community-based services aimed at their members and the local population, campaigns for legal reforms, awareness-raising and lobbying activities.[4] Interviewees had heterogeneous profiles. They came from new EU-27 and non-European contexts (Romania, Morocco, Ukraine, Equatorial Guinea, Nigeria, and Latin American countries). Aged between 23 and 61 years at the time of the interview, they held different legal statuses (temporary or permanent residency, Spanish, or dual nationality, undocumented in a few cases) and had been living in Spain between two to 25 years. Most had a medium to high level of education, and some were pursuing their graduate or postgraduate degrees in Spain. Most of the interviewees were employed as domestic and care workers or cultural mediators or engaged in full-time unpaid family work. Some of them were in other service jobs (call centre shops, hostelry), while a small minority of cases were professionals in the education, banking, and media sectors.

The study explored the lived experience and practice of citizenship and the politics of belonging enacted by these activists, both in their associations and in their life and migration trajectories. I first looked at the experiences of inclusion and exclusion from rights and recognition lived by these women in various spheres of life. Second, I explored their formulations of belonging and their self-representations as citizens, non-citizens, or partial citizens vis-à-vis Spanish society and the local community. Lastly, I looked at the participatory practices and collective demands being elaborated in their associations.

In the next section, I present some of the main findings related to these three analytical dimensions. Before doing so, I would like to mention my positioning vis-à-vis the research topic and the fieldwork. As a native-born, white, childless Southern European woman, holding an Italian passport, enrolled in a public university as a PhD student and living off my grant at the time of the study, I held the entire array of formal rights that come with European citizenship, I had no major economic concerns and I was not racially targeted. I approached the field as a young researcher, and as an ally. I was interested in the study of citizenship and intersectional inequalities, and I was in solidarity with migrant women's struggles for rights, respect, reforms in immigration laws and against the interlocking systems of racism, sexism, nationalism, and classism. These intertwined forces produced forms of oppression that did not coincide with what I lived firsthand, but that I cared about as a feminist. I saw my choice of

research topic, and my relationship with those involved in the study, as a compelling opportunity to create new awareness about mechanisms of social injustice at play in migration laws, in the institutional regulation of work and welfare, as well as in everyday social interactions, which are building an increasingly stratified and unequal Europe (Lutz 1997; Rigo 2007).

Mapping Experiences of Subordinated Inclusion

To contextualize the women's accounts of inclusion and exclusion, let us examine the main elements of the civic stratification systems in Spain, and Andalusia in particular, at the time of the study.

Among the most noteworthy characteristics is a frame of institutional discrimination (Cachón Rodríguez 2009), which results from the interplay of restrictive and selective immigration laws, a labour regime segmented by gender and nationality, and a familistic welfare and care regime (Bettio et al. 2006; Solé and Parella 2003). This is compounded by widespread mechanisms of discrimination at the informal level, related to forms of everyday racism, sexism, and classism.

Immigration policies in effect at the time of the fieldwork regulated (and still regulate) entry, residency, and access to rights, directly by country of origin and indirectly by class, gender, and sexuality (Agrela Romero and Gil Araujo 2005; Lister et al. 2007, 77–108). Other key elements relate to a labour market characterized by high rates of unemployment, irregular work, and gender and ethnic segregation, and to a care regime marked by an imbalance in the distribution of responsibilities between genders, generations, socio-economic layers, and nationalities. The interplay between these structural forces results in high demand for a flexible labour force in the care and domestic sector, which restricts professional options for migrant women. Notably, the laws regulating domestic work at the time of the fieldwork[5] restricted labour rights, in comparison with those accorded to other workers. This affected the partial citizenship status of many of the women in the sample.

How do the women involved in the study cope with the setting described so far? How does such a normative and structural framework impact on their lives? Analysis of the narratives allowed us to map the most salient issues from the subjective experience of inclusion or exclusion of rights at the time of the interviews, as well as throughout their life stories. Notably, these issues involve many spheres of everyday life commonly associated with discourses of citizenship (management of residency documents and passports, participation in the public sphere and the labour market, mobility and use of urban space, access to public services), and others regarded as private matters in the common sense (family and relational life, intimate choices, emotions, and the sense of self). The mechanisms of civic inclusion/exclusion and gain/deficit reported vary according to the interviewees' profiles, due to the combination of migration status, country of origin, length of stay, age and phase of life, family and professional situation, education, race, ethnicity, and religion. These elements cast women in different, yet dynamic, positions in the structure of civic stratification, and have differentiated impacts on their life trajectories and their ability to act and pursue their plans.

It is not possible in this chapter to illustrate these processes in detail. Nevertheless, I point to two fundamental issues which cut across many of the interviewees' narratives and may be specific to the migrant women's lived experience of citizenship.

The first one concerns the constraints of "*los papeles*" (the papers), which regulate the entry and residency of foreigners in Spain, as they strive to acquire and maintain regular immigra-

tion status, possibly obtain a permanent residency permit providing more rights and guarantees, and in some cases get formal Spanish citizenship. This introduces different degrees of dependence on state authorization in the lives of these women (at least, until they are naturalized) depending on the type of residence permit they have. This constraint has a pervasive impact on the interviewees' ability to make plans, accomplish their personal and professional goals, and make choices in numerous areas of life. In a nutshell, this issue raises questions of freedom, personal autonomy, and self-determination, which do not have an equivalency in the experiences of women who are citizens by birth.

In addition, the emotional dimension to the handling of "the documents" should not be overlooked since it appears to be pivotal in the narratives. The "journey" across immigration statuses is punctuated by feelings of fear, anxiety, uncertainty, insecurity, anguish, anger, pain, loss, relief, and serenity. These feelings depend to a large extent on the permanent or reversible nature of the permit and the corresponding rights, the degree of attaining future regular residence, and arbitrariness and pervasiveness of policing (illegalized) migrant people.

The second transversal issue which emerged from the interviews is the gap between "real" and "superficial" inclusion. The former – desired but unattained – condition implies access to equal opportunities (not only to equal rights) and being treated as equal partners of social interaction, as envisaged by Nancy Fraser (2005). The latter refers to a condition experienced in the present and past by most of the interviewees, which results from informal and less visible barriers that "at the moment of truth, stop us from getting ahead in life"[6] and confine them to predetermined and subordinate roles in society. Here the problems lie in the mechanisms of discrimination that women commonly face in the labour market, in everyday encounters, and at times in civil society organizations, even when they have relatively privileged formal status as long-term, permanent residents, EU citizens, or Spanish citizens.

Counter-narratives and Grassroots Politics of Belonging

The analyses of migration, welfare, and labour policies discussed in the previous section, in parallel with studies on media representations of migrant people in the context of the study, converge to paint a picture of national identity that is drawn around ethno-cultural, religious, and economic boundaries. They highlight hegemonic definitions of belonging that are built around a white, European, Catholic and/or secular "us", opposed to "them", associated with the non-European and non-Western "underdeveloped" world, the colonized "Other" and, often, with Islam. Within this framework, migration is managed as an issue of the security and integrity of the nation. Thus newcomers, as well as settled migrants, are perceived as more or less "integrable" depending on their usefulness in labour, economic, and social terms, to the extent that they enter essential but low-paid jobs (domestic work being the key example), and according to the perception of their cultural, ethnic, and religious affinity. During field research, a parallel principle of active participation of migrants begun to appear at a rhetorical level.[7] This shift in discourse nevertheless had limited effects on the public in the years covered by the study and appears to be ambivalent in the case of migrant women. Once ignored, they are increasingly being addressed in national and local integration policies; however, greater visibility is related to stereotyped representations (Gregorio Gil 2011). Migrant women are depicted as subjects who are over-determined by their "culture of origin" and at the same time, as caring subjects, well versed for mediation and social work. As a result, they tend to be included in the political field only if they embody certain subject positions, either as vulnera-

ble subjects and recipients of social provisions, or as "mediators by nature" and facilitators of immigrants' integration processes.[8]

Interesting observations emerge from the ethnography about how migrant women activists respond to these dominant definitions of belonging, both individually (in their self-presentation and identity) and collectively (in the discourse produced by the women's groups). The core element of the politics of belonging enacted by research participants relies on simple yet radical demands. They ask to be acknowledged as part of the society in which they live, to be appraised as having as much worth and deserving as much respect as the "native-born" population, and lastly, to be recognized as political subjects. They have something to say and do in collective decisions about how we live together in society.

Notably, in departing from the dominant nationalist, culturalist, and sexist rhetoric described above, these demands mobilize alternative understandings of belonging. This does not mean that signifiers of national, cultural, and religious identities are discarded but rather are reworked in original ways. For example, self-definitions referred to as "hyphenated identities" are very common (Moroccan-Spanish, Spanish-Romanian, and the like) as well as terms which refer to transnational and diasporic identities ("a Romanian intellectual of the diaspora"[9]) and purposive assemblages of affiliations that are widely perceived as irreconcilable ("a Spanish Muslim citizen"[10]). Overall, they resort to creative reassemblages that erode the "us/them" essentialist dichotomy and pave the way to new citizen identities.

Besides that, one of the main arguments mobilized by women in support of their demands for recognition is their "lived experience", which refers to living in a place, pursuing their lives, daily activities, work, relationships and, sometimes, plans in relation to the neighbourhood, city, and country they inhabit. In other words, the request for recognition is often made based on a rootedness that already exists in the lives of these women ("my life is here now"), and that goes hand in hand with subjective feelings of being at ease and connected to the place where they live ("I feel good here, I feel from here").[11]

Equally important is the logic of merit, as a further element that underpins the women's sense of belonging. The contribution made in the context of residence is understood not only in the economic realm (doing essential jobs, contributing to the economy, paying taxes) but also in the social and political domains. There is a sense of doing one's duty, playing one's role within Spanish or Andalusian society, or the local community. This includes working, studying, taking care of one's family, but also being organizers and playing an active role in civil society. This theme is central in the discourse and politics of belonging enacted collectively by the women's groups. The associations' members often present themselves as competent subjects who successfully managed their own "integration" process and who can help other migrants in this challenge. They often take a role that can be labelled "expert immigrants and mediators", presenting themselves as skilled in cultural mediation and social interventions with female sectors of the immigrant population. In doing so, they rely on the expert knowledge they have in these fields, as well as their gender and migrant identity (variously intersected with nationality, ethnicity, religion, and class) as resources that put them in the position to better understand migrant women's needs and facilitate the reciprocal comprehension between migrant women and other sectors of society.

A last dynamic observed in the processes of negotiating belonging comes from a minority of activists' and grassroots' collectives who explicitly distance themselves from the role of the "expert mediator", and do not want to engage in cultural mediation and service provision for the migrant population. Rather, they carry out cultural and artistic projects (which often escape

a folkloric and ahistorical vision of the "culture of origin") and practices of mutual solidarity among the members. These activists and groups denounce the pressure exerted on migrant women when they organize collectively and enter as active subjects in the public sphere. In fact, migrant women tend to be pushed towards just a few circumscribed areas of action and limited (often subordinate) roles, based on a stereotyped understanding of their capabilities, orientations, and roles in the family and the community, as racialized, ethnic minority women. Although this position concerns a small part of the network of associations included in my study, it nevertheless stands out in highlighting the normative force of the categorical definitions of the "migrant woman" described at the beginning of this section. These groups pose a challenge to the mono-dimensional images of migrant women and the narrow views about their potential contribution to the social and political community.

(Re)making Citizenship in Migrant Women's Collectives

The migrant women's associations in the study demonstrate a process of empowerment and collective organizing of multiply-marginalized subjects confronted by forms of exclusion based on nationalism, sexism, racism, classism, economic exploitation, and state bordering and control. Migrant women organizers confront male and reductionist biases of Spanish integration policies, and state agencies and non-governmental organizations addressing the migrant population. They denounce the marginalization of migrant women's voices, not only in society but also in the political projects that promise to support them (including migrant and pro-migrant organizations). Thus, they create their own self-organized groups to become visible and create solidarity bonds based on common experience and structural location.

The collective identity that emerges in these groups is built around their members' complex positioning as women who are migrants, racialized, working class or professionals who experience descending mobility due to migration, mostly employed in care and domestic work or in other low-paid and precarious jobs. While the nexus between gender and migration, and the specific experiences as "migrant women", are centred by all the associations I met in the fieldwork, other elements of collective identity vary from group to group. Different associations attribute distinct political salience to the social forces that shape the experience of inclusion and exclusion of their founders and participants (among the ones mentioned above, sexism, nationalism, racism, and so on). They emphasize different parts of their lived experience and various identity traits as the basis around which their practice of solidarity and resistance is organized. For instance, national and geographic origin is a relevant aspect that defines the group (e.g., associations of Ukrainian, Latin American, Moroccan women) and is often intertwined with race and religion. In other cases, it is the professional position that combines and complicates the intersection between gender and migrant status, as in the case of associations for female migrant students, or women employed as domestic workers.[12] Lastly, affinity for cultural interests and political orientation also factor in the constitution of the group. As a result, the intersectional collective identity as "migrant women" forged in these associations takes a different nuance in each local context and group.

If we look at the activities and political demands put forward by these associations, we see that they simultaneously address distinct systems of power relations, thus reflecting the intersectional position of their members and the collective identity described so far. They involve multiple domains of intervention (socio-economic, cultural, legal, and political) and envisage both short-term pragmatic interests and long-term ambitious goals. In fact, most of

the associations develop forms of voluntary social work aimed at supporting people in managing the “paperwork” related to residency documents, accessing public services, and dealing with their everyday needs in the context of immigration. They offer legal advice and support with work and training courses, as well as linguistic and cultural mediation. In addition, specific activities address migrant women’s personal well-being and self-determination in the intimate field, such as talks on sexual and reproductive health, childcare, maternal health, education, and family relationships. Through this work, these associations are committed to enlarging the enjoyment of rights and access to key resources that allow a liveable life for their members. A few, larger and long-running associations simultaneously carry out more structured activities, joining working groups which monitor the implementation of local policies on immigration and employment in highly feminized job sectors (domestic work, agricultural seasonal work), or policies against gender-based violence. Another area concerns awareness-raising activities aimed at fostering mutual understanding between Spaniards and migrants, promoting intercultural relations, and fighting ethnocentric and racist prejudice. This is often done through cultural events and artistic projects based on the cultural production of the country of origin, or in a few cases, the diasporic and immigrant community. Beside these specific interventions, other more spontaneous activities bring members together to address their leisure, relational, and affective needs. Lastly, these groups also mobilize for campaigns and demonstrations aimed at reforming migration laws and policies.

In my view, such heterogeneous activities suggest that migrant women’s struggles represent a convergence of what Nancy Fraser (2005) called “politics of recognition”, “distribution”, and “participation”. This means that they combine demands for symbolic recognition as legitimate and valued members of society, with demands for equal access to economic and material resources as well as for parity of participation, access to a political voice and capacity to influence public decisions. Indeed, it is difficult to separate these different strands in the social justice struggles developed by multiply-marginalized groups. As Patricia Hill Collins and Sirma Bilge (2016, 128) point out, “there is a vast literature documenting how disenfranchised groups tackle the issue of social justice on both fronts and view cultural empowerment (race, gender, sexuality) and economic redistribution (class) as inseparable. Out of necessity, women of color integrated their claims for equality, recognition, and redistribution.” This integration shows how citizenship is reinterpreted by the women who mobilize in these associations. For them, as for other disenfranchised subjects, it does not make sense to divide issues of symbolic, material, and legal inclusion/exclusion. From their point of view, inclusive citizenship concerns the three dimensions of social justice identified by Fraser simultaneously, and they should therefore be addressed together.

DOING INTERSECTIONAL RESEARCH ON LIVED CITIZENSHIP: METHODOLOGICAL REFLECTIONS

In this chapter I have engaged with the core question of this book – namely, the directions and methodological challenges of intersectional research – through a focus on lived citizenship. My aim has been to reflect on what an intersectional perspective on lived citizenship might look like, how it can be used for exploring the struggles around inclusion/exclusion lived by disenfranchised and multiply-marginalized subjects, and how it can help grasp the transfor-

mation of citizenship and belonging that arises from these struggles. To this end, I followed a twofold strategy.

First, I traced the academic debate, focusing on interventions that help establish an intersectional research approach to lived citizenship. The long-standing and composite tradition of critical thought that emerges in the research reconceptualizes citizenship as a dynamic, situated, and contested construction, whose boundaries are written and rewritten by insiders and hegemonic powers, as well as by outsiders and those at the margins. Such a critical body of thought also redraws the contours of the key elements constituting citizenship, namely, rights, belonging, and participation. It spotlights people's lived experiences of hierarchical statuses and unequal rights, conceives of belonging as a terrain of contention and, lastly, considers participation to be a performative testing ground of citizenship from the margins.

Second, I presented an empirical example to identify possible ways to study citizenship through intersectional lenses, by starting from and being sure to include on-the-ground experiences and practices of migrant women in the picture. My ethnographic work on migrant women's associations in Spain shows that these subjects live in a condition of partial and subordinated inclusion, which limits their potential for self-determination and their ability to pursue their projects. They nevertheless deploy individual and collective strategies to resist and overcome this condition and assert themselves as equal members of the society, as political agents, and ultimately as deserving to be recognized as new citizens.

From a methodological point of view, I implemented an analytical framework that connects the macro and structural analysis of civic stratification, the meso level of collective action, and the micro-sociological analysis of the individuals' experiences, narratives, and actions. To look at these three levels and their interactions means to observe not only the impact of the structural forces and dominant representations of belonging on the lives of the women involved in the study, but also the ways in which these women exercise agency and cope in the context of individual and collective forms of resistance. As pointed out in previous studies (Lister et al. 2007; Warming and Fahnøe 2017), the lived citizenship perspective does not in fact lead citizenship studies to retreat into individual and subjective aspects alone. Rather, it requires an integration of the macro, meso, and micro levels of analysis to pursue "a more holistic study of citizenship, which combines analysis of citizenship regimes 'from above' with study of the cultural, social, and political practices that constitute lived citizenship 'from below'" (Lister et al. 2007, 168).

In my view, the lived citizenship approach appears in tune with a "situated" vision of intersectionality (Anthias 2013; Yuval-Davis 2015) which, according to these authors, on the methodological level requires us to combine the analysis of the structural and subjective aspects involved in the intersections among multiple axes of power. In this way, "situated intersectionality" allows us to emphasize the contextual and emergent character of the categories around which social inequalities, as well as social and political struggles, are articulated in each context and at different points in time. This focus requires us to give account of how dimensions such as gender, race, class, nationality, immigration status, and so on may be given different meanings and have different power in structuring migrant women's experiences of inclusion and exclusion, and their struggles for enlarging citizenship.

A last methodological reflection regards the use of ethnography, which was strategic in grasping the conceptions of citizenship and belonging that emerged from the associations, as well as from the life trajectories of their members. As also highlighted by other works (Caldwell et al. 2009; Neveu et al. 2011), the ethnographic method entails an emic perspective

on the situated agency of the research subjects which may help in capturing the making of citizenship on the ground. In our case, the ethnographic method aided in understanding the specific experiences of exclusion lived by these women as well as their collective action, both in their own terms, making a point of the resistant and transformative character of these experiences and practices. Notably, it helped to acknowledge grassroots migrant women's collectives, and the life narratives of their members, as sites of production of a salient critical knowledge on the determinants of their marginalization and possible pathways towards their empowerment (Collins 2000). More broadly, these are spaces of critical thinking on, and action against, the dynamics of exclusion from rights, recognition, and belonging that are at play against migrant and racialized women in the Spanish context, as well as in many other contexts in Europe. From this point of view, the focus on lived citizenship through intersectional lenses is therefore not a mere analytical exercise, but also a political one, which may intersect and contribute to diverse feminist social justice projects aimed at redefining citizenship in more inclusive terms.

NOTES

1. I thank the interviewees for sharing their stories and perspectives. I also thank the anonymous reviewers and the book editor for their valuable suggestions.
2. Reformulating citizenship from a feminist, intersectional, and demarginalizing standpoint is the subject of an intense epistemological debate. Scholars have contested the feasibility of talking about an "inclusive" version of an intrinsically exclusionary device. Citizenship always operates through processes of "differential inclusion" (Bauböck 2006; Ong 1999); exclusion and domination are constitutive parts of both its historical development and present history (Bhambra 2015). Thus, while there might be a "more" inclusive citizenship, this inclusion will never be complete(d). Some understand the movements for inclusion of disenfranchised people as assimilationist rather than disruptive (Bhambra 2015), or even as reinforcing "normative violence against abjected others" (Brandzel 2016, x). Other interventions have warned against the limits of using this concept in critical thought (Ansems de Vries et al. 2017): critical studies on migrants' struggles entail the risk of assuming "citizenship as the yardstick for judging the politicality of migrants' practices" (91), as a uniforming language that overwrites other ways of thinking about politics and ends up reproducing the modern and colonial notions they meant to challenge.
3. Current citizenship studies address belonging at multiple scales, including the nation as well as local (e.g., the city), supranational (e.g., the European Union) and "post-national" communities (e.g., transnational and diasporic groups, the global ecumene).
4. During my study (2007–10), Spain was hit by the global financial crisis, the long-term consequences of which impacted and partly modified migrants' collective action in the region. Nevertheless, I believe that the results and methodological observations on migrant women's lived citizenship are still valid and telling today, under the current global pandemic crisis (and its aftermath).
5. Real Decreto 1424/1985. The following law approved in 2011 partly removed discrimination but failed to equate domestic workers' labour rights to those enjoyed in other professional sectors (Marchetti et al. 2021).
6. Esmeralda, from Ecuador, in Spain for 12 years. All names are fictional
7. "Active citizenship" was a key principle of the national immigration plan released in 2007 (PECI Plan Estratégico Ciudadanía e Inmigración 2007/2010).
8. Here I am reporting the public language spread in the field. For a critical reading of the idea of migrants' "integration", see among others Schinkel (2018).
9. Caterina, from Romania, in Spain for six years.
10. Zineb, from Morocco, in Spain for 15 years.
11. Lidia, from Romania, in Spain for 16 years.

12. In the period under analysis, there were no migrant domestic workers' organizations in Andalusia. This kind of movement started to emerge in the region in the following decade (Marchetti et al. 2021). However, awareness of the exploitative conditions of migrant workers employed in the sector is a relevant factor in the creation of many associations included in my study.

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