

THE BINOMIAL OF CITIZENSHIP

A COMPARISON BETWEEN FRANCE AND ITALY, FROM THE RISE OF MASS SOCIETY TO THE MAASTRICHT TREATY 1919-1992

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Carlo DE NUZZO



Carlo is a PhD Candidate in Comparative political sociology at Cevipof-Sciences Po. From the perspective of a comparative analysis of citizenship, he is particularly interested in the institutional structure of law and policy production, and also in the study of the different actors in the public space. Carlo's research interests include: the history of citizenship and neo-fascism.

Formation

2015 - Master in History, *Università degli Studi di Milano*

Publications

2023 - C. De Nuzzo, **Le nationalisme européen de la droite radicale italienne**, In: *Quels Nationalismes au 21ème Siècle?*, Presses Universitaires de Toulouse 1 – Capitole.

2021 - C. De Nuzzo, **Una nuova sovranità europea? L'impero da Kojève a Negri**, In: *Confini, identità e cittadinanza*, Pisa University Press, Pisa.

2020 - C. De Nuzzo, M. Cinalli, C. Santilli, **Changing Fields of Solidarity in France: A Cross-field Analysis of Migration, Unemployment and Disability, Transnational solidarity in times of crises : Citizen organisations and collective learning**, In: *Europe*, Palgrave Macmillan, Cham.

2019 - C. De Nuzzo, **Populisme de droite, style ou doctrine?**, In: *Le Style populiste*, Editions Amsterdam, Paris.

2019 - **The Two Dimensions of the Border** C. De Nuzzo, **An Empirical Study France-Italy**, In: *Migration, Borders and Citizenship - Between Policy and Public Spheres*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke.

2018 - C. De Nuzzo, M. Cinalli, **Solidarity as a Legal and Constitutional Principle in European Countries : France**, In: *Solidarity as a Public Virtue?: Law and Public Policies in the European Union*, Nomos, Baden-Baden.

More information:

<https://sciences-po.academia.edu/CarloDeNuzzo>
Carlo.denuzzo@sciencespo.fr

*Citizenship brings into focus the fundamental political relationship between the individual and his political community, the state. Through the study of citizenship as a relational field, it becomes possible to understand the dynamic processes of constructing different variants of citizenship and to grasp the different dynamics of political integration, both in terms of participation and values (Cinalli, 2017). Citizenship is produced by laws and public policies (**Structure**) and by the Habermasian public sphere : cognitive frameworks, cultural constructions and their variations in time and space (**Discourse**).*

Reconstructing Citizenship

In the 20th century, it is the nation-state model that is the collective body holding sovereignty and the symbolic collector of citizens' political participation.

• National question

Nation cannot be considered as a given of nature, but as artificial construct determined by the incessant mythopoetic production of symbols, by the invention of traditions, by the processes of creating a common imaginary and a horizon of collectively shared memories. It is a process of 'construction' that extends in time and space, in which social and anthropological processes that see the prevalence of some languages over others play a crucial role (Anderson, 1983). These identities can have an enormous pull, depending on how much communities (through public policies and discourses) want to invest in them and on historical moments.

• Social question

The social question, which broke onto the public scene following the economic and social upheaval caused by the Industrial Revolution, focused on two new and dramatic problems: poverty and inequality. Private property now appeared to be the cause of a dramatic division within society, transforming the social order into one that benefited a happy few while condemning the vast majority to poverty and suffering.

Mixed Methodology

- **Analysis of public policies** France and Italy from 1919 to 1992 concerning citizenship acquisition laws and the welfare state.
- **Claims making analysis** (Koopmans and Statham 1999) to reconstruct the debate and discourse of citizenship on newspaper articles.
- **A Comparison between France and Italy** : The Age of Catastrophe, 1914-1945 ; The Golden Age, 1945- 1975 ; The Landslide, 1975-1992 (Hobsbawm 1995).

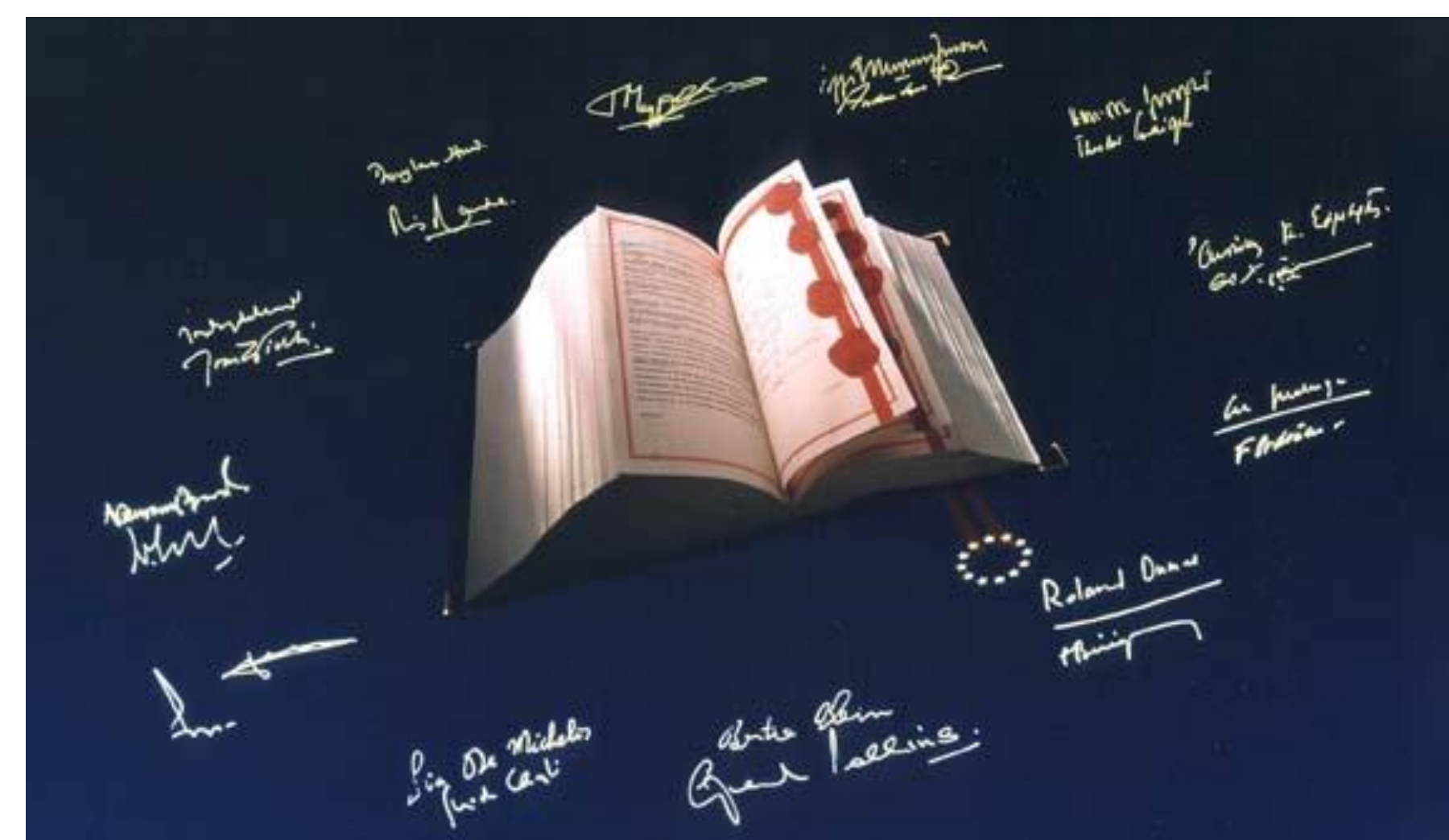


Fig. 1: Maastricht Treaty and the signatures of the 12 foreign and finance ministers of the member states

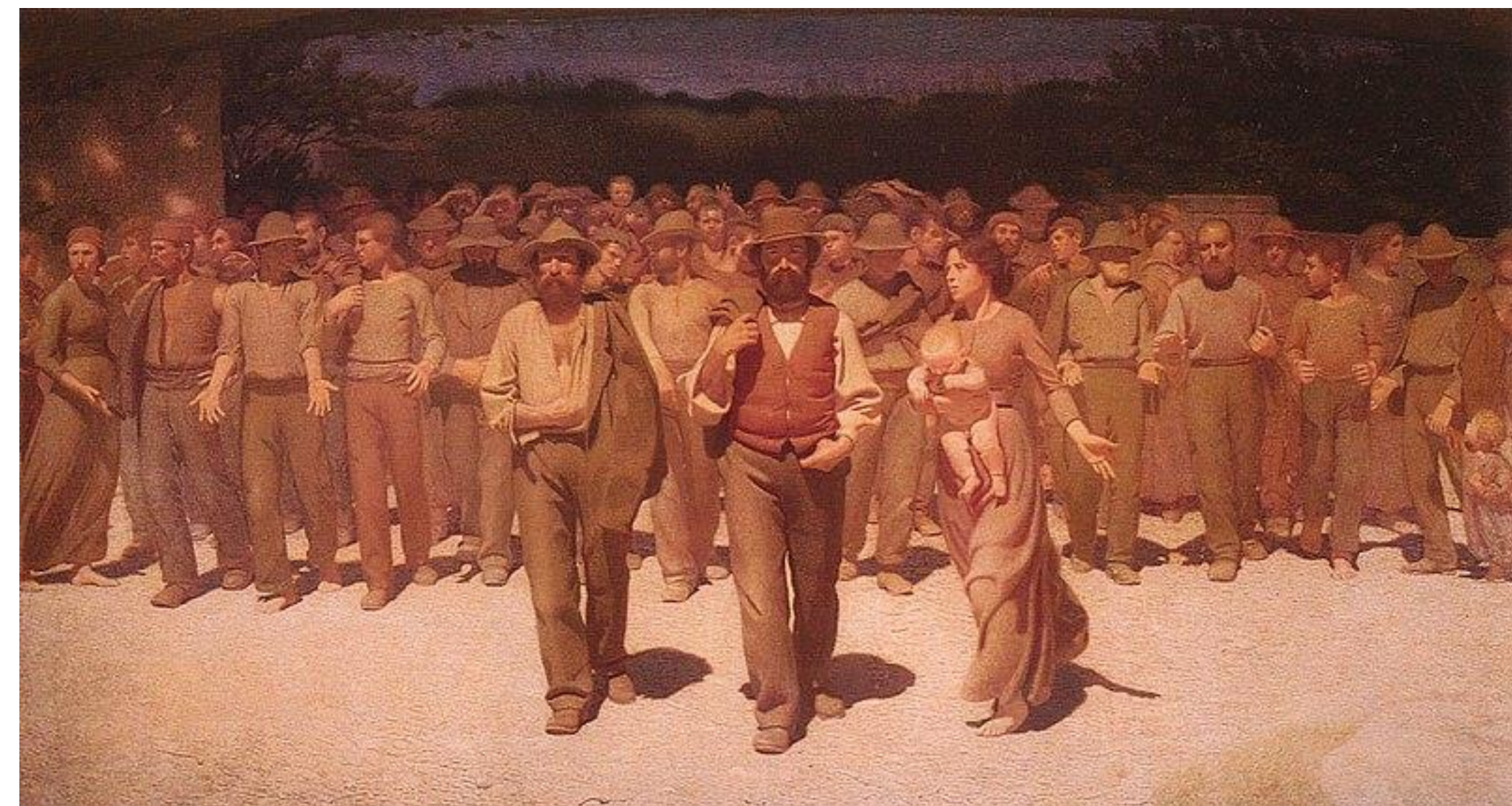


Fig. 2: Il Quarto Stato, Pellizza da Volpedo, Museo del Novecento, Milan

Hypothesis

- **How has a society** (France and Italy from 1919 to 1992) interpreted and **solved the problem of the relationship between the individual and the political-legal order?**
- The scientific literature in the social sciences has mainly focused on the epistemological foundations of citizenship. That is, on who is or is not part of the body of citizens. My focus, however, is different: **what are the ontological realities of citizenship?**



Fig. 3: Scuola di Atene, Raffaello, Musei Vaticani, Rome

Evaluative scope of results

My results hence suggest that regarding the national question (acquisition of citizenship) non-democratic regimes such as fascism invest much more in discourse than in public policy. On the social question (welfare state) it is exactly the opposite. Italian Fascism, in the presence of articulate and complex public policies, corresponds to a deficient narrative.

Regarding the other two periods (The Golden Age, 1945- 1975 and The Landslide, 1975-1992), my findings suggest an opposite reading. The Fourth and Fifth French Republics and the First Italian Republic on the national question (acquisition of citizenship) fail to construct a narrative at the level of the public policies implemented.