



ITALIAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION

Editor-in-Chief: Silvio Scanagatta | ISSN 2035-4983

Bourdieu's Theory and Intersectionality: a New Conceptual Framework to Interpret Transition as Social Change of Youth Mobility. The Case of Young Italians

*Mauro Giardiello**, *Rosa Capobianco***

Author information

* Department of Education, Roma 3 University, Italy. Email: giardiel@uniroma3.it

** Department of Education, Roma 3 University, Italy. Email: rcapobianco@uniroma3.it

Article first published online

July 2021

HOW TO CITE

Giardiello M, Capobianco R. (2021). Bourdieu's Theory and Intersectionality: a New Conceptual Framework to Interpret Transition as Social Change of Youth Mobility. The Case of Young Italians, *Italian Journal of Sociology of Education*, 13(2), 39-64.

DOI: [10.14658/pupj-ijse-2021-2-3](https://doi.org/10.14658/pupj-ijse-2021-2-3)

Bourdieu's Theory and Intersectionality: a New Conceptual Framework to Interpret Transition as Social Change of Youth Mobility. The Case of Young Italians

Mauro Giardiello, Rosa Capobianco

Abstract: The paper is a contribution to the analysis of change processes within the multiple forms of youth transitions in the mobility field. To this end, a new conceptual framework is proposed based on the link between the Bourdieusian approach and that of intersectionality. This approach creates the opportunity to study the intersections between the categories of gender and socio-economic status with the Bourdieusian field, habitus and cultural/feminine capital, showing the dynamism of the intersections, mainly due to dysfunctional asymmetries between categories, which make the change in transition possible. The theoretical proposal was verified through empirical research carried out in London in 2019 which highlights how the change processes outline different transition metaphors (step by step, up and down, stop and go, up and down and then constantly increasing) characterized by non-linear trajectories, which are, however, almost always positive and increasing. The findings are based on an analysis of 51 in-depth narrative interviews with young Italians, aged between 18 to 35, who have been living in London for about 5 years on average.

Keywords: change, transition, mobility, young people, intersectionality

Introduction

In recent years, the paradigm of linear and sequential transition, which characterized previous generations, has been reformulated as it was considered unsuitable for interpreting the changes that take place for new generations within the context of the affirmation of late-modern society (Woodman & Wyn, 2015).

The debate which has developed in the field of youth studies, concerning the revision of the category of transition, has been connected to the changes that have taken place on a global level regarding economic, social and employment transformations and, more generally, the processes of individualization and detraditionalization (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002; Leccardi, 2020).

The interpretative weakness of the linear transition metaphor is manifested, above all, with respect to the crisis of the industrial system, the affirmation of flexible capitalism, social acceleration and an increase in precarity. These processes have led to the crisis of the transition model based on the concept of the biography of choice (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002) which underlies the paradigm of the change in mobility (Sheller & Urry, 2006) and above all of an idea of intra-European mobility characterized by freedom of movement and a denationalized Europe (Favell, 2008, pp. 1-2). In such a structured reality, new generations are committed to building their lives along paths that are no longer linear and progressive but rather characterized by discontinuity or by different trajectories or fragmentations (Cuzzocrea, 2019); therefore, the relationship between mobility and transition is based on ruptures such as “going out, keeping in touch and coming back” (Botterill, 2014) or through a relational process (with the family dynamics or the place) (Cuzzocrea, 2018; Holdsworth, 2013).

In Italy, the economic and financial crisis has not only widened the gap between different generations but even the intra-generational differences between those who are privileged and have more economic, social and cultural resources and those who are less privileged and deprived of tools and resources (Spanò & Domecka, 2020); this situation is exacerbated by the weakness of social investment policies that do not make use of young people's skills (Maestriperi, 2020). This has made the transition path of young people towards adult life increasingly delayed, postponed (Pastore, 2017) and much more difficult than that of their peers from Northern European countries (Eurostat, 2020); they are obliged to develop different forms of skills and capacities to be creative and to invent solutions (Cuzzocrea, Bello & Kazepov, 2020) in order to overcome crisis and uncertainty. Among the various solutions, in response to the crisis, implemented by young Italians, an increase in internal and, above all, intra-European mobility can certainly

be included, which characterizes the new flow of youth mobility (Balduzzi & Rosina, 2016).

As for the places of arrival, Europe records the highest number of Italian citizens (54.1%), while America welcomes 40.3% (Fondazione Migrantes, 2019). In 2019, according to the Italian National Institute of Statistics (ISTAT), the main destination countries were the United Kingdom and Germany, which over the last decade (2009-2018) recorded an increase in entries from 4 thousand to 12 thousand units and from 3 thousand to 11 thousand units, respectively. In particular, these countries have been affected by a flow of neo-mobility of young people which is characterized by a composite and heterogeneous nature since it includes not only highly qualified, specialized young people with a medium-high level of education but also workers and unskilled laborers. Recent research shows that young Italians have 'a culture of immigration' which represents the basis of different motivations for leaving (escaping from the provinces, searching for a more open place...) (Franceschelli, 2020) and an imaginary, especially in the peripheral areas, "which is not home yet but which may later become so" (Cuzzocrea, 2018, p. 119).

Although the problematic nature of the phenomenon emerges from the analysis of the literature, it must nevertheless be recognized that mobility, and its various forms, is a significant component of the life paths of young people and young adults and represents a fundamental journey during which they experience different transitional processes towards independence (Robertson, Harris & Baldassar, 2018).

According to this viewpoint, young people are placed at the center of global experiences that are supported by institutional arrangements (national and supranational), by normative systems (Farrugia, 2018; King, 2017) and by a vision of a subject that assigns a new field of "identification" for young people (Dolby & Rizvi, 2008, p. 1).

This has led to a conceptualization of mobility as one of the most important stages in the life cycle of young people since it offers not only educational and lifestyle experiences that allow for the acquisition of skills, knowledge and resources suitable for self orienting in a global context, through the internationalization of the education market, but it also promotes and supports the transition from training to work.

Recent research has also shown a much more complex reality with respect to the idea of mobility, highlighting how the transition processes of young people experiencing mobility are achieved both through instrumental reasons (the transition from training to work, from economic dependence to independence) and how they are related to the need to be aware of new realities, to improve one's cognitive knowledge and to have self-realization experiences and so on (Cairns, 2014; Caneva 2016; Franceschelli, 2020).

The studies carried out on this topic show how realization and experimentation of transition processes in the field of mobility are related to different levels of privilege and to the advantages of class. In these analyses, the limit of mobility is well documented: despite being one of the most important fields, it underestimates the global economic structure (de-standardization and precarity) and the weight of class belonging, the socioeconomic status of the family, and gender and ethnicity in shaping a successful or unsuccessful transition (Allen & Hollingsworth, 2013; Giardiello & Capobianco, 2021; Tomei et al., 2018).

Although there are numerous studies on mobility and on the issue of transition and its problematic nature, the dimension of change as a systematic aspect of transition is still relatively unexplored.

Some particularly interesting studies have highlighted how intra-European and transnational mobility represents a field in which considerable changes can occur regarding self-understanding and transformation of cultural models (Antonsich, 2010), reworking the sense of belonging to one's own culture, producing processes of negotiation and/or creation of new identities (Goulahsen, 2017; Kennedy, 2008; King et. al., 2016).

Literature on this topic, despite having inserted the change dynamic into the field of mobility, has mainly interpreted change by separating it from the dimensions of the transition and, above all, by not developing an analysis that takes into account the relationships and the interdependent relationships between the context in which the subject is placed (situated) and the experience of young people in transition in the field of mobility. Only more recently the theme of change has been interpreted as an aspect which is connected to persistence and/or social reproduction. Leccardi, Cuzzocrea & Bello (2018, p. 22) have shown how the identity of the person and the biographical time represent the results of the dialectical link between change and persistence suggesting that, in view of profound social changes, youth can be considered "instead of a specific phase of the life [...] a metaphor that deals with social change in a moment of uncertainty".

This paper falls within this critical context with the aim of analyzing the transitions of young Italians in the field of mobility by focusing on the change process. The relevant aspect of the paper concerns the analysis of mobility as a field of change in which the subject in transition experiences a disunitary process of the habitus as a mismatch occurs between habitus and field of origin.

The focus is centered on an idea of transition which, through the experience of mobility, not only recovers the paths towards independence and adulthood but also determines processes and dynamics of change that are structured in the subject in mobility.

In this work, the multiple forms of change that characterize youth transitions, developed in the field of mobility, are interpreted through the reconstruction of an analytical framework based on the connection between the Bourdieusian approach and that of intersectionality.

If Bourdieu's theory (1990) allows us to go beyond the dichotomies between subject and structure, micro and macro or between change and social reproduction, offering a dynamic and generative reading of habitus, cultural capital and field (Wacquant, 2016), showing how they can be objects and subjects of change, the theory of intersectionality (Anthias, 2013) allows us to understand how and when the transformative processes of these dimensions are determined. More specifically, the dynamic analysis of Bourdieu's theory enables us to read the role of agency in a complex model in which subjects, equipped with a plurality of capital, are inserted into multiple fields whose rules can be modified by transforming the habitus of the subject by virtue of new experiences. Understanding the intertwining of individual and structural variables and how they act, in a combined manner albeit with different weights, on the repositioning of the habitus, on the transformation of cultural capital from potential to active, as well as on the process of adaptation to the new rules of the field, can acquire greater heuristic value by employing the intersectional approach.

The results of qualitative research carried out in London in 2019 fall within this epistemological framework. The findings are based on the analysis of 51 in-depth narrative interviews with young Italians, aged between 18 to 35, who have been living in London for about 5 years on average. Participants were recruited in a number of different ways, mostly thanks to initial contacts and subsequent snowball sampling; posts on social media; contacts through Italian organisations in London, such as a trade union group and St. Peter's Italian Church.

The article is organized as follows. The first section illustrates the concept of change in the transition process in the field of mobility through Bourdieu's theoretical framework and the intersectional approach. The second section illustrates the research methodology while the third presents the research findings; finally, the fourth section contains the concluding remarks.

Change and transition in the field of mobility

In this section we outline a theoretical framework, consisting of the interconnection between Bourdieu's approach and the theory of intersectionality, in order to interpret the processes of change in the transition models of young people.

Although both theories cannot be placed within a vision centered solely on change, they contain an epistemological and methodological framework that allows for the development of an interpretative reflection on transition.

More specifically, this proposal promotes an analysis that expresses the change incorporated into the transition path. It is an interpretative proposal in which Bourdieu's relational analysis is explained through an interdependent approach in which the intersectional nodes underlying the processes of change, experienced through the transition of young Italians in the field of mobility, are highlighted.

Although the Bourdieusian concepts are originally not explicitly linked to mobility (Prazeres, 2019), in this section we focus on the concept of mobility as a field (Giardiello & Capobianco, 2021) which generates a change in the habitus of young people in mobility due to a number of causal factors through which it is possible to outline different characteristics of the transition.

Bourdieu's theory is used as a fundamental system which, explicitly overcoming the dichotomous logics between subjectivism and objectivism (Bourdieu, 1990), offers an interpretative model in which the theme of permanence and reproduction is intertwined with that of change (Woodman, 2007). This approach is very useful in order to understand the different capacities of adaptation, resistance, innovation and re-elaboration of the practices of new generations. As Bourdieu argues, there is a dialectical relationship between field, habitus and cultural capital whose dynamism is suitable for analyzing situations of crisis, social reproduction and change. Bourdieu (1990, pp. 62-63) repeatedly warns us that one must "avoid unconsciously universalizing the model of the quasi-circular relation of near-perfect reproduction of habitus [that] are identical or homologous to its conditions of functioning" since changes, breaks, dysfunctions and delays can be determined between field, habitus and cultural capital. This can generate different lines of conduct, different degrees of integration, or rather, asynchrony or tensions between field, habitus and capital that can give rise to different levels of transition trajectories.

The application of Bourdieu's theory of practice to the phenomenon of change, as incorporated in the transition processes, allows us to explain the biunivocal relationship between objective reality and subjective analysis, revealing the processes that take place in the field of mobility.

In this sense, the concept of field allows the social space to be represented as a differentiated structure since it is understood as a "network or configuration of objective relations between positions" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 97) defined by immanent laws that regulate the hierarchy of social positions occupied by agents. One first element that produces a difference in social positions within the configurations of the field is con-

stituted by the presence of a set of capital that takes on different forms, not only those recognized by economic theory. According to Bourdieu's theory (2001) the notion of capital is characterized by a multidimensional vision of social stratification since, alongside economic capital, it also considers social, cultural and symbolic meta-capital. "Cultural capital can exist in three forms: in the embodied state (in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body), in the objectified state (in the form of cultural goods like pictures, books,...);...and in the institutionalized state, a form of objectification which must be set apart because...it confers entirely original properties on the cultural capital which it is presumed to guarantee" (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 47). The different forms of capital define the structure of the field and must be conceived not only as interconnected resources but they are also regulated by a process that implies the possibility of transformation from one capital to another (economic capital can be converted into cultural capital and the latter into social capital) (Bourdieu, 2001). Each subject, on the basis of different social positions, regulated by different degrees of capital, can be inserted into different fields which require, in turn, different groups of "dispositions and expectations" (Bourdieu, 1990).

Such dispositions are called habitus, defined as "systems of durable and transposable dispositions...structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures" (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 53). This means that they function, at the same time, as principles acquired through socialization, generators and organizers of practices and representations expressed in a pre-reflexive form, and as a product of rules that are understood and experienced in a generative rather than a deterministic sense (Ibidem). Therefore, as structuring structures, habitus is a past that survives in the present and tends to perpetuate itself in the future. However, it should be noted that between field, capital and habitus there is a process of mutual influence that reveals how they are subject to transformation processes. If the field is not considered a "dead structure, a system of «empty seats» ... but a playing space that exists only when the players exist" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 25) which can be subject to transformations on the basis of different resources (cultural, social and economic capital) that individual agents can mobilize, even the habitus is not necessarily coherent and unitary with the field as it can be dissimilar, misaligned and in conflict with the rules of the field to which it belongs. In this sense, fields and habitus not only have the function of reproducing the existing ones but "habitus change constantly in response to new experiences" (Bourdieu, 2000, p. 161). In other words, habitus is not conceived as an immutable category, it is not encapsulated in a natural attitude, but it is socially constructed and therefore can be faced with a crisis by transforming itself into new provisions that orientate the subject to develop

and implement new adaptation strategies in the transition, required by the experience in the new field.

The dynamism of these concepts is explained by Bourdieu both through the theorization of the concepts of capital in relational terms, conceived more as the product of their triangulation than as the result of a simple algebraic sum (Devine, 2004), and through the introduction of the concept of habitus *clivé* (Bourdieu, 1993b) which shows the discord that is created between past determinations (structured dispositions), consistent with the original field, and those currently required in the new field in which the subject is called on to participate.

In accordance with Bourdieu's suggestion (1993a, p. 271), which highlights the fact that his concepts are "intended for exercise, or even better, for putting into practice", the condition of young Italians can be conceptualized as a process of transition that takes place during the change from the original field to that of mobility.

These two fields are characterized by hierarchies of social positions that are not always homologous, with a different distribution of social, cultural and economic capital; they are regulated by a different *doxa* and can often be the expression of different habitus.

In general, the new field requires a considerable amount of time and effort of the participants in order to develop an adaptation to the new *doxa* that represents a "relationship of immediate adherence that is established in practice between a habitus and the field to which it is attuned, the pre-verbal taking-for-granted of the world that flows from practical sense" (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 68). This can generate a second birth, or rather a breaking of habitus, a perpetual ambivalence, or even a transformation of it.

In youth studies, mobility can be thought of as a field of strategic possibilities objectively offered to the choice of agents who, as players who participate in the strategies of the game, enter the field of mobility with a specific capital endowment and, by accepting the rules of the game, try to achieve their goal by competing. It should be noted, however, that the game in the field can only succeed if the player intends to participate, or only if the *illusio* occurs. This means that the player must believe in the game he/she is going to play (the choice of mobility) in order to invest it with meaning. This decision (*illusio*) to participate in the game sets up a trajectory that determines new strategies for change and adaptation. The experience of mobility requires new resources, such as the activation of cultural capital, the adaptation to new *doxa* and, above all, it challenges the original habitus that is either partially functional or no longer functional at all to the new field. More specifically, in the original field both kinds of capital, especially the cultural one, and habitus mainly operate on an unconscious level, through primary socialization, while the introduction into the new field challenges

the original habitus which, through a process of reflexivity, can begin to operate on a conscious level and develops a practice of self-questioning (Reay W., 2004). This process, which is more aware of the habitus, can have various implications, such as the emergence of new facets of the self or it may involve resistance to or alienation from the habitus. According to Bourdieu: "A habitus [that is] divided against itself, in constant negotiation with itself and its ambivalences, [is] therefore doomed to a kind of duplication, to a double perception of the self, to successive allegiance and multiple identities" (Bourdieu, 1999, p. 511).

This allows us to postulate that dynamism derives from the construction of an interpretative model that disproves the "tale of Bourdieu the apostle of «reproduction theory»" (Wacquant, 2016, p. 64). Bourdieu proposes a vision of reality that is quite different from substantialist thinking and places the practices of individuals or groups not as inscribed practices, once and for all, in biological or cultural essences. In his book 'Distinction' Bourdieu (1984) clarifies his relational perspective by showing how what we believe to be innate (natural) qualities of behavior are actually relational properties that exist only within a relational structure with other properties.

Although Bourdieu discusses overcoming substantialist and dichotomous perspectives, what seems to be lacking is a systematic exposition of what the change of habitus entails and how new dispositions can be configured. What still needs to be looked into is an exposition of the process through which habitus and cultural capital are transformed; above all, it is not clear how the habitus develops, changes or encounters difficulty through the passage from one field to another, nor it is clear how the different nature of cultural capital (Lareau, 2003, p. 277; Reay D., 2000; 2004), distinguishable according to gender, degree of formality/informality and levels of activation, the interaction between the different capitals, as well as between different systems of inequalities (class and gender), produce a different degree of transformative drive in the subject in the passage of the field.

According to Evans (2009, p. 200), Bourdieu's concepts "are powerful in understanding how structures are represented and reproduced in the socially positioned lives that people lead. What they miss, however, is an analysis of the dynamics how horizons change over time".

A useful approach which can be used to enhance the value of the dynamism through the strengthening of the explicative aspect of the change of the Bourdieusian categories, can be found in the use of intersectionality since it develops an analytical gaze which is able to highlight the complexity of the connections that govern the processes of change incorporated into the transitions of young people in mobility. To be specific, with this approach "there is a great deal of diversity in the way it is theorized and applied" (Anthias, 2013, p. 125). It first appeared in the feminist legal field

in African American sectors, and the widespread use of this approach has only recently been seen in Europe. The term 'intersectionality' was coined by Crenshaw (1994) using the metaphor of a car accident at a crossroads to show how discrimination processes can be produced simultaneously from different directions, like the formation of traffic at a junction. Its original theoretical and empirical scope concerns the particular forms of racial and gender oppression experienced by black women in the United States (Denis, 2008). Recently, the application has expanded to several other issues, such as those of social and gender inequality, state and power relations. In general, in the intersectional approach, the categories range from the typical trilogy (gender, race and class) (Anthias, 2013, p. 128) to the nine others indicated by the Equalities and Human Rights Commission (2010). According to McCall (2005), the categories can be examined through an anti-categorical approach (deconstruction of the analytic categories), an intracategorical approach (the way in which the various categories are crosscut by others) and an inter-categorical approach (connections between categories). In our study, the intra-categorical approach is favored since it is instrumental in reconstructing different profiles of change, through the identification of interconnections between different categories, as much as it is essential to outline different configurations of transitions. It should also be noted that, although the relationship between the Bourdieusian categories and the perspective of intersectionality is not very explicit, it is possible to find a reworking, even a critical one, of Bourdieu's theory within the intersectionality approach in the works of many feminist scholars (Skeggs 1997; Reay D. 2004). In this paper, using the intracategorical approach, the Bourdieusian categories of field, habitus and cultural capital are incorporated into the intersectional analysis, in order to observe not only the modalities of interconnection and how they are both products and producers of profiles of change in the transition process through a spatial / temporal location, but also to accept, from a theoretical point of view, the contributions of a critical re-elaboration concerning above all the redefinition of the concept of cultural capital.

Feminist research on domestic (Lawler, 2000) and educational work has highlighted, as Bourdieu himself had already pointed out, that although cultural capital evokes the centrality of the family in the process of reproduction and transmission, the role of mothers in generating a work of "devotion, generosity and solidarity" should not be overlooked (Bourdieu, 1998, p. 68). Using these reflections as a starting point, Reay D. (2004) expands the concept of cultural capital from a gender perspective, drawing attention to the role of emotional capital performed by mothers during the process of support and stimulation throughout the cognitive and educational growth of their children. Less attention has been given to the emotional involvement of mothers in the field of mobility, in relation to transition and change. In this

paper, not only we try to extend the concept of cultural capital to the dimensions of emotion and gender, but we also try to show how, within the family habitus and during the process of accumulating cultural and emotional capital, on a formal and informal level, it is above all the women who reproduce it and pass it on to their children by developing the emotional aspects of relationships and those related to the resolution of problems or moments of transition, such as mobility in the context of the process of youth transition. These aspects have been discussed on a theoretical level, and subsequently in the interpretative phase, not so much according to the concept of institutionalized cultural capital (qualifications) as in the incorporated one (ways of thinking, behavior, styles) (Bourdieu, 2001), acquired by the experiential practices of mothers.

Methods

Our research was carried out in 2019 by interviewing a number of young Italians, aged between 18 and 35, who have been living in London for five years, on average. The choice of the age group 18 to 35, rather than 18 to 24 years of age, is in line with the categorical notions of youth used by Italian researchers (Balduzzi & Rosina, 2016). Participants were recruited by adopting a snowball sampling design from initial contacts; posts on social media; contacts through Italian organisations in London: ACLI, Trade Union, St. Peter's Church, Benvenuti a Bordo (Welcome on board) Association.

The research technique consisted of in-depth narrative interviews with a sample of 51 participants (18 women and 33 men). The research project was originally created to address two main questions: 1) What motivates young Italians to migrate to London? 2) What are the structural and personal resources that led to the change in the transition process?

Participants are characterized by a heterogeneous configuration regarding their socio-economic and territorial origin; they are mainly graduates, employed in full-time jobs in fields that nearly always correspond with their qualifications.

During the interviews, participants described their context of origin (family, friends, the place where they lived, previous job, job satisfaction and life satisfaction), their experience of mobility as a transition to the new context (assessment of the arrival context, role of the family...) and the change process. Participants were also asked to draw their transition model and to comment on it with respect to the key turning points.

In order to apply the intra-categorical approach, the following categories have been identified as the most explanatory: context-field (local and mobility), socio-economic status of the family, family habitus – cultural/feminine capital. In the paper, the interconnections between these categories have

been illustrated by identifying a selection of participants. The profiles that emerged represent different models of change in the transition processes of young people in the field of mobility.

All of the interviews were conducted in Italian and key parts were translated by the authors. Pseudonyms have been used to protect the identity of participants.

Research findings

On the whole, the proposed approach, based on the connection between Bourdieusian concepts and the intersection of selected categories, shows how change, and its nature during the transition processes, is not the automatic result of social differences embodied within social positions (local context, gender, habitus, social class), nor even the result of subjective choices, free from constraints, and the result of individual mobility transition strategies. The focus on the intersection between the different categories generates different processes of change, which cannot be interpreted through isolated variables.

In particular, the use of the intra-categorical approach of intersectionality theory, applied to qualitative analysis, shows not only how the specific processes of change cannot be defined on the basis of a single category, but also how it is the result of an intertwining between categories and the different way in which the subject uses, transforms or endures them.

Even though sociological literature has highlighted the formation of different forms of transitions that characterize new generations, the nature of change and the different paths it can express have not been explored in depth. The focus of this section is to understand how the different transitions are denoted by the different nature that the change can assume, experienced in the passage from one field (local context) to another (field of mobility) by new generations of young Italians.

Although in many cases, during the interviews, it becomes evident that in the transition from the original field to that of mobility there has been a change in mentality, professional and personal skills, or a process of adaptation, the different forms of change, however, appear articulated according to the different degree of intersection that is determined as a whole between the categories.

In our research, the theory of intersectionality has revealed how, for young people in the field of mobility, specific gender identities, social class, field / place of origin, habitus and cultural / emotional capital, have determined the different nature of change during the transition process. The life stories narrated by the interviewees have been classified according to the process of change experienced by the protagonists. In table 1 the config-

urations of the change processes, realized in mobility, associated with the different transition models, which are representative of the different ways in which subjective change is the result of the interconnections of several categories within non-linear, complex and ongoing transition processes, are listed. Here, we report the most representative testimonies for each of the four ideal-typical profiles that emerged from the classification of the interviews.

Table 1 - Transitions models

Participants	Transition models	Habitus
Giovanna	Step by step	Reflexive/critique
Sveva	Up and down	Gender consciousness
Stefania	Stop and go	Widening of vital spaces
Orlando	Up and down and then constantly increasing	Sexual identity

Giovanna

35 years old, a fixed-term researcher. Nine years in London; degree in Oriental Languages, master's degree and Ph.D., various experiences abroad before arriving in England. She comes from a village in Northern Italy, her mother is a primary school teacher while her father is a metalsmith. The social position of Giovanna in the original field is the result of complex intersections that have taken place between the categories. Her father always told her that she should do whatever she liked, while her mother always encouraged her to study (embodied and emotional cultural capital). The small village represents the humus for the development of an imaginary towards foreign cultures. Giovanna says: "Since the age of 11, I have always had this passion for Japan, the most distant and exotic place in my opinion to go to, since I had never traveled abroad with my family". This imaginary (Cuzzocrea, 2018) was also fueled by some experiences she had as a teenager "I remember in particular a family who lived in America and came to my village for the summer. I saw this girl of my age who spoke English and I imagined that she had the coolest life in the world! ... It seemed very cool when a Japanese group came for a classical music course organized in my village and I said to myself: 'These people come from the other part of the world. It must be cool!'" The importance of the local context (Anthias, 2013) is associated, in the intersectional node, with the emotional and moral capital passed on to her from her mother (feminine habitus or emotional capital), determining the degree and nature of change in Giovanna's transition process. By focusing on the category 'feminine emotional capital' it is possible to show how within the family, although there is a common habitus on an unconscious level, the experiences and evaluations of parents differ according to how

they evaluate and perceive their own experience of life in the local context: "My dad would never leave the place where he lives, he was born there and he is very happy ... Mum moved from Milan to be with my father and, in my opinion, her experience of the village was frustrating and inhibitive, and she always told me not to stay, to do something that would allow me to see a different, more stimulating reality".

After her master's degree, an internship as a state employee, where "I was bored to death", which became the starting point for an application to a Ph.D. in anthropology in London where, surprisingly, she is accepted. Mobility leads to a transition into a "more stimulating, formative but very competitive" field, thanks to which studying "a critical discipline such as anthropology and social sciences has opened my eyes to social issues of all kinds ... thinking about issues of social inequality, gender inequality in a new way was important for me, it enriched me personally". Giovanna develops a reflexive/critical habitus with respect to the reality of London "demythologizing it": in addition to the stereotypes on lifestyles 'deconstructed in a critical way' because they are an expression of consumerism/capitalism, a different London comes to light with the same prejudices that are to be found in Italy, with "enormous social inequalities which fortunately I am not yet used to". Comparing life in London with the reality of her village in Italy, she re-evaluates certain aspects of her life, such as lifestyle, the quality of relationships, the symbolic roots of her belonging: her grandmother's house is "a cool place!", she envies her cousins "who feel at ease in a dimension closer to home, without always having to pursue something new".

The characteristics of this change are intertwined with a metaphor of transition that recalls a step-by-step path referring to her idea of her life in London that is not yet stable, with other challenges to face, characterized by a certain degree of uncertainty. However, this recovery takes place within a new habitus in which a mental disposition has now formed, an expression of the new field to which she belongs, which is that of critical reflection and research. In other words, Giovanna has experienced a rupture of the doxa and of the initial *illusio* system originating from her cultural capital, bringing out a greater awareness of the rules of the new field, rules which she does not fully agree with.

Sveva

In her original field Sveva, 26, who has a high school diploma, lives in a small local context in the province of Rome. The social position of Sveva emerges from the intersection of the categories taken into consideration that allow us to identify types of power differentials and define her situated subjectivity as well as to trace the structures that are the basis of her formation. Sveva comes from a family with a medium-high built-in cultural capital:

“My parents are very intelligent even though they didn’t go to university; my mother has traveled and lived in England for several years, my father had a very interesting career in a financial company”, and an open habitus, predisposed to travel, denoted by experiential practices on the maternal side: “There has been one woman for every generation of my family, starting with my grandmother, who has lived in England. I am the fourth generation!”. From the point of view of the local context, her positioning is characterized by the fact that she is being harnessed within a power differential (Collins, 1990) due to a subordinate vision of women: “I was the typical village girl, at the age of 15 in a serious relationship with a boy who was older than me, everything had already been decided for me!”. The category of the local context, interconnected with that of the family habitus, determines a process of transformation from a static condition to a dynamic process in which Sveva recovers her own habitus/female family capital through the experimentation of herself through travel: “The only way to come out of my depression a little, even though this aspect shouldn’t have been taken too much into consideration, was just to leave... to escape from a reality that was uncomfortable for me; even my boyfriend lived with me, a house had been arranged where we were supposed to go and live together, we were supposed to think about marriage, so it was really an escape, an escape from everything”. After the death of her father, Sveva decides to follow his footsteps in the same company, “but I didn’t want anybody to pull strings for me, so I applied for a position in England where no one would know me ... also because I had a fun idea of England” based on the stories she had heard from her mother and aunt. The transition from one field to another proves to be traumatic: “Moving from my village to London was devastating: I was scared, helpless, I wasn’t happy ... I called my mother every evening and said: ‘It is full of foreigners here’ and she replied ‘Sveva, you are one of them now!’”. The adaptation process was “up and down all the time”: work experiences between England and Spain, always for the same company, but at the beginning not very rewarding, associated with a relationship “with the wrong person”. The change of field, which occurs through a difficult adaptation, allows her to carry out a comparative reflection from which results in a greater awareness of the reality in which she finds herself: “I am very happy with where I am now when I compare myself to my friends who are in Italy: they still live in the village, are underpaid and want to have a child as soon as possible. But how do they do it? ... I can’t do it, I really have a very different mentality... I definitely feel more of a woman”. These statements denote the change in habitus that took place in Sveva which, in particular, materializes in the withdrawal from her condition of subordination as a woman: “On a personal level I feel more of a woman, when I was in Italy I could not control my emotions, I always needed my family or my ex-boyfriend, I didn’t know how

to do anything by myself". These feelings are associated with an awareness of the sexist and chauvinistic condition in which she found herself in her original field. Sveva develops a more balanced relationship with the opposite sex, based on respect: "The sexual jokes that Italians make in Italy are awful, actually you don't realize it until you come here". Although her transition is characterized by an up & down model, by observing Sveva's path it is possible to affirm that through her mobility a process of change and reaction to the condition of *subalternity* has taken place.

Orlando

The case of Orlando represents a path of change in the transition characterized by the definition of his sexual identity which, through a gradual but complex process, leads him to look upon / deal with his homosexuality with greater serenity, maturity and awareness. Orlando, 30 years old, an only child, has a Classical High School diploma followed by university training in engineering, which he cut short before having graduated. The habitus at the basis of his sexual identity is the result of a performative process (Butler, 1997) produced by the role of the different intersections that occur between the categories. Orlando's mother, who has a professional diploma, is a public administration employee; his father, who holds an eighth grade diploma, was an accountant at a local firm. "An easy life and a happy childhood" are the expression of a stereotypical family habitus, always the same year after year: the work of the parents and the life in the village, a small town in Northern Italy, close to the Swiss border, without "a cinema, a bookshop, a library or even a bar, or a meeting place for peers ... quite isolated." A process of κρίσις (*xrīsis*), from Greek, meaning 'separation', emerges during puberty and the gradual emergence of his latent homosexuality, between the attempt to represent his own life trajectory with the stereotypical habitus of the family and that of the context: "I thought I wanted to become an engineer, to work in Switzerland, to buy myself a house, a dog and to live a comfortable life in Italy ... first relationship with a girl I was happy with ..maybe I was also lying to myself but I managed to feel good with her", the daily routine of family dynamics in which "involuntarily they and everyone around me told me I was wrong, without saying it directly, however, the jokes about homosexuality...", the reflection of "wanting to be different from what I was and think that rather than leaving or changing the others I should have changed myself" and the emergence of the need to reveal himself for what he was, not to hide it. This fracturing process increased during the high school years in which Orlando was "helped a lot by studying the classical culture" and by the teaching staff since "out of 4 male professors, 3 were homosexual". The gradual process of differentiation prompts him, at the age of 20, to talk about his homosexuality with his closest friends, to recognize that the choice of

university studies “was not for me ... something that did not fit with my way of thinking ... an important point in my opinion that has always bothered me”; this leads to a worsening of this fracture, which becomes crisis and, thanks to the intersection with the feminine habitus, motivates him to leave the original field and move to London, transforming the condition of homosexuality from an oppressive category into the original field, to a transformative category of his personality. The feminine variable of habitus / family emotional capital recognizes his diversity and promotes his emancipation: “Mum has always been more concerned with my professional future, with my level of satisfaction ... she saw and knew I was in a difficult period ... Dad, he was a joker who spoiled me, he was very nice but he didn't pay attention to what was really important for my development”. This dysfunctionality of the habitus that materializes in London is “a rebirth, a new beginning” because “London helps a lot, you have examples, you have the opportunity to be yourself, to live your sexuality in an open and calm way ... but it is also the fact that I am far from home, there is no one here who knows me, I can be myself or even wear a mask”. Through mobility, the passage from one field to another definitively delineates both the habitus of mentality and identity, allowing Orlando to declare his homosexuality to the family.

The complexity of the transition process is also confirmed in this case by the analysis of Orlando's story which is, in the first phase (before changing field), similar to the yo-yo model of Biggart and Walther (2006) and goes on to assume a growing trend following the mobility process.

Stefania

Stefania, 35 years old, from a large town in Southern Italy, studied piano at the Conservatory and then graduated in Law in 2013; two months after her degree, she leaves for London. Her parents are retired middle school teachers.

The transformation of her social position is achieved through the association of categories of a different nature and social weight which determine, through the experience of the subject in the context, a gradual but constant change in the strategy implemented to change her own social position. This transformation takes place in the passage from the original field to London.

The original context expresses a habitus strongly characterized by a static social structure, centered on ascribed roles, markedly corporate and in strong misalignment with respect to Stefania's family habitus. She is at the center of this dysfunctional intersection between the family habitus, her study path and personal aspirations and the local context. She is well aware of the complexity of her professional career: “For those who graduate in law there is an obligatory path: after graduation, do an internship for free and then sit the examinations to become a lawyer”, and she is very disillusioned

due to the difficulties of actually achieving her professional goals; in fact, she describes her friends trapped in a trajectory of life with no way out: "My friends who did the apprenticeship after graduation seemed stuck to me, they had lost hope". This situation is the product of an asymmetry of power that determines a static reality in which the subjects located within it do not have the chance to fulfill their dreams, Stefania considers it difficult to do so since "there is a lot of 'clientelism': if you are not the son of a well-known lawyer or solicitor it is very difficult to practise this profession". This struggle in the original camp also blocked Stefania's other aspirations: "When I started my law degree I had other plans: to specialize in criminology. I also taught piano in my town and did voluntary work in the juvenile prison; I liked it very much, also because I was a member of the Franciscan Youth. Working in the prison would have been a great way to combine my degree, with my passion for music and voluntary work but even in this case I needed someone to pull strings for me, I needed to have friends in high places". The local context, static and unchangeable, contrasts with the family habitus, determining a dynamism in the intersections between these two categories: "My parents met in Northern Italy, where they had moved to after their graduation for work; then after I was born they decided to return to the South. They too were emigrants". Both parents support her decision to leave Italy but it is the migratory experience of the mother (habitus / feminine capital) that constitutes the dynamic aspect of the intersection with the local field: "My mother said: -'Leave Italy, here they clip your wings, there is no hope' -", because she too, after her graduation in Economics, had found nothing better to do than work as a secretary in an office, since she was not the daughter of accountants, and therefore she had decided to move north, seeking fulfillment as a teacher.

Stefania's decision to change the field through mobility represents both the product of the influence of the original field and the producer of dysfunctional intersectional relations.

Two months after graduation, Stefania and her boyfriend decide to leave for London, "a decision made the year before, after gathering information, a moment of madness that I wanted to go ahead with before starting university". During the passage from one field to another there is a constant change characterized by a continual widening of the spectra of life: "My experience is a kind of ladder with its ups and downs but always increasing because there is always one step that is added to the other, even a bad period that affected me a great deal can help me to climb and to open my mind". The habitus, developed on the basis of the new experience, drives Stefania's transition strategies towards a willingness to invest in order to achieve her expectations.

Stefania, intersecting with a new field, matures her detachment from the original field, “[My husband and I] realize this by comparing ourselves with our Italian friends: when we talk to them about different issues, I realize that our views are completely different. Every time we try tilting at windmills there is something that differentiates us from the others and we realize it now. The living space has expanded more and more. This experience has changed me a lot, we repeat it to each other especially when we go on holiday to Italy. If we hadn’t taken this big step by now we would still be stranded there. You don’t think about certain things, but with hindsight you say: that was necessary to help a puzzle piece fall into place”.

The marked mismatch with the original field also materializes with a different perception of time: “In these 6 years nothing has changed [in Italy]. I say that time flows differently in London, it is faster, while in Italy life is more relaxed and flows very slowly”. The change in Stefania’s transition takes place within the Italian community, meaning the church of St Peter’s in London, which represents the re-functional recovery of the habitus of Italian identity. Stefania says: “My friends are mainly those from the community of St Peter’s. Entering this community was like being in Italy, if it hadn’t been for this church, maybe we would have returned to Italy”. The nature of this change, however, takes place within a career path that is not yet completely stable, since Stefania and her husband’s jobs do not fully correspond to the degrees they got in Italy, initially fueled by a doxa produced by a media representation: “The news bombarded public opinion describing London as the new El Dorado, actually arriving here we discovered that things were not as they had been described”.

It is a process of transition like a ladder in which the change in the new field takes place within a temporal concept that is firmly anchored to the present because “thinking about the past is a source of melancholy while uncertainty about the future causes anxiety and worry. We live day by day”.

Concluding remarks

The joint application of Bourdieu’s theory and the intersectionality approach used to analyse the interviews with young Italians makes it clear not only how the social and economic position of the subject in the field, their original habitus and the different possibilities of using cultural capital are characterized by dynamism and are not pre-established, but also how they can vary, in a temporal and spatial sense, according to the specificity of the intertwining that is produced between them. In general, the paths of change, developed in the different transitions experienced by the subjects that were interviewed, show how they are the product of the lasting and dynamic nature of the relevant categories but also as the result of intersections between

axes of power (Yuval-Davis, 2006) of different levels, which are determined among the most significant categories of the subject, producing an external pushing mechanism that generates the passage of the field (from the original one to that of mobility) in which the new transformative practices of the habitus are concretized. The common factor that emerges from the narration of the interviewees is constituted by the asymmetries that occur between the intersections that, in all cases, constitute the drive for change. The analysis of the social positions of the subject in the context (original field) is not the product of the description of the individual categories and not even exclusively of the descriptions of the interconnections but of the asynchrony between the different categories that represent, at the same time, the limit and the resources at the basis of the process of leaving the field. If Collins, in his analysis of intersectionality, proposes the notion of interconnected oppressions organized through a “matrix of domination” (Collins, 1990, p. 276), which includes structural, disciplinary, hegemonic and interpersonal power relations, in this work, through the use of the Bourdieusian concepts in dynamic and relational terms, it has been possible to delineate the formation of crisis and dysfunctions that give rise to the genesis of habitus *clivé*, and/or the activation of cultural and emotional capital well established over time, which are the basis of the individual and social transformation that involves leaving the original field to initiate transition processes. The families of origin of the four interviewees belong to the middle class and have implemented a strategy of converting economic capital (Bourdieu 2001) into cultural and social capital, enabling them to face the rules of the competitive game within the new field of mobility.

The findings of the research confirm the possibility to transform the perspective of intersectionality, put forward in order to understand and to explain in a more complex way the processes underlying oppression, racial discrimination and inequalities, into an approach that allows us to understand how the change in the transition is realized through the mobility of a subject situated in a context characterized by asymmetrical relationships between categories. By analysing the case studies, with the exception of Orlando, a dysfunction is observed between family habitus and above all feminine (mother) and local context (original field), which was pre-existent at the moment of birth of the interviewees and determines the formation of a feminine emotional capital with a fundamental role in the process of change of the protagonists of our interviews. The focus on the asymmetrical relationship between the familiar and, above all, feminine habitus and the local context allows us to understand how this fracture, rather than recalling a static and subordinate description, represents the turning point when a dynamism of the interconnections is introduced characterizing the position of the subject in the original field. As Wacquant (2016, p. 69) argues, if the habitus is not

a self-sufficient mechanism which can generate an action since, as with a spring, an external activation is necessary, then in all the cases that have been considered, the spring that enabled the passage of the field and the consequent transformation of the habitus must be identified in the asymmetry between cultural capital and feminine mental dispositions and the original habitus of the field. This asymmetry occurs within a belief system (*illusio*) thanks to which the interviewees assess that “the game is worth the candle”.

The concept of field is useful for showing, for all the interviewees, how mobility represents a passage that implies not only a mutation of the subject's assessment and perception but also the experiential practices underlying the structured intersections in the new field. During this process, even though the narratives of the subjects showed evidence of change, each one was characterized by having experienced different profiles of change that occurred within different complex, difficult and unfinished transition trajectories.

Four types of change emerged from the reconstruction of the interviewees' profiles, each of which involved a specific transformation of the habitus, re-functionalizing it within the new field produced by mobility. The changes involved the formation of a reflexive and critical habitus in Giovanna, the redefinition of his own personality and sexual identity in Orlando, a more conscious and aware gender vision of her own rights in Sveva and the development of a more open and curious mentality in Stefania. These transformations have not only occurred through different shapes and configurations of intersections, but also through different transition patterns. In particular, this research shows that the processes of change are not definitive since their transition path is not yet complete. It is interesting to note how the four types of change outline different transition metaphors (step by step, up and down, stop and go, up and down and then constantly increasing) which indicates that they are non-linear trajectories, which are, however, almost always positive and increasing. This work allows us to understand the many forms that the transition takes, focusing attention on the theme of change and showing how it is heuristically linked to the changing lifestyles of young people in the field of mobility. The specific aspect of this analysis is to show the complexity of this process by associating it with mobility as a moment not only of conclusion and stability in one's life but also as a field of transformation and change.

The focus on change has made it possible to explain what exactly changes and why the habitus changes, highlighting how transition is not only the product of several categories but also how it is associated with the passage of the field in which mobility proves to be one of the fundamental strategies needed to achieve it.

Acknowledgements

This paper is a work of joint authorship. Mauro Giardiello wrote all the sections, Rosa Capobianco elaborated the sampling plan, participated in the interview process and analysed the data. Research funded by the UCL and by the Department of Education of University of Roma Tre, project "Italia In & Out. I nuovi paradigmi della mobilità".

References

- Allen, K., & Hollingworth, S. (2013). 'Sticky subjects' or 'cosmopolitan creatives'? Social class, place and urban young people's aspirations for work in the knowledge economy. *Urban Studies*, 50 (3), 499-517.
- Anthias, F. (2013). Hierarchies of social location, class and intersectionality: Towards a translocational frame. *International Sociology*, 28 (1), 121-138.
- Antonsich, M. (2010). Searching belonging. An analytical framework. *Geography Compass*, 4 (6), 644-659.
- Balduzzi, P., & Rosina, A. (2016). Studio e lavoro senza confini: Generazione mobile, in Istituto Giuseppe Toniolo (Ed.), *La condizione giovanile in Italia. Rapporto giovani 2016* (pp. 157-187). Bologna: Il Mulino.
- Beck, U., & Beck-Gernsheim, E. (2002). *Individualization. Institutionalized individualism and its social and political consequences*. London: Sage.
- Biggart, A., & Walther, A. (2006). Coping with yo-yo transitions: young adults' struggle for support, between family and state in comparative perspective, in C. Leccardi & E. Ruspini (Eds.), *A new youth? Young people, generations and family life* (pp. 41-62). Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Botterill, K. (2014). Family and mobility in second modernity: Polish migrant narratives of individualization and family life. *Sociology*, 48 (2), 233-250.
- Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste*. Chicago: Harvard University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1990). *The logic of practice*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1993a). Concluding remarks: For a sociological understanding of intellectual works (N. Kaplan, C. Calhoun & L. Florence, Trans.). In C. Calhoun, E. LiPuma & M. Postone (Eds.), *Bourdieu: Critical perspectives* (pp. 263-275). Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1993b). *La misère du monde*. Paris: Seuil.
- Bourdieu, P. (1998). *Practical reason*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1999). *The weight of the world: Social suffering in contemporary society*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (2000). *Pascalian meditations*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (2001). The forms of capital, in A. H. Halsey, H. Lauder, P. Brown & A. S. Wells (Eds.), *Education, Culture, economy and society* (pp. 46-59). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bourdieu, P., & Wacquant, L. (1992). *Réponses: pour une anthropologie réflexive*. Paris: Seuil.
- Butler, J. (1997). *Excitable speech: The politics of the performative*. New York: Routledge.

- Cairns, D. (2014). *Youth transition, International student mobility & spatial reflexivity*. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Caneva, E. (2016). Giovani italiani che emigrano: percorsi di vita inediti all'epoca della crisi economica globale. *Mondi Migranti*, 3, 79-93.
- Collins, H. P. (1990). *Black feminist thought*. London: Harper Collins.
- Crenshaw, K. (1994). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics and violence against women of color, in M. A. Fineman & R. Mykitiuk (Eds.), *The public nature of private violence: Women and the discovery of abuse* (pp. 93-118), London: Routledge.
- Cuzzocrea, V. (2018). Rooted mobilities in young people's narratives of the future: A peripheral case. *Current Sociology*, 66 (7), 1106-1123.
- Cuzzocrea, V. (2019). A place for mobility in metaphors of youth transitions. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 22, 61-75.
- Cuzzocrea, V., Bello, B. G. & Kazepov, Y. (2020). *Italian youth in international context: belonging, constraints, contexts*. London: Routledge.
- Denis, A. (2008). Review essay: Intersectional analysis. A contribution of feminism to sociology. *International Sociology*, 23 (5), 677-694.
- Devine, F. (2004). *Class practices*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dolby, N., & Rizvi, F. (2008). Introduction: Youth, mobility, and identity. In N. Dolby & F. Rizvi (Eds.), *Youth moves: Identities and education in global perspective* (pp. 1-13). London: Routledge.
- Equality and Human Rights Commission (2010). Retrieved January 15, 2021, from www.equalityhumanrights.com.
- Eurostat (2020). EU-SILC Survey, The European union statistics on income and living conditions. Retrieved January 10, 2021, from www.ec.europa.eu/eurostat.
- Evans, K. (2009). *Learning, work and social responsibility: Challenges for life-long learning in a global age*. Dordrecht: Springer.
- Farrugia, D. (2018). *Spaces of youth: Work, citizenship and culture in a global context*. London: Routledge.
- Favell, A. (2008). *Eurostars and Eurocities: Free movement and mobility in an integrating Europe*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Fondazione Migrantes (2019). *Rapporto italiani nel mondo 2019*. Todi: Tau Editrice.
- Franceschelli, M. (2020). Imagined mobility and the materiality of migration: the search of 'anchored lives' in post-recession Europe. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2020.1840968>.
- Giardiello, M. & Capobianco, R. (2021). Le contraddizioni e i paradossi della mobilità giovanile italiana. *Studi di Sociologia*, 1, 71-88, doi: 10.26350/000309_000111.
- Goulahsen, L. (2017). Understanding the complexity of identity and belonging: a case study of French female migrants in Manchester and London. *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 42 (10), 158-173.
- Holdsworth, C. (2013). *Family and intimate mobilities*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Kennedy, P. (2008). The construction of trans-social European networks and the neutralisation of borders: Skilled EU migrants in Manchester – Reconstituting social and national belonging. *Space and Policy*, 12 (1), 119-133.
- King, R., Lulle, A., Conti, F. & Mueller, D. (2016). Eurocity London: a qualitative comparison of graduate migration from German, Italy and Latvia. *Comparative Migrations Studies*, 4 (1), 1-22.

- King, R. (2017). Theorising new European youth mobilities. *Population, Space and Place*, 24 (1), 2117-2131.
- ISTAT (2019). Retrieved December 28, 2021, from https://www.istat.it/it/files//2019/12/REPORT_migrazioni_2018.pdf.
- Lareau, A. (2003). *Unequal childhoods: Class, race and family life*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Lawler, S. (2000). *Mothering the self: Mothers, daughters, subjects*. London: Routledge.
- Leccardi, C., Cuzzocrea, V. & Bello, B. G. (2018). Youth as a metaphor: An interview with Carmen Leccardi. *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, 23 (1), 8-23.
- Leccardi, C. (2020). Young Italians. Individualization, uncertainty and reconquisting the future, in V. Cuzzocrea, B. G. Bello & Y. Kazepov (Eds.), *Italian youth in international context: belonging, constraints, contexts* (pp. 171-184). London: Routledge.
- Maestriperi, L. (2020). The social investment challenge and young Italians, in V. Cuzzocrea, B. G. Bello, Y. Kazepov (Eds.), *Italian youth in international context: belonging, constraints, contexts* (pp. 95-111). London: Routledge.
- McCall, L. (2005). The complexity of intersectionality. *Signs*, 30 (3), 1771-1800.
- Pastore, F. (2017). The school-to-work transition in the Latin rim. The case of Italy, in F. E. Caroleo, O. Demidova, E. Marelli & M. Signorelli (Eds.), *Young people and the labour market. A comparative perspective* (pp. 200-221). London: Routledge.
- Prazeres, L. (2019). Unpacking distinction within mobility: Social prestige and international students. *Population, Space and Place*, 25 (5), 1-11.
- Reay, D. (2000). A useful extension of Bourdieu's conceptual framework? Emotional capital as a way of understanding mothers' involvement in their children's education?. *Sociological Review*, 52 (2), 568-585.
- Reay, D. (2004). Gendering Bourdieu's concepts of capitals? Emotional capital, women and social class. *Sociological Review*, 52 (1), 57-74.
- Reay, W. (2004). It's all becoming a habitus: Beyond the habitual use of habitus in educational research. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 25 (4), 431-444.
- Robertson, S., Harris, A., & Baldassar, L. (2018). Mobile transitions: a conceptual framework for researching a generation on the move. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 21 (2), 203-217.
- Sheller, M. & Urry, J. (2006). The new mobilities paradigm. *Environment and Planning*, 38 (2), 269-279.
- Skeggs, B. (1997). *Formations of class and gender*. London: Sage.
- Spanò, A. & Domecka, M. (2020). Pathways towards adulthood in times of crisis. Reflexivity, resources and agency among Neapolitans, in V. Cuzzocrea, B. G. Bello & Y. Kazepov (Eds.), *Italian youth in international context: belonging, constraints, contexts* (pp. 185-199), London: Routledge.
- Tomei, G., Burchi, S., Maraviglia, L., Pastore, G. & Toigo, M. (2018). *Le nuove emigrazioni qualificate. Studio di caso sui laureati dell'Ateneo pisano che sono migrati all'estero*. Milano: FrancoAngeli.
- Wacquant, L. (2016). A concise genealogy and anatomy of habitus. *The Sociological Review*, 64 (1), 64-72.
- Woodman, D. (2007). Uncertainty and Unintentionality: A different line on Beck and Bourdieu for the sociology of youth, in D. Woodman, B. Curtis, S. Matthewman and T. McIntosh (Eds.), *Proceedings of TASA 2007*, Auckland, NZ.

Woodman, D. & Wyn, J. (2015). *Youth and generation. Rethinking change and inequality in the lives of young people*. Sage, London.

Yuval-Davis, N. (2006). Intersectionality and feminist politics. *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 13 (3), 193-209.

