Mobility citizenship in the United Kingdom Colonialism, Europeanisation and de-Europeanisation

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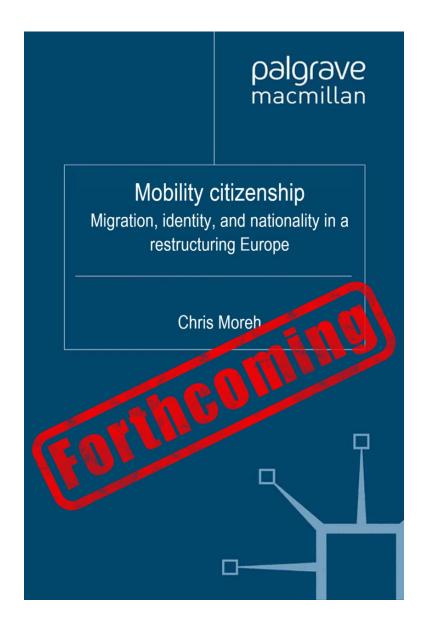


in Chris Moreh





- Chapter 1. Introduction: the constellationist imagination
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Chapter 5. The moral political economy of extraterritorial citizenship

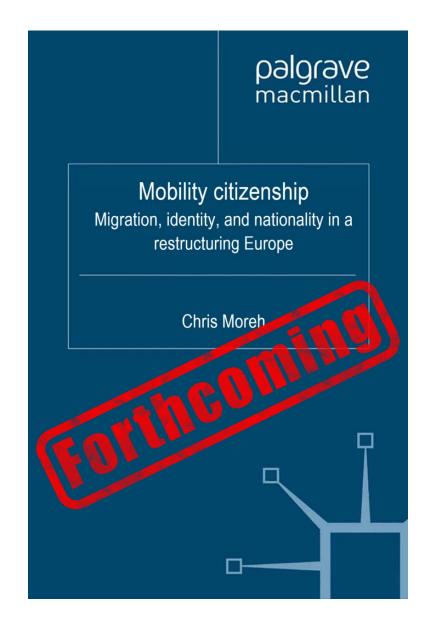
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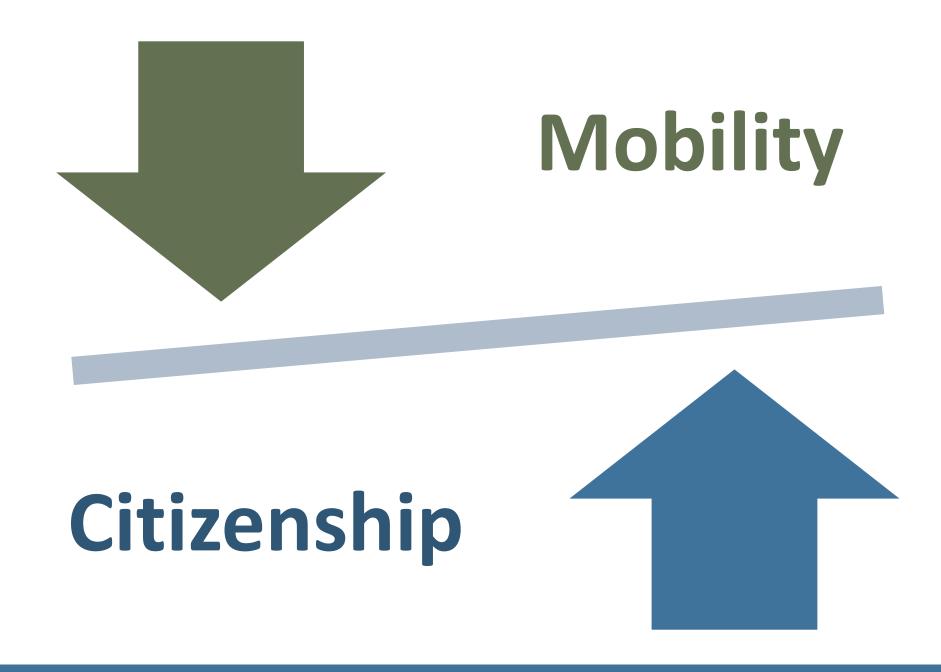
Chapter 7. Conclusions: mobility citizenship constellations



Outline

- Citizenship ←→ Mobility
- Citizenship and mobility in the UK and the EU
- 3 Mobility-citizenship transitions in the UK
- 4 Naturalisation motivations and the meaning of citizenship





Citizenship







Check your eligibility (page 12) Apply for your test (page 19) Religious beliefs (page 51) British festivals and Government Scotland and Ireland Buy or rent (page 90) with a local 103) Apply to universities (page 110) Find employment (page 128) Equal rights and discrimination (page 134) Hundreds of practice questions (page 132) 401 in passport (page 223) Test your programment page 133) and provided the passport (page 223) Test your programment page 133) and provided the passport (page 223) Test your programment page 133) and provided the passport (page 223) Test your programment page 133) and provided the page 134 and provided the page 135 and provided the pag



- "Citizenship: a remarkable case of sudden interest" (Heater 1991)
- Encouraging citizenship: report of the Commission on Citizenship (UK) (1990)
- Citizenship as social closure: "Every state claims to be the state of, and for, a particular, bounded citizenry, usually conceived as a nation" (Brubaker, 1992)
- Citizenship as participation; public vs. private + active vs. passive; globalization and "global political responsibilities" (Turner 1992)
- Citizenship as activity: acts, actions, activism, performativity, "new" citizenship(s)
 (Isin 1997; Isin 2002; Isin and Nielsen 2008; Isin 2012; Isin 2019)
 - ➤ Citizenship studies (Isin 1997; Turner 1997; Isin and Turner 2002)



Citizenship











Global comparative datasets:

(Vink et al. 2023);

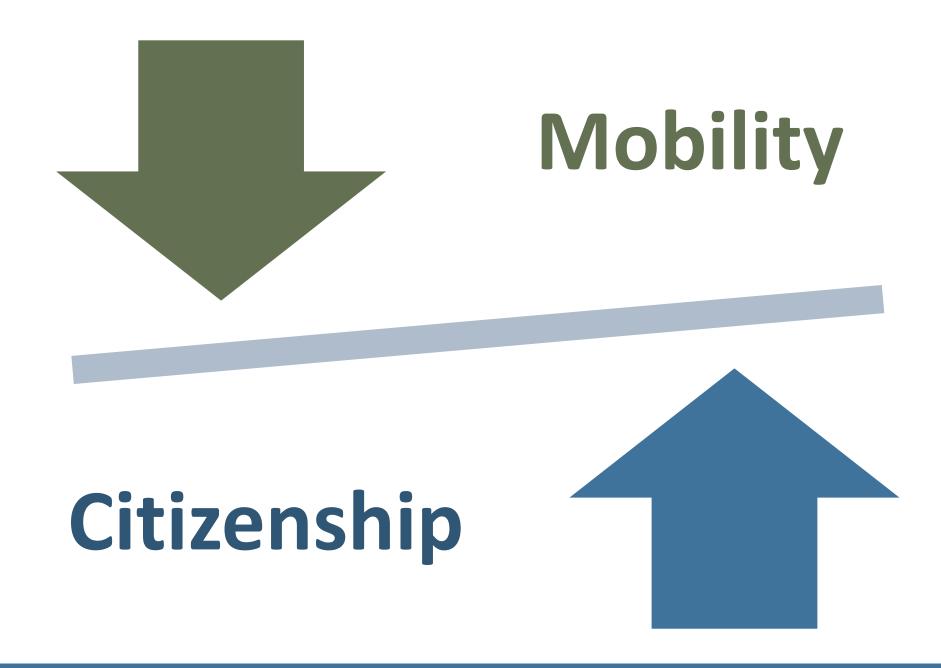
MACIMIDE Global Expatriate Dual
Citizenship Dataset (Vink, De Groot, and Luk 2020);

GLOBALCIT Citizenship Law Dataset

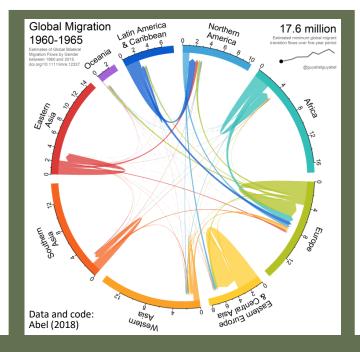
MIPEX Migrant Integration Policy Index (Solano and Huddleston 2020);
MPI Multiculturalism Policy Index for Immigrants and Minorities (Banting and Kymlicka 2020; Wallace, Tolley, and Vonk 2021; Westlake 2021)

- Citizenship as process:
 - naturalisation (Yang 1994)
 - civic integration (Joppke 2007;
 Joppke 2017; Goodman 2012;
 Bartram 2018; Bassel, Monforte,
 and Khan 2021)





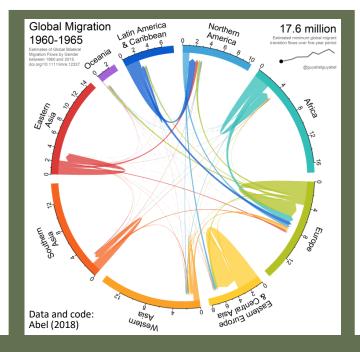




Mobility

- Classical assimilationist paradigm:
 immigration → assimilation
- Transnationalism paradigm:
 - Nations Unbound (Basch, Glick Schiller, and Szanton Blanc 1994)
 - networks and transnational social fields; from 'below' (Glick Schiller, Basch, and Blanc-Szanton, 1992, 1995; Wimmer and Glick Schiller, 2002)
- 'New mobilities paradigm':
 - no rigid and stable structures, but flows of people, objects and information in incessant motion, loosely pinned together by 'rhizomic attachments' or 'moorings' (Urry 2000; Urry 2007; Hannam, Sheller, and Urry, 2006; Adey, 2010; Cresswell, 2006)
 - a 'wanton destruction of empirical methods' (Favell, 2001: 392)





Mobility

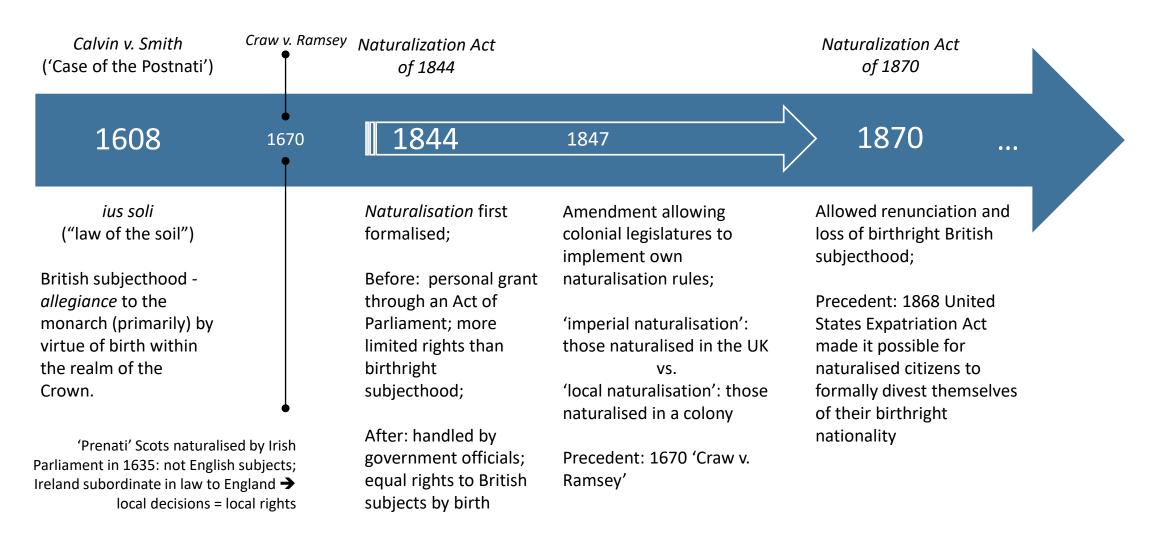
Political transnationalism:

- migrants' "increasing opportunities to combine external and internal status and affiliations" (Bauböck, 2003)
- "institutional change as a result of migration flows" → citizenship constellations (Bauböck 2010)
- Migration infrastructures:
 - opportunity/constrains structure shaping peoples' capability to migrate (Preiss, 2022; Düvell and Preiss, 2022)
 - crucial meso-level elements that shape migration decision-making in the context of various 'aspirations' and 'capabilities' (de Haas, 2021; Czaika, Bijak, and Prike, 2021)
- The European Union as mobility-citizenship opportunity structure

Citizenship and mobility in the UK and the EU



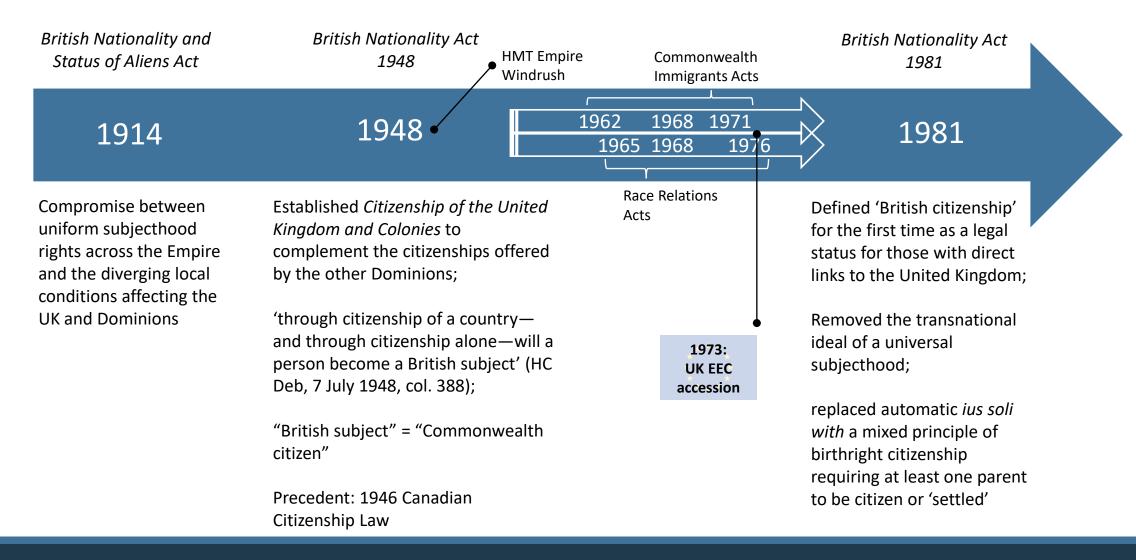
Citizenship in the United Kingdom



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Citizenship in the United Kingdom

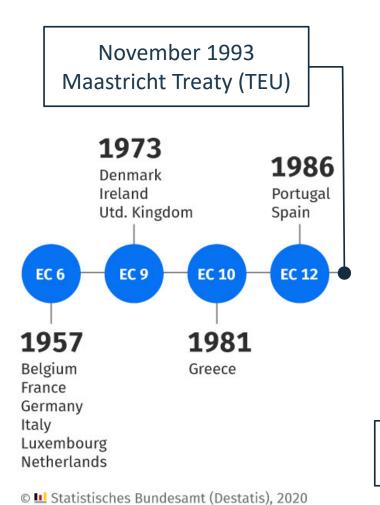


EU citizenship



European Union timeline

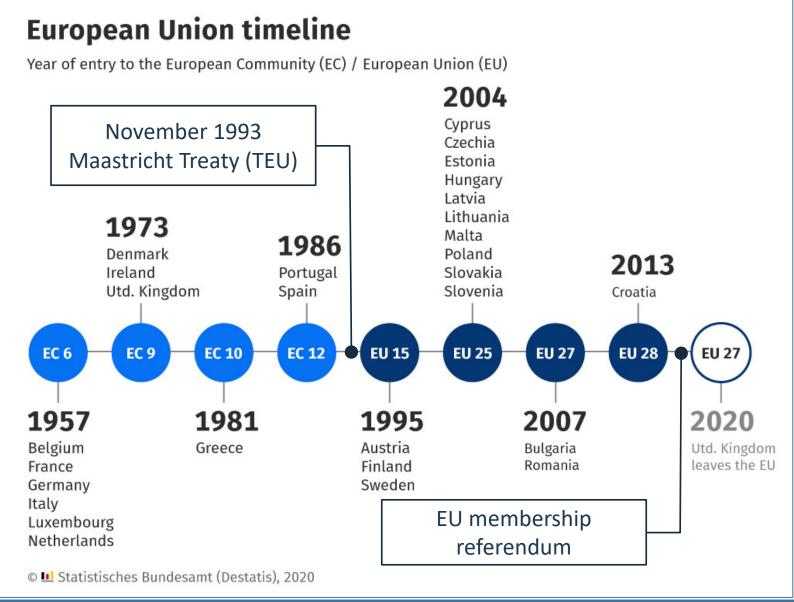
Year of entry to the European Community (EC)

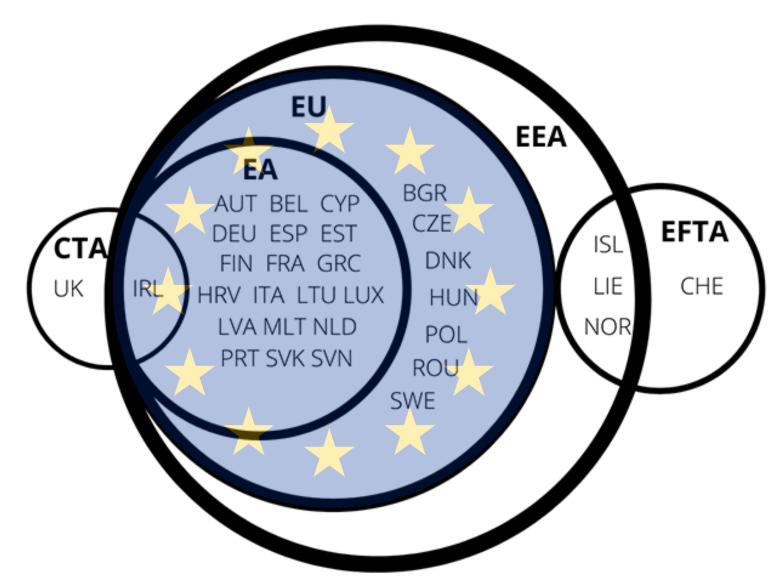


EU membership referendum

EU citizenship







CTA - Common Travel Area

The UK and Ireland

EA - Euro Area

20 countries using the Euro currency

EU - European Union

27 Member states

EEA - European Economic Area

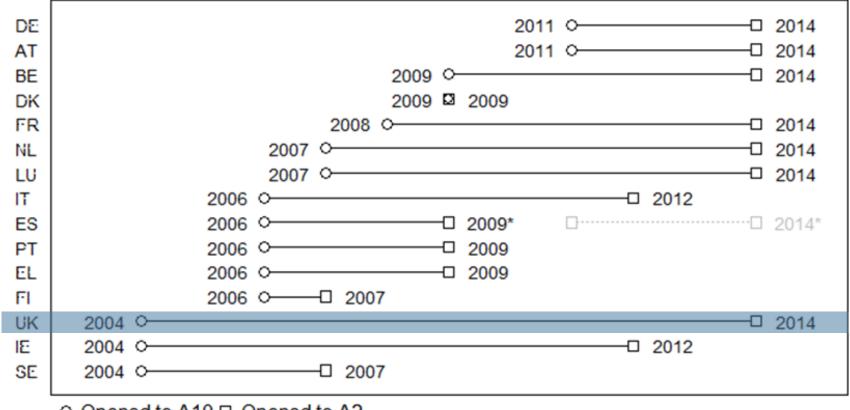
The EU plus Iceland, Liechtenstein, and Norway

EFTA - European Free Trade Association

The four countries of a free trade zone

Source: Barker 2024

The EU's eastward enlargement



Labour-market liberalisation for A8 and A2 nationals in EU countries

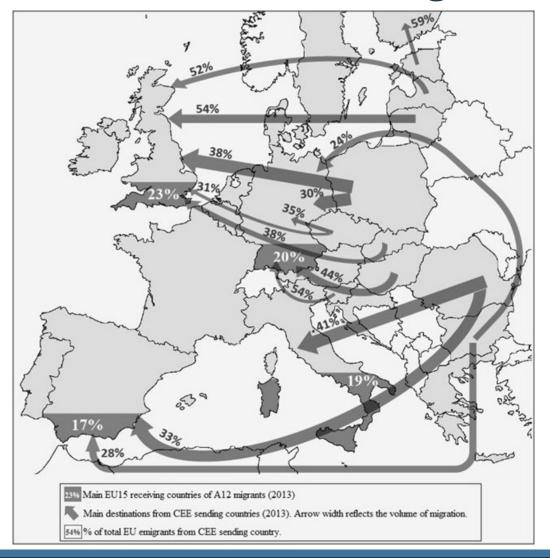
Source: Author's elaboration.

Data and code: https://osf.io/uav8b/

○ Opened to A10 □ Opened to A2

* After opening its labour market in 2009, Spain reintroduced transitional restrictions for Romanian migrants in 2011

The EU's eastward enlargement



Distribution of A12 migrants in EU countries in 2013

Notes: Where the difference between the first and second destination country is less than 15%, both destinations are included.

Source: Eurostat (2024); missing values were filled with the nearest available data from Eurostat or: France census 2008 and 2010 (INSEE, 2008, 2011); UK census 2011 (Office for National Statistics et al., 2017); Greece census 2011 (El.Stat, 2011).

Mobility-citizenship transitions in the UK

The post-colonial migration system

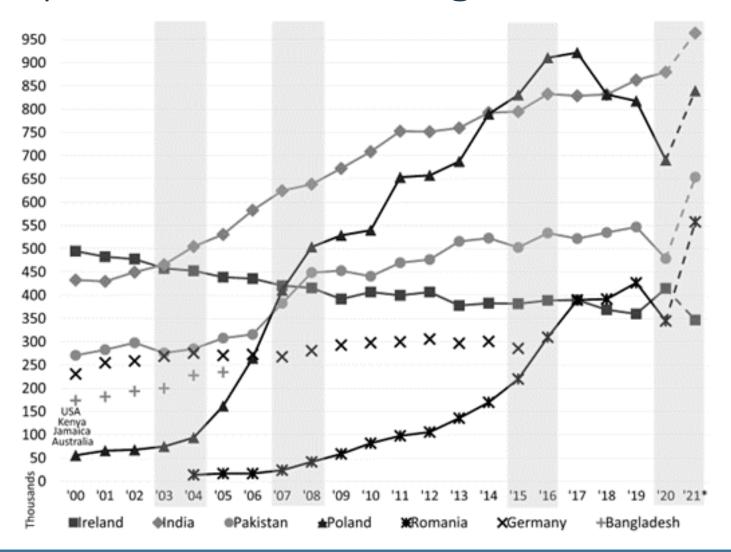
	1960	1970	1980	1990
1	Ireland (951)	Ireland (718)	Ireland (622)	Ireland (600)
2	India (191)	India (337)	India (401)	India (430)
3	Germany (147)	Germany (168)	Pakistan (193)	Pakistan (243)
4	Poland (146)	Jamaica (148)	Germany (185)	Germany (219)
5	USA (119)	Pakistan (144)	Jamaica (168)	USA (145)
6	Jamaica (116)	USA (140)	USA (121)	Jamaica (144)
7	Italy (100)	Poland (120)	Kenya (105)	Kenya (122)
8	Canada (66)	Italy (116)	Italy (100)	Cyprus (114)
9	Cyprus (49)	Cyprus (77)	Poland (96)	Bangladesh (107)
10	South Africa (46)	Canada (69)	Cyprus (86)	Italy (92)
11	Australia (45)	Kenya (61)	Canada (64)	South Africa (77)
12	Pakistan (37)	Australia (60)	Australia (63)	Hong Kong (76)
13	France (36)	South Africa (49)	Hong Kong (60)	Poland (75)
14	Spain (25)	Spain (32)	South Africa (56)	Australia (74)
15	Netherlands (19)	Algeria (31)	Bangladesh (50)	Canada (64)

Top fifteen non-UK-born nationality groups in the United Kingdom (1960–1990)

Notes: Numbers in parentheses represent rounded population size in thousands.

Source: Author's elaboration based on data from the World Bank (2011).

The post-2004-EU-enlargement transition

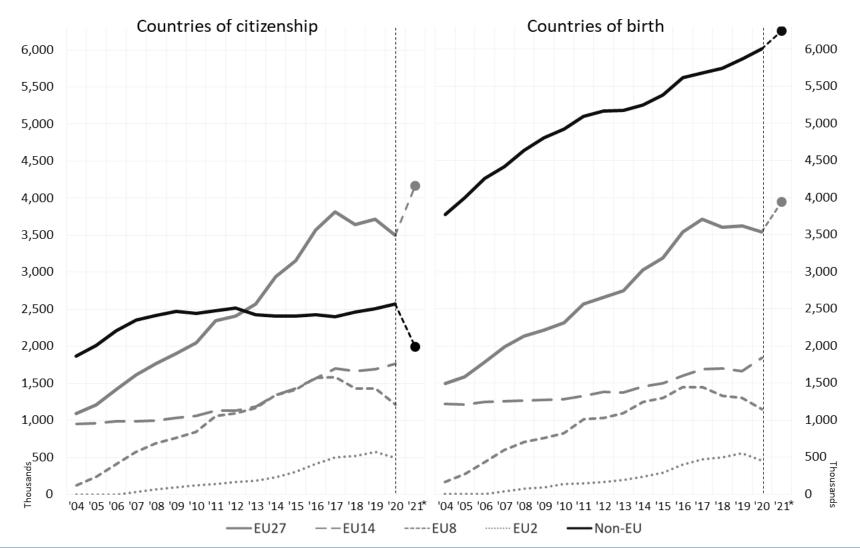


The top five countries of birth of non-UK born population in the United Kingdom (2000–2021)

Notes: * Data for 2021 is from the 2021 Census, as measured on 21st March 2021.

Source: Author's elaboration based on data from the Annual Population Survey (Office for National Statistics, 2021) and Census 2021 and Census 2021 (Office for National Statistics, 2023a, 2023c; National Records of Scotland, 2024; Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency, 2022a, 2022b).

The post-2004-EU-enlargement transition

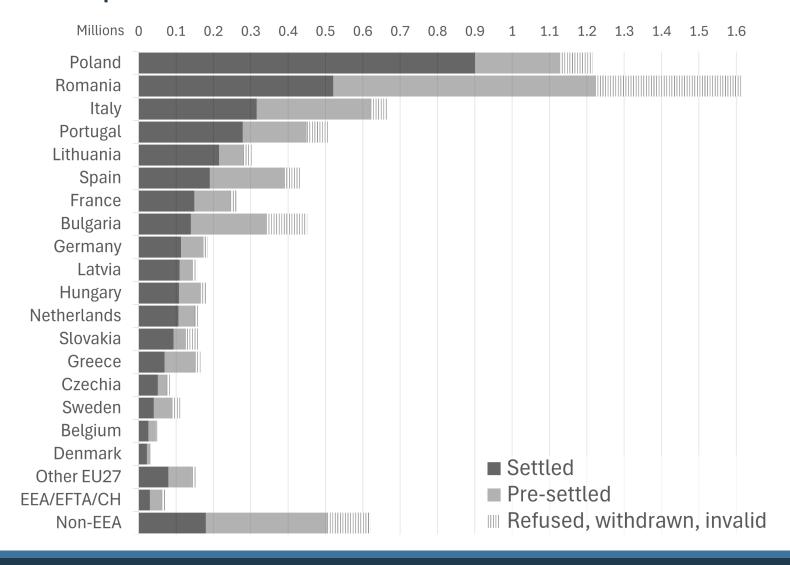


Foreign-born and foreigncitizen residents in the United Kingdom, by EU/non-EU status (2004–2021)

Notes: * Data for 2021 is from the 2021
Census, as measured on 21st March
2021. Data on previous years are
estimates from the Annual Population
Survey. The APS data series on
'Population by Country of Birth and
Nationality' was discontinued after June
2021 to update its methodology
considering the Census data.

Source: Author's elaboration based on data from the Annual Population Survey (Office for National Statistics, 2021) and Census 2021 (Office for National Statistics, 2023b, 2023d; National Records of Scotland, 2024; Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency, 2022a, 2022b).

The post-Brexit transition

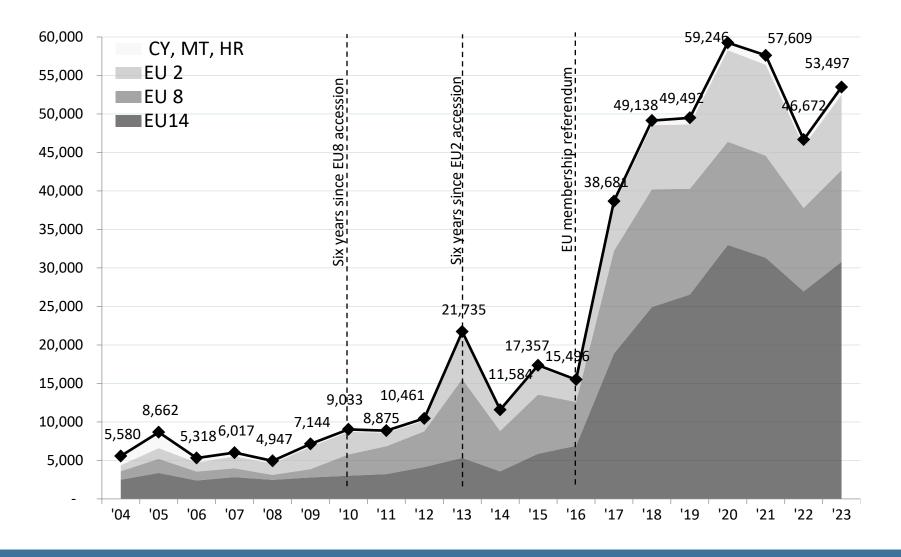


EU Settlement Scheme applications (2018 – 2024)

Notes: EEA/EFTA/CH includes Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway and Switzerland. Source: Author's elaboration based on data

from the Home Office (2024)

Naturalisation before and after "Brexit"

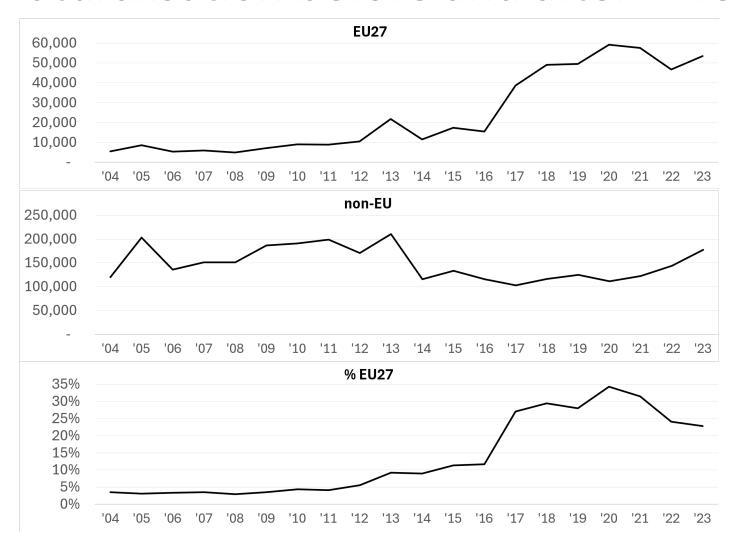


UK citizenship applications by EU nationality group (2004-2024)

Notes: Includes both naturalisation applications and registrations as a British citizen.

Source: Author's elaboration based on data from Home Office (2024).

Naturalisation before and after "Brexit"



Comparison of UK citizenship applications by EU/non-EU nationality group (2004-2024)

Notes: Includes both naturalisation applications and registrations as British citizen

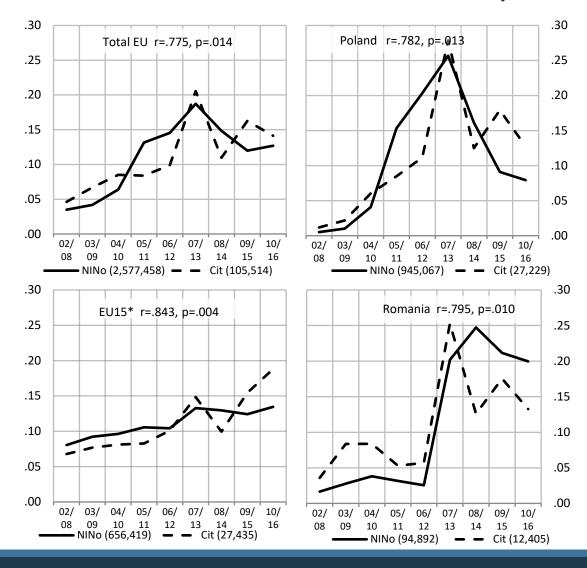
Source: Author's elaboration based on data from Home Office (2024).

Naturalisation motivations and the meaning of citizenship

Naturalisation motivations

- Yang (1994): cost-benefit model of subjective utility maximization
 - benefits: political and socio-economic rights and privileges
 - costs: money and effort; potential loss of the former citizenship
- For EU citizens, the perceived benefits of naturalization in their member state of residence are lower
- A 'return of assimilation' (Brubaker 2003); a 'revaluation' of citizenship via strengthening 'civic integration' requirements (Goodman 2010; Joppke 2007; Joppke and Morawska 2003)
- '[e]njoyment of permanent residence by Union citizens who have chosen to settle long term in the host Member State would strengthen the feeling of Union citizenship and is a key element in promoting social cohesion, which is one of the fundamental objectives of the Union' ... 'Union citizens who have resided legally for a continuous period of five years in the host Member State shall have the right of permanent residence there' (EU Citizenship Directive [2004/38/EC])
 - 'shall have the right of' understood as automatically obtaining permanent resident status without any declaration of intention or an application procedure, although a certifying document must be issued by Member states upon request by a qualifying person 'as soon as possible' and 'free of charge or for a charge not exceeding that imposed on nationals for the issuing of similar documents'
- 'legal integration': Permanent Residence Certificate (PRC) regulated by EU law or naturalisation as British citizens
 → A return of citizenship? (Moreh, McGhee, and Vlachantoni 2020)

EU citizens' naturalisation patterns before "Brexit"



Correlation between NINo allocations (2002-2010) and citizenship applications (2008-2016)

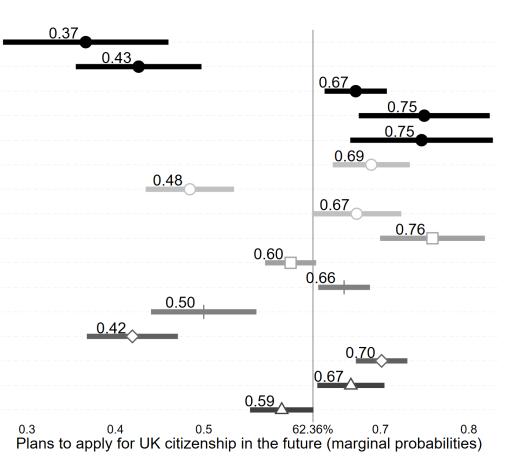
Source: Own calculations based on data from the Department for Work and Pensions (2017) and Home Office (2017a).

Notes: year-paired by six-year lapses; yearspairs should be read as follows: 02/08 refers to NINo allocations in 2002 and British citizenship applications in 2008.



The "Brexit effect" on naturalisation intentions

EU14 West (DE, FR, NL) (n = 106) EU14 South (PT, SP, IT) (n = 202) Poland (n = 753) Hungary (n = 132) Romania (n = 114) Eligible for UK citizenship Doesn't know if eligible for UK citizenship NOT eligible for UK citizenship Socio-political migration reasons Economic migration reasons Uses English at work Does NOT use English at work Future plans change in case of Brexit Plans do NOT change in case of Brexit **Anxious about Brexit** NOT anxious about Brexit



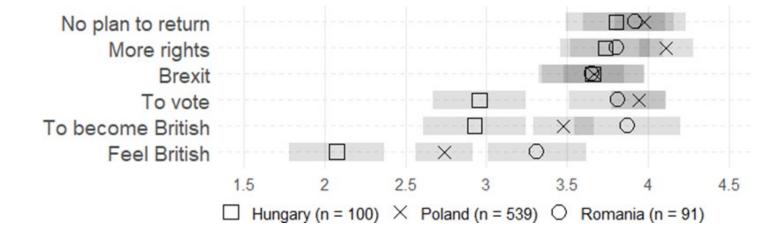
Predicted probability of naturalisation,
January-June 2016

Notes: Values show the predicted probability of intention to apply for British citizenship at any time in the future for each level of the explanatory variables, with 95% confidence intervals. Probabilities are drawn from six different logistic regression models that include each explanatory variable separately. All models include controls for: sex; age (quadratic); parental status; time in UK; and the employment status of the economic unit.

The sample size is 1,307 across all models.

Source: Author's elaboration based on data from the *EUinUK 2016* survey

Naturalisation motivations



Reasons for planning naturalisation, January-June 2016

Notes: Values show marginal mean scores on six five-point Likert-type items measuring the perceived importance (1 = Not at all important, 5 = Very important) of stated reasons for planning to apply for British citizenship. 95% confidence intervals are shown.

The statements included are:

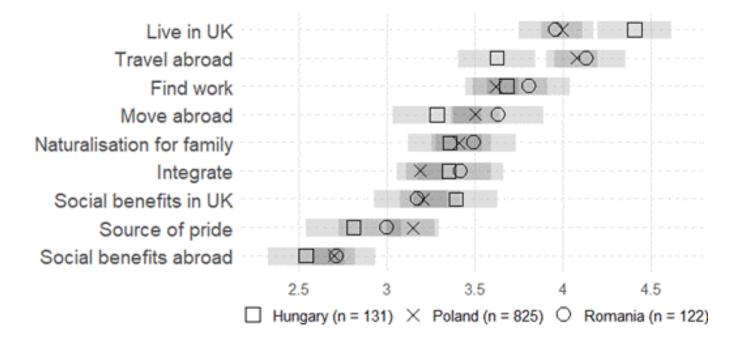
- 'The possibility that the UK might leave the EU' (Brexit),
- 'I would have more rights even if the UK would not leave the EU' (More rights),
- 'I have no plan to return to my country of origin' (No plan to return),
- 'I feel British' (Feel British),
- 'I want to become British' (To become British),
- 'I want to vote in general elections' (To vote).

The question was asked only of those who were planning to apply for citizenship in the future. Estimates are drawn from six linear regression models that control for: sex; age (quadratic); parental status; time in UK; and the employment status of the economic unit.

The model sample size is 730.

Source: Author's elaboration based on data from the EUinUK 2016 survey.

Citizenship perceptions



Perceptions about the advantages of British citizenship, January-June 2016

Notes: Values show marginal mean scores on nine five-point Likert-type items measuring agreement (1 = Strongly disagree, 5 = Strongly agree) with statements about the possible advantages of holding British citizenship. 95% confidence intervals are shown.

The statements included are:

- 'It is easier to travel in the world with a British passport' (Travel abroad),
- 'It is easier to move to another (EU or non-EU) country as a British citizen' (Move abroad),
- 'It makes it easier to live in the UK for a longer period' (Live in UK),
- 'It is easier to find work as a British citizen' (Find work),
- 'It makes it easier to integrate into British society' (Integrate),
- 'It makes it easier to access social benefits in the UK' (Social Benefits in UK),
- 'It makes it easier to access social benefits in another (EU or non-EU) country' (Social Benefits abroad),
- 'It makes it easier for other family members to become British citizens' (Naturalisation for family),
- 'It is a source of pride' (Source of pride).

The estimates are drawn from nine linear regression models that control for: sex; age (quadratic); parental status; time in UK; and the employment status of the economic unit.

The model sample size is 1,078.

Source: Author's elaboration based on data from the EUinUK 2016 survey



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