Mobility citizenship: migration, identity, and nationality in a restructuring Europe

Chris Moreh

To Chisato and Leonard Sora

At nos hinc alii sitientis ibimus Afros,
pars Scythiam et rapidum cretae ueniemus Oaxen
et penitus toto diuissos orbe Britannos.
en umquam patrios longo post tempore finis
pauperis et tuguri congestum caespite culmeh,
post aliquot, mea regna, uidens mirabor aristas?

But we must go hence—some to the thirsty Africans,
some to reach Scythia and Crete's swift Oaxes,
and the Britons, wholly sundered from all the world.
Ah, shall I ever, long years hence,
look again on my country's bounds,
on my humble cottage with its turf-clad roof—
shall I, long years hence,
look amazed on a few ears of corn, once my kingdom?

Virgil, *Eclogae*, lines 64–69 (Meliboeus)

(trans. H. Rushton Fairclough, 1916)

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> So just at the moment that everyone is seeking to be a citizen of a society, so global networks and flows appear to undermine what it is to be a national citizen.
>
> — Urry, *Sociology beyond societies* (2000)

The long decade between the European Union's largest ever eastward expansion in 2004 and the United Kingdom's decision to withdraw from the EU following a referendum on the issue in 2016 has proven of great significance for the empirical appreciation of the relationship between *mobility* and *citizenship* in contemporary Europe. It is the aim of this book to shed light on the contours of this relationship as it emerges, maybe just for an analytical glimpse, from a background of transformative socioeconomic and geopolitical processes of which the two somewhat randomly chosen bookend events mentioned earlier are mere manifestations.

There is a deeply ingrained conceptual tension between citizenship as a legal status and bundle of identities associated with spatially and temporally defined socio-legal categories, and geographical mobility as a force that works against these categorisations and moorings. The paradox of this tension is that both citizenship and mobility have simultaneously expanded their social significance and ubiquity during the past three decades, both empirically – as the combined effect of globally increasing numbers of international migrants (de Haas, Castles, and Miller, 2020) and the increasing acceptance of dual citizenship worldwide (Vink et al., 2019) – and in terms of academic interest – as shown by the institutionalisation and flourishing of research fields and approaches such as 'citizenship studies' (Turner, 1997) and 'mobilities studies' (Hannam, Sheller, and Urry, 2006). This is due precisely to the various ways in which mobility and citizenship have been seen to interconnect and redefine each other.

Broadly speaking, three different dynamics have been emphasised in the academic literature: one in which citizenship absorbs mobilities; another one where mobility fragments citizenship; and a third one that sees mobility

transcend citizenship. Classical linear narratives in which the disruptive uprooting caused by international migration resolves itself in citizenship through a process of national assimilation in the country of destination take the first perspective (e.g. Alba and Foner, 2015). Most typically associated with the 'melting-pot' vision of the United States of America's immigration and state-building experience, this assimilationist paradigm has been seen to also reflect developments in Western European countries turned major migrant destinations that fashioned themselves as modern inclusive republics after emerging from the devastation of two world wars (Brubaker, 1992, 1989). For sure, the way in which European countries related to their 'newcomers' was strongly shaped by their very different traditions of nationhood and colonial histories, and this has always posed a challenge to their aspirations towards an ideal-typical American model. But the subtle and lasting success of the assimilationist paradigm as a universal model was achieved through the notion of 'integration' as a malleable conceptual tool and progressive policy aim (a point made most powerfully by Favell, 2022).

Rejecting the teleological assumptions behind the linear assimilationist view, a variety of approaches have described how mobility results in intergenerationally durable transnational linkages, as well as superdiverse (urban) social geographies that reproduce the multicultural landscape of 'the world in one city' (Vertovec, 2007: 1024). It is when the cultural group identities resulting from these diversifying processes become politicised that particular, fragmented conceptions of citizenship emerge and challenge ideals of nation-state level 'integration' or assimilation through their struggles for recognition as 'different' yet equal. But mobility can also be seen to challenge the very idea of citizenship as an antiquated institution. As some have argued, the truly distinctive feature of the various contemporary mass mobilities is that they transcend citizenship in one way or another: the globetrotting lifestyles of those in the 'transnational capitalist class' are not much bothered with it (Sklair, 2001), and, at any rate, citizenship has become yet another asset in the investment portfolios of the very rich (Kalm, 2022; Surak, 2021; Shachar, 2021); at the other end of the global socio-economic scale, the rights of those seeking asylum in countries ever more distant geographically from those they are escaping stem from ideals of 'universal personhood', a sense of shared belonging to the human family (Soysal, 1994: 142; Bosniak, 2006; Sassen, 2006).

This book proposes a subtly different explanation for how contemporary mobilities and citizenship relate to one another, an explanation which will gain

empirical flesh in the later chapters. The main message, nevertheless, is that 'mobility' should be seen as an integral component of 'citizenship', complementing and linking together a 'lighter' version of the civic, political, and social rights that make up the classical tripartite notion of citizenship described by T. H. Marshall (1950).

The emergence of EU citizenship is paradigmatic in this respect. It is the quintessential 'mobility citizenship', representing an opportunity structure in which the broadest spectrum of social, political and economic rights can be accessed *only after* having partaken in mobility. But far from being a particular characteristic of some 'post-national' political condition, the logic of mobility citizenship has arguably permeated the sociological experience of citizenship more broadly, paralleling but not equating a simultaneous 'instrumental turn' and 'lightening' of citizenship (Joppke, 2019, 2010b; Rose, 2013). Some countries offer their passports up for sale, and members of the national elite in countries whose passports are less than elite are willing to invest in them (Kochenov and Surak, 2023). Other nation-states have sought to strengthen ties with ethnic communities outside their national borders by sharing with them the mobility rights enjoyed by their citizenry (Dumbrava, 2014; Maatsch, 2011). Yet others have adopted a similar approach to compensate for historical wrongs committed against ethno-religious minority populations that had once been forcibly removed from their territories (Stein, 2016). In neither of these cases does citizenship require resettlement to the rights-granting country, yet it expands the mobility capabilities of the new rights-bearers (de Haas, 2021). On the other hand, the strength of mobility rights provided by citizenship in the country of residence is often a consideration in naturalisation decisions by migrants who are otherwise satisfied with the social, economic and political rights they can enjoy as simply long-term residents. Similarly, the right to free movement between member states has always been the most cherished prize of EU citizenship in the European public opinion. The meaning of citizenship cannot be truly grasped by either detailed investigations of any single such phenomenon or comparative studies of two or more typical examples, as it is moulded at the interactive meso-level where individual motivations, actions and identities connect with institutional-legislative structures and discourses. This book operates at this meso-level of analysis.

Before detailing the empirical and methodological approach adopted in the book and outlining the following chapters, let us first introduce the main conceptual frame that will guide the analysis: a 'constellationist' approach to migration and citizenship applied to the intra-European mobility space. I will

discuss this approach as a critique and development of the 'transnational migration paradigm' (Glick Schiller, 2012).

1.1. Constellations of mobility and citizenship

1.1.1. Transnational migration and mobilities

Over the past three decades the multidisciplinary field of 'transnationalism' studies has provided the most successful challenge to the classical assimilationist paradigm (Glick Schiller, Basch, and Blanc-Szanton, 1992, 1995; Portes, Guarnizo, and Landolt, 1999; Vertovec, 2009; Bauböck and Faist, 2010; Glick Schiller, 2012; Nieswand, 2011; Recchi et al., 2019). The transnationalist critique had a methodological and an empirical angle. Methodologically, it challenged the primacy of the nation-state as the analytical unit for empirical analysis. As Wimmer and Glick Schiller (2002a: 304, 307) have argued, the organising principles of the modern nation-state have been naturalised to such extent in mainstream social science that 'national discourses, agendas, loyalties and histories' are taken for granted without problematizing them and, furthermore, the 'social sciences have become obsessed with describing processes within nation-state boundaries as contrasted with those outside, and have correspondingly lost sight of the connections between such nationally defined territories', with particularly debilitating consequences in the context of international migration scholarship. It is this latter shortcoming that scholars have then sought to correct through a rich empirical agenda that has shifted the focus onto networks connecting various places of origin and destination, and migrants' simultaneous cultural, experiential and emotional existence 'in-between' these locations and within transnational social 'spaces' or 'fields' (Levitt and Glick Schiller, 2004; Faist, 2000). Rather than seeing 'uprooted' immigrants – the transnationalism literature postulated – we should be talking about 'transmigrants' who are 'firmly rooted' in destination countries, while maintaining multiple active ties with their 'homelands' (Glick Schiller, Basch, and Blanc-Szanton, 1995).

The proliferation and increasing complexity of transnational connections, 'flows' and 'spaces' due to technological advances, however, has been posing a challenge for the 'transnationalist' approach to the mobility–citizenship nexus as represented by multiple semi-rooted linkages. Thick descriptions of how economic activity, family life, social status, or civil society activism plays out across national borders in transmigrant communities had been the greatest achievements of the transnationalist project, yet they remained reliant on a

background of more-or-less immobile, non-migrant majority societies. Meanwhile, social theorists had begun emphasising how European societies became more 'mobile', internally diverse and interconnected with the larger world in ways that made the 'transnational social fields' of international migrants appear less as separate and unique phenomena.

Reacting to these challenges, some critics proposed 'folding transnationalism into a generalised study of mobilities and immobilities in line with John Urry's "sociology beyond societies"' (Rogers, 2005: 404; see also Urry, 2000). Proponents of such a post-disciplinary 'new mobilities paradigm' have sought to altogether replace the core concept of *society* with that of *mobilities*, aiming to achieve a new perspective on contemporary global society as glued together not by rigid and stable structures, but by flows of people, objects and information in incessant motion, and only pinned together by rather loose 'rhizomic attachments' or 'moorings' (Hannam, Sheller, and Urry, 2006; Sheller and Urry, 2006; Urry, 2007; Cresswell and Merriman, 2011; Adey, 2010; Sheller, 2014). Such 'celebration of mobility', however, was seen as having focused overwhelmingly on certain privileged types of movement and disregarded the role of inequalities (Glick Schiller and Salazar, 2013). The discarded concept of 'society' also relied too much on a limited definition that equated it with the nation-state and did not consider 'earlier and more cosmopolitan notions of society' (Delanty, 2009: 64). Consequently, despite the emphasis on 'hyperchaotic phenomena' pushing the nation-state out of sight, mobilities theory has not truly overcome methodological nationalism, but rather has only concealed it with postmodernist rhetoric (Kalir, 2012; Maximiliano, 2018). Finally, in stark contrast with the empirical depth of transnationalism research, the abstractions of mobilities theory have been charged with a 'wanton destruction of empirical methods' (Favell, 2001: 392).

Foundational scholars of the 'transnational migration paradigm' have instead sought to incorporate new 'cosmopolitan' (Glick Schiller, Darieva, and Gruner-Domic, 2011; Glick Schiller, 2014) or 'global power' (Glick Schiller, 2010, 2012) perspectives into their analyses, avowing that 'transnational migration studies has tended to underreport on and failed to theorize cosmopolitan practices, sociabilities and forms of identification *not* built on shared common ethnic or ethno-religious identities' (Glick Schiller, Darieva, and Gruner-Domic, 2011: 406, emphasis in original). The turn to a cosmopolitan perspective within the transnationalist project therefore entailed specifically 'an effort to move beyond multiculturalism without embracing national or global narratives of universalism' (2011: 401) when exploring, particularly, 'the mobilities of

disempowered people' (2011: 402). This shift was in effect an attempt to link up with Beck and Sznaider's call for 'methodological cosmopolitanism' (2006) and the 'critical cosmopolitan sociology' advocated by Delanty (2006, 2009).

The cosmopolitan turn has provided transnational migration studies with new opportunities to realise the full potential of the concept of 'transnationalism'. As Ong (1999) pointed out, the concept reflects two dimensions of transgression, a spatial and an essential one: '*Trans* denotes both moving through space or across lines, as well as changing the nature of something' (1999: 4, italics in original). While the transnationalist project had largely focused on the former, the cosmopolitan imagination is one that captures the broader changes in how social life transgresses the boundaries of nation-states. In contrast to the theoretical abstractions of neo-Kantian normative cosmopolitanism, the 'methodologically grounded approach' proposed by Delanty (2009) has the specific task 'to discern or make sense of social transformation by identifying new or emergent social realities' (Delanty, 2009: 73). For him, the 'European transnationalization of the nation-state is one of the most important contexts for the crystallization of cosmopolitanism as a political reality' (2009: 200), arguing in line with other propositions for the 'Europeanization' of migration research agendas by focusing on the only 'actually existing' transnational political formation, the European Union, where mobility passes from being an ambiguous concept to a term with much clearer analytical prospects (Favell and Guiraudon, 2009, 2011). However, while 'Europeanization' can serve as *context* to 'cosmopolitanism', it nevertheless does not equate it, and '[c]osmopolitan phenomena may be present more in social struggles than in institutional forms' (Delanty, 2019: v). While this conception of cosmopolitanism thus lends itself to empirical sociological analyses that explore the ambiguities and complexities of enacted 'sociabilities' (Glick Schiller, Darieva, and Gruner-Domic, 2011; Glick Schiller and Schmidt, 2016; Glick Schiller, 2014), it has its limitations when it comes to connecting these with 'institutional forms' in a more interactive meso-level framework where individual reasons, actions and identities, and the institutional-legislative framework of states and the European Union meet and mutually reinforce one another. This would require not only the relinquishing of 'methodological nationalism' – the ontological purpose of the transnationalist paradigm (Wimmer and Glick Schiller, 2002b; Glick Schiller, 2010; Wimmer and Glick Schiller, 2002a) – but also going beyond the description of migrant networks connecting two – or, less commonly, multiple – places of origin and destination to also simultaneously account for the multilevel political-economic structures that affect individual opportunities, expectations, behaviours,

identities, and group dynamics. This may in fact require a *more* – rather than less – active engagement with 'national' or 'state' influences.

This point has been recognised in principle by both transnationalism and mobilities scholars. Urry (2007) himself noted that the social sciences more broadly have largely ignored the 'infrastructures of social life' that enable social relations and interactions, recommending that we turn our analyses towards these 'enduring systems' which 'permit predictable and relatively risk-free repetition of the movement in question' (2007: 13). Only recently did these concerns become central to accounts of mobility practices based on 'migration infrastructures' (Preiss, 2022; Düvell and Preiss, 2022). Apart from transportation and telecommunication technologies that received the most attention among mobilities scholars, this infrastructure includes also an '*array of appropriate documents, visas, money, qualifications* that enable safe movement of one's body from one place, city, country to another' (Urry, 2007: 197; emphasis in original). For Urry, these all are elements of what he refers to as 'network capital', but which we could more precisely describe as components of a 'citizenship opportunity structure', determined as they are by the legal relationship one has with one or several states (Bauböck, 2010b). It was also Urry who coined the term 'mobility citizenship', but he introduced it only brusquely to describe 'the rights and responsibilities of visitors to other places and other cultures' (Urry, 2000: 167). Mau would later define it in more specific terms as 'the right to be mobile (that is, to cross borders legally) and the right to stay' (2010: 340).

To account for these structural factors, Glick Schiller and Salazar (2013) have suggested an integrative 'regimes-of-mobility approach' and emphasized that 'the term "regime" calls attention to the role both of individual states and of changing international regulatory and surveillance administrations that affect individual mobility' (2013: 189). Nonetheless, in its strife to avoid 'methodological nationalism', transnationalism research has overwhelmingly focused on migrant practices and experiences 'from below' (Smith and Guarnizo, 1998), showing a relative lack of engagement with national and supra-national institutional structures.

The institutional-normative – 'from above' – aspect of transnationalism was picked up by scholars of 'transnational citizenship' and developed into a parallel research agenda for comparative citizenship policy analysis (Bauböck, 1994, 2003, 2010a; Faist and Kivisto, 2007; Howard, 2005; Sejersen, 2008; Vink, De Groot, and Luk, 2020; Vink et al., 2021; but cf. Pudzianowska, 2017 on the methodological difficulties and limits of comparative multiple citizenship

analysis). According to Bauböck (2003), the novelty of *political* transnationalism consists not so much in migrants' continued political orientation towards their origin countries, but in 'their increasing opportunities to combine external and internal status and affiliations' (Bauböck, 2003: 703) – in other words, the novelty lies in the actions taken by the countries of origin and destination which regulate access to their citizenship. But state actions in respect to citizenship are closely linked to migratory processes, and what Bauböck has pointed out as the major limitation of 'most analyses of migrant transnationalism' was that they failed to incorporate 'a focus on institutional change as a result of migration flows' (2010b: 849). In response, Bauböck proposes an analytical shift towards 'citizenship constellations', which he describes in direct reference to the transnational approach to international migration, as 'a structure that comes into view when this general approach is applied to the field of citizenship policies' (2010b: 849). To understand the integrative potential of this approach, it is useful to place it within the context of contemporary citizenship scholarship.

1.1.2. Transnational citizenship and the state

It was not until the necessity of incorporating large migrant populations presented itself that the topic of citizenship became perceived as relevant to social research or, in fact, to public policy (Hansen, 2000; Castles and Davidson, 2000). As a survey of the (anglophone) literature would show, 'citizenship' began emerging only sporadically during the 1970s and it started having an impact only by the late 1980s.[1] As Urry noted, the unravelling of state socialist systems in Eastern Europe in 1989 represents a turning point in the understanding and study of citizenship, becoming intertwined with the emerging discourse on globalisation (Urry, 2000). By the early 1990s 'citizenship' was already – or rather, still – seen as a 'remarkable case of sudden interest' (Heater, 1991) in both political rhetoric and academic discourse (see also Kymlicka and

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[1]   I searched scholarly publications in the *Web of Science* database (years 1970 to 2021), the *Dimensions* database (https://app.dimensions.ai/discover/publication; years 1800 to 2022), and *Google Books Ngram Viewer* (https://books.google.com/ngrams; years 1700 to 2019). Historically, the keyword 'citizenship' saw a minor spike between 1787 and 1790, matched again only in the early 1900s following a slow but steadily increasing trend over the previous two decades. The 1970s brought about not only a shift in the intensity of academic work on the subject, but also a formalisation of the contemporary usage of the term. The average number of publications mentioning 'citizenship' has risen from around 15 between 1970–1975 to about 4,300 between 2015–2020. In terms of impact, the number of yearly citations received by research on the topic has increased from fewer than 5 before 1976 – and still under 100 until 1989 – to around 3,000 since 2015.

Norman, 1994). Over the past quarter of a century, however, the topic has developed into an arborescent and ever-expanding debate concerning the nature and relevance of citizenship.

We can identify two main directions in the broader debate on citizenship: one concerning its internal *fragmentation* along sub-national and non-national group identities and interests, and the other focusing on its *trans-nationalisation* above and beyond the nation-state. The former has its antecedents in an earlier spike of interest in the concept of citizenship associated with the concurrent publication of Jim Rose's (1969) C*olour and Citizenship: A Report on British Race Relations* and Michael Walzer's (1970) O*bligations: Essays on Disobedience, War and Citizenship* on the other side of the Atlantic, with both volumes, in different ways, reflecting the social unrest that had swept through the Western world during the 1960s. The ensuing long transition period between the crisis of the so-called 'social democratic consensus' at the end of the 1960s and the consolidation of a 'neoliberal consensus' in the early 1990s (Thompson, 2006) was characterised by a politicization of *identity* resulting from what Charles Taylor (1994) has referred to as the 'politics of recognition'. As Linda Bosniak noted, '[t]oday, the "politics of recognition" are often debated in the language of citizenship' (Bosniak, 2006: 20). As multiculturalism came to be seen as a 'mode of inclusion' in several liberal democracies (Kivisto and Faist, 2007: 34-46), 'multicultural citizenship' was assigned the task of modelling the possibilities for incorporating sub-national and non-national identities, mobilisations and forms of consciousness (Kukathas, 1993; Gutmann, 1994; Kymlicka, 1995; Modood, 2013; Meer, 2010).

By the turn of the millennium, reflections on the role of internal cultural pluralisation in challenging the nationally cohesive character of universal citizenship evolved into a significant body of literature pointing to the proliferation of 'hyphenated citizenships' (Isin and Wood, 1999). Some of these 'citizenships' are a direct consequence of the 'mobility turn', being conceptualised in explicit opposition to the classical Marshallian definition (see Marshall, 1950), as 'citizenships of flow' that 'de-differentiate' civil, political and social rights and responsibilities (Urry, 2000: 167). Delanty (2006: 29), for instance, opines that 'Marshall's trajectory of civic to political to social rights must now be complemented by cultural rights, a sphere of rights that incorporates the cosmopolitan dimension', and identifies new 'citizenships' very similar to the ones discussed by Urry (2000: 161-187), including those dealing with minorities, lifestyle, consumer and environmental concerns (see also Stevenson, 2002, 2000).

Arguably, the potential for such fragmentation had always existed as a constituent feature of citizenship. Ralf Dahrendorf pointed out how the modern idea of citizenship 'was not only linked to the development of larger political entities, nations, but it also replaced loyalties which bound men to specific groups, guilds, corporations, universities, by generalized loyalties' (Dahrendorf, 1974: 693). Yet, he argued building on Jürgen Habermas's early work on the public sphere, the idea of a 'generalised public' rested on a flawed distinction between state and society, and as soon as the state began interfering with the social order through the development of social citizenship rights, the generality of the norms governing citizenship was bound to prove unsustainable. As consequence, 'the "relatively homogeneous public of reasoning private individuals" gives way to organized sectoral interests; the one public gives way to several publics; citizenship can no longer be thought of as a generalized status enabling people to participate in the social and political process' (1974: 694-695). As such, these various 'sectoral' citizenships are 'all contradictions in terms and at the same time apparently inevitable consequences of the idea of citizenship' (1974: 695).

The national cohesiveness of citizenship was also the starting point in the *trans-nationalisation* literature. This partly originates in reactions to Brubaker's (1992) famous discussion of citizenship as a form of 'social closure'. According to him, '[e]very state claims to be the state of, and for, a particular, bounded citizenry, usually conceived as a nation' (Brubaker, 1992: x). The citizenship granted by such a state, therefore, 'means membership in a large-scale republic that has boundaries roughly conforming to some partly pre-existing "national" community' (Smith, 2001: 73). This is a vision of citizenship as an institution that is central to the definition, demarcation and reinforcement of democratic states as sovereign political entities whose authority derives from the people they purport to represent.

The lasting strength of Brubaker's analysis lies in the deep socio-historical contextualisation of contemporary citizenship, which he sees as shaped by long traditions and ideologies of nationhood. He proceeded by contrasting the French legal tradition of *ius soli* – citizenship attribution based on place of birth – with Germany's *ius sanguinis* – citizenship based on descent, on 'blood' – and tracing their roots to divergent – *civic* or *ethnic* – patterns of nation-building, reviving an earlier distinction made by Kohn (1945). By tying apparently legalistic concepts to rich histories of nation-building, Brubaker has also shown that 'citizenship is not simply a legal formula; it is an increasingly salient social

and cultural fact' (Brubaker, 1992: 23), and as such of central importance for sociological investigation.

Objections to Brubaker's thesis emerged from various angles. The revival of the civic/ethnic and the concomitant West/East divide – seen as also entailing a progressive/regressive value judgement – has been forcefully challenged on empirical grounds (Smith, 2001; Bauböck and Liebich, 2010; Shulman, 2002; Shevel, 2010; Weil, 2001); the case studies explored in this book will also demonstrate that entanglements between citizenship policy and ideologies of nationhood are far more complex than what a binary distinction could convey. More importantly, others have argued that states are not only causally constrained by their nation-building traditions, but that (im)migration itself is involved in redefining nationhood (Joppke, 1999). In fact, one could argue, the central task of theorising contemporary citizenship is precisely to rethink the ethnocultural and civic-territorial boundaries of the citizenry, after these have become challenged by geographical mobility and the intergenerational reproduction of transnational ties and experiences of 'otherness'.

The territorial challenge posed by migration for the nation-state has been concisely formulated by the tragically late Kim Barry:

> migration decouples citizenship and residence, disrupting tidy conceptions of nation-states as bounded territorial entities with fixed populations of citizens. Today states are constituted increasingly by large numbers of resident noncitizens as well as nonresident, or external citizens—those who reside elsewhere (Barry, 2006: 17).

Another remarkable development of the past decades has been the increased willingness of nation-states to accommodate multiple political attachments (see Faist and Kivisto, 2007; Sejersen, 2008; Vink et al., 2019; and the MACIMIDE Global Expatriate Dual Citizenship Dataset in Vink, De Groot, and Luk, 2020). More than just an opening up to the idea of *multiple* or *multinational citizenship* – believed to be a 'contradiction in terms' until as late as four decades ago (Aron and Hofstadter, 1974: 638) – some describe the current trends as a veritable 'scramble for citizens' (Cook-Martín, 2013). As a result, the world is constituted increasingly by large numbers of people holding multiple citizenships.

These processes have resulted in an empirically unquestionable 'trans-nationalisation' of citizenship. For Benhabib, this has engendered a 'crisis of territoriality' (Benhabib, 2004: 4), while according to Spiro 'the boundaries of human community transcend territorial ones, in a way that citizenship cannot process' (2008: 30). Soysal (1994: 139) has famously proposed in her landmark study of 'postnational membership' that we are witnessing 'a profound

transformation in the institution of citizenship', arguing that a considerable number of rights in liberal democracies do not stem directly from the state, but rather from universal legal norms governed by a Kantian *ius cosmopoliticum*, and depend not on one's *birthplace* or *descent* – the two dominant forms of citizenship transmission noted earlier – but on that of *residence*, or *ius domicilii* (see also Bauder, 2014). As Davies (2005) bluntly put it, 'residence is the new nationality'.

The perception that the concept of citizenship as a legally integrative function of the nation-state is a thing of the past has not remained unchallenged (see e.g. Joppke and Morawska, 2003; Joppke, 2010a, 1999). It could be argued that 'profound transformations' did not undergo in the institution of citizenship itself – as proposed by Soysal – but in other aspects of the social and global reality to which it relates. What we see, in fact, is that changes in social and global complexity lead to the creation of new *mobilities* and *identities*, which, by appealing to the political realm through the concept of *citizenship*, instead of challenging it, aim to enter into a relation of formality with the political entity that could provide them legitimacy. De facto, this entity is most often a nation-state. As Christian Joppke noted, human rights are not freely 'hovering in abstract "global" space', but their protection 'is a constitutive principle of nation-states qua liberal states' (1999: 4). Furthermore, 'even multicultural integration is unmistakably national integration' (1999: 146), and as such, operating with a more restrictive definition of citizenship is therefore substantiated. From this standpoint, citizenship is still membership in a political community defined by territoriality, descent and identity, the combination of which allows for the 'political community' to be geographically definite, inter-generationally sustainable, and culturally distinct (in the sense of being 'externally exclusive', cf. Brubaker, 1992).

The analytical turn towards 'citizenship constellations' proposed by Bauböck is meant to salvage this more restrictive and empirically operationalizable understanding of citizenship while at the same time acknowledging the inherently 'transnational' character of contemporary citizenship. For him, 'citizenship means membership in a self-governing political community that stretches across generations and is attached to a specific territory. In a citizenship constellation such communities are no longer fully separate, but they remain nonetheless distinct' (Bauböck, 2010b: 855). Such a perspective 'defends the idea that citizenship is not merely a bundle of rights derived from residence, but also a significant identity that integrates diverse societies with mobile as well as sedentary populations' (Bauböck, 2010b: 855).

Transnational citizenship thus conceived is constituted by multiple simultaneous political memberships creating 'constellations' in which the rights and obligations of individual members are determined by more than one 'political authority':

> Citizenship as a legal status is a relation between individuals and territorial political entities, among which states are the most important ones. What I suggest calling a 'citizenship constellation' is a structure in which individuals are simultaneously linked to several such political entities, so that their legal rights and duties are determined not only by one political authority, but by several (Bauböck, 2010b: 848).

This definition encompasses both individual actors' linkages to various states – the more customary type of 'horizontal' transnational connections – and the more specific multilevel, 'vertical' transnational linkages that we see within the European Union (Shaw, 2021). Importantly, it also raises the prospect of avoiding methodological nationalism while retaining a strong focus on the legal institutional structures that impede or make transnational lives possible. 'Taking citizenship constellations as units of analysis' – Bauböck argues – would help us 'abandon a narrow immigration-state-centred view' while acknowledging the continued importance of state structures for the lives of mobile individuals:

> While neither sending nor receiving country fully controls the opportunity structure and value that their respective citizenships represent for migrants, they jointly produce a set of legal statuses and bundle of rights that are still immensely valuable, especially for mobile individuals, and that do mark important inequalities between different groups of human populations (Bauböck, 2010b: 852-853).

The challenge for empirical research is thus to identify appropriate 'units' for analysis and to provide a comprehensive description of processes taking place at the interactive meso-level where individual practices and experiences connect with legislative structures. This has not yet been directly explored by empirical research, and the present book sets itself the aim to address this analytical gap. This book therefore builds on the concept of 'constellations' as one capable of integrating a multilevel and dynamic theorisation of mobility and citizenship with normative-political frameworks and an empirical focus on the 'human face' of EU mobility and citizenship (Favell, Feldblum, and Smith, 2007).

In this book I adopt the concept of *transnational citizenship* as this middle ground, *meso*-level, of empirical complexity. I only include those aspects of global economic, cultural and legal processes which are empirically reflected in the inequalities involved in simultaneous – overlapping and concentric –

membership statuses. More explicitly than Bauböck (1994), I relegate other aspects to the 'postnational' realm, although for him too, transnationality characterises 'developments, which expand citizenship beyond the national frame but still do not add together to global citizenship' (1994: 20; cf. also Balibar, 2004). This also entails treating citizenship as an emergent objective reality, distancing it from voluntaristic visions of citizenship as a 'political subjectivity' enacted through a variety of everyday and performative 'acts' and activism (Isin, 2015, 2019; Isin and Nielsen, 2008; cf. Isin, 2012). These, instead of engendering new forms of citizenship, are reflections of deeper changes undergoing within the 'aspiration-capabilities' structures of contemporary mobilities (de Haas, 2021).

1.2. Empirical cases and methods

1.2.1. The meso-level: some epistemological considerations

The social sciences have been shaped by debates around the primacy of and relationship between individual *agency* and social *structure*, or the *micro* and *macro* domains. Much of contemporary theorising has sought to identify an intermediate domain as the ideal arena for observing how the link between the micro and the macro is shaped through interactive processes such as the production of 'habitus', 'communicative action', 'structuration', 'morphogenesis' or 'social emergence' (Habermas, 1987; Bourdieu, 1977; Giddens, 1984; Archer, 1995; Sawyer, 2005). These concerns are also reflected in the empirical study of human migration. As Thomas Faist (1997: 187) noted, 'theoretical efforts have mostly focused either on global structural factors inducing migration and refugee movements (macro-theories) or on factors motivating individuals to move (micro-theories)', he himself stressing the importance to study the *meso*-level consisting of 'social relations (social ties) between individuals in kinship groups (e.g. families), households, neighbourhoods, friendship circles and formal organizations' (1997: 188). This fair proposition, however, conceives of the meso-level only in terms of the size and complexity of the decision-making entity, rather than attributing it a separate ontology, which theorists coming from the critical realist tradition that loosely underpins the ontological position adopted in this book have emphasised as the most important aspect of middle-range phenomena.

Sawyer (2005), for example, has argued that the meso-level which links agency and structure is a stratified space made up not only of *interaction*, but also of so-called *ephemeral* and *stable emergents*. These additional levels of

social reality, he argued, are necessary for the identification of mechanisms by which *interactional processes* lead to the emergence of *interactional frames* or 'collective social facts that can be characterized independently of individuals' interpretations of them' (Sawyer, 2005: 210). Some of these *emergents* become stable, developing independent causal powers on lower levels, or even materialise in a way that 'their emergence from interaction is lost to history and their continued existence does not depend on interactional phenomena' (2005: 221). Sawyer stresses that these levels should not be confused with the size of the agential entities involved, and that 'they represent emergent properties of groups of any size' (2005: 212). From the viewpoint of migration studies, a focus on meso-level emergence could therefore involve the study of such phenomena as the 'culture of migration' or the 'migration industry'.

Another important point emphasised by realist meta-theorists is that agency and structure should be kept analytically separate, and the focus of research should be on their interplay. According to Margaret Archer (1995), at any given point in time when the researcher looks at social phenomena, it becomes obvious that '[s]tructures (as emergent entities) are not only irreducible to people, they pre-exist them', and as such rather than itself creating the social structure, 'agential power is always restricted to re-making, whether this be reproducing or transforming our social inheritance (Archer, 1995: 71-72). Making the point specifically in the context of migration research, Iosifides (2011) has argued that our purpose should be 'to account for the interplay between different [micro-, meso- or macro-] levels that play a central role at every unit of analysis' (Iosifides, 2011: 157), and we should have as our goal 'the (always fallible) discovery of generative mechanisms underneath or beyond surface phenomena, experiences or interpretations' (Iosifides, 2011: 74). This requires examining in detail not only subjective narratives and understandings but also the social context against which these are expressed.

The multidimensional understanding of 'mobility citizenship' pursued in this book is thus one that aims to make sense of mobile European citizens' 'interpretations, meanings, discourses, beliefs, desires, intentions, conceptualisations and, of course, actions and practices' (Iosifides, 2011: 65) as the 're-making' – in Archer's sense – of the citizenship constellations that structure the social context of their lives. This is an approach to 'citizenship' that sees it as a 'capability' affecting one's 'motility' – defined by Kaufmann, Bergman, and Joye (2004: 753) as 'actual and potential spatio-social mobility'. In the usage of Amartya Sen (1985a: 14), 'the concept of capabilities is a "freedom" type notion', in which 'freedom is concerned with what one *can* do,

and not just with what one does do', and also 'with what one can *do*, and not just with what utility that doing leads to' (Sen, 1985b: 140; italics in original). Hein de Haas places this 'aspiration-capabilities' framework in which migration is an intrinsic part of broader social change at the heart of a foundational theory of human migration (de Haas, 2021).

1.2.2. Cases, questions and methods

Hungarian and Romanian migration to the United Kingdom provides a rich case study for the multidimensional meso-level analysis of mobility-citizenship constellations I have described above for several reasons. Firstly, the two countries are representative of different EU Accession waves: although officially part of the same 'fifth enlargement', Hungary joined the EU in 2004, while Romania in 2007. Secondly, while Hungarian nationals had free access to the UK labour market immediately after joining the EU, Romanians faced transitional restrictions for seven years following their EU Accession. Thirdly, Hungarians and Romanians have traditionally followed very different mobility behaviours. Hungarians have been among the least internationally mobile Central Europeans over the two decades following the fall of communism, and although they had full access to the British labour market, migration from Hungary to the UK had been comparatively low in the few years after Accession. Later, mobility from Hungary would start accentuating just as mobility from the other A8 countries was abating compared to previous levels.[2] Romanians, on the other hand, have been among the most internationally mobile in post-socialist Europe, despite facing significantly more barriers to legal migration.

These first three reasons mark Hungary and Romania out as atypical cases compared to each other and to other CEE migrant countries of origin. A fourth reason for choosing Hungarian and Romanian migration as case studies relates to their richness in raising relevant and complex theoretical questions regarding *citizenship* from a 'constellationist' empirical perspective. They provide an entry point to investigating the relationship between 'horizontal' and 'vertical' forms of transnational *mobilities* and *citizenships* (Shaw, 2021). In this respect, the

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[2]   In this book I use the following taxonomic terms for groups of EU countries: EU15 are the 'old', pre-2004 member states; A12 are the countries joining the EU in 2004 and 2007 combined, while A10 are those taking part in the 2004 enlargement and A2 are the two countries that joined the EU in 2007. A8 will refer to the Central European and Baltic members of the A10 (i.e. discounting Cyprus and Malta), while CEE (standing for Central Eastern Europe) are the A8 plus A2.

'external ethnic citizenship' laws introduced in both countries are ideal case study materials (as also noted by Bauböck, 2010b). Hungary and Romania have both adopted – or began enforcing – citizenship laws facilitating non-residential naturalisation for their ethnic kin living in neighbouring (often non-EU) countries at around the same time in 2010–2011. Theirs is a special case of a constellation which is not the result of migration, but of 'shifting state borders that have left ethnic kin minorities stranded in neighbouring state territories' (Bauböck, 2010b: 848). Since the conferred legal statuses also entail (a more comprehensive bundle of) EU citizenship and free movement rights, the inclusion of trans-border nationals' citizenship- and mobility practices in the analysis permits a multilevel investigation of the ethno-national and the territorial aspects of contemporary citizenship. If citizenship constellations created by the movement of people can be said to be of a 'transmigrant' type, then the Hungarian–Romanian citizenship constellation is a 'transborder' one. This book examines the interrelationships between the two types through a comparative analysis of the mobility and identity constructions of Hungarian and Romanian – both 'kin-state resident' and 'trans-border' – nationals.

Through this comparative case study approach the book pursues the following research objectives:

- to reveal the mechanisms that link *mobilities* to *citizenships*.
- to reveal the effects of citizenship and mobility on individual, national and transnational identities.
- to understand how Europeanising and counter-Europeanising factors are internalised and processed by mobile citizens.

These objectives require an in-depth understanding of the individual situations which have made the appropriation of mobility- and citizenship rights necessary and possible and how the latter have affected individual perceptions and identities. At the same time, to achieve a rich multidimensional understanding of meso-level processes, it is essential to place individual in-depth narratives within their historical, legal, political and demographic contexts in such a way that the dynamic between the different levels becomes observable.

The core empirical material scrutinised in the book emerged from an ethnographic fieldwork carried out during summer 2013 in London. The timing of the fieldwork allows for the sharpest comparative lens, since those were the last few months during which Romanian citizens were still facing transitional restrictions on their access to the UK labour market, while at the same time – as we will see later – the possibility of a national referendum for the UK to leave the European Union had just burst into public discourse following comments
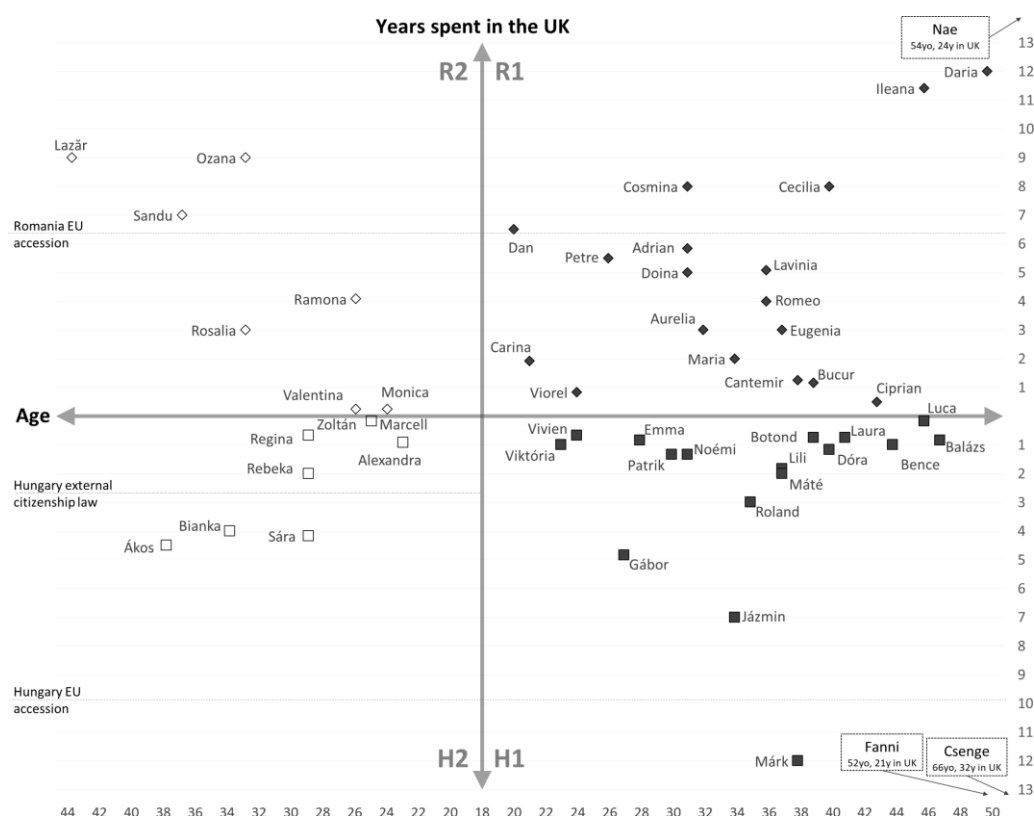
Figure 1.1. Main characteristics of the qualitative interview sample

Source: Author's elaboration. Data table available at: https://osf.io/uav8b/

made by then Prime Minister David Cameron. As part of that fieldwork, I collected 53 semi-structured interviews with Romanian and Hungarian migrants, of which 15 were 'trans-border' nationals who had access to Hungarian or Romanian citizenship based on 'ethnic external' citizenship laws.[3] *Figure 1.1* maps out the pseudonyms of interview participants in respect to their age, years spent in the UK at the time of data collection, and their four-dimensional nationality classification as either a Hungarian or Romanian citizen by birth (H1 and R1, respectively), or a 'trans-border' national in those countries'

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[3] Interviews usually lasted between 60 and 90 minutes and were conducted in Hungarian or Romanian by me. The fact that I have knowledge of both languages and that I have lived in both countries was in fact a fifth – methodological and practical – reason for having chosen Hungarian and Romanian migration as case studies. It enables the collection, analysis and interpretive understanding of intricate discursive and narrative information. It also allowed me to present myself in the interview situation as a half-insider/half-outsider, thus gaining the trust of my interviewees and creating an amenable conversational atmosphere, while at the same time being able to ask questions which may seem self-evident to my interviewees, but which have high explanatory value to the research (Tužinská, 2011).

extraterritorial citizenship constellation (H2 and R2). Excerpts from the interviews presented later in the book are accompanied by this basic socio-demographic information. A fuller explanation of these terminologies and details on a few special nationality cases that evade this four-dimensional classification in provided at the beginning of *Chapter 5*.

From the detailed experiences and views of these EU movers, the book builds a multi-comparative explanatory framework which can capture the complexity of the mobility–citizenship nexus. To add flesh to this framework, the book uses an eclectic combination of other data sources and types. *Chapter 2* is based primarily on textual materials from the Hansard UK Parliamentary archives, Colonial Conference proceedings, and the digitalised holdings of the Historical Archives of the European Union. *Chapter 3* in particular relies on administrative statistical data from various databases such as Eurostat – complemented by census data from the national statistical authorities of several countries, including the UK's ONS –, the Department for Work and Pensions, the Home Office, the United Nations Population Division and the World Bank. Additionally, *Chapter 6* brings in data from an original online survey I carried out in the run-up to the UK's referendum on EU membership.

1.3. Outline of chapters

The book aims to trace the development of a new conception of 'mobility citizenship' in Europe both historically, demographically and experientially. As argued earlier in this introduction, this entails a comprehensive understanding of European mobility-citizenship constellations. Building on the conceptual-theoretical discussion of the present chapter, *Chapters 2* and *3* consider, in turn, what transnational citizenship constellations and mobility constellations entail in empirical terms.

Chapter 2 is foundational to the rest of the chapters. It is a substantial analysis of three broad and interrelated types of transnational citizenship constellation. It first traces the emergence of the 'citizenship' concept in the United Kingdom from its colonial historical development, exemplifying the *postcolonial* type of constellation and showing how 'mobility citizenship' lies at the core of that form and how its main characteristics were transferred on to the UK's modern nation-state citizenship. The second section then explores the only empirically existing supranational citizenship constellation – that of the European Union – by reviewing official political narratives and developments that have shaped the definition and content of EU citizenship as a 'mobility citizenship' that not only provides mobility rights as part of citizenship rights

but represents an opportunity structure in which the broadest spectre of social, political and economic rights can be accessed only *after* having taken part in mobility. The final section adds extraterritorial citizenship to the types of transnational constellations discussed in this book, exemplifying it specifically through the cases of the Hungarian and Romanian ethnic external citizenship laws.

Chapter 3 turns to 'mobility constellations', describing in some detail the demographic trends that underpin the development of EU free movement. It focuses primarily on post-socialist and post-Accession mobilities in Central Eastern Europe – and Hungary and Romania in particular –, embedding them in historical frameworks of mobility and immobility in the region before considering them in respect to migration to the United Kingdom, where they are situated within the transitioning UK migration system.

The following three chapters turn to the experiential dimensions of EU 'mobility citizenship'. *Chapter 4* analyses Hungarian and Romanian movers' individual experiences of migration to the United Kingdom, adopting a comparative approach that contrasts 'open borders' and 'freedom of movement' rights. *Chapter 5* brings in the perspective of 'trans-border nationals', of those ethnic Hungarians and Romanians living in neighbouring countries who could expand their mobility opportunity structures by having access, on ethno-national grounds, to (more comprehensive) EU citizenship rights. The discussion connects to the previous chapter by contrasting open borders and freedom of movement with experiences of closed borders and unfree movement. At the same time, it raises a wide spectrum of questions about the *identity* aspects of citizenship, which will also play a role in the following and final chapter.

Chapter 6 discusses patterns and narratives of naturalisation in the UK and explores the effects of the UK's exit from the European Union. This chapter also puts forward a conceptualisation of 'mobility citizenship' that generalises it from the specific forms it adopted under postcolonial, supranational and extraterritorial mobility-citizenship constellations.

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