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# Citizenship

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Pearson

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# THE GEOGRAPHIES OF CITIZENSHIP

Richard Yarwood

## Topics Covered

- Citizenship
- Nation-state
- Activism and active citizenship
- Human Rights

## Learning Outcomes

Having read this chapter you should be able to:

- show how ideas of citizenship are contested over time and space;
- illustrate the significance of citizenship to contemporary society using a range of international case studies;
- appreciate how geography and citizenship are linked;
- demonstrate how citizenship is played out at various scales, from the local to the global.

Learning Outcomes: Bullet outcomes (check notes)

### 23.1 Introduction: citizenship and place

Citizenship matters. Without it you are unable to access basic rights such as education or welfare benefits. It allows you to move across and between countries. Being a citizen may also foster a feeling of belonging or even a sense of duty and a desire to serve a wider community. Citizenship is also geographical; it is something that is only given meaning when it is put in a spatial context. You are a citizen of a place, be a formally recognised country or an informal community. You may also see yourself as a citizen of the world, keen to engage

in international politics or actions aimed at tackling global issues such as climate change or unfair trade. At the same time, local places and sites provide a context for you to act as a citizen, be through voting, writing to a councillor or simply taking part in many aspects of everyday life. This said, citizenship often operates in the background of life, subtle and unremarkable until it is disturbed. Perhaps you only consider it when presenting a passport at a border control (**Plate 1**) or if your rights are threatened in some way. When this slumbering giant is awoken, it can provoke protest, activism and even revolution. No wonder, therefore, that geographers are starting to take the idea more seriously and examine its social and political significance.

Citizenship traditionally referred to the relationship between an individual and a political unit. With this association comes an obligation for a person to fulfil particular duties and the state to assure certain rights. For example, in some states a citizen has an obligation to undertake national service, perhaps in the form of military duty. In turn, citizens have recourse to certain political, social and civic rights that are determined and enforced by national and international law.

Yet, these seemingly straightforward statements belie that citizenship is a contested idea (**Spotlight box 1**). It is far from a universally agreed concept and, instead, is continually being disputed, renegotiated and redefined. Take, for example, the citizenship tests that have been introduced by many countries to prescribe what would-be citizens should know about the daily life, history, politics and tradition of their adoptive state. The Australian test tends to focus on European and Aboriginal histories with little attention given to the significance of Asian influences on Australian daily life. In the UK politicians have debated the relative

merits of including questions on the UK's history over ones on current political-legal structures. And in any case, can a series of multiple-choice questions really get the essence of what it means to be a citizen? More often they advocate a particular view of citizenship, usually reflecting rather prescribed nationalistic ideas. Despite efforts to fix citizenship through tests, the idea is far too evasive to be captured in this way. Similarly, policies that have introduced various citizenship 'lessons', 'duties', 'service' and 'charters' have been criticised for following a particular vision of citizenship. Yet what is viewed as 'good' or acceptable citizenship is subject to contest (Staehele 2011). There are stark differences, for example, between 'activist' citizens who seek to challenge governments, often through civil disobedience or direct action, and an 'active' citizen who responds to government calls to undertake voluntary work to replace services once provided by the state (**Spotlight box 2**).

These contrasts are important as different normative theories of citizenship can be used to evaluate gaps between what rights citizens are entitled to and the gap between these in reality. We might assume, for example, that all citizens should be treated equally but many people continue to be excluded from full citizenship in *de jure* (legal) or *de facto* (actual) terms on the basis of race, sexuality, gender, disability, age, wealth and other forms of social labelling (Smith 1989). Studies of citizenship not only draw attention to social inequalities but the political structures that cause it and, significantly, how they can be challenged and changed. For example, the language of rights may be used to contest racism, exploitation in the workplace, or poor access to services (Tonts and Larson 2002). New forms of political engagement, such as women's co-operatives in the majority world, can form a platform for new voices to be heard and empowered.

Understandings of geography and citizenship are deeply and mutually intertwined.

Citizenship ‘marks a point of contact between social, cultural and political geography’ (Smith 2000: 83) and challenges us to think across our various sub-disciplines. At the same time, citizenship requires an appreciation of geography. Its multi-scalar nature (Painter 2002) means that ‘geography as a discipline is uniquely placed to work through what citizenship may mean at a wide diversity of levels’ (Askins and Fuller 2006: 4). This chapter explores the exciting relationship between geography and citizenship across a series of spaces from the local to the global. It starts by considering the nation-state, which is still seen by many as the bed-rock of citizenship.

#### **Spotlight box 1: Defining Citizenship?**

Citizenship traditionally refers to a person’s relationship with a nation-state. It defines who is or isn’t a member of a country and the rights and duties associated with that membership. But citizenship refers to more than a set of laws that define a person’s rights and duties in relation to a nation-state. Anderson et al (2008) describe it as ‘people’s senses of belonging in relation to places near and far; senses of responsibility for the ways in which these relations are shape; and a sense of how individual and collective action helps to shape the world in which we live’. Understandings of citizenship require consideration of the ways in which political structures shape, and are shaped by, personal identities, institutional structures, everyday actions and symbolic landscapes. Barker 2008 refers to citizenship as an ‘unstable outcome of ongoing struggles’. It is therefore difficult to pin down, both as a concept and a lived reality. It is the contested, multi-scalar and, perhaps, ephemeral nature of citizenship that makes it of interest to geographers.

## 23.2 Bounded Citizenship

Citizenship has been described as a bounded concept (Isin 2012). This is in two ways. First, citizenship is widely defined as membership of a political community that has formally recognised boundaries (Smith 2000). In other words, citizenship is territorial and *bound into* the dimensions of a particular geographical unit. Secondly, citizenship might be thought of as ‘social glue’ that binds people to each other and a territory. It promotes feelings of belonging, identity, duty and entitlement.

Over time, the territories of citizenship have changed (Painter and Philo 1995). The idea originated in the Classical period that, in turn, influenced ideas and practices of citizenship in the West (Bellamy 2008). Greek citizenship, for example, was associated with the territory of a particular city-state and could not be transferred to another. The duties of citizenship were onerous and required an active contribution to public life through political, civil, legal and military service. Classical citizenship was exclusive: to be a citizen of Athens was to be male, over twenty, born to an Athenian citizen family, a warrior, a patriarch and an owner of slaves. Although contemporary citizenship aims to be inclusionary and more equitable, exclusion continues to cast a ‘long shadow’ across the concept (Bellamy 2008). For example, despite universal suffrage in the West, the geographies of elections reveal much about social difference and power (**Spotlight box 2**).

Contemporary citizenship emerged with and continues to be strongly associated with the Western nation-state (Turner 2012) and, for most, is simply conferred by birth within the territory of a state (*jus soli* or ‘law of the soil’) or through family or ethnic descent (*jus sanguinis* or ‘law of the blood’) (Bauder 2014). These categories can be subject to contest. In 2004, a referendum in the Republic of Ireland led to an amendment of its constitution to remove citizenship from any future Irish-born children of immigrant parents (Tormey 2007). The favouring of *jus sanguinis* over *jus soli* reflected concerns about a perceived increases immigration, especially by asylum seekers, and ‘baby tourism.’ Tormey (2007) suggested that the referendum succeeded as its advocates successfully positioned citizenship as ‘a moral regime’ with foreign-nationals, their off-spring and foetuses as ‘suspect patriots’.

Being a citizen of a country contributes to its sense of national identity and is an important part of state-building (Jones et al 2004). It confers a sense of membership that, like membership of any organisation, determines what someone is entitled to (rights) and what he or she is expected to contribute (duties). Precisely how citizenship has been defined and practiced has varied over time and space, reflecting a state’s political and social history (**Case Study 1**).

	Timescale	Significance	Evidenced in
Civil rights	18 <sup>th</sup> Century	‘necessary for individual freedom-liberty of the person, freedom of speech, thought and faith, the right to own property and to conclude valid contracts and the right to justice’ (Marshall 1950 [1992]: 8).	Courts and judicial system

Political rights	19 <sup>th</sup> Century	‘the right to participate in the exercise of political power, as a member of a body invested with political authority or as an elector of the members of such a body’ (p. 8).	Parliament and local government.
Social rights	20 <sup>th</sup> Century	‘a modicum of economic welfare and security to the right to share to the full the social heritage and to live the life of a civilised being according to the standards prevailing in the society’	Education, Social Welfare provision

**Table 1:** The Development of Rights in the UK (after Marshall 1950)

T.H Marshall’s (1950) seminal essay ‘Citizenship and Social Class’ outlined the growth of civil, political and social rights over time in Britain (**Table 1**). Marshall noted that the development of a national set of rights brought with it a shift in the geographical focus of citizenship, from the local to the national. Thus, national institutions and bureaucracies replaced local charities in the provision of social rights. Marshall argues that as the institutions responsible for these rights became remote, citizens needed to employ experts or intermediaries to recognise and realise the rights afforded to them. Offices of the welfare state, for example, advise upon and deliver (or increasingly deny) social benefits to those in need of them. It has been suggested that this has led to a ‘thin’ or passive form of Liberal citizenship, one where the citizen expects rights to be delivered to him or her by the state rather than contributing to their delivery (Desmoyers-Davis 2001). Other forms of citizenship have developed in other places. Republican models, for example, have led to ‘thicker’, more active form of citizenship that places greater emphasis on the duties citizens. These ideals

reflect a wariness of state power and, instead, favour self-governance and self-determination at the local level. Republican citizenship is significant in the USA (Staheli 2005), where participation is encouraged through town-hall meetings, religious congregations and participation in voluntary and civic groups (Turner 2002).

### **Spotlight box 2: Electoral Geographies, Citizenship and Beyond**

Formal structures of government and governance reveal much about citizenship and the ability of individuals to engage with decision making and democracy at local and national scales (**Plate 2**). Universal suffrage is considered a key political right, at least in democratic countries, and the right to vote has been fought for using civil rights such as the right to protest or freedom of speech (see **Case Study 1** for example). It would also be naïve, though, to assume that a universal right to vote implies equality amongst citizens. Geographers have critically examined electoral systems and the social and political outcomes of their organisation (Johnston 2005). In some cases, electoral boundaries can be manipulated through practices such as gerrymandering (altering electoral boundaries to suit particular political parties) to influence the outcome of elections. Governments may also seek to allocate goods and services to particular places to solicit or reward support.

Other authors have examined how minority groups continue to be excluded from electoral politics (Secor 2004). Women, for example, are under-represented in positions of power; the young are less likely to vote and, conversely, parties may favour welfare benefits aimed at older votes, such as free travel on public transport, as they are deemed to be more influential electorate. It has been suggested that a disenfranchisement of some groups from electoral politics has contributed to a stratified decline in electoral turnout. In the UK's 2015 General Election, the 'celebrity' Russell Brand stated he would not vote in protest against a

political system that has created a 'disillusioned underclass' and encouraged young people to do the same (he later changed his mind and voiced his support of the Labour Party). More informed commentators have also questioned who politicians are serving and whether multi-national co-operations now have more influence than democratically elected politicians. Noreena Hertz commented 'as citizens we must make it clear to government that unless government focuses on people as well as business ... we will continue to scorn representative democracy, and will choose to shop and protest rather than vote' (Hertz 2001: 212). Other commentators have argued that as many citizens do not participate in any political actions, a closer focus on social citizenship is required (MacKian 1995).

Much attention has been given to new structures of governance that combine governmental and non-governmental organisations and whether they offer 'active citizens' new or better opportunities to participate more fully in local decision making (Painter and Jeffrey 2009). Other geographers have paid attention to actions outside formal political structures that seek to challenge rather than comply with state readings of citizenship. The scope, nature and significance of these actions ranges from local, tactical protests to globalised campaigns that use space as part of a broader strategy of resistance (**Spotlight box 3**).

Both of these models are based on the experiences of Western countries and ideas of citizenship have tended to reflect European values (Isin 2005: 35). This is in part because the nation-state emerged from the European geopolitical arena. As European powers colonized other parts of the world, the European model of state-citizenship was imposed on them (Isin 2002, 2005). The nature of Imperial Citizenship ranged widely. At the one extreme were exclusionary and paternalistic ideas. Thus indigenous Australians were not granted citizenship until 1968 (when they were also included in the census for the first time). Prior to

this indigenous Australians were *wards*, not citizens, of the state and with very few rights. They were unable to marry, work or travel without the permission of the state; sale of alcohol, land and property was prohibited; mobility was restricted and parents had no legal rights over their children. Other forms of Imperial Citizenship attempted to provide equal rights for colonised peoples. Prior to 1983, Citizens of the UK and Colonies had the right to work and live in Britain as well as to hold a British passport and vote in UK elections. Ultimately, though, Imperial Citizenship was unable to reconcile forms of citizenship based on kinship and community (found in many non-Western countries) with individualistic notions of citizenship based on political rights (Gorman 2006).

In many places, tensions remain between forms of citizenship based on nation-states and other associations based on kinship, tribes and belief. This has led Isin (2012a: 567) to conclude that it is now ‘difficult to imagine citizenship merely as nationality or membership in the nation-state.’ It is important to move beyond Western definitions and linguistics to appreciate how citizenship plays out in different cultural settings. McEwan argues that the concept of citizenship is ‘unable to recognize either the political relevance of gender or of non-western perspectives and experiences’ (2005: 971). Her work in South Africa draws attention to the ways in which marginalised people, including women, the young and unemployed youths, have carved out alternative spaces away from traditional, male dominated political assemblies from which they can be heard. Other authors have also pointed to the growing importance of places above and between nation states (Desforges et al 2008), as the next section examines.

<b>Case Study 1: The Complex Citizenship of Hong Kong</b>
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In 1997 Hong Kong ceased to be a Crown Colony of the United Kingdom and reverted to the authority of People's Republic of China. In accordance with the 1984 Sino-British Joint Declaration, which guaranteed continuity in its capitalist economy and lifestyle for fifty years after the hand-over (Kean 2010), it has been run as a Special Administrative Region (SAR) of China.

Under British rule, efforts were made to pacify the people of Hong Kong in light of 'Maoist' influences from mainland China: citizenship was regarded by many 'as a matter of holding passports and enjoying some degree of civil liberties' Shiu-Hing (2001, p.127). After 1984 more Hong Kong residents began to demand and apply rights of political participation. In part this reflected a feeling by many citizens who felt that self-determination was being denied to them by both the British and Chinese states.

Yet many of Hong Kong's residents, particularly the skilled or wealthy, have sought to use citizenship as a personal strategy. There has been large-scale immigration to countries that offered dual citizenship such as Canada or Australia, especially in times of perceived crisis. This form of transnational citizenship is seen by some as offering 'an escape route' if the autonomy of the region was threatened. Pivotal events have led to periods of net emigration, including the signing of the Sino-British Joint Declaration in 1984 (-1,900), the Tiananmen Square massacre in 1989 (-21,000 in 1990), the outbreak of the SARS virus in 2003 (-25,800) and the global financial crisis in 2009 (-25,800). Yet Hong Kong also experienced immigration from China that became the subject of progressively tighter legislation. Currently some 'one way' permits are offered to those from China with skills and qualifications in the information technology and financial service sectors rather than those who might become a burden upon the welfare system.

The current citizenship of Hong Kong is complex. In *de jure* terms Hong Kong citizens are citizens of China but the ‘one county, two systems’ paradox means that HK’s citizens enjoy political and civil rights that have not been afforded to citizens in the rest of China such as the right to travel, protest and read a free press. Many citizens identify more strongly with Hong Kong than China, refusing to acknowledge the Chinese national day and resenting political interventions from Beijing (Degolyer 2001). This said, there is also a strong faction that supports closer ties with Beijing.

In September 2014 Hong Kong’s Central District and other areas of the city were occupied by students protesting for democratic reform. More precisely, the protests centred on proposals to reform the election of Hong Kong’s Chief Executive in 2017. Although the principle of universal suffrage had been agreed by the Chinese Government, in August 2015 Beijing ruled that voters would have a choice of three pre-approved candidates. This prompted the formation of the ‘Occupy Central’ movement to campaign for pan-democracy. Their actions were essentially part of a tactical protest in aid of specific rights and so differs from the wider Occupy movement (Case Study 4) that sought wider reforms of the capitalist economy. Both, though, use the tactical occupation of symbolic space to bring supporters together and draw maximum attention to their causes.

Occupy Central held marches, conducted an unofficial ballot (in which nearly 800,000 people voted to oppose the reforms) and proposed an occupation of the Central District on 1 October 2014, China's National day. In the event, the occupation was prompted by students who had organised a boycott of lectures. As numbers grew, Occupy Central activists joined the students. There were efforts to break up the occupation by riot police using tear gas. In

response, protestors deployed umbrellas, usually carried as protection against the sun, which soon became the symbol of the movement. The robust response by authorities also prompted greater numbers to join the protests and a largely peaceful stand-off occurred with the authorities. Indeed, the BBC reported how polite and well-ordered the event was with protestors acting as ‘good citizens’ by tidying litter, doing homework and apologizing for the disruption. Although illegal, the protest was ‘allowed’ to take place relatively peacefully, reflecting HK’s autonomous position. Protests by students in Tiananmen Square in 1989 were violently repressed by the Chinese security forces with the loss of an estimated 2000-3000 lives. These events remind us that rights are rarely given away but represent the outcome of struggle between citizen and state.

. Hong Kong’s position as a global city made direct intervention from the Chinese government less likely: to do so would damage a valuable and developing territorial and trading asset. While occupations occurred in various places in Hong Kong, the main one centred on the Central Financial District. This was not only to cause maximum disruption to global business but also because the area has become associated strongly with Hong Kong’s emergent post-colonial identity (Law 2002). The symbolic space (**plate 3**) of the Central District was subverted using street art, slogans and a sense of carnival to draw attention to ‘Occupy’ Central’s demands. Over time, people dissipated from the protest sites although there were interventions from HK’s police. The situation remains fluid and it remains to be seen how protestors and the authorities (of HK and China) will respond in the longer term to popular demands for democratic reform in Hong Kong.

## 23.4 Beyond Boundaries

For some groups of people wider opportunities to travel, work and live *between* states have led to what has been termed ‘transnational’ citizenship that draws on the rights and identities of more than one country (Ho 2008). In 2013, there were over 231 million migrants on a global level and, between 2000 and 2013, these numbers increased by 2.2% (UN 2013). Migration has not only accelerated but has become increasingly differentiated with multiple forms and entry points reflected social difference at a global scale. On the one hand, this so-called ‘Age of Migration’ (Castles and Miller 2009) has loosened the moorings of citizenship from the nation-state but, on the other, has led to increased efforts to assert the significance of the nation-state as the primary determinant of citizenship.

It has been argued that new and significance forms of international migration and mobility are indicative of new forms of transnational citizenship (Samers 2010). Transnationalism, as the name suggests, recognises that ideas and practices of citizenship cross national boundaries and flow between their borders, rather than being confined by them. By implication, the nation-state becomes less significant in the determination and regulation of citizenship (**Case Study 2**)

#### **Case Study 2: Transnational Citizenship in the EU**

The 1992 Maastricht Treaty established the precedent of European Citizenship that was awarded to citizens of its member states in addition to their already-held national citizenship. This meant, for example, that a citizen of France also became a citizen of the European Union super-state (Ferbrache and Yarwood 2015). With this status came the right for most EU citizens to live, work and move between the states of the EU (most but not all: following expansion in 2004 and 2006 many member states restricted the right of citizens from

accession states to migrate and work in their territories). European citizens availing themselves of these rights have contributed to the development of transnational business networks, wider forms of political participation and the growth of employment markets across Europe (Favell 2003). Strüver (2005) also found that regular cross-border movements of Dutch citizens living in a German border town identified as being transnational European citizens rather than of one nation. In some circumstances transnational citizenship has allowed physical, imaginative and communicative travel between countries to the extent that it is getting harder to distinguish places of origin from places of settlement. Instead, they are simultaneously linked in economic, cultural and emotional ways (Ho 2008).

There is, however, growing resistance to this form of transnational European citizenship, witnessed by a surge in right-wing populist political parties that are seeking to withdraw their nation-states from Europe and European political influence.

Yet, transnationalism has also prompted responses from nation-states. States experiencing net emigration have attempted to re-define citizenship for their own advantage. Mexico, for example, has sought to extend citizenship to emigrants in order to benefit economically from its citizens who have moved abroad (Escobar 2006). Indeed, more people than ever before hold dual citizenship (Sassen 2002), reflecting a response by states to claim mobile citizens as their own.

Many states have also sought to re-assert national sovereignty and citizenship. In many countries quotas on numbers of migrants, stringent border security, the streamlining of removal processes, confinement of asylum seekers, citizenship tests, a lack of welfare support and the withdrawal of rights to work all represent a fortification of state boundaries and make

it harder for migrants to achieve citizenship. Such policies have sought to stratify citizenship and migration. Samers (2010) identifies a continuum that encompasses full citizens of a single nation-state; dual, transnational and cosmopolitan citizens with varying rights and duties; denizenship and, finally, illegal residents and aliens with no or few rights at all.

In contrast to the 'super rich', 'super-mobile' citizens, temporary and 'illegal' migrants can suffer economic exploitation social hostility with few rights. Over ten million people are considered stateless with no legal recourse to education, travel, work, healthcare and even a home as these often depend on having formal identification. Statelessness can arise from changes in state borders and instances where a person's parents have migrated to a state that does not permit nationality to be passed to children. States may also seek to revoke citizenship as, for example, has been discussed recently by some western states in response to those who have travelled to support terrorist organisations.

Transnational practices and ideas have opened up the possibility of new spaces of citizenship but this form of citizenship remains the preserve of a few. If, as Cresswell (2009) contends, the right to be mobile is an significant aspect citizenship, then it continues to be denied to many.

### **23.5 Local Citizenship: Activist Citizens**

Mobility is an important signifier of citizenship but, for many people, citizenship is something that is played out in the localities where they live. Staeheli (2005: 196-197) comments that 'while nation-states may be where the formal standing as citizen is vested, it is largely through localities that the horizontal bonds of citizenship operate' to mobilise citizens and create identity. Thus, voting in local elections, writing to counsellors, engaging in

planning enquiries, participating as governors of schools or campaigning for local services all offer opportunities for citizens engage with the running of affairs in their locality and, in doing so, to exercise their political and civic rights.

Increasingly citizens are also expected to have a duty to participate in their localities (Cheshire and Woods 2009). Over recent years many Western neo-liberal governments have developed policies aimed at encouraging ‘active citizenship’ or voluntary activity to provide or support local services. Examples include involving local citizenry in policing (Yarwood and Edwards 1994) (**plate 4**), the provision of health care (Barnett and Barnett 2003), welfare (Conradson 2003) and housing (Yarwood 2002). New Zealand has followed these principles to such a degree that it has been regarded as ‘a social laboratory of the world’ (Tennant *et al.* 2008: 26).

The impact of these reforms has been geographically uneven, reflecting differences in local participation and community leadership. Some communities, usually middle-class ones, are better placed to organise and help themselves. This may lead to more parochial forms of citizenship in which vocal, well-organised and compliant local communities are granted more rights and duties than residents who are unable or unwilling to volunteer (Desforges et al 2005). This can lead to a view that sees local communities, rather than deeper social or political forces, as the cause and solution of local problems (Rose 1996). Depending on how communities respond, they may be judged and rewarded with, or denied, further funding (Desforges *et al.* 2005).

In another development, many charities have been obliged to ‘professionalise’ their activities in order to win government funding or contracts (Milligan and Fyfe 2005). This is so much so

that large, cooperatist charities have emerged that get most of their funding from government rather than private donations. Jenifer Wolch (1990) referred to this as 'the Shadow State', reflecting that voluntary groups now do the government's work but appear separate from it.

Governments pursuing active citizenship policies have been criticised for passing the buck of welfare provision to the voluntary sector, reflecting a shift from Liberal to more Republican forms of citizenship (**Case Study 3**). This said, those who volunteer often do so out of an ethical desire to help others rather than government policy or institutional mission statements (Cloke et al 2007). Places such as soup kitchens give volunteers opportunities to act on personal, political, religious and altruistic beliefs.

### **Case Study 3: Foodbanks: the dilemma of ethical citizenship**

There has always been a 'moving frontier' between the state and voluntary sector in the provision of social welfare (Mohan 2003). Its position varies over time and space but, recently, it has been argued that that the frontier has shifted away from the state and towards the third sector as a result of neo-liberal reforms that have seen governments withdraw from the provision of social welfare. These debates have been encapsulated by a growing reliance on charity-run foodbanks in many countries.

Foodbanks originated in North America but are now found in most parts of the world. They are run by charities with the aim of distributing food directly or indirectly (via other charities) to people in need.

In many countries there has been a phenomenal increase in the numbers of people asking for support from foodbanks, especially following the 2007 recession. In the UK, the Trussell Trust estimate that they provided 913, 138 people with food in 2013-2014, compared to 25,889 in 2008-2009 (Trussell Trust, 2015). The charity established its first foodbank in 2004; it now has 423 with an average of two being open each week. The European Food Banks states that it distributed 402 000 tons of food to 5.7 million people in 2013. According to Freedom America, one in seven families rely on foodbanks and associated food distribution programmes.

Foodbanks are intended as an emergency response to those without food. In the UK, food is only distributed to people who have been referred to a food bank from professionals such as doctors, social workers, the police or the Child Support Agency. This entitles them to three days of food that is intended to fill a gap caused by, say, a delay in welfare payments.

Although foodbanks are intended as a stop-gap measure that supplements rather than replaces the welfare state, critics have suggested that an insidious creep is occurring towards these kind of charities providing more permanent forms of welfare (Cooper et al 2014). For many, the increasing enrolment of foodbanks into the state welfare provision represent an abrogation of government responsibility (Cloke 2011) and a shift away from universal rights towards reliance on local charity. The growth of foodbanks not only points to the uneven terrain of citizenship, where the right to food seems unobtainable to many, but also a view that the voluntary sector are given increased responsibility, even for fundamental issues such as hunger (**plate 5**).

That said, many of those who volunteer to provide welfare are far from neo-liberal policy dupes or apologists but, instead, act out of concerns driven by beliefs or ideals. Indeed, the

space of the foodbank or soup run allows citizens to act on personal ideals of care. Cloke et al (2007: 1095) have termed this a form of ‘ethical citizenship’ in which people volunteer ‘because they *wanted* to rather than because they felt *obliged* to’. In some cases, these activities have been viewed as a form of resistance by drawing attention to gaps in welfare provision and challenging the state policies (Conradson 2003, Staeheli 2013). In Philadelphia, for example, there has been a long-standing conflict organisers of soup-runs and the Mayor, who has repeatedly tried to ban them from public places. Although volunteering has become increasingly politicised, the ethics and motivations of individual citizen-volunteers remains important. An emphasis on the individual citizen (Staeheli 2011, 2013) and acknowledging his or her political and ethical entanglements with community, however imagined, is crucial to understanding how local places are shaped by citizen action.

### **23.3 Activist Citizens and Transnational Networks**

Active citizenship has been criticised for promoting duties over rights; volunteering above political participation and, implicitly or otherwise, supporting the neo-liberal roll-back of the state. By contrast, it is possible to trace a range of ‘deviant’ actions that also use local sites to challenge state and corporatist power to assert social and political rights. In contrast to active citizenship, which is largely focused on changing neighbourhoods, activist citizenship is global in its concerns and reach (Parker 1999, **Spotlight box 3**).

The growth of ‘New’ Social Movements (NSMs) reflect a feeling, popularised in books such as ‘No Logo’ by Naomi Klein (2001), that conventional politics is failing to fulfil citizens’ political rights. It is argued that free-trade and de-regulation have diminished the power of

state governments and, consequently, the significance of electoral politics. As some multi-national corporations now have more power and wealth than many nation-states, they are more likely to respond to customers than citizens. In response, activist citizens have developed new forms of political action (Jones et al. 2004) that operate outside conventional political channels. Direct action, protest and consumer pressure are used to pursue economic, social, political and environmental goals (Routledge 2003).

NSMs are characterised by fluid alliances between diverse sets of people with various identities, affiliations and motivations that find expression in a particular campaign or form of resistance. Thus, a protest against the use of child-labour might be supported by faith groups with a concern about social justice; trade unions seeking to improve employment rights; NGOs with a focus on protecting young people; Marxists seeking to resist free-trade capitalism and so on. These alliances extend across borders as activists in different countries share information and co-ordinate actions. These often crystallise in specific sites chosen for their symbolic meaning or potential to maximise the impact of a protest (**Case Study 4**)

#### **Case Study 4: The Occupy Movement**

The Occupy movement started in Wall Street, New York in September 2011. Using the slogan 'We are the 99%', the Occupy movement drew attention to the disproportional amount of wealth held by just 1% of the population. Inspired in part by popular uprisings against authoritarian regimes in the Middle East (referred to in the media as the 'Arab Spring'), but using global activist networks and social media, other occupations were established in 952 other cities in 81 countries. Occupations centred on the spaces associated with or close to urban financial centres including La Defense in Paris, the Beurs World Trade Centre in

Rotterdam and Dame Street in Dublin. All were organised peaceful, leaderless and informal ways, establishing agreed norms of behaviour and co-operation. Sites were linked electronically and used common symbols, notable the 'We are the 99%' logo and Guy Fawkes masks (**plate 6**) based on the V for Vendetta film, and globally co-ordinated days of action to show solidarity and mirror the international reach of the corporations and individuals they opposed. As well as wealth re-distribution, Occupy also called for a reform of banking, a reduction in the political influence of corporations, an end to austerity measures, job creation and democratic reform. Camps were supported by a wide range of interest groups that had a common grievance with laissez-faire capitalism and its consequences. These included trade unions, activist groups, faith groups, politicians, academics, and musicians. Marxist geographer David Harvey spoke at a number of meetings, encouraging anti-wealth (as opposed to anti-poverty) protests. By the end of 2012, protestors had been evicted from their sites by governments using legal injunctions enforced by the police. The Occupy movement continues to exist as an informally organised global network that continues to draw attention to the inequalities caused by late-modern capitalism.

Peter Jackson (2010: 139) also contends that globalised flows of ideas and cultures are leading to a form of transnational 'cultural citizenship'. Faith, politics, ethnicity and cultural practices may, for example, play a greater role in shaping identity as a citizen than loyalty to a nation. Desforges et al (2005: 444) sum up these trends succinctly and optimistically:

it is the connections to strangers without - living, working and dying - in other places that form some of the most important, and potentially liberating, new geographies of citizenship in the contemporary world.

### Spotlight 3: Active and Activist Citizens

Gavin Parker (1999) illustrates clearly the difference between ‘active’ and ‘activist’ citizenship (Table 2). ‘Active’ citizenship operates at spatial scales below the nation-state – neighbourhood, community and locality are emphasised – but generally in support of the state and its policies. Hence Parker describes them as ‘good’ in the sense that they obey laws and use formally recognised channels for action.

<b>Activist</b>	<i>Littoral Zone</i>	<b>Active</b>
‘Deviant’ Citizen	↔	‘Good’ Citizen
‘Protest’	↔	‘Participation’
‘Negative’	↔	‘Positive’
Outside	↔	Inside
Direct Action	↔	Due Process
Unstable	↔	Stabilised
Illegal/Not legitimised	↔	Legal/Legitimised
Visible	↔	Obscured

**Table 2:** Citizen Protest and Action (after Parker (1999))

By contrast, activist citizens challenge the state and other institutions. They often often mistrust authority and feel obliged to voice their concerns outside its formal apparatus using various forms of direct action that range in intensity, duration and legitimacy; from violent direct action to mundane acts of everyday consumption. Engin Isin (2008: 38)

summarises these differences in citizenship aptly:

we contrast ‘activist citizens’ with ‘active citizens’ who act out already written scripts. While activist citizens engage in writing scripts and creating the scene, active citizens follow scripts and participate in scenes that are already created. While activist citizens are creative, active citizens are not

They are labelled ‘deviant’ in the sense that they may depart from the law. What constitutes ‘good’ citizenship is, of course, hugely subjective and reflects political and ethical standpoints. It reminds us citizenship is not a static term but a contested one.

Although Table 2 is useful in drawing out different types of citizen action, it should not be thought of as a rigid binary. People may display both kinds of behaviour, depending on spatial and political context. One thing that is remarkable about New Social Movements is their ability to enrol a range of citizens, from Anarchist to Zapatista, into specific causes.

### **23.4 Citizenship and Everyday Places**

The study of active and activist citizens implies that citizenship involves some form of conscious engagement with politics and/or wider society. Yet, for many people citizenship is something that rarely thought about; it might be acknowledged when crossing a border, reflected upon when living in another country or drawn upon when rights are lost. Sara MacKian (1995: 212) has argued that more attention should be given to citizens who are

simply living out their daily lives rather than choosing ‘to sit on committees or to shake boxes on flag days’.

Geographers have turned their attention to the importance of everyday spaces, such as shops, parks and schools, to the practice of citizenship in daily life. Painter and Philo (1995:195) have argued that:

If people cannot be present in public spaces (streets, squares, parks, cinemas, churches, town halls) without feeling uncomfortable, victimized and basically ‘out of place’, then it must be questionable whether or not these people can be regarded as citizens at all.

As was noted in the discussion of territoriality in chapter 21, women, for example, may sometimes feel excluded from some public spaces, especially at night, due to the threat of sexual assault; gay people may feel it necessary hide their sexuality in ‘public’; religious, ‘racial’ or ethnic difference may be the target of victimization, verbal or physical assault. In addition, those with physical disabilities may be unable to access sites, young people can be excluded from public space by curfews and the elderly may find it harder to find employment.

Although legislation has been enshrined to ensure equality, there is often a gap between *de jure* (legal) rights and whether these are manifest in daily life (*de facto*) (Smith 1989). To take one example, Bell and Binnie (2000, p.10) suggest that ‘all citizenship is sexual citizenship’ but it is often assumed to ‘hetronormative’ (i.e heterosexuality is the hegemonic norm) (Bell and Binnie 2006). Sexuality impacts on the right to marry or form civil partnerships; practice religion; work, including service in the military; migrate; travel; adopt

children; participate in public events and express national identity. Even where legislation has improved the rights of sexual minorities, for example in countries where same-sex marriage is legal, homophobic abuse may still occur on a de facto level and in particular institutional settings. Hubbard (2013), for example, outlines how two gay men were excluded from a London pub despite national legislation to ensure equality in terms of sexuality.

Some geographers have also drawn attention to the importance of non-public spaces in the formation of citizenship. Feminist scholars, for example, have noted that domestic spaces have often been ignored in the study of citizenship yet provide an important context for establishing and asserting women's and children's rights (Lister 2003, Chouinard 2009).

Institutional spaces can also be important as they can attempt to shape the practice of what is viewed as 'good citizenship'. Schools and youth groups (Pykett 2009, Mills 2013) are particularly significant here, sometimes reflecting a view that children are 'citizens in making' (rather than citizens already) that need instruction so that they will be useful to society.

Landscapes reflect citizenship idea through the ordering of buildings, monuments, open spaces, vistas and views (Jones et al., 2004), as chapter 22 documented, this is often linked to ideas of the nation-state. In France, for example, through the twentieth century, the idea of a national identity was strengthened by the flying of a national flag (the tricolour); the use of the Gallic Coq as and national symbol; the construction of state buildings in prominent urban spaces and erecting national war memorials in public space (Baker 2012). In the second half of the twentieth century, the advent of postcolonial states in the wake of the decline of European imperialism led to the proliferation of such national symbols and rites of citizenship; such as national anthems, school and university systems, armies, as well as passport agencies and embassies. After the collapse of the Soviet Union (see chapter 20) yielded 15 successor states each had to establish norms, laws and symbols of citizenship,

often raising thorny questions about who belongs and who would be refused citizenship and deemed as a 'foreigner', since borders and citizenship rules changed, even though they might be still living in the place where they were born.

Although the study of citizenship has traditionally concerned itself with political engagement in public spaces, it is clear that citizenship is about more than this. Citizenship is also about the way that people engage with spaces on an 'ordinary' basis (Steaheli et al 2012). Although the formal rules and regulations that define citizenship are important, so too are the everyday negotiated practices that constitute belonging to a particular state or community. Thus, interactions in schools, homes, shops, nurseries and community groups help to establish migrants and their families as visible and valuable citizens in wider society (Bauder 2014). For example, Dominican immigrant shop keepers were able to overcome anti-immigration sentiments in predominantly African-American and Puerto-Rican neighbourhoods of Philadelphia through daily negotiations with customers. Practices included flexible pricing, stocking 'boutique' services and allowing the shop to be used as a site of interaction between 'old' and 'new' groups of residents (Pine 2010).

The emphasis on cultural as well as political forms of citizenship have reflected a spatial shift in its study, from central, political spaces to everyday and sometimes marginal places. Indeed, Bullen and Whitehead (2005: 499) consider that the:

contribution of geography to the study of citizenship has been ... a changing spatial focus concerning where citizens are to be found - from the town hall to the ghetto; the public square to the private home; the city to the edge community.

## 23.5 Conclusions

This chapter has introduced the idea of citizenship and examined its significance across a range of geographical scales. Although traditional associations between individuals and the nation-state continue to have significance, it is clear that citizenship is more than this. A person's identity as a citizen is not simply a reflection of national belonging but, rather, is shaped by a whole series of local and global cultural influences that are played out on a daily basis upon a range of scales (Jackson 2010). It is a fluid idea that is not only defined by political engagement but, for some, *is* political engagement (Isin 2002). At the same time, others have also pointed to citizenship as being simply able to participate in everyday life, often in a political ways. This diversity is what makes the study of citizenship of interest to geographers. It pulls together social, cultural and political geographies to produce rounded, but not holistic, views of society and space. To quote from my own book:

‘The idea of citizenship underpins concerns between individual identity and performance and understandings of broader political structures that shape, and are shaped, by these contexts. It offers a chance to bridge the personal and performative aspects of the cultural turn with the structural and institutional foci of political and social geography within variously and fluid spaces and places’

It does so across a multiple and co-existing range of scales, from the global to the local. Thus a householder who chooses to recycle goods is simultaneously engaging with his or her state through the local council (who may provide a recycling service), as well with global initiatives to improve sustainability, and at the same time is acting in the private space of his or her home.

Geographers have not only engaged with citizenship academically but have also performed them through personal and varied forms of political and social engagements (Fuller and Kitchen 2004). The inclusion of citizenship in introductory textbooks such as this marks a recognition of its essential geography (Anderson et al. 2008: 39). To paraphrase Cloke et al. (2005, 603): citizenship matters, you matter, your citizenship matters. Having been introduced to geographies of citizenship, how and *where* will you practise citizenship for yourself?

## Further Reading

For much more on the geographies of citizenship:

**Yarwood, R.** (2014) *Citizenship*. London: Routledge

These journal articles provide critical and thoughtful discussions on the importance of studying citizenship using geographical perspectives:

**Anderson, J., Askins, K., Cook, I., Desforges, L., Evans, J., Fannin, M., Fuller, D., Griffiths, H., Lambert, D., Lee, R., MacLeavy, J., Mayblin, L., Morgan, J., Payne, B., Pykett, J., Roberts, D. and Skelton, T.** (2008) What is geography's contribution to making citizens? *Geography*, 93: 34-39.

**Desforges, L., Jones, R. and Woods, M.** (2005) New geographies of citizenship, *Citizenship Studies*, 9: 439 - 451.

**Painter, J. and Philo, C.** (1995) Spaces of citizenship: an introduction, *Political Geography*, 14: 107-120.

**Staheli, L.** (2011) Political geography: where's citizenship? *Progress in Human Geography*, 35: 393-400.

The journal *Citizenship Studies* provides multidisciplinary perspectives on citizenship. There is no dedicated journal to geography and citizenship but special issues of geography journals on citizenship have included:

*Political Geography* **14** (2) (1995) The Spaces of Citizenship

*Journal of Historical Geography* **22** (4) (1996) Geographical education and citizenship

*Urban Geography* **24** (2) (2003) Cities and Citizenship

*Space and Policy* **9** (1) (2005) Geographies of Citizenship

*Citizenship Studies* **9** (5) (2006) New geographies of Citizenship

*Political Geography* **25** (8) (2006) Geographies of sexual citizenship

*ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies*, **7** (2) (2008) Geographies of Everyday Citizenship

*Geography* 95.3 (2010) "Designing Identity: exploring citizenship through geographies of

identity *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* **30** (1) (2012) Citizenship without community

Any student of citizenship should study Marshall's classic essay and responses to it:

**Marshall, T.** (1950) *Citizenship and Social Class* London: Pluto, 3-54

The following texts provide good introductions to different political formations of citizenship:

**Bellamy, R.** (2008) *A Very Short Introduction to Citizenship*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

**Isin, E and Turner, B** (eds) (2002) *Handbook of Citizenship Studies*. London: Sage,

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## **Glossary Entries**

**Activism:** Political activism that is strategic in nature and may go beyond conventional or formal political channels.

**Active Citizenship:** Voluntary action, often at the instigation of governments, aimed at improving local communities.

**Citizenship** Traditionally used to describe the relationship between an individual and a nation-state, including what rights and duties he or she can expect. The definition now encompasses wider, more fluid and often contested relationships with other political units.

**New Social Movements:** Fluid and informal groupings of political activists. They may encompass a diversity of interests, backgrounds and political viewpoints.

## **Plates**

**Plate 1:** Citizenship is most often associated with membership of a nation-state. (image of a passport) 277591401

**Plate 2:** Voting in elections is an important political right yet many groups, including women and the young, are frequently under-represented in electoral politics. 24689947

**Plate 3:** The Occupy Central protest in Hong Kong. The site of the protest was chosen for its symbolism as well as its connections with the global economy and, thus, media. 220687303.

**Plate 4:** Neighbourhood Watch is a voluntary crime prevention scheme in the UK that has embodied state-led ideas of active citizenship. It has found favour largely in middle-class areas 253500727

**Plate 5:** Soup kitchens and food banks offer opportunities for people to act upon ethical and humanitarian convictions but may also reflect the state's withdrawal from social welfare provision. 179930672

**Plate 6:** Occupy Wall Street was one site in a global protest by activists seeking to draw attention to social and economic inequality. The Guy Fawkes mask became a world-wide symbol of the movement. 87475942