

CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL WORK STUDIES

# Reconfiguring Citizenship

Social Exclusion and  
Diversity within Inclusive  
Citizenship Practices

edited by

**Lena Dominelli**

**Mehmoona Moosa-Mitha**



# RECONFIGURING CITIZENSHIP

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# Reconfiguring Citizenship

Social Exclusion and Diversity within  
Inclusive Citizenship Practices

*Edited by*

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*We dedicate this book to all inhabitants of this world and to the planet that sustains us in the hope of realising a truly inclusive, global citizenship, where no one is excluded, marginalised or impoverished through human relationships and the socio-economic and political systems in which our lives are embedded.*

# Notes on Contributors

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# Acknowledgements

Compiling an edited collection is a complicated and detailed task. We are grateful to all the contributors for sharing their knowledge and experiences with us. Some of their stories are heart-breaking in terms of the suffering they describe. But they are uplifting and full of resilience and strength. These stories show how the human spirit soars above adversity and integrates past lessons with present and future achievements. They also inspire us to look for new ways of relating to each other that are inclusive, accepting of diversity and difference, and seeking to find peaceful ways of resolving conflicts and disputes. As individuals, we all share one, fragile planet, and these narratives also encourage us to work together to ensure that both humanity and the ecosystem survive as interdependent, healthy and nurturing entities. Every resident of this world is a citizen whose rights must not be violated and must be carried with them wherever they go.

We also thank the European Union and Canadian government funders of the EU–Canada project, Citizenship and Diversity (CIDIS), because in enabling students to undertake practice placement exchanges across the Atlantic, we were able to explore the complex ways in which citizenship is practised across diverse contexts, settings and peoples. Without it, the idea for this book is unlikely to have emerged.

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# Introduction

Lena Dominelli and Mehmoona Moosa-Mitha

## Introduction

Citizenship, currently a legal status that grants entitlements to social, political and economic rights within a nation-state, encompasses a trendy discourse about inclusivity whereby residents of a particular territory can assert claims to social justice and human rights. Social exclusion has been part and parcel of citizenship policies and practices through its association with the nation-state (Lorenz, 1994). Consequently, citizens and non-citizens may be refused state services required during problematic points in their lives. Social workers, as professionals committed to supporting individuals, groups and communities in realising their rights to well-being, have engaged in debates concerning citizenship status and citizenship practices and made their own specific contributions by interrogating claims to inclusivity as reflected in state policies and professional practices. These have uncovered infringement of citizenship rights among those having rights only in theory. Such examples include women refused state assistance in their own right when in a relationship with a man, as occurred in the West through the ‘man about the house’ rule in the United States and ‘cohabitation rule’ in the UK; and differential pay for men and women undertaking the same work globally (Dominelli, 1991); and women not being allowed to drive cars in Saudi Arabia (Ghafour, 2013; Berwamy, 2013). Other violations of citizenship rights are less recognised because they occur when the citizens of one country cross borders into another and are not legally entitled to receive state care. This happens regularly to those whose claims for asylum have been rejected (Humphries and Hayes, 2004); or uninsured tourists who fall ill in a country of which they are not a national when there is no bilateral or multilateral agreement authorising treatment without charge. This book signifies another contribution to social work insights on citizenship discourses through critical reflections upon empirical research and contemporary practices. It signposts further questions for research and deliberations that promote inclusive practices for those residing in a particular nation-state whether or not they hold formal citizenship status by eschewing the citizen–non-citizen binary embedded in the notion of citizenship as nationality.

Contemporary citizenship as a concept and set of practices produces contradictory responses to individuals and groups because people are engaged in mass migrations that belie the tidiness of national borders established through nationalist projects. As people move about the globe, the shortcomings of

narratives tying citizenship rights to a defined geographic territory are being exposed. These borders often exacerbate human misery when people's claims to assistance are rejected not because help is not needed, but because that particular nation-state can deny care simply because people lack citizenship status specific to it. Libertarian and social justice activists also expose tensions around entitlement to services at both local and global levels when utilising citizenship to promote a self-disciplined and self-sufficient subject independent of state care. Activists use citizenship as a vehicle for making social justice claims that recognise the intrinsic worth of diversity and difference (Lister, 1997) and entitlement to state services (Dominelli, 1991). Their work challenges assumptions that citizenship as a status encompasses all those termed 'citizens' within the boundaries of the nation-state. Moreover, citizenship is also evoked by people with diverse notions of nationhood and includes those with nationalist orientations like Palestinians struggling for statehood. Additionally, Indigenous communities representing multiple nations within a settler nation-state apply citizenship to affirm traditional rights to land and particular ways of life. Within these diverse and contentious claims, citizenship has become embroiled in struggles for social justice, social inclusion and human rights.

The concept's relevance for social workers is rooted in the profession's commitment to social justice, social inclusion and human rights, and their capacity to further these through practices that uphold social justice claims and advocate for social inclusion regardless of citizenship status. Thus, social workers both work within contemporary citizenship practices and challenge them when they become exclusionary, as indicated throughout the chapters in this book.

Citizenship as a set of practices can be inclusionary or exclusionary and there is a wealth of writings that focus upon the exclusionary nature of citizenship for both nationals and non-nationals, for example Dominelli (1991, 2010), Lewis (2004), Lister (1997) and Williams (1989). These scholars have highlighted how varied forms of exclusion, through state or social practices, linked to social divisions such as gender, ethnicity including the specific variant of Indigeneity, ability, age, class and sexual orientation exclude citizens. Non-nationals are excluded by virtue of the association of citizenship with passport ownership within state boundaries. Additionally, non-nationals become very aware of their lack of citizenship status as they cross borders into another country whether as tourists, (im)migrants, asylum seekers or settlers without citizenship for that territory, for example Work-Permit Holders in the UK, Green Card holders in the United States, and Landed Immigrants in Canada.

In this book, authors explore the concept of citizenship and its practices within particular contexts and nation-states to identify whether its claims to inclusivity are justified; and examine social work practice that interrogates the citizen–non-citizen binary. In doing this, they consider whether the exclusionary dimensions experienced by *some* citizens and *all* non-citizens are linked to deficiencies in the concept, country-specific policies or how it is practised in various settings. The

contested nature of these claims is considered below, in the discussion of existing citizenship practices and their critiques in subsequent chapters.

### **Interrogated and Contested Borderlands: Citizenship as Inclusionary and Exclusionary Practices**

Citizenship issues are of concern to everyone, regardless of identity or status because citizenship values equality, democracy and the empowerment of individuals and groups, even if these remain as assumptions. These are of particular concern to social workers because their profession above all others is charged with acting in accordance with the principles of democracy, equality and empowerment in the pursuit of human well-being. In liberal welfare states, institutional practices that define the social care practices of the state reflect citizenship regimes or discourses pronouncing individualistic self-sufficiency (Brodie, 2008). Consequently, neo-liberal discourses of citizenship that now characterize most welfare states in the Global North reflect social welfare policies and practices that shift responsibility for social care from the state to individuals and communities. These shifting citizenship discourses impact upon social workers' practices because social work acts as an arm of the state, irrespective of practitioners' own values and desires for a more caring state. Social workers respond to contemporary citizenship regimes in different ways. Some resist the minimization of social welfare states through practices that seek to empower individuals and families and promote commitment to greater inclusivity. This book includes analyses of different social work practices that exemplify the effects of citizenship on the profession and service users. The term social work is employed in the wide sense encapsulated in the international definition of social work agreed by the International Association of Schools of Social Work (IASSW) and the International Federation of Social Workers (IFSW) in 2001 (see [www.iassw-aiets.org](http://www.iassw-aiets.org)).

Interrogating citizenship practices, their inclusive and exclusive bases, is important in a globalising world where people are constantly crossing borders within countries and between them. Internal or intra-country migration usually involves 'citizens' moving from one part of a country to another. This issue becomes increasingly crucial in a world that is rapidly urbo-industrialising as populations migrate to urban centres for jobs and other opportunities. Intra-country migration is inadequately understood and under-researched. One inadequately studied internal migratory situation is that of rural migrants in China who are moving into its rapidly expanding cities without explicit permission of the authorities. The *hukou* system, or centralised system to control internal movements by Chinese citizens, grants rights to housing, education and health care amongst other services solely to those given permission to relocate out of rural areas. Those who move without official permission are excluded from exercising their human, social, political and civic rights. Actual figures of those outside the *hukou* system are difficult to obtain, but the numbers of those legitimately migrating to cities is over 250

million people, making intra-country movements a significant issue that must be addressed urgently in that country (China National Bureau of Statistics, 2011).

Crossing other internal borderlands raises issues of diversity and how citizenship status frames inclusionary or exclusionary practices with regards to various differences in social identity locations. For example, a Ugandan citizen who is gay may face death, as did David Kato, despite a court judgment in his favour. His legal rights were not a sufficient protection, because his right to privacy as a gay man was disregarded. Social workers have intervened to support individuals whose sexual rights have been violated as occurred in Uganda through their international organisations, IASSW and IFSW.

These realities raise the issue of human rights and their protection within the nation-state for people whose lifestyles differ from the prevailing ones. The United Nations is reluctant to intervene in such abuses because the Security Council that decides whether to do so allows the principle of 'national sovereignty' to trump the state's 'duty to care', although legislation required for this to occur is usually in place. Only on one occasion, with regards to the distribution of humanitarian aid during Cyclone Nargis in Burma/Myanmar when a military junta ruled it, did the Security Council intervene to enforce the delivery of external aid to victim-survivors (Dominelli, 2012). Such responses also highlight the problematic nature of affirming social justice both individually and collectively because individuals or states are able to transgress dominant social norms espousing equality, care and protection with impunity. Despite the centrality of human rights and social justice as integral dimensions of citizenship and social work practice, the status quo affirms the role of the nation-state, not the international order, in safeguarding the advantages of citizenship which are upheld largely when the nation-state is willing and/or able to discharge its obligations in this regard.

How citizenship practices are expressed, controlled and accorded to those claiming citizenship entitlements varies across diverse social groups, social settings and territories. Crossing physical national borders involves inter-country migratory movements that affect expressions of citizenship for tourists, temporary visitors, casual workers, students, refugees, asylum-seekers and would-be settlers. These are usually subject to systems of border controls that are determined by national legislation, except for refugees and asylum-seekers who, if they have a reasonable fear of persecution, are covered internationally under the Geneva Convention of 1951 and subsequent amendments. As Lister (1998) points out, exclusion and inclusion represents a continuum rather than an absolute dichotomy because there is a hierarchy of rights and citizenship. However, for those excluded from actually entering a country, exclusion is absolute. The racialised nature of border controls is also apparent in the wave of legislative changes to immigration policies in all countries of the Global North that reflect ever tighter immigration control, often targeting particular groups such as Muslims (Dominelli, 2008; Moosa-Mitha, 2009). However, as in the case of intra-country migrations, limited opportunities exist to question the absence of citizenship rights for those involved

in inter-country migratory movements if the nation-state so decrees. This applies to asylum-seekers and refugees across the world.

People do not respond passively to exclusionary state practices, but practice citizenship through formal and informal participation, especially in social democratic forms of governance (Jenson and St Martin, 2003). How people claim social justice and participate in society is deeply influenced by the nation-state because it defines the rules of participation and boundaries of social citizenship through procedures, eligibility requirements for state services, and a determination to label those with precarious citizenship status as less deserving. Moreover, the state is increasingly restricting 'the social' in citizenship by carving out the responsibilities and limits for the provision of care within the triumvirate of state, market and individual/family in favour of the market. Citizens and other residents of a particular national territory have rejected the marketisation of state services and xenophobic practices in response to those requiring state care and attempted to change the rules by which their participation in society is acknowledged. They struggle for social justice, acting to redefine and enact new forms of citizenship and demand that all are valued as equal members of society.

Citizenship, we conclude, is a fraught concept that people assume to be inclusionary because it offers the promise of human rights, political, civic, social and welfare rights. However, close examination of citizenship practices reveals that while these are affirming for many people in the dominant social group, for those different from the majority on diverse dimensions including nationality, ethnicity, class, gender, age, disability and sexual orientation, citizenship practices are often exclusionary within nation-states and beyond. All contributing authors interrogate the advantages and disadvantages that arise for individuals and groups as a result of notions of citizenship being rooted within the nation-state. Additionally, we explore the barriers that growing numbers of people moving across the globe for a variety of reasons encounter in accessing rights to which they are theoretically entitled to in their country of origin, but lose through the simple act of crossing a border. We also consider the opportunities that challenges to existing ideas create about citizenship when redefining it in more inclusionary directions in and through social work practice. And, we argue that by examining the knowledge, values and skills needed to work across the exclusionary boundaries of citizenship as it is currently defined in most nation-states, social workers can practice more inclusively.

## **Rationale for and Structure of this Book**

### *Rationale*

Citizenship is a complex, contested and multi-layered social phenomenon that requires specific attention in theory, practice and curriculum considerations. Ultimately, we seek to provide social workers with insights, knowledge, values

and skills about citizenship practices that enable them to work more effectively with those excluded from enjoying the full rights of citizenship in whatever nation-state they reside regardless of status or attribute. In so doing, we make apparent the relationship that exists between citizenship and social work practices that are oriented towards social justice.

Citizenship issues are currently inadequately articulated in social work theory and practice. Contributing authors have been inspired to explore citizenship and diversity from different social work perspectives to reduce the ensuing theory–practice gap. They interrogate taken-for-granted assumptions underpinning citizenship practices, human rights and social and environmental justice to consider how to achieve more inclusionary forms. The exclusionary bases of citizenship become extremely complicated when applied to marginalised social groups, whether these have not been acknowledged as citizens like the First Nations peoples of Canada, Aboriginals in Australia, and Maori in Aotearoa/New Zealand; or newly arrived immigrants in any particular country, for example, Iraqi refugees seeking asylum in the West, or social workers recently recruited from Zimbabwe to staff vacant posts in Britain’s social services regime.

The idea for this book initially arose out of the EU–Canada project entitled *Citizenship and Diversity*, funded by the European Union and Canadian government through a Programme of Cooperation in Higher Education (TEP). This examined how social workers in practice addressed issues of citizenship, or as Dominelli (2010) terms it, ‘practise citizenship’. It quickly became apparent that the issues were much broader than those reflected in this limited project which exchanged students on assessed practice placements between Europe and Canada. Using the literature and our extensive international networks, we specifically commissioned about half of the chapters from those not involved in this project to examine citizenship practices in other parts of the English-speaking world, including Aotearoa/New Zealand and Australia. Additionally, because we are committed to growing the next generation of authors, we include amongst those writing here, emerging scholars, research fellows, practitioners and students alongside established ones. Fourteen of the 24 chapters involve contributors who have been extensively published.

### *Structure*

Citizenship practices, whether of inclusion or exclusion, occur within the boundaries of the nation-state. We explore the implications of citizenship status between and amongst different peoples in the same country, and those in different countries. How these are expressed, controlled and accorded to those claiming citizenship entitlements is central to social work undertaken across diverse social groups, social settings and territories. This book aims specifically to consider the impact of citizenship status for practice and does so by considering what happens to diverse groups in different countries.

To explore citizenship in its complexity and depth as socially constructed practices, we have divided these contributions to the debates into five parts. The first, called '(Re)Conceptualising Citizenship', consists of four chapters that focus largely on the theoretical underpinnings of the concepts and interrogate their usefulness and validity. Part II, entitled 'Citizenship Practices in Diverse Settings', comprises four chapters. These consider how different policies and settings affect peoples' capacity to enjoy citizenship rights. Part III focuses on marginalised identities, citizenship practices in diverse settings. It has 10 chapters that consider the experiences of different groups of migrants as they cross borders. Part IV, 'Lessons from Citizenship Discourses: Practice and Educational Curricula', contains five chapters. These consider the implications of diverse analyses for coverage in social work curricula in the academy and field settings. Included are students' reflections upon their own experiences of citizenship while on placement in another country and their observations of citizenship practices towards marginalised groups in the countries visited. Part V, 'Inclusionary Citizenship Practices: Lessons for the Future', considers ways of moving forward in developing inclusionary forms of citizenship where all are equal in every sense of the term. This section is more speculative than others in that it explores different and contested redefinitions of citizenship, highlighting the importance of Indigenous perspectives, critical theory perspectives and green perspectives. The individual chapters contained in this book are identified below.

Each chapter contains critical reflections on the concepts, contexts and practices that inform understandings of the diverse experiences of citizenship (or lack of it) being described. To assist us in this task, the book contains 24 chapters written by authors who have either extensive research to draw upon or experiences of the content they cover.

Lena Dominelli begins Part I on (re)conceptualising citizenship by exploring the conceptual bases and practices of citizenship, arguing that the concept has to be interrogated and reconfigured because exclusionary elements are integral to contemporary definitions and practices. In Chapter 2, Mehmoona Moosa-Mitha considers the marginalisation of faith-based communities in the secular West, focusing on young Muslims, thereby including a group that is rarely considered in the literature. For Chapter 3, Jacque Green considers the importance of spirituality in Indigenous notions of citizenship and suggests that insights derived from First Nations traditions can be used to reconsider expressions of citizenship.

Part II, citizenship in diverse practice settings, begins with a chapter by Wanda Thomas Bernard and Mary Pam Vincer that highlights the centrality of geographical space to identity by discussing the forced expulsion of Black Nova Scotians from Africville, a part of Halifax, to make way for more prestigious (from a hegemonic perspective) development. In Chapter 5, Tom Vickers considers the insights offered by Marxist approaches to citizenship. Moreblessing Tandeka Tinarwo, in the following chapter raises transnational citizenship issues posed by migrant social workers from Zimbabwe in a major British city, demonstrating that social work employers marginalise employees from other lands, even when they

are recruited to meet shortages in personnel. In Chapter 7, Morten Ejrnæs and Helle Strauss discuss forms of citizenship exclusion practised within the Danish welfare state, indicating that even a lauded Nordic system does not promote egalitarian or universal citizenship when dealing with diversity in its midst.

Ann Dorthe Lund begins Part III on marginalised identities and citizenship practices in diverse settings by reflecting on the disenfranchisement of homeless people on the streets of Copenhagen and social work attempts to meet basic needs, a fundamental right of citizenship. Abye Tassé, in Chapter 9, gives an account of the experiences of Ethiopian diasporas in Western metropolises and concludes that contemporary migrants are well-educated and sophisticated dual citizens, adding to the wealth of the receiving and host countries in significant ways. In Chapter 10, Linda Briskman considers the role of social workers in dispossessing Aboriginal children and families of their heritage, thereby providing heart-breaking parallels with the treatment of Indigenous peoples elsewhere. Robina Thomas and Jeannine Carrière consider the survival strategies of First Nations peoples in caring for their children and enabling them to recover from losing their Indigenous citizenship under colonisation within Canada, their own country, home and space of belonging in Chapter 11. In the following chapter, MarieKathrine Poppel addresses the emerging struggles for citizenship associated with nationhood and self-identity amongst Greenlanders who have been subjected to Danish colonial rule, again highlighting issues familiar to Indigenous peoples elsewhere. In Chapter 13, Ole Meldgård focuses on the ambivalence around citizenship rights that Greenlanders living in Denmark experience and Kofoeds School's attempt to create inclusionary spaces for them. In the following chapter, Walter Lorenz raises important issues for Europeans to consider in a world that is becoming smaller, and where diversity has challenged many accepted views about homogeneity in the populations of particular nation-states. In Chapter 15, Marion Brown considers gendered forms of exclusion as an integral part of citizenship practices. Shalen House considers the experiences of citizenship amongst another excluded group – welfare recipients – in Chapter 16. Disabled people's exclusion from disabling societies that ignore their specific citizenship needs is addressed by Edson Munsaka in the subsequent chapter. Bernie Walsh focuses on the importance of realising citizenship for children seeking permanency in the UK in Chapter 18.

Part IV considers lessons from citizenship discourses on practice and educational curricula. It begins with a chapter from Tracie Metcalfe talking about supervising and supporting overseas students and staff in a social services agency in the UK. This is followed by Chapter 20 in which students, Benjamin Hirtle, Mauro Amatosi, Sarah Pflanz and Duruta Sørensen, consider their experiences of being overseas students on the EU–Canada project that required them to undertake assessed placements in working with marginalised groups and presenting their insights into citizenship – their own and that of others they encountered. In Chapter 21, Leslie Brown and Jacquie Green provide First Nations' understandings to guide social work curricula on practising inclusive citizenship. Wanda Thomas Bernard and Judy MacDonald consider citizenship diversity within the curriculum

in Chapter 22. Vishanthie Sewpaul analyses challenges for emancipatory citizenship-based social work education and practice arising from neo-liberalism and the commodification of education in the subsequent chapter.

Part V focuses on future visions for inclusionary citizenship practices by reconceptualising citizenship and integrating this into social work practice. Lena Dominelli uses critical theory to argue that critical and Indigenous insights provide a basis for moving forward in treating all people as citizens or full members of society, whether from within or outside a country in Chapter 24. In the concluding chapter, Lena calls for social work educators, researchers, practitioners and students to take citizenship seriously by practising in non-exclusionary ways and advocating for policies that promote an international vision of citizenship that transcends internal and external borderlands. Their hard work and commitment can contribute to making citizenship rights inalienable, portable and collectively guaranteed ones (Dominelli, 2010).

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PART I  
(Re)Conceptualising Citizenship

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# Chapter 1

## Problematizing Concepts of Citizenship and Citizenship Practices

Lena Dominelli

### Introduction

Citizenship, an ancient concept of Grecian origins, depicted a status held by male patricians enjoying a public political life within the polis (particular territory) and superior to the private realm of the household (Shafik and Brysk, 2006). Marshall (1950) linked political and civic rights including voting and decision-making for the nation through representative liberal democracy with social rights associated with welfare entitlements to food, clothing, shelter, education and health services. Despite its exclusionary beginnings, citizenship as status assumes that all those deemed 'citizens' enjoy similar rights within national boundaries. However, citizenship practices can be inclusionary or exclusionary. The capacity to include or exclude is embedded in state-enacted social policies that define those belonging to a particular nation-state and the benefits that accrue to citizens while denying these to those unable so to qualify (Roche, 1992). Such exclusionary practices produce varied citizenship experiences according to social divisions like gender, ethnicity including the specific variant of Indigeneity, ability, age, class and sexual orientation. A wealth of writings has exposed exclusion among both nationals and non-nationals (Dominelli, 1991, 2010; Lewis, 2004; Lister, 1997; Williams, 1989). Citizenship as a concept, a status and a practice linked to nation-states is contested by global migration, diasporas and transnationalities. Resistance to citizenship's exclusions through restrictive links between place, space and territory, acceptance, belonging and solidarity, is common.

Human rights, linked to an individual's humanity, are innate (Basok et al., 2006), defined through the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), and agreed by member states of the United Nations (UN). These assert individual claims to entitlements covering social, political and (minimal) economic rights. The realisation of human rights is dependent on the nation-state's willingness to guarantee these by discharging its 'duty to care' for its citizens. This duty of care links citizenship, national sovereignty and human rights inextricably together, a situation rarely challenged. This dependency makes human rights precarious and 'the right to have rights' is unrealisable without collective support within the nation-state and more widely (Arendt, 1956). Furthermore, a state's commitment

to the UDHR opens the door for claims by those residing within its borders but lacking citizenship rights associated with nationality.

Citizenship rights, limited to people with legal citizenship status, are created, granted and upheld by courts within the framework of state sovereignty (Isin and Turner, 2006: 8). These acquire nationalist orientations that evoke diverse notions of nationhood, for example, Spanish Catalonians' demand for statehood; Indigenous communities within settler nation-states affirming traditional rights to land and ways of life; transnationality; and diasporas. These diverse and contentious claims challenge unitary hegemonic citizenship, embroiling it in struggles for social justice, social inclusion and human rights. Citizenship as a concept facilitates social workers' commitment to social justice, social inclusion and human rights by enabling practitioners to advocate for social inclusion and social justice claims, regardless of citizenship status. Thus, social workers both work within contemporary citizenship practices and challenge their exclusivity as indicated throughout this book.

Citizenship practices that marginalise or assimilate diverse populations within national borders are complicated, whether applied to: marginalised groups who have been settled for millennia, for example, the First Nations peoples of Canada and Maori peoples in Aotearoa/New Zealand; newly arrived immigrants like Iranian refugees seeking asylum in the West; or overseas social workers recruited to staff vacant posts in specific social services regimes like social workers from India recruited to work in Britain. The provision of citizenship entitlements exclusively to those holding a nationally-bounded citizenship status configures how citizenship practices are expressed, controlled and operationalised in and through social work practice, but contradicts working across diverse social groups, settings and territories.

Supra-national developments have transcended the implications of citizenship rights rooted in the nation-state by initiating agreements to accord these to a range of people living within a region composed of diverse nation-states rather than one specific country. For example, the European Union (EU) grants citizenship rights that include social, political, welfare and civic rights and freedom to cross 'national' borders to all citizens living within it. Some argue that this arrangement constitutes the 'European citizen', reflected in everyone having the same colour passport. Others challenge this depiction, suggesting that the European is a citizenship identity in the making. This regional citizenship is becoming increasingly discredited and challenged through its failure to deal with non-nationals living in its midst, especially those of Muslim origins (Wagner, 2004); the fiscal crisis in Euroland (Von Hagen, 2002); demands of nationalistic groups like UKIP in Britain for repatriation of sovereign state powers from an unaccountable and undemocratic EU (Farage, 2013); and unwanted immigration. Other theorists raise the possibility of a 'global citizenship' (Carter, 2001).

These developments generate evidence that citizenship is being undermined and reconfigured while failing to address exclusionary citizenship practices within a given nation-state, for example, conditional rights to social security benefits and

welfare rights for married/cohabiting women and pensions accorded to women in the UK until the late 1980s (Dominelli, 1991; Phillips, 1991). Its contemporary variant under neoliberal austerity regimes erodes welfare rights and imposes welfare benefit cuts upon large sections of the citizenry, including unemployed people, lone mothers and disabled people by compelling them to work for benefits (Lara, 2011), thereby reversing hard-won rights. Ironically, employment rights, excluded from the UDHR, are needed more than ever, given worker mobility across the globe and in-country resistance to overseas workers seeking employment in fiscally challenged countries. Retrenchment in social security undermines struggles for guaranteed incomes, social protection and other expressions of institutional solidarity expressed through the welfare state. Prevailing discourses further sub-divide citizens into those allegedly abusing a 'generous' welfare state and those working hard to pay taxes to support it.

Additionally, attitudes towards non-citizens have hardened. In the UK, the right of asylum seekers to receive the same benefits as settled citizens has been removed and replaced with reduced benefits, thereby denying those without formal citizenship access to crucial assistance. Attacks on solidarity through the welfare state ignore citizenship status as the 'right to have rights' (Arendt, 1956) and disregard the *incapacity* of marginalised people without the wherewithal to be players in the marketplace to access market-based provisions. What are the implications of such exclusions for social work practice, and society more widely? How long will citizens of a particular territory condone attacks on welfare rights when they lack legally accessible alternatives? When will they secure interesting jobs that pay living wages instead of short-term, boring, low-paid work? Will their future be one of remaining unemployed wage workers or potential students unable to access tertiary level education because fees and associated living costs are high? Harsh neoliberal regimes can produce social disorder when citizens feel trapped and see governments undermining their rights as has occurred recently in Greece or England during the riots of August 2011.

This chapter considers theories that underpin the concept of citizenship and examines its practices including the knowledge, values and skills that social workers require to work across exclusionary nation-state boundaries. I re-conceptualise citizenship and advocate for new citizenship practices that transcend the nation-state by being collectively guaranteed, inalienable, globally portable and attached to the person. Achieving this requires the re-negotiation of existing relationships between individuals and the nation-state representing society; and between nation-states to create a humanitarian, environmentally friendly, inclusive international social order.

I describe the exclusionary nature of citizenship and reformulate the concept in accordance with the UDHR (signed and ratified by most countries) and social workers' commitment to social justice including environmental justice and sustainable development (Dominelli, 2012). I demonstrate that citizenship rights currently residing in the nation-state are violated regularly for vast numbers. Internally, this occurs because citizenship is fractured along 'race', ethnicity,

Indigeneity, gender, ability, class and age and experienced differentially by individuals and groups. Although citizenship rights including human rights are applied to individuals, their realisation is not portable outside the borders of a particular nation-state that define specific citizens its nationals. Consequently, those enjoying citizenship rights within their own borders lose these rights when crossing country lines. Rooting citizenship in the nation-state legitimates the loss of individual rights, when they should be individually inalienable and portable as suggested by the UDHR, and collectively guaranteed.

I problematise and rework the exclusionary bases of citizenship to reformulate citizenship rights as inalienable and portable, going with individuals wherever they go. This gives the nation-state from which people originate the obligation to recognise individual/group citizenship rights internally for its own and other nationals, and assist in their realisation externally in another territory alongside maintaining environmental sustainability in an interdependent world. Achieving this re-conceptualisation of citizenship rights can be difficult because the international community within the UN would have to enable all nation-states to implement UDHR rights to food, clothing, shelter, education, health and social services covered by Articles 22 to 27, and add employment rights alongside sustainable environmental rights. Ensuring portability and comprehensive coverage alongside a holistic, inclusive citizenship that cares about and for people and the environment could pose financial challenges for nation-states and international bodies to resolve.

## Defining Citizenship

Citizenship has been defined as a universal status that accords individuals human, civic, political social and welfare rights (Marshall, 1950). Citizenship is rooted in birth or legitimate residence within a particular nation-state and excludes by definition those not 'belonging' to it, making citizenship contingent on territory. This conceptualisation is problematic. Even within dominant social groups, some citizens have been excluded historically for having the 'wrong' identity, being dispossessed, lacking property, not holding waged employment or living in environmentally degraded neighbourhoods. In the UK, Dominelli (1991) and Lister (1997) have instanced and critiqued the state's inability to provide equal citizenship for women from both dominant and minority ethnic groups.

T.H. Marshall's (1950: 33) seminal work on citizenship argued that civil rights 'gave each man [*sic*], as part of his individual status, the power to engage as an independent unit in the economic struggle' without appreciating its exclusion of women. He anticipated that social citizenship would create a universal right to a state-guaranteed income not linked to the market. Wagner (2004: 280) contends that while this allows individuals 'to compete in the labour market and participate in economic wellbeing', civil and social rights 'conflict with each other' because the principle of protecting oneself contradicts that of the state protecting all citizens