

Libertarian or Communitarian? Citizenship and refugees in the UK

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Outline of paper

- Libertarian and communitarian theory
 - Applying theory to citizenship
 - British citizenship: history and context
 - Contemporary citizenship and 'newcomers'
 - Key findings of research with refugees
 - Conclusions and implications for UK policy
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Libertarian and communitarian theory

□ Libertarian

Stresses universal nature of rights, often abstract shared assumptions

Contradictions apparent between approach to individual and group rights

□ Communitarian

Rights are conditional on demonstrated responsibilities

Emphasises the importance of history and tradition, particularities of time and space

Application to citizenship

- Opposing traditions informed by anticipations of Lib and Comm

Republican vs. Cosmopolitan

Democratic vs. Liberal

Peoplehood vs. Personhood

- Liberal Democratic Citizenship

An effective synthesis?

British citizenship: history and context

'British citizenship is wholly a creature of statute' (Karatani 2003) 'vulnerable to the instability of change' (Ceserani 1997)

- ❑ Absence of revolutionary event or constitutional statement
 - ❑ Empire and immigration
 - ❑ 'A patchwork of rights' (Spencer 1994)
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Citizenship in the 21st Century

- ❑ Global and transnational challenges; call to reinvigorate the institution of citizenship
 - ❑ New Labour emphasis on rights *and* responsibilities (Goodhart 2006)
 - ❑ Internal struggles of the centre-left in British politics – review and consultation
 - ❑ New cleavage in UK politics? Libertarian vs. Communitarian (Baggini 2008)
 - ❑ Terminology: earning, privilege and deserving
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The proposed Immigration and Citizenship Bill

- *Three routes: work, family, protection*
- *Three stages: temporary residence, probationary citizenship, full citizenship*

□ Required elements

Learning English

Economic contribution

□ Desirable elements

Respecting the law

'Active' citizenship

Refugee integration policy

- 2005 Introduction of 5 year protection review
- 2006 Refugee integration strategy
 - 'Able to exercise rights and fulfill responsibilities'*
- 2007 SUNRISE integration programme

Trend: Integration begins from receipt of status

ICAR's research

- ❑ Two background literature reviews
 - ❑ 36 in-depth interviews
 - ❑ Three refugee populations in London: Somalis, Tamils, Colombians
 - ❑ Problems and limitations
 - ❑ Framework and analysis
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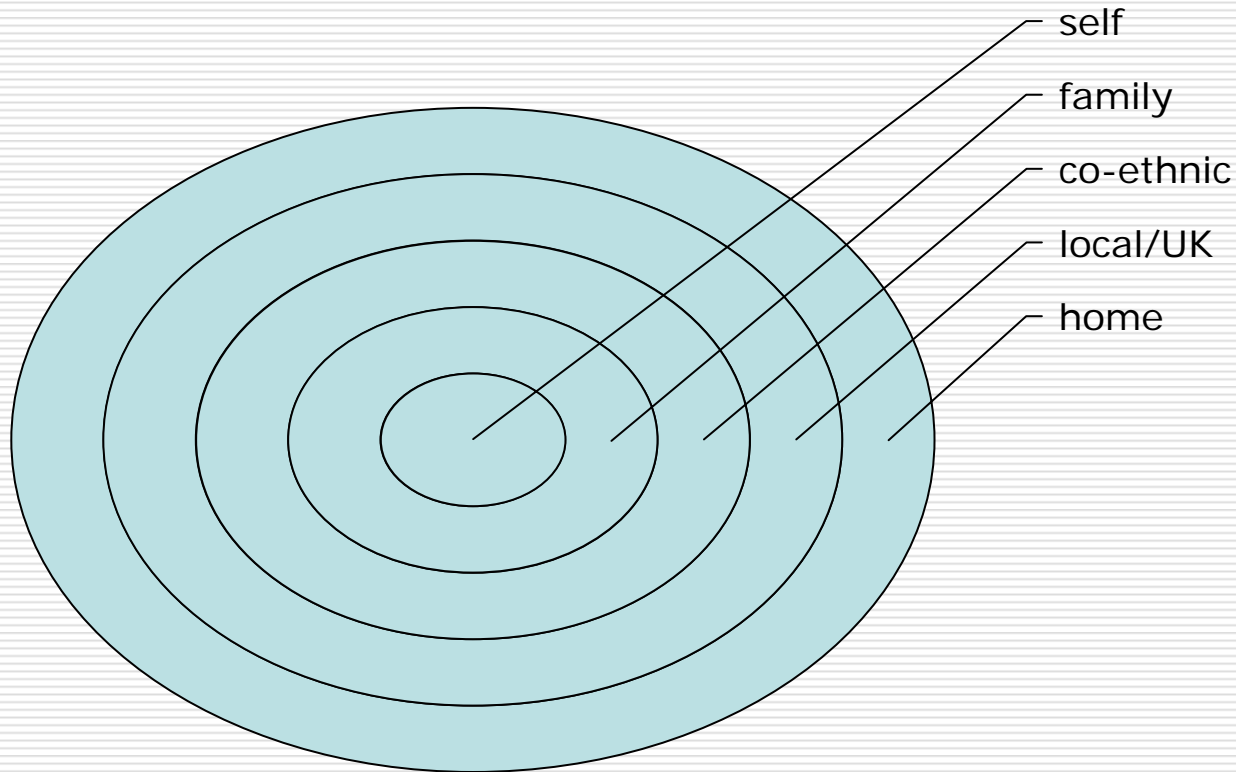
Key findings

- ❑ Complex refugee responsibilities
 - ❑ Incremental participation determined by responsibilities
 - ❑ Attitudes towards citizenship
 - ❑ Linking rights and responsibilities
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Typology of responsibilities

	<i>Country of origin</i>	<i>UK</i>	<i>Trans-national</i>
<i>Socio-cultural</i>	family	family; co-ethnic community	family; cultural practices; diaspora
<i>Political</i>	oppose repressive govt	voting; unions; political parties	embassy protests; lobbying UK
<i>Economic</i>	land or business interests	taxes; self-sufficiency	remittances; fundraising

Incremental participation



Factors: responsibilities, time, capital, propensity to return, family

Attitudes towards citizenship

□ Three types of 'refugee-citizen'

Indifferent

Take citizenship for only practical reasons

Experience only practical benefits

Pragmatic

Take citizenship for only practical reasons

Experience practical and emotional benefits

Contented/Fulfilled

Take citizenship for practical and emotional reasons

Experience practical and emotional benefits

Linking rights and responsibilities

□ Formal spheres

Four aspects of the Citizenship Bill

*Provide the opportunity to earn citizenship -
vertical*

□ Informal spheres

Layered social networks and relationships

*Responsibility also generated by experience and
interaction - horizontal*

Conclusions and policy implications

- ❑ No inevitable conflict between complex responsibilities
 - ❑ Acceptance of interdependence of rights and responsibilities
 - ❑ Need to provide the opportunity to earn citizenship
 - ❑ Communitarian ideals within the parameters of Libertarian fundamentals
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