The shifting terrain of citizenship: a wayfarer's guide

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Scoping report for the Melbourne Social Equity Institute
'Citizenship and Diversity' theme area

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1 Introduction

This report addresses researchers and others who are broadly interested in gaining a working understanding of concepts of citizenship to understand issues of social inequality. Citizenship is a concept with a long history and growing breadth. This means that it is a promising concept to inform interdisciplinary research addressing issues of social inequality, but there are challenges in navigating its complex currents. Therefore, our aims in this scoping report are to identify key conceptual platforms that are particularly relevant for informing interdisciplinary research and advocacy through the Melbourne Social Equity Institute (MSEI). We travel over varied terrain to summarise an extensive scholarly literature.

This journey is important because concepts of citizenship inform one of the MSEI's four broad, cross-disciplinary research theme areas. Theme areas are:

• Citizenship and Diversity
• Human rights
• Access to public goods
• Social policy across the life course

The MSEI is one of six research institutes at the University of Melbourne that were charged to tackle society's complex problems in innovative ways. Formally established in mid-2012, the MSEI brings together researchers from across the University of Melbourne to identify unjust or unfair conditions and practices that lead to social inequity and to work towards finding ways to ameliorate disadvantage. Currently, the MSEI supports a range of research activities, including annual rounds of research seed funding, plenary speakers, symposia, research networks and, in early 2014, it convened the inaugural 'Imagining Social Equity Conference' in Melbourne. These research and engagement activities address social equity issues across the full spectrum of social life including health, law, education, housing, work and transport. Further information about the MSEI can be found at http://www.socialequity.unimelb.edu.au/.

This scoping report will inform ongoing work within the 'Citizenship and Diversity' theme area. It summarises key currents in a rapidly expanding body of scholarly literature that draws on concepts of citizenship to explain and analyse conditions and circumstances that contribute to social inequalities. It anticipates emerging issues and future directions for research supported by the MSEI, and seeks to contribute to ongoing discussions within and beyond the MSEI.

To make the task of summarising a considerable and diverse body of work manageable, with the exception of seminal texts and texts providing critical historical perspectives on the development and applications of concepts of citizenship, we have focused largely on material published in the last six years (since 2008).

1.1 Working definitions of citizenship

Citizenship is commonly defined as being vested with the rights, privileges and duties of a citizen within three broad dimensions: legal, political and identity. These are given varying weight across different models and conceptualisations. A legal dimension emphases responsibility of citizens to act within the law and the responsibility of the state to ensure citizens are protected by the law; a political definition of citizenship emphases participation in democratic processes; and citizenship construed as an identity is linked to a sense of belonging to a political community in a locality, region, city or nation (Kymlicka & Norman 2000).

Two prominent constructions of citizenship in Western liberal democracies are 'republican' and 'liberal'. Republican models emphasise political dimensions and participation in deliberation and decision-making processes. They embrace active interpretations of citizenship that are grounded in forms of public participation and concerned with structural issues in societies. Liberal models of citizenship emphasise passive rights of existence protected by a legal system. Membership of a community is largely enacted through involvement in public and private associations and

attachments. The liberal model is inclusive and expandable – legal status of citizenship can be legally determined and conferred upon individuals who may or may not recognise common interests. The subjective experience of citizenship can be weak, and competing interests can jeopardise social integration. Republican models, on the other hand, are difficult to sustain in large and complex societies.

Influential feminist critiques have problematised each of these conceptualisations of citizenship, pointing to the ways in which the domestic spheres are marginalised in both models (Lister 2008, 2007; Prokhovnik 1998; Gilligan 1995). In republican models, the domestic sphere is viewed as irrelevant to citizenship, and although liberal models privilege private spheres of associations, this has tended not to extend to associations in domestic spheres. The implications of gender inequities and, in particular, responsibility for caring, have undermined the ways which women are able to participate in wider (public and private) social and political arenas.

In the face of feminist challenges to prevailing concepts of citizenship, and in combination with social changes that are reworking the personal, social and political conditions in which longstanding concepts of citizenship are grounded, the potential for common understanding of citizenship is diminishing. Despite the ways in which concepts of citizenship are contested, it is nevertheless being adapted to describe and analyse diverse contemporary social, economic and political issues. This suggests the enduring significance of citizenship for understanding collective life, and exacerbates ongoing challenges in developing clear definitions and conceptual clarity.

Among the diverse meanings and applications that are claimed for citizenship there is widespread agreement that it entails some form of membership in a political community (Joppke 2010). As Joppke notes however, questions of defining what is meant by 'political' also remain unresolved. Joppke offers two possibilities for conceiving citizenship as a political project. The first draws on a normative understanding of politics as a belief in the ability to produce social order and to actively manage social improvement. Coupled with the need to extend membership to all citizens, in an age of plurality and mass

democracy this has led to the idea of multiple or hyphenated citizenships. The boundaries of the definition of citizenship have been extending to ensure entitlement and opportunity to participate meaningfully in the political community.

Joppke's second answer is a factual explanation; that the political sphere of society has become identical to the state, and that the state is the only association with power over the physical life of human beings and the responsibility to provide its citizens with security and protection. Within this definition of the political, citizenship is limited to the relationship between the individual and the state.

Interpretations of citizenship are being unsettled through processes of globalisation and global flows of people are challenging extant models of citizenship. Within nations, access to citizenship is becoming stratified and contingent. Beyond national borders, growing issues of statelessness for many people means that they are excluded altogether from citizenship. While the number of stateless people has decreased from 175 million at the end of World War II to 42 million today, the length of time that people experience loss of citizenship is increasing. In many parts of the world, enclaves of stateless people are becoming long-term settlements with some children, and even adults, having spent their entire lives in refugee camps (Agier 2011; Gatrell 2013; UNHCR 2012). Although international governance organisations are developing considerable influence, citizenship is still conferred within national boundaries and remains anchored to national institutions. National citizenship is by definition exclusionary, and undermines the normative and egalitarian ideals of democratic participation (Kostakopoulou 2009). Discussions of the emergence of post-national or 'anational' citizenship, however, in the absence of international institutions capable of guaranteeing the protections of citizenship remain largely abstract and ideological, although as will be shown this too is changing.

The concept of citizenship continues to elude clear and precise definitions. It is an evolving concept that is being reworked in ongoing ways to examine emerging issues and transforming demographic, political, social and cultural contexts. This conceptual dynamism ensures that citizenship has ongoing relevance for understanding political and social life.

1.2   The ongoing relevance of citizenship

As a concept, citizenship has remarkable durability and versatility that has ensured its continued relevance for understanding actual and ideal relationships between individuals, groups and states. Its conceptual elasticity in being adapted to emerging social and political realities is noted in work that characterises citizenship as a 'momentum concept' (Hoffman 2004; Lister 2007:49):

> Momentum concepts […] 'unfold' so that we must continuously rework them in a way that realizes more and more of their egalitarian and anti-hierarchical potential' [2004, p. 138]. As such, they provide tools for marginalized groups struggling for social justice.

This potential to articulate aspirational social justice objectives informs current strong interest across the fields of law and the social and political sciences. In particular, in the wake of waxing and waning political interest in concepts of social exclusion, this potential to highlight, analyse and advocate for marginalised groups is prompting extensive interest in concepts of citizenship.

Indeed, over the previous few decades there has been an 'explosion' of interest in concepts of citizenship. While Van Gunsteren wrote in 1978 that political theorists had turned away from studying citizenship, by 1990 Derek Heater claimed thinkers across the political spectrum had taken up the concept (Kymlicka & Norman 2000:5). The survey of scholarly literature conducted for this report suggests that interest in concepts of citizenship persists and is even continuing to grow across many disciplines and areas of public discussion. It is also important to note that scholarship addressing or drawing on concepts of citizenship is located both within the field of 'citizenship studies' and scattered across a wide range of disciplines and content areas.

Concepts of citizenship are being applied to understand emerging issues of political, economic and social participation, and relationships between individuals, groups and states. It has become the vehicle for a variety of social and political agendas, and is used to both reinforce and challenge the status quo. Citizenship is used to explore the implications of shifting rationalities of government and new international governance associations, modalities of capital accumulation, and social movements and their struggles for recognition and distribution. These issues are pushing academics, activists and practitioners to rethink the political agent or subject (Isin & Turner 2002a).

The capacities of citizenship as a momentum concept that can reworked and applied to emergent issues of social inequality ensure its ongoing relevance for theory-building, social research, policy research and development and public debate. Across this range of work we identify two broad thematic currents in the ways in which citizenship is used to explore social and political issues. One current concerns the business of government and governance and the maintenance of social order and cohesion, and the other focuses on issues of social participation, exclusion and equality.

1.3   Key currents in conceptualising citizenship

Concepts of citizenship are increasingly used to frame processes contributing to contemporary social inequalities. We identify two thematic currents that broadly divide into

matters of primary interest to the business of government – the maintenance of social order and cohesion – and those that are more focused on issues of participation, exclusion and equality. One thematic current addresses familiar issues of political citizenship that have long been gathered under the umbrella of citizenship studies. This current of scholarship is concerned with matters of governance. It addresses the increasingly restrictive conditions placed on the granting of citizenship, primarily in developed economies but increasingly in poorer countries experiencing large numbers of people fleeing insecurity and instability. It includes issues of global citizenship, immigration, national identity, ethnic diversity and generalised trust, and examines the way nation states are adapting to rapidly changing demographic and political situations. This is a minimalist model, limiting interpretations of citizenship to the rights and obligations of membership by individuals of a nation state, and the protections afforded by that membership. Within this current, much of the academic work is strongly orientated to issues associated with the ways in which governments are grappling with flows of people across the globe (voluntary and involuntary) that are generating multicultural settler societies. Migration and globalisation are pushing national governments and communities to reconsider and reformulate notions of political citizenship, often to bring informal arrangements under state control (Joppke 2010).

Another current of work addresses issues of social citizenship and seeks to explore how concepts of citizenship are constructed (and reconstructed) with inclusionary and exclusionary effects. This second current of scholarship picks up on the potential of citizenship as a 'momentum concept' to expand categories of social citizenship. Much of this work seeks to stretch concepts of citizenship to establish the social and political legitimacy of marginalised social identities and sites of activism and struggle. Within this literature there are many sub-fields of theorising and research, including sexual citizenship, cultural citizenship, citizenship of first nations and indigenous peoples, political citizenship, citizenship and gender, citizenship and disability, post-national and denationalised citizenship, ecological or green citizenship and cosmopolitan citizenship (Isin & Turner 2002). In exposing exclusionary processes and expanding categories for citizenship,

these varied fields of scholarship can be associated with traditional forms of political activism - active citizenship – but are now finding expression in new forms of community mobilisation and engagement. In part, these two currents can also be distinguished by sharpness of focus. Whereas matters outside national boundaries concern events and populations in other nations and require international co-operation, inside national boundaries individuals, families and minority interests become visible to policy formation and practice. The metaphor of currents, however, is used deliberately here to suggest the mingling of ideas and lack of definitive boundaries in the ways in which concepts of citizenship are used to theorise and research contemporary political and social situations. At the same time, it recognises the general orientation of particular positions. It also captures the complexity of the field and that its scope 'now certainly goes well beyond the mastery of any scholar' (Isin & Turner 2002b:2).

In the inaugural issue of the journal, *Citizenship Studies*, Pakulski offers a useful discussion of citizenship as sets of rights and obligations that have evolved over time and within facilitating political and social infrastructure. Drawing on the work of T.H. Marshall, Pakulski argues that notions of citizenship are progressive and cumulative, in which concepts of citizenship as civil rights are foundations for claims for political, then for social rights, and finally leading onto contemporary claims for cultural rights. Civil citizenship was the basis for political citizenship. Social citizenship was forged through demands from political actors, and recognition from the state that socioeconomic inequalities have distorting effects on political rights. Notably, the expansion of the welfare state (and particularly the redistributive and compensatory mechanisms that the state is able to deploy) was critical in establishing and consolidating social citizenship. According to Pakulski, social citizenship is the basis for contemporary claims for cultural citizenship that have emerged through recognition that social citizenship can be undermined if it associated with devalued social identities. Cultural citizenship centres on issues of symbolic representation, and can be distilled into three related issues:

> [T]he right to symbolic presence and visibility (vs marginalisation); the right to dignifying representation

(vs stigmatisation); and the right to propagation of identity and maintenance of lifestyles (vs assimilation) (Pakulski 1997:80).

Achieving cultural citizenship involves social groups asserting the particularity of interests and circumstances, and the gradual institutionalisation of these claims within the state. Pakulski (1997:82) suggested that cultural citizenship is realised through 'socio-cultural' movements.

This conceptualisation of citizenship as an evolving project that is being reworked in ongoing ways to redress inequalities in hierarchical societies, is compatible with understanding it as a momentum concept. As a momentum concept, citizenship is being used to analyse the unfolding social phenomena, ranging from the implications of differences in political status through to the subtle, but nonetheless potent, effects of representational practices regarding marginalised social groups.

This versatility, however, presents some risks of it being be perceived as a 'catch all' concept that is vaguely and imprecisely conceptualised and then applied in loose and inconsistent ways to examine an array of phenomena. These risks can undermine its conceptual authority for analysing contemporary inequalities.

1.4   Summary

Concepts of citizenship remain strongly relevant for understanding and responding to social inequalities. We identify two broad currents in a long tradition of academic interest in citizenship that we refer to as political and social citizenship. These categories provide the structure for this scoping report. If in practice citizenship involves keys phases in the recognition of rights, extending from civil through to political, social and cultural rights, then currently in Australia projects of citizenship are both evolving and stalling. Claims for social and cultural citizenship are taking place alongside struggles for political and cosmopolitan citizenship.

These currents of work can be mapped onto the components of 'citizenship and diversity' theme area. Citizenship

captures concerns for the contexts and conditions in which citizenship is established and the emergence of layered or partial access to citizenship in national responses to the flows of refugees and asylum seekers that are leading to hierarchies of entitlements. It addresses lived experience of multiculturalism and debates about whether the goal of inclusiveness is best served by universal or differential rights. 'Diversity' captures the ways in which concepts of citizenship are being used to understand and respond to social and cultural experiences of marginalisation and exclusion.

This scoping report therefore offers useful and timely discussions of the potential of concepts of citizenship to frame and inform our understanding of contemporary inequalities. The next section discusses key issues in relation to 'political citizenship', with particular focus on contexts of globalisation, migration and multiculturalism.

2 Political citizenship

Concepts of political citizenship are forged within systems of social organisation that are usually associated with nations states. Effective nation states are characterised by levels of political participation, civic engagement and social trust. These qualities of 'collective mindedness' underpin citizenship but, in recent decades, are being strained by pressures on nations states (Kesler & Bloemraad 2010:*passim*). These pressures are associated with aspects of globalisation and social fragmentation within nations. Inter-national and intra-national issues present significant challenges to familiar concepts of political citizenship.

2.1 Globalisation and diversity: implications for political citizenship

The varied effects of globalisation, which include liberal ideals of the unhindered flows of money, people, images, values and ideas across national boundaries are placing considerable strains on nation-states with differing implications in industrialising and post-industrial economies (Hurrell & Woods 1995). While many western nations, including Australia, vigorously promote the value of open free-market economies, they are also seeking to place new kinds of restrictions on flows of migrants and refugees. Debates over issues of migration are outcomes of the policy contest between the solidarity of national identities and the rights and entitlements of the increasing numbers of non-citizens in many advanced economies.

Within many nation states, issues of social fragmentation are growing concerns. Social fragmentation is associated with rising socioeconomic inequalities (strongly linked to the effects of globalisation) and cultural and ethnic diversity. These issues are interlinked because they coincide with the widespread dismantling of welfare systems under the influence of neo-liberalism. In settler societies, migration has traditionally driven economic growth and social and

cultural creativity. On one hand, neo-liberalism promotes open economies and high levels of immigration as factors that contribute to economic growth (Freeman 1986). On the other, migration presents challenges to welfare systems that were developed in different demographic, social and economic contexts. Welfare states formed in Europe and Australia following WWII were developed within relatively stable populations with shared history and cultural practices. This fostered widespread political support for redistributive policies. If migration and cultural diversity is associated with processes of social fragmentation this may diminish popular support for universal, and even targeted, state welfare systems.

These issues have ignited fierce debates. Some researchers and policy-makers have pointed to a positive correlation between generalised social trust and ethnic homogeneity (e.g. Delhey & Newton 2005). Joppke (2010:75) writes that it is 'incontrovertible that immigration-based ethnic diversity has detrimental effects on the levels of trust between people, which is generally considered a prerequisite for accepting the redistribution mustered by the welfare state'. Recent Australian research partially confirms of this position, but the analysis suggests that 'associations between generalised trust and other variables such as population density, residential mobility, and housing situation are not consistent across the city' (Hermes & Poulsen 2013:276). Other writers disagree. Kesler & Bloemraad used the concept of collective-mindedness (social trust, civic engagement and political participation) to investigate the relationship between ethnic diversity and trust in 19 advanced democracies. Pointing to the importance of political leadership, they found that 'countries with an institutional or policy context promoting economic equality and recognition and accommodation of immigrant minorities experience less dramatic or no declines in collective-mindedness' (2010:220). In a similar vein others have contested the belief that social trust and the viability of the welfare state can only be maintained by increasingly restrictive immigration, and that people with high levels of social capital show more positive attitudes towards immigration (Herreros & Criado 2009; Pevnick 2009). Practical evidence for this optimism is found in a recent Quarterly Essay by the journalist Kathy Marks' (2013), which described high levels of cohesiveness among ethnically diverse communities in Western Sydney.

Complicating these issues, responses to globalisation and unplanned migration have led to the increasing stratification of citizenship rights. Globalised flows of capital have been accompanied by the development of privileged citizenship rights as governments seek to attract skilled or wealthy immigrants. At the same time, those who cross borders uninvited as refugees or asylum-seekers often find themselves without access to residence, work or welfare, left only with a small and fragile nucleus of alien rights that falls far short of the benefits and protection of citizenship (Joppke 2010:85). Joppke points out that in order to avoid the destabilisation of national unity caused by large numbers of non-citizens, many governments, particularly in Europe, have moved to loosen the restrictions on the granting of citizenship. He interprets this as governments becoming resigned to situations over which they have limited power.

In countries such as Australia the foundations for universal political citizenship are well established, but they are transforming in uncertain ways through the impacts of globalisation, migration, rising inequalities and other processes.

2.2 Social fragmentation and the threats to citizenship

Social fragmentation and rising socioeconomic inequalities are growing concerns in many nation states. These issues are often framed as problems of social exclusion for those experiencing poverty and marginalisation. During the 1980s and into the 1990s widespread concerns with social and economic exclusion emerged in Europe and the UK as a result of the impact of the globalisation of national economies. In Western countries the widespread prosperity of the post-WWII years has become increasingly unequally distributed by the shift of manufacturing to low income countries and declining socio-economic conditions for the working classes in post-industrial economies (Judt 2008; Wilkinson & Pickett 2009). High blue-collar unemployment and growing socio-spatial polarisation have produced local areas of concentrated household disadvantage, poverty and social unrest in many cities. The concept of social exclusion emerged and was identified as a threat to social cohesion. The origins of the concept can be traced to a

number of European political philosophies, in particular French Republicanism, Catholic Social Teaching and social democracy (Daly & Silver 2008).

The concern found its way into policy frameworks throughout the 1980s and 1990s, and became widespread in policy documents in the Anglophone world. It was given substance by the establishment of the European Observatory on Policies to Combat Social Exclusion, for example, and the UK government's Social Exclusion Unit. In 2002 the South Australian Government launched the Social Inclusion Initiative, the Victorian Government began similar work in 2004 through its policy *A Fairer Victoria*, and in 2009 the Australian Government launched its Social Inclusion Strategy and established the Social Inclusion Unit within the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet. The Social Inclusion Unit conceived of its purpose as reducing disadvantage; increasing social, civil and economic participation; providing citizens with a greater voice; and making government more responsive to its citizens (Australian Government n.d.). The Unit was closed by the newly-elected Coalition government in September 2013.

While the language of social inclusion is fading from use in Australia, particularly as it is unlikely to have any traction with the federal government for the time being, the issues that it references are persistent and are finding expression in emerging interpretations of citizenship.

2.3   Australian citizenship

In Australia, concepts of citizenship have developed within specific historical and social contexts. These include the reluctance among a significant proportion of the population to sever ties to the British monarchy, a history of Indigenous displacement, and political exclusion and shameful immigration policies, including the White Australia Policy that was implemented at Federation in 1901 and was not completely dismantled until 1973. Australia, however, was one of the first nations to enfranchise women.

Notably, the Australian constitution refers to Australians as subjects, not citizens. The federation of colonial governments

in 1901 established Australia as a dominion of the British Empire with the legal status of a colony. Following Federation Australians continued to be British subjects, retaining this status after the creation of Australian citizenship in 1949. The enabling legislation included Indigenous Australians, although they were not counted in the population census until 1967. It was not until 1984 that Australians ceased to be regarded in Australian law as British subjects, although Australia remains a constitutional monarchy.

As a result of this incremental development Australian citizenship was conceived largely in statist and passive terms. In the early years of the federation, immigration issues prevailed over the development of any positive notion of citizenship, and no adequate or core notion of citizenship developed. It was a fraternal concept that relied on the common characteristics and culture that would allow the consensus on which democracy was seen to be founded. Immigrants from Asian countries, particularly China, were thought to lack the skills, attitudes and values necessary for a democratic engagement. Aboriginal Australians were excluded for the same reason. Citizenship is still seen as a weak concept in Australia, not motivated by any strong republican sentiments (Brett 2001; Hudson & Kane 2000).

With the advent of WWII common cause was found in the defence of the nation. During the war, Leader of the Opposition Robert Menzies made a series of radio broadcasts in which he created an ostensibly classless image of citizenship that was in fact centred on middle class suburban family values. In the broadcasts the public and the private realms of domesticity and citizenship were brought together by a sense that familial commitments were public affirmations of the values on which the nation were based. Following the 1949 general election, Menzies carried this interpretation into government. Citizenship was seen not as the reciprocal relations between citizens and the state, but as the mutual links between citizens, which included affirmations of self-regulation in the collective interest (Murphy 2009).

This drift to a notion of citizenship as an experience of national belonging has continued since. It was briefly challenged by Prime Minister Paul Keating's call to Australians to embrace change and explore new possibilities of national

identify in reaching out to Asia, and then re-energised by the Coalition Government (led by John Howard from 1996 to 2007). Citizenship was a powerful concept for Howard, who changed the name of the Office of Multicultural Affairs to the Office of Citizenship. He reasserted, however, an understanding of citizenship that aligned it with a sense of national belonging that was envigorated through references to a nostalgic, insular and exclusive past (Allon 2008). These sentiments licensed some unsavoury episodes of aggressive nationalism among Anglo-Australians who were feeling anxious and insecure towards changes associated with globalisation, and alienated many migrant-background Australians who struggled to see how these narratives of citizenship and belonging reflected their stories.

This particular rendition of Australian citizenship has limited scope to focus on inequalities arising through the stratification of citizenship rights. Humanitarian refugees and asylum seekers coming to Australia are likely to be excluded from or tenuously connected to spheres of political, social, economic and cultural participation. Popular opinion is also driving harsh political responses to the plight of refugees and asylum seekers in many settler nations. These situations are refocusing attention on the potential of human rights activism, including supra-national mechanisms, to mount claims for social justice.

2.4   Political citizenship and human rights

The rise in stateless peoples who are thus excluded from political citizenship has prompted scholars to revisit theoretical and practical issues of human rights. Some scholars view human rights as efforts to universalise citizenship against the backdrop of the declining power of nation states in the face of globalisation, and argue that it represents forms of 'post-citizenship' (Pakulski 1997). Clearly citizenship and human rights share similar concerns. Some human rights scholars argue for the right to have rights, which was proposed by Arendt (1958) in the wake of World War II as a remedy for the vast numbers of people who had fled the countries of which they were citizens and were without national governments to enforce their citizenship rights. She recognised both the limits of citizenship rights

that were yoked to nation states, and human rights that were disconnected from enforceable political or legal structures. Her argument retains its relevance in current debates that call for inclusive asylum policies and strategies to consolidate the universalism of human rights (for example see Heuser 2008; Ingram 2008; Kesby 2012).

Citing the 1789 French Declaration of the Rights of Man as a turning point in the extension of rights to all citizens, Arendt pointed out that although the rights 'were proclaimed to be 'inalienable,' irreducible to and undeducible from other rights or laws, no authority was invoked for their establishment' (1958:291). It was assumed that the declaration of the rights would be sufficient to ensure their expression in legislation and to guide government, yet the sovereign government of the people was the only institution capable of giving force to this. Arendt understood clearly that the universality of the declaration was immediately limited to the rights of citizens, leaving non-citizens to rely on the goodwill of their host state (over which they had no sovereignty) for their protection. For Arendt, the effect of the Declaration was to create an 'abstract human being who seemed to exist nowhere' (1958:291), removed from the context of any social order or national territory.

Building on these insights, Pettersson argued that human rights theory supports a 'division between those who are capable of doing politics and those who are not, through excluding the latter from any political sphere and preventing them from articulating their own exclusion and inequality' (2011:255). Drawing on Rancière's interpretation of the concept of equality, which maintains that the perspective of the politically excluded is central, Pettersson concludes that it is the stateless people and migrants close to the margins of a community who challenge its political consensus and are thus political actors. In other words, sites of marginalisation are sites for political resistance and activism, including struggles to have citizenship rights recognised. There is some evidence for this claim in Adam Seipp's (2013) history of Wildflecken, a former army base in Bavaria which in 1945 became a displaced persons camp administered by the UN. Seipp charts the growth of the camp residents' agency and independence, writing that the radicalisation of politics within the camp helped shape both its future and the wider structures for refugees

in the post 1945 world. In recent Australian experience, instances of refugees sewing their lips together in protest against the conditions and length of their incarceration led variously to public concern, hostility and antipathy, and also to substantial compensation payments by the federal government (Murphy 2008).

Despite the complementarity between concepts of citizenship and human rights, contemporary refugees and asylum seeker confront a painful paradox. Those escaping brutal and murderous regimes in nation states that lack the strong civil and political systems that are necessary to guarantee robust political citizenship may end up in countries that have these politico-social structures but which they are denied access to because they are not recognised as citizens. At the same time they are in theory accorded human rights, but it can be difficult to uphold these rights within the circumstances of nation states. This is evident in the Australian Federal Government's response to people who have travelled by boat to seek asylum in Australia. In the face of apparent widespread anxieties among voters, civil society organisations and international bodies, adults and children are being kept in indefinite detention.

2.4.1 Challenging the centre from the margins: minority rights

Overlapping these issues is the emergence of the concept of minority rights as a corrective to the marginalisation produced when universal rights are interpreted by majority cultures. The interest in minority rights was propelled into political theory by a number of minority secessionist claims within established Western democracies during the 1980s. Although the roots of this development lie partly in struggles for social citizenship – extending full citizenship to marginalised groups – the concept (although not its intention) can be seen in national governments' policies that provide differential rights to minority groups in their territories. People living at the margins of citizenship – guest workers, transient groups, migrants with restricted visa conditions and even stateless people – are all living within the boundaries of a nation state, and their presence often becomes a subject of domestic politics and public debate.

The concept of minority rights is part of the debate about multiculturalism that is prevalent in settler societies. Proponents of minority rights are generally wary of the exclusionary potential of citizenship and its adaptation to mainstream interests. They support the claims of cultural minorities for state recognition of valued aspects of their cultures that put them at a disadvantage in the mainstream society of the majority culture. They do not accept that cultural identity is sufficiently protected solely by protecting the freedoms of individuals, claiming instead:

> [W]hile difference-blind institutions purport to be neutral amongst different ethnocultural groups, they are in fact implicitly tilted towards the needs, interests, and identities of the majority group; and this creates a range of burdens, barriers, stigmatizations and exclusions (Kymlicka & Norman 2000:4)

Opponents argue that minority rights lead to the fragmentation of citizenship and the undermining of the protections provided by universality. They believe that people who are marginalised but who do not belong to a recognised or valued minority group risk being further excluded.

2.5 Cosmopolitan citizenship

The original meaning of cosmopolitanism is that all people, regardless of their differences, can and should be citizens in a single community. It is derived from the Greek word *kosmopolitas*, meaning 'citizen of the world', although its more recent usage has become confused with multi-culturalism and pluralism. The roots of active political cosmopolitanism can be traced to the Stoics of the 3rd century (Kleingeld & Brown 2014), but for a long time remained primarily an ideological position due to the lack of an international governing body with the power to bestow and protect the rights of citizenship (as noted in 2.4 above).

The rise of globalisation and the establishment of supra-national governance mechanisms such as the UN, the European parliament and the International Court of Justice has provided frameworks of international authority to which many sovereign governments have committed.

This has coincided with a 'cosmopolitan turn' in the social and political sciences (Strand 2010). Drawing on Arendt's argument above, cosmopolitan citizenship can progress no faster than the growth of international institutions that are necessary to uphold it (Arendt 1958). It relies on international agreements and intergovernmental co-operation.

The chrysaloid nature of cosmopolitan citizenship is illustrated by the standing of international courts. Domestic courts are constituted within the authority and coercive power of sovereign states, on which they can call for enforcement of their decisions. International courts, on the other hand, have cases referred by the member states of the organisations that have created them, and on whose goodwill they rely (von Bogdandy & Venzke 2012). Member states make commitments to abide by the decisions of the courts they have created but can ignore those decisions if they choose, risking no more than the opprobrium of national and international communities. Hence these commitments are more often aspirational than statutory, but they are nonetheless important. For example, von Bogandy and Venzke note that the involvement of international bodies in the election of judges to international courts provides some degree of cosmopolitan justification. These trends help build a foundation for the development of cosmopolitan citizenship.

A useful distinction here is between the discourse of transnational citizen and that of cosmopolitan citizenship. The first refers to a form of citizenship that is rooted in the nation state, while the second refers to a status that is not necessarily legitimated by the nation state. The distinction also explains the continuing emergence of international support for human rights and citizenship at the same time as national citizenship is being eroded (Mendieta 2013).

While its original sense sought universalism, some writers have drawn on a restrictive interpretation of cosmopolitan citizenship as participation in transnational communities or movements that are exclusive (and sometimes hostile) to those who share different beliefs. A recent example is the project to establish an international Islamic theocracy as a counter to the dominance of the West (Mustapha 2013). However it is difficult to argue that solidarity of this kind is cosmopolitan, for while it ignores the borders of existing sovereign states it simultaneously works to establish and

defend new borders around the territories it controls. This reflects emerging usages of the term, which in some cases have floated free of the ideal international citizenship and are broadly synonymous with pluralism and multiculturalism.

2.6   Summary

Traditionally, issues of political citizenship have tended to fall under the umbrella of citizenship studies, and are grounded in politico-legal frameworks. Issues of political citizenship are concerned with cascading inequalities that are associated with migration (growing numbers of stateless people seeking refuge and asylum, including in Australia) and with marginalisation and fragmentation (socioeconomic and ethnocultural) which are threatening the fabric of citizenship. This has contributed to an extraordinarily diverse and sprawling field of scholarship and research. To fully understand the dimensions of these issues it is necessary to engage with concepts of social citizenship.
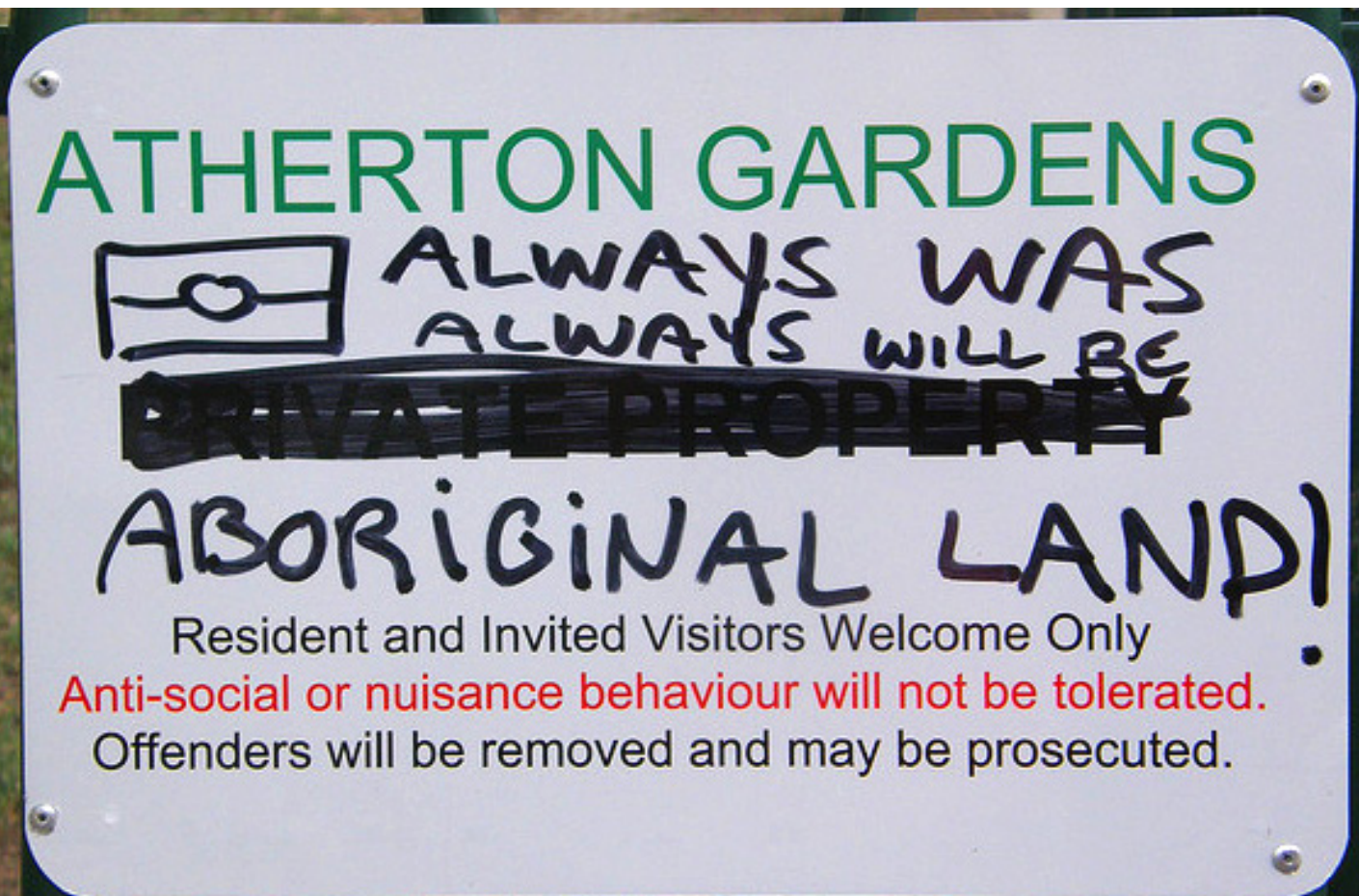
3 Social citizenship

It has already been noted that some scholars view the achievement of social citizenship as rights and obligations that have evolved out of political citizenship. They argue that democratic rights associated with political citizenship are compromised by inequalities among social groups (Pakulski 1997). Significantly, social citizenship requires the political and social infrastructure that was constructed through the establishment and expansion of welfare states in many countries over the twentieth century. The welfare state is critical here because it involves a range of mechanisms that are used to limit and redress inequalities. Accordingly, social citizenship has been described as the 'rights, duties, participatory practices and resources related to welfare' (Pfister 2012:246). Taylor-Gooby defines it as:

> …[T]he rights and duties associated with the provision of benefits and services designed to meet social needs and enhance capabilities, and also to guarantee the resources necessary to finance them (2008:4).

Taylor-Gooby identified three essential conditions for social citizenship to flourish: reciprocity, which is necessary to support horizontal redistribution; social inclusion, which encourages vertical redistribution; and the trust in institutions that is vital to the political legitimacy of the concept and its practice in a welfare state. He argues that the new policies and assumptions that are reformulating, if not dismantling, the welfare state in many Western nations are likely to erode these conditions, and that their endorsement 'by a substantial and politically effective part of the population is essential to ensure that the welfare state continues in a recognizable form' (2008:3). In particular, 'the shift towards an individualisation of responsibility for welfare outcomes constrains reciprocity, contradicts inclusion, and undermines important aspects of trust' (*ibid*).

Struggles for social citizenship involve the dominant population recognising commonalities and differences,

and are usually closely aligned with struggles for social justice. In contrast to struggles for political citizenship, social citizenship is concerned with the right to be different. Struggles to achieve social justice involve understanding and responding to the different circumstances in which people live (Pakulski 1997). Claims for social citizenship recognise that political rights are insufficient for ensuring full and active citizenship if there are inequalities between social groups.

In this section we discuss key sites of struggles in which citizenship is mobilised as a central legitimising concept. We discuss social citizenship in tandem with claims for cultural citizenship. Cultural citizenship further extends insights informing struggles for social citizenship to emphasise the significance of inequalities between social groups in regards to having symbolic presence and dignifying representations, and the affirmation of distinctive identities and lifestyles (Pakulski 1997).

Struggles for social citizenship are organised around sociocultural identities and grounded in concepts of political citizenship that provide legitimacy for claims. They also require political mobilisation through grassroots campaigns and political strategising. In discussing key sites of struggles to establish social and cultural citizenship we consider claims that are associated with cultural and sexual identities, environmental claims, and first nation and disability citizenship claims. We also discuss key sites of struggle – caring and circumstances of socioeconomic marginalisation - that present complex challenges for people mobilising to establish social citizenship claims: Finally, we highlight work that considers processes of participatory citizenship that are critical for fostering the inclusive potential of social citizenship.

3.1 Sexual citizenship

Claims for sexual citizenship are largely associated with gay rights movements that challenged the dominance of herteronormativity and legitimised a diversity of sexual identities, including gay, lesbian, queer, trans and intersex. In contrast to struggles for social citizenship

among powerless groups, gay rights activism has involved socioeconomic elites. Pakulski (1997) suggests that this offers a useful case study of processes of making and negotiating claims because it can be separated from the complexity of engaging in these processes from circumstances of socioeconomic marginalisation.

At the same time, there are continuing struggles for non-heterosexual forms of sexual citizenship to be fully realised as social and cultural citizenship (associated with efforts to respond to HIV/AIDS, address risks of violence, and challenge derogatory symbolic representations). Contemporary demands for marriage equality conflate ongoing struggles for political, social and cultural citizenship (having the same rights as heterosexual couples to have formal recognition of unions), the privileges that attend this (such as acknowledgement of next of kin and property arrangements) and participating in social and celebratory rituals such as weddings and anniversaries.

3.2   Cultural citizenship

Struggles for cultural citizenship are generally associated with struggles 'for the performance of racial/ethnic identities, home and belonging' within diaspora communities, and the creation of cultural practices that allow different validation of belonging in places of settlement (Hua 2011:45). Stevenson believes that citizenship needs to place questions of imagination, identity, recognition and belonging alongside the liberal concerns with entitlements and obligations (Stevenson 2003). Public acknowledgement and respect for cultural traditions, days of remembrance and religious significance and upholding other cultural practices reflect the ways in which cultural citizenship is established in settler societies.

Cultural citizenship can be applied to consider how other social groups that are vulnerable to being marginalised or excluded can have symbolic presence and dignifying representations. This includes avoiding demeaning and stereotyped portrayals of people with migrant backgrounds. In the wake of policies and practices that are eroding the welfare state, the poor, and arguably even

working class communities, can be denied the right to dignifying representations (Skegg 2004). This is evident in the growing use of disparaging references in Australia to 'bogans', and in the United Kingdom to 'chavs', which are increasingly used to refer to individual and communities on the socioeconomic margins of society, or even those perceived to be outside the middle classes (Nicholls 2011; Jones 2011; Warr 2005). In the wake of declining working class jobs in post-industrial nations, scholars such as Skeggs (2004) are also critical of the potential for concepts such as citizenship to operate as mechanisms for incorporating the working class into dominant political beliefs and practices, supporting an apparent wider social good that may not be in their interests. For example, national economic growth at the expense of employment (Skeggs 2004).

3.3   Citizenship and gender

A body of feminist work has focused on both the emancipatory and exclusionary implications of concepts of citizenship. Analyses focusing on the exclusion of women as citizens considers how their opportunities for public participation are compromised by a range of factors, including expectations of gendered roles for men and women and women's disproportionate involvement in unpaid caring work in domestic spheres. Writers have commented extensively on the ways in which care work is the obligatory, unpaid work undertaken by women, or by poorly paid women who are excluded by class or caste difference. These contexts for care work are significant for considering its implications for citizenship, because caring is socially and economically constructed as a realm that is psychologically and politically separated from the dominant realm of individual autonomy and freedom structured around contractual obligation (Gilligan 1995; Kershaw 2010).

In response to these issues, feminist scholars have developed the concept of inclusive citizenship. The concept seeks to dissolve public and private distinctions so that unpaid care work becomes a collective and non-gendered issue, and argues for rights for the time needed for care (Knijn & Kremer 1997). It is concerned with both the giving

and receiving of care, and with the values and practices that are associated with each of these positions. The work of Ruth Lister (2008; 2007) has made important contributions to conceptualising inclusive citizenship, and reformulating it to include issues of caregiving as a central obligation and entitlement of citizens. She refers to the horizontal view of citizenship, most associated with Nordic countries, 'which accords as much significance to the relations between people as to the vertical relationship between the state and the individual' (2007:51). Other scholars have also been concerned to reformulate the meaning of citizen to include care work. Working along this horizontal axis of citizenship, Lynch et al juxtapose the Cartesian rational economic actor model of the citizen with a view of the citizen as carer and care receiver. These scholars are critical of constructions of the model citizen as a person 'prepared for economic, political and cultural life in the public sphere but not for a relational life as an interdependent, caring and other-centred human being' (Lynch, Lyons & Cantillon 2007).

While feminist scholars argue for the private realm of care to be recognised alongside the public realm, there are differing views as to how this could be achieved. Some are wary of calling for citizenship to be expanded to include private and caring domains because this risks reinforcing distinctions between public and private realms. Other views, such as Kershaw (2010), contend that inclusive citizenship is fostered when individuals understand and act on the political implications of their private actions.

Strands of feminist scholarship that focus on inclusive citizenship point to the significance of embodiment. Disembodied models of universal citizenship inevitably diminish a society's capacity to be to fully consider women as citizens. This work argues for the politicisation of private realms that include notions of embodied citizenship in which 'bodies give substance to citizenship and that citizenship matters for bodies' (Beasley and Bacchi 2000:337).

3.3.1 Citizenship and the caring state

Not surprisingly, feminists' concerns with the marginalisation and invisibility of caring work in the private sphere and

the implications of this for women's capacities to influence issues of citizenship, have led to efforts to reposition caring as a public and collective responsibility. Marshall ([1950] 2009) describes the greatly expanded institutionalisation of social rights in the United Kingdom after WWII as the third stage in the development of citizenship, building on the establishment of civil rights and the subsequent growth of political rights. After the war the development of the social democratic states in the West was based on widespread acceptance that citizens had collective obligations for the welfare of other citizens, regardless of the strength of their association, and that the state was the agent through which this could be realised. There was a strong sense of partnership, with the state being seen as responsible for providing enabling support to carers (Harris 2002). This was supported by the professionalisation of care from the beginning of the 20th century, which allowed the state to employ professional carers whose responsibility extended beyond family groups and social networks to all citizens.

As noted above, Taylor-Gooby argues that since the 1990s political discourse has progressively shifted responsibility from the state back onto families and communities. This discourse focuses on the responsibility of citizens to look after each other, to be self-sufficient and independent and as far as possible avoid turning to the state for help. One of the effects of this discourse is to separate the carer from the person being cared for, enabling the positioning of the former as virtuous and the latter as a burden (Harris 2002; Whelan 2012). The valorisation of caring that was part of this may have opened the door to people, particularly women, whose work as carers historically marginalised them from citizenship, but it also drew people into what Jordan (1989) calls 'compulsory altruism'.

More recently in advanced economies, public debate in this area has been strongly influenced, if not partly distorted, by rising concern about the economic costs of caring for young children, frail elderly people and people who are chronically ill or have a disability. Caring is once again being constructed as a matter of private welfare. The social services market has been rapidly expanding to meet a range of caring needs, resulting in deteriorating working conditions for carers.

These issues suggest the ways in which feminist work has grappled with the exclusionary effects of dominant models of citizenship. They have spoken for concepts of inclusionary citizenship that focus attention on obligations and rights regarding care. Within this strand of work there are ongoing debates as to whether the problem is that responsibilities for caring in private spheres limit opportunities for forms of public participation that are constitutive of citizenship, or that upholding distinctions between public and private spheres ensures that forms of participation in the latter are not relevant to citizenship. These debates nonetheless share concerns to politicise issues of caring and are increasingly in tension with neoliberal political and policy currents that, in efforts to wind back welfare states, are reformulating caring as private and informal matters.

3.4   Citizenship and disability

The situations of people with disabilities point to serious shortcomings in theorising on citizenship. It has been observed that while disability theorists often call on the concept of citizenship, particularly in its inclusive interpretations, it is rare for citizenship theorists to include disability in their work (Lister 2007). One reason for this may be ongoing debates about whether 'people with a disability' can be used to refer to people who may not have much in common at all, other than the ways in which they are judged in negative and stigmatising ways compared to normative notions of personhood. The category of 'people with a disability' refers to people with physical impairment, intellectual disabilities and mental health issues that have varying implications for the ways in which individuals with disabilities have been able to achieve political, social and cultural citizenship.

In many countries, people with a disability have ongoing struggles to achieve basic civil and political rights and exercise political citizenship. Many encounter difficulties in asserting rights to vote in elections, participate in local political activities and run for public office. As Morris observes, people with a disability have also struggled to contribute to citizenship debates:

> Disabled people's perspective has been singularly absent from contemporary debates on citizenship, not just in Britain but also in other Western democracies. The very language of the debate often excludes people who have physical and/or sensory impairment, mental health problems or learning disabilities (Morris 2005:5).

Within normative constructions of citizenship, notions of being a 'good citizen' which can include being independent, responsible and economically self-sufficient, often exclude people with a disability (Beckett 2006). Many of the obstacles that people with a disability encounter in living up to these values in their everyday life are associated with social and structural barriers. These include the attitudes of non-disabled people and a paucity of physical and social infrastructure to support participation in varied activities (such as access to transport and buildings, extra time or resources to process information or express views, and assistance with some tasks).

In contrast to some other social groups (and the question of whether people with a disability constitute a social group is argued within the field of Disability Studies, see Guldvik and Lesjø 2014), citizenship struggles for people with a disability require strategies that institutionalise civil and political rights. The findings from studies exploring these issues among people with a disability have found that people are less concerned to assert rights to recognise distinctive social and cultural differences, than to secure basic political and social rights that would serve to promote social and economic inclusion within society (Beckett 2006). Morris identifies three concepts central to disability rights: self-determination, participation and contribution, noting that these claims dovetail with the communitarian emphasis on responsibility and reciprocity (2005:6). These constitute the basis of the disability rights movement's arguments for equalising opportunities for the social participation of disabled people compared with non-disabled people.

3.5   Citizenship of first nations

Indigenous or first-nation citizenship draws upon discourses of colonialism, plurality, minority rights, differential citizenship and recognition. It is closely linked with environmental citizenship (see section 3.6). The identify of most indigenous people is inseparable from their connection to land and ecological systems. Their efforts to re-assert this historical connection and to reclaim some measure of control over their resources has led researchers to investigate the connection between the politics of land, livelihood and identity, and the need to expand the reach of citizenship. (Blackburn 2009; Latta 2007; Latta & Wittman 2010; Wittman 2009). As well, the link with ecological systems creates interests that may cross national or political boundaries, indicating the need for an interpretation of citizenship that is not anchored to national government (Latta & Wittman 2010).

First nations' concepts of citizenship have some affinity with citizenship claims informed by feminist work in that it is grounded in relationality. This can conflict with the dominant neoliberal notion of rights-bearing citizenship based on the primacy of individual autonomy and property

ownership. Such discourses stress the moral and ethical obligations of individuals to be self-sufficient and to adhere to law in accordance with impugned moral codes. Failure to do so, in particular failure to achieve the economic status of property ownership, signals failure to enter into full citizenship. However, the expectation of such participation is often undermined by the economic disadvantage and marginalisation experienced by indigenous peoples in settler societies (Fiske, Belanger & Gregory 2010).

Providing an alternative to the individualistic, rights-based interpretation of citizenship, the concept of relational citizenship is based on the common humanity 'evidenced in overlapping aspirations, mutually supportive social actions, and the need to belong' (*ibid:76*). These values are consistent with those of many indigenous societies, grounded in reciprocity, community well-being and an ethos of care.

3.5.1 Citizenship and Australian Indigenous peoples

As first nations in other settler societies have often observed, institutionalised practices of citizenship reflect the dominant culture's 'social, political economic, cultural and spiritual domination of Aboriginal peoples' (Salmon 2011:169). It is argued that the citizenship rights of indigenous Australians fall considerably short of those enjoyed by non-indigenous citizens (Behrendt 2001; Dodson 1996; Mercer 2003). Dodson (1996) contends that indigenous Australians suffer a discontinuity or structural exclusion and alienation unique among Australians, and that this erodes any stability in their citizenship. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples are consistently rated lowest on any measure of the enjoyment of social, cultural, political, civil and economic rights. This analysis is consistent with the capability approach (CA) to citizenship developed principally by Amartya Sen and extended in collaboration with Martha Nussbaum. Sen has insisted that the existence of rights alone is insufficient, and that people's capabilities, what they are actually able to do and to be, need to be taken into account. Thus equality of citizenship inevitably rests on inequality of entitlement (Sen 1999; Nussbaum 2003).

An issue that is currently prominent in Australian public discussion is the recognition of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples in the Australian constitution. This is framed against the backdrop of minority rights and differential entitlements that that are already embedded in federal and state legislation. The Australian Human Rights Commission argues that the constitution:

> …permits the Commonwealth Parliament to validly enact laws that are racially discriminatory and contemplates disqualifying people from voting on the basis of their race (AHRC 2013).

Both the former and current governments have committed to holding a referendum proposing constitutional recognition of indigenous peoples.

3.6   Environmental citizenship

There is substantial common ground between environmental or green citizenship and feminist analysis of citizenship, although as Dobson notes 'there is no determinate thing called environmental citizenship, but in the broadest possible compass such citizenship will/can/may surely have something to do with the relationship between individuals and the common good' (Dobson 2007:280).

Many theorists write with reference to the public political realm, drawing on post-national and globalised concepts of citizenship because of the irrelevance of national boundaries to the environment and the trend towards the responsibilisation of individuals and communities in Western democracies (Hobson 2013; Kennedy 2011; Mason 2012). Machin (2012:848) believes that a common flaw in these theories is 'a presupposition of rational consensus and an underplaying of the importance and difficulty of the moment of decision', which can lead to the narrowing of debate and the exclusion of alternative or marginalised voices. Drawing on Mouffe (2005), she argues for the inevitability of conflict to be incorporated rather than sublimated, and 'transformed from a matter of life and death into democratic difference' (2012:858)

Writers such as Gabrielson and Parady (2010) approach green citizenship from a feminist focus on corporality. They argue that more traditional models of green citizenship allow for 'the relegation of questions of race, gender, class and other such markers to the sidelines'. In their efforts to cast green lifestyle practices as civic obligations 'green theorists often overlook the gendered character of the private sphere, its marginalisation based on its associations with bodily fragility, and the increased time commitments that green virtues would likely require of women' (2010:376). Gabrielson is concerned that the inclusivity of citizenship is subjugated to the attainment of green ends, leading to an 'anaemic conception of citizenship' and the dampening of citizenship's democratic potential (2008:430).

We have located this brief overview of work within the grounds of social citizenship, which consider the ways in which pluralist concepts of citizenship are being used in diverse societies to analyse and respond to situations of inequality and disadvantage. The discussion identifies key sites of contemporary struggles to establish and extend social and cultural citizenship. As previously noted, these struggles are not always easily separated from issues of political citizenship. Before concluding this section we discuss the concept of 'participatory citizenship'. In doing so, we refer to a body of work that is concerned with processes through which citizenship can be activated and practiced. These processes are particularly relevant for social groups who need to create new kinds of communicative structures that support inclusionary citizenship.

3.7   Participatory citizenship

Declining confidence in the legitimacy of governments and other institutions in advanced economies has led to renewed interest in participatory governance methods that support active citizenship. Active citizenship practices require engaged citizens, and there is a body of work that explores what this means in theory and practice. Organisations such as the EU, the World Bank and local grass-roots movements have revived traditional methods and are pioneering new approaches to participatory governance arrangements to broaden opportunities for

inclusive citizenship (Swyngedouw 2005). There are various conceptual frameworks for these methods, the most widely used in Australia being the Spectrum of Public Participation. This is a five-level hierarchy of types of participation – inform; consult; involve; collaborate; and empower (IAP2 2007). The hierarchy involves increasing levels of deliberation, which distinguishes electoral (voter) democracy from participatory or deliberative democracy. For those who advocate the latter, deliberation is the essence of democracy and citizenship. Deliberative democracy is based on a normative theory that claims to be a more just way of dealing with pluralism than aggregative or realist models of democracy. It promotes a position anchored in particular concepts of accountability and discussion, in contrast to liberal individualist or economic understandings of democracy (Chambers 2003). Deliberative democracy emphasises the responsibility of citizens to each other. 'When we deliberate as citizens,' argued Michael Sandel, 'when we engage in democratic argument, the whole point of the activity is critically to reflect on our preferences, to question them, to challenge them, to enlarge them, to improve them' (Sandel 2009).

Deliberative techniques include citizens' juries, consensus fora, deliberative polls and surveys, world cafés, town hall meetings, Open Space Technology, local area fora, and appreciative enquiry (Hartz-Karp nd). Most of these methods employ some type of random recruitment, which is intended to create deliberative 'mini-publics' or what Dahl called a 'mini-demos'. Reflecting the universality of citizenship, the participants are not representatives in the electoral sense, but can be seen to be representative to the extent that 'the range of relevant social characteristics and initial points of view should be substantially present in the mini-public' (Dryzek, Goodin & Tucker 2009:3). The essential aim of these processes is to give voice to the *vox populi* and avoid capture by political elites (Grönlund, Bächtiger & Setälä 2014).

Three areas of concern about these forms of 'grass-roots' participation are found in the literature. One is that an emphasis on consensus and agreement assumes that citizens will subsume their own interests for the common good, and this can lead to the marginalisation or suppression of differences and minority interests. It

ignores the inevitability of conflict and the impossibility of achieving rational and fully inclusive consensus (Mouffe 2013; Healy 2011; Machin 2012; Young 1996).

A second area of concern is the ways in which community-based participatory methods have been co-opted by public and private sector organisations as technologies of policy implementation. This is part of a profound restructuring of the nature of political democracy, promoting some forms of citizen participation while discouraging others. For example, parliaments in three Australian states have recently proposed or enacted laws to make many activities of street protests illegal (Milman 2014; Ogilivie 2013; SBS 2013). It has contributed to what is seen as a growing democratic deficit and resistance to citizens becoming involved in policy-making (Chaskin, Khare & Joseph 2012; Kettl 2013; Swyngedouw 2005).

The third area of concern is found more in public commentary than scholarly research literature. It is that participatory democracy is expensive, time-consuming and cumbersome, and that the burden of these methods substantially hinders the business of government and undermines freedom (Fuller 2013; Orszag 2011; The Economist 2009). These critiques force us to consider the potential value and costs of participatory democracy.

Set against these issues are ambitious and aspirational notions of the importance of 'participatory parity'. This is the idea that all adult members of society should be able to interact with others as peers (cited in Lister 2007). It raises questions of how this be achieved, across different sets of personal and social circumstances.

3.8 Summary

This section has discussed key sites of struggle for social and cultural citizenship. Struggles for social citizenship emerged in the wake of understanding that socioeconomic inequalities have distorting effects on political citizenship. The mechanisms of achieving social citizenship are closely bound to the redistributory mechanisms of welfare states. Social citizenship has been facilitated by welfare

states which, in turn, are undergirded by perceptions or experiences of social cohesion. Pluralist concepts of social citizenship are asserting the right to be different which is reworking the conditions of social cohesion in diverse societies. This presents new questions of how to respect difference and recognise commonalities that are basis for emerging forms of social cohesion in diverse societies.

4 The significance of citizenship for research and advocacy

Citizenship is not a magic ingredient that assures equality. Narrow ideals of citizenship tend to legitimise inequalities rather than reduce them. Further, inequalities contribute to differing capacities to define what counts as being a citizen and particularly, a 'good' citizen. Concepts of citizenship, however, offer good heuristic potential to analyse contemporary processes generating social inequalities, can be used to guide political struggles and pursue social justice agendas. Pluralistic accounts of social and cultural citizenship have been important in promoting inclusive citizenship in diverse societies such as Australia.

The concepts of citizenships explored in this scoping report can be readily combined with other conceptual frameworks, including those informing other MSEI theme areas, for increased analytic power. Within the Citizenship and Diversity theme area, and in hybrid analyses and wider MSEI activities, its extraordinary conceptual breadth offers potential to:

- Spotlight struggles to enjoy civil and political rights, issues that are re-emerging in nations such as Australia where there is growing fragmentation and differentiation of citizenship rights among social groups.

- Analyse issues of citizenship arising from involuntary and unplanned migration. This is urgent in Australia, which has outpaced many other western nations in the aggressiveness of the measures it has adopted to prevent refugees from being able to seek asylum within Australia.

- Analyse issues arising from involuntary and unplanned migration at international, national, regional and local levels.

- Analyse contemporary circumstances and processes that are eroding the grounds of political, social and cultural citizenship. This includes the implications of the contracting of the welfare state in many (post industrial) nations.

- Analyse the implications of limited redistributive (state or civil society) mechanisms in ensuring expanded notions of citizenship in other (industrialising) nations.

- Consider issues of cultural citizenship and the implications of symbolic representation and stigma for social and cultural groups that are experiencing disadvantage and marginalisation.

- Inform efforts to reformulate and promote social cohesion in multicultural and diverse societies.

- Explore the implications for concepts of citizenship in the wake of the changing, if not contracting, roles of the state.

- Exploring the impacts of participatory processes and methods for supporting transformatory and emancipatory struggles for social change and social inequality.

This list is not intended to be exhaustive and there are many other potential and emerging applications of the concept of citizenship to analyse contemporary issues of social inequality. We trust that the ideas explored in this scoping report assist researchers and others to recognise and apply its conceptual possibilities to research that addresses pressing issues, is theoretical robust and methodologically rigorous and orientated to social justice objectives.

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